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THE PROBLEMS OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED
URBAN BLACK CHILD.

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1970
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THE ROLE OF PRESCHOOL EDUCATION IN ALLEVIATING
THE PROBLEMS OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED
URBAN BLACK CHILD

Dissertation

Presented in partial fulfillment for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of
The Ohio State University

by

Mark H. Smith, Jr., B.S., M.A.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Model For Program Development</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA AND PUBLICATIONS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIGURES</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. THE PURPOSE AND PROCEDURE OF THE DISSERTATION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. LITERATURE REVIEW</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. PRESCHOOL EDUCATION FOR THE DISADVANTAGED BLACK CHILD</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. PROGRAM EVALUATION AND REFINEMENT</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

THE PURPOSE AND THE PROCEDURE OF THE DISSERTATION

Statement Of The Problem Background

Section 201. In recognition of the special educational needs of children of low-income families and the impact that concentration of low-income families have on the ability of the local educational agencies to support adequate educational programs, the Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance (as set forth in this title) to local educational agencies servicing areas with concentrations of children from low income families to expand and improve their educational programs by various means (including pre-school programs) which contribute particularly to meeting the special needs of educationally deprived children.¹

The above statement is taken from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Through the enactment of this legislation, the Congress of the United States forcefully indicated its support for the development of educational programs which would increase the possibility of disadvantaged children having successful experiences in American schools. Such a stand is a gigantic leap forward as the plight of the disadvantaged has been neglected until just recently. An indication of this neglect is readily apparent when one examines the Encyclopedia of Educational Research covering the past twenty-five years.

Until 1960, there is scarcely any mention of the disadvantaged student. There have been many terms used by scholars to designate that portion of the population about whom there is this new concern. It would seem that none of these terms has been universally accepted. The ethnic and racial composition tends to reflect the minority groups, particularly the American Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican American, Indians, and Appalachian White. It should be noted, however, that the disadvantaged are limited neither to minority groups nor to immigrants. With the exception of Latin Americans, all were born in the United States and with the exception of the Latins and some Puerto Ricans, all are English speaking, although there are severe regional dialect problems in some areas. Many become known as disadvantaged by virtue of the visibility gained in migrating from rural areas to the urban centers. One common denominator befitting all is that they are in the low income category.

The surge of concern, as exemplified by the acts of the Congress, contributions from various foundations and energies expended by educational institutions, has affirmed the hope that the disadvantaged child can be educated to the extent that he can move out of his familiar surroundings into the mainstream of society, while preserving his own individuality and diversity, as well as the positive elements of his culture.

The major force behind the move to aid the disadvantaged is the fearful plight of the great cities of this nation. The problems of the cities boil down to three points: (a) poverty, (b) segregation, and (c) municipal decay. This decay has led to a lowering of the quality of public services and a continual decline in tax revenues, thereby
perpetuating the fall toward municipal bankruptcy. Moreover, the first
two problems are actually the major cause of the third, for the poor
are unable to pay their share to support the city and crime and other
conditions are stimulated by poverty and segregation.

The problems of the cities is to deny the effects of enforced
poverty and segregation that has been perpetuated against the poor as
they migrated to the city in search of the "good life." Presently,
the Negro is the center of concern in the cities, for there he represents
the majority of the poverty stricken population. Population shifts
point to a clear pattern of Black movement to the cities although this
has slowed in the last two years. From 1900 to the present, it is
estimated that some five million Blacks moved to the cities, and this
movement was from the rural south to the large cities outside that region.

According to the 1960 census, the following percentages of Blacks
lived in the indicated large United States cities: Washington, D.C.,
53.9; Atlanta, 38.3; New Orleans, 36.2; Memphis, 27.0; Baltimore, 34.8;
Detroit, 38.9; Cleveland, 28.6; St. Louis, 28.6; and Philadelphia, 26.5.²
Recent data show that these figures have grown substantially in the
last nine years. For example, two of these cities now have the following
percentages of Negroes within their boundaries: Washington, D.C.,
61; Detroit, 39.3.³ Coupled with the immigration of Blacks to the city
was the flight of the Whites to the suburbs; for example, between
1950 and 1960, St. Louis, San Diego, and Newark lost 22, 15.4 and 23.7

and Sun, 1967, P. 287.

percent of their White populations, respectively. These percentages gain importance when one realizes that Blacks now constitute only 11 percent of the total population of the United States. Since the median age for Blacks is lower than that of Whites, it can be assumed that even larger percentages of Blacks are of school age in these cities.

Sixty percent of all Blacks are poor. The cycle of economic despair combined with the often extreme prejudice, which has forced them to remain in poverty, has driven them into a virtual social prison. The New York Times states it this way:

> The cycle of discrimination that confronts the Negro is hard to break. There is job discrimination, resulting in low Negro income or no income. The low income plus housing discrimination condemn the Negro to living in the ghetto slums. There is general apathy toward education, disqualifying many Negroes for jobs that might otherwise be available.

Time Magazine also had something to say about this problem:

> The tragedy of the situation is that yet another generation of such men is being bred because they cannot break out of the vicious cycle of the ghetto. Poor schooling leading to a low paying job or no job at all, leading to housing in a run down neighborhood, leading anew to poor schooling for children.

Frank Reissman, the noted educator psychologist, supports the New York Times and Time magazine statements and indicates that the educational neglect of the children who most need assistance has caused one of the nation's most critical social problems. A summary of this social problem as derived from Reissman, reveals a cycle of failure.

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6Time, "No Place Like Home," July 18, 1967, P. 64.
1. Poverty and/or lower-class lifestyle deprive many children of opportunities for adequate development during preprimary years.

2. These children enter school with a disadvantage due to deficiencies in language and school knowhow, and lack of the middle class achievement goals.

3. Initial disadvantage leads to academic failure and progressive retardation as the children move through school.

4. Failure leads to poor self-concept and hostility toward the school and toward authority in general.

5. Poor self-concept and hostility lead to alienation and dropping out of school as soon as the law allows.

6. Dropping out usually leads to unemployment, human misery, and a loss of potential resources to society.\(^7\)

Education, the right kind, could go far toward alleviating the many problems that result from social and economic deprivation. This means that the schools must provide the type of experiences that will assure success for the disadvantaged child and enable him to move into the main stream of American society.

There Was A Child Went Forth
And The First Object He Looked Upon
That Object He Became
And That Object Became Part Of Him
For The Day Or A Certain Part Of The Day
Or For Many Years Or Stretching Cycle Of Years.\(^8\)

This poem, "There Was A Child Went Forth" by Walt Whitman, is quite appropriate in considering the problem of the disadvantaged child and aptly presents the rationale for the initiation of preschool

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education programs in the ghetto areas of large cities.

As an infant is exposed to the stimuli of the surrounding environment, he begins to manifest the characteristics of that environment. Growth, development, and learning are cumulative processes which lead to the development of the individual human characteristics. The process of meaningful development is most crucial in the early childhood years. The noted psychologist from the University of Chicago, Benjamin Bloom, has provided ample evidence as to the importance of the preschool years. Bloom presented evidence, resulting from more than one thousand different longitudinal studies, which measured children at various stages of their social, emotional, physical and intellectual growth. He was able to establish a growth curve for each human characteristic.

Results of these studies identified the early years as the period of most rapid growth in human characteristics and indicated that the environment will have maximum impact on a particular trait during that trait's most rapid growth period. Bloom concluded that human intellect is a developmental process with fifty percent of total intelligence at age 17 present in the child at age four and eighty percent by age eight. As the child grows older, more and more powerful forces are required to produce a given amount of change in his intelligence, if it can be produced at all, and the emotional cost it exacts is increasingly severe.

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It has been, and still is, the educational practice to begin formalized instruction for most children around age six, based on the assumption that a reading oriented curriculum could not be taught adequately until children are old enough to read. Research conducted by Hunt, Bloom, Piaget and others, however, indicates that much of significance is learned prior to age six, and that rather than being the beginning of learning, reading is the zenith of a series of learnings that is initiated when a child begins to communicate verbally, years before entry into the formal school setting. Earlier learning affects that which follows since new learning is based upon it. The concept of continuous learning is an unavoidable reality.

The continuous, interrelated nature of a child's total development is such that the intellectual, emotional, social and physical foundations built during the early years largely determine academic achievement during his elementary and later school years. The early years are the root years of psycho-social development during which a child discovers who he is in relation to other children and adults and works through problems of getting along with people. As others accept him and recognize his needs, he becomes to feel he is a human worthy of respect and care. Through this process, the individual's self-concept builds positively, perpetuating continued success.¹⁰

Children from home backgrounds that not only are economically and socially at the lowest level and lack family orientation toward formal

learning are virtually excluded from success in school. They are pre-
conditioned to failure. The schools, attuned as they are to the middle
class majority, seldom help such children catch up; they often widen the
gaps between success and failure. Skills with words and comprehension of
ideas that sprout from the thoughts behind words are probably the most
essential prerequisites for formal learning. Yet, these are exactly the
skills most lacking in the young slum child. The contrast between him
and his middle class counterpart is all too clear.

The middle class home is child oriented, often to a fault. Parents
dote on their child's first words. This concern for early skill with
the language grows until it probably reaches its crest around the ages
of four or five, when mother and father can still take most of the credit
for such early development. If the home is well stocked with reading
material, and it usually is, the drive for verbal excellence is heightened
even further. Coupled with this, middle class parents welcome and en-
courage questions and explorations by the child. Mothers are quite
concerned about ways of exploiting, even pushing, the inquisitiveness
of infants; note the sale of books dealing with early childhood behavior.

Contrast the setting of the middle class home with that of the inner
city Black child. There is little opportunity to ask questions, talk,
and seek answers. In overcrowded conditions of the ghetto, curiosity
becomes a nuisance. In the daytime, the more competent adults are out
attempting to earn a living, and the children are generally left in the
care of older brothers and sisters, or they are left with a much less
competent woman in the neighborhood who is not able to obtain employment.
When the parent or parents return, the mothers, many of whom work as
domestics caring for the children of the affluent majority, are seldom in the mood to answer questions from their children. The frustrations of slum life hardly encourage much concern with child care a la Dr. Spock. The passive child is considered to be the good child.

The implications are obvious. The most serious harm, in terms of real or potential retardation, is already in motion when the ghetto child reaches nursery school age. When this child enters school, he is so far behind in terms of necessary skill development that school means competition for what will be unattainable success. The stage is set, more for frustration than for learning. The child has, all too frequently, dropped out before he has had an opportunity to drop in. Add to this the impact of both the White folklore about the inferiority of the Black and the impact, too, of the Black child's damaging self image, and school can easily become a breeding ground for Black despair.

**Design Of The Study**

The purpose of this study is to develop a model program which could become a guide to the development of preschool programs for inner city Black children. This model will be based on the condition that these children must, if they are to become productive and proud American citizens, acquire those skills that will enable them to move into the mainstream of American life.

This model will be developed for use by administrators and teachers responsible for the implementation of preschool education programs. The model will include:

1. A comprehensive preservice training program for all staff in one school, based upon the needs of the clientele in that particular school attendance area.
2. A curriculum based on the needs of the parents and students. The curriculum will remain flexible enough to meet the needs of a changing clientele.

3. A plan for involving the parents of the children in selected aspects of planning and evaluating.

4. A proposal for coordinating the efforts of all social agencies operating within the school attendance area.

5. A mode for maintaining a continuous staff development program geared to improving staff proficiency.

6. A rationale for utilizing the community school concept in program development.

The author recognizes that no one program can be developed to solve the problems of all inner city children as they certainly have varying needs. However, research has shown that these children, their parents, and their communities do manifest certain characteristics that are similar by virtue of racial background, life expectancies, economic deprivation, low social status, certain physical and emotional deficiencies, family history, housing segregation, educational achievement, and varying forms of prejudice perpetuated against them by the dominant society.

To facilitate the generalizability of this study to other inner city Black neighborhoods, certain criteria for guiding the development of a model program will be formulated. The criteria presented below are based on the assumption that disadvantaged Black children can learn. One of the most pervasive handicaps facing these children is the fact that many teachers and administrators, Black and White, feel they are incapable of learning as well as their more affluent counterparts. Children who are not expected to learn, do not.

The criteria to be used as a guide in the development of the proposed program were derived from the following sources:
1. Interviews by the author with such educators as Dr. Sam Sniderman, Dr. David Weikert, Dr. Keith Osborn, Dr. Alexander Frazier and Dr. Moshe Smilansky; all of whom represent a diversity of experience in the preschool education field.

2. Review of the most recent literature in the field of preschool education.

3. Information gained through the experiences of the author, who was the director of the Headstart program in the city of Highland Park, Michigan for four years.

The author recognizes that many other criteria could be added; however, it is felt that the inclusion of the following criteria in a preschool program for Black children residing in the large urban centers of this nation will provide a base for assuring the successful implementation of such a program.

Criterion 1. ELEMENTARY SCHOOL EXPECTATIONS FOR THE CHILD MUST BE GIVEN A HIGH PRIORITY.

Criterion 2. ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT FOR THE BLACK CHILD MUST BE THE CORNERSTONE OF THE PRESCHOOL PROGRAM.

Criterion 3. THE DISADVANTAGED CHILD MUST LEARN AT A FASTER RATE (NOT SLOWER) THAN THE TYPICAL MIDDLE CLASS CHILD IF HE IS TO CATCH UP WITH HIS MIDDLE CLASS COUNTERPART.

Criterion 4. INDIVIDUALIZATION OF INSTRUCTION SHOULD BE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE TOTAL PROGRAM.

Criterion 5. ANY PSYCHOLOGICAL OR PHYSIOLOGICAL DEFICIENCY WHICH WOULD TEND TO HAMPER LEARNING SHOULD BE IDENTIFIED AND CORRECTED.

Criterion 6. CURRICULA OFFERINGS AND TEACHING METHODS SHOULD ALWAYS BE IN A STATE OF FLEXIBILITY PREDICATED ON BEHAVIORAL CHANGES AS DEMONSTRATED BY THE CHILD.

Criterion 7. THE IMPORTANCE OF ACTIVE PARTICIPATION ON THE PART OF THE PARENT SHOULD BE GIVEN FULL CONSIDERATION.
Criterion 8. THE EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATOR SHOULD ALWAYS ENDEAVOR TO PROVIDE AN ATMOSPHERE OF ACCEPTANCE OF AND APPROVING SUPPORT TO THE CHILD.

Criterion 9. A MULTISENSORY APPROACH TO LEARNING MUST BE UTILIZED.

Criterion 10. A COMPREHENSIVE, CONTINUOUS STAFF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM IS ESSENTIAL TO THE SUCCESS OF THE EARLY PRESCHOOL PROGRAM.

The following hypotheses disclose the foremost objectives of this study:

I. Hypothesis
Children enrolled in the model program will acquire those skills, attitudes and values which will ensure a significant measure of success in subsequent school experiences and everyday living.

Corollary 1. Children's self images will improve significantly.
Corollary 2. As children experience success, there will be a converse decrease in aggressive behavior.

II. Hypothesis
Parents of children in the program, as a result of the intimacy of their involvement, will manifest a positive change in attitude relative to their role in the educational process. There will also be a significant gain in cognitive knowledge.

III. Hypothesis
Staff morale and success will heighten significantly as a result of greater knowledge and understanding of the clientele served by the school.

The credibility of the criteria and the testing of the proposed program model will be accomplished through the use of a panel of five to seven experts, selected by the author for their contributions to the
field of preschool education. The members of this panel will consist of those working at the university level as well as those who are engaged in the process of implementing preschool programs on a day-to-day basis. All members of the panel have had extensive experience dealing with the problems of the Black disadvantaged. Reactions of this group will be used extensively for the purpose of program refinement.

**Definition Of Culturally Disadvantaged**

Throughout this paper the writer has been using the term, "disadvantaged" or "culturally disadvantaged," without giving a precise definition of the term. There are probably as many definitions as there are scholars researching this area. Although many educators have settled seemingly on the term "culturally disadvantaged," as it relates to the middle class cultural model, other terms are still being used: culturally deprived, culturally different, socially different, educationally deprived, culturally handicapped. Although these other terms are being used, it should be recognized that the term is unimportant. What is important is that educators comprehend the people these terms inadequately label. This author will use the term "disadvantaged" throughout this dissertation.

**The Meaning Of Culturally Disadvantaged**

In 1891 in his book, *Primitive Culture*, Sir Edward Tylor gave the following definition of the term culture: "that complex whole which

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\[\text{\textsuperscript{11}}\text{Tylor, Edward, Primitive Culture, London: John Murray Publishers, 1901, P. I.}\]
includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society."

This definition of culture would probably satisfy most sociologists and anthropologists. The professional assigns a much broader meaning to the term than the layman. To the layman, "culture" means opera, symphony, painting, sculpture, poetry and philosophy; in other words, culture refers to the "higher things" in life. The layman uses the word "cultured" to convey the idea of "cultivated" or "refined." The professional refers to all that man has learned as an individual in a society; it is a way of life, a way of acting, thinking and feeling. Thus, no person who is a member of a society can be without a culture. One group's way of life may differ from another group's way of life, but every group has a culture.

The terms used to describe the culturally disadvantaged are not accurate because they imply a lack of a culture. Additionally, it is not possible to place a value on any culture, that is, labeling one culture better than another. The culture, or way of life, if you will, of a group is that group's way of coping with the physical and social environment. Johnson indicates that things in the culture that do not work would never develop, or if they do develop, they would soon be discarded. Thus, some of the puzzling actions of the culturally disadvantaged would not be so puzzling to others if the function of these actions could be determined.12

The term culturally disadvantaged becomes a relative entity. Educators should always consider this question: When is the culturally disadvantaged pupil at a disadvantage? The answer is so simple it is frightening—the pupil is at a disadvantage when he leaves his primary cultural, socio-economic group to function in the dominant culture; and he is at a disadvantage when his culture and the dominant culture clash as he attempts to cope with life. In these situations, the subculture of the disadvantaged pupil is a handicap. Since this occurs on a regular basis (every day when in school), it is little wonder that the culturally disadvantaged lead in the incidence of mental illnesses, crime, drug addiction, etc.

As was indicated in the previous paragraph, if a particular action did not initially help the members of the culture adjust effectively to their environment, then that action would be discarded. The validity of this statement prevails if one realizes that the dominant culture sometimes does not permit the individuals of a subculture to drop an action or a behavioral pattern or an attitude that on the surface seems as if it should be discarded; for example: the lack of a positive self-concept in Negroes is definitely considered to be self-destructive. But the dominant American subculture makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the culturally disadvantaged Negro pupil to change his self concept from negative to positive. Daily he is presented with examples of the low esteem held for Negroes in this country, from which he derives his worth as a human being. After a period of time, many Negroes conform in action and attitude to the low expectations that society has for them, primarily because they begin to believe their low status is deserved. One of the main objectives of the school is to help the culturally
disadvantaged child develop a positive self concept.

Another example to illustrate the relativity of the term follows: The culturally disadvantaged pupil is diadvantaged when he attempts to communicate with the "outside world." Many disadvantaged pupils speak a non-standard dialect of English that limits their capabilities of communication in the dominant culture; yet, they must rely on their non-standard dialect if they wish to communicate in their own cultural environment. This same kind of conflict occurs when the behavioral patterns that help the culturally disadvantaged pupil function smoothly in his own environment backfire when he employs them in the dominant cultural environment.

Kerber supports the position of the writer by indicating that a pupil is disadvantaged when his particular background of experience does not enable him to be sensitive to those cues of the dominant culture that call for a particular response.\(^{13}\) He goes on to say, "Many disadvantaged pupils learn few table manners in their homes. When food is served, the primary objective is to eat it, not to practice accompanying acts of etiquette that are sometimes unreasonable and always indigestible. Thus, the disadvantaged pupil is not sensitive to cues of the table, and he may appear crude and uncouth to the outside observer."\(^{14}\)

Educators, teachers in particular, can possibly understand the pupils' disadvantaged position and the relative nature of the term if they can imagine themselves in the disadvantaged pupils' cultural environment.

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Most teachers would be "culturally disadvantaged" if they had to go into Chicago's south side or New York's Harlem and "make it." Try and imagine what a disadvantage it would be for average middle class teachers to have all those around them speaking to them in a "different language," to try to function socially with people behaving differently from what they are accustomed to, and to operate with a value system which in some ways is diametrically opposed to their own.

If teachers can project themselves into the worlds of the various disadvantaged groups, they might begin to understand the pupils and develop sympathy for the multiplicity of problems facing them. Teachers who can do this will also understand that the term "culturally disadvantaged" is relative to time and space. It would be great if these pupils could develop the same type of awareness of their own situations. Armed with this awareness, they may then be taught alternative patterns of behavior to employ in appropriate situations. At present they do not have this choice. Revealing these choices or alternatives to them is a responsibility of the classroom teacher.

A culturally disadvantaged person is defined by the writer as: anyone who cannot participate successfully in the culture, as it relates to the immediate situation, or one who is handicapped in the process of growing up to live a competent and satisfying life in the mainstream of American life.

Limitations Of The Study

A study of this type has certain limitations. Among the limitations related to this project are the following:
1. The evaluation of the program is to be done through the use of a committee of experts in the field of early childhood education and not empirically with the Negro urban child.

2. The use of the five to seven experts to be involved in the evaluation necessarily carries with it the limitations of any small population.

3. The author, being the only researcher developing the study, imposes certain limitations.

4. Because of the inherent nature of the model which provides for adaptations to the local setting, certain adjustments in the program will be required before it can be used in any school attendance area.

**Organization Of The Dissertation**

Chapter I consists of the background of the problem, the design of the study, a brief review of the proposed approach to the problem and the limitations of the study.

Chapter II is a review of the literature. Emphasis will be placed on:

2. The culturally disadvantaged Black in the urban setting.
3. Preschool education for the disadvantaged Black child.

Chapter III represents a statement of the educational criteria of the preschool program being used as a basis of this study. The program proposed for the disadvantaged child will be presented with emphasis on the following areas:

1. Curriculum of student experiences.
2. Parental involvement and educational program.

3. Proposed techniques for program evaluation.

Chapter IV will be a summary of the reactions of the panel of experts to the program described in Chapter III.

Chapter V provides for a complete summary and subsequent conclusions and recommendations reached by the author.
Why is it that the Black child, who is so curious, cute, affectionate, warm, eager, and independently dependent in kindergarten in spite of his background, becomes angry, aggressive, alienated, withdrawn, passive, and apathetic by the sixth grade? The disadvantaged child, no matter what his background, enters our middle class school system unprepared for its demands, finds the system unprepared to cope with his problems, and leaves it, not enriched and armed against the exigencies of urban life, but embittered by school failure and less able to cope with society than when he entered school.

Teachers and administrators, being middle-class creations, are unprepared to cope with the needs of the Black child. These individuals are impeded by: (1) an assumption that the class system in America is truly open for anyone "who has it in him" to climb the ladder of success, (2) a conviction that the middle class values, which determine both the organization of the classroom and the content of the curriculum, represent a standard of perfection, deviation from which is a moral, not an educational problem, and (3) the "knowledge" that Black people are inferior in all ways, particularly intellectually; thus, the Black child
cannot be expected to do as well academically as the White child.

The review of the literature in this dissertation is prepared in such a way as to provide significant data relating to the Black American from 1619 to the present day. The primary objective is to show that the contemporary Black is a creation of a racist society over which he has had no control. Teachers and administrators, who are charged with providing meaningful experiences for the Black child, must have a broader perspective of life in America for the Black citizen.

History Of The Black American In The United States

Slavery

One of the most crucial problems besetting the American people today is that of social, economic and political relationships between the dominant White population and the lesser or minority groups. The minority group around which the controversy rages is the American Black. Many people are attempting to come to grips with the problem of building an equalitarian society in which Blacks will have all of the rights and privileges that Whites have without having enough historical data from which to formulate plans. In planning for the future, it is imperative that those individuals in decision making positions have a firm understanding of what is taking place today. To understand what is happening today one must have a thorough understanding of the past.

It is ironic that the English colony, established in the "new" world, should be destined to become the bastion of the most inhuman form of bondage to befall mankind in all recorded history. There is little in English history prior to 1619 to indicate that the colonies would adopt a system of slavery. Prior to English exploratory and colonial expansion,
slavery was not a part of the law or custom. Anglo Saxon slavery had been eradicated in 1066, at the time of the Norman conquest.¹

Virginia was the first colony to have a continuing contact with the Black African. Twenty of these people were sold to the colonists by a Dutch man-of-war, after being taken from a Portuguese slave ship. There was much debate as to the status of these strangers who were so different from the White English settlers.

Evolving Status

The first Black people to arrive in the new colony of Virginia were not designated as slaves, even though they were purchased from the Portuguese. Possibly because there was no law to cover the slavery question and possibly because they were Christians; the original twenty were relegated to the status of an indentured servant. For several decades thereafter, the Africans brought to the colonies enjoyed a similar status. After a stipulated number of years of service, the indentured Africans received their freedom, a few acres of land and some implements. Some became prosperous and some became the masters of men, even White men.²

All indications from those early years would have indicated that the African was beginning to carve a place of equality within the newly evolving colonial system. In reality, this was only a transitional period. Social, economic and religious forces were at work mapping out a plan whereby the African would become, not human, but property to be bought


and sold.

The growth of the African population in Virginia was not very rapid. Six years after the arrival of the first group, there were only 25 out of a total population of 2500; by 1650, the number had increased to only 300. In 1670 the Blacks numbered 800 in a population of 40,000. The African had not become important to the growth of the colonial economy. White servants, indentured for seven years, were far more important to the economy of the colony; by 1670, their numbers had increased six times faster than the African.

For many years African labor was not a significant phenomenon in early colonial development. Blacks, who became slaves, were usually transported directly to the West Indies where the demand was great and a higher price was paid than was paid in the colonies. In general, only those Africans considered unfit for plantation life in the Indies reached American shores in the early seventeenth century.

As the number of Blacks increased and a substantial number gained their freedom, the Whites became more and more concerned about the aliens in their midst. The question of whether or not the dark, strange looking, strange speaking creatures could be assimilated into the community as equals was raised repeatedly. Finally the answer came from all quarters, a resounding, "No." In the minds of the colonists, the Blacks were not just different, they were a lower order of being, with whom one should not consort. As early as 1630, a colonist in Virginia was ordered

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3Aptheker, Herbert, A Documentary History Of The Negro People In The United States, New York: Citadel Press, 1951, P. 162.

4Ibid., P. 168.
soundly shipt before an assembly of Negroes and others for abusing himself to the dishonor of God and shame of Christianity by defiling his body in lying with a Negro."5

Fear among the colonists, accelerated by ignorance, spurred on the efforts to enslave the Africans. An English minister, when he attempted to baptize some Blacks was asked, "What, such as they? What, those black dogs be made Christian? What, shall they be like us?"6

As this attitude toward Blacks manifested by the White colonists grew, the foundation for the creation of a slavery system became solidified. In a variety of ways the length of time in servitude for the Black was extended. Most Blacks, having no knowledge of the law, simply continued working for their masters beyond the required time. Those who were aware of the law, found it difficult to gain their freedom in courts dominated by White men. At first, a distinction was made between those Blacks who were Christians and those who were not; the Christians serving for seven years, the non-Christians serving for life. It wasn't long before this distinction was discontinued.

In this situation, the Black man was at a decided disadvantage. He was a stranger in a strange land, whose customs and language he did not understand; he had been brought to this new land as a captive and offered for sale like any piece of merchandise. He had no friends, like the Indian nearby, to aid his escape and to hide him, nor was there any fear on the part of the colonists of reprisals by other Blacks in the countryside.


There was no one in the homeland to whom he could appeal for redress of grievances, as was the lot of the White indentured servant. Under such hostile circumstances, the Blacks found it difficult to survive, thus making it easier for the masters to extend servitude for life.

Institutionalized racism, the zenith of present day problems, began to appear in the legal structure shortly after the arrival of the Blacks. English common law prior to 1620 had no provisions either for or against the incidence of slavery. The colonists, fearing the growing numbers of free Blacks were at liberty to develop their own laws on the subject. These actions were facilitated by the distance from the mother country, and the fact that the royalty was more interested in exploiting the colonists than in the development of their moral integrity. The first colony to legally sanction slavery was Massachusetts.7

Heathenism, not skin color, was the first basis used to justify the enslavement of the African. The fact that they did not believe in God was considered as a valid reason to keep Blacks enslaved for life. Many Blacks used this as a ruse through which they could obtain their freedom. Baptism, then, became a protection against enslavement for life. This created a problem for the owners of slaves. If they did their Christian duty and had the slaves baptized, then they might not have the opportunity to keep them in bondage. Most slave holders solved this problem by not having the slaves baptized.

The law, as it related to slavery and baptism, was changed so as not to afford a sanctuary for the Blacks against enslavement. In Virginia

the law read, "Baptism doth not alter the condition of the person as to
his bondage or freedom; that divers masters, freed from this doubt, may
more carefully endeavor the propagation of christianity."  

Another technique used by Blacks to thwart the onrushing slavery
was miscegenation. English law decreed that the status of the child was
derived from the status of the father. This meant that the children born
to slave women, who had White fathers, were by law free, as they assumed
the status of the father. This situation did create a great number of
free, independent mulattoes. To eliminate this threat to the order of
colonial life, Virginia passed a law dictating that any child born to a
Black mother would assume the status of the mother, not the father.  

By the end of the seventeenth century, the English colonists had made
it virtually impossible for a Black to rise above his slave status.
Neither baptism, nor a White father, could give him the status of a free
man. The institution of slavery had become codified long before the
economic value of the slave was realized.

The Slave Gains Value

Economic prosperity decended upon the colonists with the discovery
of tobacco. The problem facing them was that of acquiring cheap labor.
By raising and selling tobacco, a man could singlehandedly sustain a
comfortable living for him and his family. Through the process of hiring
others to work for him, a man could become wealthy in a short period of

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8Hurd, John Codman, The Law Of Freedom And Bondage, Boston: Little,

9Ibid., P. 245.
time. The system of indentured servitude was created to help farmers cultivate the land that was available just for the asking.

By paying a man's passage to the New World, a colonist had claim upon his services for a specified number of years. The use of the indentured White servant had certain distinct disadvantages. He had to be clothed and fed according to certain standards; he was liable for a relatively short period of time; he might run away before serving the full time; he created additional competition when his tenure of servitude was complete.

The tobacco farmers soon discovered that with the African these disadvantages were greatly diminished. The slave could be fed and clothed more cheaply; his was a lifetime of servitude and escape for him was more difficult to achieve. As an added bonus, any children born to the slaves would some day labor in the fields for the master. The use of slaves as opposed to the use of the White indentured servant became the rule rather than the exception.

The late eighteenth century technological revolution in cotton manufacturing, marking the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in England, also strengthened plantation slavery in the colonies. Cotton had been grown in the colonies, but serious interest in its commercial possibilities developed only after the emergence of the new English textile factories. The barrier to full blown production of cotton in the United States was that the variety of cotton grown stuck tightly to its fuzzy seeds, from which it could be separated only by laborious work. Then in 1793 Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin, a simple device for separating the seeds from the lint. Cotton became "king" and the African Black a slave to it.
The White colonists firmly believed that he must own slaves if he was to build an estate. Lewis Gray, in studying the agriculture of the South quotes a South Carolinian as saying, "When I have land, what shall I do with it? What commodity shall I be able to produce that will yield me money in other countries, that I be able to buy Negro-slaves—without which a planter can never do any great matter."^{10}

The belief that slave labor was the road to success persisted. When James Oglethorpe, the philanthropist, attempted, on moral and religious grounds, to prevent the introduction of slavery into the colony of Georgia, which he founded, he was told by the colonists, "In spite of all endeavors to disguise this point, it is clear as light itself, that Negroes are as essentially necessary to the cultivation of Georgia as axes, hoes, or any other utensil of agriculture."^{11} The slave became, particularly in the south, the most valuable property available.

**Slave Rights.**

There is a great concern manifested in books, journals, newspaper editorials, and legislative chambers about the apparent instability of the Black family. The Black man's refusal to shoulder the yoke of husband and fatherly responsibilities has raised the ire of many White Americans, who see this behavior as just a reaffirmation that the Black is indeed a laggard, who is lazy, and without morals.

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A review of history presents a different picture as to the evolutionary process surrounding the Black family. The establishment of family and parental concerns in slaves was not in the best economic interest of the White master. If the slave owner's economic interests so dictated, a slave might be sold without restriction to whomever stood ready to pay the highest price. Neither marriage nor blood ties could interfere.

Husband or wife, parent or child could be separated from each other through inheritance or sale. A North Carolina judge decreed on the eve of the Civil War:

The relationship between slaves is essentially different from that of man and wife joined in lawful wedlock—with slaves it may be dissolved at the pleasure of either party, or by the sale of one or both, depending upon the caprice of necessity of the owners.12

To hold otherwise would have led to a lowering of slave prices, since requiring the sale of entire families intact would have made it difficult to secure buyers.

The law, as constituted in this country during slavery did not recognize the Black family. A Kentucky court ruled that "the father of a slave is unknown to our law."13 Other colonies followed suit. A Virginia court ruled on the status of Black children thusly, "the apprentices in question are bastards, their father being a slave and therefore incapable of contracting matrimony."14 The slave could not protect himself against the violator of his marriage bed, particularly if the violator was the slave master.

13 Ibid., Vol. I., P. 287.
14 Ibid., P. 216.
Since slave marriages were not recognized, the practice of breeding slaves for market, just as a farmer today breeds cattle, became an integral part of the system. In offering several slaves for sale, an advertisement in a South Carolina newspaper read, "they are purchased for stock and breeding . . . and to any planter who particularly wanted them for that purpose, they are a very choice and desirable gang."\(^{15}\)

The law of the land refused to recognize that the slave had any kind of rights. A code in Virginia declared, "Contracts of masters with their servants are void unless approved in court."\(^{16}\) The slave had no rights, no matter how they were claimed; he could hold no property, no matter how he acquired it. An Alabama court held that, "a slave is in absolute bondage; he has no civil rights, and can own no property except at the will and pleasure of his master."\(^{17}\)

Evaluating the slavery system from his vantage point as an abolitionist, Goodell wrote:

> If the slave could possess property, he could dispose of it, he could make contracts; he might contract marriage; he might become a man, and becoming such, cease to be a slave. The safety of the entire fabric required that not one stone in the edifice should be missing.\(^{18}\)

The slave codes were aimed at controlling the behavior of the slaves, but they were also designed to regulate the behavior of Whites, who would interfere with the operation of the system.


\(^{18}\)Ibid., P. 96.
The severity of the punishment for code infractions was for the purpose of instilling fear in the slaves. Stampp describes the steps used to maintain absolute control over the "property." Those steps were:

- to accustom him to rigid discipline; demand from him unconditional submission; impress upon him his innate inferiority;
- train him to adopt the master's code of good behavior and instill in him a sense of complete dependence.\(^{19}\)

Life On The Plantation

Although the typical slave was a cotton cultivator, he did not necessarily work on a large farm or plantation. Nor did the majority of White Southerners own slaves or plantations. In the South in 1860, there were only 385,000 slave holders in a free population of 1,500,000 families.\(^{20}\) The result was that only one fourth of the Southern Whites had a vested interest in preserving the slavery system.

Taking ownership of twenty slaves as the minimum for membership in the planter class, a study of the census data reveals that the great majority of slave holders could not be called planters. In 1860, 88 percent of them held fewer than twenty slaves, 72 percent held fewer than ten, and nearly 50 percent held fewer than five. Most of those in the planter class owned between twenty and fifty slaves, approximately 10,000 owned fifty or more, and only 3000 persons owned more than one hundred slaves.\(^{21}\)

Plantation slaves lived on a minimal subsistence basis. Ordinarily their living quarters consisted of a single or double row of cabins near


\(^{20}\) Ibid., P. 208.

\(^{21}\) Ibid., P. 210.
the overseer's cottage. A humane and enlightened minority attempted to provide neat, weatherproof cabins, at times with two or three rooms, a modicum of bedding and perhaps some other scanty furniture. Stampp describes the life of the typical plantation slave thusly:

Most slaves lived in rude, drafty, and leaky clapboard shacks, frequently without furniture, and quite often filthy and overcrowded. As for clothing a standard supply for a man was two shirts of coarse cotton, two woolen trousers, a woolen jacket in the winter, and two cotton shirts and two cotton trousers in the spring. Every year he received a pair of shoes. This was scarcely enough for field hands who did rough outdoor work. For much of the year they were seen barefooted in tattered clothes, and in the freezing winters most slaves did not have enough clothes to keep them warm. The standard diet was hominy and fatback, with a basic weekly ration of a peck of cornmeal and three or four pounds of salt pork.22

Slaves worked long and hard hours, dawn to dusk, particularly at harvest time. Work was stopped on Sunday and sometimes all or part of Saturday. They could also look forward to holidays, such as Good Friday, Independence Day, Laying-by time after the harvest, and Christmas. On these occasions passes to leave the plantation were granted by some masters and Christmas, particularly, was a time for celebration, slaves being given considerable freedom and even the use of liquor.

A system of social stratification was developed and cultivated by the slave master as a means of maintaining control. Because of their privileged positions, slave foremen, artisans, and domestic servants showed considerable loyalty to the planters. The identification between those slaves and their masters was so complete that they were informers of impending slave revolts and even helped catch run-away slaves, whom they despised.

Ulrich Phillips describes the place of religion, as it was used to maintain control over the slaves:

After it was understood that the baptism did not confer freedom, and that the southern wings of the Methodist and Baptist churches had no intention of applying their denominational egalitarianism to the temporal status of slaves, planters readily saw advantages in allowing them to attend religious services. Some owners built chapels on their plantations, but more commonly slaves worshipped in the White man's church, seated in the balcony. Of course, such religious services emphasized the quietistic, otherworldly aspects of Christianity, rather than the impulse toward social justice in the Judaic-Christian tradition, and promised salvation to those who obeyed their masters. Christianity was thus viewed as an anodyne helping slaves accept their lot in this world.23

Black Reaction To Slavery

The slaves reacted in a variety of ways to the subordinate status in anti-bellum America. Many of them retreated into a compensatory otherworldliness; for them Christianity served the function it had so well served for the slaves of the Roman Empire era. Christian doctrines exalted the meek and the lowly, making a virtue of accepting without resistance the persecution that the slaves were forced to endure. There were those who played the clown, did what the master expected them to do and told him what he wanted to hear. The elite among the slaves, house servants, artisans and foremen, so prized their status that they tended to identify with the master class.

There were a significant number of slaves who refused to submit to the yoke of oppression. There were frequent and numerous rebellions and conspiracies; well over 250 have been recorded.24 The most noted revolts


were Gabriel's revolt in 1800, Denmark Vesey's Conspiracy in 1822 and the insurrection of Nat Turner in 1821. These and other revolts failed because the "faithful" house servants who identified with their masters more than they did with their counterparts, acted as informers, resulting in death for the revolutionaries.

These revolts, although there were many, failed to gain any momentum among the slaves and all of them failed. In no way was the status of the slave improved as a result of the revolution. What generally followed a revolt was an increase in repressive measures.

A number of scholars have studied the slavery system in an effort to ascertain why the revolts failed. The nature of slavery and its effects on the slave were such that a successful revolt was virtually impossible. According to Elkins, "American slavery operated as a closed system, one in which contacts with free society could occur only on the most narrowly circumscribed of terms." Such a system as viewed by Elkins, had a demoralizing effect on the slaves' personalities, thereby rendering widespread participation in revolts unlikely and in many cases, unthinkable.

Accommodation to the system was the rule rather than the exception. Elkin, drawing upon the experiences of inmates in the German concentration camps, where there were no revolts, where few people committed suicide, where prisoners retreated into infantile behavior patterns and even admired the S.S. as respected and revered father figures, suggests that the picture of the "happy-go-lucky" slave, the "sambo" stereotype,

25Ibid., P. 170.
contains an element of truth. Thus, he concludes that "the development of such a personality type and of such patterns of adjustment underscore the horror, the dehumanizing quality of slavery in the United States."\textsuperscript{27}

The slaves quickly recognized the futility of the revolt and began to manifest their abhorrence to the system through other means. The most frequent and successful act was that of escaping to "freedom" in the north. The runaway slave created many problems for the White master; paramount among them was financial loss. This is attested to by the pages of advertisement in the newspapers in search of slaves who had escaped. There is no way of knowing how many slaves escaped. Estimates of the number of slaves who escaped between 1810 and 1850 run as high as 100,000 with a calculated economic loss to the slavemasters of more than thirty million dollars.\textsuperscript{28} The problem became so acute that Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Law in 1793, which allowed a slave master to seize slaves who had crossed state lines to escape bondage.

The Civil War

Eli Whitney, the New England school teacher, can be given some of the credit for aiding in the creation of the situation that led to violent conflict between the North and the South. The war between the states began as an economic and political difference between the two areas and not a desire to abolish slavery, although there were many abolitionists striving for the goal.

\textsuperscript{27}ibid., P. 128.

Whitney's technological breakthrough came just at the time when there were indications that the plantation system was weakening. Commercial exploitation of cotton was thwarted because of the difficulty of separating the seeds from the lint. Tobacco, the base of southern prosperity was no longer profitable. The soil had been exhausted, and the newer agricultural regions found it more profitable to grow wheat and other cereals. These crops were grown better by the White farmers than by Negro slave labor.

The price of slaves reflected the general decline of the plantation system. In some parts of the South prices were so low that plantation owners would have gladly given away their slaves. Many did just that by taking advantage of the various manumission laws that prevailed. Consequently, "from 1790 to 1820 the number of free Negroes in the South increased more than threefold."29 The new unprofitability of slavery explained, in part, the South's willingness to counternance the end of the slave trade and even gradual emancipation.

The cotton gin changed all this. With commercial production of cotton possible and indeed highly profitable, as a result of England's industrial revolution, the plantation system took a new life. It began to expand into new areas to the west. Many a younger son and many a man of humble beginnings found that with hard work, intelligence and luck, he could have a white columned mansion surrounded by downy fields of cotton tended by ebony hued field hands. Even in the older regions cotton revived

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the economy.

The plantation system, like all economic systems, had to expand in order to maintain its dynamism. Being an agricultural system, this meant geographical expansion. The plantation owners began to acquire land to the west, in the Louisiana Territory, where they could take slaves and build an even greater economic base. Virginia, in the 1830's exported 118,000 slaves to the west, while Kentucky and South Carolina together exported 91,000.30

The West proved to be as attractive to the northerner as it was to his southern counterpart. He also needed new lands as the old had been depleted or pre-empted by others. The northern immigrant, if he did not already have a prejudice against slave labor, soon acquired it as he was forced to compete against a slave owning neighbor from the South. The small yeoman farmers from the North refused to settle in those western areas where slavery abounded. They moved on to Louisiana where the legal status of slavery was very much in doubt. Following closely behind were the slave owning Whites and the scene was set for the eventual all out conflagration.

The South, in an effort to save its peculiar institution and the way of life associated with it, used military force to strike back at the North. It opened hostilities by firing on Fort Sumpter in Charleston Harbor. Abraham Lincoln was president of the country at that time and he struck back in an effort to preserve the Union.

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30 ibid., P. 127.
Participation By Blacks

At the outset of the Civil War, Blacks rushed to enlist in the Union Army; but their services were rejected—Lincoln refused the Blacks because he was afraid of losing the support of the border states. In a letter to a newly elected Illinois Senator, Lincoln wrote, "I think to lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game. Kentucky gone, we can not hold Missouri, nor, as I think, Maryland....We would just as well consent to separation at once, including the surrender of this capitol."31

Lincoln was holding fast to his refusal to employ Black troops even though he was receiving severe criticism from many quarters. In defending his position, he wrote, in a letter to Horace Greeley:

My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union without freeing any slaves. I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it. What I do about slavery, and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forebear, I forebear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.32

By the summer of 1862, with the war going badly for the North, opinion began to veer toward accepting the idea of arming the slaves, a concept that had been advocated by Black and White abolitionists since the beginning of the war. As the northern casualties mounted and White replacements became more difficult to find, public attitudes changed rapidly. A letter from the New Hampshire governor and executive to President Lincoln reads:

32Ibid., P. 190.
We beg leave to say that our reading, intelligent, patriotic young men are inquiring into the propriety of wasting their strength and energy in daily and nightly watching of rebel states and other property or...digging trenches, piling fortifications and the like, while strong and willing hands wait only to be invited... that they may show their appreciation of the glorious boom to freedom.33

March of 1863 saw a change in policy as it related to the use of slaves as soldiers. Congress passed an act forbidding officers to assist in capturing runaways and returning them to their masters. On July 17, Congress passed the second Confiscation Act, which emancipated all slaves who had escaped from rebel masters and gave the President discretionary power to use Black troops.34

By the end of the hostilities, approximately 186,000 Black troops had enlisted in the Union Army. These troops engaged in 198 combat actions, sustaining 68,000 casualties. Approximately 300,000 Blacks were used in the war effort, including spies, servants and laborers.35 The troops served in a variety of roles, such as artillery, calvary, engineers and infantry. They served in segregated units under the command of White officers. According to Woodson, there were approximately seventy-five Black commissioned officers in the Union army at the conclusion of the war.36

The Black military man had to contend with a variety of difficulties unknown to the White soldier. The union military leaders had grave


misgivings about the fitness of the Black to serve in combat; they did not see the Black as being equal to the Whites. Blacks were perceived as cowards despite the evidence of good service in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. The Black soldiers had to prove themselves over and over, and they did so in such actions as the battle of Port Hudson on the Mississippi, the battle of Milliken's Bend and at Fort Wagner in South Carolina. Despite their courage, there was always lingering doubt about the Black's bravery. Some generals, like Sherman, refused to use Black troops at all.

Discriminatory practices prevailed against Blacks even in terms of payroll provisions. Franklin writes, "The Enlistment Act of 1862 provided that Whites in the rank of private should receive thirteen dollars per month and three dollars and fifty cents for clothing, but Negroes of the same rank were to receive only seven and three dollars respectively." Such practices raised a furor in many quarters. Finally in July, 1864, Congress passed a bill granting equal pay to those Black soldiers who were free when the war began in 1861, but it was not until March, 1865 that it passed an act providing for full payment of all Black soldiers retroactive to the day of enlistment.

The Emancipation Proclamation

Abraham Lincoln, being a product of his times, held attitudes toward the Blacks that were essentially conservative; reflecting the racial biases of the vast majority of American Whites. It is doubtful
if he believed that the races were equally endowed. In one of his debates with Douglas, Lincoln states:

I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about, in any way, the social and political equality of the white and black races; I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes nor of qualifying them to hold office or intermarry with the white people.39

Lincoln, like Thomas Jefferson, thought it unlikely that Blacks and Whites could live peacefully together with equal rights in the same country. He had long entertained the idea of colonization of all Blacks in Colombia's Chiriqui Province, now in Panama. On one occasion during the Civil War, he called some Black leaders to the White House and told them:

— You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any two races. Whether it is right or wrong, I need not discuss; but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both. Your race suffer very greatly, many of them, by living among us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side....But for your race among us there could not be war, although many men engaged on either side do not care for you one way or the other....It is better for us both, therefore, to be separated....There is an unwillingness on the part of our people, harsh as it may be, for you free colored people to remain with us.40

The issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation by Lincoln did not come as a result of his concern for the slaves but for political reasons in his desire to save the Union. He knew that if he was to retain the support of the abolitionists in this country and the liberals in England, he had to proclaim the freedom of all slaves whose masters were still


in open rebellion. The exigencies of war was bringing about additional pressures. Ginzberg writes:

The northern armies were floundering in the field, the enlistment quotas were going unfilled. The Union cause required new life, new meaning for the continuing bloodshed. Lincoln announced his decision to his cabinet in July, but Seward advised waiting for a Union victory before issuing the proclamation. Otherwise, at the end of a long series of northern defeats, it might seem an admission of weakness. Lincoln agreed.41

The battle at Antietam Creek, not too much of a victory, gave Lincoln his opportunity. On September 22, he announced that if the rebellion were not ended by January 1, 1863, he would proclaim the freedom of all slaves in those areas where federal authority was still being resisted. Hostilities had not ended by that date and Lincoln issued the following proclamation:

I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated states and parts of states, are, and henceforward shall be free. And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.42

The response of the northerners and the free Blacks to the proclamation was highly positive. The ranks of the army filled, the commitment to the prosecution of the war to the finish was full and deep. For those Blacks still in territory controlled by southern forces, at whom the proclamation was aimed, there was no change in their life styles. There was no way Lincoln could grant them freedom as the Union...


army was still reeling under the impact of a superior southern force.

**Reconstruction**

The efforts of the black and white abolitionists combined with the exigencies of war had led the Union government to free the slaves and enlist them as soldiers. Thus, the first steps toward true freedom and recognition of the Black as a human being had been taken.

Black leaders were very much concerned about other problems facing the slaves; education, the franchise, civil rights and economic conditions. Some basic questions were raised: What would be the future of Blacks in the United States after the war? Would they become full fledged citizens? Would they be confronted with a new form of slavery?

Articulate Black leaders of this era realized that freeing the slaves would not be the end, but the beginning of a difficult task. Frederick Douglas, the Black abolitionist, expressed his concerns thusly:

> I am...of those who believe that the work of the American Anti-slavery Society will not have been completed until the black men of the south, and the black men of the north, shall have been admitted fully and completely into the body politic of America....A mightier work than the abolition of slavery looms up before the abolitionist. This society was organized, if I remember rightly, for the distinct objects: one was the emancipation of slave, and the other the elevation of the colored people. When we have taken the chains off the slave as I believe we shall do, we shall find a harder resistance to the second purpose of this great association than we have found even upon slavery itself.43

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What would happen to the slaves once they were free? A long range plan to answer this question was needed and the American Anti-slavery Society had none. For over thirty years the abolitionists had devoted their energies to bringing an end to slavery, but they had deliberately given little thought to what would happen once the slave had actually gained his freedom. The Society warned its agents, "Do not allow yourself to be drawn away from the main object. Let the principle be decided on, of immediate abolition, and the plans will easily present themselves." Thus, with single purpose, the abolitionists pursued their goal.

When the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing involuntary servitude was approved, the abolitionists considered their work to be complete. The abolitionist, as perceived by Barnes, "thought of freedom as an abstract ideal, not necessarily associated with human beings. They could demand an end to slavery while disdaining the slave himself. As long as the Negro was actually free, they could not longer distinguish between him and the many other races at the bottom of the social spectrum. When emancipation finally came, the majority of abolitionists retired into obscurity, while the more dedicated of their leaders turned their energies to other causes."

In his efforts to reunite the Union, Lincoln interpreted Reconstruction as being a function of the office of the President. The concept of colonization was Lincoln's way of solving the slave problem. He

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realized that land and slaves had been the basis of antibellum southern wealth. To confiscate even one without disturbing the other would disrupt the economic equilibrium of the region; so he introduced another alternative.

Lincoln wanted to stretch the abolition of slavery over a long period of time; the painful readjustment could be made much easier. In addition, the compensation to be paid the slave owners for their "property," could be used to make the same type of investments that men of the north were making. Thus, instead of leaving the south impoverished, abolition would lead to a new prosperity, a new kind of property. The Blacks, if they choose to remain in the south, would share in the prosperity. The northerners were unwilling to enhance the defeated rebels wealth and power by converting their former slave property into new capital.

Lincoln decided to wait until hostilities were finally over before broaching the subject again. Just as that time arrived, Lincoln was assassinated.

Andrew Johnson, Lincoln's successor, felt no commitment to aid in the elevation of the former slaves. These people, he thought, could take care of themselves. First, the South still needed their labor and consequently, he would not deal harshly with them. If Blacks needed protection, they could look to the recently reestablished civil authorities. Johnson had little sympathy for the Blacks. In an earlier speech, he

46 Buck, Paul H., The Road To Reunion, Boston: Little, Brown Co., 1938, P. 51.
told an audience, "This is a white man's government."47

The southerners, who had waged a war to keep Blacks enslaved, proceeded to pass a series of laws which became known as the Black Codes. The laws were designed to maintain control over the Blacks. DuBois writes that these laws were an attempt "on the part of southern states to make Negroes slaves in everything but name."48 In Mississippi, for example, if a freedman quit his job before the expiration of his contract, under the Code, he forfeited the wages he had earned. In addition, he could be arrested and forcibly returned to his former employer. Under the vagrancy laws, Blacks over eighteen who had no lawful employment could be fined and if unable to pay, could be hired out to anyone who would pay the fine.

It became apparent to the northerners that the President had little interest in protecting the rights of the newly freed slaves. Violence against them became widespread; riots throughout the South claimed the lives of hundreds of Blacks. Consequently, Congress took over the program of Reconstruction. Having passed the Thirteenth Amendment, Congress proceeded to pass, over the President's veto, the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which made Blacks citizens and gave them the same rights enjoyed by Whites. This law ultimately became the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which prohibited states usurping the rights of any person.


Black Americans became very much involved in the body politic of this country during this era. The Fifteenth Amendment, which became a part of the Constitution in 1870, guaranteed Blacks the right to vote. During the first registrations, when delegates were elected to state conventions in 1868, 703,000 Black voters registered in the secessionist states as compared to only 627,000 Whites. Blacks were in a majority in the South Carolina state convention and made up half the delegates in Louisiana. In the other states they represented 10 to 19 percent of all delegates.

The Compromise of 1877--The Blacks Lose

Any possibility for continued progress for Blacks in the South was eliminated with the advent of a compromise between presidential candidate Rutherford B. Hayes and the southern democrats. Throughout the post Civil War period, ex-confederates were doing everything in their power to return the freedmen to prewar status.

The pressures used by southern Whites to regain power were pervasive and relentless against Blacks and sympathetic Caucasians. In Canton, Mississippi, for example, the "Mail" published the names of those White citizens who were to be avoided by "every true woman."

There was only one escape other than to leave the South. A prominent White native southerner told a Black leader that he was leaving the


Republican party for the sake of his family. He said, "No whiteman can live in the South in the future and act with any other than the Democratic party, unless he is willing and prepared to live a life of social isolation and remain in political oblivion." In the face of such pressures, many southern Republicans succumbed.

Other kinds of pressure, especially those applied to Blacks, were more violent. Throughout the South the Whites organized themselves into bands of night riders, known variously as the Knights of the White Camellia, the White Brotherhood, The Council of Safety, and the '76 Association, but most commonly as the Ku Klux Klan. Under the cover of darkness, they attempted, through intimidation, to prevent Blacks from exercising their newly won voting rights. An example of their acts follows:

In South Carolina a group of about forty whites gathered one night in 1871 and proceeded to the home of a local Negro leader. They broke in his door, took him out, fastened a rope around his neck, took him to the woods nearby, and hung him till he was dead. That same night they visited divers other houses of colored people, threatened them, took them out, robed them of their arms, and informed them that, if they should vote again, they would be killed.  

Whipping recalcitrant Blacks was quite common, and even Whites were not immune.

In his desire to become president, Hayes deliberately overlooked

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the evidence which indicated that the southern Whites would not honor the rights of Black Americans. It was clearly evident that an all out effort was being made to maintain White supremacy. The chance came when the election of 1876 had to be settled in Congress through the Compromise of 1877. In exchange for the Democratic votes that made him president, Hayes writes:

Assure any of our southern friends that I am impressed with the necessity of a complete change of man and policy.... This, more fully interpreted means, not only the entire right of self government, but also a large and liberal policy in respect to matters of internal improvements.53

Hayes laid down only one condition; if control of their states were turned over to them, the conservative Democrats would have to promise not to mistreat the Blacks.

The leaders of the South promised that the rights of Blacks would be protected, and especially that the newly ratified amendments to the Constitution would be adhered to.

__White Supremacy Becomes An Institution__

Alphonso Pinkney selects the era of 1877 to 1954 as the time when almost all events relating to Black Americans adversely affected their status.54 This period of history saw the evolution of unprecedented change in American life, yet the Blacks position and life style remained relatively fixed. Segregation and discriminatory practices by White

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Americans against their black brothers pervaded every dimension of the social order. Such behavior became the "American way of life," and few Whites did anything to counteract these practices.

Disenfranchisement

After the Republican Party lost power in the South as a result of the Compromise of 1877, there developed a two party system. One party consisted of relatively poor farmers, sharecroppers and laborers, who were White and were known as the Populists. The other group was the conservative Democratic party, which by manipulating the Black vote was able to maintain control of southern politics.

Although the Populists were not prepared to make any concessions on the question of social equality, they knew that they needed the Black vote to break the stranglehold of the Democratic Party. One Populist leader, Tom Watson, said in a speech, "Let it once appear plainly that it is to the interest of the colored man to vote with the white man, and he will do it... The accident of color can make no difference in the interest of farmers, croppers and laborers. You are kept apart that you may be fleeced of your earnings."55 A White Texan put it another way. "They are in the same ditch just like we are."56

The Democrats accused the Populists of fostering social equality for Blacks and stated that they, the Populists, were really Republicans attempting to gain a foothold in the south again. The Populists denied any Republican affiliation; however Henry Cabot Lodge came out at the


56bid., P. 259.
same time with a proposal to provide federal voting registrars in southern states where Blacks were being denied the vote. This action seriously crippled the Populists movement.57

Convinced that only the conservative control of the Black vote had prevented their move to power, the Populists resolved to take steps to counter the cause of their defeats. On one hand they had lost White votes because of their alliance with the Blacks; on the other, they had seen the Black vote cynically manipulated to defeat them. If the conservatives could use the race issue to attract lower class White votes, the Populists could do the same, only with greater enthusiasm. They, themselves, came from that stratum, and they knew how best to express its traditional enmity toward the Black. What better way to do this than to disenfranchise the former slaves. This not only would win support from most southern Whites but would forever eliminate the threat of the Black vote.

The state of Mississippi had already shown the way. In 1890, it had approved a new constitution denying the right to vote to any person unable to read or explain its provisions. Wharton explains, "There was a general understanding that the interpretation of the constitution offered by an illiterate white man would be acceptable to the registrars; that of a Negro would not."58 Through this devise the great majority of Blacks in Mississippi were disenfranchised, leaving only 8,615 eligible voters, compared to 68,127 eligible White voters. In 1892, the Supreme

57 Ibid., P. 261.
Court handed down a decision which upheld the constitutionality of the literacy requirement.\(^{59}\)

Beginning with South Carolina, in 1895, and ending with Oklahoma, in 1910, nearly every state in the south held a constitutional convention in order to change its voting requirements, and the others changed them through legislative acts. In Louisiana, for example, 164,088 Whites and 130,344 Blacks had been qualified to vote before the constitutional convention of 1898; after the new voting requirements went into effect, 125,437 Whites and only 5,320 Blacks were able to register.\(^{60}\) The Black was disenfranchised, it was said, to prevent the Democratic election officials from stealing their votes.

As a consequence of these actions, a new group took over the political leadership in the South. These men were able to unite the south with a program of racism and reform. The Populist party was absorbed by the new, more liberal Democratic party. Woodward writes of this era, "disenfranchisement of the Negroes has been concomitant with the growth of political and social solidarity among the Whites."\(^{61}\) The result of consolidation of the dominant group was the possibility of a more effective program of disenfranchisement through the use of the "white primary."

Control Of The Labor Market

The White planters of the South knew that continued subjugation of the freedmen was vital to the rebuilding of that region and lost

\(^{59}\)Ibid., P. 217.

\(^{60}\)Ibid., P. 218.

fortunes. They, therefore, began to devise methods whereby the status of the Blacks would be lowly and dependent. It was not a southerner but a northerner who developed the institution that resulted in almost total subjugation of the southern Blacks; the sharecropping process.

In March of 1865, Congress enacted a bill which created a Freedman’s Bureau charged with the “supervision and management of all abandoned lands and the control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen from rebel states.” This bureau found itself charged with the responsibility of restructuring the socioeconomic relationship, land, capital and labor across a devastated South. Somehow it had to serve to the best of its ability the interest of: the recently freed slaves in obtaining fair employment; the bankrupt planters; and the northern merchants in a return to prewar business.

A possible approach to the southern problem was a suggestion that the freedmen be given a minimum wage to compensate for their unfavorable position in dealing with the planters. General Howard, chief of the Bureau, vetoed this idea. Instead the bureau made the following suggestions: planters could enter into crop sharing agreements with their former slaves. In return for working the planter's land, the Blacks were to receive up to half the gains from the cotton sold. The planters readily accepted the proposal, as it gave them the opportunity to control the lives of the Blacks, almost as if the Civil War was never fought.

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When the bureau was abolished, the planters developed an effective program of exploiting the Blacks. With the courts in the hands of the planters and their cohorts, the merchants, the Blacks found themselves without any avenue for redress of their grievances. Throughout the South, large landowners discussed and set limits as to what the black farmers would receive. They also agreed not to sell or lease land to any Black who had terminated employment with any of their number. This type of cooperation destroyed any economic independence the Blacks might have had.

Shannon, in quoting a southern governor, writes: "The Negro skins the land and the landlord skins the Negro."\(^63\) When the cotton had been harvested, the Blacks were required to turn over the entire crop, first to the owner of the land and then to the local merchant. On many occasions, these men were the same. Very seldom, if ever, was the Black paid in cash; he was supplied with credit, which inextricably tied him to the land and made him entirely dependent upon the "good-will" of the merchant. The planter and merchant, judged by their counterparts to be honest and God fearing men, always saw to it that the harvested crop never quite paid off the debt owed them. This meant that the Blacks had to continue working until the debt was eliminated; of course, this never happened.

Before the Civil War, Blacks were the artisans of the South. In fact, the slaves had performed most of the skilled labor in the South

prior to hostilities. Many masters rented their skilled Blacks to others on a temporary or continuing basis. After the war, under the pressure of a growing White population, this condition began to change. The labor that had been exclusively Black was being pre-empted by White workers who took all but the most distasteful jobs. It is difficult, when surveying the contemporary American labor scene, to realize that Blacks through the 1890's held such positions as carpenters, cigar makers, painters, clerks, shoemakers, coopers, tailors, bankers, blacksmiths, and foundry hands. 64

As a consequence of such discriminatory practices, the Blacks had no choice but to live on the land and grow cotton for their former masters. The slavery system had, in effect, returned to the South.

Other Control Methods

Continued subjugation of the Blacks was needed if the exploitation of their labor was to be maintained. Extra legal methods were used by the dominant group to ensure that the Blacks would remain in their place and not threaten the stability of the peonage system.

One of these methods was the employment of the convict lease system. During the slavery period, the masters or their delegates had administered punishment to those slaves who dared oppose the system in all but the most serious crimes. In the post slavery period, it became necessary to devise a program that would allay the commitment of petty crime, yet

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would not overly tax the state penal system. There was a need also to remove from the scene those "uppity niggers" who questioned the southern way of life. What developed was a means whereby the southern states began leasing their convicted prisoners to private individuals and corporations. The states that instituted this practice made no effort to see to the welfare of the convicts. There were no rules limiting the work hours or the kinds of conditions in which the convicts could work. If a prisoner died, the contractor was seldom held responsible. Convicts were forced to work in chain gangs in the waterfilled mines of Alabama and in the turpentine camps of Florida and North Carolina. Their prisons were huge rolling wagons or hastily built stockades that had no windows. The convicts were excessively and unnecessarily punished; they were poorly clothed and fed; the sick were neglected, as there were no hospitals available. The result of such treatment was the high death rate among convicts, as high as 24 percent.

Physical violence was the most drastic method used by Whites to maintain control over the Black minority. On many occasions such killings were "legalized" when a Black was convicted by an all-white jury and sentenced to die in the state penitentiary. Extra legal killing or lynching was a common practice in the South. During the time period 1882 to 1901, when Tuskegee Institute began keeping record of such occurrences, an average of 150 lynchings took place each year.

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66 Ibid., P. 213.
The greater the threat a Black was to the system, the greater the chances were that he would be killed. Ginzberg estimates that between 1877 and 1890 an entire generation of Black leaders was deliberately decimated. 68

The Supreme Court--Justice For All?

The attitude of the North toward the Blacks slowly began to change. Many historians tend to agree that it was this change of attitude that resulted in the relegation of the Black to a second class status.

The South, in an effort to regain its "property" and rebuild its peculiar institution, attempted to convince the North that the Black problem could best be solved by them. In the beginning the North was aghast at the mere mention of such a notion. The southerners were still viewed as rebels who almost destroyed the Union and, consequently, were in no position to make suggestions about anything. As time went by, and the North appeared to be floundering in their efforts to elevate the former slaves, they began to listen to the southern leaders. As the war faded into the past, the people of the North began to realize that they had more in common with the southern Whites than with the Blacks. After all, there would not have been a war if it had not been for the presence of the Blacks.

Nowhere is the change in attitude of northern Whites toward the Blacks more glaring than in the decisions of the Supreme Court. The Court manifested the growing racist feelings for Blacks, beginning in

1873. It cannot be said that the change was due primarily to southern influence because the first man on the court from the South was William Woods, who was appointed in 1880. Lucius Lamar, of Mississippi, was appointed in 1888, and with the exception of Harlan of Kentucky, they were the only southerners serving when the famous Plessy vs Ferguson decision was handed down. This Supreme Court began to strip away the protection afforded the Blacks by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, along with subsequent civil rights laws.

The Court began to manifest its changed attitude in the Slaughterhouse Cases of 1878. These decisions aimed at the regulation of economic activity by the states, severely restricted the effectiveness of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court held that the amendment was never intended "to transfer the security and protection of all...civil rights...from the states to the federal government," nor, the Court continued, was it intended "to bring within the power of Congress the entire domain of civil rights hitherto belonging exclusively to the states."

In 1876, the Court made two decisions which specifically limited the federal government's ability to protect the rights of Blacks. The case of U.S. vs Cruickshank, dealt with the attempt to prevent Blacks voting in Louisiana. The charges were conspiring to violate the Blacks right to peaceful assembly, petitions for redress of grievances, and to vote and bear arms. The Court ruled that all of the rights except the


70 Ibid., P. 465.

right to vote had existed before the constitution was adopted and were therefore not encompassed by the 1870 Civil Rights Act.72

In this same case, the defendants were charged with conspiring to murder and imprison Blacks who attempted to vote. The Court decreed that this was not in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment's due process clause. That clause, it was pointed out, only protected citizens against violation of their rights by the states, and not by private citizens. In that situation only the state could react to such acts of deprivation. Thus, the highest court in the land left the enforcement of Blacks' right to vote in the hands of those who had been the Blacks' masters in the anti-bellum era.

The Supreme Court in the 1880's delivered devastating blows to Blacks' civil rights just as it did to political rights in the 1870's. Under the Civil Rights Act of 1875, it was a misdemeanor, punishable by fine, to discriminate against any citizen of the United States using public facilities. The Court refused to uphold the constitutionality of the act under either the Thirteenth or the Fourteenth Amendments. In relating this question to the Thirteenth Amendment, the Court concluded, "mere discrimination on account of race or color were not regarded as badges of slavery."73

The most devastating decision handed down by the Court was in the case of Plessy vs Ferguson in 1896. The question to be answered was

72 Ibid., P. 604.
73 Ibid., P. 87.
whether or not a state had the right to use its police powers to enforce racial discrimination. The Court developed the constitutional question thusly: "Was the state requirement enforcing segregation on public carriers a reasonable extension of its police powers?" The Court's opinion was "yes." The Court went on to say:

There must necessarily be a large discretion on the part of the legislature..., It is at liberty to act with reference to the established usages, customs, and traditions of the people. The object of the Fourteenth Amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based on color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms satisfactory to either. We cannot say that..., the separation of two races in public conveyances is..., more obnoxious to the Fourteenth Amendment than the acts of Congress requiring separate schools for colored children in the District of Columbia, the constitutionality of which does not seem to be questioned. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane.74

The southern White did not succeed without help from his northern counterpart. The northern White found it easy to pay the price of political and economic stability. That price was to reject the concept of an equalitarian society, and even the desertion of the Blacks' fundamental constitutional rights. The Black American's desire and fight for a just society appeared doomed to failure. One hundred years after the Emancipation, Martin Luther King could best express the extent of Black participation in American society by saying, "I have a dream..."

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The Disadvantaged Black in The Urban Center

The problems of the disadvantaged American began to receive attention just prior to World War II. As a result of the Great Depression,

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there had been little social and economic difference between the vast majority of citizens; the primary concern was to raise the economic level of that majority. As this goal was accomplished, differences other than economics, began to appear. In reviewing those emerging conditions, Goldberg writes:

Thereafter, just prior to World War II, and at a geometrically increasing rate, the mobility of the city dweller was not to the outskirts of the city, but rather to the surburbs which lay beyond the limits of the city school district. As the new migration wave of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, "Hillbillies," etc., took up the slum and gray areas of the major cities, the middle class groups began to move beyond the city limits into the newly developed surburban communities which had their own school authorities as well as local governments.75

As the more affluent moved to the surburbs, the advent of the Second World War, precipitating an unparalled need for labor, motivated many people to move from rural to the large metropolitan areas. Seeking a better way of life, the rural poor, particularly the Blacks, and Whites, moved North and West. This migration with the addition of the Puerto Ricans continues today. Basic cultural patterns, economic privation, discrimination and social pressures conspired to relegate these groups to the central section of the city. Caudill examines this situation:

The great mass of persistent poverty is found in the huge rural and urban slums and tenaciously survives rehabilitation efforts---some of which have been in effect for three decades. The backwoods remnant and the Negro pour from the countryside into the already teeming city slums. There they mingle with equally poor Puerto Ricans fleeing the commonwealth. There they mingle with the new paupers--old men and women whose salable skills have

been rendered suddenly obsolete by technological progress. This destitute humanity amalgamates into a grim new subculture of want, a subculture supported, increasingly, by a dismal welfare program designed to perpetuate a barren existence without work, wages, purposefulness, or hope of rehabilitation.76

As Caudill paints a vivid picture of the poverty scene, others suggest some approaches toward solution. Among them, Miller writes:

Three basic policies are possible: (1) direct economic change, such as providing better employment, or directly raising incomes through the provision of a national minimum level of income; (2) direct services, such as casework activities to strengthen the ego functioning of the individual or family assistance through homemaking help; (3) indirect change by affecting the climate—social, psychological, or political—of the neighborhoods in which the poor live.

What would lead one type of low income population in a given direction would not work at all for another type. A panacea does not work because there is no one thing which will have a pervasive impact in all cases if changed. What is dynamic for one type may be insignificant for others.77

The problems faced by the American Black is much more acute than for other "out" groups, as exemplified by Wright's statement:

Today, the newest migrant groups to cities, especially to northern cities, are more identifiable by color than by the multiple characteristics of other groups. They have inherited a history of degradation and torture in a country they did not choose but to which they were brought and sold into slavery. They were denuded of names, all personal rights, and even family membership. It was once illegal to teach them to read; theirs have been the most menial job opportunities, the most inadequate housing and schooling, and the denial of a culture and ethnic heritage of which they could be proud. The affluent society and the land of 'golden opportunity' have not been for them. Old prejudices and hatreds have driven


them from the states of their births to new areas with the hope that life can yet be fulfilled for them. Unfortunately, they have inherited the ghettos in the decadent hearts of cities that have been vacated by preceding generations of newcomers.\footnote{Wright, Betty Atwell, \textit{Education For Diversity}, New York: The John Day Company, 1965, P. 19.}

In an effort to illustrate the frustration, hopelessness and anger manifested by Black Americans, Clark presents interviews conducted in Harlem:

You know the average young person out here don't have a job, man; they don't have anything to do. They don't have any alternative, you know, but to go out there and try to make a living for themselves. Like when you go down to the Tombs down there, they are down there for robbing and breaking in. They want to know why you did it and where you live, but you have to live. You go down to the employment agency and you can't get a job. They have you waiting all day, but you can't get a job. They don't have a job for you. Yet you have to live. I'm ready to do anything anyone else is ready to do--because I want to live--I want to live. No one wants to die. I want to live.\footnote{Clark, Kenneth, \textit{Dark Ghetto}, New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1965, P. 1.}

The speaker was a thirty year old male drug addict, who resorted to drugs in an effort to escape his plight. The frustration of the Black man comes through vividly in this statement:

A lot of times, when I'm working, I become as despondent as hell and I feel like crying. I'm not a man, none of us are men! I don't own any thing. I'm not man enough to own a store; none of us are.\footnote{ibid., P. 1.}

The exigencies of living in the ghetto are further typified by this statement, made by a Black male:

The way the Man has us, he has us wanting to kill one another. Dog eat dog, amongst us! He has us, like we're so hungry up here, he has us up so tight. Like his rent is due, my rent...
is due. It's Friday. The Man wants sixty-five dollars. If you are three days over, or don't have the money; like that, he wants to give you a dispossess! Take you to court! The courts won't go along with you, they say get the money or get out! Yet, they don't tell you how to get the money and pay the Man, but they don't say how to get it. Now, if you use illegal means to obey his ruling to get it—which he's not going to let you do—if you use illegal means to pay your bills according to his ruling—he will put you in jail.61

The Black Self Concept—Imposed Self Hatred

The source of one's image of himself is not an instinctual manifestation, but is learned response to his environment. A child who receives love and affection from infancy onward will develop into a loving and trusting individual. As the child extends his relationships beyond the family, he receives further clues as to his worth. As he encounters teachers, policemen, and others, he develops a keen sense of what these people think of him. He learns more about himself from the children on the block and in school and through such interactions he continues developing a picture of himself to himself.

One of the clearest differences between the Blacks and the Whites is that American society, in a multiplicity of ways, tells them that they are different. This difference is emphasized from the standpoint that the Black is inferior and the White is superior. This concept has been stressed by the dominant culture ever since the Blacks were first brought to this country. Reacting to this situation, Allport asks

...what would happen to your own personality if you heard it said over and over that you were lazy, a simple child of nature, expected to steal, and had inferior blood. Suppose this opinion

61 Ibid., P. 2.
were forced upon you by the majority of your fellow citizens. And suppose nothing you could do would change this opinion—because you happen to have black skin?82

The Black personality cannot be unblemished by the experience of discrimination based solely on skin color. One of the first concepts a Black child learns from the family is the value of skin color. The more white a Black child is, the more he is accepted by his family, the community, and the greater the opportunity for him to make full use of his abilities. To be most loved, a child had to appear less Negro. This manifestation of worth in the Black community has changed to a certain extent, due to the building of a new image for Black people. One can see more and more examples of the "Black is beautiful" syndrome permeating the Black community. At the same time, there still exists many examples of Black self-hatred, notably in the widely circulated Black magazines, which still carry advertisements for bleaching creams and hair straighteners.

The Black American, today, finds himself in a confusing state of flux in his community. On the one hand he is told that white is right and for years he has been endeavoring to become white to the extent of denying himself; yet on the other hand, he is being told that black is beautiful and to be white is no good. As a matter of fact, he is able to publicly express his feelings toward Whites; they are not to be trusted, they are, in fact, hated as much as they are feared. This, then, is part of the Black man's dilemma.

Hatred of this type breeds aggression. Aggression seeks and must find an outlet. A major focus of Black hatred is against the dominant group; yet, this group is protected by its tremendous retaliatory powers. Recognizing that he is incapable of striking out at the source of his misery, the Black began to manifest certain psychological alternatives; self-hatred, to act out his aggressions against his own group, or escape into apathy or fantasy.

Combs and Snygg refer to this condition as the production of multiple personalities and as they see it, this condition is one response to loss of self-esteem. This development of multiple personalities in response to social devaluation of Blacks is pointed out by Redding, who writes:

From adolescence to death there is something very personal about being Negro in America. It is like having a second ego which is as much the conscious subject of all experiences as the natural self. It is not what the psychologist call duel personality. It is more complex and, I think, more morbid than that. In the state of which I speak, one receives two distinct reactions—the one normal and intrinsic to the natural self; the other, entirely different but of equal force, a prodigy created by the accumulated consciousness of Negroness.

In attempting to convey his feelings on self concept, James Baldwin writes:

In order for me to live, I decided very early that some mistake had been made somewhere. I was not a "nigger" even though you called me one...I had to realize that when I was very young that I was none of those things I was told I was. I was not, for example, happy. I never touched a watermelon, for all kinds


of reasons. I had been invented by White people, and I knew enough about life by this time to understand that whatever you invent, whatever you project, that is you! So where we are now is that a whole country of people believe I’m a "nigger" and I don’t.\footnote{Baldwin, James, "A Talk To Teachers," \textit{Saturday Review}, Vol. 46, December 21, 1963, Pp. 42-43.}

Granted that the types of stresses and pressure faced by the average American family are burdensome and exacting, the stresses that the Black family has to confront are more severe than those faced by the White family; even when using socio-economic status as a constant. Poor families have never lived in comfort, and the daily struggle to provide the basics of life has an exacting psychological effect on every member.

The Black family is much more likely to fall at the lower levels of income available for the use of the family. There is a general saying that the "White man's floor is the Black man's ceiling." The types of jobs available to the Black man all too often are the dirtiest, least paying and least stable. Black men have difficulty obtaining employment that is year round and that leads to promotion to better positions. Most Black men remain in the "last hired, first fired" category of employment.

As a consequence of present day practices, most Black children are born into a family which has been economically deprived from its inception. Most of them live at the brink of fiscal disaster, and those who have moved some distance away have a never ending fear that an impending catastrophe will return them to the abyss of poverty.

The Black child is more likely than the White child to come
The self that the Negro child learns early in life is one exposed to the most difficult of all situations for the human being to cope with: an inadequate family living on the edge of economic insufficiency. The impact of family disruption is accentuated by the incapacity of those involved in the rearing of the children to do an adequate job of it because they have few experiences with family stability to use as a guide.

Grambs aptly describes the plight of the Black family, particularly the uncertainty of the Black father:

The woman typically is aggressive and hostile; the man is hostile and dependent. Because his economic situation is so insecure, the husband-father cannot be sure that he will provide the economic base for a family, and in a majority of cases, he is right. He cannot assure his wife of support or his children of food and shelter. Who can feel pride of self in such circumstances, and who can pass on feelings of adequacy to anyone else.

In many instances the most "beneficial" contribution the father can make to the home is to leave, so that the family may qualify for "Aid to Dependent Children."

A large percentage of Black mothers must work in an effort to hold the family together. With mother working and the father absent, many ghetto children spend the larger portions of their time on the street, where they are exposed to all types of negative stimulation. The image


for success is not the responsible and hard working father but rather that of the "hustler" who takes care of himself by taking advantage of others. The dope peddlers, numbers runners, and pimps are the "successful" men because their earnings far outstrip those men who try to climb the economic ladder in ways defined by the dominant society as being "honest."

The attitudes of many young Blacks in the ghetto can be exemplified in the words of a Harlem gang leader when asked why he did not "go downtown and get a job." He replies:

Oh, come on. Get off that crap. I make $40 to $50 a day selling marijuana. You want me to go down to the garment district and push one of those trucks through the streets and at the end of the week take home $40 or $50 if I'm lucky? They don't have animals doing what they want me to do. There would be some society to protect animals if anyone had them pushing them damn trucks around. I'm better than an animal, but nobody protects me. Go away, mister. I got to look out for myself.88

Clark goes on to say:

Such rebels are scornful of what they consider the hypocrisy and the dishonesty of the larger society. They point to corruption and criminal behavior of respected middle class Whites. Almost every delinquent or marginal adolescent in a Negro urban ghetto claims to know where and how the corrupt policeman accepts graft from the numbers runners and the pimps and the prostitutes. The close association, collaboration, and at times identity, of criminals and the police is the pattern of day-to-day life in the ghetto as these young people come to know and accept it. Not only do they not respect the police, but they see the police as part of their total predicament.89

89 Ibid., P. 14.
Insecurity In The Ghetto

Life in the ghetto can be so exacting that those living outside have little or no realization as to how difficult conditions are, particularly, middle and upper class Americans. For example, there is a hue and cry from middle America about the alarming increase in crime in the ghetto. The perceptions so many middle Americans have of the ghetto is that Blacks are not really disturbed by the crime that surrounds them. Such is not the case. Nothing is more fundamental to the overwhelming majority of Blacks than a need for a feeling of security; yet nothing upsets this concern more than the increasing crime rate.

Because most Americans of middle class status live in areas that are mostly crime free, they have little comprehension of the sense of insecurity that characterizes the ghetto resident. Moreover, according to the U.S. Riot Commission Report, "Official statistics normally greatly understate actual crime rates because the vast majority of crimes are not reported to the police."90 This statement is further supported by the President's Crime Commission which reported that six times as many crimes were actually committed against persons and homes as were reported to the police.91

A very important factor to be remembered is that most crimes in the ghetto are committed by a small minority of the resident population; also, that the overwhelming majority of the crimes perpetrated by Blacks

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91 Ibid., P. 268.
involve Black victims. As a result, the majority of Black residents in the ghetto face a higher probability of being victimized than residents of a higher income area.

Health Problems Of The Ghetto

Residents of the ghetto are significantly less healthy than most other Americans. In an effort to point out the fact that ghetto residents suffer from higher mortality rates, higher incidence of major diseases, and lower availability and utilization of medical services, St. Clair Drake calls this condition, "In Sickness and in Death." Blacks do not live as long as Whites in this country. Pettigrew writes:

At the turn of this century, the average non-white American at birth had a life expectancy between 32 and 35 years, 16 years less than that of the average White American. By 1960, this life expectancy had risen from 61 to 66 years....But while the percentage gain in life expectancy for Negroes over these sixty odd years has been twice that of Whites, there is still a discrepancy of six to eight years......

Blacks are still in the process of attempting to "catch up" with their White counterparts.

The differences in longevity also reflect a difference in the morbidity rate. The rate for tuberculosis among Blacks is three times greater than for Whites, and the rates for influenza and pneumonia are also higher. Twice as many Black children per thousand as White children suffer from measles, meningitis, diphtheria, and scarlet fever.

The death rate for mothers at child birth in 1966 was four times


93 Ibid., P. 107.
greater for non-Whites than for Whites. The death rate of non-White babies during the first year after birth was almost double the rate for White babies. Prenatal hazards were, as in previous years, greater for non-Whites than for Whites. Up to the age of five the non-White death rate was twice that for Whites, and for older age groups varied from two to four times the White rate.\textsuperscript{94}

Data indicate that Blacks spend less on medical care than Whites. This phenomena occurs for several reasons. Black households are generally larger, requiring larger non-medical expenses for each household and leaving less money for meeting medical expenses. Blacks also spend a greater percentage of their income for basic necessities, such as food and consumer durables than their White counterparts. In addition, fewer doctors, dentists, and medical facilities are conveniently available to Blacks, especially to poor families, than to most Whites. A survey in Cleveland indicated that there were 0.45 physicians per 1,000 people in poor neighborhoods, compared with 1.13 per 1,000 in non-poverty areas.\textsuperscript{95} The result is fewer visits to the doctor and dentist.

Housing in the Ghetto

In 1934, Congress passed the National Housing Act, signalling a commitment to provide adequate housing for all citizens. This commitment was reaffirmed with the passage of the Housing Act of 1949. Today, thirty-one years later, there is a chronic shortage of decent housing


\textsuperscript{95} ibid., P. 23.
for the disadvantaged urban household. Over fifty-six percent of the nation's non-White families live in central cities today and nearly two-thirds of them live in neighborhoods marked by substandard housing.\textsuperscript{96} The Department of Housing and Urban Development classifies as being substandard those dwellings that are (1) sound but lacking full plumbing, (2) deteriorating and lacking full plumbing, and (3) dilapidated.

During the decade of the 1950's, a significant number of people, particularly Blacks, migrated to the urban centers, but only four million of the 16.4 million new housing units constructed throughout the nation were built in the central cities. These additions were counter balanced by the destruction of 1.5 million units through "urban renewal," and other means.\textsuperscript{97}

Blacks in large cities are often forced to pay the same rents as Whites and receive less for their money, or pay higher rents for the same accommodations. In one recent year in Detroit, for example, Whites paid a median rent of $77 as compared to $76 for non-Whites. Yet 27 percent of the units occupied by non-Whites were deteriorating or dilapidated as compared to only 10.3 percent of all units in which Whites resided. Paying more for comparable housing is illustrated by data from a study of housing conditions in disadvantaged neighborhoods in Newark, New Jersey. Blacks paid rents that were from 8.1 percent to 16.8 percent higher than that paid by Whites.\textsuperscript{98}

The combination of marginal incomes and high rents forces many


\textsuperscript{97}Ibid., P. 469.

\textsuperscript{98}Ibid., P. 470.
Blacks to pay an excessively high proportion of their income for housing. The high proportion of income that must go for rent leaves less money in such households for other expenses.

Racial discrimination in the housing market condemns vast numbers of Blacks to life in the ghetto. Pettigrew writes:

Discrimination prevents access to many nonslum areas, particularly the suburbs, and has a detrimental effect on ghetto housing itself. By restricting the area open to a growing population, housing discrimination makes it profitable for landlords to break up ghetto apartments for denser occupancy, hastening housing deterioration. By creating a "back pressure" in the racial ghettos, discrimination keeps prices and rents of older more deteriorated housing in the ghetto higher than they would be in a truly free and open market.99

Education In The Ghetto

The purpose of education is, in part, to provide young people with those skills and abilities that will enable them to participate fruitfully in society. For America as a whole, the educational institution was adequately discharged its responsibilities. However, for many minorities, particularly for the children of the ghetto, the schools have failed to provide the educational experiences which would aid in overcoming the effects of discrimination and deprivation.

This failure has become one of the persistent sources of grievance and resentment in the Black community. The hostility of Black parents and their children toward the school systems is generating an intensification of conflict and causing disruption in many school systems. From one end of the nation to the other there is a growing demand from Blacks

that the school systems provide Black children with relevant programs.

A very close relationship was discovered to exist between the educational institutions and the riots that racked the nation between 1964 and 1968. A survey of the riot cities showed that the typical rioter was a high school dropout. Paul Briggs, Superintendent of Schools for Cleveland, Ohio said as he testified before the Riot Commission:

Many of those whose recent acts threaten the domestic safety and tear at the roots of the American democracy are the products of yesterday's inadequate and neglected inner-city schools. The greatest unused and underdeveloped human resources in America are to be found in the deteriorating cores of America's urban centers.100

There is much evidence available to indicate that the educational institutions in the ghettos are not meeting the needs of the children who reside there. In those skills, verbal and reading ability needed by children if they are to succeed academically in school, Black students fall further behind White children each school year. For example, in the northeast quadrant of this country, Black students, who begin the first grade with somewhat lower scores on standard achievement tests than Whites, are about 1.6 grades behind by the sixth grade, and are 3.3 grades behind by the twelfth grade.101

The result is that a greater percentage of Black students than Whites will drop out of school. The high rate of unemployment and the low paying jobs that pervade the Black community, discrimination and


prejudice aside, result in large measure because of the low quality of education received.

Intelligence and achievement tests have been designed to ascertain the success of children in successfully coping with in-school academic experiences. These tests have been standardized on middle class children who are more successful in those tasks assigned by middle class educators. As a result, poor children are unfairly categorized in terms of potential by culturally biased tests. The use of these instruments is being seriously questioned. Lloyd Dunn, former Director of the Institute on Mental Retardation and Intellectual Development has written:

If I were a Negro from the slums or a disadvantaged parent who had heard of the Judge Wright decision and knew what I know about special classes for the educable mentally retarded, other things being equal, I would then go to court before allowing the schools to label my child as mentally retarded and place him in a self contained special school or class.102

Dunn wrote these words as he said farewell to special education, whose classes for the retarded he had supported for almost twenty years. Having watched the number of such classes proliferate across the country, having noticed that they have become disproportionately filled with children from low-status backgrounds (including Blacks, American Indians, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Appalachian Whites), and having noticed that, despite the best intentions of educators, these children have suffered more than benefited from such placement, Dunn has come to

102 Dunn, Lloyd M., "Special Education for the Mentally Retarded... Is Much of it Justifiable?," Exceptional Children, September, 1968, P. 22.
the conclusion that much of special education's past and present practices are educationally and morally wrong.

They are educationally wrong because research is suggesting that pupils considered educable mentally retarded make as much or more progress in the regular grades than they do in special education classes and further, that teacher expectancy is a dominant factor in how well and how much a child learns. They are morally wrong because the diagnostic and placement procedures operate to the disadvantage of Black children, in particular, and poor children, in general. Dunn goes on to state:

Regular teachers and administrators have sincerely felt that they are doing these pupils a favor by removing them from the pressures of an unrealistic and inappropriate program of studies. Special educators have also fully believed that the children involved would make greater progress in special schools and classes. However, the overwhelming evidence is that our past and present practices have their major justification in removing pressures on regular teachers and pupils, at the expense of the socio-culturally deprived slow learning pupils themselves.

In an effort to counteract these practices, Judge J. Skelly Wright ordered in the U.S. Court of Appeals that the tracking system (homogeneous grouping according to ability) in the schools of the District of Columbia be abolished because it discriminated against the racially and/or economically disadvantaged and, therefore, was in


violation of the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.106 Significant in his decision was the ruling that the tests used to stratify the children in the relatively informal system were inappropriate since they had not been standardized on the population being measured.

Segregation

The majority of schools in the inner city are rigidly segregated. In 75 major central cities surveyed by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 75 percent of all Black students in grades 1-8 attended schools with enrollments that were 90 percent Black. Almost 90 percent of Black students attended schools that had a majority of Black students. In the same cities, 83 percent of all White students in those grades attended schools with 90 to 100 percent White enrollment.107

Racial segregation in urban schools is on the increase. In a sample of 15 large northern cities, the Civil Rights Commission found that the degree of segregation rose sharply between 1950 and 1965. As the Black enrollments in these cities grew, 97 percent of the total increase was absorbed by schools already over 50 percent Black; and 84 percent by schools more than 90 percent Black. By 1975, it is estimated that, if the trend continues, 80 percent of all Black pupils in the twenty largest cities, comprising nearly one half of the nation's


Black population, will be attending 90 to 100 percent Black schools. Segregated schools, attended by predominantly Black students, tend quite uniformly to have poorer facilities, less qualified staff, and more inferior programs of instruction than those attended by White students. Even when differences in facilities are eliminated, such segregation has a tendency to impede teaching and learning. Attendance at an all-Black school tends to perpetuate the damage already experienced by children maturing in a milieu drenched with discriminatory stimuli. Attendance at a racially segregated public school is harmful whether the segregation is Black or White. The isolation experienced by students in an all-White school stimulates ignorance, fear, and prejudice, just as it tends to confirm the self-belief in inferiority among Black students.

Clark, commenting further about conditions in America, sums up the situation as follows:

White America is basically a middle-class society; the middle class sets the mores and the manners to which the upper crust must, when it wishes influence, seek to conform, at least in appearances, and which the lower class struggles to attain or defensively rejects. But dark America, of the rural and of the urban Negro, has been automatically assigned to a lower-class society; the lower class sets the mores and manners to which, if the Negro upper-class wishes influence, it must appeal; and from which the Negro middle class struggles to escape. As long as this chasm between white and dark America is allowed to exist, racial tensions and conflict, hatred and fear will spread. The poor are always alienated from normal society, and when the poor are Negro, as they increasingly are in American cities, a double trauma exists—rejection on the basis of class and race is a danger to

108 Ibid., P. 21.
the stability of society as a whole. Even though Negroes are a minority in America—approximately one-tenth of the population—a minority that is sick with despair can poison the wellsprings from which the majority, too, must drink.109

It is the opinion of the author that James Baldwin was speaking eloquently and sincerely to all educators charged with the responsibility of providing meaningful in-school experiences for Black children when he wrote, "The American Negro is a unique creature; he has no counterpart anywhere and no predecessors."110 Enough has been said.

**PreSchool Education**

From the myriad of educational problems facing state governments in the 1970's, none will loom so large as making our school systems effective; getting a dollar's worth for each tax dollar spent. It is incumbent upon us now, as the debate opens, to reexamine our educational priorities and to summon up the courage to reorient and revamp our school systems to meet the increasingly complex demands being placed upon them.

No one area needs greater emphasis than early childhood education. Although most public officials and educators acknowledge the importance of the pre-primary years, there is no consensus as to what kind of or how much training should be offered to or required of preschool and kindergarten children.... It is encouraging that governors, legislators and educational leaders in several areas across the country are determined to make early childhood education a significant part of a well rounded and effective state school system.111

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Preschool education has been rediscovered and this discovery has been due, in great measure, to the interest manifested through federal support. This new interest can be further documented by a resolution proposed by the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators:

The NEA affirms...that the general system of universal education should be expanded. To these ends the Association recommends that opportunity for compensatory education begin at the age of four for those who, through economic or social deprivation, may be seriously impeded in their progress through public schools and consequently in their participation in a democratic society....Early childhood education is advisable for all children, not merely because of the need to offset any disadvantage in their background, but also because they are ready by the age of four for a planned fostering of their development and because educators know some of the ways to foster it through school programs. Early education has long been available to the well-to-do, and it is commendable that governments are now acting on the need to make it available to some of the poor. But the large middle group should have the same opportunities....112

Spaulding supports the idea of providing organized educational experiences for the young child because:

Education for all four and five year olds will take us a step toward the educational goal of promoting each child's development to the fullest potential. When parents and teachers work together as a team, early childhood education can add breadth of understanding to children and parents alike. The child gains, the family gains, and society gains.113


Not all educators are in favor of extending the influence of the schools lower than the present kindergarten and first grade levels. Mabel Mitchell is opposed to the concept of providing preschool education for all children, although she recognizes the value of such a program for the disadvantaged. She goes on to say:

Before we determine a course of action for all children of this age, let us consider what it is that we are working for. Is not our main goal to help boys and girls grow into responsible, law-abiding, productive citizens? If so, how do we go about it? In my opinion, we cannot go about it by any proposal that would lessen the importance of the family, for the child who has a stable, loving home is likely to be the child receptive to education, susceptible to good ideas, acceptable to his fellowmen, and able to withstand the slings and arrows of misfortune.  

Not to be stymied by those from many disciplines who say that the home has failed in its responsibility, Mitchell retorts:

I submit that the home, too, is a product of our schools. Rather than to encourage the further disintegration of family life, the educational program of the school should be directing young people toward some belief, traditions, and practices in the proper establishment of home life and in the proper rearing of children.

Mitchell and others like her, who espouse the philosophy that the primary years are the sacred domain of the family, are engaged in a losing cause as preschool education has now caught the fancy of psychologists, politicians, sociologists and educators and they have significant research with which to back their increased interest.

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The concept of providing organized learning experiences for preschool age children is not new, nor is it revolutionary. For decades, such educators as Pestalozzi, Froebel, Baselow and Montessori intuitively sensed the importance of children's experiences prior to age six. James Hymes, Rose Alschuler, and Laura Zirbes are representative of many individuals who beginning in the 1920's made significant contributions to the field of preschool education. Many societies, in which parents are forced to be away from home, have devised some form of early childhood care. In the Scandinavian countries, for example, it has long been routine to provide day care centers for children of parents who find it necessary to work. This same type of care is also provided for infants.

Despite the enthusiastic support of many individuals and a substantial backlog of literature prior to 1960, no priority and, frequently, little heed was given by public schools to the development of programs for children in the age group of two to five years. Even today, a total of seventeen states in the United States, supposedly the most advanced nation in the world in education, do not provide state aid for public school kindergarten.116 This state of affairs is slowly changing as legislators begin to recognize the importance of learning in the pre-primary years. This desire for preschool education has received impetus from varied sources.

Childrearing practices in the United States are changing faster than possibly is desirable. The shift from a rural to urban and

suburban ways of life has led to significant changes in the types of experiences young people receive by removing them from contact with a life style that enabled them to understand the world in which they lived. Life on the farm provided the child with the opportunity to see how things were grown and created, and he played a rather significant role in this interchange.

Life in the city has a tendency to separate children from the fundamentals of growing things and from the world of work. Boys, more so than girls, have been left out of the process of knowing what their roles will be in the working world when they reach adulthood. That which dad does is foreign to the perpetuation of the family life cycle; thus, dad does not provide the close and stable model needed by boys in role development.

The basic family pattern has changed significantly. The family has dwindled from an extended pattern, which generally included grandparents, aunts, and possibly other relatives, to the primary group of parents and their children. Grandparents, today, are residing in their own homes or have been relegated to a submarginal life in the many convalescent centers that are becoming a part of the urban scene. This change has resulted in a drastic change in child rearing practices. Multiple mothering, that process of having more than one adult woman in the home to assist with the rearing of the children, has given way to only the natural mother, who must assume the full responsibility for the welfare of the children every day. All too frequently, the mother receives little assistance from the father because of long work hours and the distance traveled to work.
A significant aspect of family life has been the decreasing family size in this country. The result is that many children have few siblings with whom they can interact in the home setting. Moreover, the homogeneous state of city and suburban living has created the need for many children to have contact with those who live outside their ethnic and socio-economic setting. In a study conducted in the eastern United States, Alice Miel discovered that children of differing backgrounds had a distorted perception of the way in which other people live. Of real significance was the discovery that young children of middle and upper class suburbia displayed very little tolerance and understanding of the plight of their less fortunate counterparts.117

Reports issued by the U.S. Department of Labor indicate that there will be a twenty-five percent increase in the number of women working in the 1970's than are working today.118 These statistics are significant in that they have further implications for the mode of childrearing in this country. More and more, the need for outside assistance in the caring for and training of children under six years of age is apparent. The lack of adequate day care facilities for the children of working mothers is being viewed as a serious problem. Gwen Morgan, Day Care Coordinator for the state of Massachusetts, writes:

Massachusetts has had a commitment to day care for a long time. Our Massachusetts Committee on Children and Youth has had a day care committee since 1962.


Yet, in spite of all our interest and our rich professional resources, our systems for delivering services to children have made little progress. There are more than 500,000 working women in Massachusetts, but only 33,000 places in licensed day care of any kind, most of it half-day programs.119

What generally happens is that those parents who can afford it will hire a baby sitter to care for the child while the mother works. In this situation the child's activities are generally unsupervised and any training is done by the television set as the person in charge generally is not capable of obtaining more gainful employment elsewhere. In the less affluent homes, older children will be forced to miss school occasionally to remain at home to care for younger siblings while the parents work.

Such changes in the family life styles leave no doubt that there is an ever increasing need for early childhood education programs. Preschool education, with unlimited possibilities, could easily serve as an additional aid in assisting the parents in providing experiences that bring children into meaningful contact with the larger world of people and things. In addition, it facilitates continued growth and development of a more positive nature.

Another source of support for the continued introduction of preschool education into our contemporary society is derived from the research and new understandings about early childhood development and needs.

Some years ago, Benjamin Bloom, of the University of Chicago,

rattled the cage of the educational world with *Stability And Change In Human Characteristics*, a thin book filled with statistics based on a thousand different studies of growth. In each of these studies certain children were followed up and measured at various points in their development. Although conducted by different researchers over the last half century, these studies showed such close agreement that Bloom recognized specific laws of development emerging. For each human characteristic, Bloom found there is a growth curve. Half of a child's future height, for example, is reached by the age of 2 1/2. By age 4, his I.Q. is so stable that it is a fairly accurate indicator of his I.Q. at age 17. To a large extent, therefore, the die may be cast before a child ever begins his formal education.\textsuperscript{120}

Bloom emphasized that the child's environment has a maximum impact on a developing characteristic during that characteristic's period of most rapid growth. Poor nutrition would not affect the height of an eighteen year old, but could severely affect the growth of a one year old; furthermore, the lack of growth during this early period could not be fully made up. It has been generally accepted that human intelligence grows most rapidly before the age of four, making this the time when the environment can influence it most easily. Bloom concluded that fifty percent of the variation in intelligence at age 17 is present in the child at age 4 and eighty percent by age 8. Thus, it can be seen that the need for positive and significant inputs into the child's experiences is vital;
for as time goes on, more and more powerful forces are required to produce a given amount of change in a child's intelligence, if it can be produced at all, and the emotional cost it exacts is increasingly severe.

Jean Piaget, the noted Swiss psychologist, has approached the study of the intellectual growth process in bold strokes backed by minute detail. His original theories are based on systematic observations of his own three children. Piaget analyzed intellectual development through the use of two components, stage independence and stage dependence.

Piaget sees intelligence as a series of experiences building on each other, forming ever more complex structures. He views experience as only one of four factors influencing intellectual growth. The other three are maturation, social transmission and equilibration. He refers to this part of his theory as stage independence.121

Maturation is the process of neural and physical growth. Social transmission is the passing on of information from person to person. None of these factors, while important to growth, is a complete explanation of the process of logical thought. Some growth occurs as a logical necessity, independent of the role of experience. Maturation cannot take place apart from experience. Social transmission may result in false concepts, or deformed knowledge. Equilibration is the most fundamental of all the factors. It is the process of achieving equilibrium, of finding a balance between those things that were previously

understood and those that are yet to be understood. A child, encountering something new to him, actively works at relating it to something he knows. As the new object in its turn becomes familiar to him, he reaches a new level of equilibrium. He has, thus, gone through the stage of self-regulation.

The stage dependence portion of Piagetian theory is concerned with intellectual growth from birth through adolescence. Piaget defines three major stages or periods of growth. The sensori-motor period begins at birth and lasts until the average child is 18 months or two years of age. This period of development, though occurring before the child acquires language, is one of the most important periods in the whole sequence of development. The human being changes from an organism capable only of reflex actions to an individual capable of internalized thought.

The second stage of development is that of concrete operations. This phase generally holds forth between ages two and eleven. The use of language becomes the most important part of his development. It is during this time that the child begins to understand that all meaning consists of a relationship between some aspect of reality and the symbol for that aspect.

Formal operations, beginning at the age of eleven or twelve, accomplish the final development of the operational groupings. Hinrichs describes the characteristics of an individual who has entered the period of formal operations:

He is capable to examine consequences of various combinations of factors in a systematic and orderly fashion. His thinking is then no longer bound to the immediate task; rather, he is able to think of
possible variables and even deduce potential relationships, state them verbally and then test them in actual experience.\textsuperscript{122}

Arnold Gesell, child development specialist, describes the stages of development as if they were dependent upon a built-in clock-type mechanism that would cause them to unfold automatically. He implies that the maturation process would take care of everything.\textsuperscript{123} While Piaget has given maturation of the central nervous system its due, he feels that it simply opens up a variety of possibilities and is never sufficient in itself to actualize these possibilities. Intellectual development requires maturation combined with positive environmental experiences and is no clockwork sequence of events. Piaget's experience demonstrated that it is worth the effort to provide the growing child with problems that tempt him into the next stages of development. It is important to remember that it is futile to present formal experiences based on a logic meaningless to the child's mode of thinking.\textsuperscript{124}

The main emphasis of Piaget's research is the development of intelligence as mental activity, not intelligence as a hypothetical power. The child becomes progressively more intelligent as reactions are more interrelated and complex. Thinking as a process becomes possible after language develops, providing a new mental organization of experience. This is a dynamic view of the child's intelligence as a continuously

\textsuperscript{122}Hinrichs, Grace B., "Psychology of Learning," Methods Manual For Teaching Science In Elementary Schools: Trial Version, Minneapolis; University of Minnesota, 1964, P. 64.

\textsuperscript{123}Gesell, Arnold, et al., The First Five Years Of Life, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1940.

shifting adaptation to the environment.\textsuperscript{125}

University of Illinois psychologist, J. McVicker Hunt has been a significant contributor to the area of cognitive development. He writes that "the assumption that intelligence is fixed and that its development is predetermined by the genes is no longer tenable."\textsuperscript{126} Only the outer limits of intelligence are fixed and no one has decided how far those limits extend. He has supported this statement with longitudinal studies, twin studies, and a variety of experimental work.

Hunt feels that future generations can become far more intelligent through better management of young children's encounters with their environment. The crucial issue is that of matching the most stimulating circumstances for each child at each phase of his development. Piaget's stages could well serve as clues to the kind of experiences a child finds most stimulating. Hunt maintains that a good match produces so much intrinsic motivation and pleasure that children whose more basic needs are satisfied will learn for the sake of learning.

An accepted practice has been to initiate formal schooling for most children at age six, because, presumably, a reading orientated curriculum could not be taught adequately until children were old enough to learn to read. Work by Hunt, Bloom, Piaget, and others indicate that much of significance is learned prior to age six and that, rather than being the beginning of learning, reading is the symbolic

\textsuperscript{125}Almy, Millie, \textit{Young Children's Thinking}, New York: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1967, Pp. 4-5.

culmination of a series of learnings that begin when a child begins to speak, several years before his usual entry into first grade. Earlier learning affects that which follows in as much as new learning must be based on it. The idea of continuous learning is inevitable.

The continuous, interrelated nature of a child's total development is such that the physical, intellectual, emotional, and social foundations built during the early years largely determine academic achievement during his elementary and later school years. In addition, the early childhood years are the root years for language development and concept formation. Hunt states:

"It now looks as though early experience may be even more important for the perceptual, cognitive, and intellectual functions than it is for the emotional and temperamental functions." 127

Yet, cognitive psychologists, such as Bruner, have stressed the affective correlates of intellectual development. Language clearly is learned through a process of socialization. Powerful, intractable linkages exist between emotions, concepts, and ideas which mold both the level and the nature of cognitive functioning.

Paul Torrance, an authority on creativity, has maintained as the result of considerable research with young children, that the early childhood years are also the root years for creativity. The concept "creativity," which includes both process and product, may be partially defined as a style of responding to and manipulating things and ideas in the environment. As such, it involves a strong cognitive component as

127 Ibid., P. 348.
well as requiring affective support and considerable physical freedom. Opportunities for continuous learning in psychologically safe surroundings are indispensable to the nurturing of creativity.\textsuperscript{128}

The early childhood years are the root years for physical development. Not only is health and the satisfaction of physical needs basic, not only is this the period of the young child's most rapid growth, but also gross motor activity is a dominant characteristic of the early years. Piaget has identified sensory-motor intelligence as the first stage of intellectual development wherein the child's concern is with exploring the world through action. As the sensory-motor period gives way with the beginning of language to the preoperational stage, the child's learning style continues to rest mainly on actions, movement, and manipulation of the environment. Concepts and ideas spring directly from concrete experiences, and creative problem solving takes place by overt trial and error. Optimum physical development, obviously, is facilitated by and in turn contributes to a happy psycho-social atmosphere.\textsuperscript{129}

Although the foundations of the various aspects of a child's development are undeniably vital, the fact is that many children do not succeed in building sound beginnings and, therefore, cannot fully benefit from instruction in school. Most educators and child development specialists tend to agree that few three, four and five year olds gain the essential ingredients for optimum development from the home environment alone. Important as family is, few families can give a child experiences that


have the wide variety and depth of those offered by a carefully planned early childhood education program.

Since the early childhood years are crucial for developing a foundation of oral language, initial intellectual concepts, learning patterns, creativity, and the beginning of a positive self-image, this period should not be neglected as a result of prior notions that young children are not ready for formal educational experiences. It is imperative that the school utilize this phase of development to aid children as they attempt to cope with the exigencies of today's complex society.

Political intervention brought on by the need to do something for the poverty stricken Americans has provided another source of support for expanding the introduction of preschool education programs. Preschool education is desirable for all children but is imperative for the children of the rural and urban poor.

America is increasingly feeling the challenge to provide truly equal opportunities for millions of children from desperately poor and underprivileged homes and is turning to preschool education as a way out of a terrible dilemma. The nature of the dilemma is easily stated. Amid unprecedented prosperity and in plain view of the most conspicuous consumption imaginable, there remain pockets of abject poverty. Most, though not all, of the children who grow up in this environment of poverty amid plenty belong to the ethnic minorities, primarily Blacks and Puerto Ricans. Other groups dibilitated by poverty are:

1. Mexican-Americans in rural southwest and west and in the cities of these areas. Many have recently migrated from Mexico.
2. Caucasians in the rural south and Appalachian mountains. Some Caucasians from these areas have migrated to northern industrial cities.

3. American Indians in the southwest and west on reservations and in the cities of these areas.

Bloom's study, cited earlier, has identified the preprimary years as the period of most rapid growth in human characteristics and the most susceptible period for learning or non-learning of those skills which provide for in-school success. Bloom also stated that a person's achievement in life depends largely on what he has been helped to learn before the age of four. This, consequently, would appear to be the most crucial period in an individual's development. It is during this period that the middle-class child not only develops a characteristic set of values, develops a language, and builds a fund of information, but he also is in the process of learning how to go about the process of problem solving when he enters school.

Getzels has pointed out that while the values, language and methods of learning acquired by the middle class child are continuous with what will be required of him in school, much of what is acquired by the poor child is discontinuous with what will be required of him in school. The concept of "cultural deprivation" itself assumes that there is a normative or dominant middle class culture and that some children, for various reasons, have been deprived of contact with this culture. Middle class children develop and bring to school a set of learning

\(^{130}\)ibid., P. 41.
skills applicable to the school situation, whereas, poor children either do not develop this or acquire another set of skills which are not as applicable in the school setting. Nonetheless, the expectations set forth by the school, since it is run by middle class individuals, is that both must perform as if they had received the same basic training.

It is apparent that lower-class children begin their school experiences at a disadvantage, being one to three years behind in certain types of development when they arrive at school according to Getzel. Expected to learn in a competitive situation with children who have a decided advantage and held for ten years in an institution that neither wants nor understands them, it is no wonder that their confidence and feelings of self-worth continue to decline. Since their preschool experiences have not prepared them, school, as presently organized, can only be a source of frustration. The effects of not having the "right" kind of preprimary preparation can be almost permanent; unable to cope effectively in the traditional learning environment, most poor children fall into a pattern of progressive educational retardation the longer they are in school; thus, perpetuating a continuing pattern of failure. Ultimately, this failure leads to early withdrawal from school, first, mentally, then physically.

Weikart has grouped the types of programs used to aid preprimary disadvantaged children into three categories, based upon their specific

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curriculum orientation:

1. **The Traditional Nursery School Curriculum.** This method can be summarized as observing and waiting for children to express their needs, then developing activities. This approach also utilizes broad themes as objectives, such as community helpers, circus animals, holidays, as a core around which to develop activities. The principal focus is the social and emotional growth of children.

2. **The Language Training Curriculum.** This method may be described as carefully sequenced presentation of teacher-planned program activities to accomplish specific predetermined goals such as reading, arithmetic, and language development. Traditional nursery school activities and materials frequently are not used and are replaced by ones that are specifically task oriented. Students are expected to advance academically at a faster than normal rate.

3. **The Cognitively Oriented Curriculum.** This method uses carefully sequenced presentations of teacher-planned program activities according to a specific developmental theory; that created by Piaget. The primary goals are for cognitive and language development. Traditional materials and activities are frequently used.132

Weikart has reported on a program which combines a permissive, teacher-structured morning program, emphasizing verbal stimulation, interaction and dramatic play, with weekly home visits in which the mother is encouraged to participate in the instruction of the child. Two groups of children made some significant gains over controls on the Stanford-Binet. However, the difference between experimental and control groups on the Binet was not statistically significant after one year in kindergarten. By the end of the preschool experience the second group also made a significant gain in I.Q., but did not differ from the control group at the end of kindergarten. However, the group

differences on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test and two subscales of the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities were significant.\textsuperscript{133}

Gray and Klaus developed a program with disadvantaged children which placed great emphasis upon language development by reading to the children during the summer and the study was continued throughout the year by home visits with the parents. They discovered that the experimental group showed significant gains on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, the Stanford-Binet Test, and the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistics. The control group, pretested and posttested at the same time as the experimental group, showed significant losses.\textsuperscript{134}

Karnes at the University of Illinois conducted a study involving five different programs:

1. A Traditional nursery school emphasizing the acquisition of social skills and informal learning;

2. The Karnes Program for the amelioration of learning defects, stressing sensory-motor manipulation, basic language processes and specific content in mathematics, social studies and science;

3. The Bereiter-Engelman Program, stressing a highly structured, cognitive-oriented curriculum;

4. A Montessori Program employing a qualified Montessori teacher and Montessori materials;

5. A Community Integrated Program having upper and lower class Black and White children utilizing the traditional nursery school concept.

The children were pretested and posttested at the end of the preschool year on the Stanford-Binet and ITPA. On the Stanford-Binet

\textsuperscript{133}ibid., P. 13.

Traditional and Karnes groups were not significantly different from each other. However, the Bereiter-Engelmann group scored significantly higher than the other two groups on the ITPA. On the Metropolitan Readiness Test, all three groups made significant gains. Conclusions drawn from this study were:

1. The Bereiter-Engelmann and Karnes programs enhanced the intellectual functioning of disadvantaged children significantly more than did the other three programs.

2. The gains of the subjects in the Traditional program were in keeping with gains reported in other preschool studies.

3. Little support was found for integrating disadvantaged children into middle class nursery schools as far as intellectual acceleration is concerned. Indications were that the Montessori program had little to offer the disadvantaged child in his intellectual functioning.

Project Headstart is a program designed to meet the needs of the disadvantaged child. It was believed that by bringing children from low-income homes to school for six to eight weeks in the summer or for a full year before they began regular school attendance, they would become adjusted to school and would, therefore, be better prepared to learn and to compete with their more advantaged classmates. As of March, 1968, 1.3 million children have been enrolled in Headstart programs in 2,300 communities—561,000 in the summer of 1964, 575,000 in the summer of 1966, and 171,000 in the full year programs.

The Headstart program of child development has six major aspects: an educational program, health services, social services, psychological services, nutritional services and parental involvement. While it is impossible to make any universally valid statement about the educational curriculum employed in Headstart since it varies from location to location and from teacher to teacher, the curriculum in most centers emphasizes social objectives and the broadening of experiences with the world.
children are given a nursery school-kindergarten experience. It is felt that deprived children need more contact with middle class life, trips to the zoo and fire stations, opportunities to play with more elaborate toys, toothbrushing sessions, songs, games, and stories.

The most significant evaluation of Project Headstart to date is that of Max Wolff and Annie Stein entitled, Six Months Later, a study comparing Headstart and non-Headstart children after six months of kindergarten in the New York schools. These investigators found that Headstart children tended to rank higher in their kindergarten classes in greater proportions than their counterparts who had not been in the program. These same children appeared with less frequency in the bottom three deciles of their classes than the non-Headstart children. However, in a socio-economically mixed school, where children from low income homes were expected to compete with children from a more privileged background, Headstart children appeared with less frequency than non-Headstart children in the lower ranks.

The conclusions from the Wolff-Stein study are that in the Headstart centers investigated, the children made social gains but these seemingly disappeared a few months after the beginning of the regular school semester and that in cognitive ability, as measured by the Pre-School Inventory, the children made slight gains but not enough to allow them to compete with children from the middle class homes. The study leaves open the question whether a program that emphasizes cognitive

goals rather than social objectives will better prepare the disadvantaged child to compete in an academic environment.
CHAPTER III

PRESCHOOL EDUCATION FOR THE DISADVANTAGED BLACK CHILD

The model for preschool education for the inner city Black child presented in this chapter is a guide for administrators and teachers responsible for implementing preschool programs. The proposed program attempts to focus on the essential experiences that the Black child needs to progress successfully in the typical school environment and which can be provided for him in a limited period of time. The emphases in this chapter are the following: (1) The School And Its Community, (2) The Projected Organizational Structure, (3) Personnel Requirements, Characteristics And Roles, (4) The Nature Of Student Experiences, and (5) The Role Of Parents.

Basic Philosophy

The overarching philosophy supporting the proposed model for the development of preschool programs is that the programs should prepare the child for success in the traditional elementary school. This success can only be measured in terms of the academic achievement that the child manifests in his interaction with the teacher and the curriculum provided for him. If a child proves his worth in the academic segment of his school career, those other aspects of his development, social, emotional, and physical, will have a greater chance of blossoming. This approach is taken with the realization that social institutions
such as schools are very slow to change, consequently the task becomes one of adapting the child's behavior so that he is successful in the traditional school setting.

This philosophy has as a part of its foundation the realization that educators cannot adequately prepare the disadvantaged child for a meaningful role in society by working in isolation. The school is only a subsystem of a larger system, the neighborhood. Thus, if the school is to be successful in its charged responsibilities, it must incorporate significant input from the larger system. The negative aspects of that input which prove to be debilitating to the performance of the child in school must be modified or eradicated altogether.

Many programs introduced to the ghetto schools have not had the measure of success that those most intimately involved had anticipated. Ten years of effort with compensatory and remedial programs for the high school, junior high school and elementary school child convinced many educators that they are initiating their efforts too late. The review of the literature indicates that preschool education is beginning to come into its own as the most logical point at which concentrated efforts should be made in preparing the inner city child for his twelve-year academic career.¹

Program Model

The model in figure I presents the framework around which a preschool program for the inner city Black child can be developed. Each circle

Figure 1 - Preschool Model
within the square represents a significant ingredient necessary to program success. These will be discussed briefly at this point and will be dealt with at length in the latter portion of this chapter. While most preschool programs have centered the attention primarily on the child and his immediate needs, what must be considered first are the expectations of the elementary school, as represented by Circle number 1. The school, a middle class organization, expects all children to have certain skills when they begin their educational careers; the disadvantaged Black child has not mastered these skills. Consequently, knowledge of those specific skills demanded of the child by the elementary school is of great importance to the preschool staff.

The child, Circle 2, is a cumulation of interactions between heredity and environment who enters the preschool program having certain abilities, knowledge, and levels of motivation. The extent to which these have developed must be known by the staff before effective program planning can be instituted.

Staff selection and development, Circle 3, are vital ingredients of any program. The quality of the staff's performance will depend upon the individuals selected, their community backgrounds, their educational experiences, as well as their attitudes, values, and behavior toward the people involved in the program. If the program is to grow and improve, a comprehensive staff development program is an essential ongoing entity.

At present, society as a totality, has a general expectation of each child being academically competent. This is a policy to which administrators and teachers must adhere within the context of the present social structure. For a number of reasons, many Black inner city children
have not been successful in the academic field. Therefore, the preschool program for the disadvantaged Black child must have as its central focus a curriculum that is geared toward developing academic excellence, Circle 4.

The inner city Black child is behind his middle class, educationally oriented counterpart when he enters school. It is only logical then, that the disadvantaged child must, as in a foot race, proceed at a faster than normal rate if he is to catch up. It is sad that for so many years educators have "watered down" the curriculum for the inner city Black child and deliberately moved him along at an even slower rate, Circle 5.

The preschool program that endorses the community school concept, Circle 6, as a basis of operation takes into consideration all phenomena that impinge upon the life of the child. Educators should actively involve themselves in the life style of the school community in an effort to understand the individuals involved to plan programs to help modify the negative forces and strengthen the positive forces which influence the child's behavior. Attempting to educate the disadvantaged Black child in isolation will inevitably result in failure for all concerned.

A cardinal principle to keep in mind when planning a program of this type is that the parent has more general influence upon the child, some good and some bad, than does the teacher. The parent can be instrumental in the child's success or failure in school. Because of this great power, the parents of all children in the preschool program should be involved in some aspects of planning, implementing and evaluating the
program, Circle 7. The role of the parents in the education of disadvantaged children must not be overlooked. Educational growth must be reinforced and encouraged as a significant part of family life; thus, the need for parental orientation to their roles as teachers and an increase in the education of the parents themselves. An increase in parental interest will result in heightened student interest and aid in ensuring the success of younger siblings when they enter school.

Circle 8 brings into focus a serious shortcoming of many compensatory programs, insufficient time allocated for preopening preparation. Sufficient time is needed for such activities as staff selection (Circle 3), recruitment of children, parent and staff orientation, enlistment of services of other social agencies, curriculum development, medical and related examinations for the children, etc. One way to ensure failure is not to allow sufficient time for adequate preparation.

Success in learning and operationalizing a basic concept or skill is predicated upon the mastery of previous learning experiences. Expecting a child to learn something new when he has not acquired the prerequisites to cope with a new experience is foolhardy; yet, this is exactly what teachers expect of the disadvantaged child. The proposed model for preschool education mandates that the teacher know the level of the child's development, know what skills he must master to move forward, provide the child with the opportunity to learn those skills and present the child with the opportunity to demonstrate his ability to handle the skill before moving on to the next educational task. The onus for student success is on the teacher, not the child. Adscititious criteria to be used in developing a framework for inner city preschool education should include:
The preschool program should endeavor to strengthen the family life of the child. The disadvantaged child, like his middle class counterpart, spends a very small percentage of his time in the school setting; consequently, it is important that his out-of-school experiences enhance and not hinder in-school achievement. This can best be accomplished through strengthening the primary unit, the family.

The curricula, those planned school and community experiences, should be initiated from a thorough knowledge and understanding of those for whom the program is intended. Many of the previously introduced programs aimed at helping the disadvantaged failed because those teachers and administrators who were given the responsibility of developing programs did not have sufficient knowledge of their clientele and their life styles. "More of the same," unfortunately, does not bring about the desired behavioral changes. Those experiences initiated by the staff for the child should be based upon his strengths and not his weaknesses. Assurances of student success in his environmental setting should be a primary objective.

Any psychological and physiological deficiencies which would tend to hamper learning should be identified early and corrected. As a consequence of prior experiences, the disadvantaged child must in no way be hampered by deficiencies which can be taken care of by assisting specialists.

Individualization of instruction should be an integral part of the total program. Of primary consideration in the preschool program should be the fact that the child must know
continual success, which will tend to increase his confidence in his ability and improve his self image. The organizational structure should be such that individual attention for students is a primary objective and not an afterthought.

5. The early childhood educator should always endeavor to provide an atmosphere of acceptance and approving support to the child. American education assumes that every child who enters school has a middle class orientation and a middle class background of experiences. Since the disadvantaged pupil has neither, the school begins to operate against him the day he enters. To make matters worse, many classroom teachers demand that the disadvantaged pupil adhere to the expectations of the school. If he does not, the pupil feels that something is wrong with him. To ensure the possibility of academic success for the disadvantaged pupil, this kind of atmosphere must be erased.

6. A multisensory approach to learning must be utilized. One unfortunate aspect of education in this country is that we are constantly debating and conducting research relative to the "best" method of facilitating learning on the part of students. What is important is the realization that children learn differently and at different rates. By virtue of the sum total of their varied experiences, children are different, and because they are likely to perceive experiences differently, multiple approaches to instruction are mandated. As an example, the country of Israel is presently experimenting with 20 different ways of teaching reading in order to find the modes
which are most effective for dealing with the variety of needs exhibited by children.2

7. A comprehensive, continuous staff development program is essential to the success of the early preschool program. No staff member "knows it all" about providing those experiences designed to facilitate maximum growth for preschool or school-age children. Staff evaluation and change is made mandatory due to student behavioral changes brought on by experiences gained within the school setting. Consequently, staff members must constantly review what is being done, why it is being done and whether it achieves the goals desired. Assessment by the staff of what occurs in the school assists in the determination of what approaches, methods and techniques are to be retained or are to be replaced. A continuous staff development program ensures program flexibility.

All of these inputs, as well as other criteria for this type of program, must be evaluated continuously to determine whether or not the child performs as well as desired. Continuous evaluation is essential to the success of the preschool program. As indicated by the model, all inputs for a successful program are subject to constant scrutiny. Evaluation of student achievement indicates what has been learned and mastered by the child, thus providing a basis for developing succeeding sets of educational tasks. The fact that a child has not mastered a

specific concept mandates a reassessment of the teaching-learning mode and may suggest modification in the approach. Evaluation is a vital and never ending cyclical process.

The School And Its Community

There are many Americans from all walks of life who view with considerable alarm the current decaying status of our society and many of its components. Presently, there appear to be two basic alternatives open to those concerned about the present educational situation. The most drastic one is to destroy the present structure through which attempts have been made to reach viable solutions to the problems in education. This approach is based upon the assumption that the bureaucratic educational organizations created to resolve social problems are incapable of responding to the current needs of society and must be destroyed and replaced.

Militant groups are increasingly more convincing in their argument that the resolution of our problems is not possible within the existing educational setup. They argue that the educational establishment is not geared to deal with the rapid changes taking place within this society. They emphasize that the present educational institutions are geared primarily to the academic preparation of the middle class and are not capable of devising educational programs appropriate to the education of lower class youth and adults. Suffice it to say that there are growing numbers of people who see little hope for the resolution of social problems within the existing educational establishment.

There is a second alternative, which if properly introduced, offers great promise. At any rate, it would seem that this solution
would be much more acceptable than the total destruction of the present system. If, as has been pointed out by many from a variety of disciplines, the system is falling apart, then it would be reasonable to assume that those who would rebuild the society would also be equipped with a very strong social, economic and moral adhesive. That adhesive may very well be found in the full implementation of the community school education concept.

This concept is an attempt to marshall all of the educational resources within the community to create a laboratory concerned primarily with the problem of changing human behavior. Such a concept requires the involvement of people of all ages, races, creeds and socioeconomic levels in the process of education and community improvement. The resolution of such problems as school dropouts, crime, societal unrest, control of education and racial conflict is not likely to be accomplished without maximum involvement of those community forces capable of contributing to the betterment of the community. The traditional school as only an intellectual skill and knowledge producing center cannot be expected to produce solutions to the critical problems facing this country.

An attempt is made within the context of community education to provide appropriate educational opportunities without limitations upon the time of day the program will be provided, the clientele to be served, the curriculum content or the facilities required. Community education programs operate continuously, day and night, seven days a week, throughout the calendar year. No program is considered inappropriate so long as it serves an educational or related need of persons within the jurisdiction of the school. Such a viewpoint does not appear unreasonable,
particularly when there is a justifiable demand for quality education for all.

Within the context of this concept, the school belongs to the people of the community and should be geared to meet the needs of the people, as they relate to the educational, racial, ethnic, social, economic, and familial backgrounds. The professional educator within the school must realize that his job is to work with the community in an effort to help them help themselves. The school should be the center of community life and should be concerned with the total lifestyle of the community. The professional educator must recognize that this lifestyle has a real impact on his effectiveness as he works with his primary charges, the children.

It would be naive to propose that any particular educational scheme can eliminate the complex problems resulting from social and economic deprivation. However, certain basic principles of the community school education concept are essential ingredients which need to be followed in making an attack upon social and economic problems at the community level. In addition to a primary emphasis upon increased learning efficiency, especially for those lacking in certain cognitive skills, direct involvement with other social agencies is required.

All too often the effectiveness of services rendered to a community is minimized because of duplication of effort and a lack of service coordination. The absence of a coordinating agency in the neighborhood presents a golden opportunity for the community educator to act as a coordinator of services required in the attack upon problems, confronting the people within the area. The aim of this type of program is to place within the community the ladders upon which the aspiring can arise; for
those who have given up on any chance of getting out of the "poverty race," this program is designed to generate new hope.

Community school education programs are designed to break down the barriers which exist between the school and those it is charged to serve. All segments of the community are demanding to have something to say about their own destinies. Students and adults, rich and poor alike, are demanding involvement in educational policy making. Through an enlightened community school program, it is possible to capitalize on this new militancy. Such involvement does not suggest a weakening in the control of education by those charged with the legal responsibility for it. Quite the contrary. Strengthening the relationship between the school and the community places an even greater responsibility for leadership and direction upon the professional educator.

Preschool education in the ghetto, centering around the community school concept, can very well be the vehicle so desperately needed to prepare children for the eventuality of having to cope with the traditional elementary school. Educational training of the three and four year old ghetto child has been readily accepted by the Black community as the parents recognize the value of education to any Black child if he is to be successful in this society.

The Projected Organizational Structure

The basic organizational structure undergirding the proposed program is the "Schome," a merging partnership between the two forces which have the most influential impact upon the life of a child—the school and the home. Many educators and parents, regardless of their socio-economic status, would agree that few three-, four- and five-year
old gain the essential ingredients for optimum development from the home environment. As important as family life is, few families can provide a child with as wide a variety of quality experiences as could be offered by a carefully planned preschool educational program. Such a program, if carefully planned, would include considerable input from the home and the community.

In the word community, one will find a word of great significance to the inner city neighborhood; that word is "unity." A united, coordinated effort on the part of all members of the community is essential to the growth and development of the area and can be achieved because ghetto people can do a great deal to help themselves. It is also indicative of the fact that those who live outside the ghetto, yet are responsible for those agencies serving the ghetto constituency, must be a part of that unity. The Schome, by the uniqueness of its position and purpose in the ghetto, should be the pivotal force behind continued community growth.

Physically the Schome, a term developed by Candoli and Leu,\(^3\) in conjunction with comprehensive educational planning in Chicago, Illinois, can consist of one of a variety of structures. It can be specifically designed and constructed for use as a preschool center; or other community buildings, such as churches, vacant stores, homes and apartments can be adapted for preschool use. Thus, the Schome can be centrally located, on one site contiguous to the elementary school, or it can be widely located.

\(^3\)Leu, Donald and Candoli, I.C., Design For The Future, East Lansing: College of Education, Michigan State University, 1968; P. 132.
distributed throughout the neighborhood. No matter the physical make up, the most important aspect of the Schome is that it be identified as a vital core in community and educational planning.

The physical dimensions of a Schome should provide ample space for prescribed activities designed to meet the needs of a large segment of the community. The educational program for the preschool age child requires space for large group, small group and individual activities. In recognizing the essential nature of parental involvement, orientation and reeducation, space is required for use by parents only. Community acceptance and use of the Schome facilities are desirable goals. Provisions for community services within the Schome are to be instituted. Examples of community services include medical, dental, legal aid, marriage and family counselling and planned parenthood and financial counselling.

**Personnel Requirements, Characteristics And Roles**

The quality of the staff involved in any program will attest to the success or failure of that program. The nature of the problems faced by the Black disadvantaged child and his parents would indicate the necessity for staff involvement in planning, developing, implementing and evaluating the best available programs. In the preschool program, the key personnel involved will be the administrator, the family life consultant, the teacher, the nurse, the social worker, and the aide. The success of the program would be severely hampered without the assistance of support personnel representing the many social agencies whose aid is actively sought by the Schome personnel. The writer will, however, deal only with those positions directly attached to the Schome.
The Administrator

The primary responsibility of the Schome is to provide preschool age children with those experiences that will ultimately ensure their success in the typical elementary school as found in the ghetto. It is important that the relationship and activities of the Schome and the elementary school be closely coordinated. The administrator of the preschool program, an employee of the public school system, should have status equal to the principal of the elementary school. This position is taken in light of the apparent lack of innovative thinking and commitment by the typical administrator responsible for the education of Black children in the ghetto. The individual in charge of the preschool program must not be hampered by stagnant thinking and action. If this arrangement is not possible, then the administrator of the Schome should be an assistant principal, assigned to the elementary school. Whatever the arrangement, the responsibility for the success of the program should be on the shoulders of a person assigned to the Schome.

It is vitally important that a highly sensitized administrator be assigned the task of coordinating the program. This person must be cognizant of and involved with the community for two reasons: first, such knowledge is of value to him as he seeks to develop plans and strategies for their implementation; second, true participation, rather than pseudo involvement, implies an active rather than a passive role for the residents. Unfortunately, one finds in the ghetto areas of our larger cities many administrators and teachers who are able to cite verbatim the factors related to disadvantage ment, but few have exhibited the ability to manifest differentiated teaching or administrative
behaviors specifically designed to reduce the impact of undesired conditions.

The professional duties and responsibilities of the Schome administrator include:

1. Becoming thoroughly familiar with the total community to be served. He must be able to interpret the community to those working the Schome to ensure that this knowledge is incorporated into modified curricular offerings, relevant to the community needs.

2. Assuming the responsibility for or to assist in the selection of all staff members.

3. Working with teachers, parents and other staff members in the planning of significant activities.

4. Providing the leadership needed in the development of and continuation of an effective evaluation program.

5. Coordinating and maintaining a meaningful inservice education program.

6. Being responsible for the acquisition of assistance from the community agencies when the need arises.

7. Providing the staff with the diversity of supplies, equipment and materials needed to accomplish their tasks.

8. Assuming the responsibility, with the principal of the elementary school for interpreting and coordinating the Schome program.

9. Acting as a disseminator of information for the edification of the neighborhood.
10. Assisting in the solution of community problems, even though such problems may not be directly related to education.

11. Assuming responsibility for the orientation of new personnel; teachers, family life consultants, community aides, teacher aides, teenage assistants and parents.

12. Coordinating the effort to encourage the enrollment of all eligible children and their parents.

The Family Life Consultant

Parental understanding, involvement, and support of the educational process plays an important role in the growth and development of the preschool age child. The influence manifested by parental attitude and behavior has a greater impact on child behavior than any other force. Most Black parents feel that education is one of the means, probably, the surest means, that their child has of improving his status. On the other hand, some parents see little value in education because it has done little or nothing for them.

The concept of the Schome recognizes that the parents are basic to a child's development. A preschool program which centers all of its efforts on the child in isolation from the home and its influences cannot insure the achievement of its goals. Efforts to provide meaningful and lasting experiences for the child tends to be neutralized where education lacks support and reinforcement. Consequently, the value of the preschool program for the individual child will depend on how much and how deeply his parents are involved in the program and the strength of the relationship between his activities at school and those at home.

It becomes clear that a program of parent orientation, involvement,
and broadening of perspectives is vital to the success of the child. Since parents have little knowledge of their role as teachers and how children learn, it is the responsibility of the educator to develop a comprehensive program geared primarily to the enlightenment of the parent. Such a program, deemed as important as that designed for the child, is the responsibility of the family life consultant. This position should be held by a female since most of the adults in the program will be female and there are so many aspects of their lives that are better understood by another female. A man would probably be very uncomfortable in this position and not as successful.

The family life consultant should be a person who has had experience and success in teaching inner city children, as well as good relations with parents and other community residents. She must be an open, outgoing, gregarious individual who relates well with people and has the facility for easing tensions and bridging the gap which exists between the Black parent and the school. She must be bilingual, in that she uses standard English that parents can understand and speaks the "language" of the ghetto when appropriate.

The family life consultant must be a sincere, sensitive person who is able to relate with the parents in such a way as to gain their respect and confidence. As a result of previous experiences, Black parents have developed an uncanny ability to spot a "phony" individual, who once detected has no chance of effecting any change in the parent's behavior patterns. If, on the other hand, she "proves" herself to the parents, the cooperation she will receive will be more than "outsiders" think Blacks are capable of giving.
This particular staff member should know the community, its people, their problems, desires, aspirations, and frustrations as thoroughly as the administrator in charge. She should know who the leaders are in the community, those identified by the dominant society as leaders and those identified by the Black community as leaders since both types can be instrumental in program development. Such knowledge cannot be gained by remaining behind the school walls. The consultant will find it profitable to spend as much time in the community as possible, talking to people, listening and assisting wherever possible until she is recognized as a valuable asset to the community; in other words, she becomes a "member."

The duties and responsibilities of the family life consultant include:

1. Assisting in the neighborhood canvassing and recruiting children for the program.
2. Working with other members of the staff and parents in program planning and evaluation.
3. Coordinating the experiences of the child with some of those planned for the parent.
4. Creating and enhancing rapport between the parent and the school.
5. Providing parents with counselling and assistance in the solution of those problems that would be detrimental to the education of the child.
6. Working constantly toward the development of a positive self concept in the minds of the parent.
7. Interpreting the reasons for the type of experiences being provided for the child and providing similar experiences for the parent so that they have a better "feel" for what is happening.

8. Planning and implementing a parent program, which would include the following: significance of the early childhood years, role of the parent as an educator, planned parenthood, preventive health practices, nutrition, budgeting and money management, continuing education, etc.

9. Visiting the home of every parent at least once and as many addition times as desirable.

10. Striving to move more and more to a generalized supportive role, giving more and more responsibility for the implementation of program activities to the parents.

11. Making arrangements for increasing parental knowledge of community resources and facilities and how they can be used to improve family life.

12. Cooperating with staff and parents in providing for total family activities.

13. Providing actual teaching-learning experiences for each individual parent.

14. Assisting the Schome administrator in the development and coordination of the in-service education program.

15. Supervising parents in preparing and serving breakfast and lunch to the children.
The early childhood teacher must have specialized abilities which equip her most effectively for her job. Significant among these are an understanding of the various learning theories and recognizing that children as individuals learn in a variety of ways. She must be familiar with the laws that govern child growth and development and the importance of the environmental influences upon the child; she must be capable of assessing constantly where the child is in his development, what needs to be learned and what areas need more concentrated effort and making decisions about the best way to spend her available time. She must be able to live comfortably with a curriculum derived from the academic needs of the child and to refrain from providing a preconceived program based on previous years of experience.

To provide for individualization of instruction, the teacher must be capable of supervising a class of children engaged in a variety of productive activities simultaneously. This implies a knowledge of several teaching strategies, as well as, displaying creative planning with and sharing teaching responsibilities with her assigned aides. To facilitate the smooth operation of this type of approach requires the presence of a teacher who has confidence in her ability, sensitivity to student and community needs, and a willingness to share in the decision making process.

One of the problems facing the ghetto child is a dearth of acceptable male figures in the community that the child can look to as models. It becomes important that as many male teachers as possible be recruited to work in this program. Recognizing that few males seek
training in preschool education, teachers of elementary education should be sought and trained. The use of males in the program cannot be overemphasized.

The professional duties of the teacher includes:

1. Cooperating with other staff members and parents in the planning and implementation of all preschool activities.

2. Assuming the leadership role in planning instructional activities, managing the classroom atmosphere, ordering and preparing materials, making daily evaluations, etc.

3. Maintaining a continuing education program for the aides assigned to her classroom.

4. Assuming responsibility for maintaining student folders in which one would find attendance records, general information pertaining to student strengths and weaknesses, and learning styles. Teacher-parent conferences reports are also included.

5. Evaluating student growth to determine the needs of each child, providing individualized instruction and special service as required.

6. Maintaining a cooperative relationship with the service team of medical, dental, psychological and social welfare personnel.

7. Orienting new students to the program to assist them in the transition from the home into the school environment.

8. Communicating and working with the family life consultant in developing the parent education program. The teacher will be instrumental in the interpretation of classroom activities to the parent.
Teacher Aides

Teacher aides play a vital role in the success of the preschool program. When given the opportunity to put their talents to work, they are tremendous assets to the teacher and other staff members and should be welcomed and encouraged by them. The type of training they receive and the encouragement given tends to increase the scope of their responsibilities.

The role of the aide is important in developing better school-community relations. As members of the community, they are in contact with other parents and students in the neighborhood and larger community activities. They are in position to know first hand, as few professional educators are, about student's families, problems, needs and aspirations. Their work with the school can assist in leading students toward a productive school experience in ways that increase the effectiveness of staff members.

To facilitate the teaching-learning process, the teacher aides selected must be individuals who have mastered certain skills. They should have a substantive command of standard English so that communication between them and the professional staff is not stymied. They must display some ability in the area of dealing with children and adults; a desire to work in a positive way with people is an important prerequisite. Selecting those people from the community who have at least a high school diploma would probably ensure that the type of individual desired would be brought into the program. However, having a
high school diploma should be only one of the requirements or selection criteria when seeking individuals as classroom or community aides. It should be emphasized that the lack of a high school diploma should not exclude an otherwise qualified person from the program.

The nature of the community education program is such that two types of aides are utilized; the community aide, who works with the family life consultant in developing and implementing the parent education program, and the teacher aide, who performs in the classroom assisting the teacher and children.

The duties and responsibilities of the classroom and community aides include:

1. Calling upon parents during recruiting and thereafter to explain the purposes of the preschool program.
2. Assisting the teachers and the family life consultant with the planning of instructional activities.
3. Following through with a variety of teaching experiences under the supervision of the professional staff.
4. Handling those non-instructional activities identified by the professional staff.
5. Assisting in the evaluation of the program in concert with other staff members.
6. Becoming familiar with and proficient in the use and operation of instructional equipment.
7. Preparing and assembling materials of all kinds.
8. Providing counselling for students and parents in minor situations.
9. Assisting with the keeping of records and files.
10. Interpreting the school program to the community; acting as liaison person between the school and the community.

Teenage Assistants

A general assumption that pervades this country is that when an individual is biologically capable of becoming a parent he is also capable of assuming the responsibilities of parenthood. To a certain extent this may be true of those youngsters who have grown up in the educationally oriented middle class home in so far as they would recognize the value of education and would probably pass these values on to their children.

The Black teenagers, however, are caught up in a different situation. The new born Black child during his early years can expect little guidance and counselling from his young parents relative to the value of and preparation for the day when he enters the neighborhood school. This is due in great measure to the fact that the young parent is ignorant of the kinds of skills the child should acquire and, equally as important, does not envision himself in the role of teacher.

As indicated earlier in this chapter, the community school education concept recognizes the value of preparing all members of the community for their roles as supportive, active, contributory participants. It, thus, becomes important that the teenage members of the community are as thoroughly trained as possible for that almost certain eventuality, parenthood. What better place to provide them with these experiences than in the preschool education program.

The teenage assistants will be both male and female. In the course of the year, they will have experiences with children as young as six
months in the nursery to the four year olds in the Schome classrooms. Through interaction with the classroom teacher and the adult aide, the teenagers will receive instruction in the understanding of and working with children.

The preschool being advocated is year round so it would be necessary for the Schome administrator to develop a cooperative agreement with the high school principal to have the high school students participate in the program. This type of experience could very easily be provided in conjunction with a course in family living or, in lieu of that particular course, the experience could be a segment of the vocational education program. The experience could lead the students to community college work and additional training as a teacher aide. By having some of the students entering the preschool program through the vocational or occupational work experience, funds for student stipends may be available.

The duties and responsibilities of the teenage assistants include:

1. Playing instructional games with the child.

2. Preparing bulletin board displays.

3. Operating audio-visual equipment.

4. Assisting with the preparation of materials for various activities.

5. Supervising children during cleanup, toileting and hand washing.

6. Helping the child with clothing, seeing that it is properly put on or stored away.

7. Talking and reading stories to a child or small group of children.

8. Assisting mothers in serving breakfast, aiding children in the use of eating utensils.
The teacher and adult aide should be cognizant of the value of instilling a sense of accomplishment in the teenage assistants by giving them some shared responsibility for a small group of children to gain satisfaction from watching them grow. It is desirable that the teenager be involved in classroom planning and program evaluation as well as self-evaluation.

Pre-Opening Preparation

The successful deployment of any program depends heavily upon the amount of time allotted for planning and pre-service education. This principle applies to the preschool education program as well. All staff members should be hired and fully oriented to the concept of preschool education prior to the opening of the school doors. This is the time when the staff members will have the opportunity to become familiar with each other's points of view and come to a common understanding of the rationale behind the development of such a program.

Staff and Community Planning

This will also be a period when parents and staff members will begin planning and working out the plan for mutual involvement in the program as well as handling the variety of details incident to the opening of the Schome. To facilitate immediate functioning of this mutual involvement, a Schome planning group consisting of the administrator, selected parents, teachers, aides, and the family life consultant will be formed as quickly as possible.

There will be regularly scheduled seminars and workshops in which all professional staff, aides and, where possible, parents will be involved. Some of these gatherings will be designed to involve the
total group; subsequent meetings will deal specifically with those concerns of individual groups, such as teachers, aides or parents. Some of the areas covered in these meetings will include current research pertinent to children's learning patterns, theories of learning, success of programs developed elsewhere, a study of the people in the community, Black history, the role of the parent in educating the child, and the availability of additional community resources.

In an effort to ensure that a portion of this phase of planning will not develop into a process of staff "telling" parents what they should be doing to aid their children, the parents will be expected to contribute significantly to the planning sessions. Through the assistance offered by the family life consultant, the parents will be held responsible for providing input that will be helpful to the professional staff.

Parents and staff will work cooperatively in developing plans for learning more about the type of child to be enrolled in the Schome. Considerable attention will be given to the identification of the problems that inhibit academic learning and developing approaches through which these problems might be nullified. Attention will also be given to assessing the types of skills parents should possess to reinforce positive learning patterns in their children.

The pre-opening period will provide initial opportunity for the community to become acquainted with plans to provide essential services through the Schome. At this time, community input in terms of the kinds of services desired is actively sought. The Schome becomes the central agency for encouraging continuous education for all members. These community services, although quartered in the Schome, would be dispensed
in an area separate from the learning activities of the child. When an apartment building is used, an apartment down the hall from the learning center, or on the next floor would suffice. If the Schome is located in a home, the services area could be located in the basement, accessible through the side door; whenever a storefront is used, another storefront on the same block would be adequate. In the case of the enlightened school district that has designed and built a Schome, a community services area, accessible from an exterior door, should be included.

Interagency Cooperation

Providing the needed service for children and adults in the community requires that close and positive relations be developed between the Schome administrator and the social agencies. The Schome administrator must spend much time with other agencies in the planning and implementation of a program which would provide a well coordinated service system. An interagency committee should be formed for the purpose of coordinating services on a continuing basis, with the Schome administrator acting as coordinator since the services will be dispensed in the preschool building.

It becomes the Schome administrator's responsibility to see to it that all agencies actively participating in the program will receive that credit and public accolades due them. The lack of recognition of any agency that is contributing to the success of the program could very easily result in a weakening of the basic structure and possibly initiate the dissolution of the interagency committee and cooperative efforts. The Schome administrator must be ever vigilant to the concerns of other
agency administrators and ensure that the individual agencies receive credit for their contributions.

Physical Examination

Another aspect of the preopening preparations is the physical examination given to each child in order to identify any physical ailment which might be detrimental to the learning process. Ghetto parents, due to ignorance and economic privation, all too often handle children's medical needs on the pain principle; that is, they respond to the child's needs when the child's behavior indicates a painful condition. For example, it is not unusual to find a preschool age child with a significant number of advanced dental caries. Other physical deficiencies which may have a negative effect on a child's behavior should be recorded. The identification of and making provisions for the correction of such deficiencies becomes the joint responsibility of the medical team and the parent.

Arrangements are to be made to conduct the physical examinations in the Schome prior to the first day of attendance. This activity is conducted by a medical team, consisting of doctors, dentists, nurses, and vision and hearing technicians. These children who do not receive examinations on the day designated will receive the service at a later date. Pertinent information on the child's past medical history and present conditions can be obtained by staff members who have visited the home of the child during the recruitment period.

On the day of the physical examination, the parent must be in attendance and escort the child to each examination station. The significance of this approach is that it is the beginning of one phase of the parent
education program in which each member of the examining team will as simply as possible point out the deficiencies recorded to the parent. Examinations will be given to the children of working mothers in the evening or on a Saturday. This information will be used at a later date by the family life consultant and the nurse in working with the parent to develop a new medical principle of prevention.

It should be noted that the ultimate responsibility for the resolution of recorded physical defects in the child is that of the Schome personnel. This means that the professional should assist the parent through the maze of activities involved in obtaining assistance for the child. The parent will be counselled, guided, reminded, and in any other way assisted in her quest for help for her child. The parent is not absolved of the responsibility for providing adequate child care. The professional staff merely teaches her the most efficient and effective means of obtaining that assistance.

The Nature Of Student Experiences

In reviewing the literature, the author found no evidence contrary to the fact that disadvantaged Black children scored below average in most areas of intellectual ability. The difference between Black children and White middle class children was not always large and in many instances proved to be statistically insignificant; yet, the difference invariably favored the White middle class child. The differences between the two groups were largest in those abilities most relevant to academic success in school.

Despite the great debate over the meaning of intelligence, intelligence test data can be most helpful in developing a relevant curriculum.
Intelligence test scores can be considered as a very general indicator of what a child has learned that is important to in-school success, compared to children in his age group. The disadvantaged child appears to be retarded in vocabulary development, sentence structure, reasoning ability, grammatical preciseness and logical development. Some areas where disadvantaged children show little or no retardation are in immediate memory span and the ability to master specific rote learning tasks. Performance on these items does not rely on previously learned concepts or strategies as do the language and reasoning tests. Consequently, performance of this kind comes closer to demonstrating raw ability to learn. The author argues that what the disadvantaged child lacks is learning not the basic ability to learn.

Black children as well as others who fail in school have one very important thing in common: they are products of previous teaching that has failed. The children have not been taught those skills that are essential to in-school success. This is evident when preschool age children score lower on the intelligence tests administered by school personnel. The job facing the preschool teacher is to bring the child up to the level of standard performance for children of a given age. This must be done quickly and efficiently.

It is doubtful if one could find any educators who argue that disadvantaged children are not behind other children in certain areas of development. If this is true, and research substantiates this claim, then it follows that what is needed is a program that causes the disadvantaged child to make progress at a faster than normal rate if he is to catch his more advanced counterpart. This conclusion, espoused by
Berieter and Engelmann,\textsuperscript{4} is not a popular one; yet, one is hard pressed to contradict the need for a faster rate of learning except on the grounds that the disadvantaged child is not behind his more advantaged counterpart.

The teacher of the disadvantaged child must be concerned with the problem of producing learning at a greater than normal rate. This places the situation within a context of realism that should be familiar to most teachers. "Development" and "intelligence" are ambiguous terms that have no consensus of definition; they are confusing to the average teacher. However, any teacher will understand that there are a number of things that the disadvantaged child has not learned but which he must know before he enters school as a kindergartner or first grader.

The successful preschool program will concentrate on those learning experiences which are most likely to ensure success for the disadvantaged child in the traditional elementary school and minimizing the time given to experiences classified as secondary in importance. This means that those responsible for classroom activities must concentrate upon academic objectives while relegating non-academic objectives to a secondary position. Many of these secondary objectives can be fulfilled through the parent education program by training the parents to assume responsibility for providing these program features.

Language As the Basic Foundation

For the young child language can be viewed as a convenience rather than a necessity of every day living to provide for social interaction and self expression. It is possible for the young child to make his wishes known, to play with others and to vent his emotions without the use of language. This is evident in the day to day functions of the deaf child and the lower class child who use non-verbal means of communication. Some children have been known to get along altogether without language; yet, they are not unlike their counterparts in other forms of behavior.

Language becomes the key to academic success when one moves from the social uses of language to the use of language for the knowledge and as a media for the performance of certain skills in the use of concepts. The use of language as a cognitive tool is quite limited in the disadvantaged home, especially when it comes to relationships between the adults and the children. Language is generally used to express sentiment and emotions, to control behavior and to keep the home functioning adequately. What is severely limited is the use of language for explanations, to instruct, to describe, to inquire, to analyze and to compare and evaluate.

Verbal communication between parents and children is generally quite limited. Many of these families are quite large and lack the guidance and companionship of a father, which forces many mothers into income producing work experiences. The lack of contact with the adult in the family is increased, thus verbal communication becomes even more limited.
Disadvantaged mothers often make use of simple imperatives such as "sit down," "because I said so," "shut up," "put that down," rather than explanations in dealing with their children. Black mothers have been involved in experiments where they were asked to teach their children certain skills. The lower class mothers unlike their middle class age mates were at a loss as to how the assigned tasks could be completed; they did not give clear explanations or directions and had no idea how to motivate the child. In utter frustration, they invariably resorted to the use of commands rather than explanation when they attempted to communicate with the child.

Observations by Hess on the inability of the lower-class mother to teacher her child suggests a fundamental reason for the problems encountered by the disadvantaged child in school related learning. Recognition of her role as teacher and deliberately teaching is not a normal part of the adult role in this sub-culture; the language peculiar to teaching is not developed. Thus, the child spends his early childhood in a situation where deliberate teaching does not take place and the language appropriate to the school environment is almost nonexistent. Unfortunately, these children are classified as mentally retarded by school personnel when in reality the child has not had an opportunity to learn the language and reasoning skills so essential to success in school.5

There are claimants, Hunt and Montessori among them, who feel

that language deficiencies are the result of a basic lack of concrete, non-verbal type of learning experiences. This viewpoint has received wide spread support from many administrators and teachers responsible for the implementation of preschool programs for the disadvantaged.

There is no evidence to show that disadvantaged children do not have a variety of concrete experiences.6

According to Hunt,

...counteracting cultural deprivation at the early stages of development might be accomplished by giving the child the opportunity to encounter a wide variety of objects, pictures and appropriate behavior. The setting should encourage him to indulge his inclination to scrutinize and manipulate the new objects as long as he is interested and should provide him with appropriate answers to his questions.7

Hunt fails to realize that in order to ask questions, a child must be able to internalize what he is experiencing in terms of appropriate language.

Children, blind from birth, are cut off from the major source of concrete sensory experiences, such as touching, seeing, and manipulating. In addition, they are so restricted in movement that they are unable to make full use of the remaining senses. However, they are not cut off from language experiences. Children, born deaf, have more concrete experiences than blind children but they have no access to verbal learning, thus developing no language. If, as Hunt and others


7Ibid.
claim, the concrete experiences are more important, then blind children should not be as intellectually competent as deaf children.

A large number of studies on the intellectual and academic performance of blind and deaf children have provided convincing evidence that the opposite is true. Blind children, on the average, show little or no intellectual and academic deficiency, whereas deaf children are below average in I.Q. and show gross inadequacies in academic achievement. A comparison of blind and deaf children reveals that children can be markedly deprived of concrete sensory experiences and yet develop normal intellects and function well academically. However, a lack of language experience results in serious deprivation.

Steps To A Successful Program

The basic principle behind the success of the academically oriented approach is to describe all phases of the procedure in terms of specific tasks. Departure from this principle results in a loss of uniformity of program progress. Tasks must be set up in terms of the specific concepts the child is expected to master; the analysis of the tasks must be made in terms of these specific concepts; the teacher's presentation must be planned in terms of specific concepts; and the performance of the child must be evaluated in terms of mastery of specific concepts. The above procedure is based upon what the child is expected to learn and what he learns.


9 Ibid., P. 25.
Establishing Objectives

The first step in the development of the program is to determine the objectives. An objective is an absolute criterion of performance that is to be achieved by the child as a result of in-school experiences. In other words, after training, he is supposed to be able to do things he could not do before—very specific things. If the objective is to teach certain language skills, the child must be taught these skills. If the child does not master these skills, that phase of the program is a failure. The success of future problem solving by the child depends upon his ability to operationalize previously learned skills.

Educational objectives must be stated in terms of specific tasks that the child should be able to use after instruction. By being so specific, there is no confusion as to exactly what is expected. "Teaching basis communication skills" as an objective can be interpreted in a variety of ways. When objectives are stated in general terms, it is difficult to assess accurately the success of the program as it relates to the development of new skills by the child.

By detailing objectives, the teacher makes it possible for the program to move at a faster than normal rate. The objectives serve as the basis for developing the curriculum. Analysis of the objectives indicates the subskills that are necessary for successful performance of specified tasks. The objectives serve as a basis for testing the child to determine whether or not instruction has been successful. The objectives also serve to direct the activity of the teacher. She knows what the end product of her teaching is expected to be and she can measure student competency by comparing his performance with the performance called for by the specific tasks. Student performance also aids the teacher in
measuring her competency.

Objectives that cannot be translated into specific tasks cannot be considered in program development. Such general objectives as "teaching the whole child," "enhancing self-realization," and "providing readiness" can be accepted only if they can be translated into specific tasks.

The spelling out of specific objectives prevents the teacher assuming that a child has learned a particular task until she has actually assessed his ability to operationalize it. The objectives apply to all children in the class and not just to a majority. The failure of a child to master a task generally means that there is a significant gap in prior learning. The responsibility for bridging the gap rests with the teacher, not the child.

Some examples of initial objectives could include:

1. Ability to use affirmative and negative statements in answering a question; for example: "What is this?" "It is a hammer; it is not a ball."

2. Ability to use the prepositions on, in, under, over, and between correctly in describing arrangement. "Where is the ball?" "The ball is between the box and the wall."

3. Ability to correctly use polar opposites for at least four concept pairs such as big-little, up-down, fat-skinny, black-white, long-short.

4. Ability to use if-then deductions; if an object is not classified as one thing, then it must be classified as something else. The child must be able to make the distinctions.

5. Ability to name all the basic colors, as well as black and white.
6. Ability to count aloud to twenty without help and to 100 with assistance at the decade points.
7. Ability to count objects up to ten and to associate the symbol with actual number of objects.
8. Ability to rhyme to the extent of producing a word that rhymes with another word and to be able to complete unfinished rhyming jingles.

There are examples of the kinds of learning that are likely to be missed if not deliberately planned.

Analysis Of Tasks To Be Learned

If the objectives are stated in specific tasks, the next step naturally follows. This is the process of breaking down the objectives into the basic concepts used to complete the specified task. When the objective is thus examined, the concepts involved in the task can be closely analyzed. For example, the instruction "Draw a straight vertical line on your paper from the top to the bottom" may be one of many criterion tasks. The teacher must recognize all concepts involved in completing the tasks and teach them.

The major concepts involved in the instruction given are:

1. The child must be able to conceptualize the command draw; he must know what kind of behavior is expected of him when he hears this word and be able to demonstrate that he understands.
2. The child must demonstrate that he knows the difference between the words vertical, horizontal and diagonal, using his own position as a reference point.
3. The child must understand the word line. He must be able to
identify things that are lines and things that look like lines, yet are not.

4. The child must be able to distinguish between things that are straight and those that are not.

5. The child must be able to distinguish "top" from "bottom" as it relates to his paper. He should also be able to demonstrate that he can differentiate "top" from "bottom" in other situations.

6. The child must understand the work "on" as it relates to his paper. The same applies to the use of the word "your."

The procedure of analyzing the objectives in terms of expected mastery of each task is necessary if the program is to be successful. Instruction is based on complete analysis. Unless the analysis brings out each skill required to handle the task, the result can be inadequate instruction no matter how hard the teacher works at her job. Use of the analysis procedure will allow the teacher to reduce any complex task down to the level where the most naive child can start on the program. It is also possible to determine how well each child is able to meet the performance criterion.

Implementation Of Prescribed Activity

By analyzing the objective or task to be performed, the teacher is provided with a list of prerequisite skills to be learned if the task is to be mastered. The analysis does not, however, tell anything about the relative difficulty of the assigned tasks. It does not predict what tasks will be easy or those that will be difficult. The difficulty will be determined when the tasks through instruction are presented to
the child. Most teachers have had experiences in which the child is able to master and operationalize a continuous sequence of tasks only to become bogged down for a prolonged period of time by a new task requirement. When this occurs, the teacher should assume that her analysis of the task is inadequate; she may be expecting the child to master a concept when a prerequisite concept has not been taught or the sequence of steps toward mastery is not continuous.

Evaluation

The final step in the operation of an effective preschool program is to assess the results of the program. The most significant measure, from an educational standpoint, is whether the child meets the desired criteria of performance. This approach is important because it shows what the child has learned and thus, provides a firm basis for determining the next set of objectives. Assessment of student success is a never ending process, involving the teacher, the aides and, whenever appropriate, the parents. Time must be available each day when the teaching staff can confer about a specific group of children or an individual child and determine the next day's activities based on the activities of the day.

Evaluation of the program in terms of I.Q. gain or general achievement levels is interesting but not very significant when it comes to the problem of teaching children because it does not relate the performance of each child to the specific criteria of instruction that has been established. The most useful measure evaluates the instruction in terms of the child's mastery of specified objectives.
The Role Of Parents

Numerous preschool programs have been initiated in recent years in an effort to provide disadvantaged children with those experiences which would ensure academic success throughout their school careers. Many educators, such as Gray and Klaus, Goldstein, Deutsch and Weikart have introduced programs that have resulted in significant gains in I.Q. for those youngsters in experimental preschool programs as compared to the scores of the control groups. In comparison with the control groups the experimental groups were not only more advanced in I.Q. scores at the conclusion of the programs, but they also exhibited better school attendance, keener interest in subject matter, more initiative, better verbal communication, more imagination and greater possessiveness toward the teacher.

A significant question must be asked in the evaluation of program effectiveness. Are the positive gains in test scores and observable behavioral changes maintained over a long period of time? This is a crucial question that can be answered only by long range followup studies. Weikart and others conducted a followup study for the Ypsilanti Public School system. Two years after the completion of the preschool program, the differences between the experimental and control group scores were not significant. Similar findings have been reported by educators in the field throughout the country.

As results accumulate, efforts are being made to evaluate the success

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success or failure of a program in terms of certain program differences. The most significant differences have been in terms of the ages of the children at entrance, duration of the program and the amount of time the child spends in it, staff characteristics and the nature and amount of parental involvement.

The significance of parental involvement and commitment has not received the attention that it rightly deserves. Although program directors have espoused the importance of parental involvement, the extent of such involvement in preschool programs has been to an insignificant degree.

Researchers have been so concerned with the lack of success by the child in the school that they have neglected the most influential individuals in the child's life, his parents. The average child has had over 20,000 wakeful hours of experience by age 5 before he ever gets to the classroom. Thus, it becomes apparent that the school, if it is to effect any sustained changes in the disadvantaged child's in-school career, must give more attention to the concurrent experiences that the child has outside the classroom.

The child, for all intents and purposes, continues to live the same life that perpetuates failure in school. Those things that are valued by the primary figures, the parents, are valued by the child. If the parents, by their actions, demonstrate to the child that the school and learning have no value, the child will incorporate this attitude. It becomes exceedingly important that the life styles and values of the parents which have negative connotations toward school and learning must change if there is to be a prolonged change in the behavior of the child.
Certain basic understanding relative to the disadvantaged or Black parent will help in developing a comprehensive parent education program:

1. In most homes, there is a warm relationship between the parents and the child; enough to provide the security essential for the formation of basic identification.

2. Ghetto parents do not connect the role of a parent with that of a teacher. They know that the child has a great deal to learn but do not see it as their role to help him learn as much and as quickly as possible to ensure future success. These parents generally consider this process to be the responsibility of the school.

3. Ghetto parents have a tendency to confront their child with global demands. He is instructed, for instance, to put on his shoes. He attempts to complete this task through the process of trial and error. Should he succeed, the parents assume this task accomplishment to be a normal expectation and do not praise the child in his success. If the child is unable to complete the assigned task, the parents deduce that the child is too young to manage the task and do it for him rather than helping him learn to perform it. The task is not broken down into its basic steps for the child nor is he praised for those steps he is able to complete. In short, the parents do not assist the child to understand and gradually master those tasks so essential to success in the adult world.

4. The constant pressure of their lifestyles precludes a practice of verbal communication between husband and wife in search of a common understanding upon which to build a better life. Past
Past experiences have established a pattern of behavior for the mother and child, the father frequently not being available. Rewards are based upon the ability to carry out these acts; they are not based upon the ability to explain acts in terms of a rationale. The acts become primary and the intent is secondary. Explanations are not given to the child; he is disciplined according to how well he does or fails to do and not according to how well he has thought out his activity. Thinking, rationalizing, explaining, understanding and conceptualizing do not have primary value.

5. The disadvantaged parent addresses the child not as an internally experiencing creature who has a form and value of his own, but more like an "object" of their affection and control. The parents do not attempt to enter the world of the child. The words and acts of the child are not received as being conceptualized and developed by him, but as that of the parent. The child learns early to depend upon the parent as the authoritarian control.

Disadvantaged parents are not vicious in their authoritarian practices; they are simply underdeveloped within themselves. They have been deprived of opportunities to experience life otherwise. They are simply living their lives according to those behavior patterns and standards to which they have been exposed as children; they have acquired their patterns of behavior towards their children from their parents. Thus, it becomes evident that the child's ultimate success depends heavily upon a change in the life style of his parents. As presently
constituted, the community does not have the expertise to provide the experiences needed to bring about such a change. The preschool educational program in the Schome must provide the experiences necessary to help parents change or have the wherewithal to locate the agencies which can provide them.

The success of the parent education program depends upon the voluntary attendance of all parents a minimum of one day per week. The importance of their involvement is first explained to the mothers when they are visited by a member of the Schome staff. A variety of illustrations are used in describing to the parent her role in the program. Heavy emphasis is placed on the fact that the program can not be successful without the parents since certain parts of the program can only be effectively carried out by the parents. Those parents who are employed are provided with examples of how they can contribute to the success of the program by coming to the school one evening to work or on Saturday. The family life consultant also coordinates this portion of the program.

The success of parent participation depends upon the ability of the family life consultant to establish the best possible rapport with the parents. The parent most likely to attend is the mother although the author has seen a number of fathers involved. Another means of ensuring success is to preempt any possible excuses that the mother might have by providing services to ensure their attendance. One reason for not participating in the program often is the lack of a babysitter for younger children at home. This can be remedied by providing a nursery in the Schome, staffed on a rotating basis by the mothers in the program or through cooperative babysitting between mothers in the program who live
There will be times, particularly at the beginning of the program, when enthusiasm about participating in the program has not fully developed and a mother will not come on her assigned day or will call with an excuse for not appearing at the center that day. It is at this point that the astuteness of the family life consultant will ensure the success or failure of this aspect of the program. If she has been carefully studying her mothers, she should know whether this person is malingering or not. If the mother is malingering and succeeds in evading her duties, then others will try the same thing; you can be sure that the shirking mother will inform other participants that she has "beat the system." When this situation arises, and it most certainly will, the consultant should remind the mother of her responsibility for and value to the success of the program in a most professional and understanding manner. She must also be flexible enough to provide alternative solutions to the mother's problem without allowing the mother to evade her responsibility and without compromising the basic structure or requirement of the program. For example, the mother might find another day that week more suitable or is able to find another mother to swap participation days. Although there is some flexibility in the program, the basic requirement of weekly participation is inflexible and the sooner this becomes "the word" the greater are the chances of ensuring initial participation. Later on, the author has found that the intense interest in the program and the enthusiasm resulting from success and accomplishments of the mothers is sufficient and attendance is no longer a problem.

The activities, in which the parents are involved, must be substantive,
relevant and have meaning to their lives. The key to a good program is the degree of the commitment exhibited by the parents. Thus, activities must be such that the parent feels she is hurting her own child or missing out on a worthwhile or enjoyable experience by not participating. As the director of an Operation Headstart Program for four years, the author observed that a significant number of mothers participated more than the required one day per week because the program added a new and meaningful dimension to their lives. There will be cases in all such programs, if the staff has been thorough in its recruiting efforts, when the life style of a family is at such a level that additional and concentrated assistance, beyond that offered by the professional staff, is required. Many parents are so overwhelmed and frustrated by the milieu in which they find themselves that it is impossible to extricate themselves to give proper attention to the in-school education of their children or modify their at-home activities.

The Emergency Home Management program is geared to assist those families in need of appropriate, practical, concrete methods for adjusting to life. The focus of this program is on the improvement of the physical environment in the light of the affective, attitudinal and behavioral aspects of family life. By establishing a warm, supportive relationship with the family, while modifying the physical environment, it is hoped that a positive atmosphere and greater coping abilities will pervade the family.

The general goals of this phase of the community education program include:

1. To improve home-school relations.
2. To improve the health and appearance of the child.
3. To encourage regular attendance of the mother and child in the Schome program.
4. To assist the parent in home management and child care.
5. To assist the family in viewing themselves as a unit.
6. To facilitate communication between husband, wife and child.
7. To provide experiences that promote effective learning; to show rather than tell a mother or father how to do something.

The types of problems which tend to inundate these families include: parents overwhelmed by the pressures of urban living; insufficient income; lack of know-how in family management; irregular or no employment; poor health; insufficient housing; lack of ego satisfying experiences.

The techniques used to help this type of family vary but would include:
1. Start with the problem as it is perceived by the parents.
2. Spend a great deal of time developing a positive, helping relationship with the parents.
3. Provide quick, positive results with some family problems: get medical help, organize children to help with household duties, teach mother how to stretch food budget, get food stamps, take mother and children to clinic and see them through all the red tape.
4. Become involved with the family by serving and assisting the family in the home setting.

The basic staff utilized to work with a family consists of a professionally trained social worker and an aide who works with the family
in the home on a continuing basis. The coordination of this service to the community will be the responsibility of the social worker. Since it is expected that the mother will fulfill her responsibilities with the preschool program, there must be a close working relationship between the family life consultant and the social worker.

The emergency help activities represent one part of the overall experiences planned to aid parents of the children enrolled in the Schome. This type of assistance is provided for some parents because of the severity of the conditions under which they are forced to live. This phase of the program is not for all parents, only those referred by a staff member, social agency or concerned citizen are included.

As indicated earlier in this proposal, the support, orientation and involvement of the parents of the children enrolled in the Schome is vital. A comprehensive preschool program will encompass experiences that will have beneficial and long range effects for parents and children.

The types of activities best suited to secure parental support include:

1. The nutrition program which is the responsibility of the participating parents. It is obvious that a child is not in a learning frame of mind if he is hungry. Therefore, it becomes important that the parent learn the value of good nutrition and the relationship between hunger and the learning process. Parents are given the responsibility of planning menus, preparing the food and serving it to their children. The family life consultant and her aide assume a coordinating role. As the
parents become competent in their roles, they assume more and more of the responsibility. Other duties of the parents in relation to the breakfast are:

a. Setting the tables and cleaning up after breakfast.

b. Assisting the teachers in preparing the children for breakfast.

c. Acting as a "hostess" to the children at an assigned table; helping the children with their eating activities and providing "breakfast table talk."

d. Preparing the mid-morning snack as requested by the classroom teacher.

e. Learning the value of comparison shopping by going to the supermarket rather than shopping at the corner grocer for the food to be used in the program.

2. Cooperatively planned experiences specifically designed for parents. The family life consultant coordinates and directs a variety of activities to be described later in this chapter which are designed to stimulate parental interest in bettering their present status and improving the status of their children. Program development for parents becomes a joint effort as the family life consultant actively seeks suggestions from the parents as to their particular needs. Also included are those activities viewed as valuable to parental growth by the family life consultant.

The key to a successful program which really peaks the interest of the parents is one which stresses active participation. Simple instructions are given by the family life consultant and any resource persons
that may be available are utilized. Demonstrations are given and parents are encouraged to engage fully in all activities so as to increase understanding of each activity's value. For example, all parents are required to spend a certain amount of time in the classroom assisting the teacher and her aides in activities prescribed for the children. An example of an activity could be working with a small group of children and preparing the snack for the day or making play dough. The procedure would include a discussion of what happens to the flour as other ingredients are added; it changes from a solid or power state to a pasty state and might even change color and taste. This demonstration would also include a discussion of the utensils used, spoon, beater, measuring cup, etc. and would include making sure that the children associate the right name with the utensil.

Further discussion would include speculations about what will happen to the batter when it is placed in the oven, followed by actual observation of this phenomenon. As one can see, a simple cooking lesson can be an involved science lesson for the parent and children. Without a thorough orientation and demonstration by the family life consultant before entering the classroom, many parents would be at a loss in explaining or directing the activity and in many cases could possibly omit some important aspects of the lesson. Many parents are amazed that so much can be learned from a "simple" cooking lesson such as baking cookies or brownies.

Since the family life consultant is aware of the classroom curriculum, she is able to plan this and other activities for her group of parents. She then proceeds to explain the value and goals of any
particular activity, demonstrates it and then has the parents go through the activity themselves. To make the demonstration even more realistic, students can be used whenever possible. Parents are more confident when they enter the classrooms as "teachers" for a group of children. The author has observed that initially the parents are hesitant and insecure but with the proper pre-planning and assistance from the family life consultant, they generally find this a most rewarding activity and are eager to "invade" the classrooms again.

It is important that one realize that the preparation of parents to go into the classrooms should be based upon individual ability and that such visitations do not take place until the family life consultant feels that the parents are capable of handling themselves in this situation. Everyone is apprehensive about venturing into a new and strange activity. The family life consultant should be certain that a parent is ready for this assignment. A "safe" procedure would be to send a less capable parent to the classroom with a parent who has developed confidence and skill at a faster rate.

The visitation to the classroom is evaluated by the parents and the family life consultant on the basis of the objectives to be met for the children and the parents' assessments of their own experiences in working with the children in a teacher-learner situation.

In an effort to reinforce the learning related to certain activities, kits are prepared and loaned to the parents so that they might continue related activities in the home setting. Emphasis is placed upon the utilization of common household items to use in teaching the children. A significant part of each week's activities with
parents is a discussion of the sessions conducted by the parents at home. Through this process, the family life consultant can recommend alternative ways of working with the children to broaden the scope of the home experiences.

One of the shortcomings found in the disadvantaged Black child is the manifestation of a poor self concept. The lack of a feeling of selfworth is instrumental in retarding educational success. If this is a characteristic of the poor Black child, it would seem logical that it is also characteristic of his parents. Consequently, if the self concept of the child is to be improved, then that of the parents must be enhanced.

The enhancement of the parents' self concept can be accomplished, for example, by aiding the mothers with self improvement in a physical sense. Through the use of a beauty consultant, mothers can be taught how to apply makeup to improve their personal appearance. At the initial session, one mother is used to demonstrate the before and after effects of correct makeup procedures. Concurrent with this are discussions related to clothing that is flattering to different body styles, characteristics of quality clothing, and places where good clothes can be purchased at minimum costs. This area of interest can be highlighted by having appropriate fashion shows presented by local merchants. Mothers should be taught simple sewing skills and encouragement and aided in altering garments and making their own clothing.

Black history should be an on-going segment of the parent education program. The result of racism in this country has emphasized to
the Black American that he is worthless, lazy, ignorant, and incapable of functioning as a first class citizen. By and large Black people were convinced of this because their true history was denied them. The presentation of the true nature of the Black American's contribution to the growth of this country is vitally important.

As mentioned earlier, the disadvantaged parent uses pain as a means of assessing the health of the family. This practice can be altered significantly through a reorientation program. The doctor and dentist who conducted the preopening examinations should be periodically scheduled to talk to the mothers about the values of preventive medicine. In addition, they would be available for the answering the mothers' questions. The Schome nurse also plays a valuable role by constantly surveying the children in each class and relating her findings to the parents. A symptom chart of the most common illnesses and defects should be given to each mother for use at home.

The most knowledgeable individual will at times find it difficult to maneuver through the red tape of seeking services from the variety of service agencies located in the metropolitan area. Imagine the consternation experienced by the ghetto parent who, lacking the wherewithal to effectively confront these agencies, attempts to obtain some kind of service from them. The family life consultant should explain the procedures involved in obtaining aid from the many service agencies located in the community. A booklet, providing information about the services offered, addresses, and phone numbers should be provided each mother.

Other activities that could be included in the parent education program are:
1. Planned parenthood and its implications.
2. Legal aid; understanding the law as it relates to the rights of the individual.
3. Protection from practices of unscrupulous businessmen.
4. Procedures for borrowing money or buying on credit.
5. Participation in the public library program with an emphasis on the value of reading activities involving parent and child.
6. Police-community relations programs through which the parents view the police as helpful agents.
7. Discussions relating to assessing the quality of school programs, the parent's role in assisting school personnel to improve instructional programs and educational opportunities.

Summary

The preschool education program presented in this chapter is one means of solving the problem of failure of the poor Black child in the middle class dominated public elementary school and at the same time providing a basis for dealing with similar problems among other minority groups.

Other types of preschool programs found in traditional nursery schools have been tried and found wanting. While the proposed program is not predicted to be a panacea, it does offer a concrete and logical basis from which one can begin solving the educational problems of the urban, disadvantaged Black child.

This proposed model is based upon the realization that society has certain expectations that all young people are expected to fulfill; one of these is to succeed academically in school. The Black child who
is successful in academic achievement has a greater opportunity to participate in the mainstream of American life than the one who is not so fortunate. The small amount of time available to staff members working with the child must be allotted to the mastery of certain academic skills.

The nature of the problems facing the urban Black child in his setting is such that his education must be developed within the context of a broadly defined community education program for all members of that community. Attempts to educate the poor Black child in isolation from his environment has met with miserable failure. The preschool program espoused by the author centers around the "Schome," a merger of the resources available in the home and the school, to provide an effective, lasting, and meaningful experience for the child.

The attractiveness of the Schome concept is that it helps those of the community to help themselves; this is not a paternalistic program. Community people are involved in program development from the inception; parents are intimately involved in planning, implementing and evaluating their own program as well as that of the children. Parents are responsible for providing input which will enhance the education of those professional staff members assigned to the program. A give and take mutuality of commitment is a primary goal of those involved. Other social agencies responsible for providing services to the community are intimately involved in the development of the preschool program where that involvement has relevance.

By dealing with the community as a whole in as many ways as possible, the effect of the Schome program is that of initiating
permanent changes in the life styles of the entire community. The resulting factor in this situation would be a better "product" in the form of the young Black child who is able to participate and hopefully compete successfully with his middle class counterpart.
CHAPTER IV

PROGRAM EVALUATION AND REFINEMENT

The purpose of this study is to present a program proposal to be used as a guide to providing meaningful preschool experiences for the Black child residing in the central city ghetto. The basic philosophy undergirding the proposal is the realization that the child must acquire certain skills if he is to attain success in the traditional elementary school. The skills to be mastered are academic in nature and serve as vehicles for success. The typical elementary school educator equates success with academic achievement. Failure of a child to live up to academic expectations will invariably result in the loss of the opportunity to become a happy, respected, and productive human being. The proposed program is intended for use by administrators, teachers and other school related personnel charged with the responsibility of preschool education in the ghetto.

In this chapter, the writer will present the reactions of the selected panel of experts to the criteria established as a basis for preschool program development; also their reactions to the proposed program. The writer will also refine the program in those areas indicated by the panel members.

The panel members are:

1. Mrs. Lorena Burton, currently the coordinator of federal
and state programs for the Romulus Community Schools, Romulus, Michigan. Mrs. Burton, prior to this appointment, was the coordinator of all Headstart programs in Wayne County, Michigan for the Office of Equal Opportunity.

2. Dr. Sam Sniderman, Assistant Superintendent for Instruction in the city of Ann Arbor, Michigan, has had a wide variety of experiences in dealing with the problems manifested by disadvantaged Black children.

3. Dr. Arthur Enzmann is the director of the Department of Early Childhood Education for the school district of the city of Detroit, Michigan. Dr. Enzmann is responsible for the development and implementation of preschool education in the disadvantaged areas of Detroit.

4. Dr. Keith Osborn is the chairman of the Home Economics Department at the University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia. Prior to this assignment, Dr. Osborn was a professor of early childhood education at Merrill-Palmer Institute in Detroit, Michigan.

5. Dr. David Smith is a professor of educational Administration and Higher Education at Michigan State University. He has worked closely with administrators and teachers responsible for programming in the central areas of many Michigan cities.

Assessment Of The Program By Panel Members

The panel members were asked to react to the criteria used as a basis for program building and to assess the value of the program developed by the author. The various criteria which were presented in
Chapter 3 are listed below along with the reactions of the panel members to the criteria. The panel members responses are identified with numbers which correspond with the numbers in the preceding list. The panel members were asked to respond by using the followingscale:

1. Acceptable
2. Questionable
3. Unacceptable

The panel members were encouraged to make remarks where appropriate.

1. How valid is the basic philosophy as it pertains to education for the inner city child?
   M(1) Acceptable
   M(2) Acceptable
   M(3) Acceptable
   M(4) Questionable
   M(5) Acceptable

   Remarks - Panel member 4 - "I find it difficult to accept the premise that the primary effort should be toward academic achievement at this age."

2. Does the illustrated model provide a basic foundation for program development?
   M(1) Acceptable
   M(2) Acceptable
   M(3) Acceptable
   M(4) Acceptable
   M(5) Acceptable

3. Indicate your reaction to the criteria presented in the model.
   Circle 1
   M(1) Acceptable
   M(2) Acceptable
   M(3) Acceptable
   M(4) Acceptable
   M(5) Acceptable

   Circle 2
   M(1) Acceptable
   M(2) Acceptable
   M(3) Acceptable
   M(4) Acceptable
   M(5) Acceptable
4. Indicate your reaction to the additional criteria interjected as supportive of the model.

Criterion 1
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M(2) Acceptable
M(3) Acceptable
M(4) Acceptable
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5. Indicate your reaction to each section of the program.

**Section 1 - The School And Its Community**

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Section 2 - The Projected Organizational Structure
M(1) Acceptable
M(2) Acceptable
M(3) Acceptable
M(4) Acceptable
M(5) Acceptable

Section 3 - Personnel Requirements, Characteristics And Roles
M(1) Questionable
M(2) Acceptable
M(3) Questionable
M(4) Questionable
M(5) Questionable

Remarks - Four panel members questioned the absence of a description of the position and responsibilities of the social worker and nurse.

Section 4 - Pre-opening Preparation
M(1) Questionable
M(2) Questionable
M(3) Acceptable
M(4) Acceptable
M(5) Questionable

Remarks - Panel members 1, 2, and 5 raised the following questions: (1) How will you get parents to participate in the program? (2) It is not clear in your paper how parents are contributing to the decision making process. This is such an important facet of the "Schome" plan that it needs further explanation. (3) Recognizing the fear expressed by some staff members, particularly women, how do you plan to get them out into the community for home visits? (4) Who is to be responsible for coordinating the activities of the "Schome" with other participating social agencies? It would seem that the director of the program would be very busy with schome and community activities. (5) What arrangements will be made to ensure that the mothers will have their children at the Schome on the designated day for the physical examination?

Section 5 - The Nature Of Student Experiences
M(1) Questionable
M(2) Acceptable
M(3) Acceptable
M(4) Unacceptable
M(5) Questionable

Remarks - Panel members 2 and 3 regarded this section as acceptable, with members 1 and 5 raising questions about it. Panel member 4 does not accept the academic approach. The questions raised were: (1) The high powered academic curriculum is still not the answer to our problems of enrichment.
Neither is the traditional nursery school. Rather, the ideal curriculum falls somewhere in between. What are your feelings on this? (2) Will your teachers develop their own instructional materials or will you follow a publisher’s sequencing?

5. Please express your reactions to the proposed program in narrative form.

Dr. Osborn writes:

I have read your material with great interest. In its entirety, I consider the proposed program to be quite good. Your section on the family life consultant and the parent aspect of the program is, to me, the strongest feature. I feel, as you do, that unless work goes on in the home no school program, regardless of how creative, will have a lasting effect.

I believe that your orientation of all staff must drive this point home. Schools must change families in order to change children. As you know, real tough work must be done to get solid participation from parents. The staff must be totally committed to using parent input to the highest degree.

For me, the high powered academic curriculum is still not the answer to our problems of enrichment. Neither is the traditional nursery school. Rather, I feel the ideal curriculum falls somewhere in between. We need a well balanced program which emphasizes all aspects of the child’s development. The curriculum should have balance between cognitive, language, social and personal areas. Actually research to date does not indicate any clear cut superiority to any one approach. As you indicate, much that is gained is washed away (thus my hopes for your community approach). Finally, it does look good and I hope I have not delayed you.

Mrs. Burton wrote:

Mark, I have read your dissertation proposal quite thoroughly and find it to be timely and appropriate. The Romulus Community Schools’ Continuing Education Policy Advisory Committee has just completed a lengthy and involved community survey, and based on the needs indicated by the survey, recommended to the Board of Education the approval of a community school program. This was done with the realization that our present educational system is not responding in some instances to the current needs of our society and must be supplemented in some instances and replaced in others. I heartily approve of your proposal, as the one we recommended included many of the concepts you espouse.

I consider the entire proposal to be worthwhile as I can find nothing in it which would not be beneficial to Black children, in particular, as well as other children from disadvantaged backgrounds.
I agree with you that we must marshal all available educational sources to change human behavior. This certainly includes the parents of the children involved as well as other members of the community. The time has long passed when educators must realize that parents of disadvantaged children are greatly concerned about their children's future and can be most cooperative when they realize that educators are sincere in their effort to help.

The concepts included for preschool education are excellent. Children who do not succeed academically in school will probably become lost human beings in our society. You have my support on this issue because I am constantly reminded of the misery of those who were not successful in school. I shudder to think of where the country is headed if this waste of human resources isn't stopped. The only suggestion I have to offer is that more emphasis be put on staff selection. Unless everyone working with preschool disadvantaged children, especially Blacks, have empathy for them, much harm can be done.

May I have permission to use your dissertation for the Romulus Schools' preschool program this summer as well as a follow through program for the 1970-71 school year? Best of luck to you.

Dr. Dave Smith writes:

I am impressed by your proposal. It shows that much thought and, I assume, some practical experience has gone into this work. I would say that the program you are proposing will be a valuable asset to the field of education. I have not come across any other program as comprehensive as yours. There are a number of ideas presented that heighten my interest. I am in complete accord with you in stressing the community school concept. The total environment must be dealt with if we expect to see any significant changes in the behavior of the disadvantaged. Central in this concept is the notion that people should be involved in shaping their own destinies. Unfortunately, minority groups have not had that opportunity in this country. The days of benevolent paternalism are over and educators should be the first to realize it. This concept, in my opinion, represents the foundation from which to build the remainder of your program.

I like the idea of the Schome, a merger of cooperative effort between the school and the home. Your proposal that the Schome become the center for community activity and services is basically sound. I fear that some educators would be resistant to this idea because they envision themselves as "educators" not social workers. They only see themselves as being surveyors of facts. This is most unfortunate. Let us hope this type of person is disappearing from the educational scene.
The success of this program hinges, however, on the ability of two people in particular, the director and the family life consultant. This is not to say that the other personnel you identified are not important, quite the contrary. It must be recognized, however, that the administrator sets the tone of any program. If he isn't a creative, flexible, approachable and well organized human being, I would have some doubts as to the probability of overall program success. This person has a real responsibility in properly blending the pieces together. An administrator of extraordinary quality is needed and I must admit that the individual you describe is difficult to find.

I mentioned the family life consultant because I feel that the quality of parental involvement, orientation and education will determine the lasting effects of the program. If this person has the attitude of most educators working in inner city schools, the chances for success are greatly minimized. What I am trying to say is that the procedure for interviewing and selecting staff must be given a high priority. Personnel will "make or break" your program.

I do like your proposal. It has real possibilities and I think you should endeavor to operationalize this program in an urban setting. I would be very interested in the results.

Dr. Sniderman writes:

Mark, I read your paper with great interest and I like what I read. I am not surprised by what you propose, because you and I have discussed these matters in the past. I would like to see such a program which embodies so many new approaches implemented. If it should prove successful, it would have a profound impact on the educational process in this country.

Implicit in your program is an important, yet sad fact; the Black population of most communities is a minority and very little emphasis has been placed on developing programs to meet their needs. Explicit in your program are ways of correcting that situation. I agree with you that the community school concept should be an integral part of any educational program in the ghetto.

I feel the community and family parts of your program are the strongest assets. I also feel that the reason for a lack of success in many innovative programs is that they have attempted to change the child without altering the "ecological niche." This is comparable to therapy where we give aid to the sick person and send him back into the milieu which originally caused the illness. Have you read the work Ira Gordon (University of Florida) with respect to parent educators? These are trained parents who go into the house and work with the mothers and their children. This is similar to your "emergency assistance" plan.
I also feel that some real in-service work must be done with all personnel if you are to get total cooperation from all the disciplines involved in the Schome. Certainly some in-service training which will help the professionals recognize the "equal status" of the parents and the members of the community is needed.

Dr. Enzmann writes:

I read your dissertation material with great interest, for as you know, I am much concerned over improving and extending preschool experiences to disadvantaged children. I especially like your idea of the Schome. It seems to me that the Schome can adequately serve to meet the needs of the total community, which would also strengthen the preschool program.

The degree of success achieved through the Schome notion is directly related to the capabilities of the staff selected. The program you are advocating has less value than the paper it's written on if the staff is low quality. I propose that as much time as necessary be taken to select a staff that would assure some possibility of success.

I am pleased that you have gone to great lengths to deal with the importance of having a strong parent education program. This is an area that has been ignored by educators attempting to change the behavioral patterns of the disadvantaged child. I like your approach because you have provided means whereby the parents contribute to the successful running of the program, are involved in the teaching process and are themselves gaining new knowledge that will enable them to play a significant role in the education of their children. I cannot envision a successful educational program in the ghetto that does not actively involve the parents of students.

This paper represents a significant beginning of a type of program that could have far reaching implications for inner city education. Keep up the good work. My best wishes for a successful conclusion to your project.

The panel members were in general agreement that the philosophy and criteria proposed are basically useful and heuristic and that the intended program has real merit in upgrading and extending the education of the disadvantaged, urban Black child. Certain refinements of the program are mandated by the panel's reactions.
Program Refinement

In this section, the writer will attempt to clarify concerns expressed by the panel regarding the program and will make those changes recommended by the panel with which the writer agrees.

Three of the panel members noted that descriptions of the positions of social worker and nurse were not included in the program chapter under "Personnel." The discrepancy is hereby corrected.

Personnel Requirement, Characteristics And Roles

The Social Worker

The social worker attempts to communicate with all persons in the program—parents, teachers, medical team members, social agencies, family life consultant and others—in an effort to identify problems, bring them to the attention of the proper persons or agency, and to provide followup services to assure that identified problems are acted upon. The social worker will act as the coordinator of services to ensure that all families with identified need receive the assistance required and that duplication of effort does not develop. Additional duties and responsibilities of the social worker would include:

1. Developing a close relationship with the families in the preschool program as well as with other members of the community.

2. Assisting in the resolution of community problems.

3. Working with staff members and parents in planning desired activities.

4. Visiting the homes of the families involved in the program
as the need arises.

5. Assisting the director in developing a coordinated program with the cooperating social agencies.

6. Aiding in the development of a staff inservice education program.

7. Assuming the responsibility for the home emergency education program.

8. Training and supervising those aides who provide assistance to families in the home setting.

The Nurse

Frequently disadvantaged children are hampered in their efforts to be successful in school by medical deficiencies. As has been indicated elsewhere in this program, disadvantaged parents tend to meet the medical needs of their children through the use of the pain principle. In other words, children do not receive medical attention unless they manifest painful symptoms or a disabling illness.

The lack of adequate food, medical attention and a preventive health program means that many disadvantaged children enter school physically unfit to meet the demands placed upon them. Physical deficiencies hinder the possibility of these children wholeheartedly involving themselves in the educational program. The parents of these children are for the most part ignorant of what preventive measures should be taken to circumvent health problems plaguing the family. It becomes clear that a nurse is needed to coordinate the health correction and prevention programs. The duties and responsibilities of the nurse include:
1. Coordinating the initial physical examination of all children by the medical team.

2. Teaching parents how to establish a preventive health program in the home.

3. Coordinating learning sessions between the parents and appropriate members of the medical team.

4. Coordinating the follow-up program designed to correct all deficiencies identified by the medical team.

5. Aiding other members of the community in the solving of medical problems.

6. Providing the medical team with all materials needed to complete their assignments.

7. Supervising the medical clinic in the Schome.

8. Teaching parents how to obtain assistance from social agencies.

9. Working closely with the social agencies in the effort to provide prompt and courteous service to the community.

10. Visiting the homes of the parents as often as necessary.

Preopening Preparation

Three panel members expressed concerns about the material presented in this section of Chapter 3. The writer will react to those concerns. The first question asked, "What procedures would be used to get parents to participate in the preschool program?"

As a result of decades of unpleasant, demeaning, and discriminatory experiences, poor Black Americans have little reason to trust any of the legally constituted institutions. Their contacts with these institutions have taught them not to trust people connected with them.
Such is the case with the schools and those who run them. The average Black has "failed" in school and his experiences there did little more than reinforce what the society has told him in so many overt and covert ways, that he is of little value to himself or to the society in which he exists.

The suspicions and hostilities of Black parents have resulted in increased confrontations between school personnel and the Black community throughout the country. To convince parents that they should participate in programs such as the proposed preschool program means that educators must use different approaches than have been used in the past. The following approaches are indicative of program elements which can be used:

1. The staff, sensitive to the problems of the community, must make personal visits to the homes to explain the merits of the program to the parents.

2. The staff must endeavor to convince the parents that they are the key to the success of the program. Great care must be used in stressing to the parents the value of their role as teachers. Parents must feel that the educators need their assistance; first, because this is a correct assessment and secondly, because of the long range effect of parent involvement upon the child eligible for the program and younger siblings.

3. Parents should be provided with graphic examples of the role they are to play in the program, the benefits which will accrue to the child and the benefits they as adults will derive. Examples of parent oriented activities can be
depicted through the use of 8 x 10 photographs.

4. Those parents who decline the invitation to participate in the program should receive a visit from one of the aides who lives in the area. The advantage is that the aide is likely to be "closer" to the parent than the professional staff and generally will be able to communicate in a way not available to other staff members.

5. More than one visit may be necessary before a parent will agree to enroll herself and her child in the program. It may take this amount of time to convince her that school personnel are really sincere in their desire to help her and her child.

The next concern expressed by the panel members dealt with ways of involving the parents in the decision making process.

The involvement of Black parents in the decision making process must be an integral part of the program. Not only is this procedure good for improving the self-concept of the parent, but it encourages them to provide pertinent information to the staff regarding community needs of which the staff may not be aware. Some areas where parents can share in the decision making process are as follows:

1. Deciding about the location of the Schome, whether there will be one location or several; the kinds of equipment to be used; the decor of the various rooms; the services to be provided for the children and the community, etc.

2. No one knows better than the parents what kinds of problems they face in everyday living. Parents, then should be involved in thinking about and identifying problems with the family
life consultant to design programs to solve these problems.

3. The kinds of experiences regarded as necessary for the children in the Schome should be presented to the parents by a staff member for their approval. The staff member should explain to the parents the rationale behind the desire to include certain types of experiences. By using this approach, two goals are reached: first, the parents are more committed to the program and, secondly, it represents a learning experience for them.

The question of how to get teachers to make the necessary home visits was raised by three of the panel members.

There will be some staff members who will be reluctant, if not fearful, of venturing into the Black community to visit the homes of prospective enrollees. This would not be unusual, particularly when most staff members have only "hearsay" about Black people as a basis for judgment. Going into the community will not only be beneficial to the parents and children but to the staff members as well.

In an effort to allay some of their fears, the "how to" of the home visit will be discussed by the staff before the venture is undertaken. This is done separately with the professional staff and later with the entire staff. The teachers will not be expected to visit homes by themselves but with the adult aide and the teenage assistant. Since the aide and the teenager are indigenous to the area, this should provide the teacher with some degree of comfort.

The next question raised by the panel members centered around who would be responsible for coordinating the activities of the Schome with other participating social agencies.
The task of coordinating the services provided by the many social agencies can be exacting and time consuming. These services to the community are vital to continued growth and development. Coordination of the same should receive the attention needed to ensure success. A team approach, utilizing the abilities of the director, the social worker, the family life consultant and the nurse should be developed. This approach with the director acting as chairman of the team should ensure a smooth, coordinated effort.

The panel was also concerned about the problem of getting parents to keep medical appointments and to do so punctually.

The lack of a stable, well coordinated, relatively troublefree life style precludes some disadvantaged mothers assuming the responsibility for completing a task at a designated time. So often there is little in their lives that must be done at a specified time and this has been a part of their lifestyle since childhood. Recognizing the importance of making full use of the time allocated for physical examinations, the mothers are provided with assistance to ensure that they keep their appointments. The procedure for doing this is as follows:

1. The parents are notified by mail of the date and time of their appointment. The letter is followed by a phone call two days later from a staff member to see if the letter was received and to verify that the date and time are understood.

2. Any obstacles which would prevent the mother from keeping the appointment are sought out. Babysitting services are provided at the Schome for younger siblings while the examination is being conducted. Cooperative babysitting between mothers is encouraged when infants are involved; should this be impossible,
the adult aides and teenage assistants are used.

3. The day prior to the examination, all mothers receive a reminder phone call verifying the time of their appointment. The mothers are encouraged to provide their own transportation; however, if they live some distance from the Schome, transportation by school bus can be provided.

The Nature Of Student Experiences

The panel raised questions relating to the academic program developed for the children. One panel member was very concerned over the emphasis placed on providing the children with experiences that were academically oriented. It is his position that the curriculum should be somewhere between the traditional and the highly academic approach. He also feels that the curriculum should use "enrichment" as the foundation for planning.

The writer must take exception to the position of this panel member.

Enrichment is generally viewed as compressing into the preschool program the maximum quantity of experiences believed to contribute to the elevation of the disadvantaged child's learning ability. In practice, what often happens is that the program is watered down by the introduction of experiences chosen, not because they are expected to be most beneficial to the child, but, because they are activities that the child deserves to experience such as trips to the zoo, playing with certain toys, playing certain adult roles, etc.

The enrichment strategy appears to lack the thrust needed to enable the disadvantaged child to catch up with his more privileged counterpart.
The reason is simple. While the poor child is having those experiences that the privileged child has had before him and hopefully is learning what the privileged learned, that same privileged child is not idly waiting for him to catch up but is having new experiences and learning new skills from them.

Time is a vital factor working against the use of the enrichment strategy in ghetto preschool programs, particularly for the four year old child on the verge of entering the traditional kindergarten. Were it not for this time factor, the enrichment strategy might prove adequate. Since time is a factor, other approaches must be taken to increase the amount learned in the time allotted.

The writer has not suggested that the preschool age child enrolled in the Schome receive only academic experiences. What is advocated is the realization that in-school success is evaluated primarily by the degree of academic achievement. Consequently, academic experiences must receive top priority in terms of the time allocation. In the course of the four-hour day, one fourth of this time is devoted exclusively to the mastery of academically oriented skills. The child is not subjected to the academic activities in one session but in time allotments of approximately twenty minutes.

Although other objectives may be relegated to a secondary or tertiary role, this does not mean that they are not considered to be important. Developing social skills, learning motor skills, developing manipulative skills, and developing psychosexually are important to the successful development of the individual child. These are objectives that the staff strives for as well as academic achievement. The
parent program represents another vehicle for achieving these goals.

The second question raised by the panel members in this section dealt with whether teachers would develop their own materials or rely on materials provided by publishers.

The writer has reservations relative to the universal use of sequential materials produced by publishers for classroom use. It is unfortunate that teachers have come to depend so heavily upon materials developed by publishers, particularly teachers of disadvantaged children. It is virtually impossible for the textbook writer to know at what level any child of any age group is functioning. All too often, the child has been forced to begin his school career where the published guide book indicates he should. This practice has been particularly difficult for the disadvantaged child since writers of academic materials make assumptions about the level of development of children based on their middle class orientations. These assumptions may be correct for the average middle class child and may be even correct for some inner city children but very incorrect for so many others. A compounding factor is that the middle class oriented teacher for all intents and purposes accepts the assumptions made by the publishers.

The writer proposes that teachers select the materials provided by publishers as a foundation for program building as there will be some children for whom the materials will be appropriate. The utilization of these materials should come as a consequence of teacher evaluation of what each child knows. The teacher can then provide subsequent experiences based upon that knowledge. In those situations
where published materials are not appropriate, the teacher should
develop materials applicable to the level at which a child is func-
tioning. A teachers' handbook should not dictate what kinds of
experiences should take place, when and in what sequence for all
children. It should serve only as an aid to instruction.

Another reason why teachers should develop some of the materials
used with their students is that most published materials are lacking
in reality for the children. The life style of the ghetto is not
depicted in most published materials. Ghetto children find it very
difficult to identify with the material presented as it deals with
experiences that few of them have had. What generally occurs when
teachers insist on using published materials is that the children
become confused, frustrated, and disillusioned with their in-school
experiences because there is no relationship between what happens in
school and what happens in the community. The sensitive teacher
will find ways of using the children's previous experiences as a
means of developing an understanding of and an appreciation for the
new experiences being provided within the school setting. This is
very difficult for publishers to provide.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

American education is finally being forced to face many of the problems manifested by the diverse population it serves. Some of these problems include racial imbalance, institutional racism, inadequacy in meeting the needs of all the clientele, and the growing militancy of the population, particularly the approximately 40,000,000 poor people of the nation.

The poor of America consists of five major groups: the American Indian, the Puerto Rican, the Mexican American, the Appalachian White and the Black. These people, with the exception of the Indian, are becoming concentrated in the slums and ghettos of the metropolitan areas and are becoming a major cause for concern to social, governmental, and educational agencies. The group that presents the greatest concern for these agencies is the American Black.

The course of education generally and the role of preschool education, particularly in developing means to aid the Black child, are the immediate concerns of this study.

It is the writer's feeling that a study dealing with the problems of the disadvantaged must emanate from a reality base. For decades and even today, less than adequate, often shameful educational provisions have been provided for the Black American. The public school system has
been unresponsive and largely unconcerned whether Black children have received adequate educational training. Yet, when Blacks attempt to grapple for a living within the milieu created for them, they are castigated, persecuted, often prosecuted and jailed because they use the limited avenues left to them in an effort to survive.

There is increasing awareness that the attitude of the teachers and administrators, who meet the child on the first day of school and impinge on him in countless ways for thousands of days thereafter, have a telling effect upon the child's capacity to deal with the things that confront him. There are those who would say that the preceding is a trite statement of low quality. That may well be on the surface so a deeper probing of the situation in the ghetto school is necessary. What happens to the quality of education for Black children if:

1. The teacher assumes her Black students have limited ability?
2. The principal is unhappy about being assigned to a Black school?
3. It is assumed that if children do not understand what goes on in the classroom they will ask questions?
4. It is assumed that where there is a lack of books, reading materials, pictures and other things in the home, teachers cannot surmount such deficiencies and certainly cannot be expected to teach reading?
5. It is assumed that because the children spend a good part of their after school time in dirty streets and alleys, exposed to violence, there is no alternative to dealing with them
except to be tough and heavy handed or, the opposite, that these children only need love and informal learning atmosphere?

6. The teachers literally do not understand the life style of the children and the community and are fearful and uneasy of the Black community?

The teachers and administrators who man the ghetto schools are not only hampered by their attitudes toward the Black child, but they tend to prefer the qualities exhibited by the child who succeeds in school. The child who "fails" in the academic setting can expect little assistance from many of those in charge.

The Purpose Of The Study

In this study the author has attempted to present a program of preschool experiences for the Black ghetto child which would facilitate his survival and eventual success in the typical elementary school. The proposed program is based upon certain criteria which would facilitate its use as a guide to the implementation of preschool programs in urban ghettos throughout the country. These criteria can also be used as a means of evaluating the effectiveness of the program and the making of subsequent program changes where appropriate.

Review Of The Literature

As a part of this study, the writer includes two sections dealing exclusively with the Black American. The first portion presents an overview of the history of the Black man in America from 1619 when Blacks assumed the same basic status position as the indentured White, to the last 1800s when the Supreme Court decisions of reconstruction cemented the second class status of Blacks. The second portion of the
review deals with conditions pervading the Black community in contemporary America. The purpose of these sections was to provide some insight into the present behavior manifested by many Blacks.

The purpose of the section on the Black man in America is educational in nature. A great effort has gone into convincing all Americans, Black and White, that Black people are naturally lazy, rebellious, violent, and intellectually inept. This could account in part, for the reason Black children do not function as well as White children in the academic setting. Unfortunately, most White people and many Black people have accepted this concept. The review of historical and contemporary literature attempts to bring reality back into proper perspective, so that educators cannot use stereotypes and racist manifestations as reasons for not educating Black children.

Section three of the literature review reveals that preschool education has been rediscovered through the efforts of many persons seeking answers to the problem of educating the disadvantaged of the nation. The impetus for such efforts has been from the encouragement and monetary efforts of the federal government.

Although concern for the apparent failure of the disadvantaged in the traditional school brought about a resurgence of interest in preschool education, the efforts of people like Bruner, Hunt, Montessori and Bloom have finally convinced a large segment of the nation that preschool experiences should be provided for all children since over-all growth and development from birth to approximately age five are more rapid and intense than in any other period.
Life styles in America are shifting in the direction of more mothers entering the full-time job market and creating a need for day care centers across the nation. In addition to providing a substitute while the mothers work is the problem of perpetuating the intellectual growth and development of the children. The complexities of contemporary life are such that outside professional assistance in the caring for and training of preschool age children is indicated.

A significant number of research studies dealing with programs for disadvantaged children have been conducted in an effort to find ways of ensuring the success of these children in coping with public school programs. These studies have ranged from low-pressure, permissive, child growth and development approaches to highly structured, carefully programmed approaches. The more permissive child growth and development programs stress socialization, creativity and awareness of the traditional principles of child growth and development.

In the traditional programs emphasis is placed upon the desires of the individual child with emphasis upon content being minimized. The program objectives in traditional situations are more global in nature and are not as clearly defined as those for the more structured programs that emphasize content. Consequently, many programs have not concentrated on the specific problems of groups such as disadvantaged Black children.

**Development Of The Program**

The writer presents a program proposal which could be instrumental in preparing the disadvantaged child for the time when he is confronted by the expectations of the traditional elementary school milieu.
The initial step taken in the development of the program was the establishment of a frame of reference. The frame of reference consists of a set of criteria which served as a guide in the development of the program.

The primary criteria which were developed are as follows:

1. The expectations of the elementary school should be taken into consideration when planning preschool experiences.
2. Effective program planning hinges upon staff understanding of the extent of interaction between heredity and environmental influences upon the child.
3. The selection of staff should be done with extreme care.
4. The curriculum should be academically oriented.
5. Students should be expected to learn at a faster rate than the middle class child.
6. The community school education concept should be used as a basis for total program development.
7. The parents of the child should be intimately involved in program planning.

The secondary criteria are:

1. Sufficient time for preopening preparation should be provided.
2. The program should endeavor to strengthen the family life of the child.
3. Psychological and physiological deficiencies should be identified and corrected.
4. An atmosphere of acceptance and approval should pervade the program.
5. A multisensory approach to learning should be utilized.

6. A comprehensive, continuous staff development program should be instituted.

The program consists of five parts. They are:

1. The School And Its Community. Program effectiveness is limited when dealing with disadvantaged children in isolation from their environment. This section describes the community school concept as an attempt to marshall all of the social, economical, political, and educational resources within the community to deal with the problem of changing human behavior. The role of the school and its staff is described in this section.

2. The Projected Organizational Structure. This part of the program describes the Schome, an institution created by the educational establishment to realistically deal with common concerns for the benefit of preschool age children, their homes, their schools and their community. The Schome is viewed as the center for educational and social services; established to aid in meeting the needs of all community residents. Examples of possible types of services are given.

3. Personnel Requirements, Characteristics And Roles. A description of the personnel needed and their duties and responsibilities is presented in Chapter 3 and as a result of panel reaction, in Chapter 4. The realization that the quality of staff is directly related to program success is noted, thereby emphasizing the importance of prudent selection.

4. The Nature Of Student Experiences. Part four presents the program of experiences designed for the children. Emphasis is on ensuring
that these children are exposed to and have mastered those academic skills required by the elementary school educator. The need for a strong language development base is discussed. The steps to formulating a successful program are described. They are: (1) determine the objectives, (2) analysis of tasks to be learned, (3) implementation of prescribed activity, (4) evaluation of program results.

5. The Role Of Parents. Part five discusses the value of parental input into the success formula developed for preschool education. Recognition is given to the need for parent cooperation and the reinforcement in the home, of these activities begun in the school. The positive and long range effects of parent participation and growth is described. Examples of the types of activities designed for parents are introduced. The importance of parental input for program planning and evaluation is emphasized.

The Uses Of The Proposed Program

The program described is specifically planned for use in metropolitan centers where Black Americans reside. Since the problems of all disadvantaged Americans follow parallel paths to some extent, the writer believes that, with certain modifications, the program is readily adaptable to use with other disadvantaged minority groups residing in an urban setting.

Program Evaluation

Evaluation of the proposed program design was initiated with the intent of ascertaining the feasibility, practicality and the probability
of success. To accomplish this, the writer enlisted the assistance of five educators who have had a wide variety of experience in dealing with the problems of the disadvantaged. The panel was asked to react to:

1. The basic philosophy
2. The illustrated model
3. The criteria for program development
4. The individual program components

A narrative commentary on the merits of the program was also requested from each panel member.

The results of the panel members' reactions on an acceptable, questionable, nonacceptable scale are as follows:

1. The basic philosophy
   - Four panel members—Acceptable
   - One panel member—Questionable

2. The illustrated model for program development
   - Five panel members—Acceptable

3. The criteria for program development
   - Five panel members—Acceptable

4. Each program section
   a. The School And Its Community
      - Five panel members—Acceptable
   b. The Projected Organizational Structure
      - Five panel members—Acceptable
   c. Personnel Requirements, Characteristics and Roles
      - One panel member—Acceptable
      - Four panel members—Questionable
d. Preopening Preparations
   Two panel members—Acceptable
   Three panel members—Questionable

e. The Nature of Student Experiences
   Two panel members—Acceptable
   Two panel members—Questionable
   One panel member—Nonacceptable

   Comments made by each panel member revealed over-all acceptance of the program as presented. Questions raised by the panel members are answered by the author in chapter four.

Conclusions

   Evaluation of the proposed preschool program is possible through the use of evaluative criteria developed through a review of literature, discussion with the panel members, and personal experiences of the writer. Through the use of the reactions of the panel members additional conclusions as to the advantages of the program can be reached. The major conclusions warranted by the review of the literature are:

1. That previous preschool programs designed to increase the abilities of disadvantaged Black children have not brought about the desired results. A different approach to meeting the needs of these children is required; one that systematically and effectively makes use of all available resources.

2. That the quality of the staff involved in the program will attest to its eventual success. An effective professional staff will be understanding and empathetic but not condescending.
3. That the parents of those children enrolled in the program will be intimately involved in (1) establishing goals, (2) program development for themselves and their children, and (3) the continuous evaluation of the total program. Changing the behavior of children means changing the behavior patterns of those who control the system in which the children live.

4. That based upon the present practices of educators in the typical elementary school, a program which effectively teaches children those skills valued most by the system is necessary.

5. That the onus for acquiring those skills which will invariably assure in-school success rests on the shoulders of the teacher, not those of the children. If the behavior of the children indicates that they are not learning a desired skill, the teacher must assess whether the children have acquired the prerequisite skills or whether her presentation is effective.

6. That continuous evaluation should be an on-going part of the program. Evaluation should be a minute, hourly, and daily process with the desired aim to assess the effectiveness of the experiences provided for those involved. Assessing program success on such practices as posttesting when a program is completed is of little lasting value to the children.

7. In-service education for all staff, professional and non-professional should be an integral, ongoing part of the program.

The major conclusions drawn from the program evaluation are:

1. That the newly created position of family life consultant is vital to over-all program success.
2. That a comprehensive parent education program is possible and necessary.

3. That the community school education concept should be used as a foundation for total program development.

4. That the Schome serves well as the center for community education and services.

5. That the organizational structure of the Schome serves well as a vehicle through which participating social agencies can improve their services to the community.

Recommendations For Further Study

To operationalize any concept requires great care in organizing and planning. As this study was in progress, certain problems pertaining to preschool education were identified. The nature of the problems indicate that further study and development are required. The problems identified were the following:

1. How to determine the effectiveness of the academically oriented curriculum in terms of short- and long-range gains made by disadvantaged children when compared to other approaches.

2. How to develop a better working relationship between school personnel and other social agencies than has been available in the past.

3. How to develop on the part of educators an increased awareness of ghetto problems, the contribution of negative staff attitudes to those problems and ways to nullify the effects of staff attitudes on student achievement.
4. How to determine if greater parental involvement and education will result in a more rapid rate of learning on the part of the children.

5. To study the effectiveness of the Schome concept in dealing with the problems manifested by various segments of the community.

6. How to determine the effects of a planned inservice education program for teacher aides on pupil achievement.

7. To study the effects of inservice education on the actual knowledge and attitudes of the teenage assistants toward children, education, and their role as future parents.

8. To study the effects of the parent education program on the younger siblings of the children in the program.
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