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INNOVATIONS IN TEACHING AT THE THIRD GRADE CONFRONTATION POINT AND BEYOND TO THE FOURTH GRADE IN SELECT URBAN SCHOOLS IN NEW YORK CITY

A dissertation presented

by

Lawrence Wesley Jones

Submitted to the Graduate School of

the University of Massachusetts

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Education

April 1973

Major Subject: Urban Education

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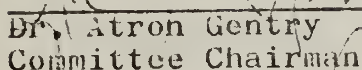
INNOVATIONS IN TEACHING AT THE THIRD GRADE CONFRONTATION POINT AND BEYOND TO THE FOURTH GRADE IN SELECT URBAN SCHOOLS IN NEW YORK CITY

A Dissertation

by

Lawrence Wesley Jones

Approved as to style and content by:



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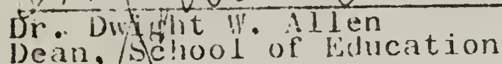

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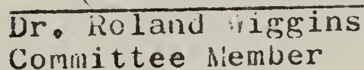

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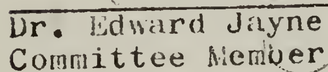

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Committee Member

April 1973

"If we really value creativity, we will understand that the supportive and psychologically safe atmosphere in our classroom must continue throughout the child's school career. The creative spirit is too sensitive to be chopped off during the primary years, and then be expected to reappear later. Continuous learning is indispensable to the nuturing of creativity."

Rose Mukerji, "Roots in Early Childhood for Continuous Learning", _Teaching the Disadvantaged Young_, p. 63.

Dedicated to

My Mother

Hortense Parker Jones

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I am indebted to many individuals who assisted in the preparation of this work. Dr. Atron Gentry, Associate Dean of Special Programs encouraged and counseled me towards the completion of this study. To him, my committee chairman, I am deeply grateful. Dr. Roland Wiggins, who read, reread, and edited. Dr Edward Jayne gave needed advice and assisted me through all phases of the writing. Dr. Earl Seidman willingly made valuable contributions and gave needed advice.

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To my family, my wife, Lolita Diane, and my boys Lawrence Wesley and Leonard Warren, my father Theodore T. Jones, Sr. and my mother Hortense, my sister Theodora Jones Blackmon and brother Theodore, Jr., I thank you for your patience, support and faith.

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation, "Innovations in Teaching at the Third Grade Confrontation Point and Beyond to Fourth Grade in Select Urban Schools in New York City", attempts to identify factors that influence the education and educational development of the urban child with specific emphasis on the child from the low-income urban community. Difficulties associated with the urban setting are representative of this low-income setting. This study takes this direction by focusing on the different urban settings in Chapters One and Three. Contrast between the economic conditions, political structure, and life styles of the low-income and middle-income communities reveals major disparity. Factors that influence the economic and social structure have severely damaged the educational quality of schools in low-income communities and favored middle-income communities.

Two major concerns are considered as schools are viewed. The measurement of academic achievement through testing is considered first. Standardized tests have been accepted as one instrument for assessing children's progress in schools. It was

considered necessary to analyze the validity and effect of existing testing methods. The exploration into the effects of testing was concentrated in select schools in New York City. A high correlation existed between test scores and the location of schools in the urban community. Children from low income communities received low reading scores; children from middle-income communities received higher reading scores. The second concern related to attitudes. An effort has been made to more accurately assess the effect of attitudes of teachers and administrators on the academic achievement of children. The relationship between the attitudes of parents toward school and children's actions in school has been explored. This study indicates that there is a correlation between achievement and attitudes. Positive attitudes stimulate high achievement.

The forerunning chapters establish the need to devise an effective plan of action that will meet the challenge of the crisis in urban education. An examination of data related to academic achievement in select schools in New York City indicated that productive responses to the crisis have been mainly in the early childhood grades, kindergarten through grade two.

The plans of action have been in the areas of special programs for these early grades, curricula changes, and additional funding. Further examination of the results of this effort and expenditure establish the need to extend the practices that have produced positive results to the third grade confrontation point and beyond to fourth grade.

The fourth chapter is directed to establishing the third grade confrontation point. Focus was directed toward Grade Two as a terminal point. Some of the specialized educational practices existing in the early childhood programs were reviewed. A case study reported in this chapter discloses the atmosphere of comparative class environments in an elementary school. This study presents evidence of the contrast between child-centered environment of the early grades, and the more structured environment of the middle grades. The upward movement in academic achievement in these early grades contrasted with the downward spiral of achievement in the middle grades further underscores the need to extend the confrontation point to the third grade and beyond.

Focus on the extension of this confrontation point for the child who lives in the low-income urban

community is highlighted by a contrast in child development theories. Contrast is presented between the traditional laboratory established research in child development and the 'life style experiences' theories related to the development of the child from low-income communities.

Evidence from research revealed some effects of social and economic problems on schools in urban communities. Examination of selected schools in urban communities identified practices that promoted significant academic achievement in the early grades. Models of changes in school organization and classroom procedures, in teacher training, and in roles and relationships used the child-oriented environment, individualized practices, and curriculum that reflected the 'life-style' of communities. On the basis of this evidence the Third Grade Confrontation Point is projected.

CHAPTER I

THE URBAN SCHOOL CRISIS

Crisis In Education

The crisis in urban education brings into sharp focus a crisis in education throughout the country. During the 1960's school systems endured serious trouble. There were strikes, tax revolts, and controversies over curriculum, educational philosophy, and personnel. Alternative methods of providing for public education were explored. Some of these are the voucher system, performance contracting, schools without walls and street academies. In the midst of this strain and controversy the urban schools, especially those located in the central city enrolling large numbers of poor and minority children, appear to have gone from bad to worse. The tendency to lump all children of a racial ghetto into one body of culturally disadvantaged and to label them as being therefore limitedly educable, has led to the development and implementation of educational procedures which seem to stunt the ability of the child to learn and results in the self-fulfilling prophecy that they cannot learn. If a child is assured he cannot learn, he will not learn.

The schools remain contaminated by the moral sickness of racism which is the effect of and has an effect on the larger society. A study of statistics related to school achievement shows a downward spiral in achievement in major skill areas. The longer children of the ghetto stay in school the further below grade level they fall until they finally drop out, become delinquent, and join the increasing mass of unemployable adults.

One of the major problems facing American education today is therefore how to provide meaningful, relevant education for the low-income and minority children in the inner cities. This problem becomes more disturbing since in America, public schools have traditionally been the major institutions in the socialization and control of youth. Schools have been the major force in determining the status transition of people. Many immigrants used education as a vehicle for moving up the socio-economic ladder. Educators have referred to public schools as the balance wheel of the social machine.

Many Americans still believe that true democracy means equality of economic and educational opportunity. There is a growing conviction that the proof of existence of equality of economic and educational opportunity is the achievement of social parity within a reasonable period of time.

All American children should be provided with knowledge, skills, poise, goals, perspective, and other psychological equipment needed to deal positively with other human beings who differ in race, culture and customs. If society is to avoid a social and political catastrophe, our communities must direct their efforts toward helping schools achieve this purpose.

When public schools fail to educate minority people, a harsh price is paid by the broader society. This concept is illustrated by the following:

> The non-white mortality in 1940 was 70% higher than the white race. In 1960 it was 90% higher. The maternal mortality among non-white mothers in 1940 was 2.4 times the white rate. A black boy born in 1962 had as much chance of surviving to 20 as a white boy had of reaching 37. A Negro girl could look forward to reaching 20 as confidently as a white girl to reaching 42. In employment the gross for Negroes only comes up to the recession level for whites. In 1964, a prosperous year, when white employment dropped to less than 3.5 percent, the Negroes rate was still almost 10 percent. That was half again as high as the worst white rate since the depression. These figures are for adults 20 or older. For 16 and 17 year old Negroes, unemployment has not dropped below 20% in 10 years.[1]

[1]Carl Rogers, "Schools for An Open Society", Integrated Education, 2 (March-April 1968) 11-12.

Major Thrusts in Urban Education

During the 1960's three major thrusts were made in New York City to improve urban education with special emphasis on the children in poverty areas. The struggle over desegregation represents one of these thrusts. Parents and other community leaders began to realize how unsuccessful and even damaging public schools were for ghetto children. The seriousness of the failure of public schools culminated in the Supreme Court decision of Brown v. Board of Education.[2] Following this landmark decision, educational goals became fixed on the principle of integration as the most efficient vehicle for preparing ghetto youngsters to compete in a highly technical society. Some parents and civil rights organizations, took the initiative in this desegregation effort. The black child, it was assumed, would benefit by being a part of the "superior" education provided for whites. Experimental programs such as Open Enrollment, Princeton Plan, Revised Site Selection, Rezoning of Attendance

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[2] Brown v. Board of Education, Supreme Court Decision, May 17, 1954.

Areas, Educational Parks, and City-Urban Consolidation[3] were conceived in an attempt to promote and implement fully integrated schools.

As proponents fought to desegregate schools, they found that the majority of white society resisted this effort. Whites feared that an influx of black students would degrade their neighborhood schools and threaten the stability of their communities. Some whites openly resisted integration; others fled to the security of the suburbs or enrolled their children in private schools. By the late 1960's it became clear that integration held little promise as a means of upgrading the educational opportunities of black children.

The second major thrust of the sixties was an all out campaign of compensatory education. This approach was intended to compensate for the complex social, economic and educational handicaps suffered by disadvantaged children. School systems were encouraged to institute special educational programs to overcome the harsh effect of negative home and neighborhood environment. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965

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[3]Phillip Meranto, School Politics in The Metropolis (Columbus: Charles Merrill, 1970), p. 63.

released Federal monies for many of these programs. Many other programs had been supported by local, public and private funds. The College Entrance Board and the National Scholarship Service Fund for Negro Students joined in the publication of a compendium, analysis and evaluation of compensatory programs that had operated across the nation from 1956-1966.[4]

Programs involved in compensatory education generally stressed some combination of remedial instruction, cultural enrichment, ego development, parent involvement and pre-school education. Evaluation of these programs found little measurable difference in the academic progress of the students.[5] Many programs were characterized by scant funds and educational approaches which proved to be unsuccessful. Emphasis was centered on the "disadvantaged" backgrounds of the students with little attention being paid to the shortcomings of traditional school practices and personnel.

> Most compensatory programs were conducted in segregated schools populated almost entirely by low-income students and thus failed to

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[4]Edmond W. Gordon, Doxey Wilkerson, Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged New York: College Examination Board, 1966.

[5]David K. Cohen, "Policy for the Public Schools: Compensation and Integration," Harvard Educational Review (Winter 1968) p. 135.

> achieve the social class mixture that the Coleman report found important. This also made it difficult for white legislation to support programs which favored segregated blacks over their own white constituents.[6]

The third major thrust of the sixties grew out of the frustration of attempts at compensatory education and integration. Many parents and community advocates for children in poverty areas became convinced that the only viable strategy for improving the education of these children would be to gain community control of the schools. It was assumed that the schools would improve their performance if mechanisms were developed to make them more accountable to the community. The planned action was to establish a neighborhood school board composed of parents, community organization representatives, professional educators, and university representatives. Ideally the board would have control over the budget, personnel, school plant, and curriculum. Under such a plan, parents and other community representatives would be involved in basic policy making. They would not run the schools on a day-to-day basis but they would be in a position to review the professional and para-professional performance and to

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[6]U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in Public Schools (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 115-140.

institute any necessary changes. Intense conflict was generated from New York City's effort to achieve community control. This fact was evidenced by struggles in the three experimental school districts that initially adopted the plan. Despite early optimistic estimates, community control proved unsuccessful. Opponents on both state and local levels were able to convince the legislature and the general public that the idea of community control, as proposed in these instances, was not feasible.

In spite of these major thrusts in urban education, the public school system has not improved for children in the poverty area. The schools still fail to equip most students from low income areas with skills needed to compete in the society at large. From the Coleman Report of 1967[7] to the Fleischmann Report of 1972[8] no measurable change has occurred with respect to these children. While urban schools generally share the same problems, the degree to which they are affected varies in direct proportion to the socio-economic level of the community in which they are located.

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[7] U.S. Office of Education, Equality of Education Opportunity (Washington D.C.: Office of Education, 1967) p. 22.

[8] New York State Commission on the Quality, Cost, and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education, Fleischmann Commission Report (State Education Department 1972).

Urban Schools - An Economic Contrast

Schools located in low-income communities have been affected by problems of urban deficiencies to a greater degree than are schools in economically stable communities. Passov has supported that depressed urban communities have a web of social problems and that schools serving these communities have an array of educational problems.[9] In areas of parent participation, teacher interest, administrative sensitivity, and community support, the economically stable communities have evidenced more community interest and involvement. A sense of total community presence in the educational process has resulted for children from the more stable environment.

In the more affluent communities parents have been traditionally more involved in the activities of the local school. This interest has been manifested in regular visits to the school, willingness to volunteer for school assignments, collecting monies for school trips, producing the school newspaper, and generally becoming involved in those activities which have come to be associated with

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[9]Harvey Passow (editor), Education in Depressed Areas (New York: Teachers College Press 1963).

parental support. In contrast, parents in low-income areas many times lack the time and/or energy to regularly participate in school activities. Frequently working long hours at menial jobs, many of these parents have had difficulty getting enough to provide for the bare necessities; food, shelter and clothing. Teachers in these areas have complained that parents are "just not interested", or "they never come to school." Conversly, parents in the same areas, have considered the school staff alien to the communities with little or no interest in local problems or activities. Many members of the school staff live in areas far removed from the inner city school community and only come to the school between the hours of 8:00 A.M. and 3:00 P.M. Some parents have reported that school staff leave promptly at the close of the day and rarely participate in after school or community activities.

One phenomenon exemplifying the differentiation between urban schools involves the distribution of experienced school personnel and this relation to school expenditure. Teachers salaries are a large percentage of the school budget. Many new teachers are teaching in low income areas as first assignments. This results in the more experienced teachers that are higher in salary range being more concentrated in the higher

income areas. Robert Herriott, et. al. made an analysis of the nature, background, attitudes, aspirations, and the competencies of teachers in urban schools. Results of this study were drawn from a survey of over 500 principals and 4500 teachers in urban schools. The study focused on social class differences in terms of teacher characteristics, attitudes and competencies. Herriott found that teachers in lower-class schools are less experienced. The lower the socio-economic status of the school, the shorter time the teachers stay in the school.[10] Conversly, schools in more affluent communities maintain more experienced professional staff. Two schools staffed with an equal number of teachers will reflect a larger per capita investment in the school with more experienced teachers.

Many teachers prefer working in high income areas where the class sizes are often smaller and the teaching conditions are more ideal. In some cases teachers in poverty area schools view their profession as just a tedious job of "babysitting" or "policing" because of the working conditions and difficult relationships with

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[10] Robert E. Herriott, Nancy St. John, Social Class and the Urban School (New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1966).

students and/or parents. The resulting discipline problems tend to minimize the time available to do their actual teaching. The mobility rate is higher in poverty areas. This leaves lower income areas with a constant flow of teachers, many of whom are inexperienced. Some teachers in ghetto schools, out of frustration, wait for the bell to ring at the end of the day as a short term goal, and wait for their tenure and opportunity to transfer as a longer term goal. The strain on the personnel that remains becomes an even more tedious load.

Another phenonmenon of the lower income setting is displayed in such political maneuvering as evidenced in zoning patterns or setting the geographic boundary lines for schools in a district. These patterns are sometimes conveniently changed for economic and political control of federal and other allocated funds. At a community school board meeting held in Queens, New York, on December 14, 1972, this type of maneuvering was exemplified. Seventy-five percent of the student population of this district had been designated minority, living in low income areas. Approximately ninety-five percent of the four hundred people attending this meeting were whites. Groups representing the parents and civic organizations from the more affluent areas of the district presented written and oral proposals that suggested realigning the district boundaries. This new breakdown

would put some of the schools serving the low income areas in an adjacent district serving a predominately higher income, white population. These proposals were presented as integration plans. During the course of heated discussions it was brought out that these proposals all represented attempts to control specific federal funds. Guidelines for the use of these funds specified that they must be used to provide additional services to children of low income areas.

Schools are zoned to provide service to children in designated geographic areas. There is no movement between these areas except by special permission. Community school boards rarely give this permission. These fixed boundary lines have isolated communities and confined the lower income families to schools in which inadequate educational opportunities and instances of psychological suppression are perpetuated. Attempts by ghetto communities to change these circumstances through community control have not succeeded. The phasing out of the three experimental districts in New York City was an example. The three districts were established through joint cooperation between the Board of Education and The Ford Foundation in 1967. The problems involved in operating these districts, I.S. 201 in Central Harlem, Oceanhill Brownsville in Central Brooklyn, and Two Bridges

in Lower Manhattan, were overwhelming. Educational opportunities were limited because of teachers' strikes, school boycotts by parents, community unrest that many times erupted into open hostility.[11]

Results of achievement on standardized tests record a statistical differentiation between children in the two income areas. These test results have shown that the percentage of children achieving on or above grade level in reading and math is smaller in low income areas than in higher income areas. Some educators have pointed out that the results of the standardized tests are not valid for the child who lives in a poverty area. The test items represent concepts, experiences, and value judgments that are foreign to the life style of the child who comes from a poverty area. The crowded conditions under which the tests are administered in schools in the ghetto has presented further reasons for questioning their validity. One principal of a school serving a low income community was interviewed about his reaction to the testing. This principal suggested that the test results were published in December, 1971 for political expediency. This principal

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[11]Eugenia Kembie, "New York's Experiments in School Decentralization: A Look at Three Projects", United Teacher, January, 1968 (Reprint).

stated that he felt the publicity was planned to reinforce the need for additional federal funds in low income areas. The principal further stated that the low scores did not take into consideration the causes of low achievement, such as language and restricted experiences, that are the result of living in an economically homogeneous urban environment.

Interaction among elements influencing urban education resulted in differences in levels of community involvement, school financing, teacher mobility, and pupil achievement. The degree of effective education has been influenced by the income level of the community. Some problems related to urban education emanate from the social structure operating in the ghetto environment.

Social Structure - An Economic Contrast

A contrast may be noted between the economic and political structure in the urban communities. In the middle-income communities many businesses are owned and operated by members of the community. The result of this ownership may be represented by a vested financial interest in the community's services. Many families in middle-income areas own their homes and thus pay real estate tax. This participation in the tax structure may make residents exert more influence on the political structure as well as the institutions serving the community.

In contrast, most low income areas have few community based economics. In these communities people struggle for daily survival. There are many families on welfare and a growing number of unemployed. Businesses in the ghetto community are usually owned and operated by outsiders. These outsiders do not use their influence to improve community services. Real estate taxes are paid indirectly through rents to the absentee landlords. These landlords do little to improve the services to the community or influence the political structure related to the ghetto neighborhood. The service provided to institutions including the schools is minimum.

Housing and municipal services are additional elements in the social structure of low income communities that may affect children. In the Kerner Report a weighted comparison of grievances from residents in ghetto areas in twenty cities was made. Police practices, inadequate housing, political structure, and municipal services were among the top ten grievances noted.[12]

In the fall of 1972 an informal survey was made of two inner city communities in New York City, South

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[12]National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder - _The U.S. Riot Commission Report or The Kerner Report_ (New York: Bantam Books Inc., 1968) p. 145-151.

Jamaica in the Borough of Queens, and Central Brooklyn, to determine the housing, transportation, health, and sanitation services provided these communities. The survey included daily visits to area, daily use of subways and buses serving the area, informal interviews with fifty people randomly selected who reside in the area. The results of this survey revealed transportation, housing, health services were minimal and inadequately maintained. Many subway stations had one of two possible entrances open for use by passengers. Passengers who lived near the closed exit had to walk an additional two to four city blocks. The subway platforms were generally dirty. The city bus schedule was irregular. The average time spent waiting for buses was ten to fifteen minutes when the scheduled time was listed as five to ten minutes. On buses where the major part of the route was through a predominantly ghetto community, the waiting period was as much as twenty minutes. Many buses were overcrowded. Housing was overcrowded and poorly maintained. Health services were inadequate, well-baby clinics were on the fringe of both communities. No public hospital was located in either community. The sanitation services were irregular, streets and sidewalks were littered with paper and other garbage. Bulk garbage was piled at the curb in bags or near

overturned garbage cans. Sanitation pick-up was scheduled but schedules were often changed.

The social problems indicated in this survey may influence the education of children. Children who are a product of ghetto environment have found it difficult to achieve the educational goals set by the school. In addition many of the teachers and administrators who work in ghetto communities have not been able to conceptualize the extent to which these living conditions have effected the children. Many educators have had no experience in the 'life-style' of the children of the ghetto and consequently cannot plan to meet the children's needs as effectively as they meet the needs of children with a life style that has elements familiar to their own. The expectations of children and teachers from each other and from the educational system that serves the low income community may influence the achievement of the children.

Teacher Expectation and The Inner City Child

Contrasts in economic and social structures between the low income and middle income urban communities have brought into focus the weaknesses of the low-income community. Problems related to finance, housing,

employment and delivery of services from the social institutions serving the community have been highlighted. Residents caught in the struggle for survival have been stereotyped as lazy, crime prone, dirty, poorly motivated, and many with other degrading designation. The experiences of the children living in the ghetto community are often failure directed because of these labels.

The low status classification of children from low income communities can damage the child's self-image. In school the child often became labeled the "free lunch child" because the family is eligible for the lunch assistance program. The child may be identified as being on "relief" as if receiving public assistance has some contaminating effect. When the children from ghetto communities are bussed to schools in middle income communities, these children are labeled as the "bus children". Any school receiving children from low income communities immediately applies for funds for remedial or specialized programs to overcome the assumed educational deficit even before the children have been tested or judged to need help. Teacher expectations are at the lowest level of competence for children from low income communities.

Many teachers are afraid when faced with the multitude of social problems related to living in the

ghetto communities and transfer this fear to the children. These fears are translated by teachers to mean a multitude of problems when working with children who live in these communities. Many teachers expect bad behavior of poor and minority children, and therefore they receive it. Most poor and minority children react to teachers and school in a negative way. Biased teacher attitudes have created a syndrome of failure and rebellion in the ghetto child's experience with school. Many teachers find the ghetto child unruly, and clamp down in discipline out of fear of losing control, confirming the children's expectations of school and teachers. The results are the perpetuation of a custodial school system, one which keeps children in line and off the streets but makes little effort to teach them.

Studies have shown that children are greatly affected by what their teachers think they are capable of accomplishing. Kenneth Clark reported evidence from pilot projects in deprived schools, seemed to indicate that a child who is expected by the school to learn does so; the child of whom little is expected produces little. Stimulation and teaching based upon positive expectations have played an even more important

role in a child's performance in school than the community environment from which he comes.[13]

Childrens' self-image and ability to benefit from class activities may be influenced by teachers' expectations. Social and class stereotypes have influenced come teachers' expectations. Teachers are often infected by what Murray Max has called the "vacuum ideology" has implications for children who differ from teachers in economic status. Lower-middle class teachers, who aspire to middle class status, may choose as their favorites students who belong to the teacher's present or aspired class. Poor children, are dismissed as being intellectually and psychologically different. This perceived difference is often spelled "inferior". Teachers may expect minimal academic development from "inferior" children.[14]

The effect of teacher expectations on children's academic achievement was illustrated by a study conducted in a San Francisco school with a majority of children from low socio-economic community. Teachers in the lower grades were told that certain children

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[13]Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto (New York: Harper and Row 1965) p. 132.

[14]Louis L. Knowles and Kenneth Prewitt ed., Institutional Racism in America (New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc. 1969) p. 41.

were potential "spurters." Tests were administered to the supposed "spurters" and to a control group at regular intervals over a period of two years. The results indicated that the children from whom teachers expected greater intellectual gains showed such gains. The average gain for the "spurters" was twenty-seven IQ points. Teachers described the "spurters" as more curious, more interesting than the control group. The children from whom intellectual growth was expected were perceived by their teachers as more alive and autonomous intellectually. The results of this study indicates that teacher expectation can be conditioned. The teachers were conditioned to expect the "spurters" to achieve and the "spurters" did achieve.[15]

Teachers' expectation may also be changed as well as conditioned. The expectations of administrators may be instrumental in stimulating and supporting change in the expectations of teachers. The Banneker Project in St. Louis, Missouri represents a case in point. In 1957 St. Louis public schools inaugurated a three track system of ability grouping based upon standardized IQ and achievement scores. These scores for students at Banneker showed that seven percent had track one

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[15] Ibid. p. 42.

(the highest) scores whereas forty-seven percent went into track three. Scores in all academic areas were consistently below grade level, with an IQ median of 90.5 with over twelve percent below IQ 79. The district Director, Dr. Samuel Shepard, inaugurated a program designed to upgrade the performance of these youngsters. The concentration was on the expectations of the teachers and school administrators. No secret was made of the low scores of the Banneker district children, but these scores, rather than being explained away due to cultural deprivation, were used to stimulate improvement. The teachers were asked to ignore IQ scores and treat all children as if they had superior ability. Scores by school were made public and compared, and actual competition was set up between schools in the district. Dr. Shepard made numerous visits to classrooms in an attempt to motivate the principals and teachers.

No drastic change was made in the curriculum, in instructional techniques, or in the basic underprivileged social situation of the children and their families. What Dr. Shepard attempted to change was the expectations and perspectives of the teachers and administrators. As a result of this intensive yet inexpensive program children assigned to track one increased from seven

percent to twenty-two percent, track three, the lowest fell from 47.1 percent to 10.9 percent. IQ was raised approximately ten points. This remarkable improvement in learning included no change in factors of cultural deprivation. What was changed was the expectations of teachers and administrators.[16]

Teacher expectations for children from low-income communities often reflect the teachers' reactions to the socio-economic problems of these communities. Teachers do not expect low achievers to achieve and these children do not achieve. Evidence has shown that teachers' expectations may be conditioned and changed. The crisis in urban education highlights the need to change teacher expectations as a basis for improving the academic achievement of children who live in low-income urban communities.

An exploration of background materials related to the urban school crisis has brought into focus the harsh price families from low-income communities have to pay when schools have not equipped the children from these communities with the academic skills needed to meet the demands of society. "Crime, alcoholism, drug

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[16]Harry L. Miller, Roger R. Toock, Social Foundations of Urban Education (Illinois: Dryden Press, Inc. 1970) p. 184-186.

addiction, poverty, illiteracy, disease, unemployment, and broken homes are found in the city slums in massively greater degree than in society as a whole."[17]

Efforts to meet this crisis during the sixties were not successful. Major thrusts for change were directed at the education system. These thrusts were directed towards forces outside the school structure, rerouting students, overcoming home background and shift of control. From the attempts at integration in the early sixties, through the compensatory programs of the mid-sixties, to the attempts at community control of the late-sixties educational institutions have done little to change education for the inner city child. Residents were forced to look within urban communities.

An examination of urban communities revealed a marked contrast in economic and social structure. The low-income urban communities were at the bottom of the economic and social structure. Physical and economic deterioration had caused a concentration and intensification of social problems. Education and educational institutions had become inadequate to meet the needs and demands of these communities. The educators

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[17] U.S. Office of Education, The Impact of Urbanization on Education, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office 1962) p. 196.

serving those communities were reacting to the social ills by expecting and getting poor pupil motivation, performance, and achievement. The need for change is indicated.

The elementary schools must provide the beginning education in basic academic skills. An examination will be made of the structure of a group of elementary schools where class size has been reduced, pupils have been grouped heterogeneously to provide pull of growth, and provisions have been made for in-service training for teachers. Through an analysis of the academic achievement in reading in these schools, factors will be identified that give direction.

CHAPTER II

ACHIEVEMENT MEASUREMENT IN SELECTED NEW YORK CITY SCHOOLS

Measurement of School Achievement - An Overview

Schools are formal institutions developed by our society. They provide the environment in which children are expected to acquire and use academic skills. The goal of this school experience is to develop individuals who will preserve what is valuable, redo and redirect the agents for change so that this change will benefit all members of society.

If children are to survive in this complex, changing culture, they must acquire basic skills in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Society evaluates the success of people to the degree that they are proficient in using these background skills. Children need a working knowledge of these academic skills for communication and measurement in today's world.

Educators must check regularly to determine the extent skills are functioning for children. This evaluation is an important and intrinsic part of the education process. Teachers need to judge the effectiveness of their teaching; students need to judge what they know and what they have trouble learning. A

diagnostic evaluation helps use teachers and students to determine what has gone wrong and give some direction for improving performance.

Standardized tests are used as assessment and as diagnostic tools by schools throughout the country. These tests are useful to students, teachers and administrators alike. An analysis of the results of tests has provided teachers with a means of determining the degree to which they have achieved their objectives as well as a basis for judging the effectiveness of their teaching. Tests have revealed what students have learned and what they have not understood. An analysis of the results of tests has also been used to reveal weaknesses in curriculum. School administrators have used test results as a means of evaluating the effectiveness of institutions.

The Fleischmann Commission relied on the results of State administered Pupil Evaluation Program Tests as one of the criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of education in the state.[1]

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[1] New York State Commission on the Quality, Cost, and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education, Report Vol. II, (New York: 1972).

Measuring Achievement in New York City Schools

The New York City School System assesses the progress of over one million public school children with standardized tests. Children in New York City who attended elementary school in 1971-72 were assigned to 663 elementary schools; 272 of these schools were in poverty areas.[2]

Three different types of tests are administered annually to public elementary school pupils in New York City. The New York State Tests in Reading and Math are given to children in grades three and six. The results of these tests are used to assess the progress of children throughout the state. The Iowa Tests of Basic Skills are given to grades three, four, and five. The results of these tests are used to determine areas of strengths and weaknesses in the use of basic skills. The Metropolitan Achievement Tests in Reading and Mathematics are given in grades two through six. The results of these tests are used to assess the progress of children in reading and mathematics and to serve as a basis for grade and group placement.

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[2]Statistics for 1971-72 were obtained from Bureau of Educational Programs - Research and Statistics, Board of Education New York City.

Since Metropolitan Achievement Tests in Reading and Mathematics are administered in all public elementary schools in New York City, these tests have become the major assessment instrument for teachers and administrators. The test results have been used primarily to measure yearly achievement and make comparative analysis between classes in school on a grade level, or school between school, grade by grade. The diagnostic potential of these tests has not been utilized. The methods of scoring and returning the results of the scoring to the schools have made it difficult if not impossible to use these tests as diagnostic instruments. The tests are administered in the school on scheduled city-wide dates; the tests are returned to an outside agency for scoring; the test results are recorded on "print-out" sheets and returned to the school. These "print-out" sheets include individual class records with grade score and percentile rating for each child, and a school summary with a grade score and percentile rating for each grade.

The practice of scoring the Metropolitan Achievement Tests by an outside agency was instituted because educators argued that hand scoring and recording of test results by the teacher was too time consuming, and opened the potential of subjective judgment.

Schools in New York City are scheduled to close June 30. The tests are administered in April or May. Schools have closed or are getting ready to close by the time the test results are returned to the school. In addition, the "print-out" sheet only contains the names of the children, their scores on each section of the tests. The teachers have no chance to analyze the child's answers or even check the accuracy of scoring. Some teachers scan the tests before they are mailed to the outside agency to get some idea of the children's performance. They use this informal check to help children in areas they have identified.

Beginning in 1965, and annually thereafter, the New York City Board of Education has released school by school analysis of reading scores for publication in local newspapers. These scores have been based on the results of the Metropolitan Achievement Tests. This data has consistently shown a wide disparity in the achievement of children in poverty areas and the high income areas. The different urban areas could be identified by the scores in clusters of schools. The clusters of schools with the lowest achievement were located in poverty areas; the schools with highest achievement were located in non-poverty areas. Many principals and teachers in schools serving poverty

areas felt that the publishing of reading scores exposed the schools to unfair criticism. These educators felt that schools in poverty areas had to deal with a multitude of social problems that affected achievement. The children from poverty areas brought the residue of these social problems to the schools. The teacher found the job of improving achievement in academic skills overwhelming. Gentry summarized other opinions expressed by residents of the poverty areas and people who saw wisdom in the release of this public information. "The publicity created public pressures for reform. Individual schools, then can be rewarded for their successes or held accountable for their lacks by neighborhood parents as well as central office."[3]

Public clamor for reforms happened. Parents and community groups expressed their feelings in local school board meetings, community newspapers, informal social events, and other informal and formal gatherings. This publicity presented public evidence that schools in poverty areas were not helping children acquire basic academic skills. Parents, and community groups representing parents, had seen evidence of the ways test

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[3]Atron Gentry, et al, Urban Education: The Hope Factor (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders Co. 1972) p. 69.

scores had been used to categorize children in poverty areas. Special placements, in gifted as well as in classes for mentally retarded, were based on these scores. Test scores were used to determine placement within the various grade level classes. Children with higher test scores were placed in the 'best classes.' Children with lowest test scores were placed in the 'bottom classes.' Test scores were also used in articulation between the elementary and junior high school. Children who had not repeated a grade in elementary school and scored less than 4.7 on the Metropolitan Test at the end of grade six had been required to remain in the elementary school an additional year. Children who were more than two years retarded in reading according to the test scores had been retained in the grade for an additional year.

Tests and testing procedures came under severe attack during the 1960's. IQ tests were abolished in New York City after they were proved to be prejudicial and discriminatory against the poor and minority groups. Educators have criticized the achievement test for the same reasons. Some teachers sparked a movement to refuse to give the achievement tests in reading and math to their classes. This seemed especially ironic

since in New York City, an emphasis upon professional standards with special tests for staff and administrative positions has been viewed by minority groups as a basis for keeping minority groups from rising into decision-making positions. Gentry has identified the irony of this refusal when he states: "that it was the chronic failure of New York City teachers to provide equal education in black and Puerto Rican areas that had provided the impetus for reform."[4] The controversy has continued.

Accountability has become the order of the day. Parents and community want to know how the schools are doing; and what the schools propose to do for the children in the inner city schools. Tests represent an evaluative tool that is familiar to parents. Analysis of the achievement in an academic skill should stimulate an interest in trends that may be predictive for educational change. This analysis needs to be made in an educational environment where some of the variables that may influence the academic achievement of children have been reduced.

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

More Effective Schools Program
A Design to Improve Achievement

The More Effective Schools Program in New York City represented a comprehensive plan for elementary education designed to prevent academic failure in basic school subjects among urban children concentrating on children in poverty areas. The Program was initiated in September 1964 in ten schools and by June 1971 was operating in twenty-seven schools involving 27,000 children. The program was selected by the United States Office of Education in 1967 as one of the ten outstanding compensatory programs in the country,[5] and again in 1971 as one of the sixteen outstanding compensatory programs in the country.[6]

The designers of the More Effective Schools Program attempted to reshape the elementary schools' organization, curriculum and total resources. Eight areas of action were fundamental. These included: 1) establishing an Early Childhood Program for children, ranging from pre-kindergarten through the second grade; 2) redesigning grades three through six as a Middle Grade Program;

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[5] U.S. Office of Education, It Works: More Effective Schools New York City Washington: 1970).

[6] U.S. Office of Education, Compensatory Education: More Effective Schools New York, New York (Washington: 1972).

3) making complete provision for meeting the needs of exceptional children; 4) developing special programs and procedures; 5) providing materials and equipment that are adequate to meet new needs; 6) motivating children; 7) encouraging research and experimentation and 8) providing for staff growth.

This plan for more effective education was based on the premise that smaller class size, extra teacher-time, and supportive personnel would result in more successful instruction to meet the individual needs of children. Maximum class size was mandated as fifteen for prekindergarten, twenty for kindergarten, and twenty-two for grades one through six. For each group of three classes four teachers were assigned. These teachers operated as a team, planning together for the successful instruction of the children. Each teacher was given a daily preparation period. One period a week was designated as joint planning time for team members. Extra supervisory help was provided for each school. An administrative assistant was assigned to do the clerical work thus releasing licensed supervisors. The More Effective Schools supervisors were expected to spend most of their time demonstrating successful classroom techniques, assisting teachers in the classroom, and meeting with teachers, parents, and community leaders.

More Effective Schools Program recognized the need to provide service for exceptional children. A pupil personnel team consisting of guidance counselors, social worker, attendance teacher, psychologist, and psychiatrist, was assigned to each school. These teams served individual children and families that required help. This team assisted the classroom teachers in helping children with emotional problems. Each school organized special classes for disruptive children. These classes were designed to help the children with problems; to improve and at the same time remove them from the ordinary classroom where they may seriously disrupt instruction.

Extra money was provided in this program for materials and supplies, particularly audio-visual materials. All of the schools were provided with the "urban" materials which included children of minority groups in context and illustrations, and an account of the contributions of various ethnic groups to the progress of the country.

Work with community and parents was a vital part of the More Effective Schools design. A full-time Community Coordinator was assigned to each of the schools. This coordinator was expected to promote

optimum home school partnership.

Basic to the success of the More Effective Schools Program was a commitment by the professional staff that children from poverty areas are equal in intellectual capacity to children from other areas, and can acquire and use academic skills. The professional staff with the help of the community will then devise methods of teaching that will be successful. These methods and approaches will then be shared with other schools.[7]

Analysis of Achievement in Reading in Selected More Effective Schools

Twenty schools selected for this study represent the five boroughs of New York City as well as fifteen community districts. (See Table I).

The ethnic distribution of the pupil population has remained stable over the four year period. The percentage of white was 13.0 in 1966 and 12.4 in 1970. The percentage of black was 55.5 in 1966 and 58.1 in 1970. The percentage of Puerto Rican was 31.5 in 1966 and 29.5 in 1970. (See Table II)

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[7]New York City Public Schools, Report of Joint Planning Committee for More Effective Schools (New York: Board of Education 1964).

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOLS IN MORE EFFECTIVE SCHOOL PROGRAM
BY BOROUGHS AND DISTRICTS
SCHOOL YEAR 1969 - 70

Man.		Bx.		Bklyn.		Queens		Rich.	
Dis.	Sch.	Dis.	Sch.	Dis.	Sch.	Dis.	Sch.	Dis.	Sch.
2	11	9	110	13	307	27	18	31	18
4	83 146 168	*11	106	14	120	28	40		
		*12	102	17	138	*29	37		
5	100 154			21	80				
				23	41 165				
Totals									
3	6	3	3	5	6	3	3	1	2

Summary:

Total Districts - 15

Total Schools - 20

* indicates schools in non-poverty areas

SCHOOLS IN MORE EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS PROGRAM

ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION 1966, 68, AND 70

School	%Puerto Rican			% Black			% Other		
	1966	1968	1970	1966	1968	1970	1966	1968	1970
11	55.1	56.8	51.7	12.7	13.8	15.0	32.2	29.4	33.3
83	74.4	70.9	73.3	20.5	24.2	23.0	5.1	4.9	3.7
100	2.1	0	0.3	97.9	100.	99.6	0	0	0.1
146	53.2	50.7	48.8	37.7	41.6	41.1	8.8	7.7	10.1
168	68.6	65.6	65.7	28.3	31.4	31.4	3.1	3.0	2.8
110	40.3	36.3	34.4	57.1	63.3	64.7	2.6	0.4	0.9
41	31.9	24.6	27.5	65.2	74.8	72.0	2.9	0.6	0.5
80	41.2	52.0	56.1	34.1	30.9	30.4	24.7	17.1	13.5
120	79.9	85.6	85.3	16.2	13.0	13.8	3.9	1.4	0.9
138	6.2	6.8	7.0	91.4	92.7	91.6	2.4	0.5	1.4
165	15.2	17.4	19.4	70.7	76.2	76.1	14.1	6.4	4.5
307	20.4	19.7	19.1	63.2	60.6	63.7	16.4	19.7	17.2
40	2.9	1.4	0.3	94.9	98.1	99.0	2.2	0.6	0.8
183	14.9	12.4	12.6	47.5	44.9	46.7	37.6	42.7	40.7
18	3.3	5.9	5.0	42.3	42.6	42.8	54.4	51.5	52.2
31	7.4	11.8	10.1	50.2	51.6	55.5	42.4	36.6	34.4
Totals	31.5	31.7	29.6	55.5	56.6	58.1	13.0	11.7	12.4

TABLE II

A school by school analysis of reading scores for each grade indicated achievement gains in two schools from 1966 to 1970. In MES 11 in Manhattan, no grade was on grade level in 1966, three grades were on grade level in 1970. In MES 37 in Queens, one grade was on level in 1966, three grades were on level in 1970. In the remainder of the schools there was no significant change. (See Tables III, IV, V, and VI)

Comparative analysis by grades of the number of schools on or above grade level in reading indicated that the most significant achievement was at grade two. (See Table VII) At the second grade level the number of schools increased from eight in 1966 to fifteen in 1970, indicating an increase from 40 percent to 75 percent. At Grade five the number of schools dropped from four in 1966 to one in 1970, indicating a decrease of twenty percent to one percent.

Number of Schools On or Above National Norms 1966-1970

Grade	No. at Schools 1966	No. at Schools 1970
2	8	15
3	4	7
4	2	4
5	4	1

The drop in achievement between grades two and grades five in the More Effective Schools Program reflected the downward spiral evidenced in other research related to schools in poverty areas. Kenneth Clark reported the same trend in the schools in Central Harlem. The further the students progressed in these schools, the larger the proportion who were retarded and the greater the discrepancy between their achievement and the achievement of other children in the city. A rapid deterioration in reading comprehension within a three school year period was recorded for the Harlem children. In reading comprehension on the third grade level thirty percent were reading below grade level, compared to 21.6 percent reading above; on the sixth grade level 80.9 percent of the children scored below grade level, while 11.7 percent scored above.[8]

Implications for Change

In implementing the guidelines of the More Effective Schools Program emphasis on individualization and learning by doing inherent in the early childhood philosophy had been extended through the second grade. The gains

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[8]Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto (New York: Harper and Row 1965).

in achievement at the second grade level were a result. The director of the program encountered little difficulty in getting school personnel to accept the organizational patterns, open classroom techniques, and individualization of instruction in the early grades. Many of the participating principals and teachers found it difficult to accept and apply this philosophy in the middle grades.[9] The point of confrontation presently established at the second grade level.

Interviews were conducted with twenty teachers, five principals, three members of the More Effective Schools Central Office Staff, and twenty parents. Four questions were asked: 1) What characteristic is most effective in the early-childhood classes (Prekindergarten-Grade Two)? 2)How was the early childhood program developed in the particular school? 3) How did the respondent evaluate the effectiveness of the early childhood program? and 4) What is different about the middle grades? The responses were summarized in two areas.

Program. The program implemented through grade two had been more effective in meeting the needs of children than the program in grades three through six. The

[9]Four interviews were held with the Director of the More Effective Schools Program at Board of Education 131 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, New York.

early childhood program emphasizes individualization, looking at how children learn and grow, seeing individual child. The children in the early childhood classes are always doing things, making things and engaged in other activities. The rooms are arranged informally the children move around all the time.

Development. More attention had been given to the development of the program through grade two. The Central More Effective Schools Office had special personnel assigned to help establish and monitor the early childhood programs in each school. The parents and teachers had to work together developing guidelines for home and school cooperation.

Academic goals had been defined through Grade Two. Parents, teachers, and children were made aware of these goals. Regular checks on progress were made by staff and communicated to parents. A follow-through chart was designed to use as a means of keeping track of each child's achievement in reading and mathematics, prekindergarten through grade two. A Language Inventory was developed by parents, teachers and supervisors, in cooperation with the Bureau of Educational Research. This inventory was used to assess language development through grade two.

In the middle grades there was little evidence of concentration on the individualization of instruction. Children were regrouped for reading and math. Reading was isolated, usually two periods a day. Parent participation in decision making was not evident. Respondents expressed general dissatisfaction with the implementation of the program in grades three through six. The results of this informal interview indicate a need to extend philosophy and techniques implemented in the early childhood grades to the middle grades.

Schools, the designated social institutions for educating children, have not fulfilled their role for a large number of children. Major evidence of the failure of schools is concentrated in areas of the urban community that serve low income children. The longer children in these areas stay in school the farther behind they seem to fall. The More Effective Schools Program in New York City, designed to overcome this downward spiral, has succeeded in strengthening the input of teachers, parents, and children and producing academic achievement in reading through the second grade.

In the extension of the confrontation point beyond

second grade the attitudes of teachers, parents and children towards school and school programs, will need to be considered. The relationship between children's attitudes and experiences needs to be explored. The effect the attitudes of teachers and children toward each other and toward the school environment may have on the academic achievement of children needs further investigation.

CHAPTER III

ATTITUDINAL MEASUREMENT

Toward Defining Attitudes

Predictions of philosophy and techniques in education that will promote successful academic achievement for the child from low-income communities must be based on an exploration of the attitudes of children, teachers, and parents who live in the low income communities. The correlation between the urban child's attitude and achievement needs to be considered. This exploration of attitudes is significant to teaching in urban schools. The child centered curriculum exemplified in the early childhood programs reflected respect by teachers for the individual needs and experiences of children. The relationship between the attitudes of teachers and the sustained academic achievement of children in the early grades will be noted.

In considering the urban child's attitude, forces and stimuli that influence the development of attitudes will be examined. These forces and stimuli will include attitudes of other people, as well as the social atmosphere that directly and indirectly effect, create, and influence behavior. The results of these attitudinal

surveys should serve as a basis for making more acurate assessments of children's potential and achievement. Attitudes must be defined as a background for this exploration.

Attitudes are difficult to define. Gordon Allport has examined representative definitions and characteristics of attitudes. This group of definitions from Baldwin 1901-1905 to Morgan 1934 represented sixteen samplings. Allport found a common thread running through diverse definition of attitudes. The essential feature was a preparation for readiness for responses or a precondition of behavior. All degrees of readiness from the most latent, dormant traces of forgotten habits to the tension or motion which is underway existed in this thread. Allport then defines attitude as "a mental and neutral state of readiness, organized through experience exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual response to all objects and situations with which it is related."[1] This definition indicated that attitudes are developed as a result of experience and manifested through individual or group responses to experiences.

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[1]Martin Fishbine editor, Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 1967) p. 7.

Children's Attitudes and Experiences
Exploring the Relationship

The child's attitudes are developed through many real and vicarious experiences. Many questions have been raised related to writers'interpretation of the attitudes of the inner-city child. The experiences that have the most profound influence on the child are those with peers and adults closest to him, in daily constant contact. The child is impressed by his experiences and his family's evaluation of their daily interaction with the immediate environment. The child's feeling of worth as an individual is many times valued in terms of the values the adults have placed on him. Basic attitudes about one's self are fundamental in establishing a scheme of learning patterns that lead to the growth of more complex patterns. Many inner-city children are hugged, fondled, and attended to while they are too young to walk and are content to be held on someone's lap. These children are turned on their own to compete with peers and other siblings as soon as they can move around. An attitude of 'ability to cope' is developed at a young age. This attitude is not always recognized when the child has contacts outside the immediate home environment. Since

this 'ability to cope' usually means coping in the limited, familiar environment of the home, the child may become confused when he is confronted with a more complex environment. Adults in this complex environment usually attempt to take care of the child, order his doing, and leave him little chance to do for himself or experiemnt in his own way. Many inner-city children two, three, and four year olds are left alone in sparsely furnished rooms and apartments. With familiar furniture, eating and sleeping equipment, the children feel that they can take care of themselves or their siblings. Many inner-city children feel they are able to cope and have a positive self-image until this image is challenged by value judgments of outsiders. The children may then respond with a negative attitude.

The experiences of home and immediate community have helped the child develop attitudes about himself and his place in the order of his family. Discussions about children's attitudes with groups of parents in the inner-city community highlighted some analogies that may have direct bearing on attitudinal development in the child. These parents felt that the child had learned his place in the family, and the actions and activities that would cause conflict. Experience has taught the child when to keep quiet for survival, and

when to call for help. He knew when to say, "I'm hungry", and get something to eat, and to keep quiet about real hunger when he knows no food is available. His attitude towards adults and daily living was usually "keep quiet until you find out where you stand."

An observation of groups of young children at play in areas of the inner city found them in small controlled areas with people they knew. When strangers tried to make contact, the children retreated until the stranger was accepted by an older sibling or another child in the group. The survival attitude of the child who lives in poverty areas may be interpreted as negative by an outsider. This conflict of definition of attitude may be caused by the value judgment the larger society put on the inner-city child's attitude toward self as opposed to the child's real feeling about self. Nikki Giovani says it so well "we were happy, I can't see why everyone kept saying we were so deprived."[2] Billie Davis explored this same thesis when she shows the effect outsiders value judgment of the migrant experience had on the migrant child. The child did not feel deprived until he was told he was

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[2]Black Journal,November 1972 Reading of Poetry Television Channel 13.

and made to feel inadequate.[3]

The child's attitudes towards the urban community and its institutions are influenced by his family's evaluation of experiences, both real and vicarious, with the community and the community institutions. If siblings and other family members share these results of experiences with community institutions and have discussed these positive experiences in the home, then the child will be more likely to have positive attitudes toward these institutions. Children's attitudes change, as their experiences change. Many children who live in the inner city have a survival attitude towards police, welfare agencies, merchants in the immediate neighborhood, and other inner city institutions. Children's survival attitudes change as the quality of their experiences with the institutions change. When experiences with social institutions have led to survival for the family, the child has positive feeling towards these institutions. When the institutions have been identified as contributing to the destruction of some part of daily living, the child's attitude towards the same institution may be negative.

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[3]Arnold B. Cheyney (editor) The Ripe Harvest (Florida: University of Miami Press 1972) p. 3-21.

All social forces in the home and experiences in the community help build a child's attitude. Sometimes a child may be caught in a situation where a priority of attitudes may influence his performance. The child may exhibit what appears to be a negative attitude. His behavior may be negative but this behavior has no relation to the attitude he seems to display. An example of this priority of attitude was described by a principal of an elementary school in an urban area. A fourth grade child who was reading well in the regular classroom situation scored only 2.4 on the reading test when the annual testing for reading acheivement was given. The child's attitude seemed to be very negative during the test. He scribbled on the paper. He would not stop when the teacher gave the signal to stop. The child's behavior seemed to indicate a negative attitude towards testing. The teacher and principal decided to retest the child. On the retest the child scored 6.1. When the principal investigated, he found the child had a serious problem at home the week of the test. The child's attitude towards school and the test situation was neutral. The child's actions represented a priority of concern about home. Many times this priority of attitudes is taken to mean a rejection

or negative attitude towards school; when in reality the child may be reacting to more pressing concern - survival in the home. Many times teachers, administrators and others place a strain on the child by not taking into account the effect of home experiences, both negative and positive, may have on the child's attitude.

Children's Attitudes and Adult Attitudes Exploring the Relationship

Children's attitudes towards teachers and school experiences may be influenced by parents, guardians, and older siblings. These adults may have gotten their attitudes from childhood homes, modified and supplemented by actual experiences. They may pass on to children attitudes they had towards teachers and school experiences. If these school experiences have been pleasant, the positive feelings of their childhood will be transferred. If the experiences were negative and continue to be negative, the child's attitudes are likely to be negative. This is illustrated when a parent who did very poorly in a specific subject influences his children's performance in that subject. A parent may say to a child who complains of difficulty in science, "I did not like science." This may immediately suggest that the child should not like science

and is not expected to do well in it. Parent's attitudes towards teachers may often be transferred to their children. If a parent has been humiliated by teachers in his youth, he may find it difficult to deal with his children's teacher in a normal and unemotional way. This attitude may be transferred to the child.

Many adults who care for children view general school policies, finances, etc., with an attitude of concern that often may have origin in their feelings that developed as a result of their childhood school experiences. This concern when discussed with negative overtones can cause the child to become negative toward school policies. Because of their own school experiences, some parents tend to feel uneasy when they observe classrooms which are not completely silent with immediately obedient children. There are parents who feel that a busy classroom encourages open rebellion and hostility. This uneasiness may be transferred to the child who then may feel that an "open class" means lack of control and thus react negatively to the environment.

Children's attitudes towards school, teacher, and learning are influenced by the attitude of the school and teachers towards them. Theodore Brameld pointed out that many teachers are middle-class in value orientation.

The teacher evaluation of children may be determined by the teacher's own notions of what a "nice" or "good" student should be. The results may frequently be unconscious hostility and failure to understand motivation and interest of students of lower class background. This assessment based on a different value judgment may affect teachers' approach to subject matter and their appraisal of the children in their charge.[4]

Teacher hostility or lack of faith in children of the inner urban city has caused hostile reaction by children towards schools in the inner city. New York City and other large urban centers have reported an increase in instances of violence against teachers in the last five years. Gentry et al report, "If attitudes about children did not affect their ability to learn, then concern about what teachers believe could more easily be dismissed. Several research cases, as well as a modicum of common sense, indicate that teacher expectation has an enormous effect upon pupil achievement and may be the most crucial in-school variable."[5]

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[4]Theodore Brameld, The Use of Explosive Ideas in Education: Culture Class and Evolution (University of Pittsburgh Press 1965, p. 142-144.

[5]Atron Gentry et al, Urban Education: The Hope Factor (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders Co. 1972).

Teachers frequently underestimate the capacity of their students. When pupils appear lacksadaisical and dull, it may be because of lacksadaisical teaching. Children can accomplish remarkable feats of learning if they feel the teacher has confidence in them. Acceptance of children who have displayed difficult behavior patterns can influence the childrens behavior and achievement. A supervisor told a group of first grade children that they were a 'very difficult class'. The second grade teacher labeled the same group 'hard to manage' and 'slow learners'. The majority of the children in the class were tracked together through the elementary grades. The reputation continued with the class until fifth grade when a new principal and a new teacher decided to try to change the attitudes towards the class. Opportunities to contribute to a total school project, success experiences, development of varied interests, and continued reassurances that this was a good class initiated change. By the time the children who remained together reached junior high school there were definite improvements in behavior, leadership, and achievement.[6]

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[6]A. Harry Passow ed., Education in Depressed Areas (New York: Teachers College Press 1963).

Value judgments about self are likely to prevent the individual from accepting himself or others. The school should concern itself with the development of an attitude of acceptance of self and others and provide those experiences which will help children accept and deal rationally with who they are and what they are. Teacher-pupil interaction can affect the development of a positive self-concept. If teachers improve their attitudes towards children, the classroom atmosphere and relationships that are more accepting, understanding, and open, will be created that will enhance the child's self-concept.

Toward Positive Teacher Attitudes

The projection of positive teacher attitudes is important as a component for encouraging more positive child attitudes, more successful learning experiences, and a more stimulating learning environment. In early childhood programs the role of the teacher as facilitators of performance by the children rather than the traditional role of teacher as a performer for children has been emphasized. The difference between these roles is basically an attitudinal approach.

Traditional teachers are concerned with what they can do for children; how they can direct; give the

children the skills needed to cope; how they can perform for children. Traditionally teachers were judged by the skill they displayed as performers for the class. The facilitator is concerned with what children want to learn. Teachers as facilitators stimulate children to find resources, people, experiences, books that will provide answers to the things that concern things they are eager to learn.

The attitudes of the facilitator and the traditional teacher are basically different. The traditional teacher's attitude is concerned with how children can be kept quiet and still long enough to be given the facts that curriculum planners feel are important. The facilitator's attitude is more concerned with the atmosphere of the learning environment. The facilitator wants to create the environment in which the child will feel free to be curious, to learn from things and from peers, from the facilitator, from experiences, and from mistakes. The facilitator wants to keep alive and nurture the excitement and curiosity , the questioning, the trial and error of the young child.

Positive teacher attitudes must be continued beyond the early childhood years. The teacher as facilitator must develop a respect for the child,

The teacher must value the child for what he is, his opinion, his feelings, a person with worth, and must try to understand how the child learns and feels as he is learning.

Toward Measuring Attitudes

Just as it is difficult to define attitude, it is equally difficult to measure attitudes. Attempts have been made to measure the urban child's attitude towards school. In evaluating the More Effective Schools Program, David Fox in 1966 and the staff of the Psychological Corporation in 1968-1970 used questionnaires completed by fifth grade children and their parents, as well as recorded answers to questions asked in direct contact with a tester and child (or parent) as instruments to measure attitudes. The instruments were administered by adults who did not live in the inner city, or have any daily contact with inner city children or their families. A summary of the responses showed a positive attitude towards school in 69-70% of the samplings.[7] During informal discussion about the More Effective Schools Program the reaction of parents to the attitudinal survey were noted.

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[7]Robert D. North, Evaluation Report More Effective Schools Program (The Psychological Corporation 1970).

One parent stated, "Of course the children told the people what they wanted to hear. If you had to deal with as many investigators as these children have seen their families deal with, you would have learned what to say and when to say it." Another parent protested, "I wrote a letter about those questions. The children did not know what to say. Most parents would have to tell them." A third parent acknowledged, "We did not even encourage our children to send them back. The teachers might not like what the children said and do the usual thing, get mad with the children and hurt them by not passing them or something like that." Still another parent remarked, "They (meaning the educational establishment) will just use the results to take away this little bit they gave us. This has been the best school we ever had. The children are learning better. There are a lot of things wrong, but more things are right than wrong, if we really tell them what we think, 'watch-out'."[8]

The life style of low income communities has taught residents too much questioning of extra social services may mean that these services will be removed. It has been reflected in the attitudes of parents and children

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[8]Informal discussions were held with parents during visits to More Effective Schools.

towards institutions that provide services for the inner city, and has made it difficult for "outsiders" to measure the attitudes of children and adults towards inner-city schools.

Robert Coles suggested a basis for determining attitudes when he tried to find a way to explore the attitudes of people caught up in the tense and violent process of racial strife in Children of Crisis. Coles stated:

> I found it hard to decide how much of what I was studying I ought to take part in or share. The special problems that thus come up in the social psychiatrist's research must even be compared to the every day problems that confront the clinition treating the patients with the most 'private' or idiosyncratic complaint. How often do we only 'observe' our patients? How much ought we to get involved with them, participate with them in the sense of seeking to know and join in their feelings or activities? No one yet knows the final answer to such problems.[9]

Sharing experience, observing action and interaction during the sharing may give indications of the attitudes of children and families who live in the low-income communities. Two informal attitudinal surveys were made as common experiences were shared with residents of low income communities.

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[9]Robert Coles, Children of Crisis (New York: Delta Publishing Co. 1967).

One survey was made to determine attitudes of parents towards school and school policies. This informal survey was made in a district serving 75% minority population. Achievement in the school attended by a majority of children from inner-city children was below city norms, 60-70% children in eighteen schools were reading below grade level. This survey covered a period of four months.

Informal observations and recording of parents' reactions were made as common experiences were shared. District school board meetings were attended by groups of minority parents from inner-city schools. 'Bull sessions" followed each of these meetings. Parents who attended the board meetings reported that they always meet in an informal session following the School Board Meeting to relieve some of the tension that built up during the meetings because of frustration when no positive actions were taken on behalf of children who lived in the community. Parent association meetings were attended by teachers in the inner-city school, and parents from the inner-city schools. Discussions were held at church functions, shopping areas, social clubs, and other informal gatherings..

Parent attitudes toward school were revealed during these informal gatherings. Parents were concerned about children's success in school. Most parents thought education was important and necessary to help children achieve a better life. A majority of parents, frustrated by school policies and practices thought their children were receiving an inferior education. Parents felt there were some interested teachers but many teachers "only come into the inner city for their checks and run at three o'clock. A majority of parents felt federal funds had only given their children what "other children" got from their tax money. Parents felt that the gains children had made in Grade Two would not be maintained unless teachers and administrators showed the children in middle grades they cared about them.

Another survey was made to determine the relationship of attitudes of teachers, children and parents to academic achievement. This informal survey was made in schools in poverty areas in New York City. Classes on every grade were visited in each school. Children were interviewed from a class on each grade level, Grades 2,3, and 4 , in each school. Teachers and parents of these children were interviewed. Interviews were informal.

Records of academic achievement were examined. The academic achievement of children in each of the classes was discussed with the teachers, parents and children. Informal discussions were held with students who were evaluated as high achievers and an equal number of children who were evaluated as low achievers.

The discussions with children were held on playgrounds, in lunchrooms, and in classrooms while sharing an experience in the neighborhood as children were walking or engaged in some activity involving children. Informal discussions were held with parents of both high and low achievers. These discussions were had before and after school, during noon lunch hours, shopping in neighborhood stores, on public transportation, at church and other social gatherings and at Child Health Stations. The discussions with teachers were held during teachers preparation periods, lunch time and before and after school. All teacher contacts were made in the school.

This survey covers a period of two months. The results of the survey indicated there was a high correlation between children's high academic achievements and positive teacher attitudes towards children. Teachers had positive attitudes toward children who were achieving at an above grade level-comments such as, "He does well in

all of his work," "I expected her to score on an above grade level, she is so cooperative and reads very well," "Oliver is at the top of our class." "I can depend on him. He is very cooperative, pays good attention and gets along well with children."

Children who were achieving on an above grade level had positive attitudes toward school. Comments such as: "I like school. We have a lot of fun here." "My teacher is good. She likes me." "The work is easy. I can do it with no trouble."

Parents whose children were functioning on or above grade level had positive attitudes toward school. Although many felt their constant interest in their children helped their children do well in school. Comments such as: "This school is doing a pretty good job. I don't have any trouble with my children." "Some of the other parents just aren't interested. You want the school to be interested."

Many children who were low achievers had negative attitudes toward school. Correlation was not as high as between high achievers and high achievement. Some low achievers felt it was their fault that they could not get the "math" or reading. Such comments as: "I just don't understand", "I tried, I just couldn't get it," "My teacher just doesn't like me," "This school

is lousy," "They don't teach you anything."

Teacher attitudes towards low achievers tended to be negative or patronizing. Some comments made were:: "He's a nice boy, but he just can't learn." "He's a pest. Always doing something to attract attention."

Parental attitudes of low achievers tended to be negative towards school, teacher, or child. Comments such as: "He just won't try." "The school doesn't do the job, I pay my taxes." "The teacher doesn't take any time with him." "She's so good, they just don't bother with her."

Positive attitudes decreased as achievement decreased in the third and fourth grade. 70-75% of second grade parents, children and teachers expressed positive attitudes. 30-40% of parents, children, and teachers expressed positive attitudes.

Research studies have attempted to measure the impact of attitudes on learning. Rosenthal and Jacobson (1966) in an experiment conducted in an elementary school heavily populated with low income children indicated that teacher attitudes can increase or decrease their I.Q. potential. A study , by the U.S. Office of Education, of 645,000 pupils throughout the country in 1966 indicated that learning is influenced more by the child's own attitude towards himself than

by such factors as class size, teacher qualifications and conditions of the school. Teacher expectations influence children's academic achievement. When teachers felt children could learn, they did.[10]

Attitudes is a term that is difficult to define and measure. Observation and informal surveys indicate that the attitudes of children, teachers, parents and communities affect children's learning and learning potential. An examination of urban schools needs to be made to see how this knowledge has influenced the education for children in these schools.

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[10]Harry Morgan, Affective Education for Cognitive Development (New York: Methods and Media, 1971) p. 5-10.

CHAPTER IV

ESTABLISHING THE THIRD GRADE CONFRONTATION POINT

Present Focus on Grade Two

A close look at urban schools across the nation has shown progressive decay in these schools particularly in poverty areas. Population migration of minorities and the mass movement of the middle class to suburbia have swelled the population of the inner city and intensified all of the related problems - poverty, disease, rejection, racism, and others. A mass of literature related to urban education, the urban child, urban problems and other areas of urban concern emerged during the 60's and early 70's.

An analysis of academic achievement in urban schools in the inner city highlighted the need to take a more searching look at the downward spiral that seems to begin at the third grade. A study of patterns of achievement in twenty Inner City Schools in New York City showed that relative ability in reading decreased proportionally with the children's length of study in the elementary school. Citywide reports on school achievement further emphasize this trend.

An article published in a New York City newspaper in November 1968 quoted the reaction of the Superintendent

of Schools to the reading achievement scores.[1] In the same newspaper in 1972 a different superintendent was still reacting to the same trend.[2] Both superintendents reacted to the same trend, a downward spiral of reading achievement the longer children stayed in school. Both articles further pointed out that the districts located in low-income areas had the lowest reading scores and the downward spiral was even sharper.

Evaluators of the More Effective Schools Program found a downward spiral of achievement. In 1967 the Center for Urban Education found that children tested in the fourth grade and fifth grade were further behind in the standard of normal progress than when they began the program.[3] In 1969 the Psychological Corporation found that academic progress in basic skills of reading and arithmetic had advanced materially through Grade Three, but slower in the higher grades. Pupils made more progress in early grades and less progress later, especially in learning to understand reading passages, to reason, as compared to learning fundamental

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[1]New York Times, November 1968.

[2]New York Times, February 27, 1972.

[3]David Fox, Expansion of the More Effective Schools Program (New York: Center for Urban Education, 1967) p. 120.

vocabulary and basic arithmetic.[4]

Elementary school programs have divided or placed emphasis on a confrontation point between seven and eight year olds or at the end of Grade Two. Resources have been expanded to add depth and enrichment to early grades, usually defined as prekindergarten - grade two. Curriculum bulletins were organized Prekindergarten to Grade Two.[5] These bulletins usually reflect more individualized approaches to teaching and learning with the behavioral sciences highlighted, and organization as well as teacher training geared to child development principles. Governmental agencies both state and federal have tended to emphasize the early years extending their analysis of behavior through seven year olds or second grades. Behavioral scientists make their analogies related to early childhood and later childhood stressing the beginning eight year old as a point confrontation.

The kindergarten movement almost from the beginning made a distinction between the treatment the child received in an early childhood program and a "regular"

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[4]Evaluation Report MES Program in Poverty Area Schools in N.Y.C. Schools 1968-69 (New York City: Psychological Corporation) 158-159.

[5]New York City Curriculum Guide, Science Pre-K - 2; Handbook for Language Arts Pre - K - Grade 2.

school program. Early writers distinguished "schools" from "Kindergarten". The center of the school was the teacher, but the child was the center on which the Kindergarten turned. The purpose of the 'school' was to furnish the child with knowledge and skill that the teacher possessed. The purpose of the Kindergarten was to develop the nature and related powers which the child possessed. The prime requisite of the teacher in the "school" is knowledge and the power of imparting it. For a Kindergarten teacher the qualification to which all others were subordinate was spiritual insight, by which she might see into the child's nature and develop it from within.[6]

Case Study of Inner City School

The following case study of classroom practices in a select school will illustrate some of the practices that are prevelant in many elementary schools in the inner city.

Public School X

Public School X is located in Central Harlem. The building is a former high school. The structure is five

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[6] Kindergarten Magazine Vol. IV, September 1891 (Kindergarten Publishing Co., 1892) p. 1.

stories. A pair of steps lead from the street about one story above street level to a large courtyard on both sides of the building. The courtyards are about 50 by 100 feet each and are the only outdoor play space for the children on the school grounds. The entrance to the building is from these courtyards. The first floor of the building has a large lunchroom and school kitchen, guidance offices, and auditorium. The second floor has Main Office, Principal's office, Community Team suite, and early childhood classrooms. All other classrooms are located on the remaining floors.

The principal, Mrs. Y., is a pleasant, black woman in her late sixties. She has been in the school system for over 35 years and has been assigned to Public School X for eight years as acting principal. Mrs. Y informed me that she holds a city license for assistant principal. During the time that she has been acting, the principals assigned to the school have been serving at Central Headquarters on various assignments. The assigned principal receives salary for and credit toward tenure. The acting principal receives the salary for the license he/she holds and tenure credit for experience under that license.

The school population fluxuates between 987 and 1000.

The school is organized by grades. Since this school is one of the More Effective Schools, the class size is maximum of twenty-two. The early childhood grades prekindergarten through grade two are considered one block of the school and the middle and upper grades three through six another block. Two assistant principals are assigned to help with organization, supervision, and pupil progress in prekindergarten; two are assigned to grades three through six.

Mrs. Y. explained that most of the teachers in the early childhood block were licensed in early childhood education. New York City issues two licenses for teaching in the elementary school. Teacher of Early Childhood Education classes are assigned to classes designated prekindergarten to grade two, and Teacher of Common Branch Subjects, one to six. The course requirements and experience for these licenses reflect the philosophy and practices expected in the performance of responsibilities and duties of the position held. The early childhood education teacher is expected to be trained to work in a child-centered environment, understand and practice the most recent trends in early childhood education. Mrs. Y. emphasized that her philosophy was early childhood centered. She stated that she worked very closely with the Central Bureau of

Early Childhood Education, and that the early childhood education classes in the school reflected the environment for learning encouraged by this Bureau.

One class was visited on each grade level, so that the flow and continuousness of the program could be observed.

Kindergarten. The classroom was attractive. The room had been recently renovated. A small bathroom was off the playroom. The room had been painted a soft green. The children's paintings were displayed. The centers of interest were evident.

Four children were building with floor blocks in one section of the room. They had made a tall building. Some cars and trucks were on the floor near the building along with some rubber play people and animals. Two boys were riding on a large wooden truck just outside the area where the children were playing with the blocks. Four children were in the housekeeping area. They were dressed in long skirts, high heeled shoes, a man's coat that almost touched the floor. One child was stirring a pot on the play stove. One was feeding the doll while a friend watched, two children were talking to each other on the phone. A group of children were at a table playing with wooden puzzles and table games. Two children were in the library area with an adult who seemed to be

listening to them talk and refer to pictures in a book.

The room seemed to buzz with activity, children's voices and movement. The adults were seated on small chairs near the children. They asked the children questions or responded to the children's flow of conversation; thus stimulating the flow of activity as they listened and encouraged the children. When a block structure seemed to wobble, the adult near this area went closer to the child who was building, held a quiet conference. The child did something to make the structure more secure. When the child riding a large truck kept getting too near the group that was building, an adult went to him, had a conference, went to a box, and came back with two cards. These cards were attached to a large hollow block after the adult and the child had walked an imaginary boundary line. The cards read as follows: "Stop Here" and "Children at Work".

During the twenty minutes visit, the children were clearly the center of interest. The two adults seemed to be there to stimulate action.

Grade One. The room was attractive. The centers of interest were evident. Two adults were in the room. The block building was lower.

Four children playing in the block area seemed to be working on a group project. Signs were attached to the building, "135th St." house numbers, etc. The building seemed to represent a street. Cars and trucks were being moved by a child up and down the street. Each adult was working with a group of children.

"What to Do" charts were evident

Paint

"Before you Paint" "After you Paint"

Pocket charts with the children's name engaged in the varied activities:

"Play with Blocks Here"

Mary Stephen
John Sue

"Work with Clay"

Alice Jane
Janice Elaine
Michael Robert

The children with adult A were playing a word game. The adult was using a chart on which were printed twenty-five words. Two children were racing to see who could identify the word pointed to by another child first. They helped when the children were not sure of a word. Another child was keeping score.

The children with Adult B were matching quantity with numerals. The children had spot cards and were

attempting to match the numeral on a card with the spots on the spot care.

"2 00 3 000 4 0000

Two children were making a color book at the table. A red circle was on the top of the paper. The children were finding pictures of things that were red and pasting them on the paper under the red circle. Three children were in the housekeeping area. They were setting the table with places for four people and seemed to be deciding how many of the various items they needed - cups, saucers, spoons, knives, forks, etc.

A warm, purposeful, busy atmosphere seemed to radiate. There was more evidence of the use of written symbols for direction. The adults worked with the children and were sitting in small chairs at tables or with small groups near the interest centers. The teacher's desk was inconspicuous. Tables were grouped in seating for from one to six children near the interest areas. Basic seating groups were near the table games and table toys. More attention seemed to be concentrated on symbols. Many charts were on display. Most of these charts had pockets where the children could insert different words or phrases when the situation demanded. There was physical evidence of curricula areas.

Chart signs read:

"Numbers Can Help" "Read and Write Here"
"Science Is Fun" "We Work and Play and Help"

One child was pecking away on a Primer Typewriter. The typewriter was bolted to a table. A collection of word cards with easy words and names were in a box beside the typewriter. The child was copying some of these on the paper. Another child came over and the one at the typewriter read the words he had written.

Second Grade Class. The room was attractive. There was more evidence of written work. Stories written by the children about a picture or an activity were on the bulletin board. A graph showing books read by the children was displayed above the book rack in the library area. Shoe bags with a child's name on each pocket were in various areas of the room. Areas were indicative of the academic skill emphasized. The floor blocks were not in evidence. A box of building bricks, small cars, trucks, and boots, as well as miniature people was on a low shelf near one of the tables. A miniature doll house with appropriate furniture was on a small table. The academic skill areas were labeled:

Science Area. A table, child height, held materials to stimulate experiemntation in science: magnets, magnifying glass prism scales, thermometers, water jars, etc.

Math Area. An open set of shelves held math materials: counters, bead frames, calendars, rulers, math games, and math problems, cards, etc.

Library Area. The library area not only contained books but also boxes of games, a tape recorder, film strip viewer, and a kit of activities that might be used to help children share the literature they had read.

Two children were recording the readings from thermometers immersed in bowls. The bowls seemed to contain ice and water. Four children were making buildings from milk cartons to put on a map of the school community drawn on a large sheet of brown wrapping paper. Two children were using the typewriter. One was pecking away. The other was reading the words being typed and making comments.

Two adults were working with a small group. One adult was working with a group of five children using books. The children seemed to be reading and reporting on a story. The second adult was working at the chalk board with two children. They seemed to be clarifying some phonetic skill.

There was a hum of activity with no dominant individual adult or child's voice.

A conference was held with the Assistant Principal

following the visit to early childhood classes.
Three questions concerned the observers: 1) How was the school able to maintain the open environment with the pressures for formal reading and teacher dominated classrooms? 2) To what degree do the other first grades have this same child-centered but purposeful learning environment? 3) How can you be certain the children are learning to read and use numbers in a meaningful way?

The Assistant Principal responded to these concerns. Many workshop sessions were held for adults who work with the children. These sessions were held after school, during school time, at summer training institutes, luncheon conferences, and any other time possible. The adults explored the academic goals for the children in language arts and math. They analyzed and examined the daily experiences the children were having both in school and community. The adults examined the raw materials that are available in the classroom, and in the home and community to see what could be used to stimulate and help the children acquire skills in reading and math in a meaningful way. The teachers and auxiliary personnel initiated the activities and shared them with the adults and siblings in the home and community. Some mothers, grandmothers, and other interested community people participated in the Summer Training Institute.

The adults also kept very comprehensive records of each child's progress in all of the curricula areas. When the teachers saw that all the children were benefiting from this individualization of work, they were enthusiastic, renewed their faith in the children, and got more from the children. The other first grade teachers were at varied stages of development. These teachers were working toward this goal. They had been stimulated by the success of the groups that were trying so hard. The enthusiasm was contagious.

One of the traditional weaknesses of first grade has been the sudden change in daily living experiences when the child moved from kindergarten to first grade. The traditional teacher almost seemed to say "You've played long enough, now you must settle down and learn." She seemed to forget that doing is learning for the young child. Unless the child uses all of his senses, and has a multitude of real experiences he will not retain or even take in the ideas and skills the teacher thinks she is giving him. One of the advantages of the early childhood block arrangement in the elementary school is that the philosophy of learning by doing, use of the real experiences of daily living to teach, is being extended to the second grade. This meant that educators were more willing to use the child as the

focal point and provide stimulating curriculum experiences that help the child acquire and develop academic skills by using all of his senses and his total environment. This philosophy in the dynamics of early childhood education, it was easier to get them to try the open environment.

Mr. B., the third grade assistant principal joined the group of observers. Mr. B.has been in the school four years and is a regular licensed assistant principal. He has been designated to act as principal whenever Mrs. Y. is absent. His first remark was "You know you will see more concentrated academic work and more real teaching. All the classes in the third, fourth, and fifth grades have been regrouped for reading." Mr. B. suggested that the group look at one class in "group reading" since all the other classes would be essentially the same.

<u>Grade Three</u>. The group consisted of middle group children reading at about the end of second grade reading level. The room was neat. The bulletin boards were attractive. Children's corrected and graded work was on display: compositions, math computations, spelling tests, etc. The curricula areas were labeled with attractive labels mounted on colored paper:

"Math" "Science" "Library" "Social Studies"

A few pictures of Famous Minority Leaders were arranged on the bulletin board. The schedule for the day was written on the chalk board.

The room was quiet. The only sounds were the occasional scraping of a chair as a child adjusted his seat, or the whispered reading as the child read aloud to the teacher or the teacher made a comment. The class seemed to be divided into two groups. One group was seated in a semi-circle facing the teacher near her desk. The other group was seated at tables. Some workbooks were stacked in the middle of the table.

A conference with the assistant principal followed the class visits. The assistant principal stated that children were working diligently on their own reading level. This regrouping for reading tended to reduce the reading range and made the reading more manageable. Since the home classes are heterogeneously grouped according to reading achievement, the teachers would have too wide a range to teach reading if she stayed with her own class.

Mr. B. felt that considering the children's background and lack of parental motivation regrouping for academic skills was necessary. Mr. B also stated that the children have so many problems at home he was surprised that the children did so much at school.

The teachers, he said, felt they could get the reading taught and go on to the other subject areas with the class.

The environment and teaching methods used in upper grade classes in this school should cause concern. The addition of the MES program had done little to change the attitudes and actions of the assistant principal or teachers. The self-fulfilling prophecy as well as the placing of responsibility for a child's poor performance in academic skills on the home and social forces in the society has been shown to be some of the fundamental weaknesses in the present school structure.

The early childhood classes in this school reflected a child-centered environment, children learning by doing. The third grade reflected a teacher dominated environment with children waiting to be taught. The sharp contrast in the teaching-learning environment between the early childhood classes and the middle grade classes was evidenced. The value of children learning by doing is emphasized by Trump when he stated that: "Students need opportunities to develop individual responsibility and skills of independent

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study. These two closely related qualities constitute the bench mark of good education in any individual.."[7]

The Inner City Child

The practices in urban schools especially those in poverty areas have highlighted the need to examine the growth, need, and strength of the child who lives in the inner city. Many educators and sociologists have identified certain characteristics of the inner city child as weaknesses that have to be overcome, and have failed to identify the strengths and different delivery of skills that are a result of the child's interacting with his environment.

A study made at the Springfield Avenue Community School, Newark, New Jersey, highlighted the need to examine existing research related to child development and its relation to "life-style." A new look at the Inner City Child emerged.

The Design Team reported that the degree of input from the community, parents, teachers and design team members in a brainstorming relationship forced the emergence of a new concept in child learning based on

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[7]Trump , et al, Focus on Change: Guide to Better Schools (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co.), 1970.

initial home and community environmental forces. In direct relation to this concept evolved a mechanism for identifying those forces and factors that seem to have direct correlation with how children learn or do not learn, process or do not process. Many educators talk, write, and research about "life-style". Communities and educational systems have been deluged with highly specialized approaches for dealing with the "disadvantaged child"; but what happened at Springfield Avenue Community School was that the participants in the brainstorming session internalized factors, descriptively and behaviorally, that constitute "life-style". They dealt with concepts that existed. When a child who lives in the inner city manages and is responsible in a direct way for the care of himself and other children, this child has refined skills that are transferable to other learning environments using other media. This is the strength from his life-style.

There is a need to examine what research says about eight and nine year old behavior in the context of "life-style" experiences. Using some of the findings of the design team and the personal experiences with children, parent and community, the ideas have emerged.

Research says. There is no sharp separation between the characteristics of eight and nine year olds but

rather an increase in the maturity and refinement of behavior exhibited earlier. Eight year old judgmental tendencies are continued by the nine year old - with greater objectivity and discernment. Nine will appraise parents and other adults calmly and dispassionately. Initial shock of discovering that parents are not perfect is long since past and nines can accept parental mistakes and ignorance as a matter of course.[8]

Life-Style dictates. The eight and nine year old from the inner city has matured and refined his behavior under more complex environmental conditions that must be examined for their influence on his behavior. Complex home condition, conflicts in value judgments between school and "life-style" of community, unique housing in home and school represent a few. Educational and other social institutions tend to penalize the child for not reflecting the maturity and refinement of behavior, objective judgment, and acceptance of parental mistakes.

Research says. Eight and nine year olds show bursts of emotions and impatience characteristic of children but outbursts are less frequent and under

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[8]David Elkind, A Sympathetic Understanding of the Child Six to Sixteen (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971).

greater self-control, in addition while the eight is pushed and pulled by other events, the nine year old seems to have found his own inner gyroscope which directs him into particular activity of his own choosing in which he becomes terribly involved.

Perhaps because of this inner directed quality of his behavior, the nine year old appears to be more of a solid citizen, gives the impression of calm steadfastness, and responsibility that will be the bench mark of later maturity.[9]

Life-Style dictates. The Inner City Child's gyroscope may be a suppression of emotion and impatience resultant from the many negative, defacing experiences he has suffered. The "calm-steadfastness and responsibility" may represent a seething inner conflict.

Research says. School in general is easier for age nine. He is no longer troubled by getting started in the morning. In some respects the nine year old is hard on his teacher because he now knows what he wants to do and what he does not want to do and does not hesitate to say so. Materials and information are now what attracts the nine year old who is emotionally less

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[9] Ibid.

attached to his teacher. Now his dislike for a subject can generalize too a dislike for a teacher rather than the reverse. Academic achievement is of considerable importance to the nine year old, perhaps because it is s prime standard of evaluation used by children at the extremes who suffer the most. The slow child relative to his group is usually singled out and grouped separately and everyone knows who is in the "slow group". In contrast the very bright children are sometimes regarded as strange or as "teacher's pets and are often shunned to the same extent as the slow child. The ideal seems to be the child who gets good but not perfect grades without expending too much effort. Many children who could do better often conform to this middle of the road ideal for social reasons.

By the age of nine the mechanics of reading and arithmetic have been mastered and these skills can be used for gaining information, for solving problems, and for games and recreation. Nine year olds also take their tool skills outside the classroom, read books on their own and use their arithmetic in their own purchases at the store. At this age children begin to discover some of the fringe benefits of literacy.[10]

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[10] Ibid.

Life-Style dictates. Most schools have failed the Inner City Child, he has not acquired the use of written and oral communication skills necessary to adequate function in the complex social interchange, yet he knows he should have them; thus his inner conflict is usually directed at the teacher and the school. He wants to discover the fringe benefits of literacy but has usually not acquired enough skill in the use of written and oral communication.

Research says. The nine shows new maturity, self-confidence, and independence from adults. He is inner directed and self-motivated. His friendship is more solid.

The skills learned in school are at last being put to practical use outside the classroom which enhances their value and significance and further his interest in learning. While his independence can at times be trying, it is often easier on adults than the demands of the younger children.[11]

Life-Style dictates. For many Inner City Children the school experience is irrelevant. Materials and modules for delivery of skills need constant evaluation. Drive towards independence coupled with a lack of tool

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[11] Ibid.

skills relative to meaningful "life-style" experiences drives the child to try out this independence in overt physical action.

Third Grade Confrontation Point

This contrast between research and "life-style" brings into sharp focus the importance of addressing expertise ways and means of providing programs that meet the challenge of eight to nine year olds - The Third Grade Confrontation Point. The child who lives in the Inner City has strengths that must be respected and needs that must be met. This child needs communication and numeration skills to cope with his environment. He has strengths for survival drawn from his daily experiences that will help him. The child-centered, learning-by-doing environment in the early childhood classes has given many children a chance until they reach the Second Grade. This knowledge of environment and children needs to be used more extensively.

Within the urban structure the existing teaching methods have not met the needs of the child in poverty areas. The close look at a select group of existing schools has presented visible evidence of their weaknesses.

The examination of the strengths, weaknesses, and needs inherent in the "life-style" of the urban child has supported the need to extend the child-centered environment through the third grade as a Confrontation Point and look beyond to the fourth grade.

Some emerging programs and practices in elementary education have implemented the child-centered curriculum through the Third Grade Confrontation Point. An examination will be made of structure and underlying concepts inherent in these programs. Through this analysis of format, goals, and implementing practices, direction for change will be indicated.

CHAPTER V

INNOVATIVE STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE

A Prescription of Concepts

The urban school crisis, patterns of academic achievement, and the urban child's attitude as he interacts and reacts to and with the total school environment have been the basis for establishing a confrontation point at the end of grade three for the urban child. Guidelines for action must be an integral part of change. The direction suggested by these guidelines will help children from the lower income urban communities maintain a respect for their strength as they increase their skills.

The urban child will need competence in academic skills so that he can communicate with the educational and other social institutions that are designated to provide services, and measure the extent to which these services are delivered in his community. Ralph Ellison has described the effect that change which assures the delivery of skills would have on the urban child and his attitude toward education and educational institutions. Ellison stated that: "If you can show me how I can cling to that which is real to me while teaching

me a way into a larger society, then I will drop my defenses and my hostility; but I will sing your praises and I will help you to make the desert bear fruit."[1]

There are existing models representative of productive changes that have been suggested and implemented, as educators have attempted to meet the needs of the urban child. These models represent changes in school organization and classroom procedures, changes in teacher training both pre-service and in-service, and changes in roles and relationships of the adults who affect the daily living of children. Many of these changes were initiated in the early childhood programs, and represent promising practices that should and have been extended to the third grade confrontation point and beyond.

Models for Change in School Organization and Classroom Procedures

The thrust of the sixties directed change toward education for young children. Federal monies were allocated for early childhood programs designated to get children from poverty areas ready for the existing public school organization. The emphasis was on preparing the 'ghetto' child for entering and coping with

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[1]Harry Passow, Developing Programs for The Educationally Disadvantaged (New York: Teachers College Press, 1968) p. 72.

the first grade. Educators and social planners felt that children did not come to school equally prepared for the learning tasks of the first grade.

These professionals designed and implemented programs geared to improving and overcoming the 'cultural weaknesses' and barren experience background of the children from ghetto communities. The children who had been exposed to the improved environment of Head Start and other early learning programs did not maintain some of the gains they had made, and in some cases became confused and even beligerent. Educators began to examine the curriculum and practices in the school environment that followed these early childhood experiences and their relation to the academic achievement of the children. Programs were developed and implemented that used some of the 'know-how' of early childhood and translated this knowledge into practices through the second grade and beyond.

Examples of this restructuring in school organization and classroom procedure have been designed and implemented in New York City. An examination of these models, More Effective Schools Program, Strengthened Early Childhood Program, and Follow Through Program, will provide direction for redesigning education in schools serving low-income urban communities.

The More Effective Schools Program redesigned and restructured the total elementary school program, pre-kindergarten through grade six. This comprehensive plan mandated smaller class sizes than the regular elementary school. Additional staff, materials, and supportive services were part of the More Effective School design. The elements of the plan called for changes in placement of pupils. Pupils were heterogeneously grouped in class structures as non-graded primary, bridge classes, open corridors, open guidance. The roles of teachers and supervisors were reshaped. The teachers became promoters of performance by children, rather than the traditional performers for children. Supervisors became supporters of teachers. These supervisors participated in the class in a team relationship with the teachers and auxiliary personnel.

The assumption made by the designers of the More Effective School Program should serve as a guideline for any comprehensive plans. The assumption that desegregation and better education must be linked is an outgrowth of the struggle for integrated education. Successful education is essential to successful integration. One of the reasons community pressures against integration have been rallied is that education has been inadequate in low-income communities.

The designer of the More Effective School Program also assumed that all the elements of a sound educational structure must be present in any restructuring of education for children of the inner city community. No one element - organization, space, personnel, or other isolated factor, can make a meaningful contribution to educational restructuring. Educators have attempted to solve problems of the inner city communities by addressing programs to some of these isolated factors. Many of these compensatory programs have not provided any marked change in the education of the urban child.

Another assumption of the More Effective School designers was that no program can be successful without the meaningful cooperation of parents and community agencies. The erruption of hostilities in communities as a result of parent's dissatisfaction with compensatory programs or educational institutions has been one of the deciding factors in diminishing productivity of these programs and institutions.[2]

The Strengthened Early Childhood Program was an outgrowth of the More Effective Schools Program. The

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[2]New York City Board of Education, The More Effective Schools Program: A Staff Manual (New York 1971).

New York City Board of Education attempted to implement some of the features of the More Effective School design in the kindergarten, first and second grade organizations of the two hundred seventy-three Special Service Schools in the city. The feature related to class size, teacher-parent interaction and involvement, and flexible use of auxiliary personnel were duplicated.[3]

The Follow Through Program was designed to build upon and augment in the early grades the gains that poor children had made in a full year of Head Start or other pre-school programs. The program attempted to bring together the resources of the school, community, and family in a comprehensive design to meet the educational, physical, and psychosocial needs of the child. The Follow Through Program recognized the importance of parental interest and involvement in children's education and required the active participation of parents in major decision making and day-to-day operation of its local projects.

The research and development aspect of Follow Through Program was unique. The heart of the research

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[3]New York City Board of Education, Proposal: Strengthened Early Childhood Program (Unpublished E.S.E.A. Title I Proposal funded 1966)

and development effort was a planned variation program in which Follow Through undertook to assess the effectiveness of a variety of innovative approaches to working with young children and their families in a number of different cultural and environmental settings. Follow Through identified institutions, such as colleges and regional education laboratories, each of which had developed an exemplary approach to the education and development of children. Most Follow Through community groups associated with one of these institutions which serves as the sponsor of that community program. The designated sponsor helped the community implement and assess the effects of its approach. New York City had eight Follow Through Programs in the public schools in poverty areas sponsored by seven agencies.

The Follow Through Program operating in Public School 33 in Manhattan was sponsored by the New York City Board of Education through the Early Childhood Bureau. This model used a child oriented curriculum based on an Experiential and Developmental Approach. A learning environment, organized in a variety of centers was provided. Various materials and equipment respected individual differences in aptitude, skill, knowledge and interest. The focus was on promoting maximum

intellectual, social, emotional and physical development of each child.

The Interdependent Learning Follow-Through Model was implemented at Public School 76 Manhattan. This model sponsored by New York University was based on a transactional game theory. Children were encouraged to progress at their own rate of learning through programmed games which were characterized by an emphasis on the child as teacher as well as learner. The decoding approach was used in the teaching of reading skills. Music was used as a communication medium. The mathematics program was language oriented.

High Scope Educational Research Foundation sponsored the model operating in Public School 92 Manhattan. This cognitively oriented Follow Through Project emphasized five cognitive areas - classification, number, casuality, time, and space. Maximum growth was encouraged through active pupil participation in first-hand experimental learning. Active teacher involvement through a home-teaching program included parents in the children's educative process.

Southern University in Louisiana sponsored Home-School Partnership: A Motivational Approach at Public School 133 Manhattan. This approach stressed primarily

the use of positive forces in the home environment as stimuli to children's learning. The Parent Aide Program featured home teachers to help parents develop teaching skills. The adult education program provided regular classes to help parents up-grade their own academic credentials. The cultural and extra curricular program planned for and encouraged parents to share experiences with their children that expanded the horizons of both.

Two Follow Through Programs were sponsored by the University of Kansas at Public School 6 and Public School 77, Bronx. The Behavior Analysis Approach supplied programmed materials that would help children develop the skills needed for success in the classroom. Positive token reinforcement procedures and intensive parent training were an intrinsic part of this design.

Bank Street College of Education sponsored the Bank Street Approach at Public School 243 Brooklyn. This model stresses that a child's learning in school as well as his total growth were closely involved with his positive self-image and general emotional well-being. The teacher planned specific individualized instructional experiences. Children's interests used as the curriculum core. The teacher based assessment on each child's motivation, learning style, and

developmental level.

Systematic Use of Behavioral Principles was the approach sponsored by the University of Oregon at Public School 137 Brooklyn. This program focused primarily on academic objectives. Tightly structured materials requiring frequent specific responses from children were utilized. The purpose was the achieving of faster-than-normal learning rate that would permit the disadvantaged child to "catch-up" with the middle class child.[4]

The descriptive analyses of the three examples of restructuring for change has identified in the More Effective Schools Program, Strengthened Early Childhood, and Follow Through models some redesigns of school organization.

Along with the changes in school organizational patterns in each of the programs were changes in classroom procedures. All of the programs described attempted to have teachers re-examine the flow of classroom activities and the effect of this flow on children's performance. Terms of 'open environment', 'child-centered activities', 'life style experiences', have emerged

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[4]United States Office of Economic Opportunity Model Programs: Childhood Education (Washington: 1970).

and are used by professional staff. The concepts implied by these terms will have been employed in many of the schools and communities using the programs described.

The mandated heterogeneous grouping as well as the two-teacher classroom introduced in the More Effective School Program required that educators take a new look at the role of the teacher and the administrator. This examination of roles will lead to a restructuring of the physical facilities as well as a re-examination of the flow of activities and child-teacher interaction.

Among the changes suggested and implemented in these models of school organization and classroom procedures, two stand out as examples that should be extended as educational practice. One, the school organizations must be made more flexible. Varied patterns of organization including non-graded approaches, heterogeneous grouping have been used in the early childhood programs with some success. These organizational patterns have stimulated changes in attitudes and more successful performance. Experimentation with different organizational structures must be extended to the third grade and beyond. Two. teachers must use procedures that open the classroom for children. Procedures

including the shared classroom, child-centered curriculum, individualized instruction, have been implemented in the early grades. Respect for the individual child, his life-style, his learning style, his home, and his community are reflected in the guidelines related to these practices. The children have gained the skills needed to cope in the larger community. Classroom procedures that indicate a child-centered environment must be extended to the third grade confrontation point and beyond.

Models for Change in Teacher Training

Critics of education have pointed out the need for direction in the way teachers are educated. Much of the literature related to the crisis in urban education has made reference to the inadequacy of teacher training as well as the failure of teachers with 'middle class' background to identify and cope with the problems of urban children. Teachers need to be provided with more realistic training and preparation for teaching effectively in low-income communities. The wide social and economic differences that exist among urban communities have rendered general teacher education inadequate. The training of teachers needs to become more specialized

with preparation for service in varied community settings.[5]

Reforms in teacher education must include changes in the in-service training of teachers and supervisors. Educators will need continuous help, support, and reassurance if they are going to successfully cope with the problems of a changing society and priorities in that society. Concerns have been evident in an examination of existing teacher education policies, programs and practices.

One of these concerns relates directly to the practices in institutions that provide teacher education programs. Liberal arts and foundation courses in teacher training institutions have been presented in isolation from the classroom situation. Teachers have found it difficult to transfer what they have been taught at the colleges to the teacher-learning experience. College training should prepare students to individualize learning. College classes have been in most cases, large group instruction situations. Students have only talked about individualization but have little or no skill in the 'how-to-do' related to individualization.

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[5] August Kerber and Barbara Bommanto, The Schools and The Urban Crisis (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1966).

Liberal arts faculties have assumed little responsibility for the in-service of teachers, and often become estranged from the eudcational faculty in the pre-service training of teachers. College faculty have been alienated from low-income urban communities. These communities are increasingly aware of the inadequate education that their children are receiving and are demanding a greater voice in school affairs, including the training of teachers.

Another concern involves the new use of auxiliary personnel in the classroom with trained teachers. Auxiliary personnel working in the classroom are often frustated and underutilized as a result of poor role definition and lack of training. Teachers have not been trained to incorporate the human and physical resources provided by this personnel into a teaching team.

The third concern relates to the school administration. School administrators are pressured from all sides to show tangible results in large, many times unmanageable schools. These administrators look for easy, quick to administer and check, packaged methods and materials. As a result of these anxieties, some administrators do not give teachers a chance to practice the techniques and skills they have acquired in

training. Teachers are given "packaged education" in the form of programmed instruction, and are required to follow the instruction with no variation.

Concepts emerge based on these concerns. The training of teachers must be part of a total restructuring of education from the beginning of any formal educational commitment prekindergarten or kindergarten through the highest level of education. Training of teachers must include every one who influences the educational process, children and their families, all school personnel on all levels and the community, including the faculty that trains teachers.

Two major attempts have been made in New York City to restructure the objectives, content, and implementation of pre-service as well as in-service teacher training, The School University Teacher Education Center and Training of Trainers of Teachers. A descriptive analysis of these programs will identify elements used by training institutions and elementary schools, that will promote more productive education.

The School University Teacher Education Center represented an evolutionary as well as revolutionary approach to the problems involved in training of teachers. The nucleus of the idea of a jointly planned

venture between the Board of Education of the City of New York and the Department of Education of Queens College of the City University of New York was planted in the Research Seminar conducted June, 1963 at Northwestern University by Greater Cities Research Council. The concept evolved into reality for New York City, March 1966. A Center was established at Public School 76 Queens.

The team, realizing the evolutionary nature of such a project, sought and received a five year commitment to the demonstration center. The specific goals set by the designers of the program further exemplified the program's evolutionary outlook. The program sought to prepare teachers by means of a program extending into the pre-tenure years, using an elementary school as a focal point. Few elementary schools have been used as a base for teacher training and few programs extended into the pre-tenured years. New guidelines for action had to evolve that would promote mutual cooperation between the university and the school. A pattern for making optimum use of school and college facilities for the preparation of teachers for schools in the urban area had to be provided.

Training a nucleus of teachers, who, through participation in the undergraduate and pre-tenure phases of this project, would be well-equipped to serve as leaders in other schools in disadvantaged areas of New York City is an evolutionary process. An examination of teacher service in low-income communities revealed that the majority of teachers in these areas were inexperienced either in teacher service or in meeting the needs of children in low socio-economic communities.

This program was planned to provide a prototype urban educational facility responsive to community problems and needs. School facilities have been isolated institutions serving communities from nine to three o'clock five days a week. A design had to be developed for a school responsive to community problems. The guidelines for implementation of program goals were not definitive. These plans for actions depended upon the evolving of solutions through joint participation and on-going evaluation. An enriched and stimulating program for children in the elementary school, considered essential to the establishment of an appropriate learning climate for pre-service teachers, was to be developed. The designer did not plan to replicate any existing model. The planned implementing of this

project involved a continued search for effective classroom teaching procedures, to develop realistic curriculum, and to provide diversified learning experiences that would meet the needs of each pupil in the school.

Planned approaches provided for maximum utilization of creative abilities of a multi-disciplined staff in solving the problems of urban school operation. This multi-disciplined staff included total elementary school staff as well as college personnel involved in the program, New elementary school practices, ideas, and materials emphasized in the School University Teacher Education Center would be shared with other teacher training institutions and with other school districts.

The University-Elementary School Team suggested and implemented some revolutionary departures from the usual college-school relationship exemplified by the student teacher 'participation-student-teaching' cycle. First, the physical separation of college and public school was overcome. In the School University Teacher Education Center, the college personnel responsible for curriculum development, the teaching of methods, and the supervision of students teachers was based right in the public school on a full time schedule. Classroom teachers were invited to speak to college students in methods courses and were encouraged to attend seminar

meetings given for student teachers.

Second, the principal was no longer the prime, and at times the only, decision maker for the school. The School University Teacher Education Center plan called for the principal and his administrative assistants whose responsibilities included decision-making, curriculum development, supervision, and evaluation of the staff--to carry out their responsibilities through a team effort. The team, consisting of school and college personnel, was central in the School University Teacher Education Center's organization. The principal and college co-director were to set policy jointly regarding the general operation of the school.

Third, the token involvement of parents and community was overcome. The School University Teacher Education Center plan envisioned a community-centered school, responsive to community problems and needs, serving the multiple needs of the community in a disadvantaged area. A school building open and available for the community seven days a week was the dream. A Community Relations Coordinator, an assistant Coordinator from the community and the development of a Community Information Service were visualized.[6]

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[6]Elaine Chapline (Editor), SUTEC: Progress Report (New York: Queens College Press 1969).

The City College Trainers of Teacher Trainers represented a more structured and wider application of cooperative efforts of public school and university. The more than thirty Triple-T projects around the country, federally funded through the Education Professions Development Act, had a common goal: to develop a variety of innovative approaches for the restructuring of teacher education enlisting the active partnership of liberal arts faculty, education faculty, parents, community persons, students, and public school and college administrators with a view to produce change in teacher education. The City College Triple-T Program was one of four such projects within the City University of New York (CUNY).

The City College Triple-T adopted the open classroom model as a vehicle for developing a pre-service undergraduate program for third and fourth year students, and an in-service training of classroom teachers and educational auxiliaries. It provided for improving teaching strategies and skills of liberal arts and education faculty. The open classroom models operated in two training school sites, Public School 154 and Public School 192 Manhattan. There were thirty-two open classes, pre-kindergarten through grade six.

The City College Triple-T has conceptualized its model in the representation given the three T's in the program. The first "T" represented the participation of parents, student-teachers, educational auxiliaries, community resource assistants and other community persons, and college students (second year liberal arts and third year education students). Parents participate in workshop sessions designed to help them understand the rationale underlying the open classroom concept. Subject matter specialists from the college conduct workshops, showing new materials and discussing new methods in the various curriculum areas. Student teachers were provided practical experiences in the classroom, in educational seminars, and in community agencies. Educational auxiliaries, who must be mothers, were trained in a specific curriculum areas to assist in the classroom. Community resource assistants were from the community and served as a link between the community and the school.

The second "T" represented principals, education and liberal arts undergraduate faculty, and cooperating teachers. Bi-weekly workshops were held for all adults working in the classroom to explore strategies for the individualization of learning. College faculty

members served as consultants at these workshop sessions. Education faculty members worked in the classroom as part of the class team.

The third "T" represented the district superintendents, public school supervisors, teacher education and liberal arts deans, department chairmen,college graduate faculty, and doctoral students.

The three components of Triple-T were represented on the Triple-T Educational Steering Committee. This committee was concerned with institutional change both at the college and the school sites, suggesting and recommending courses and curriculum changes, and advising on policy and procedural matters related to teacher education and public school reorganization.[7] The two models described indicate four elements of change in the structure and implementation of teacher education programs.

School-Community-University Centers should be established in each school district. These centers should be located on school sites in urban schools. The classes included in elementary school centers should be organized through third grade confrontation point

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[7]Vivian O. Windley, "A New Look At Teacher Education", The Urban Review (New York March 1972) p. 3-11.

and beyond.

All the adults who's lives touch the child and his family should be working with the school-university center. The roles of the participating adults must be defined. The activities of the centers must be planned so that all the participants are involved. The implementation of the program must include service to the third grade confrontation point and beyond.

Planning with the team , teaching, and continuous in-service training should be a basic part of the teacher education program. This program should include teachers of the early childhood classes and extend the training to teachers of third grade classes and beyond. College faculty as well as the human and physical resources of the community must be used to develop curriculum that is relevant to the urban child. This curriculum must capitalize on the concept of real experience developed in the early childhood curriculum. The influence and effect of real experience on curriculum development must be extended for the third grade and beyond.

Models For Change in Roles and Relationsips of Adults

The concept developed in differentiated staffing explores a way of changing the role and relationship of the adults who affect the daily living of children. This concept includes variations and innovations in staffing and helps schools become more relevant to the urban environment. Staffing patterns are realigned so that responsibility is delegated in a more realistic dispersion. Staffing lines incorporate a reassessment so that personnel from the community can be included. The teacher's administrative and pedegogical input is redesignated so that appropriate responsibilities may be redirected. These lines give parents and other people from the community a chance to become active participants in their local schools. As people from the community interact with individual classes and the total school environment, the dispersion of responsibility for education is realigned, and accountability becomes a community, as well as school, responsibility. Community members can bring to the school concepts that are relevant to the living experiences of the children, and at the same time become more familiar with what may formally have been an alienated school environment.

Differentiated staffing is described by Gentry et al:

> An entirely new way to utilize school personnel and therefore a lever for system-wide change, is "differentiated staffing...In simplest terms, a differentiated staff involves team teaching, the team members having different salaries and responsibilities. A class might consist of 160 students with two senior teachers, two staff teachers, and four teaching assistants or aids. The goal of differentiated staffing is to create an organic learning environment which accomodates the many learning styles of children and different instructional approaches and responsibilities of adults.... Differentiated staffing anticipates the introduction of new personnel in the instructional process. New staff members include undergraduate teachers in training, consultants and resource people from the community and professionals, university professors, students themselves, and aides or paraprofessionals.[8]

The significance of the new staffing lines of the community participants as paraprofessionals is further emphasized when Gentry further states:

> The most significant new personnel to enter urban schools in differentiated staffing are paraprofessionals. Optimistic educators believe that the addition of substantial numbers of paraprofessionals from the community can transform the environment of the city school. Often parents of the children in the schools, they help link the school and community. Unlike many of the regular teachers, they are familiar with the problems and capabilities the children bring with them to the schools.[9]

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[8]Atron Gentry, et al, Urban Education: The Hope Factor (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders 1972).

[9]Ibid.

The New York City Board of Education has not embraced the concept of differentiated staffing. Tax levy monies for differentiated staffing in the schools has not been allocated. New York City permits the employment of community personnel in many of the compensatory programs funded by special federal and state monies. Some of the auxiliary personnel such as teacher aides, educational assistants, and educational associates are employed as paraprofessionals in the classroom. Other auxiliary personnel such as community relations coordinator, family assistants, and family workers work directly in the community.

In New York City community agencies have encouraged the development of career opportunity programs for auxiliary personnel. These programs have been designed to encourage, extend, and enrich the educational experience and achievement of the community as they move towards staff positions in education. The Brooklyn Career Opportunity Program is an example of this thrust.

The Brooklyn Careers Opportunity Program was established as a joint effort between the Central Brooklyn Model City-New York City Board of Education-University of Massachusetts. Under contract the

university supplied educational opportunity in a degree granting program to paraprofessionals in schools located in Model Cities Areas. From its beginning in the summer of 1970 to the present, this program has afforded opportunity to over 200 paraprofessionals. Administrative leadership provided for the participation and cooperative efforts of University personnel and staff. On site and transient University staff, a family-like atmosphere yet rigid educational input have provided educational advancement for over 200 community residents, many of them veterans. The participants served forty-five public schools in five community school districts in the Central Brooklyn area.

The participants in this program have been able to share the strengths of the community with the school staff, and translate the anxieties, frustrations, and hopes of the community into positive action for children. They have thus helped make school programs and curricula provided for the children more relevant to the children's needs. The participants at the same time have gained educational skills and tools that may help them provide a more meaningful learning environment in the classroom.

Two concepts highlighted in the two demonstrated models for change in roles and relationships should be

part of a guide for urban schools, especially those serving low-income communities. One concept is that parents and other community persons should be involved in schools as staff members. Schools will benefit from the experiences of community personnel, when this experience is used to devise relevant educational experiences for children. Participation of community personnel should not be limited to early childhood grades, but should extend to the third grade confrontation point and beyond.

The other concept highlighted is that career opportunities should be provided for community personnel so that they may extend their educational horizon and become models for change. The neighborhood experiences of this community personnel should be shared with school staff on a regular basis. The school staff will know some of the strengths and needs of the community. The school experiences of the community personnel should be shared with neighbors and friends. The community residents will then know some goals and practices of the schools.

One of the factors that has contributed to the crisis in urban education in low income communities is the lack of teachers who can identify with and

respond to the life style of the inner city community. The models for new roles and relationships has provided guidelines for career education as community residents participate in the school.

Meeting The Crisis with Change

Society must respond to this crisis in urban education with special emphasis on the deteriorating schools and the downspiral of academic achievement of children in low-income urban communities. The thrust toward improved education and educational institutions made in the sixties has not made much difference in the academic achievement of children from urban communities. Some hope can be gleamed from the results of examination of selected elementary schools.

In a special program in New York City that reduced the variables of class size, teacher assignment, supervisors role, and parent involvement, academic achievement was sustained at the early childhood grades. Survey of the schools involved in this program indicated that the child-oriented practices of the early grades needed to be extended to the third grade confrontation point and beyond.

The analysis of achievement from the selected

schools reflected an uneven pattern in the middle grades. The attitudes of children were examined to determine the relationship of these attitudes to academic achievement. Descriptive analyses of models for change indicate that more flexible school organizational patterns and child-oriented classroom procedures have stimulated academic achievement in the early childhood grades. Analyses of models for changes in university and elementary school program have stimulated the development of teacher training programs, pre-service and in-service , that are productive for children in low-income urban communities. These changes in school relationships must include changes in the program structure of the elementary school and the university. The base of operation will be removed from the university to the elementary school in low-income communities. The multi-service team involved in the implementation of teacher training designs must include parents and community, elementary school personnel, and college faculties from both education and liberal arts.

The models for changes in roles and relationships is closely related to the teacher training design. The values derived from community people as members on the school staff are reflected in relevant

curriculum and increased understanding between school and community. The crisis in urban education demands changes that will be productive for children. The identified innovations that have stimulated the achievement of young children must be extended to the third grade confrontation point and beyond.

Many elementary schools have established the end of second grade as the point of confrontation signified by change in practices related to curriculum, classroom environment, and daily flow of activity. The practices beyond this point of confrontation usually reflect a change from a child-centered, learn-by-doing environment to a more regimented teacher-dominated, subject-oriented school structure. This dissertation has demanded that the confrontation point for elementary school children and particularly of the children attending urban schools in the low-income community be extended to the Third Grade and beyond. Education will then reflect a respect for children as individuals with unique strengths drawn from his life-style. Curriculum practices will be related to the life-style of the community the school serves. Children can thus acquire the basic skills needed to cope in the larger community.

APPENDIX

TABLE 3

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS - READING

GRADE 2

MEAN SCORE AND DEVIATION FROM NATIONAL NORMS

1966 - 1970

YEAR	1966		1967		1968		1969		1970	
Norm	2.8		2.7		2.7		2.7		2.7	
School	M.S.	DEV.	M.S.	DEV.	M.S.	DEV.	M.S.	DEV.	M.S.	DEV.
11M	2.7	- .1	2.7	*	3.0	+ .3	3.0	+ .3	3.1	+ .4
83M	2.7	- .1	2.3	- .4	2.6	- .1	2.4	+ .3	2.6	- .1
146M	2.4	- .3	2.6	- .1	2.8	+ .1	2.6	- .1	2.8	+ .1
168M	2.8	*	3.2	+ .5	4.0	+1.3	2.8	+ .1	2.9	+ .2
100M	2.7	- .1	2.6	- .1	2.6	- .1	2.8	+ .1	2.9	+ .2
154M	2.8	*	2.4	- .3	2.9	+ .1	3.0	+ .3	3.0	+ .3
110X	2.1	- .7	2.6	- .1	3.0	+ .3	2.8	+ .1	2.8	+ .1
106X	3.5	+ .7	2.8	+ .1	3.8	+1.1	2.9	+ .2	3.4	+ .7
102X	3.6	+ .8	2.9	+ .2	2.7	*	2.5	- .2	3.0	+ .3
307K	2.1	- .7	2.6	- .1	3.3	+ .6	2.8	+ .1	3.0	+ .3
120K	2.2	- .6	2.3	- .4	2.2	- .5	2.3	- .4	2.3	- .4
130K	2.5	- .3	2.6	- .1	2.7	*	2.8	+ .1	2.7	*
80K	2.2	- .6	2.3	- .4	2.5	- .2	2.4	- .3	2.5	- .3
41K	2.0	- .8	2.3	- .4	2.3	- .4	2.5	- .2	2.6	- .1
165K	2.7	- .1	2.2	- .5	2.5	- .2	2.4	- .3	2.5	- .2
183Q	2.6	- .2	2.8	+ .1	3.6	+ .9	3.0	+ .3	3.1	+ .4
40Q	3.0	+ .2	2.8	+ .1	2.8	+ .1	2.7	*	3.2	+ .5
37Q	2.9	+ .1	2.9	+ .2	3.4	+ .7	3.0	+ .3	3.3	+ .6
18R	3.1	+ .3	2.8	+ .1	3.0	+ .3	2.5	- .2	2.9	+ .2
31R	2.8	*	2.7	*	2.4	- .3	3.0	+ .3	2.7	*
On or Above		8		9		13		12		15
Below		12		11		7		8		5

Source: New York City Board of Education More Effective Schools Program

TABLE 4

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS - READING

GRADE 3

MEAN SCORE AND DEVIATION FROM NATIONAL NORMS

1966 - 1970

YEAR	1966		1967		1968		1969		1970	
Norm	3.8		3.7		3.7		3.7		3.7	
School	M.S.	DEV.	M.S.	DEV.	M.S.	DEV.	M.S.	DEV.	M.S.	DEV.
11M	3.5	- .3	3.5	- .2	3.6	- .1	3.7	*	3.8	+ .1
83M	3.7	- .1	3.6	- .1	3.4	- .3	3.3	- .4	3.7	*
146M	3.3	- .5	3.3	- .4	3.4	- .3	3.2	- .5	3.4	- .3
168M	3.3	- .5	3.3	- .6	3.2	- .5	3.4	- .3	3.2	- .5
100M	3.5	- .3	3.2	- .5	3.3	- .4	3.2	- .5	2.9	- .8
154M	3.7	- .1	3.5	- .2	3.7	*	3.9	+ .2	4.1	+ .4
110X	3.3	- .5	3.1	- .6	3.5	- .2	3.4	- .3	3.5	- .2
106X	4.1	+ .3	3.6	- .1	4.1	+ .4	4.0	+ .3	4.1	+ .4
102X	4.9	+1.1	3.9	+ .2	3.6	- .1	3.7	*	3.4	- .3
307K	3.3	- .5	3.4	- .3	3.6	- .1	3.2	- .5	3.3	- .4
120K	3.2	- .6	3.2	- .5	3.1	- .6	2.8	- .9	3.0	- .7
138K	3.6	- .2	3.3	- .4	3.3	- .4	3.2	- .5	3.4	- .3
80K										
41K	3.0	- .8	3.0	- .7	3.0	- .7	3.1	- .6	3.2	- .5
165K	3.5	- .3	3.4	- .3	3.1	- .6	2.9	- .8	3.2	- .5
183Q	4.0	+ .2	3.5	- .2	3.8	+ .2	3.6	- .1	3.9	+ .2
40Q	3.6	- .2	3.5	- .2	3.4	- .3	3.3	- .4	3.2	- .5
37Q	3.8	*	3.7	*	4.0	- .3	3.9	+ .2	3.7	*
18R	3.6	- .2	3.6	- .1	3.5	- .2	3.7	*	3.3	- .4
31R	3.3	- .5	3.8	+ .1	3.4	- .3	3.3	- .4	3.9	+ .2
#On or Above	4		3		4		6		7	
#Below	15		16		15		13		12	

Source: New York City Board of Education More Effective Schools Program

TABLE 5

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS - READING

GRADE 4

MEAN SCORE AND DEVIATION FROM NATIONAL NORMS

1966 - 1970

YEAR	1966		1967		1968		1969		1970	
Norm	4.8		4.7		4.7		4.7		4.7	
School	M.S.	DEV.	M.S.	DEV.	M.S.	DEV.	M.S.	DEV.	M.S.	DEV.
11M	3.8	-1.0	4.2	- .5	4.7	*	4.4	- .3	5.0	+ .3
83M	3.8	-1.0	3.7	-1.0	4.3	- .4	4.2	- .5	4.6	+ .1
146M	3.8	-1.0	3.6	-1.1	5.0	+ .3	4.0	- .7	3.8	- .9
168M	3.6	-1.2	3.8	- .9	4.2	- .5	3.6	- .1	3.9	- .8
100M	4.0	- .8	3.8	- .9	4.2	- .5	3.9	- .8	4.0	- .7
154M	3.9	- .9	4.0	- .7	4.0	- .7	4.1	- .6	4.2	- .5
110X	3.6	-1.2	3.8	- .9	4.3	- .4	3.8	- .9	4.1	- .6
106X	5.5	+ .7	4.9	+ .2	4.8	+ .1	4.8	+ .1	4.5	- .2
102X	5.1	+ .3	4.9	+ .2	5.1	+ .4	4.5	- .2	4.9	+ .2
307K	3.8	-1.0	4.4	- .3	4.6	- .1	3.8	- .9	3.4	-1.3
120K	3.8	-1.0	3.3	-1.4	3.9	- .8	3.7	-1.0	3.7	-1.0
138K	3.9	- .9	3.8	- .9	4.0	- .7	3.7	-1.0	3.9	- .8
80K										
41K	3.5	-1.3	3.9	- .8	4.1	- .6	4.0	- .7	3.9	- .3
165K	3.5	-1.3	3.8	- .9	4.2	- .5	4.0	- .7	3.9	- .8
183Q	4.0	- .8	4.3	- .4	4.4	- .3	4.3	- .4	4.6	- .1
40Q	3.8	-1.0	4.0	- .7	4.3	- .4	4.1	- .6	3.9	- .8
37Q	4.7	- .1	4.5	- .2	5.2	+ .5	4.6	- .1	5.1	+ .4
18R	4.3	- .5	4.2	- .5	4.7	*	4.2	- .5	4.5	- .2
31R	3.7	-1.1	3.8	- .9	4.3	- .4	4.6	- .1	4.2	- .5
#On or Above		2		2		6		1		4
#Below		17		17		13		18		15

Source: New York City Board of Education More Effective Schools Program

TABLE 6

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS - READING

GRADE 5

MEAN SCORE AND DEVIATION FROM NATIONAL NORMS

1966 - 1970

YEAR	1966		1967		1968		1969		1970	
Norm	5.8		5.7				5.7		5.7	
School	M.S.	DEV.	M.S.	DEV.	M.S.	DEV.	M.S.	DEV.	M.S.	DEV.
11M	4.5	-1.4	4.4	-1.3			5.0	- .7	5.1	- .6
83M	4.6	-1.2	4.8	- .9			4.4	-1.3	4.6	-1.1
146M	4.8	-1.1	4.6	-1.1			5.1	- .6	4.8	- .9
168M	4.9	-1.0	4.9	- .8			4.2	-1.5	4.2	-1.5
100M	4.9	-1.0	4.4	-1.3			5.0	- .7	4.6	-1.1
154M	5.5	- .4	5.0	- .7			5.6	- .1	4.5	-1.2
110X	4.8	-1.1	4.4	-1.3			4.7	-1.0	5.1	- .6
106X	5.9	*	5.7	*			5.4	- .3	6.4	+ .7
102X	6.4	+1.5	5.8	+ .1			5.6	- .1	5.3	- .4
307K	4.8	- .9	4.9	- .8			4.6	-1.1	4.7	-1.0
120K	5.0	- .9	4.5	-1.2			4.3	-1.4	4.0	- .9
138K	5.0	- .9	4.5	-1.2			4.6	-1.1	4.6	-1.1
80K										
41K	4.0	-1.7	4.4	-1.3			4.5	-1.2	4.6	-1.1
165K	4.9	-1.0	4.6	-1.1			4.5	-1.2	4.6	-1.1
183Q	5.8	*	4.3	- .4			5.2	- .5	5.1	- .6
40Q	5.9	+ .1	4.4	-1.3			5.2	- .5	5.3	- .4
37Q	4.9	- .9	5.2	- .5			5.4	- .3	5.1	- .6
18R	5.3	- .6	4.9	- .8			5.0	- .7	4.9	- .8
31R	5.6	- .3	4.5	-1.2			4.8	- .9	4.9	- .8
#On or Above		4		1				0		1
#Below		14		18				19		18

Source: New York City Board of Education More Effective Schools Program

GRADES 2 - 5

SCHOOLS ON OR ABOVE NATIONAL NORMS

Year	Grade	Norm	P.S.
1966	2	2.8	8
1966	3	3.8	4
1966	4	4.8	2
1966	5	5.8	4
1967	2	2.7	9
1967	3	3.7	4
1967	4	4.7	3
1967	5	5.7	2
1968	2	2.7	14
1968	3	3.7	5
1968	4	4.7	6
1968	5	5.7	NO GRADE 5 SCORE
1969	2	2.7	13
1969	3	3.7	7
1969	4	4.7	3
1969	5	5.7	2
1970	2	2.7	15
1970	3	3.7	7
1970	4	4.7	4
1970	5	5.7	2

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