

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

A STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL
FACTORS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF EMOTIONAL
AND LEARNING DISORDERS IN CHILDREN

BEING A REPORT OF A RESEARCH PROJECT
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

May 1968



Allan Curtis
Paul Leveille
Leonard Rutman

Allan Curtis
Paul Levellie
Leonard Rutman

BEING A REPORT OF A RESEARCH PROJECT
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

A STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL
FACTORS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF EMOTIONAL
AND LEARNING DISORDERS IN CHILDREN

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writers would like to extend their appreciation to all who made this report possible. We would like to thank the Faculty of the Manitoba School of Social Work for their cooperation. We extend our sincere gratitude to our advisor, Professor P. Wooley, who devoted much time and effort in providing us with valuable guidance and penetrating criticisms in the preparation of this report. Special thanks to Professor A. Fridfinson for helping us obtain the experimental programs which were incorporated into this report.

We would like to acknowledge the valuable work being done by the Commission on Learning and Emotional Disorders in Children with Dr. M. King as Chairman. We appreciate the cooperation which we received from the Commission.

Finally, we are grateful to all those who have taken time and effort to refer us and/or send us material relevant to the area of the study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTION TO A REVIEW OF THE PERTINENT LITERATURE TREATING OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED POPULATION AS THEIR SITUATION RELATES TO EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES	1
II.	THE PRESCHOOL AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILD	6
III.	THE ADOLESCENT IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM	40
IV.	A DESCRIPTIVE SUMMARY OF EVALUATIVE CRITERIA REGARDING SCHOOL SYSTEMS	56
SECTION II	A DESCRIPTIVE EVALUATION OF SELECTED PROGRAMMES	65

PAGE

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION	137
APPENDIX A	140
APPENDIX B	146
BIBLIOGRAPHY	159

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Education is considered to be essential for living in an urban, industrial democratic society so that one may ultimately provide for himself and his family a comfortable life and contribute to the society of which he is a part. There is a great deal of faith in the goodness of education, compulsory attendance at elementary and secondary schools, and the optimistic belief that education is the remedy for the most varied social problems such as crime, divorce, illegitimacy and racial discrimination.

Over the past two decades it has become increasingly apparent that there does not exist equal opportunity for achievement or success in the present school systems. Recent writings suggest that present educational modes are highly ineffectual for substantial segments of our population; it has become more and more evident that:

among children who come from lower-class socially impoverished circumstances, there is a high proportion of school failures, school dropouts, reading and learning disabilities, as well as life adjustment problems.¹

Terms which have been used to describe these children include:

¹Martin Deutsch, "The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process", Education in Depressed Areas, ed. A. Harry Passow, New York: Teachers College Record, 1963, p. 163.

"the under privileged", "the children of the poor", "the culturally deprived", "the intellectually handicapped", and "socially disadvantaged". The most commonly used term, "the culturally deprived", might be criticized on the basis that it implies that the child is deprived of culture. Every individual has "culture" and while one's culture may indeed be unsuitable for achievement in the educational system, it is nonetheless his learned way of adapting to or attempting to deal with the harsh realities of life. The child's culture may differ in kind from middle-class culture and he may therefore be "deprived" only according to middle-class standards.

Culturally disadvantaged children do not have access to the superior resources of the middle-class society such as educated parents, books, formal language, and social skills, which are factors related to success in school.

Given that opportunities for successful educational experiences for the low income group are lacking, its seriousness as a problem is readily apparent: as

There are six and one-half million people in Canada who live on, or below, the borderline of poverty. One-third of the nation is now living below a decent subsistence level (Ontario Federation of Labour, 1964).¹

Harrington estimates that the poverty group in the United States consists of approximately 50,000,000 people.

¹Dora L. Skene, "The Culturally Deprived" in School and Society: Selected Approaches, "Research Service", (issued by the Research Department, The Board of Education for the City of Toronto), p. 10.

Statistics reveal an increasing proportion of culturally disadvantaged children in the succeeding generations.

In 1950, approximately one child out of every ten in the fourteen largest cities in the United States was "culturally deprived". By 1960, this figure had risen to one in three. This ever increasing trend is due to their rapid migration to urban centres. By 1970, it is estimated that there may be one deprived child for every two enrolled in these large cities.¹

In the larger urban areas, the disadvantaged group is frequently composed of immigrants and families who move from the rural areas to the city where prospects look better, and who live in "the inner city" of any metropolis. This is often an area containing older, multiple-family dwellings which often are in dire need of repair, have poor sanitary conditions, and offer little privacy. The families live there because of lower rents and to be with their friends and relatives. In comparison to other areas of the city, there are few churches, play-grounds, libraries and schools. Within this area there will be a mixture of ethnic, racial and religious groups along with a variety of different languages, customs, standards and values. This area is also characterized by extended families as well as broken homes, that is, a high proportion of female-headed families because of children born out of wedlock, desertion and divorce. The presence of social disorganization is reflected by the high rates of crime, delinquency, divorce, alcoholism and suicide. Harrington suggests

¹Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child, New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1962, p. 1.

that poverty is an institution or way of life and everything about the poor is permeated by the fact of their poverty.

There is, in short, a language of the poor, a psychology of the poor, a world view of the poor. To be impoverished is to be an internal alien, to grow up in a culture that is radically different from the one that dominates society.¹

Factors that severely handicap the schooling of the culturally disadvantaged child are located in the home, peer group and the neighborhood. Obviously, the roots of the problem can be traced back to the child's home environment where there was a failure to transmit those cultural and behavioral patterns that are necessary for the type of learning characteristic of the schools and the larger society. Emphasizing the influence of the home environment is justified because:

Beginning with the family, the early pre-school years present the child from a disadvantaged home with few of the experiences which produce readiness for academic learning either intellectually or attitudinally.²

It has been proven that learning at school is very much influenced by the learning that took place at home:

The ways in which parents spend time with their children at meals, in play, and at other times during the day have been found to be central factors in developing skills which prepare children for school. The objects in the home

¹Michael Harrington, The Other America: Poverty in the United States, Baltimore, Maryland, Penguin Books, 1962, p. 23.

²Miriam L. Golberg, "Factors Affecting Educational Attainment in Depressed Areas," Education in Depressed Areas, ed. A. Harry Passow, p. 87.

amount of parental interest in learning, and the amount of practice and encouragement the child is given in conversation and general learning have been found to be significant influences on language and cognitive development, development of interest in learning, attention span, and motivation of the child.¹

However, there is common agreement among critics that there exists a middle class bias throughout the school system which contributes to the learning problems of the disadvantaged by

... under-valuing the culture of the deprived, by employing teachers who dislike teaching these children, by using readers whose themes and symbols are foreign to the children, and so on.²

The culturally disadvantaged child faces frustration and failure because he comes to school with an experiential background far different from the average, middle-class child. Learning problems emerge because there are incongruities between the culture of poverty to which the child belongs and the culture which prevails in the schools.

¹Benjamin S. Bloom, Allison Daves, Robert Hees, Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation, Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1965, p. 69.

²Frank Riessman, op. cit., p. 167.

CHAPTER II

THE PRE-SCHOOL AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILD

General Introduction

The culturally disadvantaged child's social environment lacks those opportunities which are conducive to the development of capacities which are necessary to successfully meet the school's demands.

The family of the culturally disadvantaged child, including its physical and emotional make-up, its values and life themes, the enthusiasm or lack of same that it imparts to the child, is an important factor in determining how much success the child will have in the school system. Most of the writings on the subject indicate that while the low income family has its positive aspects, these are outweighed by other factors which predispose the child to a career of failure in school. The typical low-income family is seen as being extended, with many children and perhaps two or three generations living under the same roof. While this may provide security and protection for the child against the harsh realities of his environment, it also may mean overcrowding, and less individual attention.

There is also a high proportion of broken homes among the

low income group, which means added stresses on the head to keep the family going, less financial security, the loss of a sexual identification figure for the children. Hollingshead, in one survey of low-income families found that 41% of children under seventeen live in homes that had been disrupted by death, desertion, separation and divorce.¹

The educational level of low income parents tends to be low, which suggests that they are poor sources of information for their children, are poor success models, and may communicate negative feelings about school to their children. Malik, in his study of families on public assistance, found that in his sample of families drawn from a low-income area, 81% of parents in the experimental group and 69% of parents in the control group left school before the age of sixteen years.² Kneller found that "about six out of ten heads of families in the poverty group (\$3000 per year or less) have had eight years of school or less."³

There evolves out of life in depressed urban areas a system of values and a life style peculiar to low-income families. These values and way of life are communicated by the parents to the

¹A. B. Hollingshead, Social Class and Mental Illness, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958, p. 111.

²M. A. Malik, "School Performance of Children in Families Receiving Public Assistance in Canada", Canadian Welfare Council, 1966, p. 16.

³George F. Kneller, Educational Anthropology: An Introduction, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965, p. 126.

children. The values consciously and unconsciously internalized by the child help to shape his perception and behavior. While this outlook on life and behavior may be seen as natural and appropriate within his own family and neighbourhood, difficulties nevertheless arise when the child attempts to adapt his life style to that of the school. Riessman describes the major themes of the low-income family as being a desire for security rather than for status; pragmatism rather than intellectualism; a fatalistic outlook on life; a sense of alienation or of being the underdog in society; the necessity for co-operation and sharing and of having a sense of humor; a high regard for authority and masculinity and yet at the same time a sense of informality; an outlook based on traditionalism and prejudice; the love of excitement and action and the tendency to look to "luck" as an explanation for success or failure; the low income family is also typically "non-joining". Riessman also suggests that among the low-income families there is much stress placed on obedience to parental authority, and honesty is also highly valued.

The aspirations and hopes that the parents impart to the child are shaped by their values, the realities of life and their own life experience. Clonard and Jones found that there is a direct correlation between "aspiration" and social class; that the

¹F. Riessman, J. Cohen and A. Pearl, Mental Health of the Poor, London: The Free Press of Glencoe, Collier-MacMillan Ltd., 1964, p. 114.

lower classes and working classes tend to associate education with the "good life" just as much as the middle classes.¹ On the other hand, Frank E. Jones states:

A review of public opinion surveys indicates that in the United States there is less striving for success, an awareness of the lack of opportunity,² and a lack of education among lower class adults.³

Malik seems to sum up this question:

The general orientation of low-income families towards education is formally the same as that of middle class people in the sense that it is valued. Translation of their aspirations into reality is beyond their ability.³

The culturally disadvantaged child as he begins school has had his capacities, values, aspirations and outlook on life shaped and molded by his family and environment. Sexton states:

It cannot be denied that children tend to be cast in the image of their parents. They learn their manners, their morals, their attitudes, their values - and much more - from their parents and families. They also learn how to make a living from them.⁴

Beginning school is a big step for any child. He is separating from his mother and family to spend almost one third of his waking day, five days a week with someone new called "a teacher". He will also have the opportunity to relate to new friends of his own age. Beginning school also marks the division

¹Richard A. Clonard and James A. Jones, "Social Class: Educational Attitudes and Participation", Education in Depressed Areas, A. Harry Passow (ed.), p. 202.

²Frank E. Jones, "Social Bases of Education", Canadian Conference on Children, 1965, p. 29.

³M. A. Malik, op. cit., p. 37.

⁴Patricia Cayo Sexton, Education and Income, New York: The Viking Press, 1966, p. 10.

between play and work. No longer will he be able to do as he pleases, when he pleases. Now the child will have to learn to conform to the expectations of the school and others. Thus begins the process of formal education.

As the child begins school, a complex of interrelated internal and external factors influence whether or not the particular child will achieve success in the educational system. The child reflects the values, standards, social status and aspirations of his family and the neighbourhood from which he comes. Internal factors that in part influence the degree of the child's achievement include general physical health, general intelligence, language development, cognitive development, motivation and ego development. All of these factors reflect what the child has inherited at birth and the nature of the socialization process he has experienced so far in his short life. The child enters a school which is at once unique and similar to every other school in terms of its physical conditions, curriculum, its teachers and administrative board members, each with their own values, needs, and expectations of the school's students.

Throughout the years, students have accepted the challenge of education and have achieved their goals with varying degrees of success. At the present time, the odds are against the culturally disadvantaged child achieving successfully even before he starts to school. Rioux states:

The condition in which young disadvantaged children arrive for their first day of school is characterized by 'not enough' - not enough information, and not enough food, not enough health care, not enough good housing and not enough time with people who are not harassed.¹

The home of the culturally disadvantaged child does not transmit the values of other cultural patterns that are necessary for the type of learning characteristic of the schools. Writers commonly refer to the lack of opportunities necessary for preparing a child for school as "experiential poverty". Unlike the middle class child, the culturally disadvantaged child is not bombarded with massive doses of stimuli. Characteristics found in his home include: missing fathers; lack of opportunity to talk to parents; no books, magazines or pictures around; crowded living conditions; and a high incidence of disease. These are important considerations which need to be taken into account when attempting to understand the learning problems of the culturally disadvantaged child. Martin Deutsch makes the observation that:

the more new things a child has seen and the more he has heard, the more he is interested in seeing and hearing. Moreover, the more variation in reality with which he has coped, the greater is his capacity for coping.²

Therefore, the nature of the home environment is instrumental in both motivating a child to learn as well as preparing the child to

¹J. William Rioux, "The Disadvantaged Child in School", Disadvantaged Children, Jerome Hellmuth (ed.), Straub & Hellmuth co-publishers, 1967 Special Child Pub. of the Seattle Sequin School Inc., Seattle, Washington, p. 88.

²Martin Deutsch, "The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process", Education in Depressed Areas, p. 168.

cope with the demands of the school system which includes the middle-class world of conversations, books and pens, desks and time clocks.

The culturally disadvantaged child who suffers from "experiential poverty" develops those characteristics which underlie inferior academic performance,

... those characteristics, which follow patterns of both cognitive and affective deficit - at least from the middle-class point of view - include poor language facility, constriction in dealing with symbolic and abstract ideas, narrowness of outlook because of the narrowness of familiar environment, passivity and the lack of curiosity, low self-esteem and lack of motivation achievement.¹

This early socialization process then, mediated through home and neighbourhood environments and through the mass media, requires responses different from those necessary for school learning and subject mastery. The discontinuity between the lower class child's background and the school impairs his successful responses in the new situation.

The culturally disadvantaged child in school is also subjected to a variety of internal factors which influence his level of achievement. Physically, the child from the lower income level is relatively worse off than children from upper income levels.

There is general agreement that certain noxious influences found in association with poverty, such as poor nutrition, overcrowding, inadequate heating and plumbing facilities

1Clay V. Brittain, "Preschool Programs for Culturally Deprived Children", Children, Volume B, Number 4, July, August 1966, p. 150.

and little or no medical attention, play a significant role in the higher morbidity and mortality among this group.¹

Physical Needs

It is important to acknowledge the relevance of a child's physical needs as this relates to learning in the school:

For children of low-income families, public health statistics generally confirm the increased incidence of gross organ deficiencies (for example, dental problems, defective vision, impaired hearing) as well as disease commonly associated with adverse economic circumstances, such as tuberculosis.²

Ireland found that the low-income group delay longer in seeking health care and participate less in community health programmes because of lack of information and low income. She also suggests a high correlation between low-income and rate of cardiovascular disorders, rheumatic fever, heart disease, diabetes mellitus, all forms of cancer, and dental decay.³ Sexton, in a survey of elementary school children, found the rate for rheumatic fever to be 7.9 per 10,000 students for the lowest income group compared to 2.6 for the highest income group; the rate of diphtheria cases was 15.1 per 10,000 students in the lowest income group, 0 for the highest income group tuberculosis rate was 6.8 for the lowest income group, 0 for the highest. It was also found in the

¹John Beck and Richard Sace, Teaching the Culturally Disadvantaged Pupil, Springfield, Illinois, Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1965, p. 63.

²Benjamin Bloom, et al., op. cit., p. 8.

³Lola M. Ireland, "Health Practices of the Poor", Low-Income Life Styles, Ireland and Besner, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966, p. 54.

particular survey that 49.5% of the low-income children entered school without receiving a medical examination, while only 7.0% of the highest income group did not have a medical exam.¹

The studies seem to indicate that the low-income child is more prone to disease and is less likely to seek preventative services or medical help until it is absolutely necessary. This implies absence from school because of frequent sickness and also difficulty in concentrating on school work because of reduced energies brought about by poor physical health. Psychophysiologicaly, the elementary school child is at the stage of life where he is moving out from his parents, he is eager and curious about the world around him.

Recognizing that the home environment may be such that the culturally disadvantaged child may possess one or more of these physical deficiencies, it could be expected that the child's energy and attention would be directed to his immediate physical needs and therefore he would be less able to attend to his learning tasks which take second priority to his state of health.

By acknowledging that these physical deficiencies begin to develop even prior to the child's entrance into school, hopefully, the child will not be expected to learn under such handicaps. The child's physical needs must be met, if not at home then at school, so that they do not nullify the efforts of the teacher

¹Patricia Sexton, op. cit., pp. 100-103.

and the school.

Although physical needs affect learning, meeting these physical needs does not, by itself, lead to better learning but merely provides the predisposition necessary if learning is to take place.

Intellectual Development

Until recently, differences in I.Q. among children of the same chronological age were attributed largely to native endowment. However, there has been increasing recognition that environmental conditions influence intellectual development. There is evidence which illustrates that:

The material environment in the home has an effect on pupil performance, that a varied environment and a variety of stimuli during early development favor greater use of the child's intellectual potential.¹

Since intellectual capacity influences the success or failure of learning in the school system, it is necessary to examine the extent to which the home environment influences intellectual functioning.

There have been many research studies undertaken that suggest a link between low general intelligence and low family income. While I.Q. tests have been used extensively to measure general intelligence to form homogeneous groupings on the basis of test

¹Harris E. Karow, "How Volunteers Can Help Disadvantaged Children", Children, Volume 14, Number 4, July-August, 1967 p. 153.

scores and to in effect help a teacher form an opinion of a particular student, there is evidence which suggests that these tests in effect are not "culture fair" and in effect measure the experience that a particular child has had rather than his native ability. Davis suggests that the basic flaw in the present I.Q. tests is that they have made an arbitrary choice of verbal skill (or skill in seeing the relationship of abstruse geometrical figures) as the most important index of high mental ability, without taking into account the creative talents of the child. He states that:

The culture of the school selects only mental problems which are highly valued in middle-class life, and which appear to provide adaptive training for those who wish to learn the skills and values of the adult culture.¹

A "stimulus deprivation thesis" accounts for low I.Q. on the basis of some lack of stimulation over a long period of time and early in life. Unfortunately, the culturally disadvantaged child suffers from what we previously referred to as "experiential poverty". Therefore, the low I.Q. scores of culturally disadvantaged children cannot be interpreted as actually reflecting their true ability or ceiling level of learning ability. In addition, in measuring I.Q., many of the test items do not take cultural variations into account and words are used which are not in the experience repertoire of these children.

¹Allison Davis, Social Class Influences Upon Learning, Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1958, pp. 80-88.

The culturally disadvantaged child does better in performance tests or "culture fair" tests. Having recognized the draw-backs of I.Q. tests, it would be useful to discover a way of measuring the "hidden I.Q." of the disadvantaged child so that realistic goals may be established in regard to his future learning. The argument which suggests that the early environment of the culturally disadvantaged child causes depression of intellectual functioning gains additional support from studies which demonstrate that "the provision of a more adequate environment through pre-school and other experiences results in considerable increase (10 to 15 points) in I.Q. and in more successful learning".¹

Deutsch relates the relatively low I.Q. scores of the culturally disadvantaged child to family home conditions which provide only a minimal range of visual, tactile and auditory stimuli. He found that low-income homes had few if any pictures on the wall; that objects in the home - toys, furniture, etc. tend to be sparse and repetitions lacking in form and color variations; that the sparsity of manipulable objects probably hampers development of functions in the tactile areas.²

Sexton, in a study of fourth, sixth, and eighth grade students taking the Iowa Achievement test, found that in general,

¹Benjamin Bloom, et al., op. cit., p. 72.

²Martin Deutsch, "The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process", Mental Health of the Poor, Riessman, Cohen and Pearl, p. 178.

scores tend to go up as income levels go up. She found that among fourth grade students, the lowest income group was achieving almost one whole year below grade level, while the highest income group was achieving at a level two whole years above the lowest income group. Similarly, in the eighth grade she found that the lowest income students were almost two years behind the highest income students.¹

On the direct basis of I.Q. scores and on the indirect basis of family income level, children are arranged into homogeneous groupings. The grouping arrangement conveys both consciously and unconsciously the school's estimate of childrens' worth. Since children learn from each other, feelings of inferiority inevitably occur, and the teachers confronted with the homogeneous groups are inclined to assume false similarities.

Writers suggest a general disillusionment in the disadvantaged child and a general decline in intelligence from grade one to grade six. Toby states:

School subjects are cumulative, within a few years, the child from a deprived background is retarded in basic skills, such as reading, absolutely necessary for successful performance in the higher grades. This makes school still more uninteresting, if not unpleasant, and he neglects his work further. Eventually he realizes he can never catch up.²

¹Patricia Sexton, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

²Jackson Toby, "Orientation to Education as a Factor in the School Maladjustment of Lower Class Children." Social Forces, Vol. 35, No. 3, March 1957.

This is unfortunate, as Reissman estimates that over 60% of the underprivileged children with I.Q.'s of better than 110, never get to college.¹

In general, the various readings suggest a correlation between low income and low general intelligence, although, as indicated earlier, the I.Q. tests are unfair to the culturally disadvantaged child because of the heavy emphasis on verbal and reading ability and the general middle-class orientation of the tests. Siller, for example, found that when Verbal Tests were used the difference in scores between middle class and lower class sixth graders was greater than when non-verbal tests were used.² Deutsch and Brown found that children who were exposed to more verbal stimulation through attendance at pre-school nurseries or kindergarten programmes, scored higher in I.Q. tests than those who did not attend such programmes.³

It is obvious then, that if the home environment does not provide the child with stimulating experiences, the child will not develop nor attain his potential intellectual capacity and therefore enter school with a handicap which is directly related to success or failure in learning.

¹Frank Riessman, op. cit., p. 18.

²Jerome Siller, "Socio-economic Status and Conceptual Thinking", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 55, 1957, pp. 365-371.

³John Beck and Richard Saxe, Teaching the Culturally Disadvantaged Pupil, p. 65.

Language Development

The style and acquisition of language skills of the child of low income families is handicapping compared to that of his middle-class peers. Teachers tend to evaluate the child on the basis of speech and language patterns, so that since the teacher and culturally disadvantaged child often do not speak the "same language", there is created an effective barrier to communication and to learning.

The home environment is an important influence on a child's language development because the pre-school child's active verbal engagement is mainly with his parents. In the case of the culturally disadvantaged child, the parents' linguistic patterns are both inappropriate and limited according to the standards of the schools he must attend. Their language tends to contain limited content and the size of the vocabulary would be relatively small. Oftentimes the language used is not grammatically correct. The lack of a developed formal language is also related to their use of gestures and other non-verbal means of communication to a greater extent than in the middle-class home.

The culturally disadvantaged child then, comes from a home that is less verbally oriented and therefore less conducive to good language development. Havighurst suggests that low-income parents tend to discourage effective communication in their children because they are less verbal themselves, they don't explain the 'why' of the children's questions with the result that they soon

give up asking. He also suggests that the parent's authority pushes back the natural curiosity of the child.¹ The disadvantaged child then develops defective language patterns, because his parents are less verbal, because they often answer with short, simple, often unfinished sentences, because his parents are often poor sources of information, and because the language style learned in the home is reinforced through peer-group interactions.

Bernstein sees the low income child as using a "public" language rather than the "formal" type of language used in the school. Murray sees the child's language as being rich in simile and analogy as illustrated through slang and cursing. Taylor sees deprived individuals as tending to permit language to contain more non-verbal means of communication such as gestures and pictures.² Riessman suggests that the culturally disadvantaged child uses a language in which words are used in relation to action rather than being a word-bound orientation (bop-talk).³

Because of a different life style and because of the lack of practice in auditory discrimination or feedback from adults correcting his enunciation, pronunciation and grammar, the child from the low-income family develops a style of language that is different from the style of language used and that is expected to

¹Robert J. Havighurst, "Who are the Socially Disadvantaged?" The Disadvantaged Child, ed. J. L. Frost, G. R. Hawkes, Boston: Houghton Mufflin Co., 1967, p. 15.

²Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child, pp. 74-76.

³Frank Riessman, J. Cohen, A. Pearl, Mental Health of the Poor, pp. 113-118.

be used in the school system. Because he is not used to and is not comfortable with the style of language expected to be used in school, the child tends to "tune out" on what is being taught and tends not to involve himself in the learning process. The importance of this communication breakdown is highlighted by the estimate that only 60 - 80% of any sustained communication is usually heard.¹ Wilt found that elementary level pupils spend more than 50% of the school day listening to someone.² If the child and the teacher do not "speak the same language", the child cannot learn. The child is unaccustomed to both attending to and being the object of what are for him long, orderly, focused verbal experiences, and yet these are the primary teaching and discipline methods. Underlining the importance of language was a study done by John and Goldstein in which they found that the crucial difference between lower class and middle class first grade children was that lower class children demonstrated a consistent lack of language utility as compared to a similar sample from the middle class.³

The low income child then develops his own unique style of language which for him, his family, and peers is highly meaningful,

¹Frank Riessman, J. Cohen, A. Pearl, Ibid., p. 182.

²Walter J. Foley, "Teaching Disadvantaged Pupils", Teaching the Culturally Disadvantaged Pupil, Beck and Saxe, p. 111.

³Vera F. John and Leo S. Goldstein, "The Social Context of Language Acquisition", The Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, Vol. 10, No. 3, July 1964, pp. 265-275.

comfortable and useful, but for use in school is a detriment. As the child progresses in school, language deficiencies become cumulative and learning is seriously affected.

To reiterate, although the culturally disadvantaged child lacks formal language competence, he does develop an informal linguistic "code" which is characteristic of his subculture but which is different from and therefore inadequate in the middle-class oriented school system. He seems to develop his own jargon or slang expressions which have literally no meaning outside of his particular sub-culture.

These factors would therefore tend to retard or handicap the learning process because the acquisition of knowledge in our schools requires competence with formal language. The informal language developed or learned by the culturally disadvantaged child is less suited to learning in school than to the verbal intercourse employed in less formal settings.

Cognitive Development

The handicaps that the culturally disadvantaged child brings to school do not exist in isolation but unfortunately reinforce each other. Therefore, as a result of weakness in language and limited range of experience the child has problems in cognitive development, that is, difficulties in developing concepts of an abstract nature and in generalizing.

The cognitive development of the culturally disadvantaged child which includes perceptive capacities, concept formation, and

problem-solving capacities, is inadequate in terms of the school's expectations of the child. Low parental aspirations and the nature of early sensory training and experience produce in the child deficient language and perceptual development and little ability to think abstractly about the world around him. The apparent discontinuity between the low income child's background and the school serves to impair the success of his responses in the new situation.

Bloom, et al.,¹ suggest that all later learning is likely to be influenced by the very basic learning which has taken place by the age of five or six. Perceptual development is stimulated by environments which are rich in the range of experiences available. At the beginning of the first grade there are differences between culturally disadvantaged and culturally advantaged children in the amount and variety of experiences they have had in their perceptual development. By the end of the sixth year of school there is a cumulative deficit in the school achievement of the culturally disadvantaged child which shows up most clearly in the tool subjects of reading and arithmetic. Deutsch states:

It is in the first grade that we usually see the smallest differences between socio-economic or racial groups in intellectual, language and some conceptual measures and in the later grades that we find the greatest differences in favor of the more socially privileged groups.²

¹Benjamin Bloom, et al., op. cit., p. 28.

²Martin Deutsch, "The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process", Mental Health of the Poor, Riessman, Cohen and Pearl (eds.), p. 174.

The life style of the low income child gives him a characteristic cognitive style that is inconsistent with the expectations of the school and teaching methods, and which will ultimately lead to frustration and disinterest in the task of learning. Riessman suggests that the cognitive style of the low income child is:

1. physical and visual rather than aural
2. content-centered rather than form-centered
3. externally oriented rather than introspective
4. problem-centered rather than abstract
5. inductive rather than deductive
6. spatial rather than temporal
7. slow, careful, patient and persevering in areas of importance rather than quick, clever and facile
8. games and action-oriented rather than test-oriented.¹

Black has found that the low income child is more concrete and physical in his responses. He is unaccustomed to "insight building" and is "symbollically deprived" in that lower income parents tend to discourage the use of imagination and "pretending", viewing it as "lying".²

The response to learning by the disadvantaged child is one of concreteness, physical involvement and is characterized by slowness. This child is slow at reading, problem-solving, taking tests and in getting down to work because of language limitations

¹Frank Riessman, op. cit., p. 116.

²Millard H. Black, "Characteristics of the Culturally Disadvantaged Child", The Reading Teacher, pub. by The International Reading Association, March, 1965.

and unfamiliarity with school "methods". He requires more examples before seeing a point, arriving at a conclusion, or forming a concept. He is unwilling to jump to conclusions or to generalize quickly.

Eisenberg says:

The cognitive style of inner city children tends to be slow, careful and patient as opposed to clever and facile. A conclusion that the child is stupid is easily drawn by an examiner who will not wait to let a child arrive at the goal toward which he may be slowly progressing.¹

The assumption, in our society, which values efficiency and speed, is that a slow learner is a poor learner. The disadvantaged child typically works on academic problems in a slow manner although in other areas of life he may be remarkably quick. Because the nature of the child's environment was such that there was little opportunity for adequate cognitive development, the child will be unable to meet the expectations of the middle-class oriented school system, and learning problems emerge. The culturally disadvantaged child coming to school with cognitive deficits is:

... less capable, for example, of making perceptual discriminations among physical objects in the environment, less able to deal with the pictorial representations of objects and actions, and more limited in the ability to conceptualize in even primitive ways.²

¹Leo Eisenberg, "Strengths of the Inner City Child", Education of the Disadvantaged: A Book of Readings, ed. A. Harry Passow, et al., p. 85.

²Basil Bernstein, "Social Structure, Language, and Learning", Education of the Disadvantaged: A Book of Readings, ed. A. Harry Passow, et al., p. 85.

Because the school system emphasizes abstract thinking, insight-building and because it rewards speed, "physical learners" are discouraged and do not develop.

Motivation

People usually become motivated in areas where they are able to achieve a relative amount of success. Therefore, in order to motivate a child to learn, it would be necessary to allow for success in learning and to acknowledge it when it occurs.

Many lower class parents act as though they subscribe to the view that if the child does not give the correct answer to a problem, the best way to get it out of him is to threaten or use physical coercion.¹

From this kind of training where failures rather than successes are emphasized, the child could be expected to fear school since his experience with learning has been frustrating.

It must be conceded at the outset that culturally deprived children typically manifest little intrinsic motivation to learn. They come from family and cultural environments in which the veneration of learning for its own sake is not a conspicuous value.²

The cultural background the disadvantaged child comes from obviously does not equip him in terms of incentive and

¹Harry Beilin and Lissan O. Gotkin, "Psychological Issues in the Development of Mathematics Curricula for Socially Disadvantaged Youth", Education of the Disadvantaged: A Book of Readings, ed. A. Harry Passow, et al., p. 289.

²David P. Ausubel, "How Reversible are the Cognitive and Motivational Effects of Cultural Deprivation? Implications for Teaching the Culturally Deprived Child", Education of the Disadvantaged: A Book of Readings, ed. A. Harry Passow, et al., p. 322.

motivation to successfully achieve in the school system. Similarly, the school itself has been doing little to attempt to instill more motivation and hope into this child. Stone and Church point out that any child in early elementary school years "wants not only knowledge but know-how; he wants to catch on to the skills and tricks and competences and procedures that are the marks of the initiate". That, further, "when left to their own devices or placed in schools which encourage instead of deaden curiosity, children of this age are gluttonous learners".¹

Low income parents, because of their values and life experiences, do not instill in their children the hope of something better through education. Riessman states that the typical low income family is present rather than future oriented and places more emphasis on "getting by" rather than "getting ahead". There is also a tendency in this family to feel that life is a better teacher than books, and talk, reading and intellectualism in general are viewed as unmasculine. School is often imagined as a "prissy" place dominated by women and by female values.²

The child from the low income family then is brought up in an atmosphere of anti-intellectualism and as a result is

¹L. Joseph Stone and Joseph Church, Childhood and Adolescence, New York: Random House, 1957, pp. 239-240.

²Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child, p. 30.

unable to perceive the long-term benefits of a good education. The attitude of his parents, peers and school officials lead him to believe that he does not have a good chance of getting much education and this feeling forces his educational aspirations to remain at the wish or fantasy level. The mechanics of obtaining a higher education are vague too, as the child and his family lack information about the various procedures involved.

Dora L. Skene supports this view as she examines values that serve to motivate people. She says:

A child from a low-income home is not motivated by the long-range elusive vision of "passing". A bottle of pop, movie ticket, etc. are his "Bird in the hand". Lower-Class children learn more quickly when given material incentive than when given a non-material one.¹

When the culturally disadvantaged child enters school there is a tendency on the part of the school to "pigeonhole" him on the basis of his I.Q. performance and socio-economic background. Segregation into homogeneous groupings are discouraging to the child as it limits contacts with other children, and the child's inadequacy, his bleak and limited future, are relentlessly emphasized. In terms of motivation, Bloom et al., feel that the first three years of elementary school are critical. If learning is not successful and satisfying in these years, the entire educational career of the child is seriously jeopardized. The child's interest in school learning, the probability of

¹Dora L. Skene, op. cit., p. 6.

drop-out from school and the educational and vocational career of the individual are largely determined by what takes place in the first few years of public school.¹ What natural curiosity and motivation the child does bring with him to school is soon toned down as he moves through the grades. Negativism, cynicism and resistance to learning efforts begin to take over. Rioux states that in such a context, by the third grade the child is approximately one year behind academically, by the sixth grade approximately two years behind, and by the eighth grade two and one-half to three years retarded academically.²

Learning and motivation in life and in school is based on a system of rewards and punishments. Sexton states that perhaps the biggest prize and most coveted reward offered by the schools in the possibility of a college education, that going to college usually means getting a better job than average, with higher pay, better working conditions and greater security. Most lower income children cannot see or value this as a reward. Under present conditions they would be more likely to respond to more concrete or tangible rewards rather than the intangible benefits of a college education.³

Since most low income children are not motivated towards

¹Benjamin Bloom, et al., op. cit., p. 22.

²J. William Rioux, "The Disadvantaged Child in School", Disadvantaged Children, Hellmuth (Ed.), p. 92.

³Patricia Sexton, Education and Income, p. 81.

the values of the school in that they lack information and encouragement, they therefore reap a disproportionate amount of the punishments from the school which only serves to lower self-worth and deaden curiosity. Sexton quotes a study by Abrahamson in which he found in six communities that most of the good report cards, prizes, social acceptance, elected student offices, extra-curricular club memberships, and teachers' favorites went to "upper-class" students, while a disproportionate share of the punishment went to "lower class" students.¹

While the culturally disadvantaged child may enter school with natural curiosity and motivation to succeed, his internalized values, lack of information and know-how about the school, the lack of encouragement from family and teacher, all combine to eventually reduce motivation and to bring about attitudes of pessimism and defeat.

Personality Development

It is apparent that there is a link between personality characteristics, particularly in the areas of independence, inner controls and self concept, and successful achievement in the school system. In order to achieve, a child must be able to express some measure of independence and exhibit confidence in his abilities to succeed.

¹Patricia Sexton, Ibid., p. 84.

Learning problems often emerge from a child's inability to meet the demands and pressures which exist in the classroom. The available evidence seems to indicate that the culturally disadvantaged child's personality is characterized by a lack of self-confidence or self-esteem and a negative self-image. These characteristics of the child can be traced back to the home environment where the parents themselves have little self-confidence, do not provide physical and emotional security, and are unable to provide the supports necessary for the development of a healthy personality. Lacking these personality characteristics, the culturally disadvantaged child does not have the necessary predisposition to successful learning.

The school system expects the students to possess a fair degree of self-discipline or internalized control.

A child who comes from an environment where noise and physical expression are the mode, will experience mental and physical strain in meeting the classroom's demands for quietness, restraint of verbal response and body movement.¹

They do not have internalized controls that are necessary to attend to a task for a long period of time or to attend to what the teacher is saying and doing. Therefore, this child is more likely to be easily distracted. While self-discipline is necessary for learning in the present school settings, it is alien to the experience of the culturally disadvantaged child. The schools expect self-discipline from the students and operate on the basis

¹Dora L. Skene, op. cit., p. 24.

of this assumption.

The school system, based on middle class values, also expects the students to show independent activity and individualistic competition. There is the expectation that the student will postpone many immediate gratifications to achieve rewards later.

The life style of the low income child has taught him to do just the opposite. Instead of competing there is a tendency toward being dependent upon the society of his peers, a group loyalty. To obtain high marks or to be labeled a "teacher's pet" are in many instances a very real social fear. For the low income child there is also a tendency towards immediate rather than postponed gratification. This is reflected both in the sense of fatalism that pervades the life of the low income family and in the desire to live for the day. The disadvantaged child has difficulty in seeing the relevance of much of school learning since he is unable to comprehend fully or accept the deferred and symbolic gratification that the middle class child has internalized. With each year he suffers further frustration, failure, and becomes alienated from the school.

Deutsch states:

The self-image is vital to learning. School experiences can either reinforce invidious self concepts acquired from the environment, or help to develop - or even induce - a negative self concept. The evidence leads us to the inescapable conclusion that by the time they enter school many disadvantaged children have developed

Negative self-images, which the school does little to mitigate.¹

The continued and prolonged punishment for academic failures tends to discourage children and to undermine their confidence in themselves and in the world. More punishments than rewards in school tend to destroy self-esteem and lead to anger and loss of confidence in oneself.

Sexton quotes a study by J. V. Mitchell, Jr., in which he tested 44,000 fifth and seventh grade students in the American Midwest to determine whether or not there was a correlation between "happiness" and family income level. Mitchell concluded that:

the low status child is more likely to feel that people in his environment dislike him, are taking advantage of him, or are treating him unfairly, and his typical reaction is resentment and hostility.²

Krugman claims that many culturally disadvantaged children have been injured by experiences inside school and out, and as a result they:

... question their own worth, feel inferior, fear new situations more than they feel their challenge, cling tenaciously to the familiar, have feelings of guilt and shame, have limited trust in adults.³

The School (to orientation, facilities, teachers and curriculum)

The schools are often targets for much of the blame in

¹Martin Deutsch, "Some Psycho-social Aspects of Learning in the Disadvantaged", Teaching the Culturally Disadvantaged Pupil, Beck and Saxe, p. 54.

²Patricia Sexton, Education and Income, p. 92.

³Judith Krugman, "Cultural Deprivation and Child Development", High Points, 38, November, 1956.

regard to the learning problems of the culturally disadvantaged child. They present the child with experiences that are not only totally foreign to his life-style, but operate in such a manner that failure and frustration become inevitable.

Another middle-class value which has been incorporated into the school setting is that of "living by the clock". Whereas the middle-class child is familiar with the concept of routines and the importance of time in structuring the day, the lower-class child's life experience is such that time is not as important in governing routines. The lower-class child's life style necessitates change in order to fulfill the expectations of the school system. If the life-style of the culturally disadvantaged child is ignored and he is punished for arriving late to school without an explanation regarding the reasons for punctuality, the child can be expected to become bewildered and develop negative attitudes to the school and to learning.

The school itself practices both subtle and overt discrimination against the culturally disadvantaged child in terms of facilities provided, teachers - their values, qualifications and expectations, and the curriculum.

Generally in deprived areas, school buildings tend to be older, in need of repair and lacking in much up-to-date equipment and apparatus for teaching. In an inadequate school building with substandard facilities, the quality of education in all probability will be inferior and learning more difficult and less pleasant.

Sexton, in her study of schools in Big City, found that school buildings were on the average twice as old in the low income areas than in the higher income areas. It was also found that low income area schools were more deficient in facilities than high income area schools.¹

Teachers employed usually have a middle class background so that their values and expectations of students may result in a bias towards, or a lack of understanding of the culturally disadvantaged student. Rioux states:

In an oversimplified sense we still, with few exceptions, produce teachers for work in depressed areas whose only tools for success are warmed-over versions of Sociology, Psychology and Child Development I and II. The materials represent slight adjustments of the view held of the middle class average child - whatever those views are.²

Becker³, found that teachers regard an assignment to a school in a lower income district as a loss of professional prestige and tacit evidence of their own failure or as an interim assignment until there is a 'promotion' to a better school. Their main objective becomes that of maintaining discipline rather than teaching since they feel their students do not value education anyway. He found that teachers wanted to leave the low income area schools as soon as possible because of the negative valuation

¹Patricia Sexton, Education and Income, pp. 124-125.

²J. William Rioux, "The Disadvantaged Child in School", Disadvantaged Child, Hellmuth (ed.), p. 85.

³H. S. Becker, "The Career of the Chicago Public School Teacher," American Journal of Sociology, 57 (1952), pp. 470-477.

placed on teaching in these schools by veteran teachers and because of old buildings, poor support and low pupil motivations.

As teachers coming to depressed area schools expect to encounter discipline problems and low pupil motivation, they soon come to perceive that this is in fact so. Jones and Cloward¹ quote one study of a deprived area school as indicating that "as much as 80% of the school day was devoted to discipline or organizational detail, even with the best teachers the figure never fell below 50%."

The teacher, because of his cultural background and expectations, may rate a pupil to be a slow learner when this is not necessarily the case. Schiffman², in a study of eighty-four elementary school children referred for placement in classes for "slow learners" because of academic failure, found that 78% had Wechsler performance quotients in the average or better range; yet only 7% of their teachers identified them as other than dull and only 14% of their parents recognized their potential.

In many depressed area schools, then, some teachers establish low expectations, anticipate failure and therefore find an increasing rate of failure. As teachers "discriminate" unintentionally or otherwise against the child, so too is there "discrimination"

¹James Jones and Richard Cloward, "Social Class: Educational Attitudes and Participation", Education in Depressed Areas, Passow (ed.), p. 191.

²Leon Eisenberg, "Reading Retardation: Psychiatric and Sociologic Aspects", Disadvantaged Child, Hellmuth (ed.), p. 420.

against the parents. There is a tendency on the part of teachers to ignore or to patronize them, and their parents, as is consistent with their life style, tend not to join P.T.A. or to visit the school. Jones¹ found that teachers more frequently consulted parents of disadvantaged children about problems of discipline rather than school work, even though these children receive the lowest grades.

Finally, the school 'discriminates' against the culturally disadvantaged child in terms of the curriculum. The problems and situations portrayed in the textbooks generally hold little meaning or interest for the disadvantaged child. They are indicative more of life in the middle-class suburbs rather than of life in the tenements and streets of the 'inner city'. Words that he is unfamiliar with are frustrating. The knowledge he is expected to have and the speed that he is expected to work at are similarly too demanding. The result of the teacher's unrealistic demands and expectations and an uninspiring curriculum is to create in the disadvantaged child the beginnings of an alienation from the school.

Therefore, the course of learning disorders in the culturally disadvantaged child is a multiplicity of interrelated internal and external factors. The physical and social environment, his family, peers, the school that he goes to, all combine

¹Frank E. Jones, "Social Bases of Education", Canadian Conference on Children, p. 32.

to influence the child's physical health, general intelligence, motivation, cognitive and linguistic and ego development.

The result is often repeated failure, feelings of low self-worth, frustration, and alienation from the school.

CHAPTER III

THE ADOLESCENT IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

The situation of the culturally disadvantaged child at adolescence represents essentially an accumulation, an exaggeration of all the deficiencies he has suffered as a younger child - only now, it is compounded by what a number of writers refer to as the crisis of "identity"¹ - an attempt by the adolescent to arrive at an image of himself which is acceptable internally and in concert with the expectations of the world around him. This has many ramified effects, such as in his increased anxieties and self-questioning, at home, in the growing importance of his relationship with his equals, and especially at school.

The growing and developing youths, faced with (the) physiological revolution within them, and with tangible adult tasks ahead of them, are now primarily concerned with what they appear to be in the eyes of others as compared with what they feel they are, and with the question of how to connect the roles and skills cultivated earlier with the occupational prototypes of the day. In their search for a new sense of continuity and sameness, adolescents have to refight many of the battles of earlier years ...²

This section constitutes an attempt to examine the "matured" handicapping processes to which the culturally disadvantaged

¹Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society, New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1963, pp. 261-63.

²Ibid., p. 261.

adolescent has been subjected, and to which he now begins to react by removing himself from the school. Dugald S. Arbuckle writes:

Excellence is within reach of all, but excellence is an inner concept of the self, and it is this excellence which is missing in the vast majority of school dropouts because we have alienated them from us and we have helped them to come to believe that they are small people. They have not transcended their culture, and their fight against it seems hopeless because they have become enculturated and trapped by it.¹

The dilemma is clear; the growing number of youths who become alienated from our school systems suffer this rejection because of cultural backgrounds which are devalued in the educational systems which purport to be interested in providing them with the opportunity to overcome and escape their "undesirable" culturally disadvantaged status.

As indicated earlier, the post-pubertal or adolescent period is one in which the individual must cope with reactivated conflicts; in the midst of this, the adolescent is actively involved in a search for an "inner identity":

Only when he can envisage himself in a defined role that is acceptable and attainable does the adolescent feel fully at one with himself and fully "identified" in his own mind and feelings as a personality related to his school environment.²

The "social environment" of the adolescent of western democracies

¹D. S. Arbuckle, "Counselling and Dropouts", in Guidance and the School Dropout, Dan Schreiber, et al., National Education Association, Washington, 1964, p. 188.

²Geo. J. Mohr & Marion A. Despres, The Stormy Decade: Adolescence, New York: Random House, 1958, p. 131.

is in great part centered in his school experiences. Failure to achieve satisfactory relationships and activity modes in the school setting deprives the adolescent of a rewarding and gratifying self-concept. This point has particular relevance to this study, in terms of its focus on the culturally disadvantaged child. Harassed by these inner conflicts and intent upon obtaining a sense of identity for himself in life, any and every adolescent experiences serious difficulties in navigating this sea made stormy by the confusions of a status which is neither that of a child nor of a man. But when these inner tensions are exacerbated by the strains attendant upon one who must expend energy decrying the lack of necessary amenities, as often must the teenager whose low socio-economic status negates their availability, the stresses often seem insurmountable and redoubtable, and are reflected in all areas of the child's life, particularly in his school performance. It is therefore not surprising that:

High school students from broken homes do poorer schoolwork and rate lower on personality scales than do those who come from complete families. Even when one equates pairs of boys for intelligence, in each pair the adolescent from the broken home has more social and emotional problems than the other boy. He is quick to anger, more self-centered, less sensitive to social approval, less able to control himself, and more easily discouraged when things go wrong.¹

It is a recognized fact that the "broken-home" syndrome is a

¹R. Torrance, "The Influence of Broken Homes on Adolescent Adjustment", Journal of Educational Sociology, 1945, pp. 359-364, as quoted in Luella Cole, Psychology of Adolescence, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1965, p. 399.

prevalent characteristic among the culturally disadvantaged population.¹

To recapitulate, the major emotional task and goal of the average adolescent is to attain a sense of identity, achieved by a style of role-performance which will enhance self-esteem and self-respect.

Given that the child's central role outside the home is that of student, when the individual adolescent's inner difficulties are increased by the worries and pains of unmet physical and emotional needs, as in the case of the culturally disadvantaged child, it is obvious that his performance in the student-role will be affected accordingly.

The home environment of the culturally disadvantaged child plays, as indicated earlier in this study, an integral role in forming his attitude towards and performance in, the school. It is also clear that the intensities of scholastic demands multiply as the child moves from the elementary to the high-school setting. The time devoted to studies must therefore necessarily increase.

But the overcrowded and noisy residences to which the culturally disadvantaged teenagers return after a day in school are certainly not conducive to the development of active studying habits; in fact, many of these children remain in the home only as long as

¹See R. D. Strom, "The School Dropout and the Family", The Disadvantaged Child, ed. J. Frost and G. R. Hawkes, pp. 58 ff.

absolutely necessary for the consumption of their inadequate meals and then escape their sordid hovels for the bright lights of the street. Studies are therefore understandably neglected, as they have been in earlier years, but now the disregard of these has a more pronounced effect on the grades received because of the greater demands inherent in high-school subject matters. It is not surprising that the vicious circle of little study, poor grades, low scholastic self-image and limited achievement-motivation is perpetuated:

Lower-status youths have additional pressures against good school performance: their parents tend to exert less control and supervision over their activities in later childhood than do middle-class parents. The youths themselves frequently find schoolwork less interesting, parents less interested in their performance, and school social life less satisfying. Instead, their activities with peers seem to emphasize boy-girl relations and independence from the home.¹

Also prevalent in the culturally disadvantaged child's home is a parental attitude of anti-intellectualism, which is often transmitted to their children:

Education, for what it does for one in terms of opportunities may be desirable, but abstract, intellectual speculation, ideas that are not rooted in the realities of the present, are not useful, and indeed may be harmful ... There is practically no interest in knowledge for its own sake; a pragmatic anti-intellectualism prevails.²

This certainly tends to create a negative disposition among

¹Lola M. Irelan, Low Income Life Styles, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, U. S. Gov't Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

²Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child, pp. 12 and 28.

the children of culturally disadvantaged adults, and when the adolescent in the course of his scholastic endeavors meets with the abstract concepts of history and social studies, he tends to be less motivated to strive for an understanding of these subjects. Further, one could reasonably conjecture that the whole learning process, fraught as it is with abstractions, is met with sullen disinterest; its relation to the harsh material world of the culturally deprived is minimal, and therefore often received with a "so what" attitude. Much of this anti-intellectual orientation nurtured by culturally disadvantaged parents stems from their own adverse experiences with a rejecting school system and tends to be transmitted intergenerationally.

Parents who maintain at best a chary attitude towards education cannot be expected to support, encourage or stimulate their children in their educational roles, and the flickers of hope a somewhat educationally successful disadvantaged teenager may experience internally are soon squashed by the disheartening indifference afforded them by his parents. The discrepancy between parental-middle-class views on educational proficiency and those of the "disadvantaged" classes is blatant:

The culturally advantaged child has been amply rewarded for his previous learning, and he is likely to begin school valuing achievement (and specifically, school achievement) as a good in its own right ... In contrast the culturally deprived child has difficulty in learning for its own sake and in learning for the approval of an adult. He has difficulty in seeing the relevance of much of schoolwork and learning since he is

unable to comprehend fully or accept the defined and symbolic gratification that the middle-class child has come to accept.¹

An oft-noted predisposition among the disadvantaged is that of a present-orientation and hedonism; this stems from the fact of having many basic needs unmet, which leads to a tendency to seek satisfaction of immediate goals, and lack of energy for thought regarding distant goals or long-range planning. The oft-expounded future advantages of higher education, for the teenager who habitually is oriented to the present, therefore remains as just so much unchallenging and irrelevant verbiage.

The reigning quality of the culturally deprived home has by now become clear: an unequivocal pessimism which cannot fail to be transmitted to its unfortunate progeny. Armed with this negativism about the world and what their future augures, they entertain little hope of overcoming the shackles of deprivation, and question themselves as persons and their meagre chances for success; motivation decreases accordingly.

While the middle-class child enjoys the amenities and luxuries of a secure economic life, his culturally disadvantaged counterpart begins to sense what might be called the "Get out and work to support us now you're old enough" syndrome. Many parents of low socio-economic status, beset with debts, and recalling the early age at which they began work, tend to see the child

¹Bloom, et al., op. cit., p. 21.

school-leaving age as a potential earner whose contributions would greatly lessen the family's economic impasse; this subtle or overt push to enter the labour market, coupled with the adolescent's discouraging educational experiences, prove to be too much, and school is often abandoned before or upon his sixteenth birthday.

A further factor which operates to minimize the possibility of the culturally disadvantaged child's continuance in secondary and college education is his own and his parent's lack of awareness about scholarships, bursaries, etc.; in terms of post-high-school education, culturally disadvantaged parents do not share the familiarity of middle and upper-class parents with the procedures and requirements for entrance and admission, and conceivably, a large amount of gifted lower-class children are deprived of further education because of this ignorance.

A related ignorance is that regarding the vast field of occupational availabilities; for the adolescent, who must secure a role in life which he will find rewarding emotionally as well as financially, the impending choice of work-role remains a crucial one. The scope of occupations with which the culturally deprived child and his parents may be conversant is generally constricted, and more often than not includes only those which hold little reward in terms of personal satisfaction and which offer limited advancement opportunities. The upper and middle classes, on the other hand, even when faced with an intellectually limited child,

have a more extensive knowledge of the employment field, not to mention the influence they may bring to bear on friends and acquaintances to find a "suitable" job for junior. This influence is also relevant in terms of summer employment, through which middle-class children may work to accumulate the resources necessary to finance higher education; the culturally disadvantaged children who nurture hopes of attending college, lacking the benefit of parental influence in job-finding, are generally forced to compete within the high-unemployment difficulties of their socio-economic peers.

Related to the crisis of identity for every adolescent is his experience in the peer group. It is here that he may "try himself out" as a person in his relationships with others of both sexes, and perhaps find acceptance. This context provides him with the opportunity of testing his internalized values, finding other individuals who share the same or similar points of view, and generally permits him to experience the security that stems from the feelings of being like someone else. All adolescents come to recognize that their values and philosophies are, to a certain extent, different from those held by their parents and their school teachers, and they therefore tend to associate with equals who share their attitudes:

Outside of its specific support in the struggle with adult authority, the peer group is seen as an insulator against the frustrations and anxieties in the shifts from adolescent to adulthood. It supports the adolescent by offering him a source of status and

a training ground where he can experiment with interpersonal relations, gain heterosexual experience, and develop social contacts which will be of future use to him.¹

For the culturally disadvantaged adolescent, the peer-group comes to have yet a greater attraction than for the middle-class child, as he notes the very great discrepancy between his views and those held in his immediate school environment:

(The disadvantaged child) recognizes that there is little likelihood that he will get satisfaction from his schoolwork and he seeks satisfying experiences elsewhere, usually turning to his peers for more satisfying relations than he has with adults. For this as well as for other reasons, the peer-group becomes more central in the life of the lower-class children ...²

The typical lower-class gang offers a social context much different from that usually provided in the schools; it generally offers rewards and satisfactions which the culturally deprived child, already alienated from the school because of disappointments and repeated failures, can appreciate. It also does much to reinforce the teenager's desire to terminate his schooling and enjoy a life which to him has meaningful gratifications. The lower-class peer-group or "gang" has a language and symbolism of its own, unknown to the middle-class society,³ shares a hedonistic

¹David Gottlieb, Charles Ramsey, The American Adolescent, New York: Dorsey Press Ltd., 1965, p. 196.

²Bloom, et al., op. cit., p. 21.

³William Foote Whyte, Street-Corner Society, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.

value-structure, which attracts the concrete and present-oriented culturally disadvantaged teenager¹, and provides activities which, by their very nature, represent the child's hostility towards middle-class values of deferred gratification and respectability. Bloom states:

The school with its emphasis on learning tasks, deferred gratifications, and adult-controlled social activity has a difficulty time in competing with a peer society which offers exciting and meaningful activity with immediate and powerful rewards quite independent of adult controls.²

Luella Cole indicates further:

The gang has a culture of its own. It offers its members an intimate group association with their peers, a more or less permanent leadership, the satisfaction of belonging and a chance to work off resentments and frustrations in the company of others who have the same problems ... and it is often the only group open to a boy from a lower class family.³

The central point is this: adolescents generally associate in terms of class homogeneity⁴, middle-class with middle-class, and the culturally disadvantaged with their equals, and this homogeneity, especially among those of lower socio-economic status,

¹Riessman, op. cit., pp. 74-118.

²Bloom, et al., op. cit., p. 35.

³op. cit., p. 425 from F.M. Thrasher, "The Gang as a Symptom of Community Disintegration", Journal of Corrective Work, 1957, pp.54-5

⁴August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949.

reinforces their own values, values which are generally at odds with those espoused by the academic and middle-class communities. Their hostility towards and rejection of educational values stems from the discrepancy¹ which exists between the professed goals of the school community and the means provided these children to attain these goals. With the ever-nearing crisis of occupational choice approaching, they experience anxiety and hopelessness, in the knowledge that what is seen as desirable by the educational community is well beyond their reach.

A further consideration which warrants mention in the examination of the culturally disadvantaged's educational environment is that of the physical characteristics of his school. A good proportion of the group under study resides in the central or "transitional" zones of large North-American cities. These areas are usually characterized by rundown, dilapidated and decrepit tenements and buildings, and the schools which the adolescent residents of the area attend generally resemble and reflect the same architectural mode. Most of the actual school buildings and their facilities are ancient and outdated and therefore do little to relieve or attenuate the aura of depression which reigns in the inner-city. The functional adequacy of the schools diminishes accordingly, and this certainly does not encourage or foster a desire to attend school.

¹Merton & Nisbet, Contemporary Social Problems, New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961, pp. 780 ff.

Studies also suggest that the teachers who staff the school are not of the same quality as those in suburban middle-class areas; they are generally less well-educated, and the turnover in staff is exceedingly high, as most of them consider a teaching appointment in a slum area as only temporary. This creates a lack of continuity for both the schools and the children, and the message of teachers' anxieties to leave the school cannot fail to be transmitted to the children.

The "middle-class bias" of the majority of North-American high schools has been well documented. Edgar Z. Friedenberg conveys its essential negativism:

The self-esteem of adolescents is threatened in the school by two intricate and quite unintended social tensions - there is, first, a matter of invidious class distinctions: of teachers and a small but dominant group of youngsters of superior social status disparaging the vast majority of working-class youngsters who attend school or who find it intolerable and drop out of it. But of far greater importance are certain patterns of value, attitude, and anxiety which are frequently encountered among teachers and school officials and which seem to be linked to their experience of life at the social level from which school personnel are recruited. These values, attitudes, and anxieties may not be directed against the lower-status adolescent, but they are insulting to the process of adolescence itself.¹

There are those, of course, who would contend that the schools actually do discriminate against the culturally disadvantaged by their use of language, phraseology and symbolisms

¹Friedenberg, The Vanishing Adolescent, New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1959, p. 110.

which are completely foreign to the experience and understanding of the non-middle-class, and which, in this manner, discourage the children from continued attendance in the schools. Children who frequent the schools and are subject to their middle-class biases and rejection of lower-class standards cannot fail to note this, and to be aware that these teachers hold very low expectations for them.

Cheyney¹ indicates that:

A study by Davidson and Lang² on the relation of childrens' perception of their teachers' feelings toward them bear out the effect of low expectations. One major finding of this study was that 'the more positive the childrens' perception of their teachers' feelings, the better was their academic achievement and the more desirable their classroom behavior as rated by teachers.' ... Thus it appears the myth that the teacher should have low expectations for disadvantaged children may be misleading.

Bloom³, in furthering this contention, would add that to all intents and purposes, our high school systems have functioned as selective systems, devoting major attention to those who are able to complete it successfully and supporting primarily those youths who are registered in college preparatory programmes.

One solution to the middle-class bias which it often proposed is to encourage slum schools to be staffed by teachers

¹Arnold B. Cheyney, "Teachers of the Culturally Disadvantaged", *Exceptional Children*, October, 1966.

²Journal of Experimental Education, 1960.

³Op. Cit.

whose origins are similar to that of their students. Cheyney¹ would add the caution that:

The fact that a teacher may come from much the same class as the children he teaches does not imply that he readily identifies with them or understands them - almost all teachers, no matter what their initial social status may have been, give allegiance to the basic middle-class values in the area of personal ambition and morality.

The days of high-school are therefore seen as a crucial time for the adolescent, for he must now choose his adult way of life. For the culturally disadvantaged teenager, who has encountered repeated failures and disappointments, it may be a time where he simply folds up and opts for a decision which has already been made for him by the school system. Bloom² would suggest that his inadequate performance in high school is a result of compounded failures and retardation which necessarily lead to a sullen disinterest in anything academic:

By the beginning of secondary school, the typical culturally disadvantaged student is reading at a level approximately three and one-half years below grade level, is considerably retarded in arithmetic and other school subjects. This problem-solving and abstract thinking is at a very low level as compared with others at this grade or age level. For these students there is a disaffection with school such that the student approaches learning tasks in a most apathetic manner.

¹Op. cit.

²Op. cit., p. 34.

It would seem therefore, that much of the disenchantment of the culturally disadvantaged children in our secondary schools stems not only from a personnel failure on their part, but is also, in great part, a failure of the present school systems in not reaching them. Quite often they are not oblivious to the "counselling out" phenomena by which their teachers, by direct or covert methods, discourage their ambitions to strive. They receive subtle messages that they are not of the "stuff" necessary to enter institutions of higher learning and in this manner perpetuate self-fulfilling prophecies. It has become increasingly apparent that special attention should be directed at these children from their earliest school years, so as not to alienate them from the learning process and to lessen the percentages of dropouts which come from their ranks:

There is a good deal of valid research which shows that high school dropouts can be identified very early ... Therefore, the dropout is not strictly a secondary school problem but also an elementary school one. Perhaps different and better treatment in the elementary school might be one of the most fruitful ways of reducing the number of youths who leave school before graduation.¹

¹Earl C. Kelley, "Seeds of Dropouts" in Frost and Hawkes, op. cit., pp. 61 ff.

CHAPTER IV

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss, in general, a set of criteria derived from our review of the literature, which we believe will facilitate an evaluation of various educational programmes initiated to help the culturally disadvantaged child.

On the basis of our survey of the literature it is our impression that any programme should involve: 1. the child, 2. his family, 3. the school, and 4. the neighbourhood. Further, a programme should have as its functions: 1. the prevention of learning disorders, 2. the detection of learning disorders, and 3. compensatory experiences to alleviate problems encountered in learning.

Although this study focuses on the educational system, it would be inaccurate to suggest that this system alone is responsible for creating learning difficulties in children, and that this system alone has the responsibility and capacity to prevent and to alleviate these difficulties. Rather, it is suggested that the various subsystems of the total community each share, in different ways, the responsibility for the education of children.

In suggesting criteria by which to evaluate educational

programmes for the culturally disadvantaged we believe that within each programme itself there should be definite criteria to determine who is and who is not eligible for special services. Recognizing the high cost of compensatory education in terms of both time and money, it is necessary that there be controls to ensure that the children who are most in need of help obtain it, while those who come from more privileged circumstances take advantage of regular sources of education.

It is our impression that compensatory programmes should be continuous throughout a child's school career, that is beginning at the pre school level and continuing through the elementary and secondary levels. The programmes should be meaningfully integrated as well as continuous. This would avoid feelings of anxiety and loss of motivation in children resulting from the discontinuation of enrichment programmes initiated for only a short period of time.

Since the child reflects the values, attitudes, and life style of his parents, programmes should be initiated with a view to familiarizing parents with educational goals and problems and to encouraging parental participation in home and school associations.

Studies indicate that low income parents have very few contacts with the school. When they do it is often for matters of discipline, the parents being related to in a patronizing manner with the result that there is little effective communication between parents and the school.

Schools should therefore assume the responsibility of actively seeking and eliciting the cooperation of parents for the purpose of discussing the needs of the child, the school's programmes and goals, and the opportunities available for the child.

Parents should be involved where possible in the formulation of educational policy, and in the capacity of volunteer or aide within the school, the purpose being to provide the parents with information and understanding about the school and the educational system, and to instil in them a positive view of education.

In terms of the content and focus of compensatory programmes, the general impression is that they should be constructed so as to place maximum emphasis on the strengths of the child, and to concurrently work to improve his weaknesses. To make maximum use of the child's inherent curiosity and eagerness to learn, and to create the opportunity for his own values and life style to work for him within the school system.

Pre school programmes would have as their purpose the widening of verbal and social experiences, the development of positive attitudes towards school, the giving of information about life at school, and in general, the lessening of discontinuities between home and school.

At the elementary level, the purpose would be to capitalize early on the child's inherent enthusiasm for learning, to create an atmosphere of success which will enable the child to relate

positively to his school, and to increase his motivation to learn and to want to continue to attend school. Programme content at this level should emphasize the development of language and reading capacities.

Programmes at the secondary level should contain a strong emphasis on encouragement, guidance, and the giving of information about career opportunities.

In general, then, we see the foregoing as the emphasis that programmes at each level should take. More specifically, in terms of the child's needs and capacities, the educational programmes should be attuned to the internal variables which influence the learning process at each level.

To allow the child the opportunity to work and to develop to his maximum potential, provision should be made for ongoing detection and treatment of physical disabilities. Further, health programmes should be carried out by the school, providing health information to child and family. Finally, where possible schools should make available milk and lunches for children whose families are unable to provide this.

In terms of the development of intellectual and cognitive capacities, since the culturally disadvantaged child is generally slower in reading and problem-solving, he should not be rushed but allowed to work at his own rate of speed. Teachers should allow the child more time, should give him more concrete examples of problems and should utilize his physical orientation through the employment

of role-playing techniques and the use of audio-visual aides. Emphasis should be given to performance as well as to verbal capacities and concurrently the parents should be educated as to the child's need for verbal experience.

In working to develop language capacities, compensatory programmes should focus on overcoming the effects of the lack of early verbal experience, and on the acceptance of the learned "informal" language patterns of the child. Provision should be made for role-playing activities, the use of audio-visual aides, remedial reading sessions, and reading material that captures the child's interest, in order to enhance verbal capacities.

Compensatory programmes should attempt to enhance and to sustain motivation to achieve in school in the child throughout his school career. To increase motivation to learn and to allow the child to see himself as part of the school, rewards which are immediate, consistent and tangible should be given for good work. Rewards such as books, theatre tickets, badges, personal thank-you notes would be appropriate.

Motivation for education and its benefits could also be increased by the widening of the child's experiential field through taking trips to points of interest and discussing the trip in class afterwards. Information and guidance regarding occupational opportunities should be made available and employers and professional should be brought in to discuss employment opportunities with the class. At the secondary level especially, information regarding

scholarships, bursaries, work/study programmes, should be made available to students to encourage them to remain in school. Guidance and vocational counselling facilities should be available and provision made for the referral to appropriate resources of children considering dropping out for financial reasons.

Finally, to provide the child with the opportunity to grow and develop to the maximum of his capacities, programmes should make provision for immediate referral to the helping professions for assistance with problems of self-image, lack of self confidence, discipline, and dependency conflicts.

In addition to reaching out to involve and inform parents, and working with internal variables that influence the learning process in the child, compensatory educational programmes should include the school itself in terms of facilities, the curriculum and the teacher.

Ideally, schools should provide a physically attractive environment through bright colors, good lighting, comfortable desks and generally a good state of repair. Additionally, there should be good library facilities, a well equipped gymnasium and outdoor recreation area, complete classroom and laboratory equipment. In general, the building itself should in part stimulate the child's desire to attend school and to learn; it should also be of such an appearance that young teachers would be attracted to, and stimulated to continue to teach in a low-income area.

The curricular content of compensatory programmes should be adopted to the needs and capacities of the child and should reflect his style of life and method of learning. Textbooks should be culturally meaningful, should be illustrated and should use words that are action-oriented. The child should be encouraged to read as often as possible and should be encouraged to read what is meaningful and interesting to him.

Since reading is the key to all further learning, this aspect should be emphasized in the early grades and the children with problems referred for remedial exercises.

Role playing techniques, audio visual aides and visits to places of work and cultural and historical interest should also be employed in order to widen the child's experiential field and to increase his motivation towards education.

In secondary schools emphasis should be placed on vocational guidance and information about the mechanics of obtaining a higher education.

Finally, to provide the opportunity for close, individual attention, the number of children in any classroom should be kept to a minimum:

"although classes of twenty-five children have long been taken by most professionals as a goal for children whose home background is favorable, it appears that classes of twenty - or even fewer - are better for disadvantaged pupils."¹

¹Educational Policy Commission, Education and the Disadvantaged American, National Education Association, Washington, 1963, p. 21.

The compensatory education programmes should have as a goal the attracting and holding of young dedicated teachers with good educational backgrounds. Since many disadvantaged children come from homes where the father is missing or in some way disabled, it is particularly important that young male teachers who would serve as role models as well as teachers be attracted to teaching in low-income areas. Higher salaries and generous bursaries for improving educational qualifications are some of the incentives that could be used.

Provision should be made for regular group meetings among the teaching staff to discuss problems and to share insights into the teaching of the culturally disadvantaged. There should also be the opportunity for professional consultation to discuss problems.

Teachers should be encouraged to "know" their students totally and in this regard should be encouraged to visit the child's home. The hiring of indigenous personnel and the utilization of volunteers is suggested as a way in which the teacher would have more time to teach and to visit in the community.

The larger community also has a responsibility to understand and to contribute towards educational goals. The community can become involved in education through the previously mentioned hiring of indigenous personnel and the use of volunteers; the provision of study facilities in churches, libraries and clubs; arranging with neighbourhood employers to give information on employment opportunities and careers; and the provision of part time

jobs in the neighbourhood which could allow a student the opportunity to continue in school rather than drop out for financial reasons.

The purpose of this discussion then, had been to suggest, on the basis of our review of the literature writings, what the goals and content of compensatory educational programmes should include, in terms of the child, his parents, his school, and the neighbourhood. The measure of success of such programmes would likely be reflected in: attendance rates, drop out rates, age-grade ratios, I.Q. ratings, participation in school activities, attitude towards school and education, level of reading ability, discipline problems and the degree of parental involvement in school programmes.

The subsequent section will contain a description of various compensatory programmes for the culturally disadvantaged child at the pre-school, elementary and secondary school levels. Our purpose is not to evaluate the programmes in terms of their worth, but to describe and assess them in terms of the criteria set forth in this chapter.

PRE-SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTAL ENRICHMENT PROJECT

In Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, a pre-school environmental enrichment project was initiated in 1964. Its objectives were: (1) to help counteract the effects of an experience-poor background. (2) to stimulate and encourage in the home a more positive attitude toward school and learning. (3) to provide a new field experience for pre-service education students which may encourage more of them to teach culturally deprived children.

The program consisted of four weeks instructional time, 3½ hours per day, 5 days per week.

Admission was on the basis of chronological age (4 years 4 months to 5 years 6 months); family's socio-economic status and the willingness of the parents to be involved in the project. Obviously the criteria were very flexible as the aim of the project was to select children from below average socio-economic neighborhoods.

The classes were relatively small as the enrollment was 23 children in each class. The instructional staff in this program appears to be quite unique. A master teacher, selected on the basis of experience and willingness to work with culturally deprived children, was assigned 2 classes of children. Each class was taught by a team of teaching assistants, 3 teaching assistants per team. The teaching assistants were selected from pre-service education students, who had junior or senior standing and were attending a state college in Pennsylvania. Through such an approach there exists greater opportunity for personalized attention and for

forming relationships which could enhance the learning process while simultaneously providing exposure and hopefully incentive for the teaching assistant to return to teaching culturally disadvantaged children upon graduation. There was ample preparation and supervision with assistance from the master teacher, a social scientist, a psychologist and educators. During the course of the instructional phase of the project frequent seminars, 4 the first week and 2 for each succeeding week, were conducted by the college supervisor. The purpose of these seminars was to discuss the problems encountered by the teaching assistants and to make suggestions to alleviate these problems. At the end of the instructional phase there was a week of evaluation. The intensive orientation, supervision and evaluation was necessitated by the brevity of the program. However, such procedures could be adopted in other programs in a less intensive manner.

To build a better relationship between the home and the school, a program, consisting of 5 group meetings, was prepared by and for the parents. The topics discussed were related to the child's needs and included: (1) child behavior (2) child health and (3) parental responsibility for the child's preparation for kindergarten. Parental support is necessary to form a cooperative approach in helping the child cope with the school's demands.

The nature and approach to the curriculum is interesting. Each week of the instructional phase had a central focus of concept and understanding development, with related experiences such as

listening to stories; taking field trips, viewing film strips; using crayons, paste and scissors; learning songs and nursery rhymes. The themes utilized were as follows: (1) orientation to school, (2) a city park (3) the farm (4) the airport. Experiences were also provided in science (planting seeds, feeding and caring for pets) and in social amenities (sharing toys, playing together, using good manners at snack time).

The results showed gains in mental age (no figures available); parents reported favorable changes in their children's behavior and better rapport was developed between parents and school; the college students who were teaching assistants expressed their general satisfaction with the project as a rewarding experience.

Thus it becomes evident that pre-school children and their families can profit considerably from a 4 week pre-kindergarten enrichment program.

Perry Preschool Project

The Perry Preschool Project, initiated in Ypsilanti, Michigan in 1962 is another example of an attempt to deal with the culturally disadvantaged at a preschool level. This project has been supported through the Cooperative Research Program of the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare as well as by the Ypsilanti Board of Education, the Washtenaw County Board of Education, and the Department of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan. It was a two-year program designed to compensate for the mental retardation associated with cultural deprivation. The program operated five days a week and three hours per day.

In this research, findings were based upon comparison of the experimental and control groups. The advantage of using a control group is that it makes possible the citing of direct benefits due to the program itself rather than merely accounting for accidental results.

Regarding admission requirements, the project attempted to involve three year old Negro children who were considered culturally disadvantaged but diagnosed as mentally retarded. A cultural deprivation (C.D.) rating was calculated based on father's occupation, average number of years of education completed by the mother and the father (or the mother only, if no father was in the home), and density in the home (number of rooms / number of people). Such a rating provided a cut-off point as the upper limit for accepting

program participants. Only children who were evaluated as being educably mentally retarded, with no major organic involvement, were considered eligible for the preschool program. Finally, the children had to be living within the boundary of the Perry School district.

Each child was involved in the program for two years. This does not seem to be a sufficient amount of time since the gains which were made in preschool diminished within two years. This further supports the contention that other means are required to maintain and extend the gains which are made in preschool.

The program included contacts with the children's homes. The teacher made weekly visits to the child's family. The mother was encouraged to become directly involved in the actual instruction of her child, thereby increasing her understanding of school teachers, and the educative process. The teacher demonstrated child-management techniques to the parent so that the mother could be aware of alternative ways of handling children.

Group meetings for the mothers and fathers of preschool children provide opportunities for exchanging problems relating to children. This group approach serves to reinforce the changes in individual parents' views concerning the education of children.¹

Efforts made to involve the parents represent a positive aspect of the project. Parental involvement certainly contributes

¹Preliminary Results from a Longitudinal Study of Disadvantaged Preschool Children, Ypsilanti Public Schools, Ypsilanti, Michigan.

to the over-all benefits which the program ultimately achieves.

This program did not appear to be greatly attuned to the internal variables which influence the child's learning process. The instructional method seemed to focus on what could best be described as "verbal bombardment". In this method, the teacher bombards the child with questions and comments which draw the child to aspects of his environment. This "bombardment" does not necessarily demand a response in terms of an answer on the part of the child. The complexity of the language increases as the child's verbal ability develops. Attempts are made to motivate the child to learn by rewarding him for good performance. Unfortunately, the types of rewards are not described. Such an approach appears quite compatible with the criteria which suggest that in order to motivate the child to learn, rewards should be made commensurate with the successful completion of progressively more difficult learning tasks. Furthermore, the rewards would be most effective if they were tangible, immediate and consistent. Finally, the physical orientation of the culturally disadvantaged child is acknowledged since role playing or dramatic play is part of the teaching methodology.

The content taught is made more meaningful to the child as attempts are made to relate discussions to the realities of his environment. The program is permissive but teacher-structured used to guide the child to increased cognitive development. Field trips are included as part of the school program.

There seems to be limited, if in fact any, community involvement in this project.

The intelligence test results from the program showed that the experimental group gained more I.Q. points than the control group and the difference was statistically significant. However, at the end of the first grade the difference in group means does not reach statistical significance as the experimental group decreases several I.Q. points and the control group gains several more points. By the end of the second grade, measured intelligence of both groups is equal. However, the performance in later grades shows that the experimental group had better academic achievement. They were able to better utilize the general intellectual ability they have in a school setting. In regard to social behavior, the participating children were reported to be "more open" as a result of their experience and they had higher ratings in social development which was measured by various standardized tests. It was concluded that even one year of preschool experience does make a difference in school behavior and "the impact of preschool seems to be increasing each year instead of becoming less".

Looking specifically at the experimental group, it seemed to be composed of two distinct sub-groups.

When the sub-group that did produce academic achievement is examined, it is apparent that they obtained significant I.Q. growth in the year of preschool and consolidated that growth over the following three years. Further, they were able to profit from academic instruction offered by the elementary school, achieving only slightly below expectation for their intellectual

level. Perhaps even more important, teachers rated them highest on various social-behavior factors such as academic motivation, personal behavior, etc. In short, preschool therapy, as an emotional therapy, "worked" with about half of the youngsters.

For the experimental sub-group that did not respond to preschool, the pattern is also clear. After an initial gain in functional ability, as measured by I.Q. tests, this sub-group reverted to its original level of functioning during the three year follow up period. The group was unable to profit from regular academic instruction, demonstrating little, if any, academic achievement. There were social changes, however, as teachers tended to rate this sub-group more favorably than the control children as a group.

When the control group is examined, it is clear that none of the children is able to profit from regular school instruction and that teachers rate their social behavior in less favorable terms than either of the experimental sub-groups.

The question which is posed at the end asks why the curriculum was effective with only one half of the youngsters. Other studies have shown that the most seriously disadvantaged children derive the most benefit from such projects. On the basis of these findings, if attempts were made to correlate the youngsters who succeeded with their cultural deprivation rating, one could predict that a strong association would be found to exist.

REACH (Raising Educational Aspirations
of the Culturally Handicapped)
1964.

Clinton County, New York

Researched by the State University College,
Plattsburgh, N.Y.

This programme, designed to prepare culturally disadvantaged pre school children for school, was carried out in the economically depressed, non urban Clinton County, New York in 1964 - 1965. This particular area was decided upon because of the high rate of unemployment, substandard incomes and the high rate of school dropouts.

Because of costs and the lack of school facilities it was decided to set up a Home Teaching program for four year olds.

The purpose of the research study was:

- (1) to determine whether or not a prescribed program of home teaching can improve some of the understandings, attitudes, and skills for disadvantaged pre school children which are essential for success in school.
- (2) to determine which ideas, materials, plans and experiences would be valuable in the production of television lessons to be used in a follow-up study.
- (3) to assess the practicability of teaching pre school, rural disadvantaged children in their homes and of enlisting the cooperation of parents, making the teaching successful.

- (4) to determine whether or not it is possible to develop among the parents of disadvantaged rural children the following: (a) higher educational aspirations for their children and (b) increased knowledge and skill in preparing their children to demonstrate at least satisfactory achievement in school.

Referrals of families for the project were accepted from the state welfare Department and three school nurses working in the area. A sample group of thirty children were chosen according to the following criteria:

- (1) The child had to come from a family whose members had no serious mental, physical or emotional illness.
- (2) The family had to be one in which there would likely be little difficulty in establishing a working relationship.
- (3) The family's income was to be not in excess of \$3000.00 per year, unless there were more than six children in the family.
- (4) The child had to have an I.Q. of at least 75.
- (5) The child's birthdate had to fall between December 1, 1959 and December 1, 1960.

The sample group was broken down into three sub groups of ten children each: (1) home-teaching group, (2) home-visitation group ("placebo"), (3) control group.

The home-teaching group was assigned to a teacher who had experience teaching primary grade and mentally retarded children in rural schools. She had also been trained in the field of Special Education.

Volunteers were assigned to the home-visitation group. These volunteers were untrained and in general were the wives of college faculty members, wives of air force personnel or students. These volunteers carried out activities designed to provide the group with an amount of attention which was comparable to the attention given the home-teaching group. The main purpose was to estimate the impact of the "Hawthorne effect".

The members of the Control Group were contacted only concerning inclusion in the study and for testing purposes.

The programme for the home-teaching and "placebo" groups consisted of two forty-five minute sessions with each pupil, every week for twenty-one weeks. In the case of the home-teaching group the learning objectives were:

- (1) to develop communication skills
- (2) to improve the child's ability to attend to auditory and visual stimuli and to sustain attention.
- (3) to improve the child's knowledge of basic physical, social and environmental concepts. For example, knowledge of such physical concepts as size, shape, color, number, space, time and temperature. Knowledge of social concepts such as grooming, social amenities and personal hygiene. Knowledge of concepts such as animals, plants and weather as found in the immediate environment.
- (4) to gain knowledge of physical self
- (5) to develop a positive self-image

The curriculum was formulated by a nursery school teacher, a kindergarten teacher and the research coordinators prior to the beginning of instruction. Activities consisted of: discussing the

pupil's experiences; retelling of stories by the children using pictures; listening to records; taking field trips; listening to stories of animals familiar to the children; matching, counting, grouping and measuring, using blocks, toys and pictures. The teacher wrote daily lesson plans one week in advance, wrote an evaluation of each lesson and encouraged parents to replicate the lessons.

The children in the groups were tested before and after the twenty-one week project by the Stanford-Binet I.Q. Test and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary. Test findings suggested no significant change. The researchers pointed out: "the qualitative findings suggest that valuable learning which was not tapped by the Stanford-Binet or the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Tests, had taken place. The term "valuable learning" is used to mean the learning of behavior which kindergarten teachers expect children to exhibit when they enter school."

The findings for the home teaching group indicated:

- (1) these children showed an increased willingness to talk with people outside of the family. They demonstrated an increased ability to verbalize, to use more descriptive terms. They also learned to talk in longer and more complete sentences.
- (2) The children learned to pay more attention to visual details in pictures; they showed an increased ability to see relationships and find meaning in pictures; they showed an increased ability to sustain interest in listening to stories; and, they improved in following directions, persisting in completion of tasks.

- (3) The children showed an improved understanding of basic concepts and consistently demonstrated courtesy and consideration towards the teacher.
- (4) Progressive increases in improved self image were evidenced as the children displayed a greater willingness to attempt new or difficult tasks, and grew in their ability to accept their mistakes or frustrations matter-of-factly.

Changes were also noticed in the total family unit as a result of the home-teaching project:

- (1) The parents were observed to take more of an interest in their childrens' education.
- (2) Parents and siblings developed the habit of reading stories to the children.
- (3) A greater pride in grooming and cleanliness was noticed.
- (4) Communication within the family was noticed to have improved.

The researchers concluded that even though not demonstrated through testing, improvements in speech, self-image, and perception were noticeable. They found the children and parents of this particular area willing to cooperate in this type of programme. They also suggest the feasibility of using television as an instructional media in the education of disadvantaged pre school children.

Enrichment Program for Socially Disadvantaged Children

The Enrichment Program for Socially Disadvantaged Children was first initiated in 1962 in the State of New York; it was a program organized for early intervention in the economically deprived areas of that city. The goal of the program was succinctly stated by the evaluator who reported on it:

"the aim of the program is to allay some of the negative influences arising from living in a slum environment by providing a society of cognitive, conceptual, social, and emotional stimulation within a classroom context to youngsters of low socio-economic backgrounds."¹

The program was organized so as to provide this compensatory experience from pre-kindergarten levels through to the third grade, after which the children would be admitted to the regular classes. The classes were to be held within a certain number of selected public schools in Harlem, the members of the project being selected according to certain criteria which ensured that the program's participants were actually from deprived socio-economic backgrounds. The other stipulations for admission to the enrichment program included children whose parents were prepared to assure responsibility for the child's attendance, children in

¹Leo S. Goldstein, Evaluation of an Enrichment Program for Socially Disadvantaged Children, Information Retrieval Enter On the Disadvantaged, Institute for Departmental Studies, Department of Psychiatry, New York Medical College, June 1965, p. 1.

good physical condition and not suffering from any seriously debilitating emotional disturbances. The children thereby selected were randomly assigned to experimental and control groups.

The program, to be carried on a 2½ hour daily basis four to five days a week, consisted of a "special curriculum" geared to modifying the handicapped experiential backgrounds which generally characterize culturally disadvantaged children:

"The enriched curriculum administered to the experimental subjects was devised to give these socially disadvantaged youngsters varieties of stimulation which are generally lacking in their home environment but which are considered to be part of a middle-class background. The curriculum emphasizes such areas as language (both receptive and expressive), development of a positive self-image, socialization, neatness and orderliness, and the general enhancement of cognitive and conceptual abilities. In presenting the curriculum, the teacher uses, in addition to her ingenuity, an assortment of equipment (blocks, trucks and other toys, games, adult clothing) either "standard" or especially adapted for use in these classes."¹

This description suggests how this program is directly aimed at the inadequate intellectual and cognitive development experiences of children from disadvantaged economic conditions. The teachers, two of whom were assigned to each 17 student class of youngsters, received special training prior to their assuming

¹Ibid., pp. 4-5.

duties within the program; all the teachers concerned had appreciable experience at either nursery or kindergarten levels.

The results of the program, established by a battery of tests, revealed that:

"... the average scores of the experimental children who had received the enriched curriculum were significantly higher than those of the control children who had no pre-kindergarten experience."¹

The researchers also indicated that the parents of experimental group children reported that the overall effect of the enrichment program had been positive:

"The children have brought into the familial setting many of the attitudes which have been shaped in the class room, incurring a variety of behavioral changes in their parents and siblings."²

The teachers of the children suggest in their observations that these children seem more active, outgoing and voluble than others of their age and socioeconomic background. The quest for inquisitive learning had obviously found seed.

Although the program's professed goal and intent was limited largely to an enriched curriculum designed to compensate for intellectual, cognitive and verbal handicaps prevalent among disadvantaged children, the program had some very positive aspects in that it directed its efforts at the most needy, socioeconomically

¹Ibid., p. 6.

²Ibid., pp. 10-11.

deprived groups. Unfortunately, the program failed to be as wholistic in its approach as it might have, involving parents, making provision for meeting the child's nutritional, physical and emotional disturbance needs, all areas which conceivably would have enhanced the success rates of its endeavors. Further, the facilities employed, while enhanced by the curriculum enrichment program, remained in Harlem Schools, which by their construction and atmosphere were most probably not conducive to making school attendance attractive and pleasant. The program was also not conceived as a continuing one, for the children concerned, and their later admission to regular classroom experiences would tend to attenuate some of the gains achieved in their earlier years as members of the enrichment program. Community visitation and involvement was also neglected and tended to isolate schools from the real environment; experiences in visiting factories, businesses, cultural centers, besides being stimulating in and of themselves, would have better oriented children to the realities of city living.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN'S

PRE-SCHOOL CENTRE

The National Council of Jewish Women, London Section established in January 1967, a Head Start type of Nursery School as a public service project in London, Ontario. The project was encouraged by the Department of Education and was supported by United Appeal Funds, donations from service clubs and individuals. It operated three half days per week. It was directed at those who would likely do poorly in school due to cultural, financial, or mild emotional difficulties. Its aim was to prepare the children for the school system as it now exists with its goals changing as the public schools change.

Our program attempts to provide these children with experiences and opportunities that will expand and enrich their social environment, develop their physical skills, and strengthen their emotional security, to enable them to better understand the world about them.¹

Several of the children came from broken homes and more than half of the parents were on welfare. Interestingly, these children were primarily recommended to the program by the Public Health Nurse, the Family Service Bureau, and the Children's Aid. The age of the children enrolled was four to five years. A system of referral based on clearly defined criteria enables the provision of service to those for whom the program was actually designed.

¹Brief on National Council of Jewish Women, London Chapter, Pre-School Centre, p. 1.

This program is designed primarily for nursery school but the children will be followed through public school.

The program attempted to involve the parents by helping them to mobilize, to develop and to use their powers in conjunction with others in the community to find solutions to problems. There has been limited success in involving the parents as relatively few participate in the program although most of the parents are favourably disposed to it. The lack of involvement might be attributed to the lack of structured programs which might motivate them to participate.

Unlike many other programs, this project concerns itself with the child's physical needs as a nurse visits the school to check on the health of the children. However, the program description does not mention the manner in which cognitive development, language development, motivation and personality problems are handled.

The nursery school is housed in a communal centre which is located in the depressed neighborhood. The facilities include: indoor and outdoor play areas, kitchen and bathroom, various types of equipment, and books.

The curriculum is based on the Nursery School Standards for the Province of Ontario with additional emphasis on Community trips, language development, social skills, and basic concepts regarding colors, numbers and letters.

The staff includes a certified nursery school teacher who has the help of ten volunteers. The class has a limited enrollment as it is comprised of 14 children.

This program certainly was community orientated. Not only was it initiated by special groups in the community, but it also received support from the United Appeal, and donations from Service Clubs and individuals. In addition, there was an advisory committee with representation from service clubs, the school principal, school health director, public health authority, social agencies, and the local minister. This board met several times a year to provide help to the program. Volunteers made up a vital resource in the program. They proved extremely valuable, especially in light of the lack of trained certified personnel. This program makes a pertinent suggestion about volunteers.

We need a Volunteer Training Center and Program to guide the volunteers in aiding and implementing the work of the professionals. The volunteers with training, supervision, and guidance could carry out most of the routines, thus leaving the professional free to teach, plan and supervise.¹

The effects of the program were measured by testing the youngsters within a month of entering school and then six months later. Measurements were made by verbal tests, motor tests, and behavioral ratings: Since there was no control group, comparisons are impossible to make.

On the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) those with the lowest scores on the first testing improved the most on the second testing. Such a result has been supported by other projects which seem to indicate that the children most disadvantaged, accrue

¹Ibid., p. 3.

the greatest benefits from these projects. Another verbal test, the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities (ITPA), showed that the greatest increase in this test occurred on the Auditory Vocal Association test, which requires the child to complete sentences with the appropriate word. For example, I sit on a chair, I sleep on a _____ (bed). Such a test requires ability in verbal fluency, verbal memory and familiarity with the objects and behavior of middle class environments. The ITPA subtest score which changed least was the Visual-Motor Association test which requires motor movements associated with common behavior rather than verbal skills. Therefore, the nursery school environment influenced the verbal behavior of the children more than the motor skills. This is compatible with the available theory and research which contends that the culturally disadvantaged child is physically orientated but lacks the verbal development which is expected by the school system.

The children also made a dramatic change in the Pegboard - a test which assesses the child's visual motor coordination with the dominant and non-dominant hands. The change was attributed to a change in the children's attitude to the testing procedure. Such a change in attitude is significant since this approach is an important aspect of our school system.

In regard to changes in behavior, this study supports the findings of other studies, that is, the children seemed to "open up".

The behavior ratings by the test administrator indicate the children were less inhibited, and, in fact, harder to test the second time. This was due to an increase in their self-confidence, more aggressive attitude and an improved ability to follow instructions.¹

The assessments of the participants emphasized the psychological development extensively and did not provide sufficient assessment regarding the child's social orientation such as: relationship with students, relationship with teacher, response to routines and time - orientated system and attitudes toward school and education.

This project which was relatively small in size and costing only \$2,200.00 to run in the first year demonstrated that positive changes could be made through a preschool program. Subsequent studies will include a control group which will serve as a unit of comparison and hopefully furnish answers for many unresolved questions.

¹Ibid., p. 4.

CULTURAL STIMULATION PROJECT

Barbara Frum initiated what could most accurately be described as a cultural stimulation program in Toronto. This action was in response to her awareness that there were culturally disadvantaged children who did not have the experiences that lead to the learning readiness they need to meet or cope with the school's demands. Since this project represents a limited attack on the problem, many of the criteria which were enumerated as a basis for evaluating experimental projects were not considered.

The project involved 15 children who were 3 - 5 years old. The program consisted of weekly excursions from 9:30 - 12:30 on Saturday mornings. There were 27 visits to various places such as: Toronto Island, the Zoo, Royal Winter Fair, farms, movies and libraries.

The program seemed to be able to at least contact the parents and involve them to a limited extent. The parents were visited by Mrs. Frum and notified of the plans and objectives. This was accepted by the parents. Perhaps the fact that Mrs. Frum did not present herself as an authority figure but rather as an individual who is interested in the family could account for this reception. Continued contact was made with the parents by visits and phone. In other words, she became a friend of the parents by befriending the children. Through such contacts Mrs. Frum heard

many of the problems that the family was facing and was able to refer them for counselling or advice. Common problems facing the parents were dealt with by sessions with the parents. For example, they were shown films on child development and had a discussion about the film with a teacher from the Institute of Child Study.

Certainly the program could be considered as being community orientated. There were five high school students who helped in the weekly programs. These leaders were carefully selected on the advice of the guidance teacher. This project suggests that high school students can serve as an important resource in such programs as they were able to function as effective leaders. Further community involvement is reflected by the fact that the Church allowed the group to use its Sunday School classroom for rainy days.

The small group experience enabled the children to develop social skills such as cooperation or working harmoniously on a common task such as a baking session. The tours facilitated a great deal of learning - names of animals in the zoo, how cows were milked, distinguishing taxis from other cars, and even learning distinctions in color, shape and taste of different fruits. An observation was made that through this experience the children talked more freely with their leaders and went home with stories that increased conversation with their parents.

Such a project demonstrates that a great deal of learning

can occur from a cultural stimulation program and this learning is very much related to the learning which takes place at school.

The E.N.O.C. Programme

In September 1965, the Board of Education for the City of Hamilton undertook a project called the ENOC Programme: Educational Needs of the Older City. Since the literature which describes the program is very brief, the task of evaluating it is difficult, (as well as limited to the available information.)

The program was not intended for particular classes within a school, but rather, it was initiated within the school as a whole. The advantage of such an approach is that it alleviates the potential stigmatization of the experimental group who might be referred to as "the dummy class" or the "retardates". An additional positive feature about this program is that provision was made to extend the program by adding two or more schools in each succeeding year.

The child enters the program at the age of four and is involved during kindergarten and the primary grades.

The program claims as part of its underlying philosophy, an attempt to involve the parents with a genuine effort being made to change the attitude of the parent toward education, toward the school and toward other authorities. For example, parents were helped to meet the child's needs by becoming involved in "read-to-Me" and "Let-Me-Read-to-You" exercises. Parents were introduced to the work of the program and every effort was made to encourage their active participation.

Parents are invited to the school frequently for informal meetings to hear about the work of a certain grade; to see the results of children's work and effort; to be guests at assembly programmes; to watch a film with their children; to assist with supervision on trips; to help repair books and assemble reading materials; to make materials for flannelgraphs, etc.

Involving the parents in the program contributes to the creation of a cooperative approach in overcoming the learning problems of the culturally disadvantaged. In other words, it is necessary to have the existence of a mutual understanding of the goals of both the teacher and the parent in order that compatible or cooperative rather than opposing or divergent activities be undertaken in response to this problem.

This program, from the information available, did not seem to pay a great deal of attention to the internal variables such as physical health, cognitive development, and motivation. A lack of concentration in these areas reflects a failure to compensate for factors which seriously handicap the learning process. However, attempts are made to increase the child's self-esteem by communicating to him that the teacher and the school are concerned about him, and have faith in him. The manner in which it is done is not described. To strengthen reading and language skills, all phases of the language arts program are emphasized. There are remedial reading classes as well as an extension of library and audio-visual facilities. Teachers are provided time for counselling the students and there is the

provision for referral to specialized assistance provided by the Adjustment Services Department of the Board of Education.

Enrollment in classes is limited, and in Junior Kindergarten the classes are limited to twenty children. A class with limited enrollment is a desirable condition as it facilitates more personalized attention. As part of the curriculum there exists the opportunity for community visitation. The areas toured and the purposes for the visits have not been enunciated, however, its purpose should be to widen the children's experiential background and to provide a reality basis for material discussed in class.

Teachers are encouraged to visit the homes of these children both prior to school entry and during the school year. This enables the teacher to both understand and appreciate the child's environment as well to solicit the aid of the family in overcoming the problem. The program stresses the importance of having enthusiastic teachers who are accepting of these children and ready to attempt different approaches to make school more exciting, more interesting and more profitable. Unfortunately, these approaches are not mentioned in the program description since any attempts to make school more exciting, interesting and profitable would certainly contribute to alleviating the problems that the culturally disadvantaged child faces in the school system. Recognizing the heavy demands made on the staff, every effort was made to enrich the background of the teachers involved and to renew

their enthusiasm.

Volunteers were recruited to help meet many of the children's need.

Many volunteers came to the schools regularly for story telling and discussion with small groups of children. Others assist in conducting co-curricular activities, such as drama groups, science clubs, etc.

It is not possible to evaluate the effects of this project as no (form of results or) evaluations of result have been provided by this program.

ALL - DAY NEIGHBOURHOOD SCHOOLS PROGRAMME

NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION

This programme for working with disadvantaged children in New York City Schools has existed since 1936. The basic philosophy of the programme is "a partnership of home, school, and community working together for a better society". The programme emphasizes small group instruction, team planning and teaching and an extended school day.

By September, 1964, the programme was operating in fourteen elementary schools in "disadvantaged" areas. The length of the programme is kindergarten through grade six. The programme features a regular school day and then "clubs" from 3:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. This is for a maximum of 25 students from each grade and priority is given to those whose parents would not be at home after regular school hours, and those that are having academic and behavioral difficulties in school.

Parents are involved to a certain extent in the programme. No child is admitted to one of the clubs without the parents first having a personal interview with a school official. A Community Relations Consultant also tries to educate and involve parents with regard to the schools' goals and arranges for and encourages parent-school meetings.

ADNS staff in each school, consists of seven licensed

teachers plus a secretary (in addition to the regular teaching staff). One of the seven serves as an Administrator and the other six are known as "group teachers". The programme features close cooperation with the Bureau of Child Guidance, to which children with emotional problems are referred. Continuous inservice training sessions are held each week to share information and techniques about working with the disadvantaged child, and orientation seminars are arranged each fall for new ADNS teachers. The group teachers work from 10:40 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. each day in collaboration with regular teachers until 3:00, and then they run the "clubs" from 3:00 to 5:00 p.m.

The curriculum is based on the developmental needs of the child, rather than on a preconceived, logical organization of subject matter. The curriculum emphasis is: a concern that each child develop a positive self-image; that a sense of self-discipline and a respect for the rights of others be developed; that instructional materials to involve all senses be used.

The curriculum features a work-play period that is planned, guided and purposeful. This activity encourages the child to learn to get his thoughts and feelings across on a non-verbal level at first, and hopefully at the same time to develop socially acceptable patterns of behaviour. Activities such as block building, acting out stories, painting, finger painting, modeling with clay and handicrafts allows the child physical involvement and also allows the teacher the opportunity to observe aggression

acted out in play.

To develop language skills stories are read to the children. They are given the opportunity to dramatize stories and through this they learn to gain in sympathy and understanding for other people. Puppets are used extensively and stimulate the child's imagination. Language skills are also developed through the opportunity to read what is interesting to the individual child, do word games and puzzles, write poetry and stories (which are accepted as the child's felt expression) and through recordings and singing.

An interest in Science is developed through frequent field trips and discussion, and through using common everyday incidents at home and school as the basis for science learnings.

Social Studies also feature frequent field trips to broaden the child's experiential field and deepen his understanding. The emphasis is on learning how to get along in the school, home, and neighbourhood.

The after school "club" brings together children of the same age group and same grade level. The activities are viewed as being not extra curricular but co-curricular. The emphasis is on creative activities based on the child's interests and features informal, warm, non-competitive small groups within which the child can experience "success". The maximum number in each club is twenty-five and since most children are from homes where one parent is missing, they are afforded the opportunity to be with an adult who "has the time" for them.

The club is organized and yet flexible as the children are restless after a long school day. Snack time is a regular feature as milk, sandwiches and fruit are supplied by the Board of Education. The childrens' nutritional needs are being met, and through eating together come to learn appropriate social behavior.

A period of active play both in and out of doors is scheduled. The "clubs" allow the children the opportunity to do homework, read, ask questions, hear stories, use the library. Dancing lessons and field trips are also activities.

Volunteers from the community are afforded a chance to work in the "clubs" which again allows the children the opportunity to obtain positive views of adults. Volunteers include education students who are required to gain field experience in an agency working with children; social group work students from Fordham University also doing their field work; interested parents; junior high school and senior high school students; members of the Junior Red Cross and the Junior Volunteer Corps.

There is close interaction between the classroom and the "clubs" as group teachers are able to observe the child in both settings. It has been observed that members of the "clubs" take back to the classrooms techniques and other learnings acquired, the attitudes of cooperation and initiative, and influence their fellow students.

During the period September 1962 and February 1965 a research

project was carried out with all students entering the third and fifth grades in 1962 and completing the fourth and sixth grades in June 1964. Control and experimental sample groups were chosen. The objectives of the research study were to determine whether or not the particular programme:

- (1) helped to develop pupil potential any more effectively than other programs existing in comparable schools.
- (2) helped to improve performances on achievement tests, school grades, academic tasks.
- (3) help to improve pupils' personal and social development more than other school programs.
- (4) affected pupil performance in junior high school.
- (5) affected attitudes and behavior of the teachers in relation to their students and their work.
- (6) influenced the attitude and behavior of parents in relation to their children and to the school.

In summary, the research findings were:

- (1) "Experimental children showed more in work habits, less tendency to work only with continuing external incentives or to show negative attitudes toward work".
- (2) a. "analysis of the themes in the verbal skill measures revealed that experimental children scored significantly higher in total number of words, total number of different words and total number of ideas".
b. "experimental children were more likely to speak fluently".
- (3) a. "improvement in pupil "relation to teacher" and "emotional tone" among experimental children was rated by teachers as being significantly greater".

- b. "experimental children were less likely to seem aggressive or hostile and more likely to seem positive and happy."
- (4) "experimental children entering the seventh grade in 1962 were found to have significantly higher grades in hygiene than control children."
- (5) a. "experimental school teachers were significantly more optimistic about raising the levels of their pupils to those of children found in other schools."
b. "Experimental school teachers were significantly more likely than control school teachers to think that schools are more responsible than other factors (society, family background, hereditry) for the child's achievement."
- (6) a. "Parents in experimental schools are more likely to think that their child is improving in his school work very much."
b. "They are more likely to feel that the teachers and the principal are concerned about their child."
c. "Interviews with parent group leader in the six schools found larger and more active parent groups in the experimental schools."

QUINCY, ILLINOIS

The idea of an enrichment programme for culturally deprived children evolved as the result of observations of the poor school performance of children from the lowest social grouping.

The programme was four years long, beginning in four schools in the low income area in 1960-1961. Included was a control group of 227 students and an experimental group of 229. The students' progress was observed in kindergarten through grade three, with tests being administered at the beginning and end of the experiment.

The programme had three goals:

- (1) to understand the child more fully through information obtained by testing, interviewing parents and observation.
- (2) to provide a rich background of intellectually stimulating experiences for the child through better use of community resources, school facilities and materials.
- (3) to enlist the interest, support and cooperation of the parents in helping to motivate the child to develop his interests and abilities.

Parental interest and participation was actively sought out by family workers attached to the project and by the teachers themselves. Home visits were made by the teachers, parents were encouraged to attend and participate in PTA meetings and to

accompany the children on certain field trips. Family workers served as a liason between the family and the school and demonstrated to parents how to help the child with home work; interpreted school policy; helped parents understand and deal with behavior problems. Family workers on occasion acted as substitutes to allow teachers to visit parents during school hours. During home visits the teachers tried to stress the positives of the child's school role; babysitters were found to allow parents to attend PTA meetings.

For the experimental group, the curriculum was enriched in an attempt to make school a rewarding, positive place; to stimulate and develop the child's natural interest and curiosity and to enhance his self image.

Children were "prepared" for entering kindergarten by allowing them to attend school for one week during June preceding their enrolment, so that they could meet the teacher, some of their classmates and learn of some of the activities.

The curriculum was built around the field trips, the aim of which was "to provide understanding through experience". Each class took eight to ten trips per year to zoos, farms, libraries, businesses and other points of interest.

Curriculum enrichment was provided through developing listening skills (identifying distinctive sounds with visual stimuli); puppetry (role playing and discussion); science classes (simple experiments involving the children); language classes

(Mexican and French was taught); library visits; films; magazines; pets (various animals were kept in cages in the classroom to be observed by the children); after school activities (games and a garden project); concerts and art exhibits; six week summer remedial reading course; and summer day camp in conjunction with the Girl Scouts.

In terms of facilities, all four schools had been built before 1930 but all were in good repair, were clean, well lighted, uncrowded and painted.

More than three fourths of the project teachers had taught in their school for more than four years, and a number for over twenty-five years. The teachers received help in their duties from the family workers, volunteer college students, and in some instances the mothers were used as teacher's aides to read stories to the children. Additionally, some teachers were given the opportunity to study programmes for the disadvantaged in other cities.

The Project also succeeded in actively involving members of the community. Teenage and adult volunteers were obtained to help with some of the routine duties in the school, help the children with studies, with reading. They also acted as chaperones on field trips. Community social service agencies and service clubs were also involved, especially through the provision of health information, the purchase of eye glasses for those who could not afford them, for example.

On the basis of post-Project tests, it was found that the Experimental group had significantly improved scores on the verbal and total intelligence sections of the WISC Test and also showed improvement in the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test. It was also found that both control and Experimental groups were reading at grade level. Improvement was found in general self-image of those in the Experimental group, and attendance for both groups improved with each successive year. However, at the end of the Project there was in many children a noticeable "let down" as the "regular" curriculum did not hold as much excitement for them.

In general, this programme concentrated on "getting to" the child during the first three years of school which are held by many to be the most crucial as far as future achievement is concerned. While spectacular gains were not made, the children did manage to work at grade level for the three years. However, there was no programme continuity after the four years.

Efforts were made to involve parents, the community and to adapt the curriculum to the needs of the children. Provision was also made to give health information, detect disease and refer to appropriate resources.

The curriculum served to engage the child physically through role-playing and encouraged his active participation in discussion before and after field trips. Provision was made for remedial reading exercises and the parents and volunteers were encouraged

to help the child with his reading.

At the end of the Project it was felt that while the children in general should still be considered "disadvantaged", they were nevertheless exposed to, and stimulated by a more enriched curriculum, the school in itself had become more positive in the eyes of the parents, and the community in general had been somewhat "educated" as to the needs of the disadvantaged child.

IOWA PROJECT - CHILDREN OF DEPRIVATION

This project was undertaken in 1957 by the Child Development Clinic in the Department of Pediatrics and the College of Education of the State of Iowa in Iowa City. In addition, financial assistance was provided by the Children's Bureau, through the Division of Maternal and Child Health, Iowa State Department of Health; by the Division of Family and Children's Services, Iowa State Department of Social Welfare; and by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health.

The project concerns itself with familial mental retardation, that is, a type of retardation which is thought to have no neurological basis but to be the result of psychosocial, economic, and educational deprivation. This kind of retardation is usually found throughout a family group and it is thought to be confined to the lower socio-economic class.

The project was to continue for 5 years with two major purposes:

1. To learn as much as possible about a group of children with familial mental retardation and their families, from medical, psychological, social and educational points of view.
2. To see if, with an intensive program of environmental enrichment, the course of depressed intellectual development could be modified in these children, who would be between the ages of 3 and 6 when admitted into the project.

This project does not concern itself with a primary emphasis on educational preparation but rather attacks the biological and psychosocial factors which impede social functioning in general as well as academic attainment specifically. Also, there is the concurrent treatment of the child, family and environment.

The program involved the children in the experimental group, their siblings, and their family. The children attended nursery school 5 days a week from 8:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. throughout the year as well as an 8 week summer session. Unfortunately, due to a lack of funds and personnel, there was no control group which could have enabled the controlling of variables.

The staff who studied and worked with these families included pediatricians, dentists, educators, psychologists, speech therapists, social workers, public health nurses and a home economist. The subjects for this program were selected on the basis of the following criteria:

1. Chronological age of an index child between 3 and 6 when first accepted into the study
2. IQ as measured on the Stanford-Binet Test between 50 and 84
3. The child's family in the lower socioeconomic class on the basis of the modified Warner Index of Status Characteristics
4. One or both parents regarded as mentally subnormal on the basis of a Binet or Wechsler IQ below 84
5. At least one other sibling considered mentally subnormal on the basis of a Binet IQ below 84
6. No gross neurological finding present to explain the child's retardation

These criteria indicate that the subjects selected suffer from quite severe retardation. As a priority selection, it is quite valid since available studies indicate that the most disadvantaged make the most gains from such programs. Also, the criteria looked at the family as a whole since it also represented a target for change. Therefore, 16 index children, their 93 siblings, and the 32 parents were selected from the Iowa City Area. This total group of 141 individuals were studied.

In order to guarantee greater involvement in terms of including in the program all who are eligible for service, possible subjects were referred by the county welfare department, local physicians, the Visiting Nurse Association, the special education consultant for the community school system, and by the families already participating in the study. Recognizing that "reaching out" to potential clients is a desirable approach, the above mentioned resources can be utilized to help involve all potential recipients of service.

The study ran from 1957 to 1962 with the children attending an experimental school for 1 - 3 years. This represents a fairly short period of time and does not allow for continued stimulation and support so that the gains made in the early years might be maintained and extended. Since the study did not include a follow-up, this contention could not be verified.

The family as well as the child became targets for interventive efforts. Visits were made prior to involving the child in

the program to inform the parents of the study and to solicit their cooperation. Attempts were made to actively involve the parents in the project. However, the families proved very difficult to motivate. The staff thought that by offering complete medical coverage the families could be induced to come into the project and to stay with the project. This proved not to be the case since for the most part these people were found to be crisis-orientated, that is, if their child had what to them was a major problem, they would bring him to the hospital outpatient department for treatment. Also, they are fearful of individuals who represent figures of authority. Therefore, in this project they were fearful that the staff would turn out to be a kind of social welfare or police informer who might recommend that the child be taken from them. It is important that the culture of these people be fully understood to avoid succumbing to the assumption that a reluctant individual is one who does not desire service.

A group was formed in response to an expressed need by one of the mothers. Such an approach is certainly valid since it soon became apparent that the women had a common problem.

They were lonely. They were isolated from the community and its affairs; they had few close friends; they did not attend church; they did not belong to a group; and their children were ostracized at school. This feeling of loneliness permeated the entire fabric of family life.¹

¹Ibid., p. 35.

A group could meet this apparent need and serve as a vehicle for importing useful information. The most important benefits would arise from the opportunity for socializing.

Subjects for the group meetings varied from meeting to meeting - demonstration of food preparation, sewing and mending techniques, hair cutting and styling, recipe exchange, use of a thermometer, toothbrushing, problems of child care, decoration of quilts for the experimental school, weight reduction, and many others. The above mentioned programs would enable the women to better function as individuals and as parents since they would equip the parent with necessary skills.

A group program could serve many purposes: to motivate the mothers to take better care of their homes, to give the women a feeling of belonging and being accepted; to stimulate their interest in investigating other aspects of the community; to make friends among themselves; to exchange babysitting and clothing; to have a place to tell good and bad news; and best of all, to give them self-respect.

To help the families cope with various problems which emerged, social workers visited all the families at least once a week. This represents a positive approach since another helping profession is made available to work intensively with all the families.

Regarding efforts aimed at the child, they seemed to focus exclusively on the child's physical needs with little focus being

made on intellectual and cognitive development, language development, motivation and personality. A partial explanation accounting for this emphasis is that the project was oriented towards environmental enrichment and therefore was not attuned to the internal variables which influence the learning process. Also, the curriculum was basic and not modified to meet the special needs of disadvantaged children. This program would have certainly been more improved had it concentrated on these variables which directly influence the learning process.

However, unlike most other programs, there was a tremendous emphasis placed on meeting the child's physical needs. This can be rationalized on the basis that the project was housed in a medical setting with the medical profession being very much involved.

This project confirmed the fact that culturally disadvantaged children suffer from a relatively high incidence of physical disabilities and/or deficiencies. In this study, measurements of the children showed that 84 percent were below the average for North American children in height, and 81 percent were below average in weight. To meet this need, medical and dental care was made available to the children without expense to the parents. Nutritional and budgetary information was dispersed to the parents. A home economist shopped at the stores with these women to teach them how to shop. Teachers observed that a number of the children arrived at school without having any breakfast. In response to the suspected poor nutritive status of the children, lunch was served

to them at noon and milk was supplied in the morning and afternoon. One could legitimately expect that the child who has his physical needs met would be able to better attend to his learning tasks.

The school does not seem to be specially modified to meet the peculiar needs of these children. It represented a typical nursery school as it included equipment such as building blocks, paper, crayons, tricycles, wagons, phonographs, books and so on. The basic tenets and methods of a regular nursery school curriculum were utilized. In fact, they state that they did not modify the usual approaches for the group of disadvantaged, retarded youngsters. However, the available research seems to identify various handicaps which these children possess which impede progress in the school system. Although these handicaps could be offset in a preschool program, unfortunately this project did not focus attention on them. However, they did recognize the importance of small classes and had a limited enrollment of 20 pupils per class. A ratio of teachers to pupils which was 1 to 6 for the younger group, and for the older group the ratio was 1 to 12. The significance of such a ratio is that each child is guaranteed more personalized attention and afforded greater opportunity to form a relationship with an adult.

Regarding their involvement in the community, these people were characterized as being lonely, isolated from the community and its affairs, few attended church and none with any regularity, few had friends, and one belonged to a club or PTA. The parent

group helped offset some of the above mentioned characteristics. Also, citizens became involved with the disadvantaged people through a homemaker program which is one device for effectively introducing the desired information and skill. In this way citizens do not merely help a disadvantaged group by the giving of material things, but they donate a much greater service by involving themselves personally with these people and conveying their warmth and understanding to them.

Although this program did not focus directly on the child in relation to academic preparation, through the means of cultural stimulation, various gains were made. From the constant exposure to medical services, the families were able to move from a crisis-orientation to seeing value in preventive medical and health supervision. By closely working with the families, a change in attitude occurred in other areas such as housekeeping, toward education, and in regard to persons who were willing to help them. Finally, the children showed gains in I.Q. Of the 35 children who attended the experimental school and with whom the total staff worked most vigorously, 32 showed some increment in I.Q. In this study, the change in I.Q. seems to be a manifestation of improved personality development as the result of a changed and presumably improved environment. This leaves us with an optimistic contention that greater gains are possible with increasing emphasis on the internal variables of the child which directly influences the learning process.

SCHOOL TO EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

The School to Employment Program, (STEP)¹ was first conceived as a work-study demonstration program for potential dropouts. It was organized in cooperation with seven larger school systems in the State of New York, the State Division for Youth, the State Department of Labor, and the State education department. The program differed essentially from a number of others extant in the U.S. in that its emphasis was on individual development and general preparation for work and life rather than on the acquisition of a specific vocational skill.

The program was aimed at modifying the usual pattern experienced by school dropouts:

"The essential goal of the STEP program is to help pupils 15 years of age or older who have been identified as prospective dropouts due to scholastic failure, truancy, and related behavioral and attitudinal problems, to achieve a successful adjustment to the demands of adulthood. The program is designed to provide these pupils with appropriate educational and work experiences that will enable them to succeed in full-time employment, should they decide to leave school after the legally permissible age, or alternatively, motivate them to return to a regular school program leading to a high school diploma."²

¹T. Bienenstok and W.C. Sayres, An Appraisal, Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged, The University of New York, State Education Department, Division of Research, August 1964.

²Ibid., p. 1.

The STEP program was therefore geared to combining work experiences and school study to prepare its recipients both for work responsibilities and to keep academic paths open. The program has two basic facets one of regular academic courses and vocational instruction, and one to orient the students to the world of work - ie. techniques of getting and holding jobs, proper work habits, etc. The actual work experience provided had a number of attitudinal gains attached to it:

"The initiation into the world of work tends to create a more realistic attitude on the part of students toward the vocational aspects of life. Holding a job forces the student to face the realities of a work situation and to take stock of his personal short comings and the handicaps of inadequate training which are likely to prevent him from achieving a satisfactory adult status. His growing awareness of the problem can be used as a significant educational lever in an effort to change his outlook and orientation toward his future employment as well as his need for further school training."¹

The STEP program provided for its potential-dropout students a paid, school supervised, part-time work experience contiguous with an academic involvement which otherwise might well have been terminated. The work-experience portion of the program emphasized performance of a useful task in realistic job-situations where the demands, pressures, opportunities and problems of regular employment demanded solution. The students were either paid by the schools for their work or by the part-time

¹Ibid., p. 10.

employers of private companies. The units of teaching, which were under the supervision of a teacher-coordinator, were limited to fifteen participant students.

With regard to admission to the program, the report suggests that STEP candidates were referred by guidance personnel, classroom teachers, school administrators and attendance officers, and their referral was based on the likelihood of the student's school dropout; many of those referred had histories of problems of truancy, academic failure, delinquency and aggressive behavior in the past. Admission to the program was also predicated on the student's expressed desire to receive the training provided, his willingness to improve, and his potential employability, applicants were also required to have a minimum IQ of 75 to be considered eligible. The program of work was so constructed that the teacher-coordinator might maintain a close scrutiny of the child's employment, and received regular written or oral reports from private employers.

The duties of the teacher-coordinators included the conducting of the work orientation program, the locating of employment opportunities for his students, undertaking a follow-up of students' progress in jobs, visiting parents, and conferring with regular class-room teachers. Although no discussion regarding the qualitative or quantitative training of teacher-coordinators was included in the report concerned, his personal qualifications were to be outstanding:

"the importance of selecting a competent person for the position of teacher-coordinator is not to be underestimated. No matter how effectively the program may be organized in other respects, nothing can serve as a substitute for the personal skill and sensitivity, the integrity and the basic common sense of the teacher coordinator."¹

The evaluation of the program revealed both its inherent difficulties and favorable effects. On the positive side, the authors of the report felt that "decidedly encouraging reports"² were obtained, with 58% of project youngsters being successful in academic subjects, as compared to 28% successful in the control group; further, 27% of the project children returned to a normal school program in one year. The districts involved reported better attendance, fewer disciplinary problems and higher grades for STEP students as compared to the control group.

The program directors and researchers suggest that STEP should be coordinated with other programs, to prevent its being only a residual and stop-gap measure. Its inclusion and coordination with other measures would serve to make these more comprehensive. This contention suggests one of the questionable variants of the program, its rather short duration, one year. The program obviously has been successful to an appreciable extent, but whether only one year's experience within such a program would adequately compensate for past academic and attitudinal

¹Ibid., p. 9.

²Ibid., p. 6.

handicaps remains questionable.

A further difficulty inherent in the program which the authors¹ of the report outline stems from the program's attempts to find employment in private companies; many of the potentially available employers have, because of the delinquent and aggressive predilections of the students, decided against hiring them. This makes it particularly difficult for teacher-coordinators to find suitable employment for these students, and the alternative placements in schools and other agencies have proved to make available relatively limited realistic work-experiences.

With regard to the students admitted to the programs, criticisms have been levelled against admitting the "hard-core" educational misfits because of the danger of wasting money; on the other hand, if promising adolescents are chosen, it is suggested that these would have succeeded notwithstanding the efforts of those involved in STEP. As concerns the girls in the program it is sometimes felt that job-training is unrealistic and wasted, as the majority are expected to marry and thereby drop out of the labor market; the emphasis on training of young teen-agers then had tended to shift to acquainting them with the responsibilities incumbent upon the role of the wife and mother.

Some community involvement was attempted, in that each district was required to establish an Advisory Council,

¹Brenenstock and Sayers

consisting of representatives of such groups as organized labor, business and industrial associations, but these unfortunately tended to be relatively inactive, having therefore little influence on the development of the program. It would seem that a solution to this lack of community involvement might lie in choosing from these associations not the already overworked formal leaders, but those who profess an interest in programs of this type.

On the whole, the program revealed that organizations of this nature, wherein potential dropouts are attracted to participation by the remunerative measures, can be quite successful. Obviously the compensatory variants initiated by the program failed to be as inclusive as they might, neglecting full parental participation and provisions for referral for treatment of emotional disorders, but the premise of work-study seems to find substantiation in the successful activity of the participants. Community involvement, wherein guest lecturers might acquaint students with the myriad of employment opportunities available to them, would seem to be a reasonable measure which was left unmentioned in the report.

CENTRAL NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE PROJECT

This work's concern for the culturally disadvantaged adolescent led to a search for programs initiated to compensate for tendencies among the adolescent poor to drop out of the educational system before completion of high school. Among the reports examined was one undertaken by a social work agency in Toronto, known as the School Completion Project. Responsibility for the Project was assumed by the Central Neighborhood House of Toronto, in cooperation with the Junior League of the same city. While this Project was not under the aegis of an educational organism, it suggests an alternative plan, a way in which the profession of Social Work was able to make an efficient contribution.

The Project was first conceived in late 1960, and arose out of a community concern over the high rate of school drop-outs within its area. It was financed largely through the Junior League of Toronto which also provided volunteers and service in three areas of the program, including home visiting; supervision and tutoring of "homework sessions", and clerical and publicizing activities.

Of three years' duration, the project's professed goal was to:

"... attempt to find the best methods of helping children remain in school as long as their academic potential indicated."¹

Central Neighborhood House is located in the downtown Toronto "inner-city" area, adjacent to the central business district, and has been in operation since 1929. The population of this area is highly mobile, and lives in grossly inadequate housing; its people are apathetic and depressed, many of them depend on public welfare for economic support, and their children attend the schools in the area.

In the course of its providing services to this community, the staff and director of the house developed a concern over the large numbers of school drop-outs in the immediate area. Staff members who had personal contact with these drop-outs were also aware of the fact that most of these young people were unable to secure stable employment, and when such was available, it was largely in occupations with low rewards and requiring almost no skills.

The House, in terms of this awareness, formulated the purpose of their project as their opportunity to play an effective role in helping members to remain in school until they reached the maximum educational level of which they were capable.² They conceived of the compensatory educational program to be described

¹Margaret Fauna, Project Director, A Report on the School Completion Project, Central Neighborhood House, Toronto, 1964.

²Ibid., p. 8.

below as one in which the social work methods of casework and group work would contribute immensely.

Since the Project was aimed at prevention of school drop-out, the first goal was to isolate and identify those youngsters who evidenced traits of the potentially early school-leavers. They established a set of criteria including repeated failures, parental disinterest in education, older siblings who had left school, economic difficulties etc.,¹ by which these children were selected. Each child's case submitted for admittance to the project was reviewed between the staff member concerned and the Project Director. Their aim was obviously to select a group of children from "hard-core" multi-problem families. It should be noted at this point that although the experimental group was selected in this manner for purposes of research, that the facilities and services provided to the selected group was also extended well beyond it and included a number of other children from the area not specifically designated as being members of the Project. Recognizing the necessity of involving all the institutions concerned with the program, the cooperation of the Board of Education was also elicited, and the principals of local schools attended at the House for a specially-organized meeting where the goals and purpose of the Project were explained to them. Further, questionnaires were formulated by the directors of the Project to be answered by the childrens' teachers, the answers

¹Ibid., see. pp. 10-11 in report.

to which constituted their assessment of the child's potentiality for early school leaving. It should be noted also that these House-teacher relationships and communications were continued throughout the Project, as teachers were requested, four times during the school year, to make progress reports to keep the House in tune with the needs and failings of the child so their efforts could be concentrated in appropriate areas.

Staff members were assigned two of the 29 families selected according to the criteria, and each of the volunteers in the Project were assigned to one family. The in-service training provided to new staff members and volunteers seemed very thorough:

"Sessions were held on the School Completion Project and its methods which included seminars on home visiting, interviewing, basic concepts of behaviour and basic concepts of social work practice. Each year a speaker from the Board of Education gave information about the School System and the variety of courses open to youngsters of different learning potential."¹

The Project, as indicated earlier, involved both staff members of the House and volunteers from the Junior League; assisting in these endeavors were also students from the University of Toronto School of Social Work. The volunteers selected had varying backgrounds, including social sciences, nursing, child development and business; many high school and university students were involved, especially in tutoring of children from the area and in supervising and assisting during the homework sessions

¹Ibid., p. 14.

which were initiated to provide these children with an opportunity to study after school in quiet surroundings.

The homework sessions were organized to meet the varying needs of the children concerned, with after-school sessions for the younger children, which followed after their regular group meetings, and evening sessions for older children whose part-time work responsibilities precluded their ability to attend after school. In both cases, food was provided to the children, cookies and milk for the younger in the afternoon and a full-course meal for the older children in the evening, and the program in this way compensated for the usually inadequate repasts these children consumed in their homes. Although this measure served as an attracting device for the children, the costs of the larger meal soon became prohibitive and had to be terminated, leading to a concomitant decrease in attendance rates at the evening homework sessions.

The homework and tutoring program, staffed in good part by volunteers, was instituted because many of the childrens' homes were too crowded to provide a quiet place to do homework, and the parents were usually poorly equipped or too uninterested to give that help. With the regular contact between the schools and the Central Neighborhood House, staff and volunteers were conversant with the child's abilities and difficulties, and could concentrate on providing assistance in their weak subjects. The staff and volunteers used ingenious and pleasant methods to teach the children, holding spelling and arithmetic games with the children.

The whole procedure, as described in the report showed genuine understanding and support of the childrens' curiosity and eagerness to learn.¹ It was also felt that the atmosphere at homework sessions would be outside the authoritative tenor fostered in the schools, and that close personal relationships would develop between children and volunteers; examples are given where many children tended to emulate, sometimes successfully, the strivings of homework session supervisors and tutors, many of whom were close in age to these children.

Home visiting, a responsibility of volunteers, was regarded as an integral part of the School Completion Project, and it was felt that only by providing parents with the impression that they were involved in the child's schooling would the whole Project prove successful:

"It was the firm conviction of the School Completion Project that the child's home contains many of the factors that lead to school drop-out hence visitors focussed on detecting and working to eliminate or modify those negative influences as far as possible. The over-all focus was always support of the child in school but it was frequently necessary to help the family work through many other problems before it was possible for the parents to devote energy and emotional support to their children and their school lives.

This assistance provided to the family constellation was secondary to the work of the visitors, but constituted a recognition of the importance of familial contexts which were

¹Ibid., pp. 27-40.

favorable to the children's school endeavors. Project visitors encouraged parents to find out about children's courses, why they were doing well, how the home could help, and encouraged and supported parents to stay in contact with their children's teachers. Further, the visitors, in consultation with the director of the Project, outlined a flexible, long-range plan in regard to the family for which they were responsible, acted as "social brokers" for the families, orienting them to needed services and essentially attempted to give them an experience with a social agency which disposed them positively to others. As the family's confidence in the visitors grew, the house was able to make appropriate referrals for public housing, financial assistance, and encouraged parents to provide their children with regular medical attention. The results were gratifying:

"In strengthening them as family units, in helping them to learn to mobilize their own strengths and in teaching them to use outside resources when necessary, the Project's concerns reached far beyond a concern with school progress only. The modification of the families' problems had a direct effect on the parents' attitudes and thus on their children's school performances."¹

The child's participation in house groups under group workers also provided greater insights into his family, which were relayed to the visitors and project directors in the course of supervisory sessions.

¹Ibid., p. 50.

It is a recognized sociological fact that most parents in the disadvantaged group do not become involved in community activities and tend to view the service-system in a negative light. The Project members recognized that childrens' parents had to be reached and influenced in such a way that they would have a beneficial effect on their children in the interest of school completion.¹ On the basis of these conflicting premises, it was felt that a Parents' Group would tend to overcome this quandary, and by involving parents in the House's programs, they would come to view their contribution as invaluable. A series of group meetings was therefore accordingly arranged, the atmosphere to be relaxed and informal, to provide parents with the opportunity to share views on the educational problems of their children, and to acquaint themselves with both educational and occupational opportunities. These meetings were staged so as to provide the parents with occasions in which they felt their contributions were given recognition. Films and speakers presented served to point out the important relation between home and school, and as a result many parents began to experience growing abilities to express themselves and evinced a beginning recognition of the role they had to play in their childrens' education. With higher aspirations of parents came increasingly optimistic outlooks of children.

On the whole, the program seemed uncannily well-suited to

¹Ibid., p. 51.

the needs of disadvantaged parents and their children. Most of the variables necessary to compensatory experiences geared to meet the needs of potential dropouts were achieved. The admission requirements ensured that the program reached the most needy, the parents were involved, in direct counteraction of the usually anti-intellectual atmosphere. The people were made to feel worthy as their contribution was considered essential, and parents were acquainted with occupational and educational opportunities. With regard to the child's needs, physical health, by the referral and encouragement of parents these were ensured, the remedial reading and spelling-game experiences provided both intellectual and cognitive stimulation, rewards (in the guise of milk and cookies and meals) were provided, not to mention the praise afforded the children upon successes, and the professional counselling available provided assistance with personality-adjustment difficulties. The facilities for studying, as described in the report, were bright and cheery, and the enlisting of high-school and university volunteers led to a high level of educational tutoring.

In the words of the Project report:

"The project indicated ... that the combined use of the social work methods of casework and group-work in conjunction with a settlement house program can be extremely effective in combatting certain social problems, in this case, school drop-out."¹

¹Ibid., p. 73.

Although the actual "success rate" of this Project, because of the high mobility of clients and small number of participants, was difficult to assess, the findings of the participant agency-members indicate that the prevalence of drop-out among those who frequented the house in the course of the Project was appreciably diminished.¹ While employing settlement-houses in this fashion may constitute what is largely a very limited and stop-gap measure and is therefore somewhat unrealistic in terms of the large student-populations of American inner-cities, it does constitute an excellent proof of the fact that early school leaving can be discouraged if a concerted effort is undertaken and sustained by community sanction.

¹Ibid., see pp. 58-71.

THE OLIER PROJECT

The Project d'Action Sociale et Scolaire was conceived as an experimental project to be carried out in a disadvantaged area of the city of Montreal. This project, henceforth to be referred to as the P.A.S.S., stemmed from consultative discussions between the Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montreal (C.E.C.M.) the Conseil des Oeuvres de Montreal, the P.R.S.U., (Plan de Reamenagement Social et Urbain) and the Service de Sante de la Ville de Montreal. The P.S.A.A. was later to be referred to as the "Project Olier", from the names of the school in which the study was to be carried out. Although the final report concerning results of the interventive efforts to be described below was not available at the time of this writing, it was felt that the description of the program should be included in our report in view of its progressive and sound theoretical base.¹

The preliminary findings of the contributing organisms referred to above indicated that the high school student's situation in Montreal's disadvantaged areas is often beyond amelioration, and therefore attention should be directed at elementary and pre-elementary scholastic levels.

The "Rapport No. 2"² contains a review of the problems

¹The description of the programme proffered below was culled from the rapport No. 2., Project d'action Sociale et scolaire, "Fondements theoriques, Esquisse du Programme et Schema de Recherche", Montreal, 1966.

which prevail in Canadian education generally and as it relates to the educational handicaps extant in disadvantaged areas; particular reference is made to the area served by the Olier School, establishing it as one whose facets of population, construction and facilities made it representative of the type of "disadvantaged" schools under examination. The second chapter delves further into the theoretical writings which treat of problems related to scholastic failure, conveying the impression that this programme is soundly based theoretically, and is one which suggested programme modifications attempts to attack the problem at its heart. The variants examined¹ include, the "inferior" I.Q. of disadvantaged children, the anti-intellectualism prevalent among the disadvantaged parent-populations, the "typical" handicapped socioeconomic characteristics, (crowded housing, limited funds, lack of privacy, single-parent families), the lack of cognitive, verbal, tactile and intellectual stimulation characteristic of the homes, and, finally, the factors in the school which militate against the disadvantaged child's success.

The professed goal of the P.A.S.S. or "Project Olier" is formulated in terms of these handicaps. In translated form, the goal would be described as:

"to provide children living in disadvantaged areas with an opportunity to realize, to the maximum

¹Ibid., p. 6.

degree, their scholastic aptitudes, so as to make their aspirations attainable."

Two committees were formed to study methods in which these goals might be realized. The first committee, concerned with pedagogy, aimed at restructuring teacher training, teaching methods, and curriculum, the second committee was entrusted with the responsibility for the amelioration of social variants, i.e. family life, personality and medical problems. Their first premise constituted a recognition of the child's need for physical and nutritive health:¹

"Si on satisfait les besoins de nutrition, de sommeil et de repos chez l'enfant, ses chances de rendement scolaire adequat augmentent. Sa capacite de fonctionnement a l'ecole depend grandement de ses conditions de vie, de sa sante, de sa possibilite de recours aux soins medicaux, et de ses conditions materielles."

In concert with this recognition, the programme instituted mechanisms whereby medical services would be readily available; the services of one doctor and full-time nurse were employed, regular medical supervision of all children was made a matter of course, and parents, through contact with the project, were encouraged to initiate medical consultation when necessary.

In the area of school facilities, curriculum and teacher orientations, the modifications which follow were established. The ratio of teacher-student was maintained at one teacher to twenty-four students. New methods of teaching included greater

¹Ibid., p. 28.

employment of audio-visual and role-playing techniques, related to the concrete orientation of disadvantaged students, the content of courses and reading was to be modernized and again related to the worlds of the students. With regard to cognitive and intellectual stimulation, a reading programme was initiated, to begin in the first year of school, geared to the development of vocabulary and abstract conceptualization.¹ The usual progression from grades one, two, three etc. was abolished, until seventh grade, to preclude the child's experiencing failure, and children were to be allowed to progress at their own rate.² Group-teaching was also to be employed as a matter of course, permitting teachers to devote themselves to courses and subjects in which they had a demonstrated ability. The in-service training which the teaching staff encountered consisted of meetings with different professionals, including social workers, pedagogues, and specialists in education. This was undertaken to educate the teacher as to the psychodynamics of disadvantaged life, to motivate and guide him in his teaching, and to acquaint him with advanced educational techniques. Further, it was considered essential that all staff members be engaged and convinced of the project's avowed purpose, to preclude resistance and sabotage of the programme; since the teachers were required to undergo this

¹Ibid., p. 30.

²Ibid., p. 31.

training outside of their regular work hours, financial compensation was made available.

The manual arts and library facilities were furnished with the material necessary to expand both the quality and extent of their services.

Recognition of the disadvantaged child's social needs was an integral part of the program from the outset. The school was kept open beyond the regular school day to provide children with the opportunity to study in quiet surroundings, with these periods to be supervised by secondary school students and, on occasion, the parents of the children. Parental contribution and involvement was considered an essential problem, and to this end parental groups were formed, to discuss common interests, to share information and to decide on an appropriate contributive role for the parents. It should be noted that the difficulties incumbent upon single parents were taken into account, and home visits and baby sitting services arranged to ensure the opportunity for interested parents to participate. Community visitation was also considered a necessary part of the childrens' education, and in this regard fifteen regular visits were arranged, in coordination with the child's program of study and with the intent of broadening the child's horizons by his personal observation and experience.

In the area of the disadvantaged population's need for social services to compensate for both educational and familial difficulties which militate against the child's scholastic success,

it was felt that the agencies providing service should be involved and their services coordinated and made available to both the students and their families:

"L'objectif spécifique de l'action a entreprendre au plan sociofamilial sera l'amélioration des facteurs sociaux qui conditionnent le processus d'éducation. Certains de ces facteurs sont plus directement liés au fonctionnement scolaire et doivent recevoir l'attention d'un service social scolaire alors que d'autres affectent surtout, le fonctionnement de la famille et intéressent plus particulièrement le service social familial. En unissant leurs compétences respectives, ces agences sociales pourraient assurer aux enfants concernés et à leurs parents des services de diagnostic et de traitement social correspondant aux besoins qu'ils éprouvent".¹

The services provided in this plan included two social workers from the S.S.S.F. (Société de Service Social aux Familles), one doctor and one nurse from the Service de Santé de la Ville de Montreal, one full-time social worker whose time would be completely devoted to the project, from the C.E.C.M. (Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montreal), and one psychologist, available three days a week, from the C.E.C.M. Weekly consultative sessions were envisioned, in which members of all the disciplines involved would evaluate the problems particular to the children and initiate the treatment plans deemed necessary.

The P.A.S.S. thought it necessary to maintain a research project concomitant with the actual compensatory measures, to

¹Project D'Action Sociale et Scolaire, descriptive outline and summary, page 11, 1966.

evaluate its universal applicability and validity. The research division of the project addressed itself to three questions, which are here in translated form:

- " 1. What influences on academic achievement have specific curriculum changes had - what influence have new educational techniques had?
2. What effect does parental involvement in group discussions and school-related responsibilities have on the academic achievement of the children concerned?
3. Do diverse forms of intervention have a varied influence on children having different socioeconomic characteristics, and why? "

This project represents an excellent example of the compensatory experiences necessary to provide disadvantaged children with educational opportunities equal to those of their socioeconomically more favored counterparts. It focussed on an area recognized as being socioeconomically handicapped, and the programme itself was conceived as being of a long enough duration to be effective. Efforts were made to involve parents directly, to acquaint them with the school, to ensure the provision of medical and health services to the children. The curriculum and teaching methods were geared to stimulate the child's intellectual and cognitive development, and while it is not clear whether tangible rewards will be made available to these children, the project's abolition of grades precludes the dangers of failure attendant upon a grade system. Although plans to modify the school's appearance and facilities were not clearly designated,

the provision of appropriate facilities for manual arts and library services seemed excellent measures. The in-service training of teachers, in which different disciplines participated, conduced to the child's being seen in a wholistic and more understandable manner. More emphasis should have been placed on reimbursing teachers for their devotion to a "disadvantaged" school, and provision for home visits to increase communication between teachers and parents might have been a desirable measure. On the whole, the programme, as stated previously, demonstrates an awareness of the particular needs of the culturally disadvantaged child, and the results of its research activities will be welcomed by the Canadian educational systems.

CONCLUSION

The essential purpose of this work was centered on an examination of the available literature treating of the culturally disadvantaged child's life experience as it relates to the educational system. From this study, an appropriate theoretical formulation was derived and organized into discussions pertaining to the specific variants concerned. It was felt that these represented a sound understanding of the major issues relating to the education of disadvantaged children, from which criteria could be culled to aid in the evaluation and planning of compensatory programmes. (See Appendix A)

The section immediately preceding this one constitutes a descriptive evaluation of a number of the programmes made available to us in the course of our study. Appendix B reveals that studies and research programmes are being undertaken in many centres, and testify to the pressing and ever-growing concern over both educational matters and underprivileged populations.

The reader will note how the majority of these programmes were premised on theoretical findings, and how, in these avowedly purposeful endeavors, theory was translated into successful reality. While a good number of the programmes discussed, either because of economic limitations or restricted goals, failed to take into account the plethora of variables which bear on the

educational experience of the disadvantaged child, all of them, in focussing on one or the other area, revealed that appreciable successes were attainable. This very consideration suggests that a truly wholistic approach might in fact result in overcoming the educational misfortunes and handicaps prevalent among low-income groups.

The enthusiasm and sense of urgency regarding necessary educational revisions which were shared by the writers of this report and those involved in the process are, we feel, essential to the universal goal of equal education for all, and the process of acquainting educators with the findings of this study would hopefully be a contribution toward that aim.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX A

The purpose of this appendix is to put forth a set of criteria based on our review of the literature, to facilitate an evaluation of the various educational programmes initiated to help the culturally disadvantaged child achieve within the school system.

Although this study focuses on the educational system, it would be inaccurate to suggest that this system is alone responsible for creating learning difficulties in children, and that this system alone has the responsibility and capacity to prevent and to alleviate these difficulties.

On the basis of the survey of the literature it is our impression that any programme should involve concurrently:

1. the child, 2. his family, 3. the school, and 4. the neighbourhood. Further, a programme should have as its functions:

(1) prevention of learning disorders, (2) detection of learning disorders, and (3) compensatory experiences to alleviate problems encountered in learning.

The following are criteria by which we will evaluate various programmes instituted to help the culturally disadvantaged child:

1) Admission requirements:

Recognizing the scarcity of resources which exist to deal with this problem, it is necessary that a programme define who is and who is not eligible. It is suggested that the following should be considered as possible criteria for admission:

- a. family income
- b. family residence
- c. children from single-parent families
- d. age of child (three years and up)
- e. detection and referral of emotionally disturbed children
- f. public information regarding the programme

2) Length of programme:

The programme should extend for as long a period as possible in order that early gains be maintained and extended. Although one particular programme may extend for a short period of time, there should be opportunities for either follow-up or referral to other similar programmes where need is indicated.

3) The Home:

Since the child reflects the values and attitudes of his parents, programmes must include the parents; to better familiarize them with educational goals and problems and to invite their participation in school programmes. Programmes should therefore include:

- a. The giving of information to parents, re:
 - i. school's goals
 - ii. the child's needs (discipline, health information, verbal stimulation)
 - iii. vocational opportunities
- b. Parental involvement in school programmes

4) The Child:

Educational programmes should be attuned to the internal variables which influence the learning process.

- a. Physical health
 - i. provision for dental and medical attention, (detection and treatment), at admission and throughout the programme
 - ii. nutritional needs should be met
- b. Intellectual and Cognitive development
 - i. emphasis on performance rather than verbal capacity
 - ii. opportunities for the child to work at his own speed. Emphasis on strengths rather than weaknesses
 - iii. teachers' use of role-playing techniques, concrete examples, audio-visual aides and other methods of capitalizing on the child's physical orientation.
- c. Language Development:
 - i. acceptance of the child's informal language
 - ii. corrective feedback

d. Motivation

- i. Rewards commensurate with successful completion of progressively more difficult learning tasks (rewards should be immediate, consistent, and tangible).
- ii. guidance and vocational counselling
- iii. detection and referral of those who would drop out for financial reasons
- iv. a system of scholarships and bursaries
- v. "involvement" of the child to promote positive feelings towards his school.

e. Personality

- i. provision for immediate referral to helping professions for assistance with problems of self-image, lack of confidence, self-discipline and independence
- ii. provision for identification and treatment of emotional and personality problems

5) The School:

a. Facilities

- i. attractive physical environment (bright colors, good lighting, general good state of repair)
- ii. comfortable desks
- iii. library facilities (including a wide selection of sport, adventure stories and magazines)
- iv. well-equipped gym and outdoor recreation area
- v. full line of classroom and laboratory equipment

b. The Curriculum:

- i. textbooks should be culturally meaningful and interesting enough to stimulate further reading
- ii. provision for remedial reading exercises
- iii. smaller classes (ideally, twenty children or fewer per class)
- iv. curriculum should constitute a challenge to the child, but should not be beyond the child's performance capacity to ensure progressive successful experiences.
- v. community visitation to a) widen experiential field and b) to allow relation of life situations to school curriculum

c. The Teacher

- i. attempts should be made to attract young, male teachers with good educational backgrounds
- ii. higher salaries as an incentive to work in deprived areas
- iii. generous bursaries to encourage improving the teachers' education in return for his services
- iv. provision for team teaching
- v. regular group meetings to discuss problems
- vi. provision for professional consultation
- vii. home visiting by teachers
- viii. the hiring of indigenous personnel to help with minor duties to allow the teacher more time to teach

6) The Community:

- a. the recruitment of volunteers to help with tasks around the school and to assist in helping with homework and supervising study halls
- b. the provision of study facilities (in churches, libraries, clubs)
- c. arranging with neighbourhood employers and professionals who work in the neighbourhood to give information on employment opportunities and careers.
- d. provision of part time jobs for adolescents in financial need

APPENDIX B

Requests for information relevant to the area of the study were sent to the following:

GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:

All Provincial Directors of Special Education Departments

All Provincial Directors of Social Welfare Services

All Provincial Deputy Ministers of Health

All (63) Welfare Planning Councils in Canada

Mr. Reuben C. Baetz
Executive Director
The Canadian Welfare Council
55 Parkdale Avenue
Ottawa 3, Ontario

Dr. J. D. M. Griffin
Executive Director
Canadian Mental Health Association
52 St. Clair Avenue East
Toronto 7, Ontario

Mr. W. W. Struthers
Department of National Health & Welfare
Welfare Grants Division
Brooke Claxton Building
Ottawa 3, Ontario

Mr. Andre Saumier
Department of Agriculture
Rural Development Branch
161 Laurier Avenue West
Ottawa, Ontario

Mr. E. A. Cote
Deputy Minister
Indian Affairs Branch
400 Laurier Avenue West
Ottawa 4, Ontario

Mr. Herbert Pottle
Principal Officer
Welfare Research
Research and Statistics Directorate
Department of National Health & Welfare
Ottawa 3, Ontario

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Mr. Charles Oxley,
Executive Director
Central City Mission
233 Abbot Street
Vancouver 4, B.C.

ALBERTA

Dr. L. R. Gue
Chairman
Intercultural Education Program
Faculty of Education
University of Alberta
Edmonton

Dr. Gladys Holmes
Campus Towers
11145 - 87 Avenue
Edmonton

Mr. Gordon Butler
Director, Northern Region
Medical Services
Department of Health & Welfare
500 Chancery Hall
Edmonton

SASKATCHEWAN

Mr. N. Des Lauriers
Director
Social Service Division
City of Prince Albert
1003 - 1st Avenue West
Prince Albert

Dr. F. J. Esher
Department of Psychiatry
University Hospital
Saskatoon

Mrs. M. Soveran
Indian & Northern Curriculum Resources Centre
Department of Special Education
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon

The Reverend A. P. Renaud, O.M.I.
Associate Professor of Education
College of Education
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon

Mr. I. J. Kahan
Executive Director
Canadian Mental Health Association
1300 - 11th Avenue
Regina, Saskatchewan

ONTARIO

Mr. Ronald N. Luciano
Executive Director
Woodgreen Community Centre
835 Queen Street East
Toronto 8

Mr. Dale Shuttleworth
Social Service Consultant
Flemington Road Public School
10 Flemington Road
Toronto 19

Mearl L. Thomson
Co-ordinator of E.N.O.C. Programme
The Board of Education for the City of Hamilton
100 Main Street West
Hamilton

Mr. D. J. Churchill, President
Canadian Association for Children with Learning Disabilities

Kingston Chapter
294 McEwen Drive
Reddendale

Mr. Walter Sinclair
Vice-Principal
Duke of York School
Toronto

Mr. Milton Leff
Director
Pre-Schoolers Centre
949 Valetta Street
London

Mr. G. Sleighthold
Inspector
The Board of Education for the City of London
Box 2873
London

Dr. H. Blackwell
Director of Psychological Service
Board of Education
The Education Centre
165 Elmwood Avenue
London

Dr. Matthew Suh
Assistant Professor
Department of Social Medicine
University of Ottawa
Ottawa

Dr. B. Goldberg
Superintendent
Children's Psychiatric Research Institute
Box 2460, Terminal "A"
London

Miss Eldred Adams
Board of Education for the City of Hamilton
100 Main Street West
Hamilton

St. Christopher's House
67 Wales Avenue
Toronto

University Settlement
23 Grange Road
Toronto 2B

Central Neighborhood House
349 Sherbourne Street
Toronto 2

QUEBEC

Sœur Ghislaine Guindon
Clairsejour
500, rue Clairmont
Montreal 6

M. Andre Noel
Directeur de l'Enfance Inadaptee
La Commission Des Ecoles Catholiques de Sherbrooke
895 sud, rue Bowen
Sherbrooke

Monsieur Jean-Jacques Paquette
La Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montreal
3737 est, rue Sherbrooke
Montreal 36

Mr. Paul Boisclair
Director for Quebec
Department of Forestry & Rural Development
550 Sherbrooke Street
Montreal

Mr. Hugh Pearson
President
Society for Emotionally Disturbed Children
1010 St. Catherine Street, West
Montreal 2

Monsieur Gilles Gendreau, directeur
Boscoville
12, 330 est, Boulevard Gouin
Montreal 39

Dr. A. MacLeod
Medical Director
The Mental Hygiene Institute Inc.
3690 Peel Street
Montreal 2, Quebec

NOVA SCOTIA

Dr. Barbara Clarke
Psychology Department
Dalhousie University
Halifax

Dr. Ruth MacDougall
Director of Maternal and Child Welfare
Child Guidance Clinic
5970 University Avenue
Halifax

INTERNATIONAL

U. S. A.

Director
I. R. C. D.
Yeshiva University
55 Fifth Avenue
New York
N.Y. 10003

Children's Bureau
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

Director
Ford Foundation Inc.
477 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Mr. David P. Weikart
Ypsilanti Public Schools
300 West Forest Avenue
Ypsilanti, Michigan, 48197

Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington,
D.C.

Mr. J. Wayne Wrightstone
Director
Bureau of Educational Research
New York City Board of Education
110 Livingston Street
Brooklyn, New York, 11201

Mr. Arthur Gagliotti
Representative of U.N.E.S.C.O. to the United Nations
U.N.E.S.C.O.
United Nations Building
New York, N.Y.

Dr. Adele Franklin
Project Director
All-Day Neighborhood Schools
New York City Board of Education
130 West 55th Street
New York, N. Y. 10019

Mrs. Barbara Rubenstein
Northside Center for Child Development, Inc.,
31 West 110th Street
New York, N.Y. 10026

Dr. Gordon P. Liddle
Quincy Youth Development Project
Board of Education Building
Quincy, Illinois, 62301

Dr. Arthur B. Rivers
Director
State Department of Public Welfare
P. O. Box 1108
Columbia, S.C. 29202

Dr. G. R. Boyd
Dean
Troy State College
Troy, Alabama, 36081

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark
The Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc.
330 West 58th Street
New York, N.Y. 10019

FRANCE

International Children's Centre
Chateau de Longchamp
Bois de Boulogne
Paris 16, France

REPORTS RECEIVED FROM:

Head Start Type of Nursery School

Mrs. A. Cohen
National Council of Jewish Women of Canada
London Section
152 Sherwood Avenue
London, Ontario

Mr. B. Goldbert - Same report as above
Superintendent
The Children's Psychiatric Research Institute
P. O. Box 2460
London, Ontario

Description of E.N.O.C. Programme

Mr. Mearl L. Thomson
Coordinator of the E.N.O.C. Programme
The Board of Education for the City of Hamilton
100 Main Street West
Hamilton, Ontario

A Report on the School Completion Project

Helen I. Sutcliffe
Executive Director
Central Neighbourhood House
349 Sherbourne Street
Toronto, Ontario

Description of Boscoville's Treatment Approach to
Adolescent Delinquents

Mr. Bernard Tessier
Coordinator
Boscoville
12330 East, Boulevard Govin
Montreal 39, P.Q.

Preliminary Report of the Conseil des Oeuvres de
Montreal's "Operation - Social Renewal"

Mr. Maurice Miron,
Secretary, Special Projects
The Canadian Welfare Council
55 Parkdale
Ottawa 3, Ontario

A Study of the Effects of Family Life Education Services:
Variations According to Socio-Economic Status
and Intensity of Involvement

Dr. A. MacLeod
Medical Director
The Mental Hygiene Institute Inc.
3690 Peel Street
Montreal 2, P.Q.

La Prevention des Echecs Scolaires Dans Les Milieux
Desfavorises: vue sous l'angle de la
Psychologie scolaire

Dr. Charles Caouette
Director, Psychological Services
The Montreal Catholic School Commission
3737 Sherbrooke Street, East
Montreal 36, P.Q.

Urban Social Redevelopment Project, Montreal, P.Q.

- (a) Report of The Investigation and Treatment of
Survey - Identified Psychiatric Cases.
- (b) Paper based upon findings of the project.
'A New Community Mental Health Programme
for Central Montreal'.

The Community School & Social Reconstruction:

A demonstration project

Dale E. Shuttleworth
Social Services Consultant
The Board of Education for The Borough of North York
15 Oakburn Crescent
Willowdale, Ontario

Educational Improvement for the Disadvantaged in an
Elementary Setting

Whittman School
Quincy, Illinois

Perry Preschool Project

Mr. David P. Weikhart
Ypsilanti Public Schools
Ypsilanti, Michigan 48197

Evaluation of the Higher Horizons Program

Mr. J. Wayne Wrightstone
Board of Education of the City of New York
Bureau of Educational Research
11 Livingston Street
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201

An Assessment of the All-Day Neighborhood School Program
for Culturally Deprived Children

Dr. Patricia Sexton
20 West, 40 Street
New York, N.Y. 10018

Cultural Enrichment Program

Barbara Frum
Canadian Mental Health Association
52 St. Clair Avenue East
Toronto 7, Ontario

Central Neighborhood "Extra Push" Programme

Mary MacGregor
349 Sherbourne Street
Toronto, Ontario

Duke of York School Day Pilot Project

Mr. Walter Sinclair
Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto
55 York Street
Toronto 1, Ontario

Eric Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged

1. "A two-year preschool program for culturally disadvantaged children: findings of the first three years", by Constance K. Kamii, et al.
2. Willow Manor School Oral Language Development Project Report 1963-64.
3. Goldstein, Kenneth M.; and Sherwood, B. Cherost, "A preliminary evaluation of nursery school experience on the later adjustment of culturally disadvantaged children", N.Y. 1966.
4. Goldstein, Leo S., "Evaluation of an enrichment program for socially disadvantaged", 1965.
5. Stine, Ray M. "Pre-school environmental enrichment demonstration". 1964.
6. Schwartz, A.N.; L.W. Phillips; M.B. Smith, "Reach", 1965.
7. Smilansky, Sarah. "Progress report on a program to demonstrate ways of using a year of kindergarten to promote cognitive abilities".

Yeshiva University
55 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10003

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andrews, A.B. An Introduction to the Study of Adolescent Education. New York: Rebman Company, 1912.
- Beck, John M., and Saxe, Richard W. Teaching the Disadvantaged Pupil. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas Publishers, 1965.
- Black, Millard H. "Characteristics of the Culturally Disadvantaged Child," The Reading Teacher, published by the International Reading Association, March, 1965.
- Bloom, Benjamin S., et al. Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation. Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1965.
- Brittain, Clay V. "Preschool Programs for Culturally Deprived Children," Children, Vol. 13 Number 4, July-August, 1966.
- Canadian Educational Association. New Opportunities for the Culturally Disadvantaged. Toronto: 1965.
- Characteristics of Low Income Families. Background Paper for Federal-Provincial Conference on Poverty 1965, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.
- Cheyney, A.B. "Teachers of the Culturally Disadvantaged, Exceptional Children. October 1966.
- Chilman, C. and Kraft I. "Helping Low-Income Parents through Parent-Education Groups", Children. July-August, 1963.

Cole, Luella. Psychology of Adolescence. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965.

Coleman, James S. Social Climates in High Schools. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1965.

Conant, J. B. The American High School Today. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959.

Davis, Allison. Social Class Influences Upon Learning, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958.

Friedenberg, E.Z. The Vanishing Adolescent. New York: Dell Publishing Company, Inc., 1959.

Frost, J.L. and Hawkes, G.R. (eds.) The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1966.

Gottlieb, David and Ramsey, Charles, The American Adolescent. Illinois: The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1964.

Gray, William S. "Summary of Reading Investigation", Journal of Educational Research, February, 1958.

Harrington, Michael. The Other America - Poverty in the United States. Baltimore Maryland: Penguin Books, 1962.

Hellmuth, Jerome (ed.). Disadvantaged Child. Vol. 1, Bernie Straub and Jerome Hellmuth Co. Publishers, 1967 Special Child Publication of the Seattle Sequin School Inc., Seattle Washington.

Herzog, Elizabeth, "Some Assumptions About the Poor", Social Service Review, December, 1963.

- Hollingshead, A.B. Social Class and Mental Illness
New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958.
- Ireland, L.M. and Besner, A. Low-Income Life Styles.
U.S. Department of Health Education and Welfare, U.S.
Government Printing Office, 1966.
- Jones, Frank E. Social Bases of Education. Canadian Conference
on Children, 1965.
- Karowe, Harris E. "How Volunteers Can Help Disadvantaged
Children", Children. Vol. 14, No. 4, July-August, 1967.
- Kephart, Newell C. The Slow Learner in the Classroom.
Columbus Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1960.
- King, Marjorie. Roads to Maturity. Toronto: University of
Toronto Press. 1965.
- Kneller, George F. Educational Anthropology: An Introduction.
New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1965.
- Lansberg, M. "How Our Middle-Class Schools Create Dropouts",
Chatelaine, October 1965.
- Lewis, G. "Interpersonal Relationships and School Achievement",
Children, November-December, 1964.
- Lichter, S.O. et al. The Dropouts, New York: The Free Press
of Glencoe, 1962.
- Loree, Ray M. Psychology of Education. New York: Ronald Press
Company, 1965.
- Mackler, Bernard and Giddings, Morsley G. "Cultural Deprivation:
A Study in Mythology", Teachers College Record,
Vol. 66, No. 7, April 1965.

- Malik, M.A. "School Performance of Children in Families Receiving Public Assistance in Canada." Canadian Welfare Council 1966.
- Milner, Esther, "A Study of the Relationship between Reading Readiness in Grade I School Children and Patterns of Parent-Child Interaction", Child Development. June 1951.
- Mitchell, James V., "Identifications of Items in the California Test of Personality that Differentiate between Subjects of High and Low Socio-Economic Status at the Fifth and Seventh Grade Levels", Journal of Educational Research, December 1957.
- Mohr, G.S. and Despres, Marian A. The Stormy Decade: Adolescence. New York: Random House, 1958.
- National Education Association, Education and the Disadvantaged American, Washington. Educational Policy Commission, 1963.
- Passow, A. Harry (ed.) Education in Depressed Areas. New York: Teachers College Press, 1963.
- Passow, A. Harry et al. (eds). Education of the Disadvantaged: A Book of Readings. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Co., 1967.
- Profile of Poverty in Canada: Education - its Relationship to Poverty (Federal-Provincial Conference on Poverty and Opportunity December 1965) by the Special Planning Secretariat, Privy Council Office, Canada Government.
- Riessman, Frank, The Culturally Deprived Child. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1962.

Riessman, F. et al. Mental Health of the Poor, London:
Collier MacMillan Ltd., 1964.

Schreilier, Dan and Kaplan, Bernard (eds). Guidance and
the School Dropout. Washington: National Education
Association, 1964.

Sexton, Patricia Cayo, Education and Income. New York:
The Viking Press, 1966.

Silberman, C. "Give Slum Children a Chance", Harper's,
May 1964.

Skene, Dora L., "The "Culturally Deprived" in School and
Society: Selected Approaches", Research Service.
issued by: Research Department, The Board of Education
for the City of Toronto.

Stone, L.J. and Church, J. Childhood and Adolescence. New
York: Random House, 1957

U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, A Chance for
Change: New School Programs for the Disadvantaged, 1965.

Webster, Staten W. (Ed.) The Disadvantaged Learner: Knowing,
Understanding, Educating. San Francisco: Chandler
Publishing Co., 1966.

Yarmolinsky, A. Recognition of Excellence, New York: Edgar
Stein Family Fund, 1960.