

THE NATURE OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION
AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR
CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The investigation is based on the premise that schools reflect rather than shape the society. From this viewpoint, curriculum development is seen as a manifestation of the society's attitudes and assumptions concerning education. Consequently, curriculum development for multicultural education is viewed as a socio-political process involving change in perceptions. The focus for multicultural education is on the quality of human interactions rather than with interactions between people and specific cultural heritage content of various ethnic groups.

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Introduction

Recent and persistent efforts by various minorities to make the schools more responsive to their educational needs have precipitated a new reaction from the educational followers of this country's public schools. This new reaction comes in the form of an ideology. The "new" ideology as presently being espoused by institutional intellectuals is multicultural education which merely appears to be an extension of an earlier ideology of the Sixties referred to as compensatory education.

Compensatory education was instigated by education policy makers under the guise of correcting the defects that socio-economic underprivileged conditions created for children who came to school from an impoverished home and neighborhood environment. It was believed that their deprivation ought to be compensated for by giving them special attention. To accomplish this, federal funds were allocated for use by local school districts in planning and running special programs for educationally disadvantaged children. Its purpose as stated by Congress was the following:

. . . to provide financial assistance (as set further in this title) to local education agencies serving areas with concentrations of children from low income families to expand and improve their educational programs by various

means (including preschool programs) which contribute particularly to meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children (U.S. Statutes at Large, Section 201, Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, p. 27).

Financial assistance was provided for such activities as these: remedial instruction in basic skills (i.e., reading, language development, and mathematics) to improve achievement levels of children, hiring of additional teachers and teacher aides to individualize instruction, summer programs which enabled students to retain and reinforce material learned during the regular school year, preschool and post-secondary school education programs and inservice training programs for teachers and teacher aides. Auxiliary services such as food, medical and dental services, and clothing could also be acquired with these federal funds. The above-mentioned services were provided through such programs as Head Start, Follow Through, Talent Search, Upward Bound, Bilingual Education, Special Migrant Programs, Indian Education Act, and Right to Read Programs (Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966).

In retrospect, compensatory education can more realistically be interpreted as a means of social control and a reaction on the part of this country's public education school followers to circumvent the Brown decision on desegregation (Chazan, 1973). Prior to the Brown decision, efforts to improve education for minorities, primarily Blacks, focused on inequalities in such matters as salaries for black teachers and white teachers, differences in financial allocations, and differences in facilities and school programs between schools attended by black students and white students. Sustained efforts to equalize these inequalities, plus mounting pressure created by court battles, forced legislators (particularly in the South) to allocate more money

to improve the facilities, teachers, and programs of schools attended predominantly by black students.

Reflection on these "well-intentioned efforts" reveals that they were primarily initiated to keep the races apart. Southern legislators strained state budgets to make available record sums of money for the improvement of black education mainly to ensure against the forced mixing of the races in public schools. This became evident after the Brown decision when their efforts dissipated with almost the same intensity. Gordon and Wilkerson (1966) substantiate this when they state:

Pragmatic experience, social history, and constitutional clarification combined to remove the legal sanction for alleged separate but equal public educational facilities. Without hope of continued segregation, even if Negro schools were improved, and faced with directives to desegregate in any event, the legislator's enthusiasm for improving education for Negroes quickly diminished (p. 6).

From this perspective, compensatory education efforts can be described as an extension of earlier "well-intentioned efforts" and as a means of "helping those people with their problem." Who were the students singled out and oftentimes separated to receive instruction appropriate to their "special needs"? Not surprisingly, they were the same students who were segregated before the Brown decision.

Compensatory education appeared to be primarily concerned with alleviating economic and social class distinctions that affect conditions with regard to an individual's chances for improving his/her condition in life (Hughes and Hughes, 1972). This is substantiated by the criteria on which the distribution of funds was based. Under Title I any local education agency which has at least ten children, aged 5-17, in

one or a combination of the following four categories is eligible for Title I funds:

- 1) children in resident families with an annual income below \$2000.00;
- 2) children in families with an annual income above \$2000.00 who receive Aid for Families with Dependent Children (AFDC);
- 3) children in local institutions for the neglected or delinquent;
- 4) children living in foster homes and being supported by public funds (U.S. Statutes at Large, Section 201, Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, p. 252).

As an evolving ideology, multicultural education appears to have the same basic intent as compensatory education -- alleviating conditions that affect the individual's chances for improving his/her condition in life -- however, the focus is primarily on concerns of a racial or ethnic nature, rather than on economic and social class. Thus, in making the transition from compensatory education to multicultural education there seems to be a subtle shift from socio-economic issues to racial-ethnic issues. This dichotomy has led to increased conflict between the "haves" and the "have-nots" and an impending conflict within a given racial-ethnic group. Consequently, not only is there an increased tension between poor people and more affluent people, there is also a concurrent increase of tensions within a given racial-ethnic group. This nurtures and sustains the emergence of a racial-ethnic minority elite, whose status and identity are dependent on keeping other members of their respective groups at lower levels of the economy. "De los pendejitos viven los bivotos."

The operational effects of this phenomenon can be seen by an examination of the occupational positions into which racial and ethnic minorities are tracked. Personal observation reveals that they usually

find themselves in an occupational position that isolates them from everybody else and generally have little or no influence in defining how that institution is organized. They have a display case position, and their main function is to rationalize their own continued isolation, everybody else's displacement, and the distance between them and their racial-ethnic group brothers and sisters at the lower levels of the economy. This, in this investigator's opinion, reflects the ideology of social control currently operating on the schools of this country.

Although previous and current attempts to ameliorate conditions that affect minorities' life chances appear to be based on inappropriate premises and assumptions, it does not necessarily mean that all such efforts should be abandoned or aborted. Instead, the improvement view proposed by Perkinsen (1971) may serve to guide future efforts. From this perspective, all previous and current efforts to alleviate conditions that affect minorities' life chances are viewed as requisite stages in an evolutionary progression wherein previous stages can be improved to increase their effectiveness.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this investigation is to determine 1) what is meant by multicultural education, 2) its purpose, 3) its relationship to the concept of culture, and 4) implications for curriculum development. The investigation is also intended to provide a focus for directing further research in formulating an educational philosophy that nurtures personal and group autonomy and is congruent with our multifaceted cultural setting. To accomplish this, collection of data has been limited to the effects of certain historical events on education

for minorities, the nature of multicultural education as presented in the literature, and an overview of the concept of culture.

An overview of pertinent historical events and developments in this country and their effects on education will be examined in order to extrapolate underlying premises and concepts associated with the education of minority groups and their relation to multicultural education.

The nature of multicultural education as presented in the literature will be examined in an attempt to formulate a definition of multicultural education and identify underpinnings on which to base a strategy for making multicultural education a reality.

The concept of culture as defined by noteworthy scholars will be examined to ascertain its relation to multicultural education.

Inferences derived from an examination of the data will serve as a point of departure for the development of a strategy from which to develop a model that has potential for use in analyzing, describing, and implementing "multicultural" education.

Basic Assumptions

The major premise guiding this investigation is that schools have traditionally reflected rather than shaped the society. In this sense, educational developments parallel societal developments which influence and/or dictate educational goals, policies, and, to a lesser extent, educational strategies.

Assuming the validity of the basic premise, this investigation is based on the following assumptions:

- 1) The school's curriculum is a manifestation of the society's

attitudes and assumptions about education.

- 2) Socio-political issues influence and/or determine curriculum development.
- 3) Curriculum development is essentially a socio-political process involving social change and a change in people's perception.
- 4) People tend to reject what they do not know or what is forced upon them regardless of its merits.
- 5) Externals control us by stimulating responses of which we may not be consciously aware.

Often we do not consciously know why we respond to others in the manner we do, and frequently we do not take the time to find out. Only through self-awareness can we develop the ability to effect change since all other forms of teaching serve merely to indoctrinate the "American Way" (better known as "dog-eat-dog" or "I must get to the top") free enterprise (or the "rat race") and standing up for one's rights (also known as "Do unto others before they do unto you" or the "new" Golden Rule).

Organization and Format

Chapter II will present a brief overview of certain historical developments and their influence on the education of minorities. Inquiry will focus on forces influencing the emergence of the concept of equal educational opportunity, its various interpretations, and its shifting emphasis in the realm of education.

A brief overview will be presented of the federal government's involvement in promoting equal educational opportunity through various

legislation culminating in compensatory education programs. In addition, the notion of cultural deprivation will be examined in an attempt to identify underlying tenets and assumptions and their implications for multicultural education.

This extensive approach is required if one views multicultural education as a much broader educational issue than that associated with curriculum construction or curriculum as a course of study. For purposes of this investigation, multicultural education is viewed as a means of providing 1) equal educational opportunity, 2) needed fiscal resources, 3) a means of overcoming poverty and discrimination, and 4) an alternative (although a mirror image) of compensatory education.

Banks (1977) alludes to this wider conceptualization when he discusses his views concerning the relationship between ethnic, multiethnic, and multicultural education. Although the distinction between the three is not clearly established, the implication is that multicultural education is a broader concern and encompasses both ethnic and multiethnic studies.

Additional support for this perspective can be derived from the educational issues identified by Hughes and Hughes (1972):

. . . Public education faces an increasingly harsh reality compounded of fiscal brinkmanship pressures for institutional reform, a lingering mythology without credibility, dissatisfied clients and taxpayers, and an absence of well-designed strategy for the needed rescue operation. The limited priority and strategy that emerged in the mid-1960's can no longer suffice for the required rescue operation that must occur in the 1970's. . . . The priority and strategy for the 1970's and beyond must accomplish the necessary reforms in finance, governance, and programs to regenerate the schools as accountable social institutions in order to guarantee a genuinely equal educational opportunity for every American citizen (pp. 5-6).

A discussion of cultural pluralism, a review of the literature on multicultural education, and the relationship of multicultural education to the concept of culture will be presented in Chapter III. The discussion in this chapter and Chapter II will form the basis for extrapolating basic tenets, concepts, and constructs to be used in the formulation of a frame of reference which could be used for multicultural curriculum development.

The final chapter will present a discussion of implications for curriculum development and the organization of a model to serve as a guide for further analysis, development, and possible implementation of multicultural education.

Methodology

Any investigative effort has a variety of dimensions and any one dimension can provide a focus for inquiry. Consequently, the decision regarding the selection of the dimensions to include for examination is always an important and difficult one. In this instance, the dimensions are drawn from a consideration of some of the issues that currently exist in regard to multicultural education as well as this investigator's speculative interpretations and perception.

Since this investigation is qualitative in nature and the construction of a model is a priori to the formulation of testable assumptions, the investigation does not lend itself to the prevailing research designs which call for selection of assumptions and their subsequent testing through experimentation. Goodlad substantiates this view when he states:

. . . The building of a conception system is more general than theory, nurturing a variety of theories pertaining to parts of the system. Further, while giving rise to hypotheses (which are parts and parcel of theories) it is neutral with respect to hypotheses. That is, a conceptual system suggests realms for fruitful hypothesizing but does not itself mandate a specific hypothesis. Such a system is, then, more than a theory in precision and prediction (p. 142).

As a consequence, the generation of assumptions, concepts, or constructs that might pertain to the development of a multicultural curriculum model will be inferred from each of the data sources mentioned earlier.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS

Introduction

If issues concerning the education of minorities are to be understood and an intelligent, constructive, viable solution is to be sought, the historical setting from which the present situation emerged must be elucidated. These issues appear to be embedded in a more pervasive pressing issue of American education. Briefly stated, the encompassing issue is that of equality of educational opportunity. It is this notion that pervades the historical development of public schooling for minorities in this country. Banks, 1977; Baker, 1977; Grant, 1976; Cordova, 1974; and other major proponents of multicultural education subscribe to the view that multicultural education is the means of providing equal educational opportunity for ethnic minorities.

The researcher will attempt to summarize and organize recent and past efforts to expand and reconstruct the continuing discussion of what may be the most important educational issue our American society will face -- maintenance of equality of educational opportunity and to examine implications of that reconstruction for multicultural education. This account of what is a subtle and complex issue will necessarily be incomplete but will serve to suggest the scope and character of an immense task to expand educational opportunities for all Americans.

The Concept of Equal Educational Opportunity

In this country, the concept of equal educational opportunity has evolved from an equal access view to a focus on the efforts of schooling on students. This shift in emphasis was facilitated by sociopolitical events and technological developments from which the concept developed and gave rise to a general notion of what constituted "equality of educational opportunity." This general notion dominated the thinking and actions of public policymakers and formed the basis for strategies to make equality of educational opportunity a reality (Hughes and Hughes, 1972). Consequently, this notion was transposed into the educational realm and directly influenced educational theory and practice.

The concept of equality of educational opportunity permeates the history of American education almost from its beginnings. The early nineteenth century American educator Horace Mann, as cited in Cremin (1957), expressed the liberal opinion of his time when he referred to education as the great equalizer:

Education . . . is a great equalizer of the conditions of men, the balance wheel of the social machinery. . . It does better than disarm the poor of the hostility toward the rich: it prevents being poor. . . . The greatest of all the arts in political economy is to change a consumer into a producer: and the next greatest is to increase the producer's producing power, [and this is to be done] by increasing his intelligence (pp. 87, 89).

This belief in education as the means of achieving equality in our society seems to be the underlying premise of the school's role in society and has resulted in considerable controversy over the meaning of

equal educational opportunity. As a consequence, there have been many attempts to define equal educational opportunity. In an attempt to illustrate the complexity and variety of definitions that exist, a selection of definitions by noteworthy scholars will be presented.

Warner (1944) offers perhaps the earliest attempt and defines equality of educational opportunity as guaranteeing an individual education up to a specified level, however, he limits this education to those individuals above a given level of intelligence. His position is expressed as follows:

. . . we might speak of equality of educational opportunity if all children and young people exceeding a given level of intellectual ability were enabled to attend schools and colleges up to some specified level . . . we could say that equality of educational opportunity existed to a considerable degree (p. 51).

In a paper presented to the Third Annual Conference of the National Committee for Support of Public Schools, Tumin (1965) focuses his view around equal concern for all. He specifies equal concern as meaning:

. . . that each child shall become the most and the best that he can become . . . equal pleasure expressed by the teacher with equal vigor at every child's attempt to become something more than he was, or equal distress expressed with an equal amount of feeling at his being unable to become something more than he was . . . and equal rewards for all children, in terms of time, attention, and any symbol the school hands out which stands for its judgment of worthiness . . . Equality of education . . . is the only device that I know of for the maintenance of high standards, as against the false measure that relies on the achievements of the elite minority of the school (p. 5).

Kenneth Clark's (1965) view involves the removal of poor teaching, negative teacher attitudes, and inadequate educational resources that prevent minority group students from achieving. For Clark, equalizing educational opportunity involves removing deficiencies found in schools,

not in children. From this perspective, responsibility for equal educational opportunity is with the school which must adapt to the child's characteristics.

Lesser and Stodolsky (1967) base their view on their research findings that different ethnic groups have different intellectual abilities, even across social class levels. From their view, equal educational opportunity is provided if the school makes use of the differential patterns of intellectual ability the student possesses.

These and other views that abound in the educational literature of the past two-and-one-half decades indicate not only the array of philosophical, legalistic, polemic, and romanticized conceptualization of the concept, but also the variety of suggestions on how best to convert it into educational policy for our country's schools. This diversity can be further illustrated by the work of Wise and Katzman, combined by Walberg and Borgen (1974), and represented in Table I.

Table I not only depicts the variety of conceptualizations and diversity of perspectives, but also gives an indication of the concept's complexity, the range of issues, and the dimensions that must be considered simultaneously. Such an undertaking is clearly beyond the scope of this investigation and can be described as comparable to the dilemma faced by an "astronomer who cannot clearly observe all he wishes, let alone manipulate the heavens" (Walberg and Borgen, 1974, p. 11). As a consequence, much of what is presented will necessarily be oversimplified; however, it is anticipated that it may prove useful in examining how equality of educational opportunity is perceived and to explain the subsequent development of corollary educational approaches. In an effort to reduce the task at hand to a manageable

TABLE I
CONCEPTS OF EDUCATIONAL EQUALITY

Definition	Problems
1. <u>Negative</u> : quality of education does not depend on individual, social, ethnic, or other characteristics of the student or where he happens to receive his education	What is "educational quality?" "What should be equalized: individual, class, school, district, city, or state education?
2. <u>Political</u> : appointed or elected individuals representative of all majorities and minorities have equal control over resources and quality.	A definition of decision making rather than concept. What groups should be represented: social, ethnic, or geographical? What unit should they control: school, district, city, or state?
3. <u>Racial</u> : integrate racial or ethnic groups in unit of geographical area.	Little consistent evidence of racial inequalities in resources within certain geographical areas. Little consistent evidence that racial segregation in schools is harmful by itself. May discourage cultural pluralism. Expense and public resistance to bussing. How define groups & areas?
4. <u>Socioeconomic</u> : integrate socioeconomic groups within unit of geographical area.	Same problems as racial definition except that there is some moderately creditable evidence that socioeconomic integration can help lower socioeconomic groups.
5. <u>Economic</u> :	Assumes expenditures determine educational quality.
a. <u>Utopian</u> : continue to allocate additional funds to each student until additional increments produce no gains.	Economic limitations of society or higher priorities for other social and individual goals.
b. <u>Minimum</u> : establish minimum expenditure level;	Amount spent still depends on place of residence.

TABLE I (Continued)

Definition	Problems
state supplies funds to localities that cannot supply minimum; willing districts can spend more than minimum.	
c. Egalitarian: spend more on lower ability students so that all students leave school with an equal chance for success.	How measure ability? May be relatively poor social investment. Is the purpose of the school to compensate for inequalities? Can it? May discourage excellence.
d. Elite: spend more on higher ability students since they may benefit more from scarce resources and later contribute more to social quality and equality.	How measure ability? May further enrich the advantages.
e. Financial: spent equal funds on each student.	Costs may vary for different children and in different parts of the state. May curb local initiative.
f. Maximum Variance: set limit on ratio of expenditures for education in high and low districts, e.g., 1½ to 1.	
g. Classification: equal treatment of equals; expenditures assigned to students on the basis of statewide classification, such as "creative" and "blind."	How classify students?
6. <u>Resource</u> : use any of the economic variants except school resources such as physical plant, teacher qualifications, and library books as the units of allocation or equalization rather than expenditures.	Measurable resources may not determine quality of education.

level, the discussion of the evolutionary development of the concept offered by James Coleman (1968) will serve as the reference point.

Coleman claims that the concept of equality of educational opportunity was part and parcel of the broader concept equality of opportunity precipitated by the industrial revolution occurring during the nineteenth century. Prior to this, the need for universal equalization of opportunity did not exist since participation in the affairs of society was limited to members of the elite group composed mostly of religious and political nobility. Furthermore, the skills and competencies for economic survival were determined by the family unit. However, the arrival of the industrial revolution required that individuals become occupationally mobile outside of their family units. This resulted in an increase in the number of competitors for the economic resources and benefits of society. This development, coupled with the growing need for educated manpower in industry, increased the demand for developing those skills and competencies required for participation in the affairs of society to be extended to a greater number of people. Consequently, previous conceptions of the educability of the lower classes were eroded and the mass of those considered uneducable was reduced.

In addition, rapid industrialization created problems of social justice that dictated changes in the distribution patterns of society's benefits for the newly-created chosen few. This prompted the search for a mechanism that would be effective in a society in which privileges, power, wealth, prestige and status would be determined by an individual's innate aptitudes, and his/her will to use them, rather than by being determined by inheritance or social background

Schooling was viewed as the principle mechanism for accomplishing this task, and this view was expressed by such educational leaders as Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, Calvin Wiley and others. According to their view, schooling was to provide for social mobility by circumventing previous patterns of inequality in the distribution of economic resources and social benefits due to an individual. The ascriptive criteria on which previous distribution and participation was based was now being replaced by the criterion of intelligence. An individual's economic success and the degree of participation in society was coupled to their innate ability and the will to use it rather than to their particular ascribed circumstances.

The concept of equality of educational opportunity retained its economic dimension and to this was added a new dimension. The focus of this new dimension was on the concept of equality. This concept has its origins in the notions of fundamental freedoms that prohibit arbitrary distinctions and exclusions among people. In this country there was to be no discussion about national, racial, or religious background before one was admitted. All were to be equally welcomed and respected. The emphasis was to be on the fundamental freedoms that had gained acceptance during the nineteenth century which were based on man's intrinsic equality. Wilson (1966, p. 103) describes this intrinsic equality as being derived "from the power of choice, of creating one's own values, of having purposes, and of following rules." This concept of equality is apparently what the founders of this country had in mind when they asserted "All men are created equal." Yet, historically, the meaning of this assertion has been a clouded and controversial issue.

The meaning of this assertion has been influenced by political and social events which prompt underprivileged classes and the segregated to demand that their needs be met. Their protests for better treatment are due to their perception that they are being wrongly treated and they want something done about it. The argument goes something like this: Because all men are created equal, that equality should be reflected in how people are treated. This in turn has led to an emphasis in the translation of "All men are created equal" to focus on what people get, receive or are entitled to rather than focusing on what they have the power to do (Wilson, 1966). This seems to be the thrust behind the Civil Rights movement.

Giving this perspective, equality is interpreted as entitling all equally to those rights to which we subscribe in our democracy. Everyone is to receive equal treatment before the law. However, the emergence of the nation state and the increased demands of an industrialized society for an educated labor force precipitated a shift in the interpretation of man's freedom and intrinsic equality to a more literal understanding of equality. Equality became a highly logical, rational mathematical construct such as that applied to formulas or the solution of algebraic equations. That is, whatever you do to one variable or set of variables on one side of the equation you must do the same to the variable or set of variables on the other side of the equation. This procedure is done to ensure that everything remains equal, balanced, or unchanged. In a sense, this interpretation is one of absolute equality and has been the basis for much public policymaking. However, there may be no absolute sense in which all men are equal, and yet, this misconception of equality is being used a means of

establishing equal educational opportunities for various racial-ethnic minority groups in this country. America as the "Land of the free" has been perverted by an emphasis on the descriptive, physical dimensions of equality and the acceptance of the a priori assumption of man's intrinsic equality has been denied, as alluded to by Wilson (1966) and Schieser (1974).

The concept of equality as it relates to equal educational opportunity finds expression in the permutation of equality of educational opportunity offered by James Coleman (1968). He describes the concept's development in a series of stages:

- 1) Providing a free education up to a given level which constituted the principal entry point to the labor force.
- 2) Providing a common curriculum for all children, regardless of background.
- 3) Partly because of design and partly because of low population density, providing that children from diverse backgrounds attend the same school.
- 4) Providing equality within a given locality, since local taxes provided the source for school (p. 11).

For purposes of this investigation, Coleman's stages have been subsumed into two phases. In this arrangement, the above four components represent the Classical phase in the development of the concept. This phase has evolved considerably since its inception and furnished the basis for legitimizing the Common School with its attendant compulsory attendance laws and its imposed monocultural uniformity.

Upon closer scrutiny, the assumptions implicit in this phase of the concept's development can be extrapolated. The following assumptions are inferred:

- 1) that by making schools free, everyone who wanted to would be able to attend.

- 2) that it was up to the student and his/her family to avail themselves of the services offered by the school.
- 3) that the responsibility for achievement was with the student.

From this perspective, the school was cast in a passive role, whereas, the student and his/her family were cast in an active role. This passivity on the part of the school as an institution can be explained in part as a reflection of the prevailing socio-political and socio-economic conditions of the era.

During the middle to late nineteenth century, accelerated industrialization, immigration, and their concomitant increase in urbanization aggravated conditions of poverty, delinquency, idleness, and other forms of social unrest. The salience of these conditions became more apparent as certain groups of people migrated and inhabited urban areas. The visibility of these newly arrived groups and the perceived threat they posed provoked the impression that the characteristics possessed by these people were the causal factors of the undesirable social conditions. As a consequence, these groups soon became the focal point of efforts to solve the social problems of an increasingly urbanized society (Itzkoff, 1969).

It seems more than mere coincidence that these problem groups were predominantly immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. They were different from earlier immigrants, not only because of their physical characteristics, but because they were usually poorer, less literate, concentrated more in urban areas, were non-Protestant (and perhaps most important) they came from a subjugated, oppressed

background (Ornstein, 1974). To the liberal reformer's way of thinking, the structure and values of poor immigrant families were lacking because the family members seemed to lack concern for their children, and the reformers feared that these children would soon become a burden on society. To eliminate this potential burden most reformers looked to the school. If the school was to become the means of socializing or "Americanizing" these groups into the mainstream, it would have to extend its web of control by taking over the role of the parent. If the school was to become the tool to instill the proper values, attitudes, and norms into those most likely to disrupt the social order, then those groups had to be compelled to come under its influence.

To accomplish this, compulsory school attendance laws were instigated. These laws, while not specifically concerned with schooling, in many respects were directed not only at amelioration of the prevailing social conditions, but at those groups (outsiders) that threatened the established dominant belief system. In retrospect, compulsory school attendance laws, while directed to the wider societal issue, were focused primarily on "deviant" minority groups, who did not actively participate in the schooling process. The issue of compulsion can be viewed as the society's reaction to the phobia that gripped the nation during this period of time -- the perceived end of an era. Society was in the midst of transition from an agrarian-rural and relatively monolithic society to an urban-industrial and increasingly pluralistic society.

An inkling of this transition revealed itself as the validity of the Classical phase conceptualization of equal educational opportunity was challenged by an expansion in the range of available occupations.

This development gave rise to the development of different school curricula for children with different future occupations. Equality came to mean the provision of different curricula for different types of students. This maneuver, as with the earlier compulsory attendance laws, was designed for the maintenance of the status quo. That is, children whose parents were professionals were consistently assigned to the academic track which prepared them for professional adult roles while on the other hand, children whose parents were laborers were more frequently assigned to classes which prepared them for work as laborers in the factories.

A previous assault on the Classical phase had occurred during the brief Reconstruction period following the Civil War. Prior to this, attendance at public tax-supported schools included all except upper-class children who went to private schools, the poor who did not attend any schools, and the Indians and Southern Negroes who had no schools (Coleman, 1968). This state was characterized by efforts of various foundations, state governments, and religious groups to establish free public schooling for those who up until now had been excluded (Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966). This struggle to establish schools for the poor and the recently freed slaves had a tendency to lend credence to the doctrine of separate but equal upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in the Plessey vs. Ferguson Decision of 1896 (Kirp and Yudolf, 1974).

The doctrine was based on the assumption that equality of treatment was accorded when the races are provided with equal facilities. Since the demands of these previously excluded groups were for schools, they were content for the time being to have separate but equal facilities. This notion of equal educational opportunity was prevalent until 1954 when

the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the 1896 Plessey decision.

In 1938, the separate but equal doctrine suffered a setback when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in Pearson vs. Murray, that a black applicant to a State University law school must be admitted if there was no black law school in the state. This ruling was made on the grounds that an out-of-state law education was not adequate for practice within the state. In 1950, the Court made a similar and even stronger decision when it ruled in Sweatt vs. Painter that a student educated at a black state law school could not be said to have had equal education because he was not adequately prepared to function in the integrated world of courts and legislatures. The Court further ruled in McLaurin vs. Oklahoma State Board of Regents that the application of the separate but equal doctrine to segregate black students admitted to white schools was unconstitutional. These rulings represent the initial official expression of the idea that separate education is inherently unequal. (Kirp and Yudolf, 1974).

However, the perspective offered by the court's decisions was not concerned with equality of educational opportunity per se. It was more concerned with procedural equality, i.e., with procedures used to determine who is to be admitted and how they were to be treated once admitted. In this sense, the court was concerned with whether or not there was equal protection under the law and social circumstances were not taken into consideration or seen as irrelevant. Liberman (1959) expresses this in an example:

. . . suppose that State X institutes an examination system for admission to high schools and colleges, but B, who possesses a greater academic aptitude than [individual] A, fails, B's failure is due to the fact that he had to work after school to support his family,

that B's home was a poor place to study, and that B's parents never provided B with the eyeglasses which B needed to do his school work properly (p. 172).

Equal educational opportunity in this situation and as interpreted by the courts does not involve outcome, but focuses on the procedures used to determine the outcome--a very rational interpretation of equality that allows little room for human qualities.

In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in the Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, that the legal separation of school students by race even though the physical facilities and other tangible factors may be equal was a violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

The amendment states that "no one within the states' jurisdiction can be denied the equal protection of the law." In this case the court ruled that segregation by race would result in unequal educational opportunity because the efforts of segregated schooling would be different, and therefore unequal, for different races. Equal educational opportunity now meant racial integration. This decision resulted in a mutation of the concept and ushered in a new phase in the concept's development -- the Watershed phase.

This new conceptualization focused on the effects of schooling and introduced a new assumption that equality of educational opportunity was somehow dependent upon the results produced by schooling; i.e., the achievement of students. In this view, equality of educational opportunity exists when outputs of schools are equal, not when inputs of schools are equal (Coleman, 1968).

The desegregation controversy following the Brown decision, combined with the civil rights movement, awareness of economic and social

differences (as pointed out in Harrington's The Other America, 1962) an emerging ethnic identity were essential ingredients in the launching of the Great Society programs of the Sixties (Ornstein, 1974). These programs were designed to promote equal opportunity.

When the war on poverty was initiated in the early Sixties, the main concern was with the elimination of poverty, and with raising the standard of living of those Americans who fell below what was referred to as the "poverty line." This concern was accompanied by the assumption that poor people would have to compete in the job market and that education was the key to acquiring those skills which made an individual a successful competitor for job opportunities. The main concern was with removing the obstacles that blocked participation by minorities in the system of competition. As a consequence, most of the programs developed for the war on poverty involved some sort of education. This was the reasoning behind such programs as Manpower Training Development, the Job Corps, Community Action programs, compensatory education programs and others. Education was still seen as the great equalizer in the game of economic competition (Hughes and Hughes, 1972). This thinking is reflected by Congress in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The act reads:

No person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance (U.S. Statutes at Large, Civil Rights Act of 1964, p. 252).

Congress, through the Act, directed the U.S. Commissioner of Education to conduct a study of the "lack of equality of educational opportunity for individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national

origin . . ." The aim of the official study as stated by Congress was:

The Commissioner shall conduct a survey and make a report to the President and the Congress, within two years of the enactment of this title, concerning the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin in public educational institutions at all levels in the United States (U.S. Statutes at Large, 1964, p. 252).

This directive initiated the first of two major surveys of American education ever produced. The results of the first survey were published in 1966 in a report entitled Equality of Educational Opportunity. Within a year after publication of this report, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1967) documented the degree of segregation in a related study.

The first survey, popularly known as the Coleman Report, was designed to collect data to verify what already seemed apparent -- that the schools attended by minority students were inferior to those attended by majority students. This inferiority was manifest in the low academic achievement of poor and minority group students and was believed to be caused by inequalities in school facilities and other resource inputs. In this sense the survey was to substantiate and reaffirm the integration strategy of the 1954 Brown decision and lend support to ongoing compensatory education programs. Coleman (1965) expressed the suspicion in this manner:

. . . the study will show the difference in the quality of schools that the average Negro child and the average white child are exposed to. You know yourself that the difference is going to be striking. And even though everybody knows there is a lot of difference between suburban and inner city schools, once the statistics are there in black and white, they will have a lot more impact (p. 15).

Since Congress did not provide an explanation of what was meant by equality of educational opportunity, the authors in formulating the survey define equality of educational opportunity in five ways:

- 1) inequality is defined by the degree of racial segregation;
- 2) inequality of resource inputs from the school system;
- 3) inequality in 'intangible' resources such as teacher morale;
- 4) inequality of inputs as weighted according to their effectiveness for achievement;
- 5) inequality of output as prima facie evidence of inequality of opportunity (Coleman, 1968, p. 17).

The focus of the survey was placed primarily on the fourth definition, although measures of all five conceptions were to be included in the survey. A detailed discussion of the results of the survey will not be attempted, instead a summary of the results as presented by Marshall S. Smith (1972) will suffice to provide a focus for those results which have been most controversial and of significance to this investigation.

The results of the survey as summarized by Smith are:

- 1) Family background has great importance for school achievement.
- 2) The relation of family background to achievement does not diminish over the years of school.
- 3) Family background accounts for a substantial amount of the school-to-school variation in achievement and, therefore, variations in school facilities, curriculum, and staff can only have a small independent effect.
- 4) There is a small amount of variance explicitly accounted for by variations in facilities and curriculum.
- 5) Although no school factor accounts for much variation in achievement, teacher characteristics account for more than any other.
- 6) The social composition of the student body is more highly related to achievement, independently of the student's social background, than is any school factor.

- 7) Attitudes such as a sense of control of the environment, or a belief in the responsiveness of the environment, are strongly associated with achievement, and appear to be little influenced by variations in school characteristics (Smith, p. 231).

In summarizing his findings, Coleman (1966) indicates the following:

Taking all these results together, one implication stands out above all: That schools bring little influence to bear on a child's achievement that is independent of his background and general school context; and that this very lack of an independent effect means that the inequalities imposed on children by their home, neighborhood, and peer environment are carried along to become the inequalities with which they confront adult life at the end of school (p. 325).

As expected, the Coleman survey found a high degree of racial segregation. The unexpected and most controversial finding was that the differences in resources for black and white schools within regions were not as pronounced as had been expected. It had long been suspected that resources for black schools were clearly inferior to resources for white schools. This suspicion had led to the prediction that the relationship between academic achievement and variation in school facilities and expenditures would be considerable. However, this was not revealed by the data in the Coleman Report to the extent believed. Instead the report revealed the variations in achievement scores within racial and ethnic groups, although significant, could not be attributed to differences in resources between schools (Coleman, 1971). In a paper reflecting on the findings of the report, Coleman (1966) suggests that:

Per pupil expenditure, books in the library and a host of other facilities and curricula measures show virtually no relation to achievement in the social environment of the school -- the educational backgrounds of other

students and teachers is held constant Altogether, the sources of inequality of educational opportunity appear to lie first in the home itself and cultural influences immediately surrounding the home; then they lie in the school's ineffectiveness to free achievement from the impact of the home, and in the school's cultural homogeneity which perpetuates the social influences of the home and its environs (pp. 73, 74).

The main explanation for differences in student achievement was due to the following factors listed in decreasing order of importance:

- 1) family background -- economic and educational;
- 2) peer environment -- composition of student body;
- 3) teacher characteristics -- verbal ability;
- 4) school facilities and curricula (Mosteller and Moynihan, 1972, p. 21).

In brief, Coleman found that school inputs (facilities, curriculum, and personnel) had little influence on differences in student achievement; the student's home and peers are the main factors.

The conclusions drawn from the study and the inherent policy implications have stirred considerable controversy among educators, minority group members, social scientists, and public policymakers. They have also served as a stimulus for further analysis and reevaluation from a variety of viewpoints since its publication. These analyses while criticizing weaknesses in statistical methodology and data reliability and inadequacy of its conceptual model have both confirmed and refuted the basic Coleman findings (Bowles and Levin, 1968; Guthrie et al., 1971; Smith, 1972; Dyer, 1969).

Studies reported by Mosteller and Moynihan (1972) probably represent the most thorough reanalysis done and in general tend to support the Coleman findings. While Guthrie et al. (1971); in reviewing seventeen different studies of the effects of school services on pupil performance conclude that:

On the basis of information obtained in the studies we reviewed, there can be little doubt that schools can have an effect 'that is independent of the child's social environment.' In other words, schools do make a difference (p. 84).

The gravity of the controversy over the Coleman report becomes apparent when one considers the inherent policy implications and the socio-political context from which the report emerged. The policy implications that could be derived from the Coleman findings are that: equalizing differences if they exist among school resources should not be a concern of educational policymakers since it will have little effect on student outcomes; and that programs and resources should be developed for intervening in the home life of "disadvantaged" students since it is the home environment that accounts for most of the differences in achievement (Coleman, 1971). The preceding policy implications when comprehended in light of the fact that the report was a product of an unprecedented national commitment to reshape society in an attempt to eliminate injustices connected with persistent problems of poverty and race, allude to what seems to be the underlying issues of the Coleman Report controversy.

Prior to the Coleman Report, major strategies to ameliorate and rectify race-related problems were those advocated by liberals. The main thrust of these liberal strategies had focused on removing economic and geographic barriers to education. It was believed that once these barriers were removed the individual based on his/her ability could move up the social ladder of success. However, the Coleman findings were perceived as placing the liberal myth in jeopardy. This perceived threat, coupled with the historical reliance on the federal government's involvement in fostering equal educational opportunity

and efforts to bring about desegregation, seemed to be the underlying issues of the controversy surrounding the Coleman Report (Hughes and Hughes, 1972). To illustrate the nature and significance of the controversy, a brief review of the federal government's involvement in equal opportunity and desegregation is presented.

Federal Government Intervention

The entry of the federal government into educational affairs and its subsequent assumption of greater responsibility in fostering educational equality dates back to the eighteenth century, in spite of the fact that no mention of education is in the Constitution. Even before the Constitution was ratified in 1789, the Ordinance of 1785 provided for certain lands to be used for common schools. This was confirmed two years later by the Ordinance of 1787. The federal government has also made direct appropriations in support of special types of education while exercising only very limited control. The Morrill Act of 1862 provided land grants for agricultural and mechanical colleges. The Bureau of Freedman was set up in 1865 to promote the education of black children through federal funds. In 1869, the National Bureau of Education was established and set up committees on educational matters in the Senate and the House of Representatives. As the nineteenth century drew to a close there was even greater concern for federal responsibility in education.

Changing social, economic, and political conditions of American life during the first quarter of the twentieth century operated to deepen the national interest in education. Newton Edwards (1939, p. 5) pointed to some of these: different birth rates among the states,

the increasing mobility of the American people, and the impact of technology. "The economic and social changes," Newton wrote, "which beat steadily upon American youth raise educational problems of such importance that they transcend community and state lines and inescapably become matters of national import." The Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 which was initiated to encourage vocational education in public schools was the nation's response to increasing recognition that the war potential depended no less on skilled vocational productivity than on armed forces. In 1929 the George Reed Act increased the appropriations for vocational education. It was these forces that undermined the traditional policy of state and local autonomy in education and prepared the way for greater federal involvement in education. However, it was not until the twentieth century that serious efforts were made to use state educational funds for the purpose of bringing about equalization.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw feeble attempts to find some equitable basis for the distribution of the state school fund. The early so-called "public schools" of colonial America were maintained by "rate bills" rather than taxes (Brubacher, 1947, p. 603). Faced with severe inequalities, the early schools' major problem was how to distribute financial resources so that both the wealthy and the poor classes might share in the benefits of education.

An early method for bringing about equalization was the division of the state school fund in proportion to the adult population, and later, according to the school population in each community. The public school idea and the introduction of public tax-supported education in the U.S. in the nineteenth century was a new ray of hope for

educational equality.

Equalization was expressed in the laws of the New England and Middle Atlantic States prior to 1910, and by 1920 twenty states tried to bring about equalization of educational opportunity through the distribution of state money. During the periods 1926-1933 efforts aimed at equalization spread to the South and Southwest. Soon, however, great differences in the extent and quality of educational programs throughout the nation were experienced. These differences were noted in per pupil expenditures, length of school terms, teachers' salaries, teachers' training and experience, high school enrollment, value of school property, education facilities for black children and rural districts (Brubacher, 1947).

Inequalities in educational opportunity were further accentuated by great differences in the ability of states to provide adequate educational programs. A major factor acting upon this situation was the wide gap in the wealth of the various states (National Education Association, 1937). In addition, the burden of financing education was increasing throughout the nation. The increase in school enrollments, heightened school costs, and the increasing responsibilities assumed by public schools only intensified the situation. It was this situation which demanded more and more serious consideration of the possibility of applying federal grants to the states for equalizing education opportunity. The condition of the poor in general, and blacks in particular, was to be the focal point of federal activity aimed at minimizing inequality of educational opportunity. But the role taken by the federal government in assuming greater responsibility for promoting educational equality was not an easy one. There were many

stumbling blocks; first, there were the advocates of state and local control who feared that national control would inevitably accompany national aid to education. Second, there were others who objected to federal aid for parochial schools. It was for this reason that a recommendation by the U.S. National Advisory Committee on Education requesting a national subsidy for education failed in 1931. Still others objected to federal aid to education which would equally benefit blacks. The year 1943 saw the failure of a bill for a national subsidy to education. The hinderance to its success was a provision for equal subsidies to both black and white schools in the South (Brubacher, 1947). Congressmen from the South would not vote for the bill in that form, while Northern congressmen refused to vote for the bill without it. The result was a delay in federal action toward equality of educational opportunity for a decade. Meanwhile, the George-Ellzey Act of 1934, the George-Dean Act of 1936, and the George-Barden Act of 1946, all of which extended federal assistance for vocational education, inadvertently prepared the way for greater federal involvement in education.

During the 1940's certain groups, among them the National Education Association, sought to influence a stronger federal role in education with a view to equalizing educational opportunity. In 1945 these groups joined forces in support of bills for federal aid to education. The National Education Association (NEA) sponsored a bill urging a short-term appropriation to the states on the basis of average daily attendance. However, the additional provision for allocation on the basis of an equalization formula based on need and financial ability to support education was pivotal in the cause for equal educational

opportunity. Another development regarding federal aid to education occurred in 1946 when Senator Robert A. Taft decided to co-sponsor an amended version of the NEA bill of the previous year. The amended bill contained a strong equalization formula, and in addition, required that each participating state provide for equalized educational opportunities so that each child, regardless of race or location, had at least forty dollars for his/her education. However, this bill was deferred from time to time and was finally lost in 1949. It was not until 1950 that any direct federal aid bill for education received full consideration by Congress (Tiedt, 1966).

The so-called impact laws of 1950 may be considered as further demonstrations of the federal government's favorable attitude toward aiding equal educational opportunity. These laws were an extension of the Lanham Act of 1941 which was enacted to help alleviate the financial difficulties in communities which were expanding as a result of proximity to federal installations and factories. In addition to the general grants to federally impacted areas, supplemental federal grants were made to local districts which could not meet their share of the costs of education programs.

During the Eisenhower years some positive steps were taken toward increasing federal involvement in education and focused on efforts to bring about equal educational opportunity. The Administration moved to act on recommendations made by the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations as well as those made by the White House Conference on Education. The School Construction Act of 1957 provided for the spending of \$325 million per year for four years on school buildings, the distribution being made "on the basis of a standard federal equalization

formula" (Tiedt, 1966, p. 28).

The National Defense Education Act of 1958, which came into being mainly as a reaction to the Soviet success in space (Sputnik) also had a rippling effect for equal educational opportunity. Title II of the National Defense Education Act provides loans for poor undergraduate and graduate students at institutions of higher education.

Under the presidencies of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, the 1960's saw the initiation and implementation of broad programs of domestic social reform. The Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 substantially increased federal participation in the construction of higher education facilities, especially in poverty areas. The year 1964 was very significant as Francesco Gordasco (1974) has noted:

The significance of 1964 lies in the fact that the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 initiated the war on poverty under a federal auspice with the schools as the major agency of reform. In this sense, it represented a decisively new role for the Federal government in that it squarely confronted the problems of poverty and the inequality of educational opportunity (p. 54).

The college work-study programs of that act provided economically disadvantaged students with campus work.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964, like the Economic Opportunity Act, focused on education as the principal means to achieve its objective and sought to ensure freedom and equal opportunity in the nation. The Act provides assistance to school officials who request funds for programs designed to bring about desegregation. An important aspect of this act was the mandate given to the Commissioner of Education to conduct a survey to determine whether equal educational opportunity was denied to some due to race, color, religion or national origin.

The Coleman Report of 1966 was the response to that mandate. Meanwhile, two other acts, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and the Higher Education Act of 1965, stimulated further efforts in the struggle against inequalities in educational opportunity.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 was the most significant development in the attempt to equalize educational opportunity through federal funding. Congress appropriated \$1,392 million for the year ending June 30, 1966, to implement the five titles of the act. The fund distribution formula was aimed at the base of inequality, and Title I funds were to be channeled to the poorer states; the distribution of funds was designed to improve education of the poor rather than children from more affluent families (Hughes and Hughes, 1972).

A major effort was made during the latter part of the Sixties to equalize educational opportunity through compensatory education programs financed under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The rationale for this effort was based on the assumption that equality of educational opportunity could be achieved by equalizing expenditures for education. This, it might be recalled, was the aim of the Office of Education Study as Coleman perceived it. However, as indicated, the findings of the study did not lend support to continued and increased federal funding for such programs. As it turned out, the findings of the study gave support instead to those who were opposed to additional federal funding to schools. Their reasoning was that since the Coleman Report reinforced previous studies which indicated that schools were not effective in reducing achievement gaps between races or social classes, additional appropriations would be a waste of money (Bell, 1972). In addition, subsequent evaluations of

compensatory education programs by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1967) and the Westinghouse Learning Corporation (1969) tended to support the view that results of these programs were less than expected. There is another side to the issue as Hummel and Nagel (1973, p. 272) pointed out, "too little was spent too late to make any real difference in the educational experiences of disadvantaged children."

It might be then that continued adequate funding such as that provided for compensatory education over a longer period of time than was initially allowed would have stronger implications for equality of educational opportunity.

The most significant outgrowth of federal funding under the Equal Educational Opportunities Program was the encouragement of integration. This was accomplished by making grants available only to school districts which met certain desegregation requirements. Indeed, the school desegregation movement has been indispensable to efforts aimed at equality of educational opportunity.

The movement for integration made by desegregation school grants by the Equal Educational Opportunities Program was strengthened by the Coleman Report of 1966. As indicated earlier, the findings of the study strongly supported the belief that integration was a major concern. This belief was further supported by the findings of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1967) and research conducted by Irwin Katz (1964). The emphasis on integration was bound to accelerate federal actions in that direction in an effort to make more meaningful the ideal of equal educational opportunity.

With little discernable pay-off from compensatory education programs (as indicated by the studies cited earlier), and integration

facing formidable socio-political barriers, further legislation was required to promote equality of educational opportunity. This came in the form of the Emergency School Aid Act of 1972 which was an extension of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, both acts provided for the study of black history and culture. However, the Emergency School Aid Act was primarily concerned with the curriculum used by children in schools, whereas the earlier Civil Rights Act provided for short-term specialized training which included topics specifically related to the culture and heritage of Black Americans. Training efforts were designed to improve the ability of teachers and other school personnel to deal effectively with problems associated with desegregation of schools.

The Emergency School Aid Act provided for the development and use of new curriculum and instructional methods, practices, and techniques, as well as the acquisition of teaching materials, to support programs of instruction for all children including the language and cultural heritage of American minority groups. In this sense it legitimized the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, whose programs were designed to develop ethnic pride and knowledge of the heritage and contributions of non-black and non-English speaking minority students.

The impetus for the inclusion of minority groups' culture and heritage was given a tremendous boost by the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act of 1972. According to Giles and Gollnick (1977) the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act was the only piece of Federal legislation that acknowledged the United States as an ethnically and culturally diverse society. This represents a departure from previous legislation, which was primarily aimed at desegregation and integration and the maintenance of domestic tranquility. The departure that this legislation

represents, coupled with the conceptualization of equality of educational opportunity as equality of results, gave rise to the current interest in multicultural education as a means of providing equal educational opportunity for ethnic minority students (Cordova, 1974; Arciniega, 1977; Gay, 1977; Grant, 1976).

Throughout American history, conceptualization of equality of educational opportunity seems to have paralleled the development of an increasingly expanding urbanized and industrial society. These developments were the products of socio-political events and scientific and technological developments impinging on society. The notion of equality of educational opportunity produced in response to these social forces has evolved through two phases: the Classical Phase and the Watershed Phase.

In the Classical Phase, the shifting emphasis of equality of educational opportunity began with attempts to establish public responsibility for the education of children in those states where there was no provision for their public education. This was followed by efforts to provide adequate educational facilities, programs, staff and finances. The predominant conceptualization of equality of educational opportunity during this phase was in terms of equal access and equal resources but separate schools. From this perspective, equality of educational opportunity can be interpreted in terms of social Darwinism. This conceptualization became a given and unexamined aspect of thought and action until the Brown decision of 1954. Hence, the first half of the twentieth century can be described as a struggle for separate-but-equal schools which was abruptly aborted by mid-century when separate-but-equal schools were declared unequal.

By the time of the Brown decision, experience had begun to demonstrate flaws and weaknesses in this complacent conceptualization and its inherent myth. The myth propagated by this notion was that by providing equal access to education, by putting everyone on scratch, the ensuing scramble for positions would be a fair one and those who did not make it had only themselves to blame. Peter Schrag (1970) explains it this way:

Everyone in the jungle (or society, or school) was to be treated equally: one standard, one set of books, one fiscal formula for children everywhere, regardless of race, creed, or colour. Success went to the resourceful, the ambitious, the bright, the strong. Those who failed were stupid or shiftless, but whatever the reasons, failure was the responsibility of the individual . . . but certainly not that of the school or society (p. 70).

The view that this perspective gives of an individual's ability can be described as everyone having been given a certain amount of talent and it was up to the individual to make the best use of what he/she had been given by the Creator. The amount of talent an individual had been given corresponded to the social position into which he/she was born. Thus, not only is it up to the individual to make the best of what he/she has but he/she must be satisfied with his/her social position and talent because they had been given what they deserved by birth. The educational system supported by this view was that of parallel types of schools serving the needs of different social classes in society.

Proponents of this view advance arguments that academic ability as reflected by I.Q. is primarily inherited and the educational system has to be highly selective in order to take proper care of the scarce level of ability. The policy implications of the view in which ability plus hard work enables individuals to climb the social ladder

of success results in an elitist educational system devised so as to sort out the able and diligent students (Jenson, 1969).

A more liberal interpretation of this thinking emerged when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in the 1954 Brown decision. This interpretation can be expressed as each person being born with a given amount of ability which is inherited to a great extent and therefore cannot be substantially changed.

The educational system inherent in this view is designed to remove external barriers of an economic and/or geographic nature that prevent able students from the lower classes from taking advantage of inborn ability which entitles them to due social promotion. This was the prevailing thinking during the Sixties when the Coleman Report was published. The quality of the school was measured by various inputs to the school, i.e., per pupil expenditures, degrees held by teachers, lab facilities, number of books in the school library and other similar factors. Discussions of inequality of educational opportunity centered around inequalities in these tangible input variables.

The Coleman Report served to deflate the liberal orientation of equality of educational opportunity. As a result, certain basic problems are being posed in new terms. This is indicated by Chazan (1973) in the major criticisms of compensatory education programs:

- 1) Compensatory education has not been successful in achieving its aims and should be considered a lost cause.
- 2) Programmers have tried to change what cannot be changed to any great extent; as genetic factors are much more important than environmental factors in producing differences in measured intelligence, the premises on which compensatory education efforts have been based should be re-examined.
- 3) It is wrong to identify and label children as 'disadvantaged'.

- 4) Too much emphasis has been placed in compensatory education on the significance of the early years of a child's life in the shaping of his later development.
- 5) The school itself, and the educational system as it currently functions, not the children of the poor, should be the first targets of change; the concept 'compensatory education' distracts attention from the deficiencies in the school itself, and focuses upon deficiencies within the community, family, and child (pp. 14-15).

The liberal ethic is currently undergoing transformation. This transformation is increasingly focusing on the communal aspects of society and represents the genesis of a socialist ethic based on a redefinition of equality as equity (Bell, 1972). Thus, the redefinition of equal educational opportunity precipitated by the Coleman Report has shifted the meaning from "everyone is eligible" to "everyone is entitled."

The second and present phase in the evolution of the concept of equality of educational opportunity, the Watershed phase, is characterized by a conflict between regression to the Classical phase and the emergence of a new notion that is not yet formulated. Pettigrew (1974) describes the nature of this regression and presents it pictorially in Figure 1. According to Pettigrew, Cell A represents the ultimate goal and he indicates three ways of getting there. The dotted lines represent the route espoused by community control and other separatist advocates; the desegregationists' route is represented by the solid line. The route integrationists subscribe to is indicated by the short solid arrow in the center of the diagram.

Although the Pettigrew model and the literature perused allude to equality of results as the probable notion, this investigator feels that there is another concept that has yet to surface. The nature of

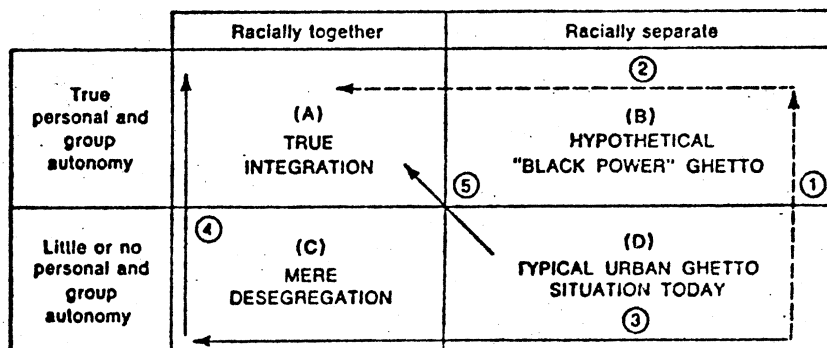


Figure 1. Schematic Diagram of Autonomy and Contact-Separation. Dotted lines denote hypothetical paths; solid lines, actual paths.

the yet unrealized concept may be derived from the concept of culture relativity being translated and made operational in social interaction. The concept of cultural relativity maintains that a particular culture cannot be evaluated in terms of the standards of another culture. This investigator perceives this translation as not imposing your criteria on someone else (Sumner, 1960).

The work of Rawls (1971) and Nozick (1974) offer an additional frame of reference in the search for this elusive reconceptualization of equality of educational opportunity. Rawl's theory is based on the notion that only those inequalities which are to the benefit of the underdog are justifiable. His view is based on the assumption that society's resources and products are collectively held and individuals have no rights to the rewards of their endeavors.

Nozick's view represents the opposite end of the continuum and he argues that each person is entitled to the rewards of his endeavors. Redistribution is dependent on the individual's choice to transfer some portion to others. These two views indicate the nature of the controversy to be resolved before equal educational opportunity or multicultural education become operational.

The Cultural Deprivation Perspective

The current controversy stemming, from the Coleman Report, seems to revolve around strategies for achieving equality of results in the schools, and equalization in economic terms between racial and ethnic groups and between the poor and the rich. One view stresses that equalization can best be achieved by successfully combatting the negative effects of a deprived environment. Using this approach programs

were introduced in an effort to make up for what may be lacking in the student's home and general environment. Compensatory education programs are based on this rationale and were intended to promote equal educational opportunity by compensating for deprivations originating in the home, peer group, and neighborhood.

The perceived way to solve the problem was to intervene in the environment and provide "compensatory" education both before the target children entered school and during their early years of school. The rationale for this approach was based on research with animals and humans which demonstrated quite conclusively that the environment in which an animal or child grows up can be so inadequate that it retards the physical and mental development of the organism involved (Harlow, 1962).

The kind of evidence that is cited in illustrating the effects of environmental deprivation on young children comes from case studies such as that of Anna, a child who was kept in an attic-like room with little care or attention for the first six years of her life. At the time she was discovered and removed from her mother's home, she could not speak, walk, gesture, or feed herself. She was so apathetic that it was not possible to determine whether or not she could hear. Two years later, Anna had progressed to the point where she could walk, understand simple commands, feed herself, and interact with other people (Davis, 1949).

In another study, Skeels (1966) reports on thirteen infants who were removed from the unstimulating environment of an orphanage to a residential center where they received considerable attention and affection. Twelve similar children remained in the orphanage. The

children who received the increased attention showed an average gain of 27.5 I.Q. points in nineteen months, whereas the other group experienced an average loss of 27.2 I.Q. points in twenty-one months.

These and additional representative samples of such studies are cited by Hunt and others in the Merrill-Palmer Quarterly (1964). Undoubtedly there are many more studies that support the same basic conclusion: Lack of exposure to the behavior of knowledgeable members of the same species during development results in an inability to perform learned behaviors as effectively as unisolated peers.

Psychologists and educators related the findings of these and other studies to the phenomena of failure in the schools and concluded that the reason many low-income ethnic minority children fail in school is because their home environments did not provide adequate stimulation for the normal development of the child. The solution advanced for this assumed environmental deprivation was intervention in the pre-school experience by means of compensatory education (Chazan, 1973). The strategy was to offer catch-up courses or concentrated doses of appropriate stimulation in an attempt to bring the minority child's developmental level closer to the "norm" i.e., the level of their middle and upper-income peers.

The notion of environmental deprivation is supported by the research mentioned in the Merrill-Palmer Quarterly (1964). However, for the findings to be used as a valid rationale for compensatory education it must be established that the same conditions exist in the environment of low-income ethnic minority children as those that existed in the environments studied. Thus, in the logic of compensatory education a low-income ethnic minority home is similar to the deprived

environment described by the studies. The conclusions drawn from research on the effects of environmental deprivation apply only to the degree that the environment of a child is comparable to the environment in the deprivation studies. The environmental conditions described in the studies appear minimally, if at all, in the homes identified by the proponents of compensatory education as producing cultural deprivation. For instance, many of those research studies stress the lack of sensory and perceptual experience as a major factor in deprivation, but it is stretching the point to argue that a child growing up in the heart of a city lacks sensory and perceptual experience (Hunt, 1964). In fact, the opposite may be the case in that the child may be receiving too much stimuli which Toffler (1970) refers to as stimulus overload; but that is a different problem and will not be discussed here.

Aside from extreme circumstances (such as the cases of Anna and the orphanage children where there was an obvious lack of sensory and perceptual experience) the inferential leap that is made from the deprivation studies to any home with a variety of interactions seems unjustified.

The manner in which parents interact with their child(ren) varies from home to home and differs cross-culturally. It has been shown that the overriding factor for growth and development in any environment is the amount of time and energy spent in adult-child interaction (Bloom, 1964). Possibly there are children in this country who are kept from contact with others to the point that their development is inhibited. However, to assume that exposure to a home environment which has certain obvious differences is comparable to being locked up

in an attic and being isolated is not substantiated by the life conditions of children from low-income homes. This assumption was certainly not supported by eligibility criteria for compensatory education programs as stated in Title I guidelines. Eligibility was not stated in terms of the number of years the child had spent in an orphanage, an attic, or in some other environment where interaction was minimal. Instead, characteristics which seemed to have to have a greater occurrence in lower income homes were identified as critical.

It makes little sense to consider particular practices outside the normative cultural, social, and economic context, or to assume that any practices other than those valued by the majority are inferior and negative. The characteristics of a given life style may have meaning, importance, and function in one set of circumstances, but may be of little importance in another. Life styles are a function of many variables including experiences, resources and perspectives. It is unreasonable to assume deficiency where differences in variables have stimulated the development of different life styles or different practices within a life style (National Society for the Study of Education Yearbook Committee, 1967).

Havighurst and Moorefield (1967) advocate distinguishing among students who are "educationally" and "socially disadvantaged" according to the degree of educational retardation. Although they do not explicitly state the conditions which bring about educational retardation, they give two examples from which the negative conditions can be inferred. The implications are that the disadvantaged home conditions of the children brought about their below standard school performances. Havighurst's account of Michael--the disadvantaged but not retarded

child--revealed that Michael liked to read, even though his parents did not particularly enjoy reading. What is clear from the account is the author's ethnocentric perspective towards the subjects' family circumstances and their parents' attitudes combined with a possible lack of complete information.

In retrospect, it appears that researchers describing deprived students have made a number of value judgments based on middle-class practices as standards. Descriptions of phenomena (e.g., family composition, housing arrangements, family communication style) which use middle-class norms as the criteria for observation almost guarantee placement of minority group life styles in a defective perspective. On the other hand, studies which do not use middle-class values as a predetermined standard permit observation of life styles that differ from middle-class norms and yet are viable within a particular setting. When studies are not based on the assumption that ethnic minority families are merely imperfect replicas of white families, researchers find patterns which are divergent from the white pattern and which are internally valid (Young, 1970). It should be noted that the criteria used in evaluating different life styles are generally those valued by a large percentage of the majority. The criteria are not necessarily practiced to the extent they are valued, however.

Havighurst and Moorefield (1967) in their second example indicate two contributing factors to Sam's educational retardation. Two of Sam's siblings were illegitimate and Sam's father had deserted the family. Such conditions as rates of illegitimacy, divorce and separation were also key factors in Moynihan's (1965) contentions concerning the breakdown or dysfunctional aspects of the black family. Ryan

(1967), however, in discussing the Moynihan study points out:

If we were to use the author's indices of family stability, principally divorce and illegitimacy, we should have to say that both white and Negro (sic) families--American families in general--are crumbling. White divorce rates have zoomed almost 800% in less than one-hundred years, and white illegitimacy has increased more than 50% in the last twenty-five years, a rate of increase greater than that of Negroes (sic) (p. 462).

In addition, culturally deprived children's homes are characterized as anti-intellectual, deemphasizing intellectual and academic pursuits, and lacking intellectual resources (Reissman, 1962). This suggests that the "non-disadvantaged" are surrounded by intellectual values and resources. This is not necessarily the case since Americans have a reputation of being anti-intellectual (Hofstadter, 1964).

Language is another area which has received a great deal of attention from those with a cultural deprivation perspective. The culturally deprived child is thought by many to receive little verbal stimulation and/or little exposure to "correct" speech behavior (Hunt, 1970; Bernstein, 1961). Different researchers attribute inadequate verbal stimulation to different sources. Hunt, for example, speculated that an adult living under impoverished circumstances does not have sufficient time or patience to provide the child with adequate stimulation:

. . . the child in a crowded, poverty-stricken family probably meets another obstacle: His questions too seldom bring suitable answers and too often bring punishment that inhibits further questioning (p. 150).

Other researchers assume that mothers in impoverished circumstances may simply not have the competence or skills necessary to provide sufficient verbal stimulation for their children (Olim, 1970; Gordon,

1967). Finally, a few researchers concede that most children are exposed to sufficient amounts of verbal stimulation, but assert that the linguistic style used in some environments is inferior to that to which middle and upper-class children are exposed (Bernstein, 1961; Hess, 1968). The contentions about inadequate verbal stimulation are attempts to explain why, in many cases, the language development of low-income children is retarded. The notion that many low-income children are retarded in language development must be recognized as no more than assumption. If the focus were to be shifted from the child's background to testing conditions and standards, current methods of assessing language development would evidently require substantial modification.

A child's verbal ability is usually measured under formal testing conditions using middle-class English as the standard by which development is evaluated. This procedure often leads to conclusions of inferior language development in ethnic minority children. These conclusions are based on the length of the responses given during the test and/or number of errors occurring in the response. The instructions given at the beginning of a test interview supposedly stimulate the child to display his verbal abilities; however, there has generally been no attempt to ascertain how the instructions are actually perceived. "One can view these test stimuli as requests for information, commands for action, threats of punishment, or meaningless sequences of words" (Labov, 1970, p. 170). If a child gives a very brief or limited reply, one cannot determine on the basis of the response itself whether: a) the child cannot respond more elaborately as a result of limited linguistic development, or whether b) the child does not

choose to respond more elaborately, or c) is reacting to some adverse stimulus he/she perceives that the interviewer fails to notice (pp. 157-163). If a child speaks a "non-standard" dialect of English at the time of testing, the use of middle-class dialect as a criterion against which to measure his/her verbal achievement is invalid since an error in middle-class dialect may not be an error in a given non-middle class dialect and vice versa. No language or dialect has yet been proven to be more highly structured, well-formed or grammatical than any other language or dialect (Baratz and Baratz, 1969). Middle-class dialect is "standard English" in the U. S. only because of certain historical and socio-political factors and not because it is superior to other dialects of English; therefore, acquisition of middle-class dialect cannot be assumed to be a necessary component in verbal development.

The cultural deprivation perspective appears to suffer from a high degree of speculation and a tendency to overgeneralize. Once this is recognized, the origins and implications of the cultural deprivation perspective can be understood.

The twin themes of equal educational opportunity and cultural deprivation gave rise to the development of intervention strategies to compensate ethnic minority students for their deficits. The concept of compensatory education evolved and focused attention on the inadequacy of the environment and what must be done to compensate for it. This focus leads to the conclusion that the main objective is to help the child overcome his/her environment so he/she can be successful in school and receive all the benefits assumed to follow from success in school. Such a focus does not, however, raise the

possibility that perhaps the real problem is that schools are failing the student rather than the student failing in school. While research on educational successes and failures has contributed immensely to understanding the failure of a major proportion of ethnic minority students, it has contributed little to understanding of how schools fail these children and how changes might be made to make learning more successful for ethnic minority students. Compensatory education overlooks the direct contribution of the school to educational deprivation and also the increased disadvantages resulting from school experience through time.

Our schools and society are failing many children. One group is composed of children who are environmentally deprived. These children are growing up in environments that do not provide the basic physiological requirements and human interaction necessary to ensure that physical, psychological, and intellectual development are not impaired.

Another group whom the school and society are failing consists of those children who differ from dominant white middle-class children. Some of these children come from ethnic minority groups and may appear deprived, but most are failing in school because they have a different culture, life style, or language. Their problem is that the schools are not designed to support their growth and development. They test like deprived children because the tests are not appropriate for their language or culture and the deprivation hypothesis does not direct attention to the tests used by the schools. Consequently, when the cultural deprivation perspective is applied to them, it seems to fit. There can be little doubt that continued use

of traditional methods of assessment leads educators to overemphasize the resistance of ethnic minority students to be educated.

There is another perspective which emphasizes the need for placing the full responsibility for success on the schools if equality of results is to be achieved (Clark, 1965). This perspective is not as concerned with the failure of compensatory education to produce results in academic achievement as it is with the manner of intervention, the criteria for judging success, the right to intervene; and failure to develop programs that are appropriate for ethnic minority students. These are the issues raised by Sroufe (1970). He asks if social engineers have the right to impose middle-class standards on low-income families, how far intervention into the homes should go, and whether middle-class behavioral patterns should set the criteria. In addition, he emphasizes that the "experts" alone cannot continue to set the criteria for education, instead, they must listen to the people they claim to be serving and be willing to share the power of policy-making.

From this perspective, the problem does not lie with the student's home, peer group, family, or neighborhood, but with the school. According to this view, schools should make full use of the cultural differences in order to bring about successful performance in school. Thus, equal benefits from the system depend more on reforming the school along culturally pluralistic lines than on attempting to transform the ethnic minority student into the image of the dominant group. This is the view subscribed to by proponents of multicultural education.

Consequently, attempts to reform the school and eliminate

the prejudicial ethnocentric attitude (and concomitant racism and elitism) inherent in compensatory education programs have resulted in application of the same strategies as those used in compensatory education to improve the education of minorities under the rubric of multicultural education. This in turn has given rise to an emphasis on the positive aspects of the student's culture, home environment, and cultural differences between people.

CHAPTER III

IN SEARCH OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Introduction

What is multicultural education? What concept of culture is being referred to? What is the purpose of multicultural education? To pass on and preserve the various "cultures" of our society, to change them, or is it to integrate them with the "culture of the golden ghetto" -- the affluent middle income culture?

There seems to be as many definitions of multicultural education as there are people attempting to describe or define it. In this sense it is a concept in search of a definition. The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (1973) has proposed a definition of multicultural education in their position statement. The position statement is based on the notion of cultural pluralism in which different cultural groups interact to form an interrelated whole. Differences in this unity through diversity view, are seen as assets rather than as liabilities. The schools are charged with the responsibility for preparing young people to live in a society that values cultural pluralism. This investigator's interpretation of this statement is that multicultural education is viewed more from an economic and socio-political perspective rather than from a pedagogical one (see Appendix A). Perhaps a brief historical overview will serve

to clarify what is meant by multicultural education, its purpose, and its relation to the concept of culture.

Multicultural education has its origins in the philosophy of cultural pluralism espoused by various educators during the early part of this century, e.g., Kallen (1924), Berkson (1920), and Drachsler (1920). It was at this time that the United States experienced a deluge of immigrants of non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic background and it was feared that these newcomers would destroy the established American Anglo-Saxon values (Itzkoff, 1969). Kallen (1924) expressed a perceived threat these newcomers presented to those in control of America's destiny:

Today the descendants of the colonists appear to be reformulating a Declaration of Independence. Again as in 1776, Americans of British ancestry apprehend that certain possessions of theirs which may be lumped under the word 'Americanism' are in jeopardy. The danger comes, once more, from a force across the water, but the force is this time regarded not as superior, but as inferior. The relationships of 1776 are, consequently, reversed. To conserve the inalienable rights of the colonists in 1776, it was necessary to declare all men equal. In 1776 all men were as good as their betters; in 1920 men are permanently worse than their betters (p. 69).

Reaction to the newcomers resulted in opposition reflected by an increase in Anglo-Saxon ethnocentrism, nationalism, blatant racism, and a type of assimilationist attitude as evidenced by such writings as The Passing of the Great Race by Madison Grant (1916). A corollary of this prevalent hysteria produced the Dillingham Commission.

The Commission's task was to prove that the immigrants were inferior to the earlier immigrants. Forty-two volumes and three years later, the report was published. Scattered throughout the report were phrases referring to the inferiority of the new immigrants such as the

the following:

The Serbo-Croatians had 'savage manners,' the Southern Italians 'have not attained distinguished success as farmers' and are 'given to brigandry and poverty;' and although the 'Poles' verge toward the 'northern' race of Europe, being lighter in color than the Russian, they 'are more high-strung,' in this respect resembling the Hungarians. All these peoples of eastern and southern Europe, including the Greeks and Italians . . . give character to the immigration of today, as contrasted with the northern Teutonic and Celtic stocks that characterized it up to the eighties. All are different in temperament and civilization from ourselves (U.S. Congress, 1911).

This ethnocentrism was transposed to the educational realm and was expressed by such prominent educators as E. P. Cubberly (1909). He states:

. . . everywhere these people settle in groups of settlements, and set up their national manners, customs, and observances. Our task is to break up these groups or settlements, to assimilate and amalgamate these people as part of our American race, and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and our popular government, and to awaken in them a reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things in our national life which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth (pp. 15-16).

A more recent expression of this perspective is inherent in compensatory education practices as discussed earlier and in Heller's work on Mexican-American youth.

Heller (1966, p. 35) arrives at a number of conclusions similar to those expressed by Cubberly in 1909. One of her conclusions is that "Mexican-Americans are the least Americanized of all ethnic groups in the U.S. and that this condition is largely the result of the child rearing practices of the Mexican-American family." Heller further concludes that Mexican-American homes "fail to provide independence training," and that "indulgent attitudes" of Mexican-American parents towards

their children tend to hamper [their] need for achievement." Thus, according to Heller, if Mexican-Americans are to be "Americanized," their socialization practices must be changed. Heller goes even further in describing the pathology of Mexican-Americans by referring to the strong ingroup orientation among Mexican-Americans known as "carnalismo" as "a type of upbringing [that] creates stumbling blocks to future advancement by stressing values that hinder mobility."

Both Cubberly's and Heller's comments imply, as do compensatory education efforts, that something in the student's home and community is not right and is in need of changing. This perspective is referred to as the assimilationist or "melting pot" view and it is this view that has prevailed. The salience of this perspective was nurtured by the increased need for manpower to feed a rapidly expanding industry (Itzkoff, 1969).

The melting pot view can be described in terms of the ecological concept of the ecotone which is that the interface of two different habitats produces greater abundance of life than the two habitats do singly. Another explanation can be offered in terms of the chemical synergistic action of two compounds when combined which produce a product that has desirable properties not found in either compound alone, i.e., copper + tin = bronze. This melting pot view can be described as the application of science concepts to social phenomena. It is this investigator's view that while this may produce a product that is superior to the original two, it does not apply to people. This is because people are unpredictable and can choose, whereas physical objects or other organisms cannot.

However, there were those who believed that to coerce people into

conforming to one model of Americanism was not only unAmerican but also undemocratic. Drachsler, Berkson, and Kallen the major proponents of cultural pluralism argued that democracy implied the right of immigrants to maintain their ethnic and cultural ties without fear of retaliation because of their choice (Itckoff, 1969). Kallen (1924) argued that:

. . . the United States are in the process of becoming a federal state not merely as a union of geographical and administrative unities, but also as a cooperation of cultural diversities, as a federation or commonwealth of national cultures (p. 116).

Kallen reasoned that since individuals are implicated in groups, democracy for the individual must also mean democracy for the group. The term he used to describe this assumption was cultural pluralism and underlying this was the premise that the individual should retain his ethnic identity. The implication is that an individual's fate is determined by his/her ethnic group membership. This precipitated a reaction from other cultural pluralists who disagreed with the determinism of Kallen's view.

The view taken by other prominent cultural pluralists was reflected by Isaac Berkson (1920) and Julian Drachsler (1920). Although they subscribed to the basic notion that different ethnic groups should have the right to maintain an ethnic identity, and even made suggestions as to how this might be done, their main concern was to allow for individual freedom of choice. The dilemma presented by this choice is stated by Gordon (1964):

. . . the system of cultural pluralism has frequently been described as 'cultural democracy' since it posits the right of ethnic groups in a democratic society to maintain their communal identity and subcultural values . . . however, we must also point out that democratic values prescribe free choice not only for groups but also individuals. That is the individual,

as he matures and reaches the age where rational decision is feasible, should be allowed to choose freely whether to remain within the boundaries of communality or branch out . . . change . . . move away, etc. Realistically, it's probably impossible to have a socialization process for the child growing up in a particular ethnic group that does not involve some implicitly restrictive values (pp. 262-263).

Nonetheless, the pluralistic view was seen as a more democratic way of dealing with the immigration to the United States than the melting-pot/assimilationist view. The pluralist view did not gain much support, however, because at the time there seemed to be a greater need for disregarding the economic and social privileges that keep people apart rather than preserving cultural differences. Thus, the immigrants were willing to voluntarily submerge their ethnicity and cultural ties for short term "survival" economic benefits, and succumbed to pressures to either assimilate or be denied the economic, social, and political opportunities that existed in their aspirations and dreams. In their willingness to get "in" they temporarily overlooked the various religious, social, and political freedoms that America symbolized. They soon realized their oversight and began to demand these freedoms as indicated by Itzkoff (1969):

Among the leadership of the various ethnic minorities, many began to call out for a greater sense of equality in the treatment of all the contending national values. It was soon understood that institutions of our society, especially our Anglo-Saxon schools, could and would undermine the family and neighborhood cultures. The estrangement of youths from their elders, a by-product of the Americanization process, was in itself a poignant aspect of this problem. There arose a quiet demand for at least a greater equality of cultural values within our institutions (p. 54).

Subsequent events, such as the Great Depression and the New Deal with a focus on economic survival, weakened inclinations toward

ethnicity. In addition, prior to World War I, differences were seen as liabilities, however, to ensure victory for America the fullest participation of all segments of our heterogenous society was required. These events and the pressures of succeeding developments were contributing factors in the gradual dissipation of cultural pluralism by the Fifties.

Although the movement for cultural pluralism may have dissipated by the early Fifties, it was revitalized in the mid-Fifties, initially by the blacks in their struggle for equality, and later joined during the decade of the Sixties by other minorities (Chicanos, Native Americans, Asian-Americans) in their struggle for equality. Consequently, it appeared as though these new minorities were now in the same position as the earlier immigrants.

Today the conflict between the new minorities and the majority is seen as similar to the conflict between the immigrants and the Anglo-Saxon majority in the early part of this century. Consequently, attempts to resolve this conflict are being approached in a manner similar to the earlier approaches taken towards the immigration situation (Itzkoff, 1969). Educational efforts have primarily centered around the ethnocentric concept of compensatory education as discussed earlier.

The decade of the Sixties gives testimony to a variety of attempts through various forms of federal legislation, welfare, housing and job programs, educational upgrading, and by integrationists to bring the various ethnic minorities into the mainstream of society. Integrationists' arguments center around the equality and fraternity of man, the need for disregarding social and cultural differences, and the need for unity through uniformity. These efforts and arguments are reminiscent

of an earlier assimilationist view that seemed to work in another period of time, for other cultural groups, under a different set of circumstances.

It must be kept in mind that the southern and eastern European immigrants generally found themselves in an Anglo-American society and found it necessary to quickly adopt Anglo-American cultural practices in order to operate and survive in their new environment, whereas early Anglo movement into the Southwest found an established Hispanic-Mexican society. The Hispano-Mexican had learned to survive in the Southwest relative to his own culture. In addition the Spanish-speaking population in the Southwest did not migrate into institutions established under an Anglo-American cultural base. The Southwestern colonial institutions were originally established under an Hispanic cultural system. Following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hildago immigrants from Mexico found cultural elements in the Southwest compatible to their native culture (Cortes, 1975). This, in turn, has a tendency to reinforce and perpetuate the Southwestern Hispanic-Mexican culture. Additionally, the new minorities differ from the previous minorities (immigrants) in that they are not aliens from foreign countries seeking admission into the United States; rather they are Americans, some of whose roots predated the arrival of the first Anglo-Saxons. But the issue of who came first is irrelevant, perhaps Kopan's (1974, p. 41) comment that "many of the latecomers did not intend to make America a permanent home, and they had no desire to become Americans" is a more pertinent observation.

Kopan's view seems to be the reasoning behind much of the educational efforts directed toward Mexican-Americans as indicated by Carter (1970):

Historically, the Southwest school took cognizance of the Mexican-American child very belatedly. Considerable time elapsed before it was recognized that people of Mexican descent were here to stay instead of coming and going across the border as migrants. The mass immigrations of the 1920's presented the educational apparatus with formidable problems and brought consideration of ethnic groups to the fore. When the school did begin to concern itself with the children of this minority group, it proceeded to fit them into a rigidly conceived system, instead of attempting to adjust the system to the needs of the group. This approach, intentionally or otherwise, served to make the educational system conform to the pressure of the Southwest society for perpetuating the low socio-economic standing of Mexican-Americans (p. 13).

Interestingly enough other minority groups have also experienced this attitude, as evidenced by the back-to-Africa movement of blacks and the internment of Japanese Americans.

Today the issue is further complicated by the racial factor, and the contemporary ethnic minority issue is similar only in the sense that the new minorities are attempting to recover the various freedoms the earlier immigrants let slip through their fingers. Multicultural education is seen as a means for realizing this goal.

Review of Literature on Multicultural Education

This review of literature is limited to discernable strategies developed for multicultural education in various school settings. The purpose is to identify assumptions which seem to underlie the strategies and extrapolate possible components for the development of multicultural curriculum.

A recent study by Washburn (1974) delineates the numbers and types of multicultural educational approaches being used in the United States

public schools. He mailed a questionnaire to seven hundred and fifteen school districts whose student populations exceeded ten thousand and found:

Responses to the questionnaire indicate that many of the large public school districts of the country are making a multifaceted attempt to enhance cross-cultural understanding through education. A large proportion, 72.5% of the districts responding have introduced ethnic studies into their academic curricula Most who have done so say that their programs are less than four years old. Many schools include human relations training for teachers in an effort to enhance teacher's understanding of themselves and sensitize them to the needs and feelings of others. It appears also that these schools are making an effort to include the community in decisions which affect school policy as well as attempting a strong school-community public relations effort. Almost half of the school districts include inservice training in multicultural education so that teachers may be better prepared to reach and teach students whose cultural backgrounds may be different from their own as well as teach about the diverse cultures of the peoples of the United States.

Lest we become too sanguine about the efforts made on behalf of multicultural education in the United States, however, it must be recognized that those school districts most likely to reply to questions concerning the practices they use to promote crosscultural understanding are the ones who feel that they have adequate programs in this regard. In order to make a more accurate assessment of the conditions of multicultural education in this country, additional analysis is necessary (p. 18).

The findings of Washburn are depicted in Table II. Table II shows the percent of school districts responding to the survey and the diversity of different practices to promote multicultural education. The importance of this study is that it illustrates the variety of approaches to multicultural education. The approaches identified in the Washburn study are corroborated by the annotated bibliography published by The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education on Multicultural

TABLE II

PRACTICES USED TO PROMOTE CROSS-CULTURAL
UNDERSTANDING: ALL DISTRICTS RESPONDING
(N=397)

Practices	Employing Practice
An Ethnic Studies Curriculum	72.5
Human Relations Training for Teachers	66.8
Community Involvement in School Policy Decisions	61.5
A Strong School-Community Public Relations Effort	52.9
Inservice Teacher Training in Multicultural Education	49.4
Student Involvement in Curriculum Planning	44.8
Instruction in Spanish as a Second Language	43.8
Student Involvement in School Policy Decisions	40.6
Inter-Racial Student Council	37.0
A Multicultural Curriculum	36.0
Instruction in English as a Second Language	34.0
Human Relations Training for Students	32.0
A Professional Staffed Community Relations Office	29.2
A Community Centered Instructional Program	26.7
A Bilingual Curriculum	26.2
A Professionally Staffed Human Relations Team	22.9
A Student Human Relations Council	21.2
A Bicultural Curriculum	17.4
A Multilingual Curriculum	7.8
Instruction in Standard English as a Second Dialect	5.8
Instruction in Asian Language(s) as Second Language(s)	4.5
Instruction in Native American Language(s) as Second Language(s)	2.3

Education and Ethnic Studies in the United States - An Analysis and Annotated Bibliography of Selected Documents in ERIC (1976).

The most common reference to multicultural education in the literature is primarily in terms of ethnic studies and concerns teaching students about the different ethnic and cultural groups in the United States. This approach focuses on modifying the curriculum content to reflect multicultural needs. This means that the courses offered in the schools are either changed by adding new content or by changing existing content to reflect new information and methods. Additional approaches to multicultural education include Human Relations Training, Bilingual/Bicultural Education, Anthropology courses, and Community Control.

These approaches require additional training of teachers so that they may acquire the knowledge, skills, and attitudes associated with multicultural education. As a consequence, many teacher training and inservice programs have been developed to compensate for these teacher deficiencies.

In addition, community involvement through development of models for community based multicultural education programs are found in the literature on multicultural education.

Modifying the curriculum content, teacher training and inservice programs, and community based multicultural education programs represent major efforts to develop multicultural education curricula. The purposes, methods, and assumptions of these three categories will be examined. On the basis of the literature reviewed, assumptions and goals for multicultural education are inferred.

Ethnic and Multiethnic Studies

In 1970 the conference of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development emphasized ethnic studies as a means of improving the self-concepts and cultural identities of ethnic minority students. In addition, conference participants proposed the integration of ethnic studies into the areas of history, art, literature and music of the school's curricula and modification of instructional materials to reflect the contributions and roles of all minority cultures in this country (Dunfee, 1970). The purpose of the conference was to explore ways of supplementing or enriching the existing curriculum to meet the needs of specific ethnic groups. Most of the current approaches to ethnic studies use this tactic. Courses such as Black Studies or Chicano Studies are offered to supplement the standard curricular offerings (Rosen, 1974). However, most of these studies are often described as attempts to appease vocal minority group demands, rather than to promote better understanding between majority and minority groups (Cortes, 1976). Another limitation indicated by the Washburn (1974, p. 21) study was "in only a small portion of the districts queried are all or most of the students touched by ethnic studies."

Along with ethnic studies efforts are also channeled into altering the instructional materials used in existing courses which contain negative stereotypes about the various cultural groups. In addition, development of guidelines for assessing these materials' sensitivity to different cultural groups abound (Banks et al., 1976; Council on International Books for Children, 1974). Implicit in these guidelines is the suggestion that ethnic studies should be introduced within a

a supporting framework of concepts that are universal in their experiences, i.e., colonization, oppression, prejudice, alienation, or assimilation. Some make recommendations that materials be either written or reviewed by members of the cultural groups being discussed. Rosen (1974, p. 54) cites numerous materials on ethnic studies that have incorporated such guidelines, and cautions that "a few are taking advantage of the new market and promoting what has been called 'ethnic junk'." Perhaps the most significant drawback to the ethnic studies approach is that they only succeeded in exchanging one ethnocentric frame of reference for another. Consequently, efforts were channeled into the development of multiethnic studies. Multiethnic studies then became the preferred mode of promoting multicultural education:

. . . multi-group approaches to ethnic studies should include the study of many groups on a comparative basis, investigating common problems and crucial differences. They should demonstrate such basic concepts as ethnicity, identity, discrimination, integration, assimilation, accommodation, amalgamation, acculturation, pluralism, marginality and others. This treatment includes the richness of cultural diversity, the role and contributions of both white and nonwhite cultural groups, and the expression of ethnicity in American life (p. 48).

The major proponent of multiethnic studies, James Banks (1975), has developed an interdisciplinary curriculum approach to ethnic studies which incorporates generalizations drawn from the experiences of the many ethnic groups represented in the United States. Banks envisions teaching these concepts within a spiral curriculum design.

Bilingual/Bicultural Education

Historically the education of students whose language spoken at home is not English, as is the case with many Chicanos and other non-

English speaking Americans, has been to increase their proficiency in the English Language (Tiereman, 1951; Manuel, 1965). The assumption was that if these children would just not speak Spanish, or some other non-English language, and speak more English they would automatically do well in school. If their native language is to be used, it would only be used to translate those English words the children do not understand until their command of English reached a high enough level that all subject matter could be learned in English. The simplistic solution proposed resulted in the development of English as a Second Language program designed to provide the non-English speaking students with intensive English language instruction (Anderson and Boyer, 1970).

The primary purpose of English as a Second Language instruction was to make the student functional in English so that they could do well in school (Carter, 1970). The negative consequences of English as a Second Language are manifested in regulations against the use of Spanish or other non-English language in school which, as observed by this investigator, were in many cases rigorously enforced. Concept formation and academic achievement of non-English speaking students was not significantly improved. To counteract these and other negative effects, bilingual/bicultural education was introduced.

The main assumption of bilingual/bicultural instruction is that the student learns best in his/her vernacular and that basic skills and concepts should be taught in the language in which the student has the most proficiency (Garcia, 1977). Although there are indications that a student's concept formation and academic achievement increases with this approach, the erroneous assumption is made that because the child is Chicano, or from another ethnic group, his/her language strength is in Spanish, or some other native language, rather than

in English (Ulibarri, 1968). Often this is not the case and this false assumption may have a deleterious effect on academic achievement and concept formation. Additionally, while bilingual education may allow greater participation in the same educational programs, it uses the same inappropriate methodology or approach; the difference being the literal translation of the English curriculum into another language. Poor instruction is not improved when given in another language, it may just be better camouflaged. Carter (1970) warns:

There is a danger that we may not understand all the ramifications of the meaning of bilingual education, as assuming naively that it means little more than English as a second language. Once we have programs labeled bilingual-bicultural, organization may be forgotten. If this occurs, we may merely translate an inadequate English curriculum, laden with untruths, exaggerations, and functional values into the other language (p. 30).

In essence, bilingual/bicultural education is basically a language program based on the notion that the non-English speaker has a language problem. However, the extent to which the non-English speaker has a language problem is to the degree that certain concepts, ideas, attitudes, and knowledge cannot be expressed in the non-English language. The position taken by this investigator is expressed by Jaramillo (1972): "Bilingual education is another trick of the educational system to stall for time in order to perpetuate the status quo."

Bilingual/bicultural programs are used in school settings whose population consists of cultural groups whose languages are different.

Selection of goals and objectives are based on the cultural traditions of both groups, and subject matter content is taught in either of the languages represented (Anderson and Boyer, 1970). The rationale for this is that the majority culture would benefit from the program

by becoming bilingual thereby gaining a deeper appreciation of a culture other than their own. The impetus for bilingual/bicultural education is seen in the form of federal legislation requiring states to implement bilingual/bicultural instruction in schools where there are large numbers of non-English speakers (Garcia, 1976).

Human Relations Training

The purpose of introducing human relations into the schools is to help students develop strong self-concepts and a healthier level of mutual understanding and respect for all cultural groups. Training focuses on the individual's values and attempts to alert them about the prejudices they inadvertently harbor about others (Rosen, 1974). The learning experiences help students communicate their feelings and ideas openly and reflect on the impact of their behavior on others. Oftentimes, these learning experiences are supplemented with counseling components (Grevious, 1968). One example of an intergroup relations curriculum uses a sequence of expanding communities to illustrate both individual and group similarities and differences (Gibson, 1969).

However, because human relations training has been criticized for its potential to polarize people between right and wrong values and to create new stereotypes and prejudices by emphasizing differences, it is not seen as a complete approach to multicultural education (Rosen, 1974).

Anthrolopology Courses

The primary purpose of anthropology seems to be in teaching

students to acquire basic anthropological concepts and skills, and an anthropological perspective required to investigate their own and other cultures (Wolcott, 1967). The controversial Man: A Course of Study illustrates this type of course.

In addition, many schools have developed their own anthropology courses, e.g., A Program for High School Social Studies: Anthropology (Haviland, 1969) and A Junior High Anthropology Program (Jones, 1973). There are also two Anthropology Curriculum Study Projects sponsored by the American Anthropology Association. One is located at the University of Georgia, the other is taught at the University of Chicago. Both organizations publish a newsletter in which various programs are described.

The Cultural Literacy Laboratory (1973) developed at the University of Arizona uses a "cultural shock" approach to facilitate change in prospective teachers' cross-cultural perceptions; also included is an instrument to assess cultural orientation.

Another means of developing cross-cultural sensitivity is through Bilingual/Bicultural Teacher Education. It is anticipated that through these programs teachers would develop better communication skills by learning about the similarities and differences between their language and the language(s) of their students (Zintz et al., 1971).

In addition to these programs there are a variety of materials for teachers to use in teaching and understanding ethnic minority students (Forbes, 1972, 1973a, 1973b).

Another approach to teacher training for multicultural education has been outlined by a committee of the American Association of Colleges

for Teacher Education (Hunter, 1974). This is a competency based model of teacher education, in which members of the most influential cultural minorities in the United States identified specific competencies which they felt teachers need in order to effectively work with students from their particular cultural groups. In addition, competencies for all teachers in a culturally diverse society are proposed. These competencies include understanding the psychological and sociocultural process of human growth and development, planning and preparing for instruction, performing instructional functions, performing assessment functions, displaying pupil achievement and relating interpersonally (Hunter, 1974). In competency based teacher training programs teachers are required to demonstrate achievement of competencies before they are certified. In the case where a teacher would be working with students of one or more different cultural groups, they would additionally have to show competencies with regard to the teaching of those specific cultural groups.

Community Control

Demands for community control of schools stem from findings of the Coleman Report (1966) concerning ethnic minority students' (specifically blacks) sense of control of their environment. The Coleman findings indicate that ethnic minority students who had a strong sense of control of their environment did better in school than those who did not (Coleman et al., 1966). Major efforts to enhance this sense of control focus on self-development and racial-ethnic cohesion through community control of the schools (Mosteller and Moynihan, 1972).

Consequently, demands are voiced that materials, curricula,

teaching methods and basic value orientations of the schools be reflective of the local community and the society. One way this can be done is to include representative members of the various socio-economic, racial, and ethnic groups of the community in the decision making process of the school (Washburn, 1975; Sizemore, 1975).

Most advocates of community control of schools feel that the present schooling experience is destructive to the ethnic minority student's self-concept and growth. Furthermore, the schooling experience is seen as irrelevant to the experiences and educational requirements of ethnic minority students. The implications are that in order to succeed in school, the school must reflect the socio-economic and socio-cultural factors in the community. In this regard, Nimnicht and others (1973) proposed an approach based on "the family's ability to attend" and the "school's ability to respond" to the needs of ethnic minority students. According to this view, major barriers to the family's ability to attend to their children's needs are socio-political in nature rather than educational. The focus would be primarily on social institutions other than the school to provide such services as: adequate health care for expectant mothers and their families, minimum adequate diet, an adequate living environment and neighborhood, and adequate adult-child interaction through day care centers or monetary support to enable the parent to stay home and care for the child.

With regard to the school's ability to respond to the educational needs of ethnic minority students, the major barrier is identified as a biased ethnocentric attitude reflected in the school's materials, curriculum, teaching methods, and basic value orientation.

This attitude is viewed as destructive to the ethnic minority student's self-concept and prevents the school from responding with appropriate curricula.

Dobson and Dobson (1976) propose a Family Involvement Communication System (FICS) to enhance the academic, social, and emotional growth of children. The FICS model seeks to involve parents and other community members in active roles as volunteers and/or paraprofessionals working with school personnel and other parents to enhance the educational growth of children.

The model consists of two major interacting components; 1) a community or public school based outreach and contact program, and (2) a university based support system. The model advocates a grass roots approach in that the university based support system does not identify the needs of the community but serves to provide the services indicated by the community.

In addition, the FICS model provides inservice training and learning experiences for families, school personnel, community residents and university personnel in involvement and communication skills to enhance the academic, social, and emotional growth of children.

Teacher Training

Advocates of multicultural education contend that teachers, as significant others in the lives of students, are indispensable to multicultural education. For without teachers who are adequately trained to teach multicultural education, such programs are doomed to failure (Banks, 1977; Dickman, 1973; Rosen, 1974). This contention is based on the findings of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1973)

that:

The heart of the educational process is in the interaction between teacher and student. It is through this interaction that the school system makes its major impact upon the child. The way the teacher interacts with the student is a major determinant of the quality of education the child receives (p. 3).

Although the components for multicultural teacher education are referred to by various labels, they consist of three major components: knowledge, attitudes, and skills (Banks, 1976; Baker, 1974; Aragon, 1973).

The knowledge component concerns acquisition of information regarding the cultural experiences, value systems, and historical traditions of various ethnic groups. The attitude component refers to developing positive attitudes and feelings toward cultural differences. The skill component concerns creating and maintaining a humane learning environment through the acquisition of interpersonal relations skills, analyzing and evaluating learning climates, and instructional materials.

In a more comprehensive effort, the Los Angeles Unified School District initiated a multicultural education program which took a "MAD" (Multiple Adoption Design) approach (Prescott et al., 1972). Modification of the curriculum, magnet schools, extracurricular activities, teacher training, community workshops and community involvement on committees, and curriculum development were all implemented concurrently to promote intercultural understanding and to aid in the desegregation of schools. Their planning design includes specific objectives for each program, a time line for funding and completion, responsibilities of the various cooperating groups in each

program, different levels of community involvement for evaluating the program. Data on the success of this massive effort unfortunately were unavailable.

The international studies aspect of multicultural education will not be discussed as focus of these studies is of a global nature. This investigator feels that there are enough problems trying to establish the status of minorities as first-class citizens and that to focus on Internationals would only serve to divert attention from the relevant issues. An example from this investigator's experience is cited at an institution of higher education, "Affirmative Action" has been perverted to mean that anyone with a foreign sounding name or appearance is hired. As a consequence, many opportunities are being denied Americans and are going to non-Americans.

Culture and Multicultural Education

Since culture is implied by multicultural education, it is imperative to examine literature pertaining to the concept of culture and determine its application to multicultural education. The strongest claims on the concept of culture are made by anthropologists, who include it as one of their key concepts. A review of anthropological literature reveals that culture is not an easy concept to define. Anthropologists emphasize different aspects of culture and continue to search for a precise focus and meaning. This can be readily determined by an examination of the work of Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952), who cite over one hundred and sixty definitions of culture. Thus, only some of the basic considerations with regard to such a complex concept

will be considered.

E. B. Tylor (1913, p. 1) who is considered to be the founder of Anthropology, defines culture as: ". . . that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and many other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."

Leslie A. White (1959, p. 3) refers to culture as ". . . an extrasomatic, temporal continuum of things and events dependent upon symboling." While George D. Spindler (1963) defines culture as:

A traditionally patterned, shared system of beliefs about reality that reassures the individual that life is worthwhile, that he knows the truth, and that by following the truth as he knows it he will be protected by his group and by his gods (p. 30).

Most definitions of culture stress the fact that culture is the totality of the human way of life as distinguished from animal life. The basis for the argument is that nonhuman living organisms are limited because their behavioral patterns are largely built-in, i.e., instinctive. In contrast, humans combine social and genetic capabilities in learning the techniques and ideas from other members of their group. "The habits that are acquired by youngsters are part of their culture. In one sense, the habits are the culture" (Bohannon, 1963, p. 18). As a result of a long period of dependency, children are culturally conditioned, i.e., learn the behavioral patterns of their family. It is in this manner that patterned group behavior, i.e., cultural differences, are maintained. Although it is explicitly stated that individual differences do exist, individuality is limited by the degree it deviates from the group's culture. This implies a type of "cultural heredity" as can be inferred from Bohannon (1963):

Culture, as it is acquired with the growth of personality, becomes the medium of that personality. You cannot swim without water, and water is the medium of swimming; you cannot paint a picture without paint, and the paint becomes the medium for expressing the message of the picture. They are, at one level, the same thing. At another level, they are distinct because they have been viewed with completely different purposes and techniques (pp. 20-21).

In general, however, anthropologists agree that the significant cultural elements of human existence are primarily ideational. The things that count are ideas, meaning, and purposes. For example, holy water, in addition to being a liquid that exists in nature, acquires its meaning from the culture. Although culture is mainly abstract it is a fundamental part of human reality.

When this discussion of the concept of culture is coupled with the review of literature on multicultural education, it becomes apparent that the emphasis is on the products of culture rather than on culture as a process. The ideas, meanings, or purposes, which are the essential cultural elements are all but ignored. This emphasis on culture as a product of human creations such as: paintings, music, literature, dance, language, etc., exemplifies the prevalent orientation to multicultural education and has been manifested in educational programs concerned with a particular ethnic group's culture and heritage. As a consequence, educators' efforts have been directed toward developing teaching strategies, materials, and curricula that are adaptable to different ethnic minority cultural groups. These efforts rapidly become overwhelming when one considers the number of groups involved and the possibility of generalizing the data, materials, the motivational styles and teaching techniques for one ethnic group, let alone from one group to another. For example, the

motivational styles applicable to Indian children will vary depending upon: 1) whether they live in a pueblo or not, 2) the formal educational attainment of the parents, 3) the nature of the parents' occupation, 4) the degree of native language utilization at home, 5) the degree of emphasis that the parents have placed on their children's education, and 6) the nature of the peer group with whom the individual associates. In this sense, differences within the ethnic group may be greater than the differences between groups, especially if one holds constant the student's economic base and environmental background (Ulibarri, 1970).

Research by Ramirez and Castenada (1974) illustrates the degree of variation within Chicano barrios in the same community. What is currently being perceived as "cultural differences" between groups may be nothing more than accommodation of individuals within a group to a changing society.

It is this preoccupation with the "cultural differences" of particular ethnic groups that merely exchanges one stereotype for another and allows completion of phrases, such as Chicanos are _____, blacks are _____, Native Americans are _____, and so on in which the blank is filled in with a positive stereotype rather than a negative one.

This if-then linear stereotypical thinking is detrimental to the development of the individual within the group and serves to place multicultural education in the arena of rhetoric. The goals of multicultural education as referred to in the AACTE position statement (1973) Banks et al., 1973, are affective ones. Multicultural education is concerned with a mixture of cognitive and affective learning with an emphasis on the side of the affect. The purpose of multicultural

education is to make the unconscious, conscious; to concentrate on the attitudes we internalize as individuals which are the real barriers to the achievement of the goals of multicultural education.

Respect for others cannot be learned by cognitive means, but it can be learned when facts and concepts are combined with methods to aid a change in thinking. Thus, multicultural education is more a matter of creating basic attitudes so that we may relate to each other as human beings in a dehumanizing society. Multicultural education is, essentially, the freeing of persons from the parochialness (cultural conditioning) of their specific times and places and opening up possibilities for persons to create themselves and their society. It is in this sense that everyone is a "self-made man."

Multicultural education becomes a manifestation of the persistent struggle against power and prejudice; an attempted expression of the equality, liberty, and fraternity of man, and the pursuit of social justice. In this sense multicultural education is an attempt to institutionalize, within the educational system, the democratic ideals upon which this country was founded./ This suggests that ethnic and racial minorities are attempting to ensure their rights as Americans by establishing patterns of behavior that express their culture, values, and life styles. This is no easy process and is complicated by the evolving nature of our society; a society that seems to be evolving from one that considers democracy as an ideal to one that is struggling to make it a reality. As Selakovich (1973) states:

American society has reached a stage in its development where it must deliver on its promise of democracy. The great democratic values--equality, liberty, freedom, and justice--can no longer be considered abstract ideals, but must be considered as working guidelines--platforms for action (p. 38).

Acceptance of this perspective, and if one subscribes to the belief that schools reflect rather than shape our society, makes implementation of educational experiences which are relative to the individual's frame of reference an imperative for our times.

The challenge for schools then becomes not the transmission of the cultural heritage of different ethnic groups, but rather to develop the competencies in process skills and concomitant values associated with problem solving and decision making necessary for effective functioning in a society characterized by rapid change.

Thus, multicultural education is not minority education nor education for the culturally disadvantaged or deprived, it is education for the creation of a new social order, characterized by the acceptance of diversity and its significance in directing societal change. Acceptance of this diversity is critical in an era where decisions often are made between two "rights."

CHAPTER IV

IMPLICATIONS FOR CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

The implications for curriculum will be inferred from the following assumptions generated from the data presented in Chapters II and III:

- 1) The primary issue is of an economic nature and must be dealt with in the socio-political arena.
- 2) The school's role in the society is active rather than passive.
- 3) Equal educational opportunity not only means equal access and equal resources but unequal treatment as far as socially relevant differences and educational experiences are concerned.
- 4) The current rhetoric of multicultural education has its origin in federal legislative efforts designed to maintain domestic tranquility or the status quo.
- * 5) The cultural deprivation perspective on which compensatory education is based is a prejudicial and ethnocentric attitude.
- * 6) Language development that is relative to the individual's socio-cultural and socio-economic status should be an integral part of the educational experience.
- 7) Strategies to ameliorate the deleterious effects associated

with low-income are mainly socio-political in nature.

- * 8) Strategies should focus on enabling parents to maintain their dignity in attending to their children's needs.
- * 9) The assessment criteria currently used in the schools should be relative to the individual's economic base and socio-cultural environment.
- * 10) The thrust of multicultural education is to change the school to reflect the students socio-cultural and socio-economic environment rather than changing the student to "fit" the school.
- + 11) Community involvement in the school's decision-making process is a critical factor.
- 12) Students must be free to create their own positive self-concept and respect for other groups' cultural perspectives.
- * 13) Bilingual/Bicultural instruction may be required for students whose primary language is not English.
- 14) Students learning experiences must include both affective and cognitive aspects of learning with the emphasis on the affective.
- * 15) A variety of inputs from inside and outside the school environment may be required for effective resolution of problems.
- 16) Awareness of contemporary ethnic conditions should be incorporated into the school's curricula.
- * 17) Students and others must be free to become aware of their own cultural conditioning and its effect on others.
- * 18) The school has a responsibility to serve the needs of the

community.

- 19) Multicultural education is more concerned with the formulation of attitudes rather than with the preservation of various cultural problems.
- 20) Multicultural education is an attempt to institutionalize a different power structure in the schools which gives all groups concerned equal respect and decision-making power.

The assumptions can be further grouped into two categories: those that imply a socio-political dimension and those that imply a pedagogical dimension. The resultant grouping is represented in Figure 2.

It is worth noting that the assumptions under the pedagogical dimension are not so much concerned with the interaction between the student and some cultural content as they are with the interaction between students and significant others within the school setting. This suggests that curriculum development for multicultural education encompass these two dimensions in an interdependent and dynamic manner. The suggestion implies that curriculum development as it applies to multicultural education is a much broader enterprise than that envisioned by most curriculum theorists. Their primary concern seems to focus on the sources and components of curriculum as a basis for decision-making. Preoccupation with the mechanics of curriculum has resulted in neglect of the dynamics of curriculum and the socio-political forces that affect its implementation and, most importantly, its change. Connelly (1970) alludes to this when he states:

Little has been learned about development processes from curriculum development projects. We do not have even the rudimentary taxonomy of curriculum developments as these: what organization of

SOCIO-POLITICAL DIMENSION

- 1) The primary issue is of an economic nature
- 2) The school's role is active rather than passive
- 3) Equal educational opportunity means equal access and resources; and unequal treatment with regard to socially relevant differences and educational experiences
- 4) Multicultural education has its origin in federal legislative efforts
- 5) The cultural deprivation perspective is an ethnocentric attitude
- 6) Strategies to ameliorate effects of low-income are socio-political
- 7) Strategies should focus on enabling parents to maintain their dignity in attending to their children's needs
- 8) The thrust of multicultural education is to change the school rather than changing the student
- 9) A variety of inputs may be necessary for effective resolution of problems
- 10) Schools have a responsibility to serve the needs of the community
- 11) Multicultural education is an attempt to institutionalize a different power structure in the schools
- 12) Community involvement in the school's decision-making process is critical.

PEDAGOGICAL DIMENSION

- 1) Language development is an integral part of the educational experience
- 2) Assessment criteria should be relative to the student's economic base and socio-political environment
- 3) The thrust of multicultural education is to change the school rather than changing the student
- 4) Students need to develop positive self-concepts and respect for other groups' culture
- 5) Bilingual/Bicultural instruction may be required for students whose primary language is not English
- 6) Both the affective and cognitive domains of learning must be considered with an emphasis on the affective
- 7) A variety of inputs may be necessary for effective resolution of problems
- 8) Teachers have an obligation to incorporate an awareness of contemporary ethnic conditions into their curriculum
- 9) Students and others must be free to develop self-awareness of one's own cultural conditioning and its effect on others
- 10) Multicultural education is more concerned with the formation of attitudes rather than with the preservation of various cultural products

Figure 2. Dimensions for Multicultural Education Curriculum Development

personnel is most suitable to maintain an idea throughout development; when and under what conditions different actors perform best; what the critical decision points are; and whether different patterns of decision give different outcomes (p. 165).

Kirst and Walker (1971) substantiate this further by indicating that existing literature in curriculum development deals almost exclusively with decisions about curriculum construction and curriculum implementation to the neglect of curriculum development. They claim that this results in almost all curriculum development being approached from a rational, scientific or human relations point of view concerned primarily with the resolution of conflicts on the basis of analysis, reason, and principle. In addition, they purport that rarely is curriculum viewed as a policymaking activity and almost never is it placed in the context of political policymaking.

The views of Connelly, Kirst, and Walker are corroborated by Pellegrin's (1966) analysis of the sources and processes of innovation in curriculum. Pellegrin suggests that not only is curriculum influenced by political events, but that it may be a political process. He concludes that:

. . . the greatest stimuli to changes in education originate in sources external to this field. What I have shown is that the sources of innovation lie largely outside the education profession (p. 15).

Examples of this can be drawn from earlier decades of this country. When immigration was a national political issue, the school's curriculum emphasized "Americanization." During the cold war the launching of the Russian Sputnik challenged America, and curricula for scientific competence were quickly developed and implemented to meet this challenge. These and other examples, as indicated in the text of Chapter

II, serve to illustrate that national political issues have in fact significantly affected the school's curriculum and curriculum development for a long period of time. As a consequence, curriculum development for multicultural education must encompass both the socio-political and the pedagogical aspects of curriculum development.

Since most curriculum theorists almost unanimously indicate confusion as the current state of curriculum development, any conceptualization as to the nature of the curriculum should attempt to determine and take into account the various sources, forces, and components of the curriculum. Therefore in approaching an overwhelmingly complex activity such as curriculum development, it is necessary to impose some kind of simplified pattern on the interacting forces, sources, and components of the curriculum enterprise if some perspective on meaning is to be developed.

As a consequence, these factors have been converged into three dynamic interrelated processes: 1) curriculum development, 2) curriculum construction, and 3) curriculum implementation. Curriculum development refers to the processes that determine curriculum construction which in turn refers to the decision making processes that determine the nature and design of the curriculum. Curriculum implementation refers to processes involved in institutionalization and revising the curriculum produced by curriculum construction and development (Beauchamp, 1964). Thus, multicultural curriculum development consists of these three interdependent dynamic processes. The organization of these processes is presented schematically in Figure 3. A brief discussion of the dynamics of the three components of curriculum may serve to suggest possible guidelines for multicultural curriculum

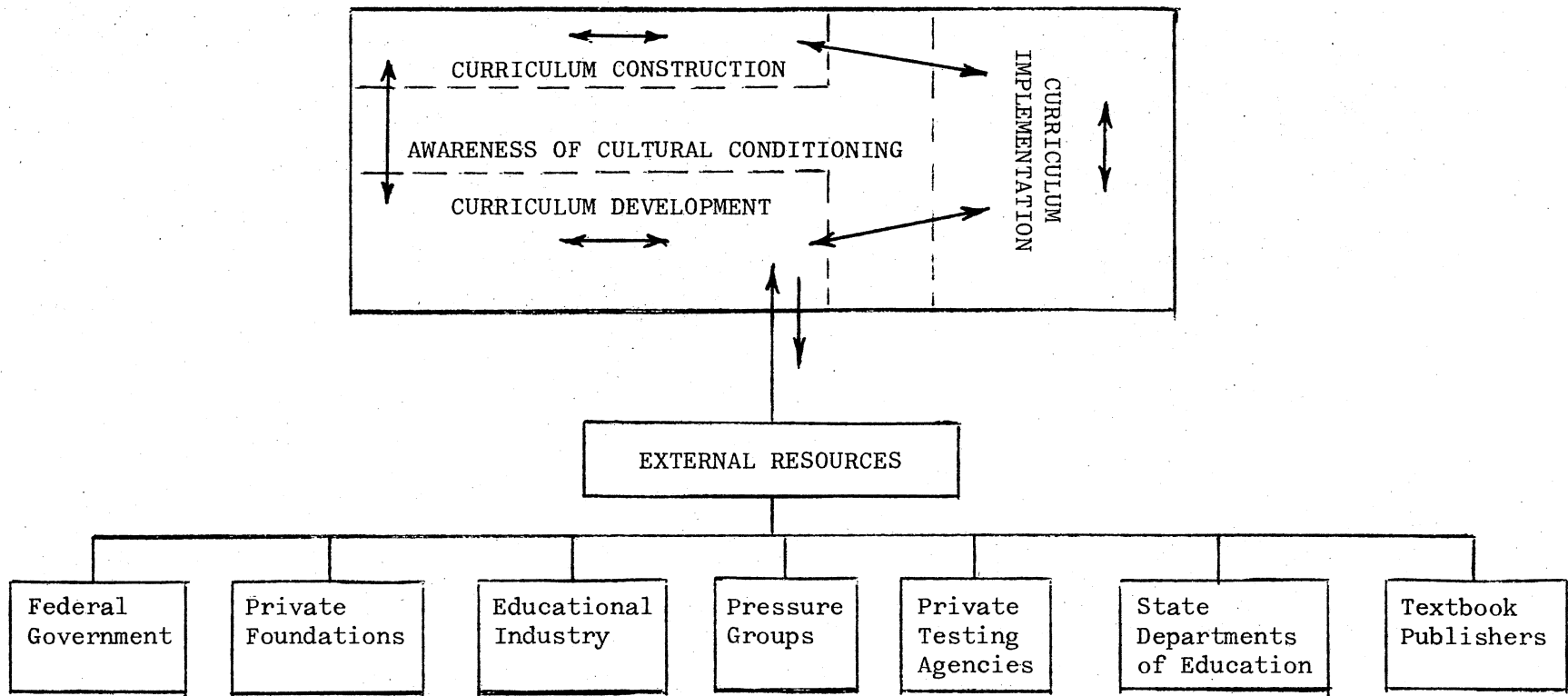


Figure 3. Components of Multicultural Education

development. However, the tentative and exploratory nature of the discussion must be kept in mind. The basis for the discussion is drawn from the works of Dobson and Dobson (1976) and Sizemore (1973).

The curriculum development committee of the curriculum development component will consist of community members, parents, students, teachers, and administrators. Criteria for the selection of people to serve on this and other related committees should reflect the various socio-economic levels, socio-cultural groups, and value orientations found in the school and its community.

A subcommittee of the curriculum development component, composed of student representatives and teacher representatives from each discipline, will meet independently of the other groups and make the initial decisions concerning their needs. Since this subgroup is composed of representatives from larger groups, each representative should collect data from their respective groups on which to base their decisions. This tactic is also applicable to other subgroups within this component.

The decision arrived at by the student and teacher committee is documented, submitted to the remainder of the members comprising the curriculum development component, and made public to the entire school body and community. The curriculum development members then meet and either approve or disapprove the request. This decision is then documented and made public, indicating reasons for approval or disapproval. If the request is approved the process moves on to the curriculum construction component.

The curriculum construction component is primarily composed of university professors and local school personnel knowledgeable in

curriculum construction. The function of this group would be to design a curriculum based on the wants, desires of the clients as transmitted from the curriculum development component, and what is currently known about curriculum construction and the disciplines.

The product of this component's deliberations is documented, made public, and submitted for feedback from the members of the curriculum development component. The decision regarding the product is then documented and made public. Depending on the decision, the product is either recycled to the curriculum construction component for revision or aborted.

The final component of the process is a joint venture of all parties involved and will be a continual process of refinement sustained by support gained from the documented commitments made during the curriculum development and construction process.

Interspersed throughout and occurring simultaneously in the entire process should be training to increase awareness of one's own cultural conditioning through social interaction. The work of Dahm (1972) and Rogers (1967) might prove instrumental in this regard.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of Investigation

The purpose of this investigation was to determine (1) what is meant by multicultural education, 2) its purpose, 3) its relationship to the concept of culture, and 4) implications for curriculum development. Collection of data has been limited to the effects of certain historical events on education for minorities, the nature of multicultural education as presented in the literature, and an overview of the concept of culture.

The investigation revealed the emergence of two phases in the education of ethnic minority children: 1) The Classical phase and 2) the Watershed phase.

The Classical phase began with attempts to establish schools for children in states where there was no provision for their public education. Consequently, efforts focused on removing social, economic, and geographical barriers that prevented capable ethnic minority students from taking advantage of their inborn ability which entitles them to due social promotion. The underlying premise of these efforts was that by providing equal access--by putting everyone on scratch--the ensuing scramble for positions would be fair and those who did not make it had only themselves to blame. Thus, all students were exposed to the same curriculum and little provision was made to take into account the

needs and experiential background of ethnic minority students (Cordova, 1974).

Later, when attempts were made to take the needs and experiential backgrounds of ethnic minority students into account, they were channeled predominantly into vocational programs. This was followed by efforts to ensure that schools attended by ethnic minority students were equal in terms of inputs to those attended by other students.

This classical conceptualization of education for ethnic minority children prevailed until it was challenged by the federal government, initially through the 1954 Brown decision and later by the Coleman Report of 1966. These events signify the present Watershed phase's inception.

Prior to these events, the federal government's role in educational matters had been peripheral, concerned mainly with legislation focused on inequalities in tangible input variables. However, the Brown decision and the Coleman Report accelerated the federal government's direct involvement principally in the education of ethnic minority children, and of all children in general, through various legislation. The outcome of this direct involvement has been compensatory education programs.

The main strategy of compensatory education programs was to provide funding to school districts with concentrations of students from low-income families. The underlying premise seems to be that money will take care of the perceived problem. The rationale for compensatory education is based on a pathological view of ethnic minority students (Arciniega, 1977). The focus is on what must be done to compensate for "disadvantages" or "cultural deprivations" stemming from ethnic

minority students' homes, peer group, and general environment. The solution proposed was to intervene in the preschool and early school experiences of ethnic minority students by offering catch-up activities or concentrated doses of appropriate stimulation in an attempt to bring their development level closer to that of their middle and upper income peers.

However, there is another perspective which emphasizes placing the responsibility for ethnic minority student success on the school if equality of educational opportunity is to be achieved. This perspective seems mainly concerned with assessment criteria used for judging school success, the right to intervene, and the school's failure to develop programs that are appropriate for ethnic minority students.

From this perspective, the problem of ethnic minority students' academic underachievement is not due to the "cultural deprivations" ascribed to the student's home, peer group, or neighborhood, but with the school. The school's role is seen as making full use of cultural differences so as to ensure successful performance by ethnic minority students in school. This is the view subscribed to by proponents of multicultural education and has given rise to an emphasis on the positive aspects of ethnic minority students' culture, environment, and cultural differences between people.

There are a variety of descriptions and approaches to multicultural education. These approaches include: community involvement in decision-making processes of the school; teacher training programs to help teachers acquire the requisite knowledge, skills, and attitudes for teaching ethnic minority students; and modification of the curriculum's content by introduction of ethnic content or

anthropological content.

The basis for multicultural education seems to center on the philosophy of cultural pluralism espoused in the early part of this century. In contemporary society, this is being interpreted with a view toward the mutual coexistence of different ethnic minority cultural groups, who share equal economic, political, and social status (Hazard and Stent, 1973). However, because of the implicit assumption that the individual's fate is determined by his/her ethnic group membership, cultural pluralism may nurture separatist inclinations. This may have adverse effects for the future of multicultural education as it may follow the same fate of earlier compensatory education programs, as indicated by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1967):

The compensatory programs reviewed here appear to suffer from the deficit inherent in attempting to solve problems stemming in part from racial and social class in school which themselves are isolated by race and social class (p. 139).

Although culture is implied by multicultural education, it appears that multicultural education is preoccupied with the products of culture and seems to neglect culture as a process, i.e., the ability to create cultural products. It is this latter aspect of culture which is the essential element of human existence. Preoccupation with culture as product results in an overemphasis on "cultural differences" between ethnic groups, merely exchanging a positive stereotype for a negative one. While granted this is a desirable direction to pursue, this "if-then" linear type of thinking may be detrimental to the development of the individual within the group, thereby restricting the individual's freedom.

The implications for curriculum development were inferred from

assumptions generated from the discussions in Chapters II and III. The assumptions revealed that multicultural education has two major dimensions: 1) a socio-political dimension, and 2) a pedagogical dimension. The socio-political dimension seems primarily concerned with alleviating the deleterious effects associated with low incomes. Implicit in this concern is the interest in the maintenance of domestic tranquility through funding of various educational programs demanded by politically vocal ethnic minority groups. The second dimension appears to be mainly concerned with eradication of the prejudicial ethnocentric attitude inherent in compensatory education programs. The primary means to accomplish this are aimed at efforts to glorify the various cultural aspects of different ethnic minority groups. While this is admittedly desirable, it may force ethnic minorities to assume a defensive posture, thereby generating more conflict between people.

It appears that multicultural education may be a mirror image of compensatory education in the sense that both programs had similar socio-political origins and pedagogical foci. In addition, both programs seem to suffer from the debilitating effects of segregation. Compensatory education programs under the guise of providing for the "special needs" of ethnic minority children while multicultural education may accomplish the same result through efforts designed to accommodate the school to the student. Both programs focused on differences between people, compensatory education in a negative way while multicultural education focused in a positive manner. Furthermore, both programs were imposed by a power elite of "experts." In compensatory education this was in the form of a top down approach, while the multicultural education approach has the appeal of grass roots democracy, in

reality it is a modified version of the top down model and may merely have exchanged one ethnocentric frame of reference for another. Additionally, both efforts focused on the same target populations. Thus, it appears that the adage of "the more things change the more they remain the same" is applicable to current multicultural education efforts.

Recommendations for Further Research

This investigation represents an initial effort to clarify a very emotional, controversial, and convoluted pressing human issue. In a rapidly changing society, solutions to pressing human problems do not come easily. Their resolution certainly requires more than the ability to react in crisis situations, for the ability to react is rapidly becoming a luxury we can no longer afford. However, there are basic procedures that can be initiated and engaged in now.

One procedure is the development of curriculum to educate students to expect, promote, and direct societal change by nurturing student's creative potential enabling them to make reasonable, intelligent decisions in a multicultural society characterized by rapid change. This procedure is proposed with the realization that any attempts to predict the future in an attempt to give some direction to educational planning is a tenuous, but necessary, endeavor. One must be wary of the temptation to stress what one thinks ought to happen at the expense of neglecting what will probably occur. Nonetheless, there can be no planning for tomorrow unless it is believed that certain conditions are more likely to prevail than others. Emerging trends that are observable today provide a basis for predicting what

is likely to happen tomorrow.

Further examination of the works of curriculum engineering theorists, such as Beauchamp (1968) may explicate and have potential for expansion of the curriculum development components and their dynamics (see Chapter IV).

Additional data sources could be examined to determine the implications of multicultural education concerning: 1) the components which must be considered in making curriculum decisions, and 2) the factors about which decisions are going to be made. The works of several curriculum theorists, Tyler, 1949; Herrick, 1950; Taba, 1962; Johnson, 1967; Dobson and Dobson, 1976, reveal that the sources of curriculum development and theorizing that determine organization and content in curriculum can be grouped into the following categories: philosophical assumptions about 1) the nature of the learner; 2) the nature of learning; 3) the nature of society; and 4) the nature of knowledge.

The components about which decisions are to be made, as referred to by these curriculum theorists can be grouped into the following categories: 1) aims, goals, objectives; 2) content; 3) learning experiences; and 4) evaluation. In addition, procedures for the selection and processes for enabling school personnel, their patrons, and students to actively contribute in the construction and implementation of curricula must be established.

The assumptions generated in this investigation might serve as

the basis for the construction of a survey to be subsequently distributed to students and educators. Other data sources should be examined to derive additional assumptions about multicultural education.

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APPENDIX

"NO ONE MODEL AMERICAN"

Multicultural education is education which values cultural pluralism. Multicultural education rejects the view that schools should seek to melt away cultural differences or the view that schools should merely tolerate cultural pluralism. Instead, multicultural education affirms that schools should be oriented toward the cultural enrichment of all children and youth through programs rooted to the preservation and extension of cultural alternatives. Multicultural education recognizes cultural diversity as a fact of life in American society, and it affirms that this cultural diversity is a valuable resource that should be preserved and extended. It affirms that major education institutions should strive to preserve and enhance cultural pluralism.

To endorse cultural pluralism is to endorse the principle that there is no one model American. To endorse cultural pluralism is to understand and appreciate the differences that exist among the nation's citizens. It is to see these differences as a positive force in the continuing development of a society which professes a wholesome respect for the intrinsic worth of every individual. Cultural pluralism is more than a temporary accommodation to placate racial and ethnic minorities. It is a concept that aims toward a heightened sense of being and of wholeness of the entire society based on the unique strengths of each of its parts.

Cultural pluralism rejects both assimilation and separatism as ultimate goals. The positive elements of a culturally pluralistic society will be realized only if there is a healthy interaction among the diverse groups which comprise the nation's citizenry. Such interaction enables all to share in the richness of America's multicultural heritage. Such interaction provides a means for coping with intercultural tensions that are natural and cannot be avoided in a growing, dynamic society. To accept cultural pluralism is to recognize that no group lives in a vacuum -- that each group exists as part of an inter-related whole.

If cultural pluralism is so basic a quality of our culture, it must become an integral part of the educational process at every level. Education for cultural pluralism includes four major thrusts: (1) the teaching of values which support cultural diversity and individual uniqueness; (2) the encouragement of the qualitative expansion of existing ethnic cultures and their incorporation into the mainstream of American socioeconomic and political life; (3) the support of

explorations in alternative and emerging life styles; and (4) the encouragement of multiculturalism, multilingualism, and multidialectism. While schools must ensure that all students are assisted in developing their skills to function effectively in society, such a commitment should not imply or permit the denigration of cultural differences.

Educational institutions play a major role in shaping the attitudes and beliefs of the nation's youth. These institutions bear the heavy task of preparing each generation to assume the rights and responsibilities of adult life. In helping the transition to a society that values cultural pluralism, educational institutions must provide leadership for the development of individual commitment to a social system where individual worth and dignity are fundamental tenets. This provision means that schools and colleges must assure that their total educational process and educational content reflect a commitment to cultural pluralism. In addition, special emphasis programs must be provided where all students are helped to understand that being different connotes neither superiority nor inferiority; programs where students of various social and ethnic backgrounds may learn freely from one another; programs that help different minority students understand who they are, where they are going, and how they can make their contribution to the society in which they live.

Colleges and universities engaged in the preparation of teachers have a central role in the positive development of our culturally pluralistic society. If cultural pluralism is to become an integral part of the educational process, teachers and personnel must be prepared in an environment where the commitment to multicultural education is evident. Evidence of this commitment includes such factors as a faculty and staff of multiethnic and multiracial character, a student body that is representative of the culturally diverse nature of the community being served, and a culturally pluralistic curriculum that accurately represents the diverse multicultural nature of American society.

Multicultural education programs for teachers are more than special courses or special learning experiences grafted onto the standard program. The commitment to cultural pluralism must permeate all areas of the educational experience provided for prospective teachers.

Multicultural education reaches beyond awareness and understanding of cultural differences. More important than the acceptance and support of these differences is the recognition of the right of these different cultures to exist. The goal of cultural pluralism can be achieved only if there is full recognition of cultural differences and an effective educational program that makes cultural equality real and meaningful. The attainment of this goal will bring a richness and quality of life that would be long step toward realizing the democratic ideals so nobly proclaimed by the founding fathers of this nation (American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1973, pp. 264-265).

VITA 2

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