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Literacy: International, National, State, and Local

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Literacy: International, National, State, and Local

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Second-Language Literacy: Functional Competence for the Future

Susan Jenkins

According to the 1991 Census, which revealed that one in four Americans now comes from a minority background, the United States is truly becoming a multicultural society. Many of these are students who speak English as a second language. In addition, there were 386,700 foreign students studying in the U.S.A. in 1989-1990 (Zikopoulous, 1991). Identifying the number of Limited English Proficient (LEP) students in elementary, secondary, higher and adult education is more difficult. Olsen (1989) tried to determine how many LEP students were enrolled in K-12 and adult education programs but found that the criteria used by states and local authorities for identifying LEP students varied considerably, with several states not even reporting data. These varying criteria prompted him to embark on a national survey, which led him to believe that 9% of students enrolled in K-12 may be LEP. Furthermore, LEP students were not all identified in the same way. Test score criteria ranged from the 22nd to the 50th percentile, with considerable variety in the type of test administered. Given such divergent standards, it is highly likely that many students are not identified as LEP although they function at a level too basic to allow them access to further education or higher job opportunities. States which tended to use a broader definition of LEP (such as Florida and New York) were estimated to have as many as 22.5% LEP students. In fact, Olsen estimated that there may be as many as three to six times more students in need of instruction than the figures reveal (Olsen, 1989, p. 478).
We are experiencing a change in the population in the education system at all levels. In 1981, one study estimated that there would be 5.1 million bilingual and non-English-speaking students aged 5 to 14 by the year 2000 (Oxford et al., 1981). In higher education, foreign nationals now outnumber U.S. citizens in graduate colleges of engineering and in computer science and mathematics. Students from South and East Asia constitute 54%, or 208,100 of the total, with China as the leading country of origin (Zikopoulos, 1991). It is likely that these numbers will continue to climb. The number of Chinese students taking the TOEFL examination in preparation for applying for overseas study rose from 26,460 in 1988 to around 100,000 in 1990 ("Chinese Student Flow," 1990). Many of these Asian students will remain to become the faculty members and business managers of the future. The same article describes the concern of the Chinese government about the very low return rate—often as low as ten percent—of students from major Chinese universities.

Obviously, we face a compelling need to develop an integrated perspective on the literacy needs of such a diverse ESL population in order that all language minorities, whether children or adults, immigrants or refugees, unschooled or higher educated, may develop the literacy skills that will meet not merely their immediate but also their future needs. Unfortunately, this task is still regarded as a "thorny issue" (Venezky, 1990, p. 13). In a Symposium at the University of Pennsylvania devoted to exploring and defining literacy, the opening paper described literacy for non-native speakers of English as "political matters best left for others to tackle" (Venezky, 1990, p. 13). Venezky was reminded by Macias (1990) that appropriate guidance is available in research that has been conducted into second-language acquisition and bilingual education if we are prepared to pay attention to it. Therefore, this paper will argue that we must define second-language literacy in light of the knowledge provided by the research, and thereby use our influence to ensure that "political" decisions affecting second-language students are also sensibly guided. I take the position that we should support and promote the National Language Policy adopted in 1988 by the Conference on College Composition and Communication. This policy is ideal for a nation of immigrants, calling as it does for full English oral and literate proficiency for both native and non-native speakers, resources to support the "legitimacy" of native languages and dialects, and the promotion of second-language proficiency for English-speaking and other monolinguals (Smitherman, 1990, p. 116). Consequently, I will attempt to summarize the relevant research on the acquisition of second-language proficiency for academic purposes by means of a developmental, or "career path," perspective to support the argument that for each population of ESL students the relevant question must be not "what do
they need now?” but “what do they need next?” Three issues will be addressed in this survey of relevant research findings: first, the relationships among language proficiency, age, and cognitive development; second, the socio-cultural influences on second-language literacy for children and adults; third, the academic tasks and standards in primary, secondary, and higher education (and beyond), for which second-language students need to be prepared. Finally, I will recommend some steps that we might consider as a course of action for ensuring that our definition of second-language literacy considers the lifetime needs of LEP children and adults, rather than the daily exigencies of situation-specific literacy.

Age of Acquisition and Cognitive Development

A major issue is whether there is an optimal age to acquire proficiency in a second language. Much of the controversy has centered on whether there is a critical period beyond which language-learning abilities decline, or atrophy. Long (1990) has reviewed the literature related to age differences and has concluded that there are “sensitive periods” for language acquisition which limit the degree of proficiency in various areas. Children who learn a second language after age 6–12 will have great difficulty in achieving native-like pronunciation. Those who begin learning in their late teens (around age 15) will likewise rarely achieve full competence in syntax and morphology. Long’s analysis supported an explanation for such differences based on the maturational constraints imposed by loss of cerebral plasticity.

However, much of the literature reviewed by Long was limited to second-language acquisition in general, often in informal environments. To determine the role of age, it is more important to focus on second-language learning in an academic environment. Collier (1987) examined how long it took 1,548 LEP students in grades K-12 to become proficient enough in English to enable them to be academically successful. The children’s achievement was measured on Science Research Associates tests in reading, language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies. Her results supported Long’s findings regarding maturational factors. The fastest achievers were children between 8 and 11 years old on arrival in the U.S. They needed from five to seven years to reach the 50th percentile. On the other hand, children aged 4 to 7, or over 12 on arrival needed 7 to 10 years to reach the same level. What is particularly significant about her study is that her subjects were limited to “advantaged” students from middle-class backgrounds in their own countries who were at grade level at the time of entry. Their parents were also clearly supportive of the role of education in social and economic advancement. Yet of these children, although some of them succeeded
in reaching national averages on the SRA tests, none met their schools’ standards of around 60th normal curve equivalent (NCE). Clearly, the academic possibilities for college entrance for these students would be limited as they competed with native speakers of English.

Following the study, Collier (1989) attempted to synthesize the available research on second-language learning for academic purposes. The few studies available supported Collier’s 1987 findings for the same age groups. The most at-risk groups were the very youngest (age 4-7) and the oldest (age 12-15). Neither group succeeded in reaching the 50th NCE on standardized tests when schooled exclusively in the second language. These results led her to conclude that cognitive development at the time a child began to learn a second language strongly affected academic achievement.

The same conclusions were reached by Saville-Troike (1984), who studied 19 children age 7 to 12 for one school year as they participated in an ESL program and regular English instruction. Her expectation was that there would be little variation in their academic achievement at the end of the year because they had all been matched initially for language proficiency and socio-economic status. However, there were wide discrepancies in the achievements of children. Saville-Troike’s explanation focused on several factors related to success in content-area schooling. In the first place, successful academic achievement could not occur without a high degree of vocabulary knowledge. Grammatical accuracy did not seem to be important, and some factors which ESL researchers had shown to be critical for general language proficiency, such as communicative competence in social interactions, were not important in content-area learning. Finally, the amount of concept learning available and accessible in the first language was of great importance in ensuring academic success.

The evidence for successful academic achievement for young LEP students points to the role of cognitive development in learning a second language. Cummins (1984; 1986) has developed a model in a series of papers that differentiates between the language used in everyday communicative situations and that needed in school learning. The former is known as basic interpersonal communication skills (or BICS) and the latter refers to cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP). The language of interpersonal communication is typically context-embedded and uses a wide range of non-linguistic features as the participants negotiate meaning (gesture, mime, facial cues, intonation, etc.). For the most part, the content of such communications is cognitively undemanding. On the other hand, school language, or CALP, is context-reduced and demands a full range of linguistic skills (syntactic complex-
ity, technical vocabulary, knowledge of co-referential ties, discourse organization, etc.). Such language is also usually cognitively demanding, increasingly so as students are promoted through the grades and move on to college. Chall (1990) has proposed that at least a 12th-grade reading level is necessary for success in the modern technological society. Her description of this level (Chall, 1990, p. 55) as "one that permits the reading of a wide variety of texts written in sophisticated, abstract language and that requires a wide range of background knowledge, critical thinking, problem-solving, and higher level processing..." exactly matches Cummins' conceptions of the demands of CALP. In a 1981 study (cited in Collier, 1989), Cummins showed that only two to three years of study were needed to develop BICS, but that CALP required five to seven years of study.

On the evidence of studies of immersion and bilingual programs, Cummins (1984) has proposed the interdependence of first and second languages, a position supported by Collier (1987, 1989), Saville-Troike (1984) and Genesee (1987). On this reasoning, the youngest children do not reach the 50th percentiles of academic achievement tests because they have not developed cognitively through their first language in CALP. In other words, they have had no opportunity to transfer the skills learned through first-language schooling. Similarly, learners who arrive after the age of 12 or so lose too much time in cognitive development and CALP as they struggle to acquire survival English and BICS. And as Collier showed, there may simply not be enough time in school for them ever to have the chance of catching up. Collier (1989) believes that at least four to seven years of dual-language cognitive development is necessary for the academic success of LEPs. Tentative support, albeit weaker, comes from a study by Carlisle (1989), who compared children in regular, bilingual, and submersion (ESL) programs. He found that the bilingual-program children did better than the submersion children on measures of syntactic maturity and productivity. Other studies have also indicated that literacy skills in the L1 do transfer to the L2, although it is also likely that there is a threshold level of L2 proficiency necessary for transfer to be effective (Clarke, 1978; Cziko, 1980; Edelesky, 1982; Eisterhold Carson et al., 1990).

The pedagogical implications of these findings seem to be that LEP students should be enrolled in bilingual education programs whenever possible. Certainly, studies of language immersion programs in Canada and the USA have clearly demonstrated that students in such programs outperform their peers in second-language programs only (Genesee, 1987; Cummins, 1984). However, the most prevalent model for bilingual instruction in the U.S.A. is that known as "transitional," meaning that children are taught only content area subjects in their native language
while they are acquiring English. When their English skills are considered proficient, they are mainstreamed. Usually, children remain in these programs for about two years, although, as we have seen, the probability is that they will have developed competent BICS during that time but will still have inadequate CALP. An obvious reason for the preference for short-term transitional programs is financial, and thus it is unlikely that the model will be abandoned. However, there are also interesting socio-cultural issues involved in these choices and it is to these factors I now turn.

Socio-Cultural Factors

Paulston (1980) has described the bilingual-education controversy in the broader context of the socio-cultural situation, as representing either an equilibrium or conflict model of social change. In the equilibrium model the goal is to make language minorities equal by providing ESL instruction through transitional bilingual programs. The status quo of society is maintained because the supremacy of English is thus affirmed as the first language is “submerged.” The conflict model sees LEP students as inherently unequal because the wider social context in which they live is denigrated linguistically and culturally. When the education system does not interest itself in maintaining the students’ first language, and may even actively work to deny it, students are excluded from the reward system of jobs, opportunities, advancement and power. Cummins (1986) calls such students “disabled” because of exclusionary orientations in the cultural/linguistic approach, community participation, pedagogy and assessment.

In the 1980s bilingual education came under attack from an unexpected source: The political action group known as U.S. English, which regards immigrants’ first languages as threatening to the status quo. The English Only Movement, as it has come to be known, has successfully lobbied for the passing of English Only amendments in some 16 states. Reacting perhaps to changes in the U.S. immigration laws and to international events such as the wars in South East Asia and Latin America that brought thousands of refugees and immigrants to the U.S.A., U.S. English believes that new immigrants from these third world areas do not want to assimilate and learn English. In their drive to legislate English as the official language, the group has actively promoted the elimination of all foreign languages in situations ranging from restaurant menus to 911 emergency calls to bilingual education in public schools, parent conferences and report cards (Daniels, 1990, p. 6). The opposition to bilingual education is perhaps what Venezky (1990) had in mind as one particular “thorny issue” of politics, and it is certainly an issue that cannot go unchallenged. Evidence cited by English Only
proponents in support of official English legislation is often egregiously inaccurate. Daniels (1990) offers an excellent discussion of the ramifications of the English Only Movement, so for brevity I would like to mention only four issues that impact second-language literacy.

In the first place, the claim that the new immigrants do not want to learn English is false. Daniels (1990) cites Crawford’s 1989 study of Hispanic parents, 98% of whom felt that their children needed to learn English perfectly to be successful. United States history also informs us that we are a nation of immigrants who have learned English perfectly by the second or third generation. Second, evidence supporting bilingual education has been misrepresented and distorted. Faulty studies have been quoted in support of the claim that bilingual education does not work (Judd, 1990). The successful Canadian experience of language-immersion programs in which children learn in their second language (usually French) has also been frequently claimed as an argument against bilingual education. However, the fact that children in Canadian immersion programs usually belong to the English language majority group, whereas most U.S. bilingual education programs serve children from language minority groups, has been completely ignored (Genesee, 1987). Socially and culturally, it is unfair to compare the experiences of children who are adding a second language to their majority-group first language with those of children who may well feel they are subtracting their minority-group first language under pressure to acquire the majority-group language. Finally, it is ironic that one possible benefit of English Only legislation does not appear to be happening. Logically it would seem that if English were to be designated the official language of the U.S.A., extra financial resources could be given to the teaching of English. So far, this does not appear to be a goal of U.S. English. Stalker (1990) quotes alarming estimates of 795,000 adults on waiting lists for ESL classes in California, Texas, Illinois and New York.

In conclusion, there is a distinct danger that the social, cultural and political impact of the English Only Movement may disregard the proven benefits of bilingual education, alienate new immigrants, and, ironically, deny monolingual English citizens the right to learn and practice a foreign language.

However, within the ESL profession itself, we can see how curriculum planners may also fall easily into the exclusionary mode described by Cummins (1986). Literacy has often been defined in the context of functional competence, or how much and what kinds of literacy are demanded for the specific tasks with which the learner is engaged (Venezky et al., 1990). ESL programs for adult immigrants and refugees are typically developed from a functional, competency-based perspec-
tive, but recently some scholars have begun to question the rationale for this approach. Auerbach (1986) argued that the assumptions underlying many competency-based ESL programs have not been adequately debated, in spite of growing criticisms that, while a functional approach has enabled curriculum designers to tailor programs to specific speech acts and literacy skills required by the learners, it has often been guilty of imposing a reductionist view of “what counts” for both oral and written skills. The faulty assumptions of these programs range from inaccurate predictions about literacy requirements to the more serious charge that competency-based ESL “socializes students for a limited range of working-class roles” (Auerbach, 1986, p. 417).

Examples abound: Weinstein (1984), examining second-language literacy as a product of its social context, found that the common assumption that one of the first requirements for ESL literacy is completing forms for social security, job applications, etc., does not hold true for older Hmong women, who traditionally rely on men in their families for such tasks. Rather, they needed basic literacy and numeracy to enable them to sell their traditional needlework crafts and thus achieve some economic independence.

McCroarty (1984) described a program which taught Chinese chefs how to communicate in English with the Chinese waiters in their restaurants, whereas in reality they should have been taught how to communicate with suppliers in order to complain about bad meat or to get the best prices for their produce.

Survival ESL texts are full of examples of what I call “toilet bowl English,” or language that teaches immigrants how to perform janitorial jobs only. These texts rarely encourage new immigrants to question their roles or encourage a problem-solving approach to their lives (Auerbach and Burgess, 1985). In spite of these criticisms, federal assistance programs now require that refugees must enroll in a competency-based ESL program in order to receive assistance, with the result that standardized survival texts are proliferating.

Mainstream education which includes ESL students must also guard against false assumptions about the context in which these students need to use their literacy skills. For example, all K-12 teachers need to be aware that LEP children may still have limited proficiency in oral and written academic discourse even though they have been judged fluent in conversational English (Saville-Troike, 1984). They should also become familiar with the classroom behavior patterns of LEP minority children. Cheng (1987) reported that teachers who are not aware that the social context of Asian culture teaches children to be quietly respectful and obedient in class may judge them falsely as passive, dull, uninterested
learners. Science and engineering professors in higher education should realize that their foreign graduate students will find job-related oral and written communication skills to be more important than skills after graduation, and they should ensure that these skills are adequately developed in their technical courses (Bridgeman and Carolson, 1983; Huckin & Olsen, 1984; Weiland et al., 1990).

Academic Competence: Tasks and Standards Required

If, as was claimed above, literacy for academic success is often defined too narrowly for LEP students, we need to examine the specific tasks demanded from LEP or ESL students as demonstrations of academic and English proficiency. For each educational level (K-12, undergraduate, graduate) I will briefly summarize what the research literature has shown to be the tasks demanded of students and will discuss the problems created at the next higher level when certain skills are not adequately developed. Finally, I will examine the consequences of this neglect for both the learners themselves and society in general as these learners move into employment.

K-12

In truth, combining these grades is inappropriate, given the enormous changes in physical and cognitive development that take place between the ages of 5 and 18. However, these are the years of “public school education,” when the states largely mandate the type of education delivered to these students, and it is therefore convenient to consider them as one level. They are the years when schooling begins to have an impact on language use and ways of knowing. Language becomes progressively more decontextualized, and CALP replaces BICS as the preferred demonstration mode for academic proficiency. Much of what happens in elementary schools, particularly those that adopt a “whole language” approach, is appropriate for both first- and second-language development. However, if teachers and administrators are not familiar with patterns of second-language development and sociolinguistics, they may not fully appreciate the learning problems of their LEP students. Even the universal language of mathematics, for example, poses additional challenges of vocabulary and grammatical knowledge when presented in the form of word problems. Similarly, facility with conversational grammar forms will not necessarily transfer to the complex structures needed in written prose. Saville-Troike (1984) found that her academically successful LEP elementary students did not require grammatical accuracy. Unfortunately, in some interpretations of whole-language, or communicative-language, teaching approaches, teaching grammatical accuracy has been explicitly rejected as useless, or
even counterproductive (Krashen, 1981). If students at this level are allowed to believe that grammatical accuracy is not important or that all ideas can be expressed both orally and in writing through BICS, then their access to higher educational opportunities will be limited because they will not reach the required norms on the standardized tests or writing assignments by which they will be assessed. Their lack of CALP will also limit their progress if they enter post-secondary education by assigning them to “remedial” writing courses. Sadly, many do not survive.

Undergraduate and Graduate Education

Several researchers have investigated the oral and written language tasks required of undergraduates and graduates in several disciplines. Among the relevant studies are those by Bridgeman and Carlson (1983), Vann, Meyer, and Lorenz (1984), Johns (1981), and Christison and Kralunke (1986).

In a survey of 190 departments in 34 colleges in North America, Bridgeman and Carlson (1983) found that writing assignments varied according to department but that even those departments which did not have heavy writing loads required such products as laboratory reports and short summaries. The more verbally explicit fields, such as business, psychology and undergraduate English, assigned longer research papers. Preferred styles of writing also differed according to discipline, with the engineering and science fields making more use of expository writing, and business, psychology and undergraduate English assigning tasks that required arguing for a point of view.

A significant finding of this study was that faculty members reported that they weighted global features such as content and organization more heavily in their evaluation of writing. They also felt that there was little difference between native and non-native speakers of English at the discourse level, but that non-native English speakers were considerably less adept than native speakers at the sentence and word level. The majority of departments reported that they used exactly the same standards to evaluate the writing of both native and non-native speakers, although one-third of the departments surveyed said they evaluated non-native speakers more leniently. Vann, Meyer, and Lorenz (1984) also found that faculty generally regarded sentence-level errors as serious only if they interfered with meaning.

Yet writing skills are not always considered the most crucial language skills in academic study, according to both faculty and non-native English students. Johns (1981) discovered that reading and listening skills were rated more important by the faculty she surveyed. Powers
(1986) supported these findings in his own survey of listening-skills requirements in which he found that listening was rated second in importance after reading, with the ability to comprehend academic lectures considered to be the most important listening skill. Essential skills delineated were the ability to identify main ideas and the relationships between them, note-taking skills, and identifying supporting examples. In all areas, non-native English speakers were perceived as having considerably more difficulty than native-speakers. Obviously, academic lectures rely on spoken English in the CALP mode and share many of the formal features of written academic prose. Christison and Kralik (1986) asked ESL students themselves what they had most difficulty with, and the majority reported that the spoken English of the classroom caused them the most problems initially. Keep in mind that many of the ESL undergraduates who have graduated from American high schools have no problems with spoken English (BICS), or so they feel, and it is harder for them to locate the source of their difficulties, especially as many have never developed an awareness of the features of spoken English lecture discourse, which is more akin to CALP.

To compound the problem, ESL undergraduate students are often classed as “basic writers” and assigned to Developmental English or ESL courses. To students who have graduated from their high school ESL program and have been mainstreamed into regular courses in high school, this is a shock to their self-esteem. Their lack of academic literacy skills often delays their progress through required course sequences, with the result that many of them drop-out. They are classic examples of the disabled students described by Cummins (1986), who have been educated in a subtractive linguistic and cultural environment where the goal has been to “legitimate” them by ignoring their first-language development.

In graduate level education, about 26% of doctoral degrees are awarded to foreign nationals (DePalma, 1990). In engineering colleges across the nation, over 50% of graduate students are foreigners. The majority of them come from the People’s Republic of China, Taiwan, Korea and India. With the exception of many of the Indian students, English is for them a second language, one that, for the most part, has been studied through a grammar-translation approach. The goal has usually been to reach a score of 500-550 on TOEFL in order to qualify for admission, and because TOEFL does not measure productive, communicative skills, the focus of English classes is usually on memorizing rules and vocabulary lists and on learning strategies to pass the listening comprehension section where students listen to short dialogues and mini lectures as they read multiple choice written questions.
Consequently, when these graduate students arrive in the US, they face enormous cultural and academic differences. For the most part their academic experiences have been in elitist systems that emphasize a narrow curriculum studied in depth, in contrast to the more egalitarian US system, which emphasizes a much broader but shallower curriculum. They do not know how to behave in the more relaxed and informal academic atmosphere in this country, to the point that we can say they lack academic literacy: oral, written and cultural. They often tell us that they have never had to write critical reviews or to argue for or against a point of view in a paper in which they are expected to synthesize information drawn from several sources. Writing summaries of authors' ideas without "plagiarizing" is extremely difficult for them, partly because of their limited language skills and partly because in some cultures it is a sign of respect to reproduce the words of a published scholar. They need a great deal of practice in academic writing, but there is evidence that the faculty in engineering colleges do not assign much writing at all, and eventually write most of their students' theses (Bridgeman and Carlson, 1983; Weiland et al., 1990).

So far as interactive language skills are concerned, at the graduate level we usually face exactly the reverse of the K - 12 and undergraduate situation: The students' CALP is adequate because of their well-developed academic backgrounds, but they are frequently almost entirely lacking in BICS. Their academic English focus has never allowed them to develop functional communicative skills, and when they arrive on campus they are often unable to comprehend spoken English, let alone the idioms, slang, and jargon of regular interactions. Unfortunately, because of their problems in comprehending lectures, the international students spend all their time studying and trying to cope with heavy reading loads at their slower, second language reading rates. They do not interact with Americans, and in many cases do not have the opportunity because their class and lab mates probably come from their own countries. It is not unusual for Chinese students to spend less than 30 minutes a day speaking English (Jenkins and Sole, 1990).

Many international graduate students support their education through assistantships, putting them into direct contact with undergraduates in the classroom. The "Foreign TA Problem" has been well documented (see, for example, Bailey, Pialorsi, and Zukowski/Faust, 1984). Generally, three areas are problematic: Language, classroom presentation skills, and cultural differences. The most often cited problem relates to spoken language: The TAs have poor pronunciation skills, poor vocabulary, and poor listening skills. Their teaching styles come from cultures where teachers do not interact informally within the classroom with students and where there is more homogeneity of aptitude and back-
ground preparation among students. The effect is a total mismatch between the expectations of the undergraduates and the TAs as to teaching style, behavior, and goals.

Because of these problems, most faculty report that they would much prefer to work with American students, if they could get them (Diamond and Grey, 1987). However, there is often little provision for helping the international graduate students learn American academic literacy: ESL programs are too frequently considered remediation programs and do not offer academic credit; faculty are unaware of the cultural differences involved, or, worse, are insensitive; departments are unwilling to allow students to take lighter loads or delay courses while they develop their language proficiency. One is left with the unavoidable impression that the international students are here in fields such as engineering and the sciences because we cannot attract U.S. citizens to graduate education, or keep our ESL minorities in school. Frankly, the graduate and research programs in Colleges of Engineering throughout the country would collapse without the international students, and the implications for the future of academia and the technological professions are serious.

Bridgeman and Carlson's 1983 survey of writing tasks hinted at the problem we have not yet addressed either in education or the professions: The faculty surveyed were unanimous in agreeing that although writing skills were important in graduate education, they were far more important in subsequent employment. Similarly, Huckin and Olsen (1984) cited reports from the journal *Engineering Education* that indicate recent graduates listed oral and written skills among the top ten essential skills for engineering careers in industry. Furthermore, the fact that currently over 50% of engineering graduate students are foreign nationals means that the faculty of the not too distant future will also be foreign. If they have not had opportunities to improve their communication skills at the undergraduate or graduate level, their impact on academia and industry will not be impressive. In general, academia has taken a head-in-the-sand approach, refusing to believe that many foreign nationals will remain in the U.S.A. to become the faculty of the future, and adhering to the old principle that it is the English/ESL Department's job to teach writing and communication skills. Industry has been a little more aware of the problem, and many major corporations now offer their own educational and professional development courses to "remediate" what the education system failed to provide.

Those of us who have long worked with international students are becoming aware of a potential discriminatory aspect to the problem. Our students who remain in the United States to find employment, particularly in technology, are telling us that they face a glass ceiling
because their communication skills are not adequate. They see others with comparable technical skills promoted as project managers while they themselves remain as laboratory technicians. A Dean of a College of Engineering at a major American university, himself an Asian American, used the phrase “technological coolies” to describe the self-perceptions of the Asian engineers about their professional prospects (P. Chung, personal communication, November 10, 1990). We need to do more research in order to discover whether such perceptions are accurate and, if they are, to develop strategies for promoting communication and literacy skills to the highest level.

Conclusions and Recommendations

This brief survey of second-language and literacy programs from Kindergarten through employment points to an inescapable conclusion: at each level, our definitions of literacy in English as a second language are too limited in that they are based on a myopic view of the functional requirements within each separate level. The result is that the problems that are ignored, glossed over, or not recognized at one level either have to be remediated at the next level of education or worse, put a cap on the potential development of each individual. Unfortunately, students fall too far behind when their language proficiency is poor, and there is increasing failure, drop-out, frustration and discrimination as a result. Obviously, this has long been said about education in general and minority education in particular, but I believe the research literature on second-language acquisition has much to offer in support of empowerment intervention models for all neglected populations. For one thing, the ESL problem is not limited to low SES groups, as is much of the research on minority education, and therefore it has the potential for reaching across the spectrum. Let us, however, look at some specific suggestions that follow from our discussion of the issues that impact ESL literacy at each educational level as we attempt to endorse the national language policy adopted by the Conference on College Composition and Communication in 1988. Some of these recommendations may be implemented by each of us in our own work, while others will need the force of our professional organizations behind them to bring about change.

K-12 and Adult Education

Resist those who would make literacy in the first and second language a political issue by mobilizing professional organizations to fight the English Only Movement, using as evidence the best research studies in the proper context. Continue to emphasize that bilingual education or submersion (ESL) programs are only “better” in terms of whether we are
working in an additive or subtractive language environment. Accept that both have a role, depending on the student variables. Where necessary, provide bilingual education programs for populations that benefit most from dual-language instruction (the very youngest, the oldest, low SES, groups or recent immigrants who do not use English in the home). In other cases (for example where there is parental opposition to bilingual programs), provide ESL programs.

At all times, integrate ESL instruction with content-area learning. Provide ample opportunities to develop both BICS and CALP. Where children would obviously benefit from additional content area help in their first language, let us provide it. Adopt the philosophy that ESL learning is a process of "raising consciousness" about the role of language in learning and in life. As part of this approach, adequate definitions of communicative competence should include sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence, grammatical competence, and strategic competence (Canale, 1983)

Incorporate parental and community involvement into the child’s second language teaching. Family literacy and cultural orientation programs can be developed so that the system can build on the educational attitudes and values of the LEP families to reduce alienation and encourage additive bilingualism. Cummins (1986) and Lucas, Henze, and Donato, (1990) offer descriptions and characteristics of “empowerment models of bilingual and ESL programs.

Perhaps most important, recognize that ESL and bilingual-education teachers should be trained professionals. There are simply too many untrained or “grandfathered” ESL teachers and volunteers in the system at the moment. Teaching a language is a highly professional skill that should only be undertaken after proper training in second-language-learning theories, ESL methodology, linguistics, intercultural communication and phonology, to give a bare bones summary. Teacher preparation programs exist, and only those properly trained should be hired. We can no longer afford to support the “I speak English, so I can teach English” mentality. Give teachers who wish to gain ESL education credentials or take language and linguistics courses as much support as possible.

Undergraduate and Graduate Education

Support Writing Across the Curriculum movements on our campuses. Encourage their proponents to broaden the scope of their workshops to include writing and communication for ESL students. Encourage all faculty to join their colleagues who are already committed to the belief that we are all equally responsible for developing oral and
literate proficiency from a perspective of "literacy for the future," whether for graduate education or professional employment.

Provide ESL students with continuing opportunities to develop CALP. Encourage the development of English for Specific Purpose courses, offered perhaps as paired courses with content-area departments, as well as all-purpose ESL and basic writing.

Expand our efforts to incorporate international graduate students into the academic community by providing them with full access to orientation and cultural awareness programs on campus. Recognize that international students are both discriminated against and discriminating themselves in their interactions with others. "International Education" is a meaningless phrase if the international graduate students on campus are ignored and are left to organize themselves into isolated ethnic communities in which English is virtually a foreign language, used only for academic lectures and meetings with advisors. Likewise, we cannot assume that international students with high TOEFL scores will be fluent in English. They will need courses to develop the language of their BICS and intercultural communications skills.

Recognize that international graduate students who are teaching assistants have very special needs. Do not allow them to teach (in fact, do not allow any TA to teach, even if English is the first language) without requiring credit courses in teaching and communication skills. Adopt a department-specific model rather than a generic courses, so that students can learn the discourse structure of their discipline as well as the accepted oral modes of teaching and explaining the content matter.

As in the public school system, provide full credit, respect, and recognition for ESL and developmental courses and their faculty. Far too many ESL faculty are employed in non-tenure-track positions and are not regarded as professionals by the administration or colleagues. We should no longer tolerate such a situation.

Finally, make sure that the faculty and administration are fully informed of the reality of foreign student education in the U.S.A. Many will not go home. They will remain to become the professors, professional managers and employees of the future. They should be fully prepared for these positions.

Let us continue to debate the issues discussed here. We have barely scratched the surface and are far from fulfilling the National Language Policy adopted by CCC in 1988. But if we can organize ourselves to ensure that educational decisions and practices derive from sound research, we will have made a start.
References


Assessing Teachers’ Knowledge of Multi-Ethnic Literature

Deborah L. Thompson, Jane Meeks Hager

As America’s schools prepare for the 21st century, major changes in pedagogy and philosophy of the teaching of reading are emerging. In addition, demographic data suggest that the ethnic composition of our classrooms is also changing. First, more and more school districts are replacing (or supplementing) their traditional basal reading programs with trade books from a variety of genres (poetry, realistic fiction, information, etc.). Secondly, African-Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans are the most rapidly growing segment of the nation’s urban school population. As the country becomes more ethnically varied (by the year 2000, one in three Americans will be from one of these minority groups (Banks, 1991; Trueba, 1989; Usdan, 1984)), so too will the public schools. Teachers must be able to deliver quality literacy instruction grounded in a body of literature that will be meaningful to diverse groups of students.

Multi-Ethnic Children’s Literature: A Look Back

Over the years, the population of characters in children’s books has been less than representative of the racial and ethnic makeup of America. Metaphorically, America has proudly referred to herself as a “melting pot.” This quaint Eurocentric term has been traced to a playwright who viewed America as a “God’s crucible . . . for all races of Europe . . .” (Tiedt & Tiedt, 1990 p. 7).

For years, children’s literature perpetuated the portrait of America as a melting pot for European groups without being challenged. However, Nancy Larrick shattered this portrayal with her landmark article in the
September 11, 1965, issue of *Saturday Review*. In that article, "The All-White World of Children's Books," Larrick noted that publishers of children's literature had participated in a cultural lobotomy on the country and, in conjunction with children's authors, had excluded Blacks from visibility in history and literature in order to make them appear as "rootless" people (Larrick, 1965).

With the civil rights movement at its height in the 1960s and its attendant legislation, a demand grew for literature written about and by different ethnic groups, especially Blacks. Accordingly, publishers flooded the market with books purporting to reflect the Black experience. In the 1970s, the feminist movement served as a springboard for more accurate portrayals of women within and without the home (Foster, 1987). There was a sudden deluge of books on the market that featured women or Blacks or other groups. However, quantity did not necessarily mean quality.

Unfortunately, the advances made in the 1960s and 1970s have, for the most part, been slowed and/or reversed. Huck (1987) attributes this retrogressive move to three factors: 1) The insistence of the Council on Interracial Books for Children that only a person of a particular ethnic background can write about the experiences of that ethnic group: African Americans about African Americans, Asians about Asians, etc. 2) The cut in school funds—schools are traditionally the largest market for books about minorities. 3) The move toward conservatism nationally and within the publishing world.

**Multi-Ethnic Literature: What it is, What it Does**

Norton (1991) defines multi-ethnic literature as:

literature about racial or ethnic minority groups that are culturally and socially different from the white Anglo-Saxon majority in the United States, whose largely middle-class values and customs are most represented in American literature. . . . It is usually viewed as literature about African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, Asian-Americans, and Native-Americans." (p.531)

Children's literature is a highly efficient vehicle for helping children understand themselves and the world around them. It has been referred to as the red blood of any language arts curriculum, as it carries the "oxygen" for all language experiences (Hennings, 1990). Similarly, "multi-ethnic children's literature mirrors and validates" the experiences for minority groups and "juxtaposes the familiar with the less familiar" for mainstream children (Cox & Galda, 1990). Multi-ethnic literature reflects the values and traditions emerging from those cul-
tures. Multi-ethnic literature can be a potent force in the socialization, acculturation, and personal and moral development of children (Cullinan, 1989).

There are numerous reasons for using multi-ethnic literature. The values derived from reading literature in general hold true for reading multi-ethnic literature. Bishop (1987) lists three understandings about a multi-cultural society that are realized through the use of literature in general and of multi-ethnic specifically:

1) readers can connect to others' experiences common to all our emotions, needs, and desires. 2) readers can understand and learn to appreciate and celebrate the differences among us. 3) readers can develop an understanding of the effect of social issues and forces on the lives of ordinary individuals. (p. 60-61)

Furthermore, research shows that the use of multi-ethnic literature enhances the reading comprehension and problem solving skills of all children (Foster, 1987). Multi-ethnic literature can empower young readers. Being exposed to divergent thought and language patterns, value systems, and ways of living can sharpen sensitivities to the differences and similarities of us all. (Matsujama & Jensen, 1990).

This is a worthy and necessary objective for teaching, but how can teachers promote this objective if they are unfamiliar with multi-ethnic choices of literature? Therefore, we began this investigation by asking a basic question: Are teachers familiar with multi-ethnic literature, if so, how do they use it in classrooms that are touted to be "literature-based"?

Method

Instrumentation

A survey of teachers' knowledge of selected multi-ethnic children's literature was constructed from a variety of genres: poetry, picture books, biographies, etc. The titles were culled from numerous sources, including The Reading Teacher, Language Arts, The Horn Book and texts by Cullinan, Huck et al., and Norton. The titles were found under the following headings: Asian-American, Jewish-American, African-American, Native-American and Hispanic-American. (A sample section from the instrument can be found in Appendix A.) Teachers responded to the titles by circling numbers from 1-6, with the numbers representing the following statements:

1) have used in classroom in group instruction.
2) have recommended for recreational reading.
3) have recommended for research, reference, or resource.
4) have used as read-aloud by teacher.
5) am familiar with title but have not used the book in my classroom.
6) Not aware of the book.

In responses 1-4, teachers were instructed to circle all choices that were applicable. Thus many titles may have had more than one response circled.

Subjects

Fifty elementary teachers were the subjects of this investigation. Thirty of these teachers were from a K-5 inner-city elementary school with a literature-based reading program. The remaining twenty were classroom teachers completing requirements for the Masters in Reading or Library Science at Old Dominion University.

Results

Frequency of use for each title was compiled according to ethnic category, Asian American, Hispanic American, etc. Responses #1-5 were tallied first and the results were entered on Table 1.

Table 1
Combined Responses to Multi-Ethnic Titles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asian American</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish American</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic American</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
familiarity with” (meaning teacher may have read book outside of class, may have seen book in library or bookstore, or may have been told about it by another teacher or a student) garnered the most responses. “Read aloud” and “classroom instruction” accounted for next most frequently marked responses. The teachers relied least on these books as resources for classroom research and/or for references. As there are numerous titles available for use in research/reference, the limited responses may indicate that for research and/or reference use, textbooks and encyclopedias are still the teachers’ texts of choice.

Knowledge by Ethnic Categories

Analysis of the responses by ethnic category reveals that this sample of teachers was most knowledgeable of African American children’s literature. Of the 58 African American titles listed, eleven drew the bulk of the responses. The two most frequently used titles were a collection of folktales, The Tales of Uncle Remus (Lester, 1987), and a picture storybook, The Patchwork Quilt, (Flournoy, 1985).

Table 2
African American Titles in Descending Order of Familiarity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tales of Uncle Remus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Patchwork Quilt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Henry: An American Legend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jump! The Adventures of Brer Rabbit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Tales of Uncle Remus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Many Spots Does a Leopard Have?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Freedom Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick Douglass: Freedom Fighter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go Free or Die: A Story of Harriet Tubman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mufarols Beautiful Daughters</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the 37 Asian American titles listed, five titles were the most used, with 1956's Caldecott Honor Book Crow boy (Yashima, 1955) receiving the most responses.

**Table 3**
Asian American Titles in Descending Order of Familiarity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crow Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Emperor and the Kite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cricket Songs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master Puppeteer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sign of the Chrysanthemum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three of the nineteen titles in the Jewish American category drew the most responses. Two were related to Hanukkah, *The Chanukkah Tree* (Kimmel, 1988) and *Light Another Candle* (Chalkin, 1981). The third was a Yiddish folk tale, *It Could Always Be Worse* (Zemach, 1976).

Native American and Hispanic American titles drew the fewest positive responses. Two of the 33 Native American titles were used frequently, *Sign of the Beaver* (Speare, 1983) and *Her Seven Brothers* (Goble, 1989). Only one of the Hispanic American titles, the 1954 Newbery winner . . . *And Now Miguel* (Krumgold, 1953), was cited frequently. These two categories also had more titles not recognized by any of the teachers (4 Native American and 16 Hispanic American). Rather disconcerting is the lack of knowledge of Hispanic literature, especially since this ethnic group represents the fastest growing segment of our population.

The category "not aware of book" drew the largest number of responses, indicating the teachers' general lack of knowledge of multi-ethnic literature for children.

**Table 4**
"Not Familiar with Title"* by Ethnic Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic American</th>
<th>2460</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asian American</td>
<td>1682</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Jewish American 845
Native American 1547
Hispanic American 2036

* Formula for calculating totals was: Response Categories (6) x Subjects (50) x N titles.

Conclusion

The majority of the teachers participating in this study were not familiar with multi-ethnic literature except for a few African American titles. Even with a degree of familiarity, uses of the books were mainly limited to the “recreational reading” and “read aloud” categories.

Many teachers themselves have reported that they need further training in implementing a literature-based approach to reading/language arts instruction. This study indicates that they are not familiar with children’s literature that reflects the country’s cultural diversity. It is hoped that the development of this survey will be phase one of the initiation of specialized training for classroom teachers to successfully incorporate multiethnic literature into the curriculum. The authors are currently engaged in staff-development activities designed to promote teacher awareness of the rich genres of literature that can further acquaint children with our country’s heritage and diversity.

Children’s Titles Cited in Text**


**The complete bibliography is available upon request from the authors.
References


Appendix A

Use the following code to respond to your use of or familiarity with the following books. Circle the appropriate number(s). [signalled three times]

1. Have used in classroom in group instruction.
2. Have recommended for recreational reading.
3. Have recommended for research, reference, or resource.
4. Have used as read-aloud by teacher.
   NOTE: You may have done two or three of the above.
5. Am familiar with title but have not used the book in my classroom.

I. Asian American Children’s Literature

* Tye May and the Magic Brush  
* Sunset in a Spider Web: Sijo
  * Poetry of Ancient Korea  
* Cricket Songs: Japanese Haiku  
* Commodore Perry in the Land of the Shogun  
* The House of Sixty Fathers  
* A Chinese Zoo: Fables and Proverbs  
* Dragon Kites and Dragonflies: A
  * Collection of Chinese Nursery Rhymes  
* Toad is the Uncle of Heaven: A Vietnamese
  * Folk Tale  
* Miracles: Poems by Children of the
  * English-Speaking World  
* There are Two Lives: Poems by
  * Children of Japan  
* In the Year of the Boar and Jackie
  * Robinson  
* Yeh-Shen: A Cinderella Story from China

   1 2 3 4 5 6
Hispanic Background and Linguistic Factors: Social Contexts for Reading Comprehension and Instruction

Marino C. Alvarez

Hispanics are the oldest immigrants and represent the fastest growing ethnic population in the United States. This rich legacy can be traced to early settlements in North and South America. By 1574, thirty-three years before the first English settlers in Virginia, there were approximately 200 hundred Spanish cities and towns in North and South America (Bailey, 1961). Since this period of our history, the term "Hispanic American" has been attributed to a diverse group of Americans. These individuals have included Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, other Central and South Americans, immigrants from Spain, and other Latinos. Despite this early settlement and increase in population, Hispanics do not fare well in either the social, political, economic, or educational strata in our society. A significant factor for this unevenness is an educational systems failure to respond to the language and cultural diversity of the Hispanic population (Alvarez & Herrera, 1990; Steinberg, Blindec, & Chan, 1984; Verdugo, 1986).

This article reports the academic difficulties that Hispanic students encounter as a result of background and language differences that often inhibit problem-solving performance and overall school achievement, and discusses several learning strategies that can be used in creating social contexts to aid reading comprehension and instruction. First, data are presented on the overall academic achievement of Hispanics. Next, cultural and linguistic factors that inhibit educational attainment among Hispanic subgroups are discussed. Finally, three learning strategies are
presented that can be used with Hispanic students to clarify conceptual ambiguities arising from text and lecture.

**Academic Achievement and School Performance**

In the United States, Hispanics have a history of not achieving as well academically as do their non-Hispanic counterparts. Hispanics are more likely to progress through the grades at a slower pace than whites. Data compiled by Verdugo (1986) suggest that Hispanics drop out of school at a greater rate and tend to be delayed in completing their educational goals compared to whites. Hispanics (particularly Mexicans and Puerto Ricans), are less likely than whites to graduate from high school. These data are consistent at the elementary, secondary, and postsecondary levels. According to the Commerce Department's Census Bureau, about half (51%) of Hispanics 25 years of age and over completed four years of high school or more in 1987 and 1988 (see Table 1). The proportion of Hispanics completing high school when compared to non-Hispanics completing high school is low.

**Table 1**


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican-Americans</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Ricans</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuban</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central &amp; South Americans</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Hispanics (Persons from Spain and those describing themselves as “Hispanic,” “Spanish,” or “Latinos”).</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Drop out rates for Hispanics

More Hispanic youths drop out of school than any other non-English-speaking youngsters. The data on dropout rates compiled by Steinberg, Blinde and Chan (1984) suggest that coming from an economically disadvantaged family, not speaking English, and being of Hispanic origin all increase the likelihood of early school-leaving. Their findings reveal that youngsters of Hispanic origin have approximately twice the dropout rate of those of non-Hispanic origin. Data gathered by Orum (1986) indicate that approximately 50 percent of Mexican-American and Puerto Rican adolescents drop out of school without receiving a diploma. The High School and Beyond Study (1988) show that 18.7% of Hispanics who were sophomores in 1980 had dropped out of high school by 1982. Puerto Rican adolescents in the study had the highest drop out rate (22.9%), followed by Mexican-Americans (21.5%), Cubans (19.4%), and other Hispanics (11.4%). Orum (1986), citing the National Commission on Secondary Schooling for Hispanics, reports that these out-of-school rates do not include approximately 40% of all Hispanic drop outs who left school before the tenth grade in 1980.

Postsecondary Education

The Office of Minority Concerns of the American Council on Education (1987) reports that while Hispanics represent a larger percentage of their age cohort, a smaller percentage of them are pursuing a college education. The data show that as of the academic year 1985, Hispanics represented 8.2 percent of the 18-24-year-old population, but only 4.3 percent of the enrollment in higher education and received only 2.7 percent of the baccalaureate degrees. Even though the educational attainment level of Hispanics has improved, this population continues to remain below the level of non-Hispanics.¹

High School and Beyond Study

Statistics provided by the High School and Beyond study (1988) provide further insight into the disparity between Hispanics and non-

¹The U.S. Bureau of Census, March 1988, reports that 10 percent of Hispanics completed four or more years of college compared to 21 percent of non-Hispanics (aged 25 and over). The percentages by type of origin are: Mexican-Americans 7%, Puerto Ricans 10%, Cubans 17%, Central and South Americans 17%, and Other Hispanics 14%.
Hispanics enrolled in postsecondary education. Postsecondary enrollment was affected by race/ethnicity, sex, and socioeconomic status. Analysis of the findings reported six years later by seniors, who graduated in 1980, showed that Hispanics represented the lowest entry into postsecondary education (see Table 2).

**Table 2**

Enrollment in Postsecondary Education by Race/Ethnicity (High School and Beyond Study, 1988).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race/Ethnicity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanics</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


A total of 45 percent of students who entered postsecondary education in 1980, left these institutions by 1984. Fifty-three percent of Hispanics left postsecondary education without earning degrees. Sixty-six percent of 1980 Hispanic high school seniors who entered postsecondary education had left school by 1982 without earning a four-year degree. A significant factor was the correlation of socioeconomic status and educational progress: The lower the socioeconomic status the more likely that students would leave school without earning a degree.

A survey in 1986, of these 1980 high school seniors revealed that Hispanic students were more likely to receive a high school diploma as

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'National Center For Education Statistics, Analysis Report, High School and Beyond, A Descriptive Summary of 1980 High School Seniors: Six Years Later. U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, July 1988. High School and Beyond is a longitudinal study with a nationally representative sample of over 58,000 1980 high school sophomores and seniors. Both the 1980 senior and sophomore samples were surveyed in 1980, 1982, 1984, and 1986. The data reported in this portion of the article represented the findings of 11,227 HS&B seniors who participated in the third follow-up survey, in 1986.'
their terminal degree (38%) and were less likely to pursue postsecondary education than other racial/ethnic groups (61%). Only 8 percent of these Hispanic students received vocational certificates. Another 7% earned Associate in Arts (A.A.) degrees, while only 6% earned either a Bachelor of Science (B.A.) or a Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) degree.

Cultural and Linguistic Factors Affecting the Hispanic Student

The education of Hispanics is made more difficult because of their cultural and diverse linguistic structures. For example, there are differences in the Spanish language spoken among Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Cubans, or Spaniards. These differences occur with words in the vocabulary, in pitch of the voice, in cadence of speech, and pattern of language. These differences stem from the regions in which these people have lived, the amount of education they have received, political influence, and occupation. The individuals most affected by these language differences are, perhaps, the students in the American school environment, where common language characteristics are expected. These students have problems of language interference, language transfer, code switching, and a host of linguistic variations in or out of the classroom (Ballesteros, 1986; Cummins, 1980; DeAvila & Duncan, 1981; Macnamara, 1967; Meltzer, 1982).

Each Hispanic group has its own identity, and each Hispanic person has feelings and perceptions that differentiate between groups (see Table 3).

There seems to be a need for Hispanic students to share experiences emanating from classroom readings among themselves and with others, and to read the literature of their culture in order to foster literacy. To illustrate this need, an examination of basal readers used with Hispanic students is reviewed, followed by a working example of a bilingual and biliterate school that practices multicultural education.

Nine different methods of teaching reading in Spanish were reviewed by Freeman (1988). She found that many of these reading programs consisted of a series of exercises that fragmented the reading language process by proceeding from part to whole. She advocates a whole-language Spanish reading program in which language is presented through activities that require social and meaningful interactions that use listening, speaking, reading and writing in an integrated format. This reading approach encourages students to use their background knowledge and experience when interacting with the text, thus giving more meaning to the message. Citing her dissertation (Freeman, 1987), she notes that in a study of 5 Spanish language basal readers published for Hispanics in the United States that the emphasis of these materials is on building comprehension through skills that evolve from part to
Table 3

Hispanic Population and Subgroups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number in Million</th>
<th>% of Hispanic Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Americans</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican-Americans</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>62.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Ricans</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central &amp; South Americans</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cubans</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Hispanics (Persons from Spain and those describing themselves as &quot;Hispanic,&quot; &quot;Spanish,&quot; or &quot;Latinos&quot;).</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


whole and through step by step exercises and procedures. Her analysis of these basal readers revealed that most of the Spanish literature had either been translated or adapted from English in these texts. As an alternative to these type of texts, Freeman (1988) suggests that Spanish reading programs should include poetry and some of the stories from these basal readers rather than using all of the stories based upon recommendations to be followed in a teacher's manual; using Spanish newspapers; having youngsters select Spanish trade books, magazines, and newsletters; having youngsters write and read each others' materials; and, reading books and stories written in Spanish by those living in the Hispanic community. An example of a two-way bilingual program is Fratney Street School.

\(^3\)Few studies have attempted to assess the readability of Spanish texts. The primary measures are the use of readability formulas (Spaniuling, 1951, 1956; Patterson, 1972), and the cloze procedure (Stewart & Haase, 1982). In a study involving readability determinants of Spanish basal readers, Alvarez (1980) found that a publisher of a Spanish basal reader was using English translations to determine the readability levels of these reading materials. A problem with this method to determine readability lies in the differing word and sentence patterns between English and Spanish discourse.
La Escuela Fratney

Fratney Street School, part of the Milwaukee Public School System is located in an integrated neighborhood in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The faculty and staff teach children to be bilingual in Spanish and English, using cooperative and innovative methods governed by a council of parents and teachers. The school has approximately three hundred children, grades K through 5, 42% Black, 37% Hispanic, and 21% other. Approximately 90% of the children qualify for the free lunch program (La Escuela Fratney, 1989). This school is an example of a culturally pluralistic society selecting and using various reading materials written in Spanish and English to enrich a flexible curriculum by meeting the needs of a bilingual student body. The children learn two languages in a whole-language and cooperative-learning environment. Faculty, staff, and parents work together in helping students to reach their potential.

Fratney Street School practices multicultural education and helps students to become bilingual and biliterate people. The school accepts children of all races who speak either Spanish or English. The two-way bilingual program teaches academic content in concert with or before instruction through English to native-speaking English students. The program is designed for each group to maintain their native language while developing necessary literacy skills. It differs from linguistic programs that stress immersion in the second language used exclusively for instruction in that the two-way program is intended to promote second language learning by emphasizing use of the target languages for academic instruction. The teachers in this two-way bilingual program are proficient in both languages and are committed to bilingualism and native language maintenance. The goal of the program is for both groups of students to be bilingual and biliterate.4

Importance for Hispanics to Achieve Language Proficiency

There is evidence to suggest that the degree of language proficiency achieved by Hispanics determines their level of academic, cognitive, and linguistic tasks (Ballesteros, 1986; Davis, 1975; DeAvila & Duncan, 1981; Macnamara, 1967; Mestre, 1981, 1986). However, language acquisition differs from language learning in that language acquisition takes place by using language in natural settings during daily communication, while

4 The faculty, staff, students, and parents have published two books entitled La Escuela Fratney: Year One, 1989, and Growing with La Escuela Fratney: Year II, 1990. These can be purchased by writing to La Escuela Fratney, 3255 N. Fratney Street, Milwaukee, WI 53212. A quarterly publication entitled Rethinking Schools can be obtained by writing to Rethinking Schools, 1001 East Keefe Avenue, Milwaukee, WI 53212.
language learning focuses on knowing the rules of grammar. Cummins (1980) distinguishes between language proficiency in the sense of social communicative interactions and academic language which is needed to meaningfully learn and process concepts. Hispanic students are often hindered by their inability to deal with conceptual problem-solving tasks due to a lack of language proficiency needed to comprehend the ideas being asked of them in a text (Mestre, 1986). Enhanced background knowledge of a topic and experiences in learning how to learn can increase the Hispanic students' ability to understand and recall information from text and to fill in the gaps with information not completely mentioned in the text. Often students are required to read and interpret various types of information and it is assumed that they have been prepared to cope independently with these materials. Studies conducted with developmental college classes (Alvarez, Risko, Cooper, & Hall, 1984; Drabin-Parvanto & Maloney, 1982) found that these students were significantly underprepared to cope with the courses they were required to take because of limited background knowledge. While these studies have been conducted with college students in general, it is reasonable to expect that Hispanic students who are experiencing reading comprehension problems are underprepared for secondary and postsecondary instruction (e.g., Ballesteros, 1986; Davis, 1975; Orum, 1986).

We cannot assume that Hispanic students entering classrooms come prepared with a contextual framework that will aid assimilation of ideas presented either through lecture or textual readings. Teachers need to be aware that Hispanic students may lack the background knowledge needed to cope with information presented in class or in assigned readings due to their varied language structure and cultural diversity. Also, a lack of background knowledge may contribute to related educational problems. These could include limited knowledge of the specialized and technical vocabulary that appear in texts (Stahl, Brozo, & Simpson, 1987), a lack of preparation in maximizing library resources (Risko, Alvarez, & Fairbanks, 1991), a lack of self-initiated study strategies to monitor learning (Risko, Fairbanks, & Alvarez, 1991), and a lack of conceptual understanding of ideas presented in narrative and expository texts.

Creating Social Contexts for Clarifying Conceptual Ambiguities

Cultural and linguistic factors have been discussed that inhibit educational attainment for Hispanic students. The focus now centers on three instructional strategies that can be used to clarify conceptual ambiguities through the mutual sharing of knowledge among peers and between the students and the teacher.
Concept Maps, Vee Diagrams, and Thematic Organizers

A concept map is a representation of an individual’s belief system. It is a word diagram that is portrayed visually in an hierarchical fashion and represents concepts and their relationships. Concept maps are used to organize information coherently and around central concepts. Maps can be used to summarize portions of textbooks, to organize ideas before writing a paper, or as a way to review when preparing for an examination. Ideas can be visually inspected and mutually discussed.

Hierarchical concept maps have aided students in constructing and retaining knowledge from text. Much research, reported by Novak and Gowen (1984), has been conducted with these hierarchical concept maps. Most studies have examined the effects of concept mapping information appearing in texts (e.g., Alvarez, Risko, Waddell, Drake, & Patterson, 1988; Alvarez & Risko, 1987; Cardemone, 1975; Kingstein, 1981; Moreira, 1977; Novak, Gowin, & Johnansen, 1983; Taylor, 1985) or as a clinical interview technique (Ault, Novak, & Gowin, 1984; Novak & Gowin, 1984; Stewart, 1980). Concept maps enable students to control and conceptualize their thoughts. Being able to control one’s thinking is the first step to awareness within an individual. This self-awareness, according to Vygotsky (1986), is the ability of the individual to regulate his or her own thinking.

Concept mapping seems to be an effective method that Hispanic students could use to regulate and monitor their own thinking. As a sharing technique to reveal ideas, concept mapping can aid both instructors and students by providing a visual framework from which to clarify misconceptions that may arise during a lesson or an assignment. These hierarchical concept maps can be used as intermediaries in the reading/writing learning process of a Hispanic student (see Alvarez & Herrera, 1990). Concept maps give more specific information than verbal responses to questions.

Vee diagrams also represent conceptual models for understanding knowledge structures. A Vee diagram is a structured, visual means of relating the methodological aspects of an activity to the underlying conceptual aspects. It focuses on the salient role of concepts in learning and retention. Vee diagrams were developed by Gowin (1981) to enable students to understand the structure of knowledge and process of knowledge construction (see Gowin, 1981; Novak & Gowin, 1984). The fundamental assumption is that knowledge is not absolute but dependent upon the concepts, theories, and methodologies by which we view the world. Vee diagramming has been successful as an instructional and an interview heuristic with students in third grade, upper elementary, junior, senior high school, and college (e.g., Alvarez, 1987; Alvarez &

Vee diagramming can help Hispanic students to better understand the structure of knowledge and process of knowledge construction. This can be accomplished by visually showing how the conceptual and methodological components of a given topic or problem interact to form a meaningful composite. The Vee can be used to analyze a document, a research study, or a proposal. It is also effective as an instructional aid for problem solving.

Another strategy that seems to have potential for Hispanic students to better comprehend concepts is a thematic organizer (Alvarez, 1983; Alvarez & Risko, 1989; Risko & Alvarez, 1986). A thematic organizer is a text adjunct designed to highlight systematically and explicitly the central theme of the text, relate the theme to experiences and/or knowledge that students already possess, provide cohesion among the ideas to accommodate text structure; aid schema construction by elaborating upon new and extended meanings of a thematic concept. The intent of a thematic organizer is to prepare students to relate their own experiences and prior knowledge to the information in and across texts.

A thematic organizer can be used to alert students to new or abstract concepts appearing in textbooks, thereby assisting them by improving their comprehension. The use of a thematic organizer can also illustrate to Hispanic students how their prior knowledge of a central concept can help them to generate plausible inferences and to elaborate upon the information appearing in the text.

Providing contextual references by which to monitor student comprehension is important if we are to assist Hispanic students with their conceptual understanding and knowledge of subject matter. Strategies such as hierarchical concept mapping, Vee diagramming, and thematic organizers provide contextual frameworks from which students, both individually and in social contexts, can learn and apply prior knowledge to new information.

**Conclusion**

It is important to know and understand the cultural heritage of Hispanic students if we expect school achievement and academic success of this population. Excessive drop out rates coupled with low high school and postsecondary graduations indicate the need for reforming our school reading/writing and academic curricula. Also, we need to raise the level of consciousness among educators at the primary, middle, secondary, and postsecondary levels to the varying background and linguistic factors exhibited by Hispanic subgroups. San Miguel
(1987) suggests that future research studies should compare and contrast the respective educational experiences of Hispanic subgroups in order to provide a greater understanding of the experiential differences that are part of our American educational heritage.

Learning strategies that can be self-initiated, such as hierarchical concept mapping and Vee diagramming, as well as those that are teacher-assisted, like the use of thematic organizers, can be taught and used by the teacher to help students to better understand conceptual relationships among ideas. Strategies such as these help students and the teacher to reach mutual understanding by resolving differences and uncertainties through negotiated meaning. Social contexts afforded by strategies such as these can aid students in fostering self-esteem and empower self-learning.

Being aware of the cultural background and linguistic factors that impact Hispanic students in a school environment, together with providing them with meaningful instructional materials and learning strategies to aid their reading comprehension, can better prepare these students to achieve academic success. Providing social contexts through which these students can engage with others and exchange and share meaning can help them to better resolve uncertainty and enable them to create their own learning contexts.

References


Do or Die: School Violence, Teenage Suicide, and Educational Pressure in Japan

Linda L. Arthur

In the decade of the 1980s, many western professionals were dazzled by Japan and what seemed to be her success in the field of education. Articles extolling the excellence and virtues of the Japanese educational system appeared time and again in varied journals and magazines. Business professionals and academics went so far as to suggest that Americans would better the U.S. school system if they adopted major components of the system of our Japanese neighbors. The literacy rate in Japan, which was cited as being anywhere from 96% to 99%, was used as one justification for revamping the American schools. From the outside looking in, the U.S. educators praised the behavior and achievements of the students and teachers in Japan. Most comments echoed that the students are orderly and well-mannered and show the teacher respect; they score higher on math and science tests than American children do; they study more hours per week, and they attend better during class. The Japanese teachers were also praised: They are better educated, they are more dedicated, they study new methods, carry on research, and counsel parents and students as a part of their job. There were very few articles written, however, about the detrimental side effects of a system that promotes and demands such a high rate of literacy.

What price do the children of Japan pay? What kinds of ill effects are manifested within an educational framework that overwhelms its students with such fierce competition? These questions were the impetus for the present descriptive study, which presents a different view of the Japanese educational system.
A recent tragedy in Kobe, Japan, once again brought this tiny island into the spotlight. At Takatsuka High School on July 6, 1990, a teacher, intent on doing his job, slammed a 500-pound steel gate into a female student who was a few moments late. He crushed her skull. According to school records, 15-year-old Ryoko Ishida had never been late to school (Japan Times, July, 1990). This is not an isolated incident. In the eighties many incidents such as this occurred:

• Mr. Nakawatari, 24-years-old, died on the morning of January 30, 1985, six days after he was beaten in his classroom by a junior-high-school student. His death was due to damage to the stem of the brain.

• In February, 1986, at a junior high school in Hyogo Prefecture, students became angry and stormed a teacher’s classroom and beat and kicked him. They then turned on other teachers who came in and tried to help the teacher. In order to avoid further confusion and injury, the first teacher knelt on the floor and apologized. A total of 10 teachers suffered physical injury in that attack.

• Thirteen-year-old Eriko Muraguchi was found dead at about 10:30 p.m. on January 21, 1985. She had hanged herself from a utility pole. Eriko had refused to attend school because she was being bullied.

These occurrences are real. They affected the lives of the families involved as well as the school personnel and students attending the schools. These events are not included here to sensationalize the issue. They are horrific enough without embellishment. These details are emphasized to bring attention and focus upon them, for these kinds of tragedies caused by school-related pressures are not uncommon in Japan today.

This paper focuses on the reality of educational pressure in Japan and the effects it has on the children of that country. The paper is divided into three phases. All phases deal with the decade of the 1980s and involve Japanese teenagers: 1) A brief description and critique of the literature on Japanese education as viewed by westerners; 2) Trends in school-related violence based on statistics from Japanese sources; and Phase 3) School-related teenage suicide.

Phase 1: A Critique of Selected Western Viewpoints on Japanese Education.

Who are the academics who seem to be pushing for changes in the structure and philosophy of the U.S. educational system? Some are scholars interested in things Japanese. Others are scholars who were involved in a cross-cultural research project sponsored by the U.S. government. In 1983 the U.S. Secretary of Education asked twelve
academics to investigate the Japanese educational system and report their findings.¹ The OERI inquiry began in 1984 and continued through 1986. Some basic information, generalizations, and praise were printed in a document entitled *Japanese Education Today* (1987).

Two immediate questions come to mind when reading this document. First, how many of the American scholars involved in the study spoke Japanese? Nothing is mentioned in the report about Japanese language ability. Even though two of the twelve researchers have Japanese surnames, one cannot assume that they speak Japanese. If this is indeed the case, then how could the American research team make any judgments of what was going on in the Japanese classroom or on the school grounds? Or how could they know if the teacher was getting a point across during a lesson or what students outside a principal’s office were really doing? The second question that needs to be asked is: Did the U.S. team have interpreters? If so, were they American, chosen by the U.S. research team, or were they chosen by the Japanese Board of Education?

Perhaps this sounds a bit paranoid; but when viewed in the cultural context of Japan, these are questions that are extremely crucial. There is a distinct “double structure” at work in that country which a foreign visitor might not be aware of. This double structure is called the *itanme*/*honme*, or the “official front” vs. the “internal truth.” Almost all if not all Japanese are cognizant of this undercurrent philosophy and practice it as a lifestyle. Japanese people in particular want to impress others whenever possible. Consequently, foreigners will more than likely see what the Japanese want them to see. What someone looking in from the outside will view is usually the *itanme*, or “official front.” It would be rare for a visitor to the Japanese Board of Education to willingly show teachers locked-door schools, or schools known for violence against teachers, or schools where *jime* (or bullying) is rampant.

These negative aspects, also a part of the Japanese educational structure, are seldom discussed at any length in the western literature. Are these problems within the school system just “special, extraordinary cases,” as is implied by the U.S. research team (p. iv)? The government report responds to these troubling areas by saying that “…by comparison with various other industrialized nations, including the U.S., delinquency [emphasis added] in Japan is mild and infrequent” (p. 46).

Also White (1985) reluctantly admits that there are problems and proceeds to dismiss them with the same rationalization as the government:

Problems have surfaced, of course. Psychotherapists report a syndrome among children related to school and examination
pressure. School phobia, psychosomatic symptoms, and juvenile suicide are most frequently reported. Japan does lead the world in school-related suicides for the 15- to 19-year-old age group, at about 300 per year. Recently, the "battered teacher" and "battered parent" syndromes have received much attention. There are cases where teenagers have attacked or killed parents and teachers, and these have been related to examination pressure. The numbers involved in these cases are very small—at least in comparison with American delinquency patterns (emphasis added) and other juvenile pathologies (p. 20).

Not only the U.S. researchers but also White sweep aside the school-related suicide and the school-violence issues by saying that Japan still is not as crime-ridden as the U.S. It does not seem logical to mention, as they do, American delinquency patterns here. Delinquency patterns of either country are not the issue. White, as well as the researchers, is discussing school-related pressures that cause suicide and crime in Japan, not overall juvenile delinquency patterns. How many violent acts in America by teens are due to school and examination pressure? How many American teens commit suicide because they have to take the SAT?

When speaking of Japan, it is not the "low" rate of school-related violence that should be expounded upon but rather the sharp, dramatic increase in the rate. For a country that had virtually no violence in the schools up to the mid-seventies now to have one teacher attacked and physically injured by junior high students every four days in Tokyo is shocking. Furthermore, there is a school-related violent act occurring in Tokyo every 29 hours (Japan Times, March, 1981). It should be reiterated that it is the drastic rise in school-related violence which is of utmost concern.

**Phase 2: Trends in School-related Violence**

There are many serious problems in the Japanese school system. To consider them as "extraordinary" or "special cases" is to push aside a growing social problem in that country. What is extraordinary is that while western educators were applauding Japan, the Japanese were trying to do something constructive about their problems. This is evident from major newspaper reports.

The present study was undertaken to see if further investigation into issues such as these is warranted. From my perusing a major Japanese newspaper, the Japan Times, it was apparent that these problems were predominant during the 1980s (see Appendix). The titles of articles which appeared in that decade reflect the concern of the Japanese
regarding these issues. These news reports contain statistics from the National Policy Agency, the Prime Minister’s Office, and the Japanese Ministry of Education. Though some titles may not appear school-related per se, no article was included that did not have some reference to school-related violence or self-inflicted injury.

Of special interest is that in 1986 there was a total of 18 articles. Then, in the years 1988-1989, the number of articles plummeted (in fact in 1989 there were no articles at all). This decrease is not unusual in light of the fact that the 1987 U.S. report was being published sanctioning the Japanese process of educating their youth.

From this revised perspective, several points can be made. First, the age of the school-related violent act offenders went down after 1980. That is, whereas previously many of the violent acts were carried out by secondary students, during the eighties most violent acts were done by lower secondary students. For example, in 1982, 88.3% of all school-related violent acts occurred in the lower secondary schools (Prime Minister’s Office, 1982).

Second, it is indeed fortunate to see a decrease in the number of overall teenage suicides (World Health Statistics Annual, 1980-1989). Educators, however, must use caution when looking at these numbers. Even though overall rates are decreasing, school-related teenage suicide rates may not be. To use overall decreasing rates as a point in favor of employing Japanese educational strategies in the U.S. is not valid.

Third, although the startling suicide rates seen in the 1970s have possibly decreased, they were replaced by two disturbing new trends which appeared in the early eighties: School violence (which includes students against students, students against teachers, teachers against students, and the destruction of school property by students) and ijime, or bullying (which includes students against students, students against teachers, and at times teachers against students).

A major problem Japanese educators seemingly reluctantly faced in the early to mid years of the eighties was the increase in the attacks on teachers. Because the teacher had always been so revered, this increase was frightening. The Japanese National Police Agency stated that the attacks on teachers increased by 69.8% in 1980. Officials also stated that attacks on female teachers have risen over the years. In most cases, it is a female student who attacks a female teacher. Although the number of violent cases against female educators is low, the fact is that this figure tripled from April of 1982 to September of 1982.

Why do these students commit acts of violence? A survey completed by the Prime Minister’s Office in July 1982 reported that 51% of 2,000
students polled cited teacher favoritism as the reason for acts of violence in school. Students also mentioned persistent scolding and teacher indecision as other major reasons.

In regard to bullying, the harsh aspect is that students are becoming more vicious in their techniques. They are not armed with metal baseball bats, hammers, wooden swords, and scissors. In 1985, 68.8% of the junior high schools reported incidents of violent bullying. The same year 58,609 cases of bullying (each case usually involving many people) were reported to the Ministry of Education. This number does not include other school-related violent acts, which would indeed increase the cases of school-related crimes.

As a corollary to this rampant bullying, absenteeism emerged as a trend. In 1985 absenteeism reached a 30-year high. By 1986, this number had almost doubled.

**Phase 3: School-related Teenage Suicide: Some Background**

Japan's overall teenage suicide rate for many years was the highest in the world. Researchers attributed many of these suicides to the pressures of the demanding and unremitting educational system. Iga (1986) compiled detailed research in this area. His work regarding students concentrated on data up to the mid-seventies, and one section of his book contains an excellent discussion on educational pressures.

As far back as 1961, 60.8% of junior high school students reported "entrance examinations and schoolwork" as their greatest worry. Iga states that an unheard of percentage of females ranked these as their primary concern (62.7%). Then, again in 1976, entrance examinations and schoolwork ranked first among major concerns of junior high school students.

In 1974, for the months of April, May, and June, it was found by the Japanese Ministry of Welfare that 34.1% of males 19 and under who committed suicide did so because of schoolwork. This was the number one cause. (It should be noted here that April is one of the months in which the results of the university examinations are distributed.)

Iga (1986) suggests that the reason students are obsessed with the entrance examinations is twofold. First is the society’s "do-or-die" attitude toward the exam. In order to elevate social status and achieve security, educational success is imperative. Secondly, there is the "one-shot" principle: Whereas the evaluation of an individual in America is spread over many years, a Japanese person’s entire career depends upon his success in a single event, the entrance examination to a university (pp. 38-39).
What about teenage suicide caused by educational pressure in Japan during the eighties? First, consider what westerners have said. In the U.S. OERI report (1987) nothing is mentioned for grades 7-9. For grades 10-12, however, there are a few statements that need comment:

Worry about examinations is a continuing reality for most Japanese high school students and their families, but–dramatic media coverage notwithstanding—it is not true that large numbers of disappointed youth are driven to take their own lives because of their failure to pass the entrance examination to elite universities. While school-related factors are clearly among the important causes of suicide, examinations per se are not the dominant factor. (p. 45)

There are two problems with these statements. First, no source is given. Secondly, with a system set up so that a person's entire career is based on a one-shot, "do-or-die" experience (i.e., the university entrance examination), how can U.S. researchers separate "school-related factors" from this ordeal? Japanese children spend twelve years of their childhood preparing for this examination. How can the years of stress leading up to that exam be separated from the examination itself?

In addition, as previously mentioned, White (1985) cites that Japan leads the world in school-related suicides for teens aged 15-19, at about 300 per year. If White's (1985) statistics are correct, 50% of the overall suicides were school-related for the year 1980; 57% for 1981; and 60% for the year 1982.

What does the literature say about why these young students take their own lives? In the material perused, the only information dealing with the reasons was released in 1981. In that year the White Paper on Suicides printed by the government addressed this question (Japan Times, 1981). According to the White Paper, juvenile suicides were caused by scoldings from parents, scoldings from teachers, inability to keep up with schoolwork, problems with friends, and relations with the opposite sex.

School-related Teenage Suicide: Results of a Descriptive Study

Several questions about teenage suicide are worth answering: Who are these teens? What methods do they use to inflict injury upon themselves? Where do they commit suicide? When do they kill themselves? And, most importantly, why do they kill themselves?

Fifteen case studies of junior high and senior high school students who took their own lives were analyzed. Newspaper reports were utilized as the source of the data. All articles were taken from a major
Japanese newspaper, the Japan Times, for the years 1985-1986. The sources for the Japan Times were the Japanese National Police Agency and the Japanese Ministry of Education.

From the data, the following can be specified:

1) Fourteen of the fifteen cases were school-related suicides; no school-related reason was given for one suicide; however, it was mentioned that the victim was a cram school student.

2) The average age of the child who took his or her own life was 14.3 years.

3) 73.3% of the students who committed suicide were males.

4) About half of the students killed themselves by hanging. Other methods included jumping (off of buildings and in front of trains), drowning, ingesting poison, and using a rifle.

5) Of the 15, over half killed themselves in the early winter months of January and February. (Note: these are the months in which the entrance examinations are given.)

6) Thirteen of the fifteen children killed themselves because they were being bullied.

Conclusion

Something has gone awry in Japan. The Japanese know it. They write about it; they meet to discuss it; they form committees to try to handle it; and they visit foreign countries to find solutions for it. If American scholars do, indeed, want to assimilate Japanese philosophies and structure into the U.S. educational system, it is appropriate that they consider all of the negatives to such a course. To date, no convincing data have been presented which would suggest that such a conversion would be beneficial to American students. If educators want to alter their system in the U.S., why would they advocate a system that would more than likely place more stress on children and young adults? In order to make this kind of decision, U.S. researchers need to find a way to get through the Japanese Intevanu. Scholars need to conduct research which gives accurate information as to what is happening inside the Japanese schools.

References


Appendix

Titles of Articles Written about School-related Violence in Japan: 1980-1989

1980

Makieda urges teachers find way to curb student violence
Testimony on school violence
Schools, local police told to stem violence
Statistics on juvenile crime
Number of youths investigated for crime hits record in 1980
Escalating school violence
Growing army of violent children
85,000 minors investigated for criminal acts in January - June
Student delinquency hitting 3rd postwar peak, gov’t report says

1982

Teachers say delinquency spreading in schools
One-third of students feel violent urge against teachers

1983

Government White paper on youth
NPA issues warning against school violence
Education Ministry, experts discuss juvenile delinquency
Worsening of school violence in March, MPD says
Osaka school violence reaches high
Study links low grades to violence in schools
5 students arrested for killing schoolmate
6,176 teens deserted home in March
Cases of violence up sharply in nation's Jr. High schools
Stabbing at Jr. High sparks debate
Schools barred 1,092 Jr. High students as delinquents: Poll
1984
Truancy manual distributed
School violence declines
Student suicides rise; educators dismayed
1985
Student beats teacher to death
Bullying blamed for suicide
Bullying increasing in schools
Japan, U.S., Jr. High pupils moms polled
Bullying a grim school reality
School bullying problem grows
Student bullying causes suicide
Bullying, absenteeism increased in '84
Bullied teen kills himself
1986
Teen suicide victim's complaints ignored
Juvenile crime rate goes up: NPA
Schoolboy hangs self in dorm room
When teachers get together
Teacher took part in bullying victim
155,066 bullying cases reported
Bullied Jr. High girl commits suicide
Jr. High students attack teachers
'Demonic' mother, son blamed for boy's suicide
Life-or-death education
Teacher gets 3-yr. prison term for beating death of student
Teens commit suicide
Battered student dies
Truancy increasing, says ministry
The dilemma of Japan’s education
Student in coma after suicide attempt
Boy commits suicide in despair over bullying
Bullying in Japan’s schools up in ‘85
1987
No data available
1988
Police arrest 16-year-old in stabbing death of teacher
Incidents of violence and bullying decline in Tokyo public schools
Juvenile delinquency reaches the second-highest level ever
The children who refuse to go to school
‘Daiken’ opens doors to dropouts
1989
No articles found

1 Note: Japanese scholars were also sent to the U.S. to glean information about American education.
2 No article written about the same case was listed twice
Expanding Literacy by the Use of Imaginative Literature in the Teacher-Education Classroom

Marilyn G. Eenet

Long ago when I was just learning to read, and the world was (as usual) tottering on the brink of war, I discovered that if I wanted to look for the truth of what was happening around me ... the place to look for that truth was in story. Facts simply told me what things were. Story told me what they were about, and sometimes even what they meant. It never occurred to me then, when I was little, that story is more appropriate for children than adults. It is still, for me, the vehicle of truth. (L'Engle, 1991, p. 324)

Let me tell you a story.

Initiating Event and Response

About a year and half ago, I participated in a faculty seminar about the current knowledge base in teacher education. Our group was charged with revising a program, and we were excited about making meaningful changes in our classrooms. In the process, I read a paper by Maxine Greene in which she referred to the power that imaginative literature has to “render events in such a manner as to prompt the questions generating the formation of a knowledge base” (Greene, 1989, p. 146). Awkward as I found that statement, it also intrigued me. Our group had been talking about some crucial issues in teacher education; and among those issues, I was especially concerned with the problem of helping teacher-education students examine and get beyond the years of modeling—indeed, conditioning—in the less productive aspects of tradi-
tional practice. We wanted to develop new teachers who are reflective practitioners; I wondered if we were overlooking a very powerful aspects of human culture that could be a part of this developmental process—imaginative literature. Questions came flooding into my mind. Are there works of literature that would naturally complement the teacher-education curriculum? Are there short stories, novels, poems that students would find engaging, enlightening, perplexing, that would introduce new perspectives—as teachers-to-be think about classrooms, students, and teaching? I could think of a few works of literature that might serve in this way, and I suspected that there were more.

Shortly after this experience, I serendipitously stumbled on a description of Robert Cole's book *The Call of Stories* (1989) in a book catalog. Reading this delightful and inspiring volume, I found confirmation. Indeed, Cole had already done what I was considering; that is, he had taught courses using literature in a number of the professional schools at Harvard, including the Graduate School of Education. The book he wrote grew out of conversations with students about literature; and it documents, beyond doubt, the power of literature in the intellectual and ethical development of students. He talks about "...the wonderful mimetic power a novel or a story can have—its capacity to work its way into one's thinking life, yes, but also one's reveries or idle thoughts, even one's mood and dreams" (p. 204). He shares his belief, and that of his mentor William Carlos Williams, that stories have the power to take readers beyond what is known only by the intellect and thus to actually influence behavior toward others.

On the basis of Cole's writing and my personal experiences with literature, I was convinced of the power of imaginative literature to be a positive influence in teacher education. Stories resonate more deeply than much of the material we typically use with our students; stories speak not only to the thinking function but also to the emotional and intuitive functions of the individual. Thus it is possible that stories have the potential to influence behavior in a way that material which is directly only toward the rational and logical functions does not. Don't certain images from our reading of literature stay with us and remind us of what is meaningful? As one of Cole's students expressed it: "[the protagonist] might even make a difference in my life, because he's part of what it is that's in my head that remembers and decides and is loyal to this and doesn't like something else. He is part of my mind's life" (Cole, 1989, p. 129).

To examine the value of stories from a different perspective, research about teaching that is cognitively based suggests that experienced teachers have better developed conceptual systems about classrooms
and learning. Borko and Shavelson (1990) suggest that three types of schemata characterize teacher thinking: Scripts, scenes, and propositional structures. Propositional structures are the representations of factual knowledge about classrooms and students. A script is a knowledge structure about familiar, everyday experiences—temporal relationships. Scenes represent knowledge of people and objects in classrooms—spatial relationships. While propositional structures are by nature expository, both scripts and scenes are more characteristics of the narrative—the story. I would never suggest that either imaginative literature or "teacher stories" replace actual classroom experience in developing scripts and scenes, but I would suggest that such literature might contribute to their development.

Additional support for the use of stories may be inferred from the work of theorists and researchers who advocate the use of narrative in human-science research. In Actual Minds, Possible Worlds, Jerome Bruner (1986) writes:

There are two modes of cognitive functioning, two modes of thought, each providing distinctive ways of ordering experience, of constructing reality. The two (though complementary) are irreducible to one another. Efforts to reduce one mode to the other or to ignore one at the expense of the other inevitably fail to capture the rich diversity of thought. (p. 11)

The two modes he identifies are the logico-scientific, or paradigmatic, mode and the narrative mode. Other theorists go so far as to suggest that the narrative mode might actually be the more appropriate mode for the investigation of human behavior (Polkinghorne, 1988).

Attempts and Outcomes

The decision to explore the use of stories in my teacher-education classes raised a whole new set of questions: What stories? Used in what way? How do I find time? How do I evaluate their effect? After a flurry of searching—asking colleagues for ideas, visiting libraries and bookstores, and reading stories and novels ranging from Chekhov and Dickens to Judy Bloom—I selected several readings to use with two of my undergraduate teacher-education classes: One an elementary reading methods course, the second a secondary methods course combining content reading with an introduction to basic teaching skills. While my original intention was to use only fiction, I choose to include one nonfiction "teacher story" in each class. Students were asked to read the selections and write personal responses in their journals. Their instructions were simply to write about what they thought and/or how they felt about the reading. I chose not to use these literary selections for the
purpose of demonstrating reading strategies; I did not provide any special prereading preparation except for a brief context for the excerpts from larger works. Postreading discussion was equally nondirected—merely an opportunity for students to share their reactions voluntarily. I wanted to feel confident that the students' responses were "pure" in the sense of not being influenced by my interpretation of the selections or by my desire for them to view the reading experience in any particular way. To evaluate the experience, I analyzed their written responses. The major question I was seeking to explore was whether the reading appeared to stimulate reflection about teaching and learning, I was also interested to discover if students would enjoy the readings and even find them useful to their thinking about teaching. Let me share some of my students' responses.

**Elementary Reading Methods Class**

The literature that the students in the elementary reading methods class read included Chapters two and three from *To Kill a Mockingbird* (Lee, 1960). The following entries are a sample of the responses:

In the opening paragraph, Scout describes how she longed to join the other kids in school and spent hours watching them in the school yard. By the end of her first day, she had been reprimanded unnecessarily and whipped in front of the whole school: if that doesn't kill a child's natural curiosity and enthusiasm for school, nothing will. My own children also went off to school eager and excited to learn, and I see it waning in my second grader already. Some things haven't changed, but they need to. This passage reminded me of the need for teachers to be in tune with their students.

... I thought to myself, am I going to be that strict when I am a brand new teacher? Also, if I teach in another state, will I be picked on because I don't know the 'ropes' of the school? It came across that Miss Caroline was trying too hard to prove herself as a teacher.

Scout is an atypical student because she is an early reader and quite precocious. This presented some problems for her since her teacher, the stereotypical new, young teacher, has no idea how to deal with Scout's individuality and ability. Communication is a problem in this classroom since the culture of the community is alien to the teacher. Students and teacher struggle to understand one another with limited success. This account provides a good example of what it can mean for both students and teacher to be thrust into a situation where much is demanded of them on both the personal and academic levels.
I thought a little about the teacher and her experience as a “new” teacher and the frightening experience it probably was for her and will be for me someday. Somehow I was more moved by the dilemma that Scout faced as a first grader who could read and write and was being discouraged from doing so until taught “correctly” by her teacher. May I never do to any child what this teacher did to Scout. About the only think positive that I could see that came out of this situation for Scout was that her teacher forced her to think about how she had learned to read. She was fortunate to have come from an environment rich in literacy which fostered her desire to read.

While students made literal connections between the chapters read and the content of our study of emergent literacy, they also showed evidence of thinking about larger issues.

This class also read a poem that had been published in *The Reading Teacher*: “When I read a good book,” by Jennifer Rose, a fifth grader.

What a great poem! This child has a true understanding about reading for meaning. She expressed how I feel about reading . . . It is refreshing to know that there are kids who still enjoy a good book. Jennifer Rose described a good book perfectly. One does not read a good book passively, but rather becomes a part of it.

When I first read the poem, I did not think that a fifth grader wrote it. To be quite honest, I am really surprised that a fifth grader could feel all of these emotions and make the associations that she did. I admire Jennifer for her determination and her teacher for providing that opportunity for her to write and express herself so confidently.

I am inspired by this little girl’s perspective on reading. I have never been a lover of reading, but I am learning to be. I have also discovered that as a teacher, you are an important guide to your students, but you should try very hard not to put limitations on what children can do. You can be surprised by what children can do if you give them a little freedom to use their imaginations.

**Secondary Methods Class**

The students in the secondary education class began their reading with two chapters from *Up the Down Staircase* (Kaufman, 1964). I was needlessly concerned that they would find the material dated.

After reading the excerpt from *Up the Down Staircase*, I couldn’t decide whether I am cut out to be a teacher or not. It seemed such
a chore to reach the students. This quote hit home though: 'I saw how desperately they need me.' Are teachers supposed to be miracle workers? Teachers are responsible for more than just reading, writing, and arithmetic; they must make learning fun, reform structure, deal with family problems, drugs, unsatisfactory tests, just to name a few. Although this work was written some years ago, a lot of it is still true; things may be even more complex today.... As a teacher, where does one go with a group of students like this? It's so overwhelming. So much must be changed with so few resources and time running out. I'm not even a teacher and I feel the pressure already. But at least I'm not going into the profession blind.

I was interested in discerning the traits that the students used to describe good and bad teachers. Many of the students like teachers who they believed like them. The 'bad' teachers seemed ignorantly strict, inconsiderate, incommunicative, prejudiced, passive, and boring. The students' comments were often humorous while being touching at the same time. It was very disheartening to read that 'teachers try to make us feel lower than themselves.' This jolted my view of teachers....

... I keep thinking of one thing that Syl [the teacher] and the students have in common--FEAR. They are both fearful of what lies ahead--of the unknown. Syl is afraid she won't be able to 'reach' her students. She is afraid that all her college education may not have prepared her for what she is about to embark upon. She wants to do a wonderful job. She is eager and full of enthusiasm. She specifically mentions several things that she wasn't prepared for that interfere with her teaching, such as the paperwork and some of her colleagues' indifference toward their school and job.

The students, too, are full of fear.... The letters that they wrote regarding English have fear and hope woven between the lines. They want to learn but are afraid to tell anyone. They want someone to trust. Their backgrounds seem so diverse. I think Syl is wise to try to learn a little about their homes; it will help her understand them.

Overall, I felt that the chapters were very real as far as how teachers and students [having] the same basic feelings.... If Syl can reach some of them and keep her enthusiasm, she'll be great.

I love Kaufman's humor; it serve to smooth over some of the underlying tension of her position as the new teacher. Sylvia's fears are my fears, such as the kids' apathy and their 'unquestion-
...ing acceptance of whatever is taught to them by anyone in front of the room.

The administration, too, foils attempts at learning by forbidding students on school premises at unauthorized times: it seems education has its own strict and enforced time table. Signs should be posted on classroom doors: 'No Learning After Hours.' The school's administration frightens me more than the staring, bland, apathetic 'field of faces' behind desks. At least the kids are somewhat malleable; the administration, however, must maintain a cemented mindset in an attempt to preserve order (based on anachronistic tradition). Like Sylvia, I too am afraid that the institution I end up in will not be conducive to teaching or learning.

Not only did these students find *Up the Down Staircase* contemporary, but, to my amazement, many of them even felt uncomfortably at home in the first chapters of Dickens' *Hard Times*: "This reminds me of my school days--seemed I spent most of my time learning facts for tests I would forget as soon as the test was over."

*Hard Times* brought out feelings in me that made me remember my days in grammar and middle schools. I had a teacher who made my class in 7th grade feel the same way. He was a math teacher who did the same things as Mr. Thomas Gradgrind. He was a relentless teacher who would come at you from all different angles. It was a very bad class for us, and we still talk about it today when we get together.

I LOVE DICKENS! I know it is said that I love such depressing stuff, but most time I feel good after his work--maybe because I am relieved with my own life! This selection is relevant to our discussion about questioning and what students should learn from a text or presentation. I know my fault lies in not putting *enough* emphasis on facts. I focus on awful lot on ideas and big stuff! I need to be reminded that knowing facts can lead to great ideas.

Another selection that the secondary students read was a section from Mike Rose's *Lives on the Boundary* (1989). In these passages Rose writes about some of his experiences in elementary and secondary school. Students found this account a source of surprises. As one said, "I guess somewhere in my mind, I thought that students in lower-level classes just belonged there. Well, I've realized after reading *Lives on the Boundary* that all students are capable and they all deserve the best possible learning experience." Other students had similar insights:

It hadn't yet crossed my mind that I will or at least I could be teaching to students at the remedial level. Having always been in honor
classes myself, my idea of whom I will be teaching may be somewhat unrealistic. Mike Rose started me thinking of the problems and other important issues schools face from having to provide for children at different levels. I hope I turn out to be one teacher who doesn’t give up on those kids and manages to show them respect and that their capabilities could extend beyond what the system may decide is their level.

Mr. Rose wrote about his experience in a parochial school. I was amazed at how he felt being in the low track and then placed where he ‘should be,’ in the college prep track.

He was troubled in his classes. I was always in the high track and felt troubled, too. Being the ‘elite’ meant that you could not fail. I felt a failure if I didn’t understand and had to ask a question.

The school system’s practice of tracking influenced the kids’ opinions of themselves. Ken Harvey adapted the ‘average’ opinion of himself. I wonder what would have happened if a ‘mistake’ had been made with him and he had been placed in college prep courses. Would he have succeeded? How different his life might have been.

The teachers weren’t any help either. They couldn’t handle their classrooms or handled them badly. Corporal punishment and ridicule are not ways to handle teenagers.

Resolution and Reaction

What have I learned? My major question was whether reading imaginative literature would stimulate reflection about teaching and learning. The quotations from students’ journals I have shared with you are but a sampling of the evidence I have to verify that this indeed happens. There are two especially interesting categories of responses in the data base. The first category contains examples of reflection of past experience in school, both negative and positive. The second category contains examples of students’ reflections about how they do, or do not, want to behave in their own classrooms in the future. Both categories seem to me to be a valuable part of the reflection and introspection needed in the process of learning to be an effective teacher.

I had also wondered about whether my students would be receptive to these selections and to the additional time and effort that reading them added to their coursework. While the journal entries seemed to reflect a positive response, I also asked each class to write a short anonymous reaction to the extra readings at the end of the term. To my amazement, all the responses were positive. One student said, “I am not a big
literature buff, but I must say that the use of literature in this class was a good tool.” Another suggested that not only were the selections interesting, but that there should have been more of them. Another student was more specific:

I thought the supplementary readings helped to increase interest in the class and in education in general. Each piece provided a different view of the learning experience. Together, they served to create a representation of the difficulties and benefits of teaching, as well as presenting some of the problems with the current system. These excerpts offered a variation from the textbook. Reading them was very enjoyable and may also have promoted stimulation for further reading.

What more could a teacher educator want? I will continue to integrate imaginative literature about school, teaching, and learning into my teacher-education classes. As student responses have indicated, it promotes reflection about teaching and learning; it prompts students to reexamine their educational past and speculate about their professional future. The selections can be used to model lesson formats and teaching strategies and to extend student schemata about reading and literature. Perhaps most importantly, the practice allows me to demonstrate the value of literature and my own love of the story; it encourages students to pursue the reading of literature as a relevant and enjoyable activity; and it places imaginative literature where I think it belongs—not just as something we talk about teaching children to read, but as an integral part of the learning experience of future teachers.

References


Literacy Through Literature: 
International Award Winning 
Children’s Books

Ira E. Aaron, Sylvia M. Hutchinson

Increasing numbers of children’s and young adults’ books from other 
English-speaking countries are being published or distributed in the 
United States. As publishers cross national boundaries, the opportuni-
ties for publishing a title in more than one country increase. International 
meetings, such as the International Reading Association’s 1986 World 
Congress in Great Britain, the 1988 World Congress in Australia, and the 
recent annual convention in Canada, bring American participants into 
contact with writers and illustrators from those countries. Many 
Americans came home from these particular meetings with bags packed 
full of children’s books written and illustrated by writers and illustrators 
from those countries as well as from New Zealand. More importantly, 
they brought with them knowledge about and appreciation for previ-
ously unknown or little known writers and illustrators from other 
English-speaking countries.

Approximately five years ago, the project reported here began with 
the collecting of selected award-winning children’s books published 
since 1980 in Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and New Zealand. The 
United States Caldecott and Newbery Medal winners were already 
collected. Each year, as new awards are announced, those books are 
added to the collection.

This review covers eleven award categories, one for illustration and 
one for writing from each of the five countries, with an extra “young 
reader” category from Australia. A coalition of all groups interested in
children’s literature—the Children’s Book Council of Australia—administers the three annual Australian awards. The library associations of the other four countries administer the other awards.

When this study began, very few of these award-winning books from the other four countries were being published in the United States. Within the past two to three years, the floodgates of publishing have opened across countries. Almost two-thirds of the award-winners since 1980 have been published in the United States, according to Books in Print and listings in issues of Publishers Weekly. The listing at the end of this article includes all winners in the eleven categories. Though most attention will be given to books from other countries, the Caldecott and Newbery winners also are listed. For the non-United States awards, those published or distributed in the United States are starred, with the United States publisher and copyright date presented in parentheses.

A sample of the books from Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and New Zealand will be discussed briefly, and then a few observations about likenesses and differences across countries will be offered. The books selected will be limited mostly to those now available in the United States.

The second listing of books below presents other titles of recently published books from the four countries that are now available in the United States. The list should be considered as samples since many others are available. A few of these titles will also be reviewed.

Australia

Eighteen of the 28 Australian award-winning books, 1980-1981, are now published or distributed in the United States. As samples of Australia’s writers and illustrators, two examples from each of the three categories will be discussed.

Picture Book of the Year. The Very Best of Friends is a story of death, the loss of a loving friendship and the grieving process. These are not necessarily inviting topics for a picture book. Yet Margaret Wild’s text and the illustrations of Julie Vivas manage to tell a realistically sad story, using a bit of comic relief.

James and Jessie are a couple who live on a farm with lots of animals and their pet cat, William. James “loves” William the cat. Jessie “tries to love” William. James’s sudden death interrupts an otherwise apparently predictable existence. The author and illustrator show Jessie’s adjustment to her loss as she and William ultimately become “the very best of friends.”

Who Sank the Boat? Pamela Allen’s books are fine examples of the short, limited-text picture book which presents a succinct message with
high spirited fun. Allen's use of varied type size and page format supports her description of her books as "noisy." The book provides a surprise answer to the title question, "Who Sank The Boat?" with a graphic version of the "the straw that broke the camel's back."

**Book of the Year--Young Readers.** Emily Rodda's *The Best-Kept Secret* weaves an interesting tale of ten-year-old Joanne's journey seven years into the future aboard a mysterious carousel that has appeared in town overnight. Only a select group of people can get aboard. With a few fellow townspeople, Joanne, for one hour, gets to see life in her community seven years hence. Amazingly, she meets her six-year-old brother who has not yet been born! After the passengers on this and other similar carousels make the reverse trip back to the present, they cannot quite recall anything about what they have seen—and that becomes the best kept secret. This book won the award in 1990; two other Rodda books were previous winners of the same award.

An abbreviated history of Australia is presented in *My Place*, by Nadia Wheatley and Donna Rawlins (illustrator). In double-page spread, children describe "my place" (where they live) as it was in 1888, 1978, 1968, and on down to 1788 (back to the Aborigines before the first prison ships came from England). A map of "my place" is drawn as a child might draw it on each right-hand page. Twenty-one children, ranging in age from "nearly 7" to 12, describe their families and communities. The descriptions include references to most of Australia's important historical events. Publication of *My Place* coincided with the two hundredth anniversary of the country. This approach brings history to life for young readers.

**Book of the Year--Older Readers.** Shy, insecure, eleven-year-old Seymour in Robin Klein's *Come Back to Show You I Could Fly*, is spending the summer with his mother's friend so his ne'er-do-well father won't know where he is. His boredom is lifted when he meets beautiful and exciting Angie. Eventually, he learns that Angie is on drugs; she is also pregnant, and the father-to-be is in jail. The caring relationship helps both to understand themselves and each other. Klein's treatment of Angie's behavior paints a realistic picture of drug addiction.

A fascinating battle between an independent elderly woman and a stubborn and devious ancient spirit is told by Patricia Wrightson in *A Little Fear*. Mrs. Tucker, a resident of Sunset House, is being stifled by an overprotective daughter, and so she leaves the home for an isolated cottage she has inherited from her brother. She tells no one where she is going. The several-hundred-year-old Njimbin, headquartered in the fowlhouse, resents the intrusion of Mrs. Tucker and Hector, her newly adopted dog, and it mobilizes the rats and insects against the new
residents of the cottage. Mrs. Tucker and Hector fight back. Wrightson's characters—people, animals, and spirits—are believable. Though the battle is a standoff, Mrs. Tucker plans revenge. She decides to build a bonfire around the fowlhouse as she prepares to return to civilization. The story will appeal to a wide age range.

Canada

Fourteen of the 20 Canadian award-winning books since 1980 are now published or distributed in the United States. Samples of books in the two categories are reviewed below.

Amelia Frances Howard-Gibbon Medal. *Till All the Stars Have Fallen* is a collection of poems. This book presents an impressive number of poems about realistic topics. Rhymes about everyday experiences like "A Yawn" are fun to read. In this book even the layout of poems on pages adds to the fun of reading. For example, a poem about a tomato is in the shape of a tomato.

Book of the Year for Children. Kit Pearson's *The Sky Is Falling* is set in England and Canada during World War II. In the summer of 1940, England is expecting an invasion by Hitler's forces, and some families make plans to send their children to safer places, such as Canada. Ten-year-old Norah and her five-year-old brother Gavin are sent in a group of children to Canada. They are placed in a wealthy home and Norah knows the family only wanted Gavin but had to take both children. The story describes the trials and challenges of the children trying to fit into the adoptive family. Though this story is fiction, nearly 8,000 British children were evacuated to Canada during World War II. Pearson, in an afterword, presents historical information upon which the general theme of the book is based.

The heartbreaking story of a family's reaction to a father's illness and ultimate death from cancer is told by Jean Little in *Mama's Going to Buy You a Mockingbird*. Jeremy, almost twelve years old, and his eight-year-old sister, Sarah, have difficulty coping. Among the changes following the father's death is a move to a smaller house. The loss moves in on Jeremy when he hears his mother sing "Mama's Going to Buy You a Mockingbird" instead of "Papa's Going to Buy You a Mockingbird." Early on Christmas morning, full realization of the loss of his father comes when he sees that his mother's stocking is only half filled. He realizes that the parents have been filling each other's stocking. He fills his mother's stocking, topping it off with his most treasured possession, a carved owl given to him by his father; he knows that his mother has always liked Hoot.
Great Britain

Sixteen of the 21 British award-winning books since 1980 are now published or distributed in the United States. Samples of each of the two categories will be reviewed below.

Kate Greenaway Medal. World War II continues to be an inviting topic for contemporary books. Readers of all ages seem to find that the war years provide an intriguing setting. War Boy presents a seven year old boy's unique perspective of the war on the Suffolk Coast. The realism of day-to-day behaviors and even small pleasures in the midst of bombs and destruction is written and illustrated by Michael Foreman. Foreman himself is the little boy in the story, now grown-up, and his recollections in text and drawing make for riveting reading. The opening lines of the book describe a fire-bomb bursting through his roof and over his bed. The closing lines repeat the reassuring prospect of “bluebirds over the white cliffs.”

The Highwayman, a poem by Alfred Noyes first published in 1906, provides a dramatic rhythm and repetition in recounting a love triangle. The landlord's daughter, Bess, loves the Highwayman with a love so fierce and true that she is willing to give her life in his defense and the Highwayman loves her in return. However, the love of Tim, the ostler (stableman), for Bess is unrequited. This poem tells a powerful love story and Charles Keeping's sepia tones reinforce the gory realism of this edition.

Carnegie Medal. Kitty is sent out by her teacher to comfort a classmate who is sobbing because of home problems, in Anne Fine's My War with Goggle-Eyes. Helly's divorced mother has a boyfriend. Kitty, because of Old Goggle-Eyes, knows first hand about mothers having boyfriends! She unfolds her story to Helly. The story is filled with humor that will appeal to a broad age range. Old Goggle-Eyes has a sharp tongue and cuts through hypocrisy with skill. When he sees Kitty's cluttered room, he calls it “design compost.” Even though Kitty fights it, she learns to like Old Goggle-Eyes.

Susan Price's The Ghost Drum is set in times when the most expedient way to become Czar or King was to be a relative who has no qualms about killing a father, brother, or some other close relative. In this story, the Czar has his newborn son incarcerated in the tallest tower in the palace because of his fear that the son will grow up to challenge him for the throne. The Czar's sister, who has her sights on the throne, plants the idea. Witches and Shamans--some good, some bad--get involved in the story. Price writes beautifully, with a tongue-in-cheek sense of humor. The storyteller is a learned cat, who introduces each of the 15 chapters
and closes with an invitation for the reader to retell the story with his or her own embellishments.

New Zealand

Only seven of the 26 New Zealand award-winning books are now published or distributed in the United States. In the illustrations category, only one of the award-winning books will be reviewed.

Russel Clark Award. *A Lion In The Night* is another of Pamela Allen’s award-winning books. Two of her others having won Australian awards. In this book she uses a set of fairy tale characters in a cartoon-like format to tell a rollicking story of a lion’s visit to a castle. The baby in this story has a high adventure while riding on the lion’s back. The royal entourage launches out after the lion and in a surprising chase returns to the castle.

Ester Glen Award. Jack Lazenby’s *The Mangrove Summer* revolves around World War II’s pressures upon a New Zealand family that fears an invasion by the Japanese. George, the narrator, has an older sister, Jill, and a young brother, Jimmy. Bossy Jill, gung ho about the war, wants to take over the family to save them from the Japs. Jill takes her two brothers and two cousins, without adult knowledge, down Mangrove River into an isolated area. The major portion of the book deals with the emotional strains of attempting to survive in isolation with a bossy sister in charge. They get lost, and everybody in that part of New Zealand seems to be searching for them. Eventually, they are found—but not before tragedy strikes. The last three pages of the book are a glossary of New Zealand words, as “billy—pot for hanging over fire” and “dunny—outdoor toilet.” Lazenby gives the reader insight into New Zealanders of the 1940s and their country.

Tessa Duder, in *In Lane Three, Alex Archer*, takes the reader through the actions and feelings of a champion swimmer. Fifteen-year-old Alex, one of New Zealand’s best swimmers, wants to represent her country in the 1960 Rome Olympics. She and her competition have been in training for six years. Alex, because of her swimming and intensive training, is set apart from her age mates, thus straining relations with some of her peers. She falls in love with supportive Andy, only to lose him when a drunken driver runs over him and his bicycle. Duder’s telling of how Alex learned about Andy’s death is bound to bring tears to the eyes of the reader. Before each chapter, printed in italics, is a short section depicting Alex’s feelings and thoughts about swimming.

Alex is the title of the New Zealand publication. Duder, herself, a champion swimmer, continues Alex’s story in *Alex in Winter*, the 1990 Esther Glen Award title.
Some Observations Across Countries

As award-winning books from Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and New Zealand and the Caldecott and Newbery Medal winners from the United States were studied, some similarities and differences were noted. A few of those will be presented here.

1. Certain problems are universal. Writers from all five countries are treating death, divorce, drug-usage, and other problems causing trauma in children. Recently, there has been an increase of attention to children’s reactions to and relations with older people.

2. All five countries have excellent writers and illustrators of children’s books, though a few award-winning books, according to the judgments of the writers of this report, seem to be mediocre in quality.

3. Dealing with the supernatural shows up often in award-winning books from Canada, Great Britain, and New Zealand. Seldom is a book dealing with the supernatural among the winners in the United States. Nevertheless, Steven King, who deals with the supernatural, is one of the top sellers on the adult market in the United States.

4. About two-thirds of the books have settings in which the country of origin is incidental. However, about a third of these books give the reader a taste of the country of origin. The reader may meet Aborigines in an Australian book or Maoris in a New Zealand book, and some books contribute to an understanding of the country of origin.

5. World War II is a recurring theme for some recent winners. Kit Pearson’s The Sky is Falling, Michael Foreman’s War Boy, and Jack Lazenby’s The Mangrove Summer all deal with World War II. The 1990 Newbery winner, Lois Lowry’s Number the Stars, deals with a Danish family hiding a young Jewish girl from Nazi soldiers by disguising her as a family member. Three of these four are the most recent winners in their countries, and the New Zealand winner won the award in 1989. Only Australia has not had a winner in which World War II played a prominent part. Of course, this may be considered as about the 50th anniversary of the beginning of World War II.

Award-Winning Children’s Books from Five Countries

1A. AUSTRALIA: Picture Book of the Year (Begun in 1956) (Two awards in 1989)


1985 - No award


1981 - No award

**1B. AUSTRALIA: Book of the Year--Younger Readers (Begun in 1982)**


1C. AUSTRALIA: *Book of the Year--Older Readers* (Begun in 1946)

- *1987* - Simon French. *All We Know*. Angus & Robertson, 1986

2A. CANADA: *Amelia Frances Howard-Gibbon Medal* (Illustrations Begun in 1971)


2B. CANADA: Book of the Year for Children (Begun in 1947)


3A. GREAT BRITAIN: Kate Greenaway Medal (Begun in 1956) (Two awards in 1982)


*1987 - Mwenye Hadithi/Adrienne Kennaway (ill.) Crafty Ch'a-

   (Oxford, 1987)

*1985 - Selina Hastings/Juan Winjngaard (ill.) Sir Gawain and

*1984 - Henry Wadsworth Longfellow/Errol LeCain (ill.)

*1983 - Anthony Browne. Gorilla. Julia MacRae, 1983. (Knopf,
   1985)

*1982 - Angelo Carter/Michael Foreman (ill.) Sleeping Beauty
   and Other Fairy Tales. Gollancz, 1982. (Schocken, 1984)


38. GREAT BRITAIN: Carnegie Medal (Begun in 1937)

   My War with Goggle Eyes. Little, 1989)

   (Oxford, 1989)

   (FS&G, 1987)

*1986 - Berlie Doherty. Granney Was a Buffer Girl. Methuen,
   1986. (Orchard, 1988)


*1984 - Margaret Mahy. The Changeover. Dent, 1984 (Scholastic,
   1985)


*1982 - Margaret Mahy. The Haunting. Dent, 1982. (McElderry,
   1982)

   (Greenwillow, 1981)

4A. NEW ZEALAND: Russel Clark Award (Illustrations) (Begun in 1978)


1983 - No award


1981 - No award

4B. NEW ZEALAND: Esther Glen Award (Begun in 1945)


1987 - No award


1981 - No award
5A. UNITED STATES: *Randolph Caldecott Medal* (Begun in 1938)


5B. UNITED STATES: *John Newbery Medal* (Begun in 1922)


Samples of Other Books For Children From Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and New Zealand Published In The United States

Australia

Mem Fox. Wilfred Gordon McDonald Partridge ill. by Julie Vivas) (Kane/Miller, 1985); Koala Lou (ill. by Pamela Lofts) (Harcourt, 1989); Shoes from Grandpa (ill. by Patricia Mullins) (Orchard, 1990).


Canada

Tim Wynne-Jones/Catherine O'Neill (ill.) The Hour of the Frog. Little, 1989.

Great Britain

Roal Dahl/Quentin Blake (ill.) Matilda (1988); Esio Trot (1990). Viking


New Zealand


Margaret Mahy, The Tricksters (McElderry, 1987) (also Scholastic, 1988); Memory (McElderry, 1988) (also Dial, 1989).


Memories and Written Remembrances: Creating a Link Between Prior Knowledge and Children's Literature

Kathy S. Neal, Barbara Everson

Classroom teachers committed to making their students proficient in reading and writing face a complex task. Whole-language instruction demands a meaningful connection of reading and writing experiences, and this is not easy. It means attending to developmental teaching strategies (at all grade levels) that enhance the comprehension of literature selections enough to foster reading enjoyment while establishing fluent writing skills. And it presupposes that the teachers have a broad enough theory base to effectively employ the reading-writing process in the classroom. This paper focuses on an instructional strategy and assessment procedure that uses writing to stimulate prior knowledge in reading and then engages the student in a personal reading-writing activity.

The Reading Process

Reading comprehension is much more than a decoding of the printed words on the page; it is also a complex interaction between the reader and his or her personal past experiences as they relate to the text. Rosenblatt (1978) calls this “transaction” and defines the reader’s goal in the reading process as having “as full an aesthetic experience as possible, given his own capacities and the sensibilities, preoccupations and memories he brings to the transaction” (p. 132). Corcoran (1987) views the reading process as an “act of creation”, in the sense that the reader combines
personal experiences with information from the text, culminating in an "aesthetic" reading experience. He describes this "aesthetic" reading experience as involving those aspects of remembrance, speculation, and association which are evoked in the process of creating a story or poem. This act of creation depends intimately on our store of past experiences and our previous encounters with spoken or written texts. We need constantly and confidently to reassure our students of the validity of their personal reconstructions, and of the importance of analogies and anecdotes embedded in their primary world. (p. 43)

Even fluent readers need this contextual background if they are to optimize their reading experience. With little or no existing prior knowledge from which the reader can draw meaning, the reading quickly becomes another dull classroom exercise. The teacher's job, then, is to initiate a predictive process that creates an anticipatory atmosphere in the classroom. Through a careful design of questions that match the literature selection, the teacher can engage students in a thought process that enhances the reading. Crafton (1982) urges that students at all grade levels should be encouraged to anticipate what they are going to meet in the text before they start reading. Anticipation allows them to begin with what they know and to proceed from that point with the reading experience acting as a real learning experience. Anticipation of content should have a positive effect on further concept development due to the use of prior knowledge to help propel the reader from one state of understanding to another. (pp. 294-295)

Thus, a connection between the text and the reader's past experiences can stimulate expectations about the content of the text (Langer, 1981) and increase comprehension as "reading for the purpose of satisfying the reader's curiosity" occurs (Singer, 1978, p. 907). Pearson and Johnson (1978) describe the reading process as building bridges between what is new and what is known. This predictive strategy suggests an additional metaphor: that writing can function as an effective connecting link between the prior knowledge of the reader and comprehension of the text.

The Reading Selection

Facilitating these contextual links presupposes a careful review of appropriate literature. Reading selections should demonstrate themes, motifs, or archetypes sufficiently universal to relate to the diverse student population of today's classroom. At the same time, they should contain story lines alive with a language that stimulates interest and fosters a love of reading.
Newman (1985) calls children’s trade books “the cornerstone of a whole language curriculum” (p. 64), and children’s literature published in the last decade or so serves especially well as a stimulus for reading and writing at any grade level. The topics of contemporary books are clearly defined, relevant, and crafted in a natural language that entices even the most reluctant reader. Two books particularly suited to calling up the memories of the reader are Wilfrid Gordon McDonald Partridge, by Mem Fox (1985) and When I Was Young in the Mountains, by Cynthia Rylant (1982). Both selections deal with a pertinent aspect of memory and remembering, and Rylant’s writing particularly models a superior narrative style. In addition, both books demonstrate the important characteristics of predictable materials: they use repetitive language patterns, they have a good match between text and illustration, and they are about subjects with which the reader is familiar.

The predictive teaching strategy used in this investigation employs an initial list of words generated by the teacher which represent key concepts in Wilfrid Gordon McDonald Partridge. From these key terms the students make their own predictions about the story’s plot, along with a personal definition of the term “memory.” After reading the story, students compare their predictions with the author’s intended message. In the story, Wilfrid prepares a memory basket of special artifacts for his elderly friend; likewise, the students are directed to list on paper special childhood remembrances that make up the contents of their “memory baskets.” Now that the thinking has begun, the teacher shares Rylant’s book with the students, noting the similar family memories. The students now choose one memory of their own from their lists and use it as a focus for a personal narrative. Moffett (1981) maintains that the best writing grows out of a beginning instruction in personal narrative, and this prediction listing/composition procedure almost guarantees student writing samples that exhibit a wide variety of topics, a strong voice, and a solid theme. The following student writing possesses these characteristics:

Every year my family would go to the beach in our camper. One year I decided to take a little rubber alligator. The day after I got to the beach, I played with the alligator outside for a while. Then I had to go inside to eat; now this is when the funny part begins. I forgot to take my alligator in that night and the next morning, I saw the funniest thing. An old woman, in her late 70’s, white hair and wrinkled skin was beating my rubber alligator. Every time she would hit it, it would move. So she kept beating it... All of a sudden her husband came out of their trailer and said, “Honey! What are you doing?” She stopped beating the alligator, turned around, dropped the stick and chased her husband around the trailer! By now, I was on the floor laughing as hard as I could. Then she ran
out of breath and stopped running. They both started laughing and went inside their trailer.

Student writings, such as the previous composition, are first shared in peer response groups where both readers and writers employ the technique of “praise,” “question,” and “polish” as initial criteria for discussion. Dialogue notes in the form of reader-response are written by the teacher as another form of review.

The Writing Assessment

Evaluating student writing is a tricky business. Having established a comfortable process approach to writing with student authors, it is a difficult and often contradictory task, then, to judge the writing with a final grade. Zemelman and Daniels (1988) distinguish between formative and summative evaluation as they describe the many different roles teachers assume when working with students and their writing, and they address the realities of assessment as a necessary (and frustrating) part of writing instruction:

Teachers often feel trapped by grades. Because grading is final and judgmental, we worry, justifiably, that grades will discourage students; but we also fear that without grades, the work won’t really matter. Separating grades from response and evaluation is a first step in reducing this conflict. Grading then becomes only the last (and occasional) event in a dialogue between teacher and student. (p. 231)

Kirby, Liner, and Vinz (1988) also attend to the problematic yet necessary task of writing assessment. They admit to there not being any “sure-fire, simple answers” (p. 216). Both authors offer practical alternatives for writing assessment; the one employed here is a flexible analytic scale or checkpoint that sets criteria specifically designed for the qualities of memory writing, while allowing for both student and teacher input that customizes the improvement and growth of the writing (see Appendix). The checkpoint is flexible, because the criteria are negotiated by the students and the teacher for each individual writing task. In addition to decisions regarding which criteria to include or emphasize, the value of each can be weighted to suit the individual needs of the students as well as the focus of the writing assignment. For example, it has been decided in this case that “detail” is a particularly important aspect of memoir writing; therefore, it is weighted higher (4) than “mechanics and usage” (2), which, at this point, are not as important a consideration.

The key here is a negotiation process that results in a meaningful consensus between the students and the teacher. Together they decide what is most important about each writing task and this dialogue results
in a writing assignment that credits student as well as teacher investment.

Encouraging student writers to take responsibility for the development of their own composing tasks depends to a large extent on a purposeful dialogue between teacher and student. An analytic scale or checklist not only guides this dialogue but also eases the students through the revision process, focusing awareness on what true ownership in writing really is. Kirby describes his editing checklist as "a tool and an opportunity to improve writing before the final grade" (p. 235). The editing checklist helps to improve the final papers by giving the students the added teacher perspective as well as the luxury of time that is always needed with any worthwhile piece of writing. Gregg, the author of the rubber alligator story, received high ratings for detail, introduction/summary, and inside/outside stuff. Other areas in which Gregg could improve included mechanics/usage and crafting. Specific information contained on the checklist provides writers such as Gregg with encouragement for mastered techniques and valuable suggestions for effective writing.

Summary

Reading and writing are two vital ingredients in language development, but only when they connect with the student personally and positively. By combining shared reading experiences with a negotiated writing process that establishes a comfort zone for both the students and the teacher, tough tracks like evaluation, response, and investment become clear paths along the way to memory writing that is both rich and meaningful.

References


Appendix

Checkpoint for Memoir (Kirby, Liner, & Vinz, 1988, p. 227). Your piece was rated using the following criteria. You may work further on the piece in hopes of raising the score.

Detail

1 2 3 4 5

Beginning and Ending

1 2 3 4 5

Inside/Outside Stuff

1 2 3 4 5

Mechanics and Usage

1 2 3 4 5

Crafting

1 2 3 4 5

Scheme & Overall Effectiveness

1 2 3 4 5

Total Score

Comments:
How RIPE Promotes Change in Literacy Learning in Rural Schools

Lawrence Erickson

The Renewal Institute for Practicing Educators (RIPE) is a state-funded school-district/university program at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale that provides tuition-free spring and summer classes in science, math, and language arts for rural elementary teachers. The institute received the 1987 Christa McAuliffe Showcase for Excellence Award from the American Association of State Colleges and Universities in the category of strengthening relationships between universities and school districts. In this article, the needs of rural teachers will be reviewed and the Renewal Institute will be described to show how it attempts to meet those special needs. In addition, data from participants will be presented and discussed to show how the language arts segment of the institute has promoted changes in literacy learning in rural elementary schools.

Teaching in Rural Schools

Although one third of all teachers in the United States work in rural areas, most school-improvement studies have reported on teachers in urban and suburban schools. And what works for them may not work in rural settings (DeYoung, 1987). For example, rural schools tend to have special features that can aid in school improvement (National School Board Association, 1987). Usually there is a low teacher/pupil ratio, a high degree of teacher autonomy, a chance to work with a small, close-knit group of teachers, and high parental and community involvement. In addition, rural teachers tend to experience a variety of teaching assignments over time.
School improvement is also encouraged in rural schools because teachers often have a long-term commitment to their jobs as well as close personal ties to the community. Rural teachers may also have more credibility with the parents and because their work place is smaller, they may be able to interact more closely with their colleagues. These factors may make it easier for school improvement efforts once the change process is initiated (Huberman & Crandall, 1983).

On the other hand, teachers in rural schools face some disadvantages, such as personal and professional isolation, as one may be the only third grade teacher or reading teacher in the school. And sometimes rural teachers may teach several grade levels as well as coach or supervise other extracurricular activities. They also often teach outside of their areas of greatest comfort and competence because they are likely to be moved to other teaching assignments when class sizes change (Killian & Byrd, 1988).

Rural teachers are also less likely to have access to central office consultants and other specialists who can offer help and ideas for improving reading and writing instruction. In the words of Killian & Byrd (1988), they are more likely to be "left much to themselves to look for solutions to problems and for ways of acquiring new skills or training," (p.35). While this is usually cited as a disadvantage, the idea of teacher-helping-teacher has been found to be more effective than coaching by an outside trainer (Sparks, 1986). Thus, small and isolated rural schools may have an advantage in that important school improvement collegial arrangements may be easier to organize.

The Renewal Institute Program

The Renewal Institute was conceived with these concerns in mind, with programs in math, science, and language arts planned to meet the needs of rural teachers. The content and process for all programs is determined by a steering committee of local teachers, administrators, and university faculty. All workshop courses are taught by instructors of English, math, and science from the College of Liberal Arts and by teaching-methods instructors from the College of Education.

Language arts courses for elementary teachers are taught in spring and summer semesters, and in the fall, university faculty go into the classrooms of participants for follow-up and feedback about implementation of course content. A typical participant in classes that focus on improving literacy is a married, female, elementary teacher who has two children and has taught for about 12 years. She has lived in the rural area where she teaches and has completed an undergraduate degree at a nearby college or the university that operates the Renewal Institute.
These teachers are typically active in workshops, attend local professional meetings, and are therefore concerned with self improvement. However, the schools they work in are often small, have limited budgets for professional development, and generally do not have strong renewal mechanisms to meet their concern to keep up with promising new ideas.

Renewal language-arts courses were planned by the steering committee, the topics including the development of literacy, writing across the curriculum, and computers in the language arts. Class activities help teachers make the transition from discussing change to actually doing new things in classrooms. Important features that stimulate implementation include informal, lengthy and often heated discussions of common readings, viewing of video-taped classrooms of teachers and students using effective reading and writing strategies, and panel discussions with teachers who already had implemented similar curricular changes. In addition to observing another teacher's classroom, participants kept journals where they wrote about new ideas, concerns, and experiences as they tried to implement changes in language-arts teaching.

The total number of elementary teachers who have enrolled in RIPE language-arts classes during the past five years now approaches 300. Because follow-up visits to classrooms, personal contacts with teachers, and classroom journals suggested that teachers were making changes, this study was conducted to substantiate RIPE’s impact on literacy learning.

Data Sources for the Follow-Up Study

A total of fifty elementary teachers who attended three renewal classes (one in spring and two in the summer) were the primary source of information for this study. During renewal classes they had kept journals, where they informally recorded their observations, reactions to readings, insights from discussions, plans for course projects, and teaching ideas. Journals from thirty-five of the teachers were reviewed for this study. In addition, fifty teachers were mailed surveys and twenty-seven responded to items that dealt with their perception of working conditions, of support they are receiving from administrators, other teachers, and parents, etc. Interviews with twenty teachers from ten different districts and from the three language-arts courses (one spring and two summer courses) were also conducted. Both the survey and the interview questions dealt with motivation to attend the institute, changes that resulted from participation, and what had been most and least helpful in their attempts to implement ideas in their classrooms. During the fall semester follow-up, school visits to twenty-three classrooms were also
used to observe the extent to which teachers were implementing ideas encountered in renewal classes. These visits were requested by the classroom teachers who wanted feedback about their teaching as well as wanting to show the changes they had made. Visits were scheduled during times followed by lunch or a preparation period so that there was an opportunity to talk. Data analysis involved collating responses from journals, surveys, and interviews around common responses that related to several themes: motives to attend the institute, worthwhile class activities, changes that resulted from participation, and incentives and barriers that were encountered when changes were implemented in their classrooms. Response patterns were determined by frequency counts of similar ideas. Notes were made during visits to classrooms to seek further evidence that related to their motives for attending, their views of institute courses, the changes they made, and the incentives/barriers they encountered.

Results

Journals, surveys, interviews, and follow-up visits reveal that when they implement new literacy-teaching ideas, teachers follow a pattern that includes: a) speculation (mental tryouts) on how another’s practices might work in their classroom; b) reflections on the commitment and energy of others, the sharing of problems, the camaraderie with fellow teachers; and c) concerns about contradictions between past beliefs and course content. Embedded in their comments were both obstacles and incentives to implementation. The course format (no lectures or tests, open discussions of common readings, and sharing of teaching projects) modeled a “leading from behind” process which motivated teachers to take risks in order to change the way they teach reading and writing. Surveys revealed that the most helpful class activities were discussion with other teachers, preparation and sharing of projects, and “hands-on” computer activities. A “neutral” or “distant” reaction to administrative support was evident. A common statement is that the principal “wouldn’t object” or “I don’t feel I need to consult with the principal when I try out a new idea”.

Interviews revealed that the major sources of motivation to enroll were: professional self-esteem (I wanted to make myself a better teacher); content of the course (I’ve wanted to get away from the basal reader); and financial incentives (tuition waiver, salary schedule advancement). A number of teachers recalled that the class discussions had stimulated them to the point of inducing insomnia. One said, “Although I was tired, I was glad that I had an hour ride to get home in order to calm down." Several reported that they had to resort to getting up at night to write down ideas from class that kept them awake. A significant number of
teachers reported that over time their motivation changed and they were now enrolled in a degree program. They also reported that they had to educate parents and other teachers about the rationale for using invented spelling, trade books, book writing, and pleasure reading.

Teachers reported and follow-up visits confirmed that students in their classes were doing more expressive writing, such as journals, plays, and books. Visits also confirmed the claim of more use of sustained silent reading and the use of children's literature for reading instruction. Visits confirmed that primary teachers were using more invented spelling and intermediate teachers were using whole-class and cooperative-learning groups in place of the typical ability grouping. One of the interesting changes reported by about half of the visited teachers was their success at getting administrative approval to use reading workbook money to buy sets of children's literature books. Visits to teachers also revealed an interesting perception of collegial support among elementary teachers. When asked to give specific examples of collegial support, teachers usually mentioned another teacher, either in their school or from another school, who listened to them and provided alternative ideas when problems occurred. Another aspect of collegial support was the tendency of other teachers to give renewal teachers room to make changes without giving overt help. One teacher told of how her fellow teachers shifted recess times and loaned her books to help her increase her sustained silent reading plan, although they themselves did not adopt the idea or talk to her much about the activity. The experienced rural teachers encountered in this study appear to fit Huberman's (1989) metaphor in that "tending one's own garden... seems to have more payoff in the long haul than land reform," (p. 51).

**Summary**

Based on data from journals, interviews, and surveys, as well as follow-up visits to classrooms, the Renewal Institute helped teachers change literacy learning in rural elementary classrooms. And while it may be difficult to prove that all fifty of the teachers who participated in this study were teaching reading and writing differently than they had prior to their involvement in RIPE, evidence suggests that a high percentage (95%) were attempting change. Perhaps the most compelling evidence to support such a high rate is that these teachers were veterans who volunteered because they were already convinced of the need for new teaching ideas. Another reason for the high implementation rate is that the course content and the learning activities used by the instructors focused on implementing changes. Renewal classes facilitated change because teacher-to-teacher interaction (lengthy, and intense discussions about common readings, panel presentations by fellow teachers, and
plenty of opportunity to share and ask questions) replaced lectures and tests. Although the instructors did present new information from articles and their own research and experiences, a key to success was the high level of reflective thinking engaged in by the teachers.

Another important finding is that obstacles to improving literacy learning are no match for the human support and resourcefulness that exist in rural school settings. Rural schools may have an edge on implementation once change is initiated because: a) the degree of respect accorded teachers by the parents and principal; b) the sense that the teacher is part of the community; c) the “grapevine” within the school and community that allowed feedback to move quickly from the classroom to the community and back to the school board, principal, and teacher; and d) the sense of autonomy that teachers felt about making their own decisions about their classrooms.

The elementary teachers involved in this study were volunteers who returned to school and assumed responsibility for change without disrupting the role of the principal. Principals and teachers appeared comfortable with the active and autonomous role teachers played. New ideas travelled beyond the classroom walls in a natural fashion, as students, teachers, principals, and parents shared their positive reactions with others. This suggests that leadership for change may be less mysterious and difficult to develop than is often thought. Providing relevant learning experiences directly to experienced teachers seems to be a way to facilitate change in rural schools.

The Renewal Institute continues to serve an increasing number of rural teachers in Southern Illinois and now offers sections in off-campus settings and with varied time arrangements. For example, during the spring 1991 semester, the Development of Literacy course is being taught on campus, with one meeting each week during the semester, and off campus, with longer meetings on alternate weeks. The advantage of bringing the course off campus to teachers, however, is offset by the fact that participants do not have direct weekly access to the large collection of resource books and teaching material stored in the institute offices on campus. To overcome this, the instructors bring some materials to the off-campus setting, and participants are encouraged to visit the institute to borrow teaching resources.

Finally, while there is some interest in expanding renewal services to include more principals and administrators, the evidence so far supports going directly to the rural teachers, who then implement changes in their classrooms. The evidence seems to indicate that changes in literacy learning occurs from the “bottom up,” as teachers encounter new ideas and are empowered by each other. The Renewal Institute appears to lend
appears to lend support to the idea that teachers are the change agents rather than people who are acted on by outside agents.

References


## Renewal Institute Survey/Interview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Renewal Institute courses prepared me to try new teaching practices in reading, language arts, or English.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which class activities were most helpful?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Which class activities were least helpful?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other comments:</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Other teachers in my school gave me support in trying out the new teaching idea(s).</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you agree, what kind of support did they give and how was it helpful?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other comments:</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. My administration gave me support in trying out the new teaching idea(s).</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>If you agree, what kind of support did they give and how was it helpful?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other comments:</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Teachers outside of my school gave me support in trying out the new teaching idea(s).</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you agree, what kind of support did they give and how was it helpful?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other comments:</td>
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<td>5. Other sources of support helped me to try out the new teaching ideas(s) (e.g., students, parents, professional organizations, etc).</td>
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<td>3</td>
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</table>
If you agree, who was the source of support and how were they helpful?

6. The working conditions at my school were conducive to trying out the new idea(s).

Please describe any conditions which helped:

Please describe any conditions that hindered:

Other comments:

7. I am still as interested and eager to try out new ideas as I was during the Renewal Institute class(es).

Describe any change in your attitude or enthusiasm:

Other comments:

8. The following were suggested by summer participants as having potential benefit during fall follow-up. Would you please rate them according to your interest and add any additional types of follow-up that you think would be valuable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visits from Renewal staff to your schools</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arranging for Renewal participants to visit one another’s classrooms</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having a “reunion” of interested participants to discuss how we are all doing with trying out our new ideas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contributing to and sharing new ideas through a central file of teachers’ ideas based at the Renewal Institute</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other suggestions (Please specify)</td>
<td>1</td>
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Examining Transmitters of Literacy: Factors Related to Performance on the NTE Test of Professional Knowledge

Tom Cloer Jr., Thomas McNeely

The NTE Test of Professional Knowledge is one test from the NTE Core Battery of tests, which also includes a Test of Communication Skills and a Test of General Knowledge. The Test of Professional Knowledge is a requirement for all students being certified to teach reading, or anything else, in South Carolina.

At Furman University and other institutions of higher education in South Carolina, continuation of approval for a teacher education program is contingent upon its students’ reaching a certain level of proficiency on the NTE Test of Professional Knowledge. The South Carolina State Board of Education had the responsibility of selecting the examination and establishing a passing score. The State Board of Education also established the minimum percentages of students within an institution who must pass the test for the teacher education program to remain in good standing.

The Test of Professional Knowledge (TPK) is celebrated by the Educational Testing Service (1984) as a test “based on the process of teaching as it relates to the context of teaching” (p. 101). According to ETS, a question might relate to one or both, might require knowledge of the process or the context of teaching or both. The Educational Testing Service asserts that “the aspects of professional education probed by questions in this test are considered basic to the education of any teacher, regardless of the teacher’s particular training, grade-level focus, or subject matter specialty” (ETS, 1984, p. 101).
The TPK emphasizes two major areas. One area involves the assessment of examinees' knowledge about planning, implementing instructing, and managing the classroom. Another area, the "contextual" focus, involves assessment of examinees' knowledge of how factors other than instruction influence learning and educational practice. These include (among others) legal directives, social conditions, cultural diversity, and knowledge of human development.

**Significance of the Investigation**

The Educational Testing Service (1989) reported in the 1989-1990 Bulletin of Information that "all NTE programs user states and/or institutions are required to perform a validity study of each test before it can be adopted" (ETS, 1989, p. 6). The two paragraphs related to validity of the NTE tests in the latest ETS bulletin assert that "the validity of the examinations relates most directly to the content of teacher education programs" (p. 6). At this point one holds the chin upright and smiles as the wind hits the face and the carousel plays its music and continues to turn. If one validates a Test of Professional Knowledge for teachers solely by ascertaining that it relates to teacher education programs, that is tantamount to validating a test of professional knowledge for Florida Skyway Bridge welders without ever examining a single weld. While virtually no one would deny the value of content validity, many would ask about the criterion-related validity of an NTE Test of Professional Knowledge in the same way one would ask about the bridge welders' external criterion of success.

This study is an initial attempt to gather and disseminate data related to the concurrent validity of the TPK. Concurrent validity is the extent to which test performance is related to some other performance. Since little empirical research has been done in South Carolina and other states, notwithstanding the implications such a test has, it seems necessary to analyze the relationships between this test and other variables. What does constitute adequate professional knowledge for teaching reading? What is it that a simple test could evaluate that would supposedly separate the minimally competent didactic sheep from the pedagogically lacking pedantic goats? It seems profound to ask, "What must a teacher of reading know?" The Educational Testing Service and state departments of education apparently do not allow the same gnarly, intricate ruminations to stifle progress the way American Reading Forum members do.

Owen (1989) stated that the easiest way to improve on the TPK would be to get rid of it. Gifford (1986) disagreed and called this a "simplistic and unrealistic response to a complicated issue" (p. 15). Gifford called for development of better tests as the appropriate public policy priority.
This investigation is an initial peek at empirical data that might assist in our understanding of the validity of this test for our institution.

**Review of Literature**

Eisenberg and Rudner (1988) reported that the number of states now requiring at least one of the two most common forms of teacher testing, admissions tests and certification tests, has grown from 10 in 1980 to 46 in 1988. The majority of these states use certification tests, 36 in all. Furthermore, 26 of the 36 states using certification tests use existing tests. Twenty-three of the states that use certification tests attempt to evaluate professional teaching skills. Murray (1986) reported that 17 states used the NTE Test of Professional Knowledge. Murray (1986) further stated that

Unlike tests used for admissions to teacher training programs, tests used for certification must be validated in terms of job relevance, and cutoff scores must be based on what is minimally required to perform as a beginning teacher in a state. (p. 18)

Murray (1986) referred to the controversy surrounding the validation of certification tests. Two content domains have been of interest for certification tests are the curricula of teacher training institutions and the knowledge needed to perform the job tasks required of teachers. Murray (1986) stated that “initial controversy over which of these two content domains is most appropriate has been resolved in favor of job relevance for certification” (p. 25). If such was the case initially, the last few years have seen little to no emphasis on criterion-related validity in certification testing. Could this be because of the very poor predictive validity of these tests? Empirical data currently available do not adequately establish correlation of test performance with job-relevant work behaviors.

Goodison (1985) presented the same circular argument for using paper-and-pencil tests that one often hears as justification for such instruments. She admitted that the tests have their limitations and do not predict success in the classroom, “but to assure the public that the teachers in our classrooms possess at a minimum the necessary basic skills, then the paper-and-pencil tests will do the job for us they were meant to do” (p. 7). At this point one staggers to the edge of the carousel with glazed eyes, attempting to regain equilibrium. How does one “assure the public that the teachers in our classrooms possess at a minimum the necessary basic skills” when there is little to no empirical verification of such basic teaching skills?

Clifford (1986) stated unequivocally that there is little agreement among practitioners and researchers as to what beginning teachers need
to know. “The judgments of ETS panelists about test item validity may therefore have been situational, subjective, and idiosyncratic” (p. 14). It is true that ETS requires each state that chooses the NTE to conduct its own validity study. Gifford (1986) reported that this has not increased confidence in the NTE’s validity because ETS itself has subsequently conducted most of these state studies.

Gifford (1986) argued that the content of the NTE Core Battery tests appears to be more closely related to the curricula of teacher training programs than to the competency of effective beginning teachers. Gifford (1986) asked in a state of bewilderment why, in light of the manifest need to reform teacher education programs, we can assume that the content of teacher training curricula reflects the proficiency levels needed by capable entry level teachers? Owen (1985), in calling for abandonment of the TPK, makes a convincing argument that the quality of teaching may be reduced by the use of the test since its relationship to teacher training curricula validates the mediocrity of such programs.

Andrews (1984) questioned the validation of tests by the expert-opinion approach. He raised concerns that consensus may not be sufficient to ensure that tests are really valid measures of skills essential to teaching.

Past research (Ayers, 1988) indicated that relationships between scores from the NTE and rating devices and observation instruments for teaching were low and not significant. Ayers (1989) subsequently conducted research which examined the relationships between students’ scores on the Test of Professional Knowledge and principal ratings on teacher effectiveness. Teacher effectiveness was divided into 13 different variables. Few, if any, would disagree with the characteristics of effective teachers included in the instrument, such as: provides opportunities for students to participate, evaluates student progress and provides feedback, effectively manages student behavior, presents information clearly, maintains a supportive environment, etc. All the correlations in Ayers’s (1989) data were low, and only one variable approached significance, “classroom participation.” The TPK score accounted for 11 percent of the variance. Twelve of the thirteen correlations between TPK and Teacher Effectiveness were not significant.

Ayers (1989) also conducted another study using an instrument that examined the relationships between principal ratings of teacher effectiveness and TPK scores. With such characteristics as enthusiasm, time management, praise, questioning, etc. on the instrument, Ayers (1989) found only one of the fourteen characteristics significantly related to
TPK performance. “Involvement” again reflected student participation and was significantly related to the TPK. Ayers (1989) concluded that the NTE provided little useful information for predicting the success of an individual entering the classroom.

Ashburn (1987) reviewed the earlier research and concluded that scores on NTE tests have no consistent relationship to pupils’ gains in achievement or observers’ assessments of teacher performance. Ashburn (1987) concluded that the standardized tests for measuring teacher competence, including the TPK, “do not provide us with reliable distinctions among those who are more competent and less competent as teachers” (p. 13). Ayers (1989) stated emphatically that the NTE should not become, as it has in several states, the sole criterion for one’s licensure as a classroom teacher.

Ashburn (1987) stated that most of what is known about effective teaching from research has been learned in the past decade and has not been available to teacher education programs. She then quoted Rosenshine (1986), who pointed out that this new research on effective teaching is particularly useful for teaching a body of well-defined skills, such as mathematical procedures, but has less relevance for teaching concepts that are fuzzier and more entangled, such as reading comprehension or historical trends.

Because of such obstacles to agreement as to what constitutes essential knowledge in a curriculum for developing competent beginning teachers, Egbert (1985) has said that teacher evaluation is “just whatever the state or faculty defines it as being” (p. 17). While there may be more agreement than that, there is no denying the fact that little empirical evidence is available to help validate a test that ostensibly has something to do with knowledge of effective teaching behaviors. Possibly the lack of such evidence reflects the lack of a veritably significant relationship between the test measuring “professional knowledge” and the professional knowledge genuinely needed to do the job.

Method

The current study attempts to determine the relationship of 20 independent variables to scores on the NTE Test of Professional Knowledge. The study also attempts to find the best combination of predictor variables to account for the variance on the TPK.

Subjects

The subjects for this study were 202 undergraduate students in the teacher education curriculum of Furman University. The subjects had taken the TPK from Spring 1988 to Spring 1990. The Education Depart-
ment offers a major in Education with concentrations in elementary education, early childhood education, and special education. Students preparing for secondary school certification must major in the subject they plan to teach. They then take four courses in the Education Department that lead to certification.

**Operational Definitions**

The predictive independent variables for the study include verbal (SATV), quantitative (SATM), and total (SATT) scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test. High school class rank (RANK) is defined in terms of the percentage of students that each examinee outperformed in the respective graduating high school class. The predicted grade-point average (PGPA) is the grade-point average Furman University predicted a student would achieve after one year at the institution. In order to predict this average, the university takes into account a student’s sex, type of high school (public or private), SAT scores, class size, and high school rank. These predicted grade averages are computed by means of a multiple regression formula.

The Education Entrance Exam (EEE) is a basic skills examination developed for entry into teacher education in South Carolina. The EEE requires future teachers in South Carolina to demonstrate proficiency in basic reading (EEER), mathematics (EEEM), and writing (EEEW). The study also combined all three subtests for a total score (EEET).

The Assessment of Performance in Teaching (APT) is a state-mandated classroom observation instrument used with student teachers in South Carolina. All student teachers in South Carolina must be observed in the classroom and an assessment must be made of their performance using this instrument. Student teachers then supposedly receive assistance, training, and counseling to help overcome deficiencies.

Grades from several different courses were analyzed to determine the relationship with scores on the TPK. For statistical analysis, all grades from courses and the cumulative grade-point average in education were assigned a number from 0 to 12 based on the following interval-ratio scale: F = 0, D− = 1, D = 2, D+ = 3, C− = 4, C = 5, C+ = 6, B− = 7, B = 8, B+ = 9, A− = 10, A = 11, and A+ = 12. Education 20 (ED20) is a course titled Human Development. It focuses on physical, cognitive, social, and emotional aspects of development from conception through old age. Education 21 (ED21) is a course called Field Experience and Nature of Exceptional Children. It is a study of the characteristics of exceptional children and youth and the history of special education services. Instructional experience with the exceptional student is incorporated. Education 31 (ED31) is Teaching the Handicapped in the Regular
Classroom. This course focuses on strategies for appropriate education of handicapped students in the regular class. Psychology 21 (PSY21) is a General Psychology course that is a prerequisite to courses in education. Education 60 (ED60) is a general methods course for all students entering teaching. Furman has an elementary and a secondary generic methods course. Education 65 (ED65) is a course focusing on and titled Historical, Philosophical, and Sociological Bases of Education. Education 70 (ED70) is student teaching.

The study used a cumulative grade-point average for all courses having an ED prefix (EDGPA) and a Furman overall grade-point average (FUGPA). South Carolina also requires all students to obtain a passing score on the respective NTE Specialty Area Tests (NTE) before being certified to teach. The scores from these specialty area tests were also used in the current study.

The NTE Specialty Area Tests attempt to assess preparation in specific academic fields. Education in the Elementary School is one such test taken by people in this study certifying to teaching. The specialty area tests are similar to the TPK in content in that both focus on the process of teaching and both involve a knowledge of human development.

They differ in that the specialty area tests become more content specific. The test for elementary educators covers the specific subjects of an elementary curriculum, including language arts, mathematics, social studies, science, music, art, and physical education.

Questions Raised

The study attempted to answer some basic questions about performance on the TPK at Furman University. What variables are significantly related to performance on the TPK. What combination of variables most efficiently account for the variance on this test? Do other standardized test scores predict TPK performance better than course grades? Do course grades add to our prediction of TPK scores when combined with other test scores? If so, which grades add to the prediction?

Results

Table 1 lists the number of cases, means, and standard deviations for all variables. The subjects of the study averaged well over 500 points on the verbal and quantitative portions of the SAT, outperformed 89% of their peers in high school, and predicted a high "C" average at Furman. They earned average grades of "B" and higher in all Educational courses and their overall Furman grade-point average. While the passing score
on the TPK in South Carolina is 642, the Furman average is well above that cut-off score.

Table 2 lists the correlations between 20 independent variables and the NTE Test of Professional Knowledge. As expected, scores on the

## Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for all Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std Dev</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>SATV</td>
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<td>512.34</td>
<td>75.61</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>720</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>SATV</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>.392</td>
<td>p &lt; .001</td>
<td>.154</td>
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<td>APT</td>
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<td>p &lt; .800</td>
<td>.000</td>
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<tr>
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<td>57</td>
<td>.227</td>
<td>p &lt; .090</td>
<td>.052</td>
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<tr>
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<td>44</td>
<td>.568</td>
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<td>.323</td>
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<tr>
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<td>.178</td>
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<td>.272</td>
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<td>.145</td>
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<td>.339</td>
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<td>.609</td>
<td>p &lt; .001</td>
<td>.371</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NTE Specialty Area Exams gave the highest correlation with the TPK, another NTE test. The next highest correlation was the SAT verbal score. The Furman overall grade-point average yielded a high correlation, as did the reading subtest of the Education Entrance Exam. Of the highest correlations, note the inclusion of three different courses, ED 20, PSY 21,
and ED 31, and the cumulative Education grade-point average. The correlation between ED 31 and the TPK is noteworthy because only 45 of the 193 subjects who took the TPK also took this course, not required for all students. The grades in ED31 accounted for 32.25% of the variance on the TPK.

The five lowest correlations are interesting. One would hypothesize that student teachers’ scores on an observation instrument (APT) used to observe and rate performance in the classroom might be related to professional knowledge. The APT came in dead last, with no relationship to TPK performance. Student teaching (ED 70) yielded next to the lowest correlation. The lack of variability on these two independent variables might be responsible for the lower correlations. Grades in ED 65, the course focusing on historical, philosophical, and sociological bases of education, showed little correlation with TPK scores. The course accounted for only two percent of the variance on the TPK. Grades in ED 60, the general methods course, accounted for a mere seven percent of the variance. ED 21, a course on the nature of exceptional children, had no significant relationship to scores on the TPK.

**Best Multiple Predictors**

Table 3 includes the best combinations of independent variables discussed in this section, with the corresponding multiple correlation coefficients.

We examined the data with forward stepwise regression. The independent predictive variables of NTE Specialty Area Tests (NTE), SAT Verbal, ED 31, and ED 20 yielded a multiple correlation coefficient of .724, which accounted for 52% of the variance on the TPK. We dropped ED 20 from the independent predictive variables and obtained a multiple correlation coefficient of .711, accounting for 50% of the variance on the TPK, using NTE, SATV, and ED 31 as predictors.

We dropped the NTE Specialty Area Tests as a predictor variable to analyze the strength of a multiple correlation coefficient using the best combination of other standardized test scores. This included SATV, SATM, SATT, EEER, EEM, EEW, and EET. The results show that SATV alone accounts for 33% of the variance. None of the other tests combine with SATV to significantly affect the prediction.

We analyzed the predictive power of all the variables involving grades. The strength of these were compared to the strength of the standardized test variables. The predictive independent variables FUGPA, ED31, PGPA, and ED20 computed a multiple correlation coefficient of .528, accounting for 27.9% of the variance on the TPK.
Table 3
Best Combinations of Independent Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>multiple r</th>
<th>$r^2$</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NTE</td>
<td>.72421</td>
<td>.52448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SATV</td>
<td>.71157</td>
<td>.50634</td>
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<td>ED31</td>
<td>.59430</td>
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<td>ED20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>NTE</td>
<td>.60848</td>
<td>.37000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SATV (thesis)</td>
<td>.63364</td>
<td>.40000</td>
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<tr>
<td>FUGPA (grades)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ED31</td>
<td>.52857</td>
<td>.27938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PGPG</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ED20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These data reveal that standardized test scores predict performance on the TPK better than grades in courses and various grade-point averages. SATV predicts performance on the TPK better than any combination of course grades, including the subjects’ overall predicted and earned grade-point averages.
We analyzed the effect on the multiple correlation coefficient of adding course grades to SATV. ED 31 combined with SATV yielded a multiple coefficient of .608, or 37% of the variance on the TPK. The addition of ED 20 resulted in a multiple coefficient of .63 and 40% of the variance. These two courses, concerning Human Development and Teaching the Handicapped in the Regular Classroom, do assist marginally in explaining variance on the TPK.

Discussion

The data seem to reveal that the TPK measures more than anything else the ability to take verbal tests. The data show that professional knowledge as measured by this test is best predicted by another NTE test. In the absence of such a test, the SAT verbal score alone will account for approximately 35% of the variance on the TPK. Grades in certain courses are significantly related to TPK performance, but all the best grade predictors, including overall cumulative grades, do not account for as much of the variance as the SAT verbal score. By adding courses that have a high relationship with performance on the TPK, we account for only five more percent of the total variance on the TPK.

Since the TPK ostensibly achieved content validity through verification by panels of teacher educators and teaching practitioners, one wonders why stronger relationships aren't seen with grades from education courses at Furman. One possibility is that the courses don't have the content of the test. It may also be true that the courses prepare excellent teachers but that the test may not actually measure the skills and knowledge needed by a competent teacher with a strong liberal arts background. It is interesting that ED 65 accounted for only two percent of the variance on the TPK yet yielded a very high correlation with Furman's overall grade-point average, $r(187) = .52, p < .001$. Grades in ED 60, the generic methods course, correlate even higher with Furman's overall grade-point average, $r(145) = .56, p < .001$, yet ED 60 had a much smaller relationship to the TPK, $r(145) = .27, p < .001$. This suggests that evaluation in these courses is similar to evaluation in other courses at Furman. If students did not master the content, the grades would reflect that. The low correlation coefficients between the grades in Education courses and the TPK causes one to question the content validity of the TPK.

Past research (Larrier & Little, 1986) has concluded that teachers' scores on the NTE tests have no consistent relationship to students' gains in achievement or observers' assessment of teacher effectiveness. But few to no concurrent validity studies have examined the empirical relationship between teacher education curricula and the NTE tests. This study suggests that a closer look is warranted.
McCarthy (1987) reported that the teacher testing movement fits the current conservative social/political/economic milieu in the country. Increased attention to the basics, intensified discipline in schools, and a national demand for rigor provide extraordinary support for teacher testing. The assumption of the American public is that teachers who pass the NTE Test of Professional Knowledge will be better and more effective teachers than those who do not pass. Since one must pass such a test to teach in South Carolina and surrounding states, that assumption will prevail for the immediate future, our doubts notwithstanding.

References


Research on Teacher Effectiveness:
Some Assertions for
Teacher Educators

James R. Olson

In his comments at the completion of the Constitutional Convention, Benjamin Franklin said, "When you assemble a number of men, to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. From such an assembly, can a perfect production be expected?" (p. 608). By no means does the author compare himself to Benjamin Franklin. However, he does contend one might agree that wisdom, prejudice, passion, errors of opinion, local interests and selfish views—all those of which Franklin spoke—appear to characterize the present state and perhaps even the future of teacher education in this country.

Indeed, educational reform was the rallying cry of the 1980s, and many reform reports questioned the quality of American public education. Even though these reform reports did much to heighten public awareness, the inability to reach a consensus on what variables constituted effective instruction or effective teachers created a host of problems, both in the interpretation of effectiveness research and in subsequent implications for teachers and teacher educators. Artley (1969) argued twenty years ago that few guidelines to enhance the effective teaching of reading were available either for classroom implementation or for teacher education programs. Roth (1966) further stated that there appeared to be little correlation between research and what was happening in teacher education programs. One purpose of this paper is to
acquaint the reader with yet another interpretation of biases, concerns, ideas, hopes—and yes, some prejudices, passions, errors of opinion, local interest, and selfish views—one perspective on teacher education for the 1990s.

Background of the Research

The assertions proposed here are based on a research study conducted at a large four-year university in the southeastern United States. The study was designed to describe the effective teacher of reading. Twenty volunteer teachers of junior high/middle school and senior high school reading participated in the study, and results from instruments assessing theoretical orientations, conceptual frameworks, belief systems, and knowledge of reading were included in the final quantitative analysis. Field notes from observations of the 20 teachers were used in the descriptive and qualitative aspects of the study to assess a match between stated beliefs and classroom practice. Profile analysis sheets for individual teachers aided in generating answers to the research questions. The results of an inventory of student perceptions of instruction were also used.

Reasonable attempts were made to ensure that the research was done scientifically; however, results were subject to certain limitations. Participant teachers, all volunteers, represented a small, non-randomized sample. Even though this method of selection limits generalizability, according to Goetz and LeCompte (1984), it does not limit translatability, the idea of letting research results speak to others in the hope of enhancing a base of understanding. In addition, validity of these results is related to the degree to which the instruments are effective and reliable measures. Furthermore, teacher and student self-report data are introspective. Participants may have completed the information as they thought the researcher wanted them to complete it, as they thought would be consistent or reflect well on them or their school, as they thought was more socially desirable, or as they wished to vent feelings of hostility. Nevertheless, based on interpretation of the data gathered in this research, and from the researcher’s perspective, the assertions generated from the analysis are truthful and deserve attention. It is further suggested that teacher educators examine their own reflections in the mirror of these research-based assertions.

Assertion #1: Teacher performance can be improved if teachers are made more aware of self-educating techniques that complement formative assessment.

Quality education cannot be mandated, nor can it necessarily be effected through increased supervision. Instructional supervision can
certainly enhance the teaching process, but lasting changes in teaching must be implemented by individual teachers in individual classrooms. Furthermore, to be most beneficial, effective assessment must be formative, not summative. Summative assessment involves collecting data for decisions involving tenure, promotion, and retention. Formative assessment uses collected data to help improve a teacher's performance, is geared toward self-evaluation and self-improvement, and can help to bridge the gap between research and practice (Cross, 1987).

Duffy (1990) asserts that we, as teacher educators, cannot let others take responsibility for bridging the gap between research and practice. Researchers cannot create an elitist system with teachers at the bottom of the caste. We must realize that, despite our efforts, the majority of professional research articles will not be read by practicing teachers.

Fenstermacher (1986) also addressed the gap between research and practice when he spoke of a teacher's practical argument, a rationalization based on plausible but perhaps untrue reasons or beliefs that guide teaching decisions. Fenstermacher stated that "research bears on practice as it alters the truth or falsity of beliefs that teachers have, as it changes the nature of these beliefs, and as it adds new beliefs" (p. 48). Fenstermacher agreed that to be most beneficial, research ought to help teachers understand the arguments for their actions; research ought to help teachers reorganize their beliefs into more effective practice. Researchers can supply teachers with evidence to support and clarify their practical arguments, thereby improving instruction.

Although becoming aware of one's practical arguments may indeed improve one's instruction, teacher educators must be careful. It is difficult to change a teacher's practice without implying that something is wrong. Practical argument theory does not address the issue of specific inappropriate instruction.

Vygotsky (1962) further addressed the idea of the practical argument in his theory of learning. Because learning is recursive, according to Vygotsky, when connecting new ideas to familiar ideas in an attempt to achieve meaning, the learner is forced to substantiate or possibly reconsider what is already known. Distancing oneself from an idea enhances and facilitates this understanding and acceptance.

Teachers in the present study had difficulty stating beliefs when given lists of choices. They offered more conservative, qualified responses to the forced-choice items on the assessment instruments. Responses based on their preactive, interactive, and reactive classroom decisions were indicative of the thought processes involved as they changed their teaching strategies to meet the demands of the classroom. Clarifying
beliefs in terms of responses to a statement may force teachers to reexamine what they do and why they do it. This idea supports both Fenstermacher (1986) and Vygotsky (1962). If instructional decisions are made by teachers to maximize student learning, then teachers must thoughtfully consider the students, the strategies necessary to enhance instruction, teacher knowledge of the strategy, and the environmental context of the learning (Vacca, Vacca, & Gove, 1987). In this way a teacher becomes more aware, though formative assessment.

The increased use of such strategies as case studies and microteaching in teacher education programs is suggested as a way to bridge theory and practice and help teachers understand reasons for their decisions. According to Henson (1988), the use of case studies and microteaching encourages teachers to discuss possibilities, probabilities, and expedient solutions, separating what is meaningful from what is less significant. Henson argued that teaching as decision-making empowers teachers and helps to ensure that they become active, not passive, learners. Kelly and Farnan (1990) also suggested increased teacher modeling of strategies and teacher beliefs. According to Kelly and Farnan, college students should not necessarily be considered expert learners; they need guidance and should be provided not only content but process as well. The use of case studies and microteaching can help teacher education speak to the issue of formative assessment.

Wilson (1990) not only argued for more information about what goes on in real classrooms but discussed the beliefs of the students who enroll in her entry-level teaching course. Beliefs, she said, are so deeply rooted that the students take them for granted. Students believe that teaching is telling and that there is a certain amount of knowledge worth knowing. Her course, then, according to the students should be a course of recipes or skills that will effectively address this idea of knowledge transmission. Wilson said, "I don't believe that knowledge of teaching exists in such a form. Rather, I believe that knowledge of teaching takes the form of stories and experiences, parables and principles, tentative claims about what works--sometimes, in some contexts" (p. 207). It is not possible to address these issues in a semester course, and she concludes by saying,

What I do want to get across, however, is that educating educators is a far more complex task than deciding what the best programs, courses, and experiences will be. Teaching teachers requires thinking about how they learn specific concepts within those courses and across time. It also requires bringing to the surface the beliefs they have that may inhibit their ability to learn. (p. 207)

Other researchers have addressed similar concerns. Hoffman and Schallert (1986) discussed teacher education and teacher change as being
more *transformation* (teacher as an active participant) than *transmission* (teacher as a receiver of knowledge). According to Schon (1987), teachers need to become reflective practitioners and become empowered as their own change agents. In 1929, Dewey suggested that research should draw attention to what teachers might miss, allowing them to refocus and see better. Teachers need to become students of their own teaching and to generate alternatives. The findings of these researchers direct attention to Duffy’s (1990) remarks that learning to teach does not have a beginning and an end—it is a process of becoming.

**Assertion #2:** The use of teacher profiles holds promise as a tool for the investigation of teacher attitudes and the formation of beliefs about the teaching of reading.

Bawden, Buike, and Duffy (1979) found support for the theory that teachers’ conceptions of reading change over time due to classroom experiences, life experiences, coursework, and curriculum demands. By capitalizing on this conceptual change, teacher educators can help their students refocus beliefs to coincide more closely with practice, thereby increasing effectiveness. For example, some teachers in the present study were not familiar with the term “whole language” and did not feel they possessed the knowledge or ability to incorporate whole-language philosophy or strategies into the classroom and still teach the course materials or test objectives. Yet these same teachers would engage in the types of activities espousing the whole-language premise that language-learning activities should have meaning for the learner.

When teacher beliefs are realized and understood, researchers can help teachers incorporate them into more effective classroom practice, helping teachers realize what they do and why they do it. In his Preface, Ausubel (1968) has similarly stated, “If I had to reduce all of educational psychology to just one principle, I would say this: The most important single factor influencing learning is what the learner already knows. Ascertain this and teach him accordingly.”

The use of teacher profiles is suggested here as a way for teacher educators to foster reflective teaching. Mann and Misheff (1987) stated that if teachers would reflect on their own personal development as readers, they could develop an awareness of certain positive and negative experiences that might help them deal more adequately with nurturing competent readers in their own classrooms. In addition, Burden (1981) expressed that teachers appear to develop in stages. Burden found that for most teachers, increased knowledge leads to a change in attitude, and therefore a change in performance.

Teacher educators need to use personal history and response journals to help teachers better understand their own attitudes and beliefs. Based
on the work of Manna and Misheff (1987) and Burden (1981), a personal history questionnaire was completed by teachers in the present study. It was hoped that in this way teachers would be able to arrive at a more thorough understanding of their attitudes and beliefs. Also, it was thought that statements in a personal history would assist in appraising a match between belief and practice. Personal history questionnaires in the present study sought answers about the teachers’ life relationship with reading and those factors that influenced their development as readers, as teachers, and as professionals, focusing particularly on changes that had occurred. By answering the questionnaire, teachers were forced to reflect, and they began to see similarities between their own positive experiences and those they provided or those that could be provided for their students.

Similarly, as personal history allows teachers to become reflective about their teaching, response journals can serve not only as barometers of learning but as dialogues that enhance instructional effectiveness. In this journal, teachers can address professional and personal concerns. Journals can be used to monitor self-esteem, perceptions of instruction, and metacognitive aspects of learning. Journal responses allow teachers to redirect instruction, if necessary, and encourage them to reexamine their beliefs and their understanding—their practical arguments.

Portfolios can also serve to assess growth in learning. Teacher portfolios enhance the understandings of both teachers and teacher educators. For instance, a collected assortment of responses to assessment instruments, evaluations, checklists, journal entries, and selected examples of teacher-produced materials can help give a more accurate profile of the teacher as learner. Teachers can study their own portfolios at different points in their careers and begin to understand how beliefs are shaped and how those beliefs can be used to guide instruction.

Teacher profiles that allow teachers and teacher educators to examine personal history, journal responses, and portfolios will enable teachers to monitor their own development. Consistency between belief and practice can lead to more effective instruction. If teachers examine their stated beliefs and are allowed to see themselves in classroom practice through the eyes of formative assessment, researchers will be better able to encourage teachers to address concerns that will improve instruction.

Assertion #3: Teacher educators must realize that legitimate methodologies for effectiveness research exist outside the realm of quantitative research.

Yarger and Smith (1990) stated that “the process of teacher education is often guided by belief, historical tradition, and institution” (p. 25). They argued that no theory or set of theories currently exists to effec-
tively guide teacher education research, concluding that research needs to be exploratory rather than confirmatory.

The present study was one of exploration rather than of confirmation. It grew out of a personal desire to explore the concept of what Eisner (1985) termed a classroom ecologist, one who attempts to reach a definition of teacher effectiveness by observation of the classroom environment. Eisner warned of the tendency to use easily administered, easily scored instruments to keep the research "clean and brief." He has found journals that report studies done in less than one hour as "educationally significant." Eisner suggested that researchers need to see more clearly what goes on in practice because teacher educators, in turn, need a better understanding of the intricacies of the classroom environment if they are to enhance teacher education, teacher effectiveness, and classroom learning.

Doyle (1990) argued for understanding the contexts and situations of learning rather than for identifying specific teacher behaviors if we are "to capture the richness and complexity of teaching practices" (p. 19). He further stated that research on teaching must be "depsychologized" and that researchers must focus on the events of classroom life and the subsequent interpretation of those events. As researchers, we need to concern ourselves with teacher knowledge, teacher actions, and teacher judgments. If we don't, we will continue to concern ourselves with the concept of teacher "training" and with summative evaluation. Moreover, Doyle affirmed that results of effectiveness research must be useful to classroom teachers if they are to better understand the context of the learning situation. Here, again, appears the gap between research and practice.

According to Blanton and Moorman (1988), research in teacher effectiveness has been oriented toward the technological for too long and needs to shift to the more deliberative. A technological orientation addresses demands of initial certification for qualified professionals, i.e., the methods. The deliberative orientation speaks to professional development and "requires knowing, thinking, planning, and problem solving in a setting that is in a constant state of flux" (p. 27). Teacher education programs need both technological and deliberative orientations, but the question becomes one of balance. Do we want teachers who are scripted technicians (technological) or do we want knowledge-based decision makers (deliberative)?

Conclusion

Duffy (1990) stated that what has been corrupting teacher education research has been the longing for a panacea. He asserted that teachers need to take charge of their own teaching; they only appear to want to be
directed. They need to be freed from that direction and allowed to do what makes sense in a given context. Creative teachers, not passive teachers, will develop the "rich literacy" that we all desire. Too often, Duffy says, teachers tenaciously follow programs and altogether stop making decisions based on professional judgments, the way pilots wait for the computer to correct mistakes while on automatic pilot. Duffy's idea strengthens the earlier technological/deliberative argument of Blanton and Moorman (1988). Duffy concluded by saying that teacher educators rarely teach teachers the idea of "it depends." Creating a learning context that is authentic, where students, not materials, guide the instruction, will give rise to what Duffy refers to as "the genuine occasions for literacy."

The present study drew attention to the complexity of arriving at a definition of teacher effectiveness. If the researcher had relied solely on the quantitative aspects of the study, or solely on its qualitative aspects, he would have been in error. Many measures and perceptions are needed to define effectiveness, and in the end, it may be that teachers themselves are the better judges of whether they are effective. The chemistry of an effective classroom is difficult to define, yet it is a worthy context for research.

Palmer (1990), a noted lecturer and consultant on teaching and learning, said, "Good teaching cannot be equated with technique... It comes from the integrity of the teacher, from his or her relation to subject and students, from the capricious chemistry of it all" (p. 11). Palmer further stated that in trying to understand the "mystery" of good teaching, we cannot rely solely on pure scientific inquiry. Researchers must "live the question, rather than demand a final answer" (p. 11).

So one can see, there is wisdom, prejudice, passion, and more that define the current parameters of teacher education research and practice. Like Franklin, we may question ever having a perfect production. But, as educators, we need to begin to question our own effectiveness. As professionals, we need to become researchers of our own teaching. As researchers, we need to reexamine and reflect on the meaning of teacher effectiveness. If we don't address these issues, perhaps we do nothing more than perpetuate the current standard.

References


Videodisc-Based Case Methodology: A Design for Enhancing Preservice Teachers’ Problem-Solving Abilities

Victoria J. Risko

Research conducted over the last decade examining factors contributing to effective teacher education provides compelling reasons for reforming teacher preparation programs (Berliner, 1985; Clandinin & Connelly, 1986). Goodlad (1985), for example, suggests that teacher education programs do not adequately prepare teachers for the realities of complex classroom situations. Further, he argues that teacher educators have made little progress in responding to the critics of the 60s (e.g., Sarason, Davidson, & Blatt, 1962) who indicated that teachers often have difficulty connecting information learned in teacher preparation programs to information needed for evaluating and responding to problems and unexpected situations in the classroom. A decade of observational and experimental literature in which expert teachers’ actions and thoughts have been examined reaffirms our long-standing belief that teaching is a complex cognitive skill and that teaching, occurring in relatively ill-defined environments, requires not only knowledge about what to do but the ability to know when and how to use this information when confronted with problems and unexpected situations (Clark, 1988; Greeno & Leinhardt, 1986). Yet educators agreeing with Goodlad’s argument indicate that methods courses, microteaching, and other preteaching experiences often fail to equip teachers with problem solving strategies because they do not reflect the “intrinsic uncertainty of teaching” (Clark, p. 10) and may present a simplistic or unrepresentative view of teaching (Ball & Feiman-Nemser, 1986; Clark, 1988).
 Calls for reforming preteaching experiences have direct implications for changing reading methodology courses and related field experiences if our goal for these courses is to prepare teachers to approach literacy instruction from a problem-solving perspective. Classroom and reading teachers are constantly required to make informed decisions that may or may not result in appropriate reading instruction for students with diverse learning abilities and cultural backgrounds. Providing adequate reading instruction may be difficult, however, for teachers in regular classrooms and resource rooms. Extensive observations of instruction suggest that teachers confuse instruction with assessment (Durkin, 1978-1979) and that both good and poor readers are receiving fragmented and incoherent instruction (Allington, Boxer, & Brokow, 1987; Allington, Stueitzel, Shake, & Lamarche, 1986; Bean & Eichelberger, 1985). Furthermore, current surveys of teachers reveal that dealing with students who have diverse learning abilities and cultural backgrounds is traumatic, with teachers citing inadequate preparation and limited knowledge of appropriate and alternate strategies for low achievers (Wedman & Robinson, 1989).

There are two major goals for this paper. First, I suggest that one way to enhance reading methodology courses is to create problem-solving environments that invite prospective teachers' critical analysis of authentic classroom dilemmas. Second, I present a rationale for developing videodisc-based cases to stimulate thinking and analysis within these problem-solving contexts. I believe that these cases have the potential for enhancing prospective teachers' ability to make informed instructional decisions and to analyze the effects of these decisions according to student and contextual factors.

**Some Reasons for Redirecting Teacher Preparation**

Researchers and teacher educators examining the knowledge, actions, and thoughts of novice and expert teachers provide insights that can aid the redirection of our teacher preparation programs. They indicate, for example, that novice and expert teachers are differentiated by their ability to recall, represent and analyze problem situations. Further, it has been documented that experienced teachers, because of their history of responding to classroom situations, have well-developed knowledge structures of classroom events (Clark & Peterson, 1986). Teacher educators (Berliner, Stein, Sabers, & Brown, 1987; Peterson & Comeaux, 1987) believe that this rich source of information is instrumental in helping experienced teachers approach problems with not only factual and procedural knowledge but also knowledge about conditions for applicability of factual and procedural knowledge.
Although a major goal of teacher education programs is to help teachers learn and apply information learned during college classes and field placements to problems encountered in real classrooms, college courses are dominated by ineffectual methodologies, such as lectures and use of examples that narrowly constrain representations of larger problems. These methodologies are insufficient for displaying the complexity of classroom events and do not involve prospective teachers in the analysis of complex problems from multiple perspectives. Too often instruction for future teachers follows a pattern in which students are simply told what experts know (facts) or how experts solve classroom dilemmas (procedures). Lecture-based instruction is ineffectual because it does not enable students to learn how to analyze the effects of situational and classroom contexts on a classroom teacher's choice of method. Lecture methodologies can also limit students' learning because it is extremely difficult to verbally describe the nuances and dynamics that occur when children and their teacher interact in classroom environments. Because of the linear nature of lectures, examples used to explain target concepts can seem unrelated to each other. Such instruction forces students to make sense of disparate experiences instead of being engaged in commonly shared experiences requiring use of relevant knowledge to find solutions to target problems.

Teacher education programs may be producing teachers who know what to do but who do not know when or why procedures are most appropriately applied. Lesgold (1989) argues that declarative or factual knowledge can be gained from teacher lectures or textbooks but that this knowledge alone will not help learners solve problems unless they also learn how to translate this knowledge into "mental acts" (p. 198), the defining and thinking about problems in ways that produce reasonable solutions. Learning to translate knowledge into action may require immersing prospective teachers in problem-solving contexts that produce "knowledge that interacts with the particular context and classroom situation in which the knowledge is transformed into action" (Richardson, 1991, p. 12). Such practical knowledge enables a teacher to evaluate a problem quickly and act on the basis of knowledge gained from similar situations in the past, forming a set of contextual and situational premises (Fenstemaker, 1986, 1988).

The teacher education reform movement of the 1980s suggests that teacher preparation programs must design learning environments that encourage preservice teachers' active involvement in solving problems as complex as the problems they will eventually be expected to solve in the classroom. The project described in this paper represents an attempt to develop an instructional environment that invites thinking about real
problems in real classrooms and the use of information as tools for generating reasonable solutions.

Revising an Undergraduate Reading Methodology Course

At Vanderbilt University, I am currently involved in a project, partially funded by a Sears-Roebuck Foundation Grant (Risko, 1989), to develop videodisc-based cases and supporting technology for enhancing undergraduate instruction. Influenced by earlier projects at our technology center (e.g., Barron, Bransford, Kulewicz, & Hasselbring, 1989; Bransford, Sherwood, & Hasselbring, 1988; Risko & Kinzer, 1986), I am attempting to develop problem-solving environments in which my students and I share learning experiences. Authentic problems are displayed in videodisc-based cases, and my students are encouraged to analyze case information from multiple points of view. My previous work (CTG at Vanderbilt, 1990; McLarty, Goodman, Risko, Kinzer, Vye, Rowe, & Carson, 1990) with instruction that is anchored in videodisc-based, problem-solving environments suggests ways to think differently about the process of building useable knowledge—a process that I believe can help future teachers recognize similarity between information learned in college classes and information required for successful teaching in real classrooms. These videodisc cases can’t substitute for the vital learning that occurs during actual teaching experiences, but they have the potential for greatly enriching preteaching experiences and for helping prospective teachers develop contextual and situational knowledge needed for taking action in new settings.

The course targeted for revision is one I teach each semester. This course, Remedial Reading and Practicum, required for elementary and special education majors, is taken during the students’ junior or senior year. For the first eight weeks, regular class sessions are held on campus. For the remaining six weeks, each student is assigned to a practicum setting and is responsible for planning and implementing reading instruction for a low-achieving student.

In the following sections of this paper, I describe what I have noticed about my students’ learning prior to course revision, the concept of anchored instruction and its influence on reconceptualizing my course, and my process for developing videodisc-based cases.

Problems Observed in Target Course Prior to Revision

Even though they have completed one reading course and a reading-related course with an accompanying practicum prior to enrolling in the remedial reading course, students come to this course with “textbook” definitions of the reading process and restricted notions about the
complex demands of providing reading instruction for the disabled reader. Their understanding of remedial readers tends to be narrow, usually related to "have not" characteristics (e.g., limited mental ability, deprived family life, deficient skill development), which further restricts their understanding of low achieving students' capabilities and the multiple factors that might interact to produce disabled readers. They have naive understandings of diagnostic instruction, assuming that a teach/test cycle will produce "quick fixes" for complex problems.

Prior to revision, much of the remedial reading class was devoted to helping students understand that instruction is affected by multiple factors (e.g., teachers' beliefs, teachers' knowledge of assessment and instructional strategies, students' diverse learning needs). Instead of relying solely on lectures to convey information, written case studies were examined to illustrate the conduct of specific assessment and instructional strategies and problems that students might encounter. For example, our students studied the extensive verbal reports of three reading-disabled adults collected by Johnston (1985) to identify how misconceptions about the reading process and reliance on faulty reading strategies can contribute to reading problems. They examined the case of Kim, described by Baumann and Koch (1985), to analyze how a singular approach to instruction (e.g., synthetic phonics) affects reading development. Additionally, their texts (e.g., Wilson & Cleland, 1985) provided case studies to highlight specific assessment or instructional strategies. On the surface, cases such as these seemed to effectively enhance my students' learning. Students completed the course with more information about the range of factors affecting the reading process and about evaluating the appropriateness of instructional strategies. When these students were observed in the accompanying practicum, however, they seemed: (a) inflexible when thinking about multiple problems students may encounter, (b) limited in their application of intervention strategies to novel instructional contexts, and (c) limited in their use of alternate strategies for times when instruction didn't go as expected.

One possible factor contributing to students' limited use of information, especially information provided through the type of written case studies currently available in the literature, is that these do not provide sufficient information about complex situations. While it is possible that case studies can be written to provide a richer base of information or to portray more complex situations, most available case studies delimit the amount of available information and the quality of students' active participation in their own learning. Cases that are most prominent in the literature can be classified according to one of two formats.
One format (the predominant one for case studies within the field of reading education) presents extensive documentation, in linear form, of factors contributing to a target student’s reading problems and of teaching methods used to accommodate the problem (Baumann & Koch, 1985; Savage & Mooney, 1979; Spache, 1981). Such cases therefore, provide both the problem and its solution as perceived by the authors of the case study. Additionally, these cases tend to focus on single problems (e.g., decoding) or single instructional approaches (e.g., phonics), thus restricting a study of alternative viewpoints.

The second type of case study focuses on general problems or issues (e.g., students’ use of drugs, classroom management, classroom interactions, symptoms of child abuse) that are a subset of multiple factors contributing to complex classroom problems (Kowalski, Weaver, & Henson, 1990; Greenwood & Parkay, 1989). Case studies in this category typically contain a description of one or several classroom incidents that are sequentially ordered but not in close temporal proximity. These are unrelated and not told within a connected and coherent “story.” The descriptions are followed by a series of questions generated by the text authors. Cases are analyzed individually, with little or no provision for cross-referencing of information across cases.

As Spiro and his colleagues (1987) suggest, information presented in formats described above often oversimplifies complex issues and, therefore, inhibits students’ problem-solving ability when confronted with real-world, complex problems. Using cases that provide both the problem and the solution, or a set of questions leading to an implied specific, “correct” solution: (a) discourages students from taking an active role in making decisions about how information should be framed, (b) discourages considering information across cases that may be useful for analysis, and (c) discourages multiple-perspective taking that encourages different paths, strategies, and outcomes with regard to solutions. This violates learning principles suggesting that students’ active generation of solutions is most effective in promoting learning, including learning in college classes.

Case studies providing both the problem and the solution suggest little reason for further analysis. Instead, these cases may be just another way to “receive” information and, similar to lecture methodologies described above, may limit students’ learning and flexible use of information. Even when authors of cases provide guiding questions, instead of solutions and advocate class discussions for analyzing issues (Greenwood & Parkay, 1989), the written and linear format of these cases may not invite students to make multiple connections across the contextualized information embedded in each case—connections that are required if
students are going to learn conditions under which information can be used to solve problems.

The process of helping students notice characteristics of problem situations and to define conditions under which to apply information is a goal commonly stated by teacher educators. Using appropriate information in problem situations requires multiple experiences in which students explore and apply their factual and procedural knowledge. As Richardson (1990) indicates, the process of learning to teach must involve future teachers in a dialogue requiring identification of problems and causal relationships and justification of why and when to employ specific strategies.

This section has summarized problems my students experienced and possible limitations of currently available print-based cases. However, simply translating cases to videodiscs will not ensure preferable outcomes. The next section presents a rationale for using the videodisc medium to address the problems outlined above.

Optimizing Students’ Learning With Anchored Instruction

I have been involved in several research projects at Vanderbilt University to develop design principles for an instructional approach that uses videodisc-based problem-solving environments to facilitate acquisition and use of knowledge. This instructional approach, called “anchored instruction” (Bransford, Vye, Kinzer, & Risko, 1990), encourages students’ active involvement in sustained exploration of complex, authentic videodisc-based problems and students’ spontaneous use of information in new situations. As indicated above, a predominant use of case studies in teacher education is to present a variety of minicases containing narrow and circumscribed contexts that might be viewed as “microcontexts”. In contrast, our macrocontexts present several problems simultaneously and examine solution sets from multiple perspectives. Our macrocontexts encourage cooperative and teacher-mediated learning, enabling students to understand problems that experts encounter and the knowledge these experts use as tools for problem solving (CTG, 1990). In several studies, we have shown that one advantage of learning in problem-solving contexts is that students acquire information together with conditions under which it is useful to know various concepts and facts (Bransford, Sherwood, & Hassebring, 1988; Bransford, Kinzer, Risko, Rowe, & Vye, 1989).

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1 This has been described as practical knowledge (Leinhardt, 1988), images (Calderhead, 1988) knowledge-in-action (Schon, 1982), practice-generated theories (Jordell, 1987), and practical arguments (Fenstermacher, 1986).
The following description of one of our research efforts, conducted with fifth grade students, illustrates the benefits of anchored instruction. Our instruction was anchored in a macrocontext that invited these fifth grade students to explore the videodisc anchor, *Young Sherlock Holmes*, from multiple perspectives (Risko & Kinzer, 1986). This film is situated in Victorian England, and students were encouraged to find and resolve historical, sociological, economic, and political problems of that time period. They were also encouraged to view the film from the author's point of view, determine the author's purpose and style, and explore the complex relationships among story elements (e.g., conflict between the protagonist and antagonist). The rich content of the video frequently invited our students to revisit the anchor to find and define their own issues. Multiple sources of information were introduced simultaneously and aided our students' sustained thinking about the content and their ability to link information across issues. Data analysis of our students' performance (e.g., CTG, 1990; Risko, Kinzer, Goodman, McLarty, Dupree, & Martin, 1989) indicated high knowledge acquisition and spontaneous use of information to solve new problems (e.g., analyzing American historical and sociological development during the Victorian era, applying learned vocabulary concepts appropriately in new situations, and so on). Thus, our anchored instruction created a shared learning context in which our students were provided with multiple examples of concepts, opportunities to generate and frame problems, integration of information across sources needed for problem analysis, and sustained thinking about complex information.

Principles guiding anchored instruction provide a way to mitigate previously identified concerns about currently available case studies. Also, they provide a way to operationalize the recent conceptual change found in the teacher education literature—literature in which the focus on teacher behaviors is being replaced by a focus on teachers' development of practical knowledge and cognition. Our anchored instruction provides students with alternative ways to think about information. Different ways of thinking about information develop flexible thinking and enhance the probability that students will spontaneously approach new problems from multiple points of view. Similarly, pursuing questions representing authentic issues can help students learn how experts solve problems, using their knowledge as tools to frame, examine, and resolve issues (Bransford, Vye, Kinzer, & Risko, 1990). Therefore, the role of the teacher as a mediator is critical to the success of anchored instruction. Learning is mediated, for example, when the teacher helps students generate connections between prior experiences and novel information or when the teacher coaches students' framing of problems and examination of information from multiple viewpoints.
Principles of Anchored Instruction and Case Methodology Guide
Case Development

My goal for revising the remedial reading methodology course was to develop cases that can be defined as rich contexts for portraying authentic classroom situations requiring an examination of factors associated with students' reading problems. Principles of anchored instruction were coupled with principles of case methodology for designing the videodisc-based cases.

Case design. My notion of case-based instruction is influenced by characteristics of anchored instruction and case methodology. More specifically, my first goal for case design is to: (a) create video cases that are embedded with multiple examples and sources of authentic classroom problems, (b) stimulate students' examination and sustained thinking of complex information represented in the cases, and (c) examine these cases within mediated and shared learning contexts -- contexts in which students are coached to assume multiple points of view and to pursue and generate questions about relevant issues.

Second, my concept of case-based instruction is influenced by case methodology used in other professional schools, such as medicine, business and law, in which students are prepared to know and act simultaneously (Ryle, 1949). Case methodology as described in Christensen (1987) and Learned (1987) is a process-oriented approach that encourages problem formulation and problem solving. Instead of giving students information about how problems were resolved in a given case, students are personally involved in exploring relationships, identifying questions, and finding answers to questions. Such cases should "include enough intriguing decision points and provocative undercurrents to make a group want to think and argue about them" (Hansen, 1987, p.265). Requiring students to frame questions and solve problems encourages them to apply and modify case information based on situational or contextual information.

Yet case methodology has limitations. The success of student involvement in exploring and discussing case information depends on the prior experiences and preconceptions of the participants and the richness of the data presented (Gragg, 1940; Learned, 1987). Instructors using this methodology indicate that some of their print-based cases have not made good use of related readings or videos and that they have failed to integrate information from related sources (Christensen, 1987). Similarly, videotaped cases provide a linear sequence, which is much less powerful than presenting cases using the random access, freeze-frame and menu-driven control possible in a videodisc approach, thus allowing for cross-referencing of information across cases. Videotaped cases as
used in medical domains, for example, have been found to be fragmented by case, not facilitating comparisons across cases to enhance problem-solving and coherent learning (J. Pichert, personal communication, August, 1989).

To overcome these limitations, videotape technology could optimize cases presented in written form, and videodisc-based cases could greatly strengthen cases presented on videotapes. For example, cases could be designed to involve a detailed study of a student's reading problems that are on videodiscs in the form of macrocontexts—semantically rich contexts that invite students to generate questions for finding and learning information across multiple disciplines. As Bransford and his colleagues suggest, videodisc-based contexts can enhance instruction by providing simultaneously occurring and elaborate sources of information that may be difficult to describe in written or verbal accounts (e.g., nonverbal cues of teachers, multiple classroom events occurring simultaneously, and so on). Using the rapid, random access and freeze-frame capabilities of videodisc, students can reexamine and "cross-examine" scenes and cases for different reasons. Videodisc technology allows clear freeze-frame indefinitely, so that multiple connections can be made to single events. Also, computer software, such as Hypercard, can be used to provide additional resources such as access to text, sound, and graphics.

Case development. Three cases that are recorded on videodisc and are enhanced by hypercard and microcomputer technology were developed to revise my undergraduate course. Over three semesters, Dale Young, Janet Towell, and Dena McAllister, have shared in the development of these cases and have observed in my classes during a pilot implementation of these materials. These three cases represent the "critical mass" (advocated by Spiro, Viscopo, Schonitz, Samarapungavan, & Boerger, 1987) of information needed for examination to help students understand case-specific information and to enable them to generate linkages across the cases. Two teachers with a history of successful remedial instruction were selected and videotaped. Entire lessons conducted by each teacher were videotaped during six to eight weeks of instruction. Hours of videotaped segments were edited and condensed for the production of three 30-minute master tapes, which were then pressed onto three videodiscs. Each case is situated in classrooms and/or Chapter 1 classrooms. Each case contains a coherent story about a student experiencing reading difficulties. Each is rich with embedded information. Each contains various forms of naturally occurring classroom events (e.g., teacher/student interaction, parent/teacher interviews, student participation in guided reading lessons) demonstrating factors that contribute to the complexity (and irregularity) of reading
disabilities. The design of these cases invites analysis of the situations for different reasons (e.g., teacher's methodology, purpose of instruction, characteristics of text, student's previous experiences). A specific problem is not defined, nor is a solution provided. Instead, the complexity of the content portrayed in each case illustrates the complexity of factors surrounding a teacher's decision-making and invites prospective teachers to generate reasonable and alternate solutions to problems they identify.

In addition to our videodiscs, hypercard technology is used to enhance the effectiveness of instruction, both for whole class and independent student activity, by encouraging access to multiple sources of information for a more elaborated, in-depth study of each case. The opening menu for each hypertext stack corresponding to each case indicates that the viewer is the diagnostic problem solver and can choose multiple sources of information (e.g., teacher, child, and parent interviews; background information; oral reading and comprehension data; observations during instruction; instructional scenes; previous records; test performance) to learn about the selected case. During whole-class and/or small-group sessions, students are encouraged to explore case characteristics and to generate questions and hypotheses, which are then discussed and debated in class. Situational and contextual factors across cases are analyzed and compared to help students develop flexible problem-solving strategies.

Additionally, our main menu allows access to two categories entitled "Advice from the experts" and "Matter for the grey cells", respectively. The first of these is a collection of video scenes and text excerpts representing reading experts' views on major concepts relevant to the case. For example, we have scenes in which Richard Allington discusses time allocation within remedial instruction. This aspect of the program requires critical thinking about similar and divergent viewpoints. Students are encouraged to interpret information relevant to case-specific data. The second category provides "challenge" questions that require our students to view the cases and their possible solutions from alternative perspectives. For one exercise, our students are asked to compare and contrast a basal reader lesson and a literature-based lesson for analyzing the remedial student's participation and concept development. Such activities have the potential of helping our students build a recognition of situational characteristics—characteristics which need to be identified for successful problem identification and problem solving (Bransford, Vye, Kinzer, & Risko, 1990).

Our Hypercard serves several additional purposes. An initial card in the stack indicates the wide range of factors (e.g., instructional context,
background knowledge, text characteristics, knowledge/use of strategies, and knowledge/use of comprehension cues) that can be examined for analyzing possible factors (e.g., text characteristics, pupil's background knowledge, student beliefs about reading) contributing to the student's reading difficulty. Our hypermedia stacks were assembled: (a) to provide access to testing information (e.g., graphs of scores), (b) to provide video scenes of students' performances on both product/process-oriented measures (e.g., actual observations of "body language" as well as oral reading during individualized reading tests), (c) to include relevant text materials for clarifying concepts, and (d) to access video scenes in which instructional methods are contrasted.

Our use of Hypercard also facilitates viewing a single case from multiple perspectives. For example, if a case is viewed for the purpose of determining a teacher's decision leading to management and grouping arrangements, it can also, through another hypercard stack, be viewed for the purposes of analyzing a teacher's questioning strategies, and again for determining the teacher's strategies for enhancing students' vocabulary development, and so on. Because the cases are on videodisc, appropriate scenes can be easily and quickly accessed. Returning to a case in this manner is difficult in videotape applications or when there is no guiding "script," such as is available through Hypercard.

Discussion

In this paper, I have described how principles of anchored instruction and case methodology influenced revision of an undergraduate remedial-reading methods course. Videodisc-based cases were developed to facilitate problem formulation and problem solving. This approach to the analysis of cases, similar to procedures advocated by Rasinski (1989) and Eldridge (1990), is process oriented. Case information is presented in stages for the purpose of encouraging our students' analysis, reflection, and problem solving. Our cases do not contain resolutions. Instead, the content can be studied for different reasons, including many generated by the students.

Technology to combine visual information with text represents an important advantage for video-based instruction over written case studies (see Bransford, Kinzer, Risko, Rowe, & Vye, 1989 for a more detailed discussion). Students' learning within case-based instruction depends on the richness of information presented in the cases (Grigg, 1940; Learned, 1987) and on supporting instruction that encourages students to examine cases from multiple points of view. While written case studies can provide rich descriptions, these descriptions are trans-
lations of what another author viewed. Conversely, video presentations provide the authentic classroom events, allowing each viewer to develop a personal description and interpretation. If the scenes are embedded with many sources of information, multiple interpretations can be generated, leading to a deeper study of events and the generation of multiple questions to be pursued further. Video presentations can capture linguistic expressions plus visual and other auditory information, such as facial expressions of both the teacher and students, the environmental context for the lessons, inflections of voice, gestures of students. There is much to notice within the presentation. Increasing opportunities for noticing can increase the possibility of finding information that leads to problem identification and problem solving. Such a context for learning provides an opportunity for sustained thinking about problems and can help students experience and understand changes in their perception and comprehension of the case information (Bransford, Kinzer, Risko, Rowe, & Vye, 1989).

Video-based case analysis is not suggested as a stand-alone procedure for enhancing teacher education. Instead, its potential benefits for preparing teachers may be influenced by a number of factors that are important for effective instruction. These factors include the importance of acknowledging and using students' background knowledge and previous experiences during class discussions (Anderson & Pearson, 1984), the benefit of cooperative learning when examining cases (Slavin, 1983), the facilitative effect of problem generation (Bransford, Franks, Vye, & Sherwood, 1989), the importance of teachers and peers mediating or coaching learning experiences (Bransford & Vye, 1989), and so on.

In this paper, I have described the rationale and procedure for developing videodisc-based cases. Analysis of this plan is beginning. Currently, I am conducting a pilot study of this instruction and collecting data to document both the implementation and the learning that occurs. I plan to analyze the effects of this methodology on students' learning and students' spontaneous use of information in field experiences and to offer this information in subsequent reports.

References


Literacy: The Impact of Technology on Early Reading

Judy C. Shaver, Beth S. Wise

Presently, there is in the public schools what might be called a "microcomputer revolution." The computer itself has been used in education for the past 25 years; the microcomputer, for the past ten years. Use of microcomputers in schools has increased dramatically over the past five years. The jury is still out, however, on the effect of the microcomputer on instruction, student achievement attitudes, dropout rate, and learning time (Roblyer, 1990).

Becker (1986) conducted a review of research on the effectiveness of computer-assisted instruction. He found that about half of all activities on school computers involved drill-and-practice and tutorial CAI in math, language-arts, and other subjects. He found that about 15% of all computer time was devoted to word-processing activities. Most importantly, however, he found that existing studies at that time were badly outdated and that most newly completed studies were inadequate in size, scope, or design.

A meta-analysis procedure was used to study and summarize data from research reviews relating to computer use in the public schools in 1989 (Roblyer, Castine, & King, 1989). An overall finding was that use of the computer in public school had a positive effect in a majority of the areas studied. Larger effects were found at college and adult levels than at elementary and secondary levels, with mathematics instruction showing slightly (but not statistically significantly) greater effects than reading/language skills. Using computers to teach cognitive skills (problem-solving and critical thinking) was equally effective. One of the highest effects observed in the review was for science, but the number
of studies in that area was limited. No evidence was found to indicate that the effectiveness of computer use was affected by ability level or gender.

The effectiveness of drill-and-practice and tutorial applications of computer use was analyzed; effects seemed slightly higher for tutorials in reading, but data did not allow for firm conclusions as to the superiority of any type of application. Word processing seemed to have a positive effect on student attitudes toward writing. No conclusions could be drawn regarding the effect of word processing on writing quality, length of composition, or number and kinds of revisions.

The positive effects of LOGO applications on problem-solving and general thinking skills were found to be statistically significant. Effects of “problem-solving” CAI were not found to be significantly different from zero. In the area of student creativity, LOGO-based studies showed a higher effect overall than any other found in the review.

Several writers (Swick, 1989; Troutner, 1989; Tsantis, Wright, & Thouvenelle, 1989) recommend introducing even preschool children to computers to foster interest, familiarity, self-confidence, and self-esteem. Early introduction to computers allows young children access to computer use as an information source and as a communication tool. It encourages exploration and understanding of technology, enhances problem-solving skills, and builds self-confidence and self-esteem. Some programs recommended for use with young children are “Facemaker” (a software package produced by Spinmaker), “Fantastic Animals” (Firebird), “The Garden” (DIL), “Muppets on Stage” (Sunburst Communications), the “Stickybear” series (Hartley Courseware, Inc.), and the “Bouncy Bee” series (IBM).

Some cautions regarding computer use were suggested by the Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition (1989) in a recent article in the Harvard Educational Review. A national survey of 1,082 schools using microcomputers revealed that more computers were being placed in middle- and upper-class schools than in poor schools; that computers in schools for poor children were being used for drill-and-practice rather than for teaching cognitive skills as they were for middle- and upper-class students; and that female students had less involvement than male students with computers in all schools, irrespective of class or ethnicity.

Research on microcomputers in the public schools found early programs to be largely based on a programmed instruction model. Computers were used primarily to provide simple repetition of low-level decoding tasks. These programs were motivational and provided for immediate feedback to students. On the negative side, however, they
did not utilize the full potential of the computer, and this type of learning could have been accomplished through less expensive means.

The emphasis on whole-language literacy today is in direct contrast to this approach. Rather than teaching the various aspects of communication as separate entities, whole language focuses on the integration of the communication skills of listening, speaking, writing, and reading. The computer can be a valuable tool for helping to immerse children in an environment in which print is filled with meaning. Whole-language advocates believe that children learn to read by reading and by being read to, and that they learn to write by writing.

Important knowledge of print can be learned through actively constructing and testing hypotheses concerning written language (Bliss, 1980; Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1982). Early literacy programs based on whole-language research findings offer children opportunities to read favorite stories and to develop an understanding of letter/sound relationships by writing and reading their own stories. Writing is an effective means of focusing thinking and helps children to see a clear relationship between writing and reading (Tierney & Leys, 1984). Because the processes of reading and writing are similar, correlating activities in the two areas makes them mutually supportive.

In the whole-language environment, children select those new symbols called “words” and use them to create stories of their own. Children use invented spellings to render words as best they can. After stories have been written, children often read them to their classmates and exchange stories for reading pleasure. Most children have a sufficient command of the language to be able to write when they have something to say, especially when they know what they have to say will be valued.

A computer-based program, Writing to Read, was developed by John Martin for IBM. This program was designed to enhance writing and reading skills of kindergarten and first grade students. The program involves setting up learning centers organized into five learning stations, each designed to increase understanding of sounds, words, and sentence structure. A two-year evaluation of the program was conducted by Educational Testing Service. The population studied consisted of students randomly selected from schools in low-income areas. In the first year, the evaluation covered more than 10,000 Kindergarten and Grade 1 students in twenty-one sites. In the second year, evaluation concentrated on 3,210 “core sample” students using Writing to Read (WTR) and 2,379 comparison students in classes not using the program. Measures of performance included the standardized reading tests which were in place in participating districts. Pre- and post-testing and statistical analysis were used to determine the effects of the program. On
standardized reading tests, kindergarten and first grade WTR students, on average, increased by approximately 15 percentile points.

Students tested on the preprimer-level reading and language subtest of the Metropolitan Achievement Test (MAT) scored at the 76th percentile in reading and language, while comparison students scored at the 56th percentile in reading and the 62nd percentile in language. When writing samples were evaluated on a scale of 0 to 6, Writing to Read first-graders scored 1.83 and comparison students scored 1.33. Teachers also noted that Writing to Read kindergartners showed more confidence about writing and could concentrate better on a task than kindergartners taught by traditional methods (Educational Testing Service, 1984).

Based on the success of the Writing to Read program nationally, the state of Louisiana made funds available for competitive grants to school systems interested in establishing these programs. Twenty Writing to Read projects funded by state grants in Louisiana were evaluated in order to determine their effectiveness (See Table 1).

**Table 1**

Writing to Read: Participating Schools, 1989-1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grant No.</th>
<th>No. Schools</th>
<th>No. Students</th>
<th>No. Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>488 (K,1)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>66 (K,1)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>152 (K,1)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>230 (K,1)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>252 (K,1)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>569 (K,1)</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>59 (K,1)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>650 (K,1)</td>
<td>29</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>660 (K,1)</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>236 (K,1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>154 (K,1)</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>54 (K,1)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>261 (K,1)</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>968 (K,1)</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>129 (K,1)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1050 (K,1)</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>350 (K,1)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>123 (K,1)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>575 (K,1)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>258 (K,1)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTALS** | **49** | **7,284** | **336** |
These programs served 49 schools. Over 7,000 kindergarten and first grade students and 300 teachers were affected by the programs. Evaluation revealed statistics similar to those found nationally: increased gain scores on word recognition and vocabulary, improved writing samples, increased ability to remain on task, greater self-confidence, fewer retentions, and enthusiastic support from teachers and parents.

In January of 1989, an IBM Writing-to-Read Lab was installed in a local Chapter I school. This school is located in a low-socioeconomic area with about one-third of its student population living in a federal low-income housing area. A survey of the school population showed that 30% of the parents of these students had completed five years of schooling or less.

The program was in place for only four months (February - May) in 1989. Nonetheless, differences in student performance at the kindergarten level were noted. There was no difference in first grade performance. However, at the end of the first full year of operation (1989-90) differences were noted at both the kindergarten and first grade levels. It is projected that first grade achievement scores will show even greater improvements when the students have had two full years in the program (1990-91). Results of achievement tests are shown in Tables 2 and 3.

**Table 2**

Percent of Kindergarten Students Scoring in Each Quartile on End-of-Year Achievement Tests
1987 - 1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Lowest Quartile (1-25)</th>
<th>Second Quartile (26-50)</th>
<th>Third Quartile (51-75)</th>
<th>Top Quartile (76-90)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1987 - 1988 (Before W-to-R)</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988 - 1989 (4 mos. W-to-R)</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989 - 1990 (Full Year W-to-R)</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3
Percent of First Grade Students Scoring in Each Quartile on End-of-Year Achievement Tests
1987 - 1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Lowest Quartile (1-25)</th>
<th>Second Quartile (26-50)</th>
<th>Third Quartile (51-75)</th>
<th>Top Quartile (76-90)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1987 - 1988 (Before W-to-R)</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988 - 1989 (4 mos. W-to-R)</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989 - 1990 (Full Year W-to-R)</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, technology seems indeed to be having an impact on early reading. As a result of the increase of microcomputers in kindergarten and first grade classrooms across the state, teachers are reporting that more kindergarten students are ready for formal first grade reading instruction. There are fewer retentions, reading and writing scores have improved, and students show increased motivation and self-confidence. Increased longitudinal research studies on the effects of microcomputers on early reading is recommended, however, in order to understand more fully their role in building literacy skills.

References


**Software**

Hartley Courseware, Inc., Box 419, Dimondale, MI 48821; 800-247-1380.

IBM--contact the nearest IBM office.

Spinnaker, 1 Kendall, Sq., Cambridge, MA 02139.

A Survey of Teachers' Attitudes Toward and Utilization of Computers in K-8 Classrooms

Judith L. Long, Susan B. Steffey

The availability of microcomputers in classrooms across the United States has continually increased over the last decade. Dickey and Kherlopian (1987) estimated that computers were available to over 90 percent of teachers nationally, and Balajthy (1988) reported a study which indicated that "the number of computers in the U.S. K-12 schools increased to 2 million in 1986-87, an increase of 25% over the previous school year" (p. 242). Additionally, with the current promotional programs of such corporations as Apple, IBM, Big Star and Kroger offering to assist schools in obtaining computers and software, the number of computers available to teachers in our schools continues to multiply. However, while the availability of computers has become more widespread, Micklenberger (1990) points out that "chalkboards, lectures, and textbooks continue to dominate instruction everywhere" (p. 106). In their study of the uses of computers in the classrooms of grades 5-9 mathematics and science teachers in South Carolina, Dickey and Kherlopian (1987) disclosed that "a large percentage of teachers with access to computers reported that they did not use them" (p. 13). As with any instructional material the key to the computer's effective utilization rests with the teachers in whose classrooms the equipment is placed. In an examination of the primary determinants of teachers' decisions as to whether or not to make use of computers, Long and Benton (1985) identified two predominant factors: (a) knowledge of the computer and (b) attitudes toward the computer. They further added that "if teachers do not understand how computers function, they may be hesitant or
fearful of putting them to use. If teachers’ attitudes toward computers are negative and/or irrational, then they are also not likely to use computers as a part of their instruction” (p. 2). A third factor, overall convenience for the teacher, also needs to be considered, because with the excessive requirements placed on teachers today, they are not likely to utilize any instructional material which creates additional demands on their time.

The primary purposes of the present study were, therefore, to determine the extent of computer use by elementary and middle school teachers and to examine teachers’ overall attitudes toward the computer as an instructional tool. The specific objectives of this study were to:

1. determine the availability of computers to teachers;
2. determine the degree of computer literacy among teachers;
3. determine the extent to which teachers used the computer in their classrooms;
4. determine the primary purposes for which computers are used by teachers;
5. determine the primary reasons teachers with access to computers choose not to use them; and
6. determine teachers’ overall attitudes toward the computer as an instructional tool.

Method

Subjects

A total of 99 subjects, drawn from two elementary (grades K-5) and two middle (grades 6-8) schools in Forsyth County, Georgia, participated in this study. The Forsyth County school system is a somewhat rural (though rapidly growing) system located approximately forty miles north of Atlanta, Georgia. All participants were certified classroom teachers, with 47 elementary and 52 middle school teachers represented. The teachers’ level of classroom experience ranged from 18% having only 1-3 years experience to 54% reporting 10 or more years teaching experience. Fifty-six percent of the subjects participating in the study held the Master’s Degree, 43% the Bachelor’s Degree, and 1% the Educational Specialist’s Degree.

Instrument

The Computer Utilization Questionnaire (CUQ) was designed to determine the extent of computer use in elementary and middle schools
and to survey overall teacher attitudes toward instructional uses of the computer. The instrument consisted of nineteen items, divided into three main sections: (a) general information on the teacher; (b) computer utilization questions; and (c) a section on teacher attitudes and beliefs about instructional uses of computers. The four items in the general information section asked teachers to indicate the grade level they teach, their number of years teaching experience, the subject or subjects they teach, and the highest academic degree they hold.

The second section consisted of five items designed to determine the following: (a) whether teachers had access to computers at their schools; (b) whether they considered themselves to be computer literate; (c) how they learned to use the computer; (d) whether they used the computer in their classroom; and (e) how often they used the computer in their classroom. An additional item in this section asked teachers who did not use the computer in their classrooms to check the possible reasons why (training students, scheduling students, schoolwide scheduling, limited software, etc.). The last item in this section was directed to teachers who indicated that they did use the computer in their classrooms. These teachers were asked to indicate the primary ways they used the computer by checking all of the following uses which might apply: Instructional follow-up, drill and practice, educational games, tutorial programs, content demonstrations, recreational games, record keeping, making out tests or study sheets, and classroom newsletters/home communications.

The last section of the questionnaire was designed to determine overall teacher attitudes and beliefs about computers. This section consisted of eight items selected from the instruction section of the 50-item Teachers’ Attitudes and Beliefs About Computers (TABAC) instrument, a Likert-type scale designed by Benton, Long, and Jerrold (1988). Four positively stated and four negatively stated items were presented on the Computer Utilization Questionnaire, all eight items of which related to instructional uses of computers.

**Procedures**

The Computer Utilization Questionnaire was sent to 141 teachers, representing two elementary and two middle schools in the Forsyth County school system. Questionnaires and an explanation of the purpose of the study were placed in teachers’ mailboxes at the schools, and teachers were asked to return the surveys to the principals within three days. A total of 99 teachers responded to the survey, yielding an overall return rate of 70%. The return rate for the elementary teachers (n=47) was 71%, only slightly higher than the (69%) return rate for the middle school teachers (N=52).
Results

The responses from the survey indicated that 93% of the teachers had access to computers at their schools. Eighty-two percent of the subjects responded that they considered themselves to be computer literate (that is, they knew how to operate a computer), while 18% indicated they were not literate with regard to computers. When asked to indicate how they learned to use the computer, 62% of the respondents checked that they had participated in a formal course; 35% stated that they had taught themselves; and 3% indicated that another individual had taught them. Of the 81 teachers who indicated that they were computer literate, only 46 (57%) disclosed that they actually used the computer in their classrooms. The frequency of computer utilization within their classrooms ranged from 37% of the teachers who used the computer daily to 24% who used it less than once a week. Eight teachers (17%) testified that they used the computer three to four times a week, and ten teachers (22%) stated that they used it only once or twice a week. When asked to identify how they used computers in their classrooms, respondents identified three primary ways: Instructional follow-up (65%), drill and practice (72%), and educational games (63%). Among the other applications reported by teachers were recreational games (30%), tutorial programs (20%), and content demonstrations (9%). Instructional uses of the computer not involving students were also listed, with 26% of the teachers indicating that they used the computer to make out tests and study sheets, 11% to keep records, and 20% to develop classroom newsletters and other home communications.

Forty-two percent (N=34) of the participants who considered themselves to be computer literate and who had access to computers at their schools disclosed that they did not use computers in their classrooms. When asked to indicate why they did not use the computers, teachers offered three major reasons: (a) schoolwide scheduling making it hard to get the computer (47%); (b) scheduling students to use it too difficult (41%); and (c) limited or inappropriate software available (32%). Scheduling difficulties appeared to be the predominant reason teachers who knew how to use the computer failed to do so in their classrooms.

In examining teachers’ overall attitudes toward instructional uses of the computer, respondents were consistently positive on the four positively stated attitudinal items, with a large majority either strongly agreeing or agreeing with these statements. Both the item which stated “All students should have ‘hands on’ experience with computers” and the item which stated “Computers serve as a good source of remediation activities” received 96% agreement among teachers. The item which stated “Students are enthusiastic toward computer-oriented instruc-
tion” garnered 94% agreement. Among the positively stated items, the item receiving slightly less agreement among teachers, with 87%, stated that “Computers should be very helpful tools for teachers in any subject area.” Twelve percent of the teachers indicated that they were “undecided” about this particular statement.

Teacher attitudes did not appear to be quite as favorable toward instructional uses of the computer on the negatively stated items as they were on the positively stated items. Eighty-eight percent of the participants indicated that they either strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statement “Computer assisted instruction is boring and repetitious.” Eighty-seven percent had negative reactions to the statement “Computers are not an effective means of reinforcing skills.” In response to the item which stated “Teachers should not utilize computers in the classroom until there is more research to substantiate their worth,” 85% of the teachers disagreed or strongly disagreed, while 10% remained “undecided.” The survey’s final item, which read “Instruction by computers is too impersonal,” had strong disagreement or disagreement from 74% of the teachers with 20% indicating that they were “undecided.”

Summary and Discussion

In summary, data from this survey support the supposition that the microcomputer has become readily available to teachers in the public schools today. An overwhelming number of the participants in this study (93%) indicated that they have access to computers at their schools. The data also suggest that the majority of teachers (82%) are computer literate and utilize the computer in their classrooms (57%). Teacher attitudes toward the instructional uses of the computer, a crucial determinant in teachers’ decisions whether to use the computer (Long & Benton, 1985), were also found to be overwhelmingly positive among the participants in this study.

Since the availability and use of computers and technology in classrooms across the nation continue to increase, further research into teachers’ attitudes toward and utilization of computers is warranted. If, as Mecklenburger (1990) states, “Education that relies on electronic learning is the future,” (p. 108) then it behooves educators both to study and prepare for that future in order to maximize the potential effectiveness of such instruction.

References


Activities and Adaptations for At-Risk Students: Student and Teacher Perceptions

Richard J. Telfer, Robert Jennings, Reed Mottley

Much has been written in the past few years about "at-risk" students, those children likely to drop out of school prior to graduating from twelfth grade. Entire editions of such professional publications as Educational Leadership (February 1989) and the Journal of Reading (April 1990) have focused on suggestions and programs for at-risk students. Such concern for these students has resulted in many programs being mandated and developed at state and local levels. However, viewpoints differ about the make-up and focus of recommendations and programs for the at-risk student. Emphases have included focus on academic disability, on job-training programs, on making schools more relevant for the individual student, and on proposals for restructuring the schools (Hamby, 1989; Madden, Slavin, Karweit & Liberman, 1989; Newmann, 1989; Slavin & Madden, 1989).

All of these differing conceptions of what at-risk programs should involve share a concern for students' learning. What they do not share is an understanding of the problem. Students who are at-risk are not just those having weak academic skills (Business Advisory Commission of the Education Commission of the States, 1985; Ekstrom, Goertz, Pollock, & Rock, 1986; National Association of School Social Workers, 1985). While programs and suggestions that focus on academic disabilities may be valuable and necessary for many at-risk students, attempting to solve at-risk students' problems solely with remedial programs is likely to be unsuccessful. In fact, the recommendations of Greene and Uroff (1989),
Newmann (1989), and Hamby (1989) suggest the problem may be compounded by traditional remedial programs. Teller, Jennings, McNinch, and Mottley (1990) found some evidence from at-risk students themselves supporting such a contention. These remedial programs may not only be ineffective; they may also be counterproductive if they focus on skill deficiencies to solve a problem of self-esteem, disengagement, and alienation.

An element increasingly emphasized in at-risk programs is the involvement of the students. In the past many of the recommendations and programs were imposed on the at-risk student; only rarely were such students asked for input (Newmann, 1989). Now, more recognition is being made of the importance of these students’ input and involvement in program development.

In this study we continued to consult the students. The study is an extension of earlier work (Teller, et al., 1990), in which we looked at student and teacher perceptions of what it means to be “at risk.” In the earlier study, at-risk students were found to differ from other students and from teachers in their perceptions of what circumstances might contribute to a student’s being at risk. In addition, both populations of students differed from teachers in their perceptions of what teachers and other school officials could do to help at-risk students.

The current study was designed to look more closely at the differences found in the earlier study. Specifically, we evaluated the suggestions made in that study as to what teachers and other school personnel can do to help at-risk students. A follow-up survey (Appendix A) was then developed to expand the previous study in three areas. First, the follow-up survey asked students and teachers to identify which of several specific activities and adaptations of school programs would help at-risk students. Second, the survey examined the extent to which these same activities and adaptations are being used in classrooms. Third, the survey further explored differences in the suggestions offered by at-risk students, not-at-risk students, and teachers.

The responses to the survey were used to seek the answers to three general questions: (a) How do the respondent groups perceive the activities and adaptations for at-risk students? (b) Do the groups react differently to the activities and adaptations measured by the scales? and (c) Do perceptions of at-risk students, not-at-risk students, and teachers differ as to possible avenues of intervention?

Methods

A 40-item questionnaire was developed (Appendix A) based on responses to two open-ended questions (What should teachers do to
help "at-risk" students? and What can be done by school officials to help "at-risk" students?) from earlier research (Teller, et al., 1990) to determine what schools could do to assist at-risk students. Four major themes within the responses were identified: (a) curriculum modification, (b) assessment modification, (c) program development, and (d) demonstration of concern. These four themes became the framework of the questionnaire. Each area was represented by approximately 10 questions on the research questionnaire. Subjects were asked to respond to the questionnaire in two ways: (1) a rating of effectiveness and (2) a perception of use by teachers. Answers to the two ratings were in the form of Likert scale responses (1-5), as indicated below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effectiveness</th>
<th>Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-very ineffective</td>
<td>1-never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-ineffective</td>
<td>2-rarely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-somewhat effective</td>
<td>3-sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-effective</td>
<td>4-frequently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-very effective</td>
<td>5-regularly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the 40 Likert-type responses on the questionnaire, four open-ended questions were developed to seek additional suggestions as to what activities and adaptations for at-risk students could most profitably be used by teachers or school districts. These four items required that the respondents generate written answers.

Three distinct groups of subjects were included in the study: teachers, students not at risk, and students at risk. Each of these subject sets was duplicated in four states: Georgia, Wisconsin, Kansas, and Mississippi. An attempt was made to draw approximately equal numbers for each data set. Only senior high students and teachers were included. At-risk students were identified in Appendix B. In all, the study included 60 teachers, 89 students not at risk, and 97 students at risk.

Data Analysis

The responses to the 40-item questionnaire were scored using the 5-point scales identified previously. An average score was calculated for the total instrument and for each of the subsets of scores, resulting in paired scores of Effectiveness and Use. These average scores were calculated separately for teachers, not-at-risk students, and at-risk students. The Effectiveness and Use scores were then compared using paired t-tests. In addition, scores reflecting the differences between Effectiveness and Use were calculated. The groups' scores were then compared using analyses of variance (ANOVA).
Responses to the open-ended questions were read, grouped, and analyzed. The responses were randomly assigned identification numbers and then photocopied. Responses were then read by two raters who knew neither the identity nor the group of the individual responding. Initially, the raters read and discussed the same 25 protocols in order to identify categories. Once the categories were established the remaining protocols were rated, although some adjustment of categories was done by collapsing categories after the rating was completed. For the categories that were collapsed, the relevant responses were recategorized. The initial rating resulted in 80% agreement as to the proper categorization of the responses. Disagreements were discussed and resolved.

Percentages of individuals in a group who gave a particular response were then calculated. Comparisons of patterns of student and teacher responses were made using a contingency table and Chi Square statistics.

Results

The study centered on three general questions: (a) How do the respondent groups perceive the activities and adaptations for at-risk students? (b) Do the groups react differently to the activities and adaptations measured by the scales? and (c) Do perceptions of at-risk students, not-at-risk students, and teachers differ as to possible avenues of intervention? The results that follow directly respond to the general questions.

Questions 1--How do the respondent groups perceive the activities and adaptations for at-risk students? Summative means for each of the scales and subscales, Effectiveness and Use, Curriculum Modification, Assessment Modification, Program Development, and Demonstration of Concern, were developed and are reported in Table 1. Mean item scores for the total and for the subsets are reported in Table 2.

Table 1
Means Scores for Groups on the Total Questionnaire and the Four Subsets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not-At-Risk</td>
<td>At-Risk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness: Total</td>
<td>148.73</td>
<td>148.63</td>
<td>135.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use: Total (40 items)</td>
<td>119.10</td>
<td>100.93</td>
<td>103.62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Effectiveness: Curriculum Modification 35.85
Use: Assessment Modification (10 items) 27.88

Effectiveness: Assessment Modification 35.17
Use: Assessment Modification (10 items) 31.46

Effectiveness: Program Modification 42.62
Use: Program Modification (11 items) 32.12

Effectiveness: Demonstration Concern 36.10
Use: Demonstration Concern (9 items) 30.22

Table 2
Means Item Scores for Groups on the Total and Subsets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Students Not At Risk</th>
<th>Students At Risk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness: Total</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>3.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use: Total</td>
<td>3.01</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>2.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness: Curriculum Modification</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>3.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use: Curriculum Modification</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>2.59</td>
<td>2.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness: Assessment Modification</td>
<td>3.54</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>3.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use: Assessment Modification</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td>2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness: Program Development</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>3.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use: Program Development</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>2.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness: Demonstration Concern</td>
<td>3.93</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>3.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use: Demonstration Concern</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>2.69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the Effectiveness scale (see Table 2), scores ranged from low perceptions of 3.38 and 3.39 (Somewhat Effective) for at-risk students on Curriculum Modification and Program Development, respectively, to a high perception of 4.04 (Effective) for Demonstration of Concern by students not at risk. Twelve of the possible 15 scores were above 3.5, which would indicate that the three groups did perceive activities and adaptations as positive (Effective). However, no scores approached 4.5 (Very Effective). Though the groups were positive in their views of effectiveness for the suggested activities and adaptations for at-risk students, they were not “very” positive.

On the Use scale (Table 2), scores ranged from a low of 2.37 (Rarely), expressed by students not at risk on the Program Development items, to a high of 3.38 (Sometimes), expressed by teachers on the Demonstration of Concern items. Two of the perceptions were in the “rarely” range; 13 were in the “sometimes” range. No mean perceptions were in the categories of “frequently” or “regularly.” It appears that the groups did not perceive that many activities or adaptations were currently or actively in place for at-risk students.

Dependent t-tests were computed between the means of the Effectiveness and the Use scales for each group to investigate possible differences existing between perceptions of appropriateness and delivery. The results are reported in Table 3. In each comparison (total and the four composite subscales), the perceptions of Effectiveness differed significantly from the perceptions of Use. In each comparison, the means for Use are significantly lower than the means of Effectiveness. Clearly, each group is sensitive to differences in Effectiveness and Use. The various intervention or compensatory activities and adaptation designed for helping at-risk students cope with school are perceived as effective; however, these same activities or adaptations are perceived as not currently available to students in need.
Table 3
Summary of Paired t-test Values Comparing the Effectiveness with the Use Scales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Paired t</th>
<th>Probability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teachers</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff/Use: Total</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>29.63</td>
<td>8.82</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff/Use: Curr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modification</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>7.97</td>
<td>9.23</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff/Use: Assess</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modification</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff/Use: Prog</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>10.50</td>
<td>7.34</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff/Use: Demo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>4.88</td>
<td>5.97</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Students Not At Risk</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff/Use: Total</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>47.70</td>
<td>14.07</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff/Use: Curr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modification</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>10.35</td>
<td>12.42</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff/Use: Assess</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modification</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>8.89</td>
<td>12.51</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff/Use: Prog</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>12.38</td>
<td>9.07</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff/Use: Demo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>13.07</td>
<td>12.90</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Students At Risk</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff/Use: Total</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>31.72</td>
<td>7.08</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff/Use: Curr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modification</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>7.22</td>
<td>7.04</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff/Use: Assess</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modification</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>7.22</td>
<td>7.04</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff/Use: Prog</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>7.40</td>
<td>6.72</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff/Use: Demo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>8.03</td>
<td>6.51</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question 2--Do the groups react differently to the activities and adaptations measured by the scales? The differences in perceptions among the groups may best be explored by computing a derived difference score (Effectiveness minus Use) for the total score and each of the four subscales. Five one-way analyses of variance were computed (Table 4), using group as the independent variable and the difference score as the dependent variable. In four of the five analyses, the F ratio was significant (p < .05), indicating overall differences in perceptions of the behaviors for Total, Curriculum Modification, Assessment Modification, and Demonstration of Concern. Differences were not noted in Program Development. It appears that the groups reacted differently to most perceptions of activities and adaptations suggested for at-risk students.

Table 4
ANOVA Summary: Group Comparisons Using the Mean differences as the Criterion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>F Ratio</th>
<th>Probability</th>
<th>Significant Scheffe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness/Use: Total</td>
<td>6.01</td>
<td>&lt;.003</td>
<td>Tchrs vs Not At Risk Not At Risk vs At Risk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness/Use: Curriculum Modification</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>&lt;.05</td>
<td>Not At Risk vs At Risk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness/Use: Assess Modification</td>
<td>6.24</td>
<td>&lt;.003</td>
<td>Tchrs vs Not At Risk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness/Use: Program Development</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>Tchrs vs At Risk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness/Use</td>
<td>15.04</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>Tchrs vs Not At Risk Not At Risk vs At Risk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question 3--Do perceptions of at-risk students, not-at-risk students, and teachers differ as to possible avenues of intervention? The comparisons of the responses to each of the open-ended questions are shown in Tables 5, 6, 7, and 8. Open-Ended question 1, "What other
kinds of help (in addition to that listed in Part 1) should be provided for at-risk students?" is summarized in Table 5. The Chi Square analysis indicated that the responses were significantly different ($X^2 = 53.88, p = .0001$). Visual inspection of the results shows that teachers differ most from the two groups of students in their mentioning of "Jobs, Job Programs, and Job-Related Classes." All three groups differ considerably on the importance of "Help with Schoolwork," with few teachers mentioning help with schoolwork and more students, particularly those not at risk, mentioning it.

Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Not At-Risk</th>
<th>At-Risk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provide Support</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help with Schoolwork</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobs, Job Programs,</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Job-Related Classes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in Classes</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and/or Teaching Techniques</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in Structure of School Day</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen to Students</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allow More Student</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice/Choice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work With Families</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After School Programs</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide Rewards</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Chi Square analysis of the response to Question 2, "How can teachers do a better job of showing respect for at-risk students?" indicated that there were significant differences ($X^2 = 41.44, p = .0001$). Visual inspection of the responses (see Table 6) shows sizable differences
in the numbers of teachers and students whose responses fit in the category "Treat Students Appropriately." Teachers and not-at-risk students saw "Communication with Students" as more important than did at-risk students. Other differences were seen in "Understanding Student Problems/Needs" and in "Help Students." Teachers apparently see that empathizing with students is necessary, while students see providing help as being at least as important.

Table 6
Question 2--How Can Teachers Do a Better Job of Showing Respect? Percentages of Responses by Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Not At-Risk</th>
<th>At-Risk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Treat Students Appropriately</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communicate with Students</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding Student Problems/Needs</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help Students</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modify Teaching</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encourage</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The responses to Question 3 are also significantly different ($X^2 = 47.72$, $p = .0002$). Of particular note, teachers mentioned "Job Skills Programs" most often, while students, particularly at-risk students, mentioned jobs much less often. "Support Groups" were mentioned more often by not-at-risk students than by the other groups.

Table 7
Question 3--What Type of Special Program Would be Most Helpful? Percentages of Responses by Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Not At-Risk</th>
<th>At-Risk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individualized Programs</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job-Skills Programs</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The responses to Question 4 are also significantly different ($X^2 = 36.96$, $p = .0053$). Of particular note, teachers and not-at-risk students mentioned “General Rules” and “Attendance Policies” more often than did at-risk students. Both groups of students mentioned “Teacher Attitudes” more often than did the teachers.

Table 8

Question 4--What School Policies Tend to Encourage At-Risk Students to Drop Out?

Percentages of Responses by Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Not At-Risk</th>
<th>At-Risk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Rules and Rule Enforcement</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance Policies</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discipline Policies</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Attitude</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Structure</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classwork</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrelevance of Curriculum</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grading</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Failure to Look for Reasons for Problems</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A large difference exists between ratings of value of suggested adaptations for at-risk students and ratings of use of the same adaptations. Both teachers and students consistently rate adaptations as valuable but equally consistently indicate that the adaptations are infrequent. The fact that the large difference exists suggests that a way to help at-risk students is to close the gap between value and use. Rather than identifying additional strategies, efforts should be made to see that existing strategies are used more often. In order to narrow this gap, additional understanding is necessary. In particular, educators need to know more about why the gap exists.

While the groups all exhibited large differences between their ratings of value and their ratings of use, the groups also differed one from another. These differences suggest that an understanding of how to work with at-risk students must involve interactions among the groups involved. If teachers and students see different parts of the issue, the decisions teachers alone make will be less helpful than decisions made with input from both at-risk and not-at-risk students.

The responses to the open-ended questions also showed differences between the two groups of students and the teachers. A most prominent difference is the frequency of teachers’ job-related suggestions. By contrast, students wrote far fewer job-related suggestions. The differences in the groups’ frequencies of job-related activities or differences in understanding of the problem of “at-riskness” and/or its causes. Certainly the responses on this component coincide with at-risk students’ lack of interest in special programs found in an earlier study (Teller, et al., 1990). Another possible inference is that at-risk students and not-at-risk students have similar goals beyond school. Or the differences on this attribute may simply reflect the at-risk student’s desire not to be treated differently from the not-at-risk student.

Other responses suggest that teachers and students differ in their perceptions of the value of understanding students’ problems and treating at-risk students appropriately. It appears that teachers see a need to exert greater effort to understand at-risk students’ problems and needs, but, comparatively, the teachers listed appropriate treatment of these students far fewer times. It is noteworthy that not-at-risk students listed a need for appropriate treatment of at-risk students even more frequently than did those at risk. At any rate, both student groups are in considerable agreement that this area needs attention. Inspection of Table 6 also leads to another speculation: Is there a relationship between responses for “Help Students” and “Treat Students Appropriately?” It is interesting to note that both groups of students listed this as a suggestion; but it was not listed at all by teachers. Do teachers perceive
themselves as already providing help? Do students think that teachers are not providing help? Or are students suggesting assistance beyond the variety offered in the classroom? Whatever the reason, there is a large difference between the students and the teachers in the listing for these categories.

The biggest differences between the two groups of students were related to the need for support groups or counseling. Not-at-risk students seemed to believe that support groups would be helpful; at-risk students alluded to this factor far less often on the survey. The difference in perception may be case of “prescribing for someone else rather than for ourselves.” It may be that the not-at-risk students perceive a need for counseling that is not apparent to either the teachers or the at-risk students. It may be that not-at-risk students have greater access to informal support groups through differing study habits; that is, perhaps not-at-risk students do more group study and from this get both support and informal counseling from each other. It may also be that not-at-risk students are more willing to approach adults with their problems, especially school-related ones.

Inspection of Table 7 makes one aspect abundantly clear: At-risk students do not see the high school as providing them with a “Jobs Skills Program.” This may also be a part of wanting to be treated the same as the not-at-risk peers. Or, as previously mentioned, it may be that at-risk students have after-graduation goals similar to those of the not-at-risk students, however realistic these goals may be.

Overall, the responses to the open-ended questions suggest that the different groups see quite different pieces of the problem. We believe the different reactions should serve at least as a beginning point for policymakers and educators as they develop and refine programs for at-risk students.

Recommendations

The differences shown in this study between the perceptions of the students and the teachers may indicate a lack of knowledge or understanding on the part of students. The apparent differences may also be related to semantics, to different interpretations of the questionnaire items. And it may be that students provided spurious answers either because of an eagerness to please or to frustrate those giving the survey, in which case the results reported herein should not be given much consideration. However, if the survey results do indeed identify differences in perceptions, then it is imperative that those involved with designing and/or implementing programs and instruction for at-risk students consult with the teachers and the students. Only by including
these two groups will designers and implementers understand and address the many different aspects of being at risk. Evaluation of such programs must also include perceptions from these two groups. It is important to note the differences between the two groups of students as well. Although smaller than differences between teachers and students, these differences suggest that looking only at the perceptions of the at-risk students will give an incomplete picture.

The results of this study highlight differences between perceptions of effectiveness and perceptions of use. Because of this big gap—indicated by both teachers and students—it seems clear that effective strategies for helping at-risk students are not being used extensively. Since teachers and both groups of students indicated the effectiveness of the strategies, it would seem that better implementation of those strategies would result in more effectively addressing the difficulties associated with students at risk.

Future research could examine in more detail the reasons for the gaps between perceptions of value and perceptions of use. And differences between teacher and student viewpoints concerning value and use could also be explored. Other answers to be sought include determining what curricula teachers view as being appropriate for at-risk students, whether at-risk students agree as to the appropriateness of these curricula, the nature of the help both student groups report as being desirable, how both groups of students perceive individualized programs, the kinds of support group the not-at-risk students believe to be important for at-risk students, and the sources of differences between teacher and student views of appropriate treatment of at-risk students.

Further attention should also be given to the at-risk programs to see if the practices recommended by students and teachers are being implemented. In addition to the perceptions of teachers and students, observers could identify and record the types of instructional and program adaptations that are being used successfully with at-risk students.

Educational Significance

Our increasing knowledge of student and teacher perceptions of successful activities and adaptations for at-risk students will help us identify promising approaches for working with these students. By looking at student and teacher perceptions, we can keep the emphasis both on programs and on the individuals involved. While it is important to identify successful strategies and programs, identifying these promising approaches is not sufficient. As differences between student and teacher perceptions highlight, attempts must be made to learn from students and to involve them in the evaluation and selection of activities.
References


Appendix A

Part 1

Directions: Each of the following 40 items is a way to help at-risk students to stay in school until graduation.

First, please read and decide what you think about the effectiveness of each of these ways. Then circle the number that best fits with your belief for each way of helping at-risk students (1=very ineffective, 2=ineffective, 3=somewhat effective, 4=effective, 5=very effective).

Second, please circle the letter that indicates how often you think teachers in your school use each of these ways (A=never, B=rarely, C=sometimes, D=frequently, E=regularly).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effectiveness</th>
<th>Use</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>A B C D E</td>
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<td>2. 1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>A B C D E</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. 1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>A B C D E</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. 1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>A B C D E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>A B C D E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>A B C D E</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. 1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>A B C D E</td>
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<td>8. 1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>A B C D E</td>
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<td>9. 1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>A B C D E</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. 1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>A B C D E</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. 1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>A B C D E</td>
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<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
27. 1 2 3 4 5 A B C D E Provide reading- and writing-improvement programs.
28. 1 2 3 4 5 A B C D E Provide study-improvement programs.
29. 1 2 3 4 5 A B C D E Provide special support teachers.
30. 1 2 3 4 5 A B C D E Provide alternative schools for at-risk students.
31. 1 2 3 4 5 A B C D E Provide in-school day care for children of at-risk students.
32. 1 2 3 4 5 A B C D E Listen to student concerns about what is being studied in class.
33. 1 2 3 4 5 A B C D E Listen to student concerns about issues related to things outside of school.
34. 1 2 3 4 5 A B C D E Have teachers available to talk to all students either in or out of class.
35. 1 2 3 4 5 A B C D E Provide specific classroom time for discussing student concerns.
36. 1 2 3 4 5 A B C D E Do not be judgmental when discussing student concerns.
37. 1 2 3 4 5 A B C D E Teachers and administrators admit their mistakes.
38. 1 2 3 4 5 A B C D E Treat students with respect (by listening to their ideas and respecting their needs).
39. 1 2 3 4 5 A B C D E Treat all students the same (enforce the rules equally for all students without playing favorites or discriminating against some).
Assessments and Adaptations for At-Risk Students: Student and Teacher Perceptions

40. 1 2 3 4 5 A B C D E Adjust school starting or ending times to meet students' job or family needs.

Part 2

1. What other kinds of help (in addition to those listed in Part 1) should be provided for at-risk students?

2. How can teachers do a better job of showing respect for at-risk students?

3. Why type of special program would be most helpful for at-risk students?

4. What school policies tend to encourage at-risk students to drop out of school?
Appendix B

At-Risk Students

There have been a number of definitions of what it means to be an "at-risk" student. For example, one state defines "high risk" students as those who exhibit the following characteristics: "absenteeism, truancy, frequent tardiness, poor grades, low math and reading scores, failure in one or more grades, limited extracurricular participation, lack of identification with school, failure to see the relevance of education to life experience, boredom with school, disruptive behavior and rebellious attitudes toward authority, verbal and language deficiencies, and inability to tolerate structured activities." Another state defines at-risk students as those "whose aspirations and achievement may be negatively affected by stereotypes linked to race, national origin, language background, gender, income, family status, parental status, and disability."
An Analysis of the Themes in Students' International Peer Correspondence While Studying a Social Studies Unit About South America: A Pilot Study

Shirley M. Pailer

The first eight years of the 1980s saw a 4.8% increase over the previous decade in the number of immigrants to the United States.

This included a 6.5% increase in the number of South American immigrants (U.S. Department of Justice Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1988). According to demographic predictions, one third of all Americans will be members of ethnic or racial minorities by the year 2000. In addition, Hispanics will outnumber African-Americans by the year 2020, becoming the largest minority group in the United States (Hodgkinson, 1985). The increasing ethnic diversity nationwide is reflected in the local community of Athens, Georgia, as well, where an elementary school recently reported that about 25% of its 300 students are foreign-born ("World View," 1990).

The ethnic diversity within our country has given rise to programs such as the Anti-Defamation League's "A World of Difference" and the "World Wise Schools" program, sponsored by the Peace Corps. Programs like these recognize the need to stimulate international awareness and promote greater intercultural tolerance and appreciation among American children (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1988-1989; S. Puchalski, personal communication, August 6, 1990).
However, American students appear to be relatively uninterested in international issues. One comparative study of nine countries reported that the United States was the only country in which 14-year-old students reported considerably less interest in international political discussion than in discussion of domestic issues (Torney, 1977). In addition, American 14-year olds ranked seventh among eight countries in their knowledge of international institutions and processes. Schmidt (1976), in his study of 600 fourth, fifth, and sixth graders, and Pike and Barrows (1979), in their extensive study of 1,728 students in grades 4, 8, and 12, found similar evidence of student ignorance of world affairs.

In its position statement on global education, the National Council for the Social Studies (1982) maintained that the "elementary ... schools are important agencies in our society for nurturing constructive attitudes toward global matters and for providing basic knowledge about international events and processes" (p. 37). Other social studies educators agree, based on developmental research, that the elementary and middle-school years, particularly ages 8 to 12, may be the most appropriate for developing children's awareness of and attitudes toward other nations and global issues (Evans, 1987; Torney, 1980).

The responsibility for developing knowledge of foreign areas and global understanding falls mainly on social studies teachers (Evans, 1987; Torney-Purta, 1981), who typically rely heavily on basal social studies texts (Craven, 1985; Morrisett, Hawke, & Superka, 1980; Patrick, 1982). In view of the weaknesses which remain in social studies textbook coverage of foreign areas, social studies educators recommend that classroom teachers use people from other cultures (natives as well as U.S.-born residents with overseas experience) to enhance the instructional program (Cortes & Fleming, 1986a; Evans, 1987; Torney-Purta, 1981).

An estimated 300,000 American schoolchildren live overseas (Useem & Downie, 1976, September-October). This transnational population has daily direct contact with foreign cultures and issues. Willis and Enloe (1990) maintain that such students "share an international focus that enables them to step outside their own culture, thus allowing a more objective and critical look at both that culture and others" (p. 179). Despite the greater cross-cultural awareness and international understanding of American transnational students, as well as research supporting the effectiveness of peer tutoring (Hansen, 1986; Johnson, Skon, & Johnson, 1980; Lucker, Rosenfield, Sikes, & Aronson, 1976; Manning & Manning, 1984; Stevens, 1989), few if any studies have investigated the effects of using American transnational students as peer correspondents with students residing in the United States.
In this exploratory pilot study I examined the themes in the correspondence between students residing in Athens, Georgia, and American transnational students residing in Quito, Ecuador.

Subjects

Peer Correspondents

Athens area peer correspondents. The subjects were seven home-schooled children from four families who volunteered to participate in the study. They included a boy, aged 14, from one family; a brother and sister, aged 12 and 13, respectively, from the second family; two brothers, aged 11 and 13, from the third family; two sisters, aged 14 and 15, from the fourth family.

These children were from middle-class families that were deeply religious and very active in local Protestant churches. The feature of the study that initially attracted their families to participate was the opportunity it represented for the children to correspond with children studying at a school for the children of missionaries.

Transnational Peer Correspondents

The seven children who corresponded with the Athens-area homeschooled children were members of a sixth-grade class at the Alliance Academy in Quito, Ecuador. Although the Alliance Academy is operated by a North American Protestant denomination to provide a North American college-preparatory education for the children of missionaries, children of American and other English-speaking businessmen and diplomats residing in Quito are among its clientele.

Because this was a pilot study, I did not obtain background information on the children in Quito, but I was able to glean several pieces of information about their backgrounds from their letters. All were children of missionaries. Two had lived in Ecuador nearly all of their lives: one stated that he was born in Ecuador, and another that he had lived in Ecuador 11 out of his 12 years. A third mentioned that she had first gone to Venezuela when she was 1.5 years old, had lived there for 9.5 years, and then had come to Ecuador within the last year. Three others did not mention how long they had lived in Ecuador or South America. One child mentioned that she had only been living in Ecuador 1.5 months, and it was apparently her first experience of living outside the United States.

Procedure

I met with the seven home-schooled children biweekly for seven weeks, usually in 1.5- to 2-hour sessions. The basis for our study of South
America was unit six from the Scott, Foresman Social Studies series, entitled *Latin America and Canada* (1988).

During the first class I explained that we would be studying South America from the text and that once a week about half of the class would be writing letters to students in the sixth grade at the Alliance Academy in Quito, Ecuador. I explained that the main purpose of the letter writing would be to allow them to ask questions of their pen pals about what they were studying in our class. Therefore, we would be formulating questions stimulated by our readings in the textbook and listing these questions on a chart on an ongoing basis. If unable to think of other questions of their own, students could then refer to these questions in writing to their pen pals. The students drew names to determine who would correspond during the first four weeks of the study. I informed the three students whose names were not drawn that they would be corresponding during the final weeks of the study. This limitation on the number of students corresponding at any one time was necessitated by the expense of faxing the correspondence between the two countries and because a large, quasi-experimental study would be started in December.

On the first Monday we met together, four of the children wrote their first letters to their unknown pen pal in Quito, Ecuador. The next morning I faxed their letters to the cooperating teacher at the Alliance Academy, who chose four of her students to write responses. She then faxed their responses to me before noon on the following Monday, and I took them to the children in my class, who wrote again. This exchange of correspondence continued on a weekly basis for the seven weeks of the study. After four weeks, the four children who had started corresponding stopped, and the remaining three children started corresponding.

The seven children in my class showed enthusiasm for the letter-writing project. They questioned me eagerly when I arrived for class concerning whether I had received their letters. When my response was affirmative, they asked to read their letters right away. After our second exchange of letters the cooperating teacher at the Alliance Academy wrote that her students were "excited" about their part in the correspondence.

**Method of Content Analysis**

I used the method of analytic induction (Geotz & LeCompte, 1984) in analyzing the content of the children’s letters. As I read the letters, I attempted to develop a cumulative list of categories that would describe the theme(s) of each independent clause in the letters. Then I reread the
letters constantly comparing their contents to the cumulative list, to see if there were any independent clauses which did not have at least one category to describe their theme.

Results of Content Analysis of the Correspondence

I was able to identify ten themes in the students' correspondence. The quotes I provide from the children's letters as examples of each identified theme are unedited, reflecting the children's spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and grammar.

Themes

I. Giving and requesting personal information.

As might be expected, a dominant theme in the children's letters involved the giving and requesting of personal information. A great variety and amount of personal information was given and requested: name, age, grade, type of schooling, how and where they were schooled in the past, where they were born, where they are from in the United States, where they are living, address, family members, parents' occupations, places they have been in the United States, hobbies, interests, sports activities, wishes/desires, reading preferences, favorite subjects, teacher's name, religious beliefs, how school/life is going, friendships (including boyfriends and girlfriends), appearance (e.g., hairstyle, height, weight), where they would like to live when grown up, future occupation, possessions, allergies. Following are some examples of personal information requests and statements.

"I collect stamps and ride skateboards. I am 10 years old and have one brother and one sister. I am in the 6th grade."

"I just got my hair cut today real short. It was like this (picture), then I got it cut like this today (picture). How long/short is your hair? I don't have a very best friend but I do have a lot of good friends."

"what are your favorite subjects mine are science, math, spanish I hate spelling and as you can tell I am very bad at it."

"What kind of books do you read? I like to read about horses!"

"I was born in the Hospital Vozandes here in Quito Ecuador."

II. Requesting information related to background knowledge and/or social studies text readings about South America.

I encouraged my class to think about what they had been reading about South America in the social studies text, as well as what they
already knew about South America, and to ask their pen pals questions about South America. During our study of the unit in the text, we kept an ongoing list of questions about South America, stimulated by our reading, that we wanted to ask our pen pals when we wrote to them. This chart of questions was always displayed while students were writing their letters, and they were encouraged to select the questions they were most interested in and include them in their letters. In addition to the questions on the chart, the students would frequently generate other questions as they were composing their letters. Following are some of the questions related to their reading in the social studies text or to their background knowledge about South America that students included in their letters:

"Have you ever seen a Inca Indian? . . . how do they dress?"

"Why do Ecuadorians celebrate Quito Day?"

"Is it cold or hot in the Mountains? Is it pretty view up in the mountains?"

"How is Thanksgiving/Christmas celebrated in Ecuador?"

"Do they have a McDonalds, Burger King, or Wendys in South America?"

"Have you ever been to the Galapagos Islands?"

"Have you ever been to any other countries in South America?"

"Do you take Spanish?"

"Have you ever seen some barriadas?"

"Which country do you like better, Venezuela or Ecuador?"

"Does it snow often there?"

"What do you like most about Ecuador?"

"What is it like in person there?"

"Have you ever seen a killer bee?"

This last question was of great interest to three of the four boys in my class, all of whom included it in their correspondence. Their pen pals, however, all responded to the query in the negative.

III. Answering questions related to background knowledge and/or social studies text readings about South America.

I was very much interested in the kinds of responses my students would receive to their questions about South America. In just a few
cases, their questions were not answered. It seemed that the pen pal either did not have the letter in front of her or him while writing or that she or he overlooked the question. In the following exchange, which begins with the question posed by the student in my class, while the pen pal attempted to answer the question, it was evident that he had not read carefully:

"Have you ever seen some barriadas?" ("barriada", according to the social studies text, is the Spanish word for "slum") "Yes, I have seen a barricuda, and I think that they are very interesting fish."

"I asked you about a barriada not barricuda! Clue: do you take Spanish?"

In just one example I noted that the transnational pen pal's letter reflected her apparent misunderstanding of her physical environment (i.e., the location of Quito in the Andes mountains). This following exchange begins with the question posed by her pen pal in my class.

"Have you gotten to go and visit the Andes Mts. I think they would be so pretty."

"I'm sorry, but I have never been to the Andes Mts, I wish I could go!"

This transnational pen pal's misunderstanding in responding to this question seemed curious to me because in her first letter she informed her pen pal that she lived "9,000 feet above sea level in a city called Quito."

Many responses to questions posed by the students in my class were appropriate and informative. The following excerpt, although it uses the term "ancestors" instead of the term "descendants," illustrates this type of response.

"No, I haven't seen an Inca Indean, by the way they are extincted. But they have ancestors called 'Ottavalenos'. They dress in ponchos made of wool."

In response to the question "Why do Educadores celebrate Quito Day?" a pen pal wrote: "Because Ecuador's capital is Quito, and they are celebrating it's independence."

In response to the question "Do you like the coldness?" another pen pal wrote: "it is really cold and I hate it and it never snows only on the mountain tops."

Another pen pal, however, had a very different appraisal of the weather in Ecuador.
"The thing I like most about Ecuador is the weather, which is cool almost all the time."

One student had to remind his pen pal in a second letter to answer his question concerning whether he had been to any other South American countries. This was the exchange that followed:

...yes I have been to other countries in South America. Like Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and of course Quito." "What countries did you like themost and why?" "I liked Peru the most because there was a lake. In that lake was some fish called peronos and alligators. I want to tell you a little bit about peranas. There are only to kinds that eat you. They live in india and in the jungle of South America."

When one student learned that her pen pal had lived in Venezuela for 9.5 years before coming to Ecuador, within the last year, the following exchange took place:

"Which country do you like better, Venezuela or Ecuador? Is their anything you miss about Venezuela?"
"You ask which country I like better. Right now it would be Ven. because I grew up there. I manly miss my friends & all the swimming & water skiing."

"I understand why Venezuela would be the country you like best, because you grew up there and you miss your friends. I do like home school but I also miss my friends. When you lived in Ven. where all you friends American or where some of them Venezuelan? Do you speak any Spanish?"

"Yes, I speak spanish, but I wish I could speak better."

This same pen pal evidently took her overseas life very much for granted. Though she had lived in Venezuela for 9.5 years before coming to Ecuador, when she was asked "What interesting places have you visited in South America?" her response was "I really haven’t been any where exciting."

IV. Giving unsolicited information about South America.

In addition to responding to questions from the students in my class, the transnational students volunteered information about South America, as in the following examples:

"I like living here in Quito I have only been here a month and a half Some parts are dirty thier are alot of beggers. But I live in Quito the Capitol city and It is nice Shopping here is just as good as the States they have two great mall’s!!"
"Life here in Quito is quite fun. We have snow-capped mountains. Quito is very much the same as the USA but different in some ways."

"It is very cold down here I wear sweatsuits to bed and sometimes to school"

"Ecuador is a very pretty place to live in. It is spring time all year round, and rains alot. There are alot of poor people who live on streets, but besides that it is wonderful. I live 9,000 feet above sea level in a city called Quito, the capital of Ecuador."

"I thought that you might like to know that I live on a mountain that is a volcano and they say it irrupts every ten years"

V. Requesting greater detail or clarification related to information in the letter being answered.

The students' letters often gave evidence that they were reading and paying close attention to their previous correspondence from their pen pals. This lent a conversational quality to their letters. In addition to the "barriada-barricada" exchange, cited earlier, the following examples illustrate this theme:

"Who do you listen to in heavy metal?"

"Is it scary not knowing if the volcano is going to bust or not? When are the ten years up?"

VI. Giving or requesting miscellaneous information.

Often students gave or requested information related to topics especially important to them. These topics might involve recent past events or events they were looking forward to. Sometimes topics related to a strong personal interest, as when a student included in his letter a flowchart drawing of the steps involved in making a car from wood. One student noticed a stamp imprint in the upper left-hand corner of the letter he received and inquired in his response, "Did you get that stamp out of Rice Krispies?". In his reply, his pen pal responded affirmatively.

VII. Requesting that something be sent.

Several students in both groups asked their pen pals to send them pictures of themselves. One transnational student, who collected stamps, asked his pen pal to send him some interesting stamps.

VIII. Giving advice.

Infrequently, students gave advice to their pen pals.
IX. Requesting or giving opinions.

Students often asked their pen pal’s opinions concerning personal information in their letters, or asked for their personal response to a situation.

"Why do you listen to heavy metal?"

"Do you like homeschooling?"

Students also freely expressed their opinions on a number of topics. Sometimes these expressions took the form of compliments.

"You have a very pretty name!"

"I have enjoyed writing to you and it has been great fun"

"I bet Ecuador is a nice place, it sounds like it is!"

X. Describing Procedures related to the correspondence. Sometimes students commented about their plans relative to the correspondence, as in the following examples:

"I'm going to answer your questions"

"I will send a picture of me."

"I am looking forward to getting a letter from you soon!"

Conclusions

Educational Implications

The ten themes that I was able to identify in the students' correspondence illustrated many of the functions of language as well as a great variety of ways of responding to the letterwriting assignment. The letter-writing project provided an authentic reason to use written language. In requesting information related to their background knowledge and their readings in the social studies text about South America, students in my class were actively engaged with the text. The first-hand information they received from the transnational students sometimes reinforced the information they had read in the text. For example, they had read that one of the major economic problems still facing many South American countries today is the very large number of poor people. Then some of their transnational pen pals mentioned the many poor people or beggars on the streets in Quito, Ecuador. In addition to the reinforcement provided in some letters of the information they were learning from the text, the content of the correspondence helped to make South American countries more real to them. In the words one of my students used in writing to her transnational pen pal, it helped them to see what it was like to be “in person” in South America.
Implications for Future Research

I gained several important insights from my content analysis of the children’s correspondence which would guide the more extensive quasi-experimental study to begin in December of 1990. First, I decided that my larger study needed to provide sufficient time for the focus of the correspondence to shift from a natural initial interest in the exchanging of personal information to an emphasis on requesting and giving information about life in a South American country. Secondly, it seemed that the practice of having the students generate and record their questions about South America as they studied the unit in the social studies text and then refer to those questions as needed while writing their letters encouraged them to ask at least some questions about South America each time they wrote. Thirdly, informal interaction among the students in the class relative to the content of the letters they received and wrote influenced the content they wrote in subsequent letters, as in the shared interest of several of the boys in inquiring about their pen pal’s experiences—if any—with “killer bee.” While allowing this interaction to occur in the subsequent study would heighten its ecological validity, I noted that careful classroom observation to document the nature and extent of such interaction would be helpful in interpreting the results of the study. Fourthly, the instance of misinformation conveyed in the response of the transnational pen pal who wrote that she had never been to the Andes mountains alerted me to a limitation of international peer correspondence for enhancing children’s understanding of foreign areas or peoples. In addition to factual inaccuracies, such correspondence might also contain personal biases held by the transnational pen pal relative to the host country or its people, and even reinforce negative stereotypes held by the pen pal living in the United States. Therefore, the content of the transnational children’s letters in the subsequent study would need to be carefully examined for instances of misinformation or negative stereotypes relative to the host country or people. Also, it would be important to collect background information from the transnational correspondents concerning the length of time they had lived in the host country, to determine if the phenomenon of culture shock might be responsible for any negative attitudes reflected in their letters. Fifthly, the prevalence of expressions of opinions as well as personalized facts relative to the topic of South America in the content of the transnational students’ letters suggested that such a program of peer correspondence might produce affective as well as cognitive gains. Therefore, I incorporated both types of outcome measures in the design of my subsequent study. Finally, the importance of encouraging the U.S.-based students to ask questions that would elicit explanations rather than simple “yes” or “no” answers and of encouraging the transnational correspondents to elaborate on their responses to ques-
tions was highlighted by a comparison of various exchanges on particular South American topics in the pilot study correspondence.

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Short-Term Memory Demands of Initial Reading Curricula: Impact on Progress in Elementary School Reading

Richard H. Bloomer, Kay A. Norlander, Patricia A. Richard

Too often the question “What method of teaching reading is best?” overshadows the more critical question “From whom is the curriculum most successful?” The battle of “who’s best” has a long and glorious history. The argument has been pronounced as settled over and over by reading authorities espousing a particular method. Yet the same battle still rages between proponents of basal readers and whole language approaches, analytic and synthetic phonics, etc., each proclaiming that theirs is the best and that failures are rampant in other methods of teaching. While these arguments are often persuasive, the evidence is neither conclusive nor convincing. Resolution of these arguments is unlikely, as group studies of program effects rarely account for the total variance in the reading/teaching interaction. When we succeed in teaching someone to read, we generally ascribe that success to the program we used.

Our failures, however, to teach children to read have not subsided; we have simply found other methods of explaining them.

The most general solution to the failure problem is to blame the victim; the child is learning disabled, unintelligent, dyslexic, etc. Even the newer concepts of curriculum-based assessment and curriculum-based measurement make the fundamental assumption that the curriculum is
correct and the child is in error because he or she has not learned by the instruction offered. The assumption is that failure to learn to read is a problem the child brings to the learning situation rather than a problem the teaching materials may be triggering. This position is counteracted by that of Beck (1981) and Beck and Block (1979), who have carefully explored several initial reading programs and found differences which they postulate might affect the outcome of instruction.

Three elements contribute to success or failure in any teaching situation: (1) the child and his/her capacities, (2) the teacher and his/her methods, and (3) the curriculum or the task the child is to perform.

As one may infer from Beck (1981) many aspects of curriculum might affect learning. Similarly many learner characteristics play a large part in the success or failure of the learning experience. This paper will focus on only one pair of complementary variables which may be empirically measured in both the child and the curriculum. We will explore the interaction of curriculum with children along the dimension of the learner's memory and the memory task requirements of the initial reading programs.

**Role of Short-Term Memory**

Short-term memory, or working memory, is an estimate of the capacity of a given individual to process materials. Working memory capacity is represented, in part, by the number of items an individual can process for learning at a given time. This memory capacity limits the number of processes an individual may engage in while learning and the number, magnitude, and complexity of the stimuli involved in learning (Baddeley, 1986).

Extensive research in the area of beginning reading has pointed out that children who have had difficulty learning to read often have poorer memory spans than children who succeed. The rationale for this research is based upon studies showing the importance of the relationship between STM and learning to read (Bauer, 1977, 1979, 1982; Cohen, 1982; Daneman & Carpenter, 1980; Liberman & Shankweiler, 1985; Manis & Morrison, 1982; Mann, 1985; Mann & Liberman, 1984; Masson & Miller, 1983; Torgensen, 1977a, 1977b, 1978; Torgensen & Goldman, 1977; Torgersen & Houck, 1980). Generally the thrust of research in this area has been to demonstrate that children with low STM capacity have more difficulty learning, in particular, learning to read. Thus, measures of STM become important as predictors of children who will experience difficulty in school learning.

It is our position that the curriculum is not blameless in the production of reading failures, and that the tasks in many curricula consistently exceed some children's short-term memory capacities. Use of these
programs in a classroom setting will produce the inability to read by presenting children with tasks which have a greater short-term memory requirement (STMR) than some children's memory abilities will allow them to learn readily.

Recently, the trend has been toward a more interactionist perspective-away from seeking causative factors within the child and toward examining the total learning situation. The goal of this model is to specify the conditions under which different readers can and will learn (Johnson, 1982; Lipson & Wixson, 1986; Rumelhart, 1977). From the interactionists' point of view, we should be exploring beginning reading programs to determine their short-term memory requirements (STMR), then matching a child's STM capacity with a reading program in which he or she will be successful.

At no time in a child's schooling career is her or her STM more important than in the beginning school years. During this period, the child is encountering a number of unfamiliar verbal stimuli and is learning a number of new processes. At no time during the child's school career will his or her STM capacity be as low. Short-term memory, then, is critical at the beginning stages of reading, mathematics, and other academic endeavors. By the same token, reading programs vary widely in the size, magnitude and complexity of the stimuli used as a teaching base and in the number of processes the child is required to employ and the number of stimuli presented at any given time. The interaction of STM and curriculum demands must, therefore, be explored.

Research Questions

This paper is designed to answer the following questions:

1. What is the short-term-memory (STM) capacity of first and second grade children?

2. What are the short-term-memory requirements (STMR) of several reading programs developed from differing philosophies of initial reading instruction?

3. What measurable differences, if any, exist in the encoding/decoding skills of first and second grade children and in the reading-comprehension abilities in later grades of children taught by programs with different STM requirements?

Method

Data for this portion of the study were taken from the standardization data for the Bloomer Learning Test (BLT) (Bloomer, 1978). The BLT consists of 10 sequential subtests, which are designed to explore the following factors of a learner's abilities: response rate, memory capaci-
ties, learning processes, and concept formation abilities. The BLT memory capacities factor includes three memory tasks: Visual Sequential Memory, Auditory Memory and Visual Apprehension Span (Simultaneous Memory). Data from the Visual Sequential Memory task were analyzed for this study. The Visual Short Term Memory (VSTM) task of the BLT requires the visual sequential presentation of sets of three, five, seven, and nine letters and three, four, seven, and nine words of three to four letters in length for two seconds each. After each of these presentations, a child is asked to write as many letters or words as he or she can remember. Because this test requires a written response, it is probably a more stringent test of STM than a task requiring a verbal response. The data presented represent the average number of correct responses for the seven-letter and the nine-letter presentations and the seven-word and the nine-word presentations. Internal consistency reliability of the VSTM subtest at Grade 1 is .93 and at Grade 2 is .89.

Sample

Short-term memory capacity data were collected from 148 first grade children, 78 boys and 70 girls, with a mean age of 81.1 months and from 183 second grade children, 102 boys and 82 girls with a mean age of 92.7 months. The data were collected in nine elementary schools in New England. The mean IQ for this sample was 103.1, with a standard deviation of 14.6.

Results

Table 1 indicates that the working memory in grade one is three letters and .5 words (data were rounded to the nearest .5).

Table 1
Working Memory of first and Second Grade Children*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stimulus</th>
<th>Grade 1</th>
<th>Grade 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Letters</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These data were acquired from 148 first and 183 second grade children, mean IQ 103; 46% female and 54% male, who responded to Task II, Visual Sequential Short-Term Memory, of the Bloomer Learning Test.
As table 1 indicates, first and second grade children have a much larger memory capacity for letters than for words. The memory span of second graders as measured by the average number of letters and words which can be held in memory increases considerably from that of first graders. It should be noted that the mean number of words remembered by the average first grade pupil is less than 1.0. An implication of this finding for whole-word recognition techniques is that the average first grade child will have difficulty holding a single word in short-term memory for processing. Thus materials presented to children by whole-word recognition techniques will require more than just a simple single presentation if they are to be effectively learned. At minimum more than a single repetition of word stimuli will be necessary.

If learning is dependent upon STM capacity, we can use the frequencies of correct response to predict success. Table 2 indicates that with the presentation of seven letters sequentially, we could expect correct retrieval of the seven letters, regardless of order, in one percent of the population. With the presentation of one letter, 90% of the children will be successful. Similarly, if we present one word we could expect 52%  

Table 2
Expectancy: The Size and Number of Teaching Stimuli Control and the Percent of Children who Respond Correctly*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number If a Teacher Presents:</th>
<th>Size First Grade Expectancy Children Will Respond Correctly to:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LETTERS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These data were acquired from 148 first and 183 second grade children, mean IQ 103, 46% female and 54% male who responded to Task II, Visual Sequential Short-Term Memory, of the Bloomer Learning Test.
success. The presentation of five or more words at one time produced almost no success. These data make it very clear that the successful immediate recall of letters and words is dependent on the size of the recall task and the maturity (or skill) of the learner. The mean number of stimuli presented in an initial learning session, then, will control the rate of success in a class of children.

The implications of the foregoing data for curriculum design are clear. The smaller and the fewer the stimuli presented, the greater the chance for success. Unfortunately, our predictions are probably not as simple as this, since familiarity with the stimuli contributes to the STM capacity of any stimulus type. Thus, other programmatic variables, such as the number of repetitions, will also affect a child's success.

Study of the Short-Term Memory Requirements of Reading Programs

Materials

For this preliminary study (Bloomer, Campo, Norlander, Doyle, & Flagg-Williams, 1989), several first grade reading programs were chosen, primarily for their diversity. The Scott, Foresman Reading Series (Aaron, Jackson, Riggs, Smith, & Tierny, 1983) was chosen because it represents one of the most widely used "word recognition/story" methods accompanied by an unrelated phonics program. The Scott, Foresman Focus (Allington, Cramer, Cunningham, Perez, Robinson, & Tierney, 1985a, 1985b) is designed along similar lines and is customarily used as a remedial reading program. In both of these programs the words were most often presented in stories rather than in isolation. In these programs phonemes were never presented in isolation and the phonics lessons do not use the same words or story themes as the adjacent stories. Phonics seemed to be a separate activity in these programs.

The Merrill Linguistic Program (Wilson, Young, & Rudolph, 1980) was explored as representative of a number of "linguistic/speller" programs, and is perhaps the most widely used. The Merrill Linguistic Program presents words to be learned primarily as word families. The words are composed previously learned letters combined with a letter currently being taught. All words are "phonetically regular," using short vowels only with simple consonant sounds.

The Reading/Typing Program (Bloomer & Bernazza, 1978) is a "phonetic" or a "synthetic phonics linguistic" method in which letter/phonemes are presented, one per lesson, and are combined systematically with preceding learned phonemes using a progressive part model to build words and then sentences of phonetically regular materials.
Rather than deal with a variety of programmatic differences, as did Beck and Block (1979) and Beck (1981), we have restricted our exploration to empirical measures which examine size and number of stimuli which in turn relate to the memory load of the learning task.

Method

Because teachers vary in the way they use materials, we have chosen to deal only with the materials which are presented in print to the child and only in the manner prescribed for instruction by the directions in the teacher's manual. We have also limited our analysis to the materials which are normally taught or used with children in the first half of first grade.

Since "readiness" is considered a preparatory activity, readiness materials were excluded from the present sample of materials. A comparison of readiness materials themselves might prove enlightening.

The analysis of each of these programs was done as objectively as possible through the counting of sentences, words, and letters per words, and number of different words to derive sentence length, word length, and repetitions per word.

The teaching stimulus, or basic unit of instruction, was determined from the teacher's manuals for each program. This was not a simple task. Where the program authors did not describe the teaching unit, we attempted to infer it from the materials by examining the manner of presentation of new material. Once the teaching unit was determined, it was possible to identify the number of teaching units and the number of repetitions of each by counting. All counting was done twice, with a third and even fourth time if a disagreement was found. Number of words presented in sentences, the letter lengths of words presented, and the number of repetitions were all tabulated. In addition, the programs were assigned rank orders for each variable, from the "simplest" to the most "complex" form of presentation. The ranks were then summed to afford a final ranking of the programs.

Results

A summary of these objective data for the four programs explored is presented in Table 3. It is clear that the STMIs of reading programs developed from differing theoretical positions differ widely. The number of stimuli introduced in a lesson varies from 1 to 22 letters and from 5 to 17 words. The widest variation was between the mean number of repetitions of the teaching unit, from 311 letters for the Reading/Typing program to 14.1 word repetitions in the Scott, Foresman Reading
program. Expected differences in the number of words taught as sight words compared with words taught as phonetic words between program types are found. In Table 3 you will note that we have ranked sight words in the opposite direction from phonetically taught words.

We might explain these differences in part as a difference in the storage and retrieval of sight words, which are learned as a large multiple discrimination problem, and of phonetically learned words, which have the multiple discrimination problem limited to phonemes. Without an overriding organizational principle, sight-word retrieval is a decision based on the discrimination of the correct word from all known words. On the other hand, decoding words phonetically may require a decision tree method of storage and retrieval, with much smaller memory demands. Phonetic retrieval schemes then place a relatively low burden on the discriminatory memory retrieval processes. This advantage is partially offset by the need to use at least two identifiable processes: seriation (or sequencing) and blending (or merging discrete elements into a single continuous response). If analytic phonics is employed, as Beck (1979) points out, additional processing is necessary to abstract the letter/sound relationship from the word and to break down and store temporarily the phonemes or word parts.

Another aspect of these data presented in Table 3 is the relationship between the two Scott, Foresman programs. Focus, the program intended for a remediation of children unable to learn by regular classroom instruction, is from the point of view of STMR more difficult than the Scott, Foresman Reading program intended for the regular classroom. In Focus, more sight words are presented, increasing the number of discriminatory choices, and the words are longer, increasing the memory load per word. The number of letters introduced in a single lesson is greater, as is the number of words. The Focus program does, however, present a greater mean number of repetitions per word taught. It is clear from a STM point of view that a basic remedial concept of the Focus program is repetition, and that the program is not suitable for those remedial students or students with learning disabilities who have restricted STM capacities (Torgersen, Rashotte, Greenstein, & Portes, 1991).

Studies of the Effects of Curricula With Differing Short-Term Memory Requirements

This part of the paper will present evidence that the short-term memory requirements (STMR) of a reading program may have an effect upon children's learning to read. Three separate pieces of evidence were collected at differing times from the same school, comparing the Read-
Table 3
How Does a Reading Program Reflect Working Memory Requirements?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Merrill Linguistic</th>
<th>Reading/Typing</th>
<th>Scott Foresman Reading</th>
<th>Scott Foresman Focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Teaching Unit Size</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Rank Order)</td>
<td>Phonetic Word</td>
<td>Phoneme</td>
<td>Word (3.5)</td>
<td>Word (3.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Maximum Number of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stimuli Introduced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In One Lesson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Rank Order)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Rank Order)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Familiarity: Repetition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per Teaching Unit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Repetitions</td>
<td>33,17</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Rank Order)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Number of Words</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taught in the First Half</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the First Grade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sight Words</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Rank Order)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Rank Order)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(3.5)</td>
<td>(3.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Stimulus Size, Mean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Letters per</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Half of First Grade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>4.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Rank Order)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum of Rank Orders</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ing/Typing Program (Bloomer & Bernazza, 1978) with the Scott, Foresman Reading Series (Aaron, et al., 1983).

Sample for Studies 1-3

The school from which these data were drawn is situated in a New England mill town, gradually becoming a suburb of an adjacent small city. The socioeconomic status of the children varies widely. The children in the study were randomly assigned to instructional groups upon entering first grade and were maintained in either the Reading/Typing group or in the Scott, Foresman comparison group until completion of second grade, at which time classes were "reshuffled" and all students were taught in the Scott, Foresman Reading Series in Grades 3 through 6.

Method and Results for Study 1: Comparison of Letter Identification Knowledge

The Letter Recognition task of the Reading Skills Diagnostic Test - III (RSDT-III) (Bloomer, 1982) was administered to first and second graders in late May. The criterion for the Letter Recognition task is that the child shall be able to recognize and identify all 26 letters of the alphabet, choosing from three and circling the letter which was presented orally. Table 4 presents the percent of children in both groups who successfully identified the whole alphabet.

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching</th>
<th>Grade 1 Total</th>
<th>Grade 1 Criterion</th>
<th>Grade 2 Total</th>
<th>Grade 2 Criterion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Program</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R/T</td>
<td>45 66.7 (30)</td>
<td></td>
<td>49 83.6</td>
<td>(41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFR</td>
<td>49 45.8 (22)</td>
<td></td>
<td>46 65.2</td>
<td>(30)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While letter knowledge alone is not reading, it certainly is a recognized prerequisite skill for readiness. Since facility with the stimuli is a
factor in memory, inability to recognize the letters may well be a factor in reduced STM. The letter/phoneme teaching unit of the Reading/Typing program may well contribute to this differential in letter knowledge. Table 4 indicates that children who are taught to read with the letter/sound correspondence as the unit of teaching are superior to children taught by the word/story method in the identification of letters. The proportion of pupils taught by the Reading/Typing program for one year who could correctly identify the total alphabet was about the same as those who could accomplish this task after two years training with the Scott, Foresman Reading Program.

Method and Results for Study 2:
Comparison of Referrals for Remedial and Special Education

Data for the second study were taken from the special and remedial education records for all children in the sixth grade. The study was limited to pupils who had been in residence at the school from Grade 1 to Grade 6 inclusive. The data for this comparison were referrals for any form of remedial or special education during those six years.

Table 5 presents the difference between the two groups on referrals for remedial services. While use of the Reading/Typing Program did not eliminate referrals, the number of referrals for children in that program was about one-third that of children taught by the Scott, Foresman method exclusively.

Table 5

Program Comparison: Percent of Pupils in Grade Six* Who had been Referred in Elementary School for Special or Remedial Education by Program Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Type</th>
<th>N of Students</th>
<th>N With Remedial Services</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R/T</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.F.R.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Students presently in sixth grade who had a history of being assigned to any type of remedial program for reading. Students were randomly assigned to program in Grade 1.
Table 6
Program Comparison: Percent of Children one Year Above and one Year Below Grade Level on Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS), Reading Comprehension Subtest for R/T and S.F.R. (Grades Five and Seven)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Below Grade Level One Year Plus</th>
<th>Above Grade Level One Year Plus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R/T*</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>52.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.F.R.</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>35.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Students now in grade five or grade seven who were in the R/T Program in Grades 1 and 2 and in S.F.R. during subsequent years. Students were randomly assigned to treatment in Grade 1.

It should be noted that presentation of initial reading teaching via a program which requires less memory than the more traditional word/story method reduces but does not eliminate reading problems. This finding reinforces the notions of Torgesen (1977a) and Torgesen, et al. (1991) that there is a group of poor readers who seem to have clear memory deficits as measured by a digit span test. This group is distinct from a second group, whose memories are in the normal range but who for some other reason, as yet unidentified, are poor readers relative to their tested aptitude. These data, in turn, suggest that we are dealing with at least three classes of readers: those who succeed by the more traditional methods, those who might profit from programs with low memory demands, and at least one sizeable group of undifferentiated poor readers who do not seem to profit from either method.

Two challenges seem clearly to remain for the researcher of beginning reading. The first is to explore this third set of poor readers, who seem to have difficulty learning to read by either of our two tested approaches, to determine causes of their reading problem or problems and to explore possible methodologies that might help this group learn to read. The second challenge is to find some way of reliably assigning children to instructional groups which will maximize the probability they will learn to read, before the stigma of failure occurs.
Discussion

In this paper we have shown that children in first and second grade have limited STM capacities and that initial reading programs vary considerably in their short-term memory requirements. In turn, we have evidence that differences in STMR in beginning reading programs have a distinct effect upon the amount that children learn and upon their success or failure as readers. As we have stated, this is a synthesis of several studies and serves to encourage us, and we hope others, to collect similar data. These findings do suggest that the prior knowledge of a child’s STM and subsequent programming to compensate for lower STM should assist in the prevention of many reading failures.

Given the importance of STM to reading, the stability of STM (Kunzinger, 1985), and the lack of success in trying to improve it (Mann & Liberman, 1984), this analysis of the STMR of various beginning reading curricula seems to be a major step in matching curricula to a child’s STM capacity and in helping ensure that the “low STM child” learns to read. Further, by assessing the STMR of various curricula, we may be able to determine the probability of success of groups or classes of children with whom these methods are applied. In essence, this paper represents a first step in producing a system whereby we could scale curricula on various dimensions which might affect a child’s progress in learning to read. The long-term goal of this research is to provide evidence for the design of reading programs to teach differing segments of the population to read and to provide teachers, school psychologists, reading specialists, and special educators with the information necessary to differentiate children on the basis of their potential to succeed by various teaching methodologies.

It should be noted that simply reducing the STMR of a reading program does not solve all reading problems, may in fact, even cause some problems for “brighter” children or children with greater STM capacity. Thus, we are not projecting the development of a reading panacea, a solution to all reading problems, but rather are suggesting the beginning of a differential and prescriptive method of selecting initial reading instruction.

Looking at this same problem from the reverse side, we can see that the moment we select a “classroom” reading program we automatically consign some number of children, whose working memory does not fit the program, to the remedial reading teacher. This problem cannot be solved by simply changing the overall program used in the classroom, for a change in program simply reshuffles who will be a reader and who will not. It is hoped that with the use of curriculum scaling techniques such as these, combined with careful assessment of the relevant learning
capacities of the child, a large portion of the pupils who now require remedial reading services will escape that fate. By the same token, the remedial teacher, armed with knowledge of the child's learning capabilities and the learning requirements of various methods, should be able to speed the child on the road to healthy reading.

Conclusions

Several general conclusions are drawn from this research:

1. There seems to be some clear involvement of memory span with learning to read. Difficulties in learning to read which may be attributed to this interaction are at least in part avoidable by proper programming of initial reading instruction.

2. There seems to be at least circumstantial evidence that the program which is applied to teaching a child to learn to read is in fact important in the success or failure of that child.

3. It is worthwhile to examine programs for their treatment of known variables, such as STMR, which may affect the child's ability to learn. Therefore, rather than continuing heated arguments over whole language versus basal readers or analytic phonics versus synthetic phonics, we should begin to look at individual children's learning strengths and weaknesses in relation to the requirements posed by the reading program.

4. Programming for memory span does not account for all poor readers. Variables other than memory which may contribute to these failures need to be explored systematically and the feasibility of developing programs which will alleviate these difficulties need to be researched.

5. One clear goal of future research in beginning reading is to determine the variables relevant to success in reading by various methodologies and to develop instrumentation which will differentiate children on the basis of their probable success with reading methodologies before using the methodology.

References


Workplace Literacy Instruction and Evaluation: R.O.A.D. to Success

Eunice N. Askov, Emory J. Brown

Commercial drivers in the United States are required to pass a federal Commercial Driver's License (CDL) written exam by April 1, 1992. The CDL study manual, on which the test is based, is written at a 6th to 8th grade reading level. This report summarizes the evaluation of a pilot effort to improve reading skills of commercial drivers who are deficient in reading (Brown, 1990). The project's goal was to help commercial drivers pass the required federal written examination while improving their literacy skills.

R.O.A.D. to Success Program

R.O.A.D. (Real Opportunities for Advancement and Development) to Success is a basic skills course of interactive computer courseware and print instructional materials developed for the purpose of assisting truck drivers in the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation (PennDOT) to develop reading skills necessary to pass the test. The curriculum materials demonstrate three characteristics of functional literacy instruction which recent research has demonstrated to be most effective in workforce-education programs (Rockefeller Foundation, 1990; Sticht, 1987): integration of basic skills instruction with technical training; using technical content and reading tasks that are used on the job; and highlighting the learner's role as worker or employee during instruction. The core curriculum is divided into two parts: a computer model and a classroom model. A teacher's manual accompanies each. All materials were coded to the sections in the CDL manual so that they could be used in parallel fashion.
The R.O.A.D. to Success courseware uses the content of the CDL manual for instruction in basic reading skills, such as technical and frequently used vocabulary, main ideas, details, paraphrasing, and following directions. A two-tiered instructional approach presents material in easy and difficult versions.

The courseware encourages students to think about their own learning strategies. They predict whether learning a topic will be easy or hard for them before instruction; they evaluate afterwards how well they did. Practice tests follow all units of instruction to evaluate what the student did learn and to give them experience in CDL related test skills. The courseware was designed to be used by pairs of students or by individuals.

The classroom model uses a series of booklets called Learning Activity Packets. The LAPS, which are rewritten, interactive CDL manual, reinforce the computer assisted instruction. In essence, the print materials are a parallel version of the computer software and were frequently used as homework.

The LAPS invite reading, writing, and reaction from the student. They include pre-reading statements and a number of vocabulary and comprehension activities. Each Learning Activity Packet ends with a word review and practice quiz.

The target audience for the curriculum is mid-literate adults, functioning in the range of 4th to 8th grade reading abilities. Those functioning below that level may need the assistance of a tutor to use the courseware and other materials.

The program, funded by a U.S. Department of Educational Workforce Literacy grant, was developed through a partnership of the Pennsylvania Department of Education (PDE); American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); and Penn State's Institute for the Study of Adult Literacy. The Pennsylvania Department of Transportation (PennDOT) was the recipient of services. Planning and policy decisions were made by the partners. Courseware and print-based materials were developed at the Institute for the Study of Adult Literacy and tested at five sites throughout the state, including rural and urban areas. PDE served as fiscal agent and coordinated the delivery of services. The evaluation of course materials covered the general knowledge section of the CDL manual.

Implementation of the program

The instructional flowchart was developed by the partners in cooperation with PennDOT (see Figure 1). The CDL manual and a workbook
prepared by PennDOT were distributed to 476 PennDOT truck drivers in the four target counties. After a short time, a quick assessment test (QAT), which was a sample of the CDL test, was administered to 397 of them. About 36% failed to answer 80% of the questions correctly, which is the passing grade for the actual CDL test. Of the 142 who failed the QAT, 120 were given the Tests of Adult Basic Education (TABE) Locator Form. Those who scored below the advanced level on the vocabulary section, approximately 9th grade, were referred to the R.O.A.D. program. Of the 120, 77 had scored below the advanced level; of that 77, 68 enrolled in the R.O.A.D. to Success program. Of the 68 workers, 50 were white, 14 black, and 4 Spanish American; two were female. They had an average age of 41, with a range of 22 to 62. They had completed an average of 11 grades of schooling. As measured by the TABESurvey Form, the average reading level was 3.0, with a range of 1.1 grade level to 6.3 grade level.

Of the 68, 58 completed the 100-hour course. Classes were held on Friday mornings for four hours from June, 1989, until the end of January, 1990. The curriculum included both print-based materials and computer courseware. Sixty-two computers were loaned by IBM corporation. Two teachers and one counselor were usually at each site. All of them had experience in teaching adults.

Evaluation Design

The partners provided advice on the development of the evaluation plans and monitored the implementation process. They also helped collect data at various stages. The evaluation focused on the objectives of the project, which related to developing the curriculum materials and implementing them in four counties at five sites. The evaluation was both formative and summative. All partners and PennDOT were involved in the formative evaluation. Data were continually gathered to help make decisions about developing and carrying out implementation. Feedback was used in modifying both the process and the products.

The major thrust of the evaluation was to measure the changes among the workers in gaining basic educational skills, but attention was also given to the curriculum materials and the process by which they were developed and used. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected before and after the project to measure changes which could be attributed to the program.

Personal interviews were conducted by the external evaluator with the partners, the recipient of services, teachers, student workers, county managers, and curriculum development staff. Tests were administered to the workers before and after the program to measure increase in
reading skills and knowledge about content in the manual. Improvements in basic educational skills were measured in two ways: 1) by a Criterion Referenced Test (CRT), which measured growth in specific reading skills using content from the CDL study manual; and 2) by the TABE Survey Forms. Increase in knowledge from the CDL manual was measured by the Quick Assessment Test (QAT). Workers also took the CDL exam at the end of the classes. A comparison group of 10 PennDOT workers in another county was administered the pre- and posttests for QAT and CRT. They also took the CDL test.

Findings

Curriculum materials

Teaching by computers was a key factor in the program. Workers gained satisfaction from using computers; computers motivated the workers to perform the class assignments and to remain in the program. Teachers were reported to be a vital and necessary component of the R.O.A.D. program. Workers were enthusiastic about the support and assistance provided by the teachers. The print-based materials were valuable because they provided structure for the lessons, and they were useful for class teaching and discussion, review, and homework.

Development of the curriculum materials required longer than originally planned. Teaching at the sites occurred concurrently with development of the courseware and print-based materials. At times, the course materials were not available when the teachers were ready for them. Hence, teachers expressed some anxiety and frustration because they had limited time to cover the material included in the CDL manual, and many of the workers wanted to advance to new lessons. A similar problem could occur in any workplace literacy program where field testing of the materials occurs concurrently with their development. Since this was a developmental project, teachers and partners felt there should have been more staff development opportunities. Teachers did, however, demonstrate a high level of ability to adapt their teaching to the curriculum materials available to them.

Change in workers

Scores on all tests increased significantly for the treatment group (see Table 1). Relative to those of the comparison group, the changes were not significant for the Criterion Referenced Test (CRT), but they were for the Quick Assessment Test (QAT) (see Table 2). Scores on the TABE Survey Form also increased significantly for the treatment group; reading levels of workers increased 3.3 grades from 3.0 to 6.3.
Table 1
Mean Changes for R.O.A.D. Workers on CRT, QAT, TABE, and Reading Levels*1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Pre</th>
<th>Post</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>T Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CRT</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>70.9</td>
<td>79.8</td>
<td>+8.9</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QAT</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>49.7</td>
<td>+16.3</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABE</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>643.2</td>
<td>700.6</td>
<td>+57.4</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading Level</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>+3.3</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at .001 level
(1) CRT had 95 items and QAT 73; scores are number of items correct

Table 2
T Tests for Changes Between R.O.A.D. Workers and Comparison Group on CRT and QAT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>T Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CRT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.O.A.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>+8.9</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparison</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>+8.1</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QAT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.O.A.D.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>+16.3</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparison</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>+5.5</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at .001 level

Fifty-nine percent of the R.O.A.D. workers compared with 37% of the comparison group passed the Commercial Driver's License exam at the end of the program, a significant difference. There were no significant correlations between age and educational levels and the CDL scores.
Teachers observed that all workers increased their reading skills. Job performance of the workers, rated before and after the program on a 5-point scale, increased significantly as judged by the county managers. Workers also increased their work skills and basic functional skills in their family and community. Several workers gave examples of job improvement and new reading experiences as a result of the program. All participants were positive about the program and felt that it should be offered to other workers required to take the CDL exam.

The workers were given an attitude survey before and after the program. They were asked to rate on a 5-point scale how they felt about various factors related to the program. For most questions there were no significant changes. For all other questions the attitudes shifted towards the intended objectives of the program. Positive changes were significant for attitudes about being a student and gaining support from family members for participating in the program. The workers became more positive about the R.O.A.D. program and being able to pass the CDL exam. Attitudes about using computers became more positive also. Benefits included passing the exam, learning to read better, and keeping their job.

Recommendations

The following recommendations were derived from the evaluation study:

- All participants recommended that the program be extended to other potential users.
- Low-level readers should receive supplemental help (e.g., tutors, additional materials) with reading in a job-related context to receive maximum benefit.
- Use of computers was strongly recommended.
- Printed materials should serve as supplementary review and discussion materials.
- Teachers with workplace literacy experience should be selected.
- Teachers also need skills in working with computers.
- Open entry and open exit from the program should be permitted.

A Final Note

Based on the success in the pilot sites, the partnership reapplied for funding in the second round of competition for the Workplace Literacy
Grants; they were awarded another grant to complete the curriculum, develop a workbook and tutor’s manual for those functioning at a beginning reading level, offer training workshops to other states, and deliver services on a statewide basis. Currently R.O.A.D. to Success is being offered throughout the state, divided into six regions, using computers purchased by PDE. A teacher and paraprofessional are assigned to each region, with multiple sites established within the regions. PennDOT moves the computers in its vans every two months within each region to provide statewide coverage. Since currently about 95% of PennDOT’s workforce has passed the CDL exam, most of the learners in the current project are school-bus drivers, workers from other state agencies and municipalities, and private-industry employees. Similar evaluation procedures are underway in the current project and will be available at the conclusion after September 30, 1991.

While partnership efforts are never easy, joint efforts do result in service delivery far superior to what any one organization could do alone. Union participation is deemed essential to recruitment and morale among the learners. This model makes great sense in upgrading the literacy skills of a workforce that had been away from school and literacy activities for many years. Embedding literacy instruction in job-related instruction results in better retention of literacy skills because the content is relevant to the learners; instruction can build upon existing background knowledge, which is important in reading comprehension. Computers are essential in workforce education programs because they offer a face-saving way to learn literacy skills as well as to prepare for the modern workplace.

References


Literacy: An International Perspective

Sondra Rebottini

With the renewed interest in why individuals are having difficulties adjusting to and performing in today's society, there seems to be a concern as to how much information an individual needs to know and what "well educated" actually means in the 1990s. The United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization's goal of achieving one hundred percent international literacy by the year 2000 (Thar, 1990) supports the notion the literacy must transcend national boundaries and relate more to a global community.

With the focus upon international elements of literacy, the associative educational goals and differences have also become a world issue rather than a narrowly focused national concern. Although the term "literacy" is bound to the cultural confines of those individuals within a given geopolitical area and is based upon the concept assigned to this term, some similarities bridge these geopolitical areas to provide a common ground. To focus upon these common elements of international literacy, two components need to be addressed: identifying various perceptions of literacy in the international community and identifying the common core of elements informing these perceptions. Only then can a clearer picture of international literacy be developed.

Research Parameters

This study is designed to survey individuals from ninety-one countries to ascertain how global the term "literacy" is and whether a global definition of literacy can be derived. To achieve this purpose, the research focused on these objectives: to survey international subjects to
determine whether a global definition of literacy can be created and to establish what components of literacy are common to the international community's perception of literacy.

Research Instrument

The research instrument used to accumulate information regarding the perception of literacy as viewed by international subjects was a questionnaire used in an interview conducted by an international multilingual surveyor. During the interview, each subject was questioned about what it means to be literate, the importance of being literate, and factors such as learning and schooling as they relate to literacy in their particular country.

Sample Population Demographics

The sample population surveyed were international students studying at an NCATE-approved degree-granting university in the United States. There were 74 subjects surveyed from 65 countries. The multiple subjects from a single country reflected the need to represent all educational systems of a given country. Of the 74 subjects, 51 (69%) were males and 23 (31%) were females. The age range of the sample was from 17 to 46, the majority between 26 and 40. It would appear that international students studying abroad are generally males in the age range that might suggest the possibility of becoming a long-term catalyst for improvement or change in their home country.

In regards to academic training prior to entering the university, 47% had a baccalaureate degree, 40% had a master's degree, and 1% had the doctorate degree. The additional 12% came with a high school diploma or a two-year college certificate. In general, the sample population demographics suggest that most students receive primary and secondary school training in their home country, and a large portion had a baccalaureate degree prior to entering the university for an advanced degree. In most instances, international educational opportunities are provided for the very best and brightest of a country.

The Role of Education in the Definition of Literacy

A major determinant in defining literacy appears to be the value placed upon the need for education. In this survey, when the sample was asked if education was identified as a national goal, 94% reported that educating the population of their home countries was a major government focus. This supports UNESCO's concern for promoting better educational opportunities for individuals from primary school to adulthood as a means of eliminating illiteracy.
When the questions focused upon the value individual subjects placed upon education, the results were slightly different. Seventy percent of the subjects valued education highly, 14% chose 'valued', and the remainder selected moderately valued (7%), somewhat valued (1%), and not valued (5%). It should be noted that all of the subjects were currently seeking a higher education degree.

When the question probed the quantity of education needed to be literate and productive, 4% indicated that a primary school education (grades 1-6) was adequate for an individual to be a productive member in their country, 44% considered the secondary (7-12 grades) level of education adequate, 52% said one must have some type of post-secondary level.

When this component was explored to encompass the level of education needed to be "well educated," the responses focused on two fronts. The majority of the subjects' responses focused upon a specific level of education. Twenty-nine percent indicated that a completed university degree is needed to be a well-educated individual. Having a post-secondary degree was viewed by 25% as a measure of being "well educated". The second front focused upon several diverse areas: skills to serve society (8%), self-identified (5%), can read and write (5%), knowledge of a work skill (4%), and never can have enough education (4%).

How much government values education can be inferred from the monetary support provided to the educational system by that government. Information related to this factor was provided by the interview questions that related to the availability of government subsidy afforded the various levels of education. Highest government subsidy existed at both the primary (88% subsidy level) and secondary (87% subsidy level) school. The next highest levels of subsidy existed at the college and university levels (both at a 77% level). The lowest level of government subsidy was provided at the preschool level (53% subsidy level). Government subsidy levels seem to suggest the education is highly valued at almost all levels of education and that governments, on the whole, are willing to provide high levels of support for all of their students—excluding the preschool level.

Education as a factor of literacy has varied constituents. In general, education at a post-secondary and university seemed to be highly valued and subsidized. The lowest level of education polled (preschool) received the least value as a level of learning and received the lowest level of government subsidy. This would seem to suggest that both the populace and the government feel that this preschool level of learning is best provided by another source—the home.
Obviously the home plays a major role in shaping the children of a culture. The result of the government subsidy responses that indicated a low level of support for the preschool level brought the area emergent literacy stage and the home to the forefront.

Questions related to parents and their support of the child’s education and learning became the focus of the emergent literacy questions. Ninety-one percent of the sample population reported that parents played an important role in the development of a child’s education and literacy. However, 9% reported that parents had an insignificant role in the development of a child’s education and literacy.

The Role of Parents in the Development of Literacy
Parents and the Schools

Subjects’ responses that related to the role of parents as a support in schools ranged the total scope of the range of possibilities. Four percent of the sample reported that parents’ role in schools was mandatory; an additional 4% reported that there was no relationship between the home and the schools. Forty-three percent suggests that some loosely organized “cordial” relationship exists between the home and the schools. The more formalized use of parent/teacher organizations was reported by 19% of the sample to exemplify the relationship between the home and the schools.

The sample was asked to express the level of home involvement in a child’s continued learning outside the school setting. When the roles of both the mother and father were explored, 89% of the sample felt that their roles were significant. However, 11% suggest that parents played an insignificant role in a child’s learning outside the school.

When the questions focused upon just the mother 76% suggested that the mother took the most active role in the child’s learning. Seventeen percent of the sample indicated that the mother has little to do with a child’s learning outside the schools.

Other elements were explored when discussing a child’s learning in an environment outside the schools. When the questions focused upon the siblings in the home, 74% felt they provided continued home learning; 18% suggested that siblings had little involvement in another sibling’s learning. When the focus turned to the student himself, 86% of the sample suggested that the student is responsible for his own learning; however, 7% felt that the student had no responsibility to continue learning outside of the school setting.

In an open-ended response, other extraneous factors were reported by the sample as having a role in a student’s learning outside the school:
friends (22%), private schooling (39%), and tutors (3%). These were seen as having additional impact upon the development of a literate person.

Data seemed to suggest that parents, especially the mother, perform an active role in the development of a child’s literacy. However, parents in partnership with the schools seem to be a common element in literacy; an overwhelming number of the sample suggests that parents are an integral element in promoting literacy and learning both within and outside the school setting.

Academic Subjects Associated with Learning and Literacy in Schools

The types of academic subjects taught seem to give an insight into what knowledge and skill are deemed important by the governmental system. The questions related to subject matter taught in schools revealed some interesting information.

Several aspects are interesting when comparing the subjects taught with the level of schooling at which they are taught. One of these is the availability of English as a subject. English as a foreign language is taught across the board, with the highest level (81%) being at the secondary level. This suggests that there is some value placed on the need to know English; in some of these countries, after the primary level, English becomes the main instructional vehicle. Note that reading instruction in English also gains more impetus as the student progresses through school (54% at the primary level, 81% at the secondary level).

The sample reported that reading is taught in both the primary and the secondary schools in both the native language and in English. At the primary level, reading in the native language is taught in 91% of the countries polled. Seventy-six percent of the sample reported that reading in the native language was taught at the secondary-school level. What these data do not reflect is that in many countries reading is taught in both the national language and a dialect of that language at the primary level.

Reading in English is taught in 54% of the countries at the primary level and 85% at the secondary level. In many of these countries, English becomes the vehicle of instruction in many academic areas at the secondary level.

Writing instruction follows a similar pattern. In the primary schools, writing in the national language is taught in 88% of the countries; writing in English is taught in only 55% of the countries. However, at the secondary schools, writing is taught at nearly the same levels, with English having a slight edge (72% in national language, 77% in English).
Table 1
Percentage of Schools Teaching Various Subjects at the Primary and Secondary Schooling Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>subject</th>
<th>primary</th>
<th>secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National language</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading (national language)</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading (English)</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>85%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Writing (national language)</td>
<td>88%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Writing (English)</td>
<td>55%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grammar</td>
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<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>99%</td>
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<td>Science</td>
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<td>Religion</td>
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<td>Social Science</td>
<td>76%</td>
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<td>History/Government</td>
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<td>Health</td>
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<tr>
<td>Art</td>
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<td>81%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>73%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Foreign language</td>
<td>20%</td>
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Religious instruction seemed to be woven into in the instructional process. Seventy-six percent of the respondents reported that religion was taught at both the primary and secondary level. It would appear that there is not a division between church and state in these countries and that religion is an important aspect of an individual’s learning.

When questions focused on foreign language instruction, it was noted that this subject was taught at both the primary and secondary levels. Twenty percent of the sample indicated that there is foreign language instruction at the primary level. At the secondary level of instruction, 65% of the sample reported that a foreign language was taught.

Although there were 27 different languages reported as being taught as a foreign language, the top three languages were English, French, and
Italian. In general, this suggests two things. Most countries feel that individuals should be bilingual; a few countries feel that an individual needs to be multi-lingual—to know three or four languages. Internationally, there seems to be a value upon learning a second or even a third or fourth language; this enhances the sense of a global community.

Mathematics was rated the highest across the board. At the primary level, 99% of the respondents reported that mathematics was taught. At a secondary level, it was taught in 99% of the respondents' countries. This would seem to suggest that this is a highly valued educational skill.

When subjects were presented open-ended questions regarding a definition of "literacy", 99% responded to the question. The responses sorted into two general areas related to the perception of literacy.

Sixty-five percent linked literacy to a level of education. Some related to the skills associated with being able to read and write. However, this was elaborated on by adding additional comments. Literacy was connected to the national language or to the national language and English or French. Additionally, it was tied to functional communication skills or to civic responsibility. Literacy was linked with the communication skills of reading and writing with the computational skills associated with mathematics.

Others tied literacy to a level of completion in the schooling process. The respondents furnished answers that ranged from completion of primary schools to the acquisition of a university degree.

It would seem to suggest that definitions of literacy, even when associated with a level of education, included the ability to communicate by reading and writing. In addition, this ability to communicate should be accompanied by those skills and knowledge associated with a post-secondary degree.

Thirty-four percent of the sample synthesized the term literacy with a focus on being productive. This productivity was tied to two concepts. It was related to the acquisition of a "proper job" and to the development of highly valued "job skills". It was also connected to the concept of self-designated goals or society's national goals. This seems to suggest that being able to perform in society at a proficient level seems also to be a component of literacy.

Conclusions on an International Perspective of Literacy

The analysis of the subjects' responses would seem to suggest that literacy comprises many facets. However, several trends have emerged that would given some insight into how literacy is viewed as by the
international community and how they are attempting to achieve this literacy.

Literacy seems to be linked with the concept of education, especially at a more advanced level of learning. This suggests that minimal skills are not enough if one is to be literate. This need for education is supported by the view the varied governments place on education. Government subsidies are high (above 75%) at schooling levels from primary through the university.

Literacy seems to be tied to the ability to communicate extensively with the individuals within a country as well as with individuals of other nations. The international community places high value on the education of their individuals in those skills needed to communicate: reading, writing, and speaking in the national language as well as several other languages.

The international view of literacy appears to be wrapped up in a high level of educational skills development. This skills development is couched in the need to effectively communicate with and be understood by the world around them. From the data, it can be inferred that literacy development might be attained through the improvement of educational systems as well as improving the levels of adult literacy as a means of supporting school-aged children in both the home and school environment.

References

Oral History as a Critical Pedagogy: Some Cautionary Issues

James R. King, Norman A. Stahl

Much current writing in curriculum and curriculum theory suggests moving instruction and activity to a student-centered focus. Echoing from loudspeakers at our professional meetings are calls for authentic instruction, empowered learners, and insider views. These are issues that appear in print with regularity, as well. Yet, with this mandate and even with the consent of the audiences, we have produced little in the way of structural models for teaching that empowers learners. Perhaps the difficulty is that it may be counterintuitive to provide structure for a deconstructive process.

Recently, Anderson (1989) has suggested an approach for research/teaching that may prove helpful in our search for contexts that respect all participants in the processes of learning and in learning about learning. Under the grouping critical ethnography, Anderson proposes research that is inherently and purposefully driven by ideology in its critical appraisal of educational practice. In addition, Anderson suggests several teaching approaches that, in his opinion, constitute socially generative, student-centered learning. Among these approaches is oral history. Unlike Anderson, we are not so quick to support this selection without some qualifications. This paper is about the issues embedded in the use of oral history, both as praxis that is intended to empower students to learning, and as grounding for qualitative research initiatives.

Situating Oral History

Because oral history often seeks to include the voices of groups that do not leave documentary records, its subjects can be seen as disenfran-
chised. Oral history, then, becomes an empowering context for groups such as ethnic minorities, geographically isolated enclaves, religious groups, and women. And since remembering involves some chronological distancing from the remembered, oral histories often involve older informants. In addition to representing marginalized groups, oral history as a teaching approach can also be used to move the locus of curriculum control in the direction of students’ initiatives. In this way, oral history can be used as a pedagogy that empowers students. From an educational perspective, oral history involves students in active rather than passive approaches, pursued in part outside the classroom (Sitton, Mahaffey, & Davis, 1983). Oral history as curriculum uses the recollections of living people about the past to teach students and uses students to collect and interpret those recollections.

In view of the foregoing issues, it is reasonable to conclude that oral history is essentially democratic and radical. However, the relationship is not axiomatic. According to Lummis (1988), a radicalized interpretation of oral history may be more mythology than fact. "...the method [oral history] is at best neutral, and used carelessly, overwhelmingly conservative" (p. 20). Lummis goes on to say that informants characteristically remember "the good things" and tend to narrativize in the direction of equality, harmony, and happiness. Lummis cautions:

Because oral history accounts relate the pleasures and satisfactions of life along side the meager conditions, there is real danger in perpetuating the 'poor but happy' image of life which is, paradoxically, used to justify the comfortable in their more ample possessions. (p. 20)

It is upon Lummis’ paradox that the radical/conservative debate rests. Further, the dilemma proposed by Lummis presents the ethical issues only to the extent of their effects upon the informants and the representativeness of the resulting products. In classrooms, additional ethical concerns emerge.

When the act of "doing" oral history is used as a learning context, then the issues between students as researchers and teachers as co-researchers, as well as project directors, come into play. Of course, oral history can be either transformative or conservative, depending upon the ethos of the framing project and more importantly, the politics of the project's director (teacher). After all, the making of oral history is a subjective experience, and the interpretation of subjectivity, when it is done within power hierarchies, has long been a central issue in writings about history writing (Cohen, 1986; White, 1980, 1978). It is no different in the use of oral history in classroom discourses. Teachers' beliefs can be used, either
consciously or unconsciously, to select desirable interpretations and to censure undesirable ones. These interpretive dramas have been scripted in the fields of historical narratives and, more immediately, in the realm of oral history. First, oral history, then history writing, generally.

Oral History and Interpretation

According to McMahan (1989), the products of oral history (tapes, written transcriptions, narrative accounts) are subject to multiple interpretations. This interpretive diversity is not unlike the subjectivity in textual interpretation proposed by Bleich (1978), Iser (1980), and Rosenblatt (1978). However, McMahan adds that the social interaction that grounds the texts of oral histories is also born of the intersubjectivity of the interview experience. That is, the communicative performances of the interviewer and the interviewee jointly affect the production of the audio, video and textual records of the event. Both participants bring their life experiences and associated biases to the interview. Both sets of beliefs are joined in “the interview.” The position of the interviewer is to interpret what the subject relates, hopefully from an emic perspective. But, of course, emic stance is always an imperfect match. In addition to telling the stories, the subject’s position includes evaluation and other reactions to the interviewer’s online interpretations, lending them value through verification. The interview, as a social event, is a manifestation of the participants’ communicative performance.

In classrooms, where oral histories may be used as a learning approach, McMahan’s socio-communicative views on oral history can be used to problematize (Lather, 1991) the very issues that prompt McMahan’s caution. By problematizing, we take Lather to mean that the issues involved in conducting a research (in this case oral history) are included as part of the curriculum of the course. Resolutions for the problems and the issues inherent in collecting, interpreting, and writing become part of the curriculum for the students. So they simultaneously learn method and solve problems inherent in a subjective, or hermeneutic, exercise. And presumably, owning problems and solving them leads to ownership of the process, and more likely, to voice and empowerment.

In choosing subjects, persons conducting the oral history interviews can choose to interview “elite” or “non-elite” subjects. Elite oral histories concern, according to McMahan (1989), those “persons who develop lore that justifies their attempts to control society. The non-elites are those persons who create a lore to explain their lack of control” (p. xiv). While we suspect that the choice of informants is more complex than a dichotomy, Wilke (cited in McMahan, 1989) cautions that we must at least attend to who decides and how one decides which end of the
spectrum is appropriate. This is an example of how what you believe about oral history and what you know about it influence what you do with it.

A related issue that can become part of class processing has to do with the interviewer’s roles during the interview. Since the interview is a subjective, constructive act, the role of the interviewer can’t help influencing the kinds of and the amounts of information collected. McMahan (1989) suggests that the task of the oral historian is to develop and maintain cooperation and coherence between the participants. The task of achieving these goals is much different for the interviewer who is non-engaged than it is for those who challenge and who interact with their subjects.

As teachers and researchers using oral history, we ask, “How does interaction/noninteraction influence the oral histories?” If the meaning constructed and collected during the interview is a transaction, then the roles the participants play during the making of meaning influence what is made. In the first case, a non-engaged, no reaction interviewer would seem to guarantee the most accurate objective data that could be pulled from an interviewee; of course, the same data could be criticized as unreliable and atypical since it was not subjected to verification or discussion. Likewise, an interactive, even challenging, interviewer could be seen as one who influences, creates, or even worse, one who distorts the subjects’ representations of their own lived experiences; conversely, the same data could be seen as validated by social interaction. These are issues to be discussed and resolved either as an individual conducting an oral history or as a social group of researchers. Obviously, there is not a “best approach” solution to this conundrum. “The best” is whatever a group decides fits a given situation. It becomes especially important for a collection of data by different field workers who will later want comparable data. Such a constructed solution as a learning exercise seems to us what Lather calls problematizing.

**Representation in History Writing**

As troubling as multiple interpretations seem to be for any kind of objective reality in oral histories, it is not a problem exclusive to the field. More generally, one can question the issue of objectivity in any remembered experience. Of course, philosophically, a remembered experience can never be true in any objective way. It is always a narrative constructed by the rememberer. According to Sarbin (1986) and Goffman (1974), we use narrative frames as organization for disconnected experience. Thus the very act of remembering, or narrativizing, creates meaning. So truth or objectivity is pragmatically defined as representativeness for the subject. Yet even that simple definition is not without
problematic aspects. Often the key informants used in oral histories may be outliers or marginals in their own settings. And one must ask "Representative of what?" For example, much is made of Aunt Arie in Wigginton's (1985) Foxfire series, even to the point of a separate text centered on her (Page and Wigginton, 1983). Of interest here is whether Aunt Arie was chosen because she is a verbal exemplar or rather a verbal person chosen as representative because she is verbal and outgoing. Secondly, truth can be fixed on whether the subject, once selected, approves of the interview content and the way it has been represented (on tape, in text) by the interviewer. This recursive data analysis is sometimes called member checking (Bogdan & Biklen, 1983) or reflexive data analysis (Ruby, 1982).

From another perspective, White (1978) suggests that even written histories must be subjected to the same critique of narrativizing and fiction making:

There has always been a reluctance to consider historical narratives as what they most manifestly are—verbal fictions, the contents of which are as much invented as found, and the forms of which have more in common with their counterparts in literature than they have with those in the sciences. (p. 42)

"Histories", White later notes, gain part of their explanatory effect by their success in making stories out of mere chronicles". (p. 46)

Events or facts are made into stories, then further emplotted by the suppression of certain facts and the highlighting of others. For the historian, and more specifically for the oral historian, the practice of importance and interestingness are crucial. The signification of events by manipulating importance and interest for the sake of story is virtually required. And while these constructs are highly idiosyncratic, they remain critical to the vitality of the eventual product.

But it is also important to remember that during the construction of reality, the researcher's biases operate heavily. White (1978) suggests that the same set of events can serve as components of a story that is either tragic or comic, depending on the writer's choice of plot structure chosen to make the isolated facts into a comprehensible story. Further, he suggests that part of the decision making that a writer of the past undergoes is a consideration of audience and that audience's reaction to and approval of the eventual product of the historian. Clearly, these are framing and meaning making that go beyond the reported events.

More politically, Cohen (1986) suggests that historical analysis and the resulting stories in history (and from our stance, oral history) are necessarily embedded in the political frames owned by the writer. The
moral values found in the data that become the “teachings” of the story are those that support the writer’s biases. Said (1983) argues that the politics are even more complex. While writers engaged in myth making and the teaching of moral values, Said suggests that there is, in addition, a constraining attitude of noninterference in everyday life, which, he argues, is a commodity regularly exchanged as a product of academia. Narrow technical language and self-purifying communities, or the underbelly of Kuhn’s (1973) scientific paradigms, contribute to this subterfuge. Said suggests that the purpose is to “preserve and, if possible, conceal the hierarchy of powers that occupy the center, define the social terrain, and fix the limits of use for functions, fields, and marginality” (p. 155). For the purposes of oral history in classrooms, it is important to remember that the narrativizing of a life is subjective, perhaps politically driven, and at the least idiosyncratic. Further, if Said’s arguments regarding the noninterference of academia in everyday life are taken seriously, then bringing real lives into academia and sending students out to those lives from academia may lead us to some real conflicts of mission. We suspect that these potential conflicts would play out in elementary grades and graduate seminars to equivalent degrees.

Oral Histories as Teaching and Research Contexts

Social theorists, curriculum theorists, and socialist curriculum theorists have been critiquing literacy lately. Briefly, three camps of critics have emerged. Critical social theorists maintain that educational opportunity or commodities, such as teacher behaviors, grouping practices, and especially financial support, are distributed along economic and sometimes ethnic lines. This unequal distribution produces patterned illiteracy (Landshar, 1987) and is certainly supported by descriptions of teacher behavior (Allington, 1983; Bozzik, 1982; Bloom, 1981). Feminist critical theorists maintain that patriarchal social and political structures have excluded female realities, histories, and ways of knowing from the acts of scholarship. And finally, child advocates suggest that adult evaluations of child performance vis-a-vis adult models of reality may fail to recognize the complexities and validities of children’s constructions of reality.

What these three approaches share is that each is grounded in an openly ideological stance. Each is a philosophical critique of the field in which the critique is embedded. Recently, reading and language arts instruction have become host contexts for this social and educational critique. Writers such as Giroux (1988) and McLaren (1986) have allowed us a reflexive view into our practices of teaching literacy. While these self-analytic re-views are often disquieting and sometimes frustrating, their value may reside in their ability to evoke our emotional
responses. With considerable a Beck and no little amount of defensive- ness, we ask ourselves hard questions. Are we inventing learning with our students (children and adults)? Do we promote generative learning activities, where students are empowered by owning the content and structure of their daily learning? Or are we simply reproducing extant culture, automatically and uncritically? The critical theorists in literacy hope for invention and generativity, but often lament that we simply and thoughtlessly reproduce in our reading groups the social stratification present in the larger culture, inside and outside the school.

We suggest that by embedding literacy in real contexts, controlled by students, we are more likely to see them engage in generative, self- initiated learning. But the bottom line remains the teacher’s stance. Oral history can be student empowering if the teacher allows for it. Oral history can also be an enjoyable teacher controlled unit plan. One is critical pedagogy; the other is not. We hope that by considering some of these theoretical issues that are part of teacher stance in oral history, that teachers and researchers will have some framing for their reflection.

References


Literacy and Programs for Culturally Diverse Students: Challenges for the Future

Mary Benedetti, Chester Laine, Rajalakshmi Sankaranarayanan, and Michaeline E. Wideman

We learn and work at a large midwestern university. Ours is an institution of 13 colleges, five campuses, and 35,000 students. Here minority students (African-Americans, non-native speakers, limited-English-proficient students, urban Appalachians, the poor, and others) are taught in a wide variety of ways by predominately white faculty in areas as diverse as medicine, music, engineering, and education. As more and more of these students enter our educational institution, our pedagogical goals must begin to take into account a number of literacy-related issues which cannot be resolved through basic language instruction alone.

This article is the first to grow out of a collaborative project by the four of us: An international graduate student from India, two teachers of English as a second language—one trained in literature and composition, the other trained in elementary education, reading and special education—and a teacher educator charged with the preparation of English language arts teachers. We hope by looking at the teaching of minority students, particularly limited-English-proficiency students, to answer a number of important questions: "What is it like to be a minority student at a large comprehensive university?" "How can the literacy learning of international students be made more effective and meaningful?" "How
can we best find a legitimate place for ourselves within our institutions?" “How can we better prepare teachers for careers in increasingly more pluralistic classrooms? We hope that our thoughts about the students we teach, the curricula we use, the legitimacy of our programs, and the preparation of future English teachers clarify some of the challenges facing us in the coming decade. The first voice is that of a graduate student from Madras, India.

Rajalakshmi’s Challenge: Understanding our Students

I wandered around the Art Gallery in Cape Canaveral’s Kennedy Space Center idly looking at the portraits of astronauts. Looking across at a painting that seemed to be like a Batik printing, I walked up to see the picture clearly. The painting itself remains a blurred image in my memory now. But the words of Joseph Campbell written at the bottom of the painting will remain forever with me: “Where we have thought to journey outward, we shall come to the center of our own existence.”

As I write this piece now, after having lived as an international student in the U.S. for eight years, I am keenly aware of the changes in me. My life in the U.S. has not only helped me understand the life and ethos of this country but has also raised my consciousness of who I am.

I came to the U.S. for graduate study in history. I was fluent in English, as I had had English as the medium of instruction since the age of six. My academic career in India reflected my personal accomplishments—first prize in story-writing contests in national competitions, valedictorian of my B.A. history class, and an active leader of the history association during the M.A. program. On the surface, at least, I must have appeared to my American professors as a capable student and one who, after an initial period, was acclimatized to the overall environment. However, my competence in English masked certain difficulties I would face both in the academic and personal spheres.

Therefore, my journey outward has been a somewhat painful but rewarding experience. My understanding of the U.S. was based on the limited information provided by the media in India. During the initial months of my stay in the U.S., I was ashamed of and appalled at some of my misconceptions. The emphasis on independence and the subtlety of pervasive male values threatened to overwhelm me at times. Academically, I had been trained to regurgitate but never criticize texts in India. My years of study in India were a reflection of the domination by British colonists and the male hierarchy. As a result, I was quite distressed when first confronted with the task of "taking apart" a required reading for a course in American history. I had to seek the help of the professor, who valiantly led me through the writing process of finding the book's thesis,
examining the author’s research, and then criticizing the text. The realization of my distorted education in India made me go from unhappiness to anger. However, with the help of professors and friends, I learned to overcome my feelings of incompetence and work to improve my knowledge and understanding.

I am now conversant with some of the major historical events in American history and realize the impact of dominating theories in the political, social and overall fabric in America. My stereotypical images of American women have given way to a more critical appraisal of life in the U.S. for women and minorities. At the same time I recognize the tremendous emphasis of democracy in this country that allows for the expression of different viewpoints. More personally, I have a better understanding of the academic tasks of graduate students. I now know the different parts of a good book review and am learning to be critical in my readings and writings. I have learned to value the process of education as much as the product, and this realization has helped me understand my personal strengths and weaknesses. Recognizing my inner courage has made me self-reflective in my professional and personal life. More importantly, I have learned to balance myself, albeit a little precariously, in two worlds, that of the American scene and the other from my Indian past.

At the same time that I have changed, I find my professors also changing in their interactions with international students. Several times in our conversations my professors would openly confess their hesitancy in advising me. I realized that my professors too needed information from me so as to be better prepared to advise international students. I took it upon myself to offer suggestions to my American professors and friends. Some suggestions were pedagogical, such as offering a set of questions for students to focus on while reviewing books and articles, using a Socratic style of instruction and making their expectations of student work clear. Other suggestions involved intra-personal aspects of being advisors. I asked professors to reflect on their personal reactions as they worked with international students. Moreover, I encouraged my professors and friends to ask me questions about my education and cultural background and to remain open to the interchange of ideas. Through conversations and my writing, I convinced them of the necessity of being better prepared to deal with all students.

Missy’s Challenge: Revising the Curriculum

In addition to being cognizant of acculturation issues, as Rajalakshmi noted, educators of limited English proficiency (LEP) students must also “seek continually to integrate culture and as many of the four language skills as possible into classroom communication activities” (Chastain,
1988 p. 359). Very often, LEP students at the college level do not benefit from those traditional teaching approaches in which reading, writing, and speech are taught as separate entities of a language triad. The continued use of this language triad frequently acts as a detriment to LEP persons who are desperately trying to pass the TOEFL, survive as students in a foreign country, or adapt to life in the U.S.

As an alternative to the traditional approach, an integrated reading and writing course has been created and implemented for LEP persons at a large midwestern university. The course, Strategic Reading and Writing (SR&W), is offered through the Language Arts Department of a two-year open-enrolled and open-admission college of the university. The pedagogy of the course reflects the belief that LEP students benefit from a whole-language perspective to learning and surviving in college. The students who enroll in this course have completed English-as-a-Second Language program but are not adequately prepared for entrance into freshman-level courses because of inadequate English language skills and/or a lack of knowledge of the American educational system.

SR&W, a five-credit-hour course, is the result of combining two developmental courses: English for Effective Communication (pre-freshman composition) and Strategic Reading. SR&W’s course of study presents reading and writing not as separate entities but as an entity unto itself, based on the philosophy that we “learn to read by reading as a writer, and to write by writing as a reader” (Barr, 1985 p. 110). SR&W also integrates the communication skills of listening and speaking, which are imperative for LEP students. Therefore, SR&W’s underlying curricula focus on both the basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) which LEP students require.

Incorporated into the curricula for LEP students are college study and life skills of time management, notetaking, test taking tips, textbook reading, and how to survive in college. College survival skills such as how to make an appointment with a professor are mandatory for LEP students with various cultural backgrounds. Because many LEP students have had very limited exposure to the American educational system and to social or professional interactions in English, inclusion of these aspects is critical in an effective program.

With SR&W’s nontraditional approach, LEP students succeed. Their success is generated by the integration of BICS, CALP, and college and life skills with a whole-language perspective as the focus. As the course requires LEP students to become involved in the reading, writing, listening, speaking, and thinking process, SR&W provides avenues for survival in academia and a foreign society.
Mary’s Challenge: Increasing Legitimacy

As we become more skilled at understanding our students and more adept at revising our curriculum in accordance with their needs, we obviously increase the quality of our programs. One might assume that this increase in effectiveness would result in a corresponding increase in visibility and status for our programs. Unfortunately, this does not seem to be the case; ESL professionals frequently continue to labor under conditions which reinforce their second-class status within the institution. What factors contribute to our continued difficulties in achieving legitimacy, and how can we carve out for ourselves a valued position in academia?

Many of us have come to the field of English as a Second Language through the back door; we began teaching ESL because someone had to take the responsibility for helping non-active speakers of English and we, with our degrees in English/Composition/Reading/Literacy/Linguistics/Whatever, seemed to be the “logical” choices for taking on that responsibility. Many of us have even overcome the myriad difficulties involved in becoming pedagogically effective in a field other than the one in which we were trained without, as Kenneth Clastain (1988 p. 24) claims is necessary, being “familiar with the latest developments in [language] learning and linguistic theory.” It is clear, however, that ESL teachers cannot become politically effective without the benefit of this theoretical knowledge, and it is in the political arena that ESL teachers and programs are most at risk.

The political nature of teaching English as a Second Language is far greater than many realize; and this politicization has occurred on several levels. Internationally, we must deal with the issue of the validity of maintaining English as a lingua franca in times of the decreasing influence of the United States in many areas. Nationally, we are faced with the English-only movement and escalating violence against immigrants in many parts of the country. Regionally and locally we are often affected by the failure of school levies and a growing public distrust in our educational system. But it is within our own institutions that we most often find the greatest challenges.

The primary obstacle to the political effectiveness of language-literacy teachers is the issue of legitimacy. One telling example of our problems in this area is our difficulty in finding a home within the institution. ESL programs are housed in schools or departments of Education, English, Linguistics, Developmental Studies, Foreign Language, and even Student Services. Where do we really belong? At this point, we go where we are wanted, where our efforts are best understood, and where we can receive funding to do our jobs. Unfortunately, this is not the ideal
solution. If we are to demonstrate that we are a viable part of the educational system, we must ultimately decide for ourselves where we should be. This is, of course, impossible if ESL programs are considered secondary in the mission of the institution.

Part of the reason for our second-class citizenship within the system is the institution's perception of the population we teach. Non-native speakers of English belong to the group our systems frequently see as "other." International graduates and undergraduate students often get their degrees and go home (taking skills with them that could have served our country had we trained "our" students instead of someone else's). Refugees and/or immigrants receive government (i.e., "our tax") money and services that many of "our own" people need and cannot get. Bilingual programs allow students to maintain their differences from the "majority culture"; in fact, in communities with large immigrant populations, native English speakers actually "suffer" because they are "forced" to learn a second language if they want to work in these communities. Our students, although they are tax-payers or tuition-payers, are often perceived as less worthy of funding than other populations.

Another issue we face on the post-secondary level is the academic legitimacy of ESL programs. It is relatively rare for ESL courses to carry any but "institutional" credit; that is, students study English as a Second Language but do not receive credit toward graduation for this work. This situation occurs even in institutions which do grant credit to native English speakers who study languages other than English. In many cases, international students who do not gain credit for ESL courses are later permitted to take courses in their native language for credit. Even more disturbing, non-native speakers of English are rarely permitted to substitute advanced ESL courses for English courses designed for native speakers; in fact, what is commonly expected of non-native speakers in courses such as freshman English is that they perform identically to native speakers, and when they do not, they are frequently seen as needing "remediation" in English. If ESL programs are perceived as remedial, it is no wonder that they are afforded less legitimacy in many institutions.

How can we improve our situation within the system? The key here is that we are within the system; we must act like any other members of our particular community. In other words, we must deal with the educational system on its own turf, and that turf is grounded in theory and research. When we request funding, explain the needs of our students, discuss the pedagogical foundations of our programs, or argue for a reconceptualization of our place in the institution, we must speak the language which is not only best understood but also most respected in academia. Without a strong knowledge of the "latest developments"
in academia. Without a strong knowledge of the “latest developments” in the field, language literacy teachers may never get to the point where they can prove their effectiveness in the classroom. They will be too busy trying to justify the existence of their programs.

Chet’s Challenge: Preparing Culturally Sensitive Teachers

I work with graduate and undergraduate students, both students preparing to be teachers of English and experienced teachers returning for graduate work in literacy. My challenge is to help prepare them for increasingly diverse classrooms. Within the next two decades, the majority of our public schools will consist of “minority” children. In the large, midwestern, urban district in my community, for example, African-American children are already a majority. Urban Appalachian children make up nearly twenty percent of the remaining students, and the number of Asian-Americans is growing rapidly. Due to this increasing diversity nationally, most urban schools currently enroll a majority of “minority” students, and very few American towns or villages will be homogeneous by the turn of the century.

In my part of this article, I will examine the preparation of teachers for the diverse classrooms of the 21st Century. As a university professor, I aspire to train teachers who have attitudes that celebrate diversity. Among the guidelines that frame my work are those established by my professional organization, the National Council of Teachers of English. We seek to develop (a) a recognition that all students are worthy of a teacher’s sympathetic attention in the classroom, (b) a desire to use the teaching of the English language arts to help students become familiar with diverse peoples and cultures, and (c) a respect for the individual language and dialect of each student.

Although beginning English teachers have limited experiences, they are influenced by a wide variety of factors. First among these seems to be their own observations as students in high schools and colleges (Lortie, 1975). Their subject matter knowledge, traditionally weighted toward western literature written by male authors, is often a strong influence. As part of their teacher-preparation program, beginning English teachers have some limited teaching experience, traditionally in artificial student teaching internships and in brief practica connected to methods courses. Finally, colleagues seem to exert a strong influence, particularly the master teachers they encounter during student teaching and the co-workers they interact with during their early years of teaching.

What do beginning teachers believe about culturally diverse students? When Rita Kissen (1989) asked her students—prospective English
teachers—what came to mind when they heard the phrases "developing nation" or "emerging nation," they responded with predominately negative images: Overpopulation, starvation, disease, geographic isolation, and technological inferiority. Much less common were notions of family unity and rich oral traditions. The images that many American teachers hold of Africa, Latin America, and Asia frequently are limited and negative.

Research also suggests that teachers have low expectations of students who are different. These students are often not middle class white students; they are limited-English-proficient, poor, and minority children. Teachers tend to treat these low-expectation students differently than high-expectation students. They demand less and wait less time for them to answer questions. When interacting with low-expectation students, teachers frequently answer their own questions rather than provide clues or ask new questions. Sometimes they call on someone else. With high-expectation students, teachers tend to do just the reverse: wait, prove and cue. Teachers criticize low-expectation students more frequently for failure and reward them more for inappropriate behaviors and incorrect answers. They call on them less often than they call on high-expectation students. Private interactions are more common than public interactions. Less time is provided to practice independently, and they receive briefer and less informative feedback to the questions that they ask.

Frequently, these teachers misjudge students' language abilities. When the teacher's language differs from the students', teachers generally use their own language as the norm, the standard. They view "common," "marketplace" or "prestige" English as "standard" English, as the English language rather than a variety of the English language. As a result, students who speak or write a different variety or version of English are often seen as having a "language deficiency" rather than a limited range of registers.

Lisa Delpit (1986, 1988) argues that every culture has ways of dressing, talking, writing, and interacting. In any given setting, some cultures have more power than others. Students from upper- and middle-class homes tend to learn these codes or rules for participating in the culture of power. They tend to succeed in society's institutions—schools and workplaces. Limited-English-proficient, poor and minority students have rich and viable cultures with unique rules and codes. Although these serve them well in their own cultures, they are often in variance with the rules and codes practiced in the schools and other institutions of power in the United States. When English teachers make mistakes estimating a student's or a cultural group's intellectual poten-
tial, the consequences of such errors can be enormous: mislabeling, misplacement, and inappropriate teaching (Heath, 1983; Fraatz, 1987; Rose, 1989; Taylor, 1991; Taylor & Dorsey-Caines, 1988).

The teaching of English also faces a crisis of fewer and fewer minority models. During the 1990s minority teachers will steadily decline in numbers to approximately five percent of the nation's teaching force. Although minorities constitute 26 percent of the U.S. population, they represent less than 12.5 percent of the K-12 teachers (Dudley & Bell, 1991). The percentage of high school graduates entering college between 1976 and 1985 who indicated education as their major field of study declined by nearly 50 percent (American Council, 1987). By the year 2000, 50 percent of all urban school children will be from ethnic minorities, yet only five percent of college students will represent minorities and only a fraction of this group will become teachers.

Although college enrollment is rising among African Americans, their percentage in the teaching force is rapidly declining (Graham, 1987). Smith predicts that the meager number of minorities currently in teacher education programs will be cut in half by the candidates' failure to pass teacher competency tests currently required for licensure. Within the past five years, an estimated 37,717 minority candidates were eliminated due to admissions screening or certification testing, resulting in a further increase in the homogeneity of the culture of teaching.

Conclusions

Professionals working with culturally diverse students must view those students as the best resources of information about their own needs. Students should be allowed and encouraged to initiate conversations about teaching strategies, advising needs, and cultural differences. Furthermore, teachers and program administrators must be careful to fit the curriculum to the students rather than vice versa. Language teachers must also be aware of the tenuous position within the institution and must strive to increase their power and influence.

Those who understand that language is power—in this case teachers—need to be explicit about the rules and codes—interactional styles, language registers, cultural taboos, attitudes toward authority—that are important for acquiring power. Being explicit helps non-native-speaking, poor and minority students learn these codes and rules more easily.

During their professional preparation and early years of teaching, teachers must develop the sensitivity necessary to work successfully with students from varied cultures. If the sensitivity is sincere, these teachers will look for the unique gifts that each student brings to their
classroom. They will help each student increase his or her linguistic options and help each to speak and write in a wide variety of registers.

Required courses in multicultural education, ethnic American authors, African-American literature, third-world literature, and literature from a feminist perspective will help raise the awareness of all teachers. Teachers also need to be aware of their own cultures. This awareness will help them question cultural assumptions and allow them to hold high expectations for all students. They will look for what reading, writing, and speaking “errors” tell them about what their students can do rather than what they cannot do.

Moreover, recruiting and retaining minority teachers in American colleges and schools has never been a more critical issue, in that minority and majority students need to be exposed to diverse models.

In methods courses and internships, we must create situations where students are asked to critically examine notions of ethnocentricism, language restriction, lowered expectations, dialect differences, sexism, and intolerance. Practicum experiences must help to increase acceptance rather than reinforce existing stereotypes. We must place teachers in settings where they have extended opportunities to learn to work with poor, minority, and limited-English-proficient students, to spend ample time with diverse groups and individuals. If these interactions are extended and meaningful, these teachers will learn to value cultures other than their own. They will begin to think critically about culture. They will base their values on understanding and experience rather than on propaganda and prejudice.

References


Defining "Literacy": An Examination of Literate Communities

Wayne Otto, Sarah Dowhower, David Gustafson, Bernie Hayes, Kay Camperell

(This topic was addressed in a panel presentation at the 1990 meeting of the American Reading Forum. Panelists were Wayne Otto, Sarah Dowhower, David Gustafson, Bernie Hayes, and Kaybeth Camperell. Their formal presentations follow.)

I. Wayne Otto — Introduction and orientation to the Panel

We set two main objectives for the Panel. First, we agreed to examine books from a selected bibliography that includes works that either directly or indirectly identify and describe various "communities" of literate people. Each of the panelists offers, below, commentary on one book selected from the list. Second, we wanted to count the ways in which our personal experience of "literacy" comes to be shaped and augmented by a consideration of the literate communities of others.

Authors from diverse backgrounds continue to describe the literate behaviors and expectations of people in widely varied settings or communities. Together these authors offer us both re-examinations of existing notions and insights into more comprehensive conceptions regarding the acquisition and functions of "literacy" in an increasingly diverse, complex and dynamic world. It seems sensible, then, to examine works from this growing literature to seek out the insights they offer.

In reviewing selected books, the panelists give particular attention to the authors' contribution to their (the panelists') view of literacy as a
personal, social and cultural phenomenon. By sharing their thoughts about specific books, the panelists extend an invitation to think about other authors and other books that address a topic of great importance to reading educators: What it really means to be "literate."

Panelists chose books from the bibliography that follows.

Literacy: A Selected Bibliography


II. Sarah Dowhower — Commentary on *Among Schoolchildren*, by Tracy Kidder (Houghton-Mifflin, 1989)

In his most recent book, *Among Schoolchildren*, Kidder tells in detail the story of a young teacher’s daily life and work from September to May in a fifth grade at Kelly School, Holyoke, Massachusetts—birthplace of volleyball and the kitchen product Lestoil. The valiant and dedicated Chris Zajac works with 20 inner city and at-risk children, most of them of Irish, Polish or Puerto Rican descent.

Among Schoolchildren is inspiring, realistic, and human. It is a book to which every teacher can relate.

In a previous book, *House*, Kidder traced the building of a home. In *Among Schoolchildren*, he examines what might be called the building of a literate community, the acquisition and functioning of reading and writing within the school and multicultural society where the students live.

To support the building of a literate community, Kidder offers glimpses of the school’s and Mrs. Zajac’s attempt to encourage literacy in the context of the students’ culture. He tells of a school with classrooms purposefully built around a library and of a teacher who takes her spring vacation to Puerto Rico to gain insights into her children’s backgrounds. Kidder gives details of the struggle of needy children learning to read and write and of a teacher who cares enough to focus on their experiences and histories. The students work on their own creative stories using the writing process—multiple drafts and teacher conferencing are important parts of the development of these stories. The reader gets to know the children through daily journal entries where the students freely describe their lives and feelings. There are spelling tests, organized research groups, an essay contest and a special read-aloud time. Reading instruction consists of two of the reading groups in a third grade basal and one in a fourth grade basal.

Acutely aware of the below-grade reading levels, Mrs. Zajac wishes she could make the children see that there is more to reading than workbooks and the boring stories in their basal reading series just purchased by the school. One child makes it clear that basal-style instruction does not fit the students’ needs. “I love to read,” said one child, “but hate reading-reading.”

On the other hand, there are two reasons why the book is a poor example of the building of a literate community. Even though it describes literacy—learning to read and write, it is more a book about real-life education problems: child abuse and neglect, learning disabilities, social and psychological barriers, curricula, bureaucracies, unions,
psychological evaluations of students that take forever and a supportive principal who doesn't visit the classrooms and won't discuss low test scores. It is also about a common phenomenon of our educational system—lone women conducting education isolated in classrooms. In addition, Kidder's view of literacy development is theoretical and without much depth. The reader wonders if Kidder (with the eyes of a non-educator) didn't really know how to look at the process of reading and writing instruction and the beliefs concerning that instruction that were in Mrs. Sajac's head-for she was operating under a number of perceptions never really made clear by Kidder. Rather he chose to blow-up the issues of homework and discipline. Every chapter had references of Chris' struggle to get homework done and to discipline her students. In her next life she wanted to come back as a traffic controller! Teaching elementary school is collecting assignments and making the children behave. That is the message loud and clear. Kidder missed a golden opportunity to understand how teachers' personal beliefs influence and define what they do to build a literate community.

III. David Gustafson — Commentary on Insult to Intelligence, by Frank Smith (Heinemann, 1986)

It happened on a hot day in May, 1983. Though many humans were milling about, Mickey Mouse was nowhere in sight and no one was reading, not even Minnie Mouse. It was at Anaheim, California in all its IRA convention splendor that Frank Smith encountered the ENEMY. He saw an insidious foe. It was the R-BBIT! The question posed to a teacher by a vendor demonstrating a reading lesson on computer was: “Can you fill in the missing letter in r-bbit?”

With that tale, Frank Smith launched his argument that teachers are often misled and in turn often mislead their students right past the door to the “Literacy Club” and instead leave many to wander through the wasteland of bits and pieces. Smith uses the r-bbit “as a symbol of the programmatic approach to instruction which believes that children learn by practicing one systematic thing after another” (p.3). In the preface to his book, Smith gives a clear view of its content:

In Insult to Intelligence I will catalog stupidities committed by ignorant though often well-intentioned people who impose meaningless tasks and demeaning tests on students in the expectation that worthwhile learning will occur. But I will also demonstrate the fluent way in which all children and older students are naturally capable of learning and I will show how teachers and parents can protect students from programmatic instruction, ensuring that they are free to reach for far higher levels of accomplishment than programs and tests ever aim.
Above all, I want to provide ammunition for the political battle that teachers and parents must wage if education is not to fall totally into the hands of the outsiders who harness and constrain the brains of students. (p. xi)

Smith writes that the first “club” children join is the “Spoken Language Club” and that it is just like joining a tennis club, bridge club, or any club. He notes three advantages to club membership. “The first advantage is that more experienced members show newcomers what activities are” (p. 29-30). The people around a child provide the child with an environment of language. They don’t set out to teach the “subject” of spoken language in a programmatic fashion as schools teach subjects. It is the demonstration of language by other people that enables a child to learn; there is no formal teaching. Rather, children become apprentices to language users. For example, at the 1990 Christmas gathering of my family, a son-in-law received a gag gift involving a figure of the Statue of Liberty that moved whenever anyone near it spoke. Somehow, in the hubbub of the group, my three-year-old granddaughter, Mary Cathryn picked up on the name and later asked in a faulty way if she could play with the “Statue of Liberty.” I observed that her parents refrained from questioning the child on all levels of Bloom’s taxonomy regarding the concept of “statue” and, instead, repeated her words back to her in a corrected format. Mary went along her merry way with her new concept, which, undoubtedly, is quite different from that of her great-great grandfather, Oscar Gustafson, who viewed the statue about 1901 on his way to America from Sweden. Too bad I don’t have a tape of his functional use of the same words back then. Instead all I retain is a strange taste for lutefisk (my wife claims it is the butter, not the fish, that I truly like).

“The second advantage of any club is that more experienced members help newcomers to engage in whatever club activities newcomers find interesting and useful” (p. 30). Smith does not believe that spoken language is simply learned through imitation. Instead children are language observers and view it in a functional way. They use language for purposes and when they do not know enough language to suit their purposes, they simply make it up to get their point across. In Mary Cathryn’s case her purpose was to get hold of the statue and to play with it. The last I saw of Mary Cathryn, she was wheeling around a corner clutching the statue and in possession of both the statue and another lesson in the functional use of language.

“The third advantage of any club is that there is no coercion” (p. 30). Though we can envision the typical scene where each parent tries to get their child to say “mama” before “daddy” or vice versa by deliberately
pursuing a personal agenda, most language is learned quite incidentally, just as Mary Cathryn learned to say "Statue of Liberty." Though she was surrounded by a sea of new terms, she somehow decided to fish for Statue of Liberty. What else she caught that night, I'm not sure, but she certainly demonstrated that she is better at this process than her grandfather, who can sit for hours in his boat on the mighty Mississippi and come up empty.

Children later go on to join the "Literacy Club"—people who use written language. They get to enjoy the same advantages that they experienced in the spoken language club. They get to associate with the more experienced members of the club, who need not be present—the authors. Smith believes that authors are the ones who actually teach children to read and write. Of much importance also are the people who initiate the processes of reading and writing by reading and writing to and with children. In a later book, Smith (1988) noted that little actual reading ability is needed once young children know a story by heart. It is then that the authors take over in teaching children to read. Thus, he believes that true literacy can best be achieved through programs that are built by on real world reading and writing and with the help of teachers who also participate in this real world. Smith (1988) notes, "For teachers who are themselves committed readers and writers, the opportunity to develop new club members should be a pleasure as well as a privilege" (p. 216).

Smith lays out agendas for teachers, parents, and principals to pursue in achieving a truly literate environment—one not dominated by programmatic instruction. He urges teacher to get over their irrational faith in programs and technology. Smith believes that the most important factors in literacy development are parents and teachers and that they must recognize their importance and fight against programmatic interference.

In conclusion, literacy can best be defined by looking at what it is in the real world—our community of literate people. It is of the reading and writing of the real stuff of that life is made. It is the ability to make use of our bountiful literature and to communicate effectively with our fellow man. To achieve true literacy in our students, we need to refocus our schools and teaching, as Carl Braun (1990) points out:

I believe that there continues to be a wide gap between our knowledge of young children's learning and the application of this knowledge. We still have not quite convinced ourselves of the paramount value of immersion of children in quality literature as we continue to be sidetracked by "scores of scores, back-to-basics cries, and the pernicious voices of the "We've been there before". (p. 287)
References


IV. Bernie Hayes—Commentary on *Lives on the Boundary*, by Mike Rose (Penguin, 1989)

Mike Rose's book *Lives on the Boundary: A Moving Account of the Struggles and Achievements of America's Educational Underclass* is his own story. He tells us what it is like to grow up in the Vermont Avenue area of south Los Angeles and to wonder what school and education has to offer people from this side of town and walk of life. Rose describes how he drifted through elementary school. In high school his test scores are confused with another student's with the same last name. On the basis of these low test scores, he is placed in a vocational track; and in describing his own classroom experiences, he vividly introduces us to what it means to go through school as a marginal student. A young, caring teacher, confused by Rose's success on quizzes, corrects the error in school placement and recommends him for college prep classes. Through the efforts of several fine teachers and caring individuals, Rose is able to cross several educational boundaries in his life. He is now a Director of Writing Programs at UCLA.

However, this book is about much more than personal success and triumph over adversity. Throughout the book Rose introduces us to many others who are seeking to cross boundaries in their educational experiences. In describing and discussing the educational experiences of individuals who have trouble with the reading and writing skill demands of school and society, he poses this basic question: "Is this an educational system on the decline or is it a system attempting to honor—through wrenching change—the many demands of a pluralistic democracy?" (p. 7). Rose's book convincingly contends that this is the latter.

Rose suggests that as we provide open access to education there will be many more students found on the boundary of being prepared to take advantage of educational opportunity. Many of these students will be marginally prepared because of the economic and political barriers in their way. Judgments made at very early ages about their ability and the curriculum they will receive also complicate their lives. As Rose contends that, unfortunately, many of these students will begin to conform to their early placements by "acting out" or by passively attending class. He suggests that it takes teachers who get to know their students and the cultural differences and expectations that each may have to see through the smoke screen of behavior that may surround many students found
on the boundary. However, there are many obstacles to a caring and personal interaction with such students. Large class loads, bureaucratic procedures, and, in many cases, the heavy burden of a child's record are barriers to the type of relationships that must be established.

Throughout the book Rose describes how he has been able to overcome such obstacles in his work with students. He offers a series of vividly written examples that describe how he has taught inner-city public school kids, Vietnam veterans, adult literacy students, and poorly prepared college students, many of whom were admitted under special circumstances to boost minority enrollments. By doing so, he convinces us that these students can be helped to cross over the boundary and be successful in school. He describes how he has created an interdisciplinary curriculum to foster the skills needed for success in school. He also describes how teachers can meet the challenge of helping students who have little hope for their own educational success. He provides clear insight into coping with the emotions, assumptions, and social context that hinder many students from crossing the boundary to literacy.

The biggest challenge the book presents is how to make the success and insight Rose enjoys with his students available for all students. How can we assure that students do not get lost as they struggle to cross boundaries of educational opportunity? It is clear from this uplifting book that caring and concerned individuals must be available and willing to create institutions and systems which recognize the conditions that impact learning for many students. They must provide programs that address the educational demands of a pluralistic democracy.

Rose's book challenges all who read it to contemplate the lives of those on the boundary and to think about what each of us can do to help them cross the barriers of class and culture.

V. Kaybeth Camperell—Commentary on Amusing Ourselves to Death, by Neil Postman (Penguin, 1985)

Most preservice teachers in my courses believe they will be good teachers if they make learning fun and interesting. They believe that their job will be to motivate and entertain their students, and that my job, in turn, is to amuse and entertain them. Have preservice teachers always held such beliefs, or do their beliefs reflect those of students whose orientation towards learning has been shaped by television and other electronic media? In Amusing Ourselves to Death, a lament about the decline of public discourse and literate culture in America, Neil Postman addresses questions like this one.

Amusing Ourselves to Death is not an entertaining book. Indeed, the point of the book is that electronic media, specifically television, have reduced serious forms of public discourse (e.g., news, politics, edue-
tion, religion) to dangerous nonsense. Two themes organize the book. One theme contrasts the prophecies of Huxley and Orwell regarding threats to Western democracies; the other elaborates on McLuhan's "the medium is the message" metaphor. Both themes are developed to show how the literate communities that are needed to maintain a democracy are being threatened, perhaps displaced, by television.

Postman begins and ends the book by comparing and contrasting visions of oppressed cultures that are depicted in Huxley's *Brave New World* and Orwell's *1984*. According to Postman:

What Orwell feared were those who would ban books. What Huxley feared was that there would be no reason to ban a book, for there would be no one who wanted to read one. Orwell feared those who would deprive us of information. Huxley feared those who would give us so much that we would be reduced to passivity and egoism. Orwell feared that the truth would be concealed from us. Huxley feared the truth would be drowned in a sea of irrelevance. Orwell feared we would become a captive culture. Huxley feared we would become a trivial culture. ... As Huxley remarked in *Brave New World Revisited*, the civil libertarians and rationalists who are ever on the alert to oppose tyranny "failed to take into account man's almost infinite appetite for distraction." In 1984, Huxley added, people are controlled by inflicting pain. In *Brave New World*, they are controlled by inflicting pleasure. (pp. vii-viii)

Postman claims that electronic media, beginning with the telegraph, legitimized information as entertainment and devalued the social and political functions of information that require decision-making and action. He argues that Huxley, not Orwell, was right. Censorship is not needed when the content of public discourse is nonsense packaged in the form of jest. There is no reason to ban books when they already have been displaced by television as a means of disseminating information. The threat to freedom depicted by Postman is from corporate America, not government. The challenge he poses is for schools to teach students how to interpret and evaluate the symbolic structure of the television and the advertisements that sustain it.

Postman draws on the "medium is the message" metaphor, the second theme of the book, to support this argument. Like McLuhan, Postman claims that the dominant form of communication in a culture influences not only what people think about (i.e., the content of messages) but also how they think. He extends the metaphor to suggest that media, or forms of discourse, classify and shape definitions of reality—what we know and how we come to know it. He contends that the medium of print, particularly exposition, makes it possible to subject thought and ideas to scrutiny, reasoned arguments, and refutations,
whereas television features a type of discourse that "abandons reasons and presents misleading, irrelevant, fragmented and superficial information" (p. 107) which creates an illusion of knowing.

According to Postman, 18th and 19th century Americans developed a sophisticated ability to think conceptually, deductively and sequentially; a high valuation of reason and order; an abhorrence of contradiction; a large capacity for detachment and objectivity; and a tolerance for delayed response. (p. 63)

These abilities were acquired, Postman says, because exposition dominated both oral and written communication. Today, because television is the primary communicative medium, Americans have learned that (a) short simple messages are preferable to long complex ones, (b) drama is to be preferred to exposition, and (c) being sold solutions is better than being confronted with questions about problems.

I doubt that the high levels of literacy Postman ascribes to citizens of previous centuries were as pervasive as he claims; nevertheless, he paints an idyllic picture that fits with David Olson's (1977) claims about the literate biases of schooling.

In the final chapters, Postman elaborates on ways in which the medium of television has changed our conceptions of religion, news, politics, and education. The titles, if not the content, of these chapters are amusing (e.g., "Shuffle Off to Bethlehem"), except for the one on education.

According to Postman, television has created not only new conceptions of knowledge but also new conceptions of how knowledge is acquired. He claims that "like the alphabet or printing press, TV by its power to control the time, attention, and cognitive habits of our youth gained the power to control their education." (p. 145). Students have come to expect that all learnings should be entertaining. All this is attributable to a kind of TV metacurriculum that operates with three main assumptions: (1) learning is not sequential or hierarchical (no prerequisites are required; today's lesson/episode is not related to yesterday's or tomorrow's); (2) learning should be easy and information understandable without effort (remembering studying, applying, or enduring lessons is not required); and (3) learning should be presented in a story form accompanied with visuals and music (thinking, perplexity, logical arguments can't be televised and should be avoided).

Postman's argument is that reading books and watching television produce their own peculiar orientations towards learning. Books take time to read, make thought permanent so that it can be scrutinized and analyzed, and enable discussion and judgment. Television, on the other
hand, is a speed-of-light, present-centered medium that moves fragments of decontextualized information before the public and fosters learning lots of facts, but not their significance. The image of an educated person is one who wins a game of Jeopardy!, not someone who has to stop and think or who prefaces discussions of events and ideas with their historical context.

To avoid a debate with my students about teaching versus entertaining, I had a class read Amusing Ourselves to Death. Discussion focused on the education chapter, where I asked them to summarize Postman’s basic arguments about the effects of television on teaching and learning. They could not do so. I thought Postman’s book was romantic, perhaps reactionary, but at least thought provoking. My students, college seniors, did not know how to identify an argument and could only discuss the issues I raised in terms of their personal beliefs and experience, not the text. It was a frightening experience and one that does not augur well for developing, at least among teachers, a literate community. Am I too old to learn tap dancing?

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