

Teacher's Guide/Exploring Childhood

Beyond the Front Door Children at School Films

Family and Society/Part Two



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Beyond the Front Door Children at School Films

Family and Society/Part Two

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EDC School and Society Programs
55 Chapel Street
Newton, MA 02160

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We Are a Family	Rachel at Home	Oscar at Home	Michelle at Home	Seiko at Home		Around the Way with Kareema	Rachel at School	Seiko at School	
□	△	△	△	△		△	△		
The Inquirer	Childhood Memories	Howie at Home	Commentaries on Family and Society Films	Craig at Home	Jeffrey at Home	Beyond the Front Door	At the Doctor's	Howie at School	Oscar at School
■	■	△	●	△	△	■	△	△	
Teacher's Guide						Teacher's Guide			
Explaining what is transmitted in care-giving interactions.						Exploring how experiences outside the family affect a child's development.			

Family and Society Module *Considering the effects of family and society on the growth of a child.*

Gabriel Is Two Days Old	Bill and Suzi: New Parents					Clay Play	Racing Cars			
△	△					△	△			
Looking At Development	Directions in Development	Making Connections	All in the Game	Child's Play	Half a Year Apart	Children's Art	Drawing Sort	Painting Time	Fear, Anger, Depend	
■	□	■	△	■	△	■	□	△		
Teacher's Guide					Teacher's Guide		Teacher's Guide			
Learning about children's development and how to support it.					Examining the meaning of play for children.		Learning about children's development from their art experiences.			

Seeing Development Module *Determining children's needs and abilities at each age, what children need to grow,*

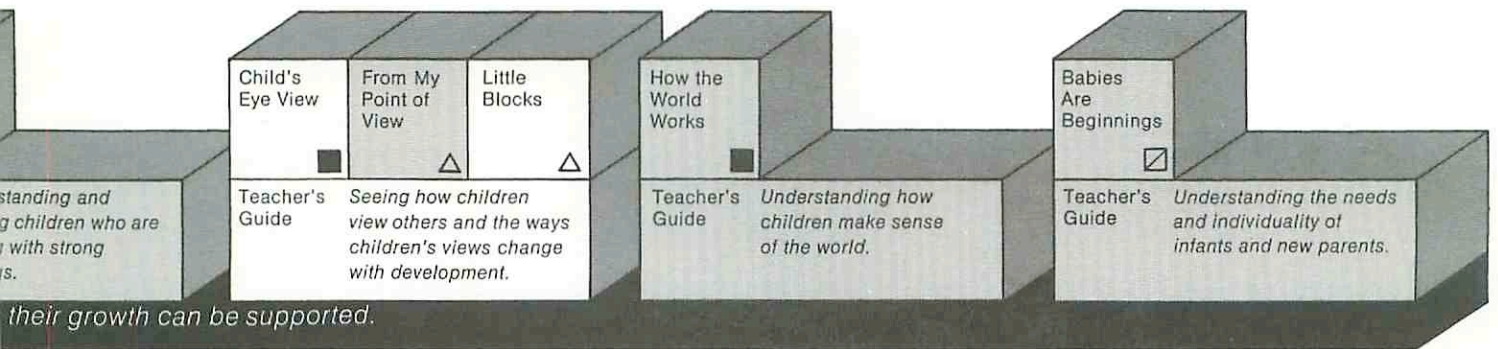
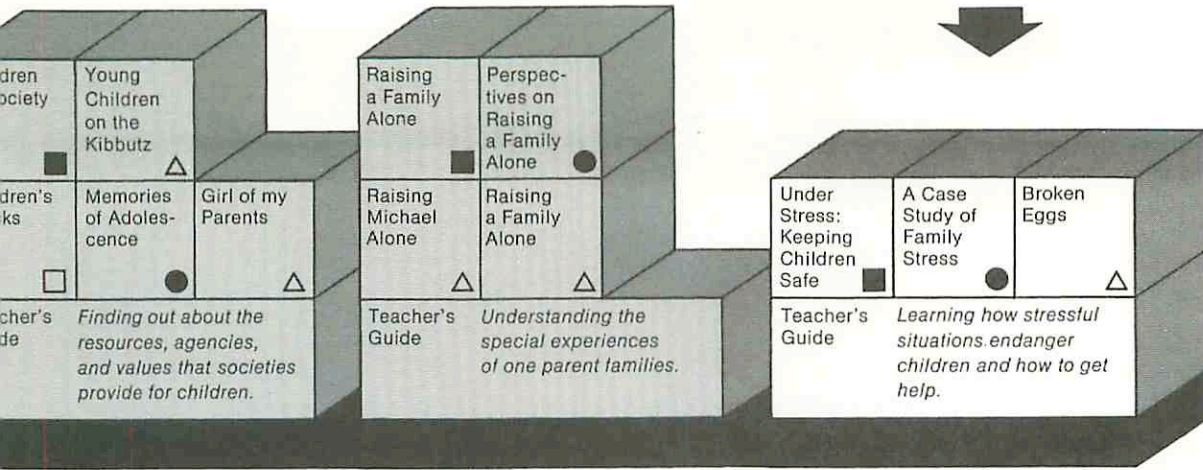
Helping Skills	Helping Is ...	Michael's First Day	Teacher, Lester Bit Me!	Water Tricks						
●	△	△	△	△						
Getting Involved	What Is a Preschool Like?	Storytime	Being There	Doing Things	What About Discipline?	What Is a Child?	No Two Alike	Children with Special Needs Go to School	Sara Has Down's Syndrome	
■	■	△	⊗	■	■	□	■	⊗	△	
Teacher's Guide							Teacher's Guide			
Preparing for work with children and learning ways to discuss field work.							Examining feelings and developing skills for working with special needs children.			

Working with Children Module *Preparing for work in fieldsites, and discussion of that work.*

Exploring Childhood

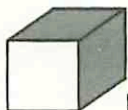
Key

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|-----------|------------|--------------|
| ■ Booklet | △ Film | ⊗ and Record |
| □ Poster | ● Record | |
| ⊞ Cards | ▲ Cassette | |

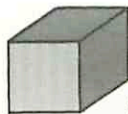


Exploring Childhood: Preview Film	Seminars for Teachers	Class-room Experiences	Class-room Experiences	Class-room Experiences	Brainstorming	A Parent Seminar	Evaluation Summaries (Yrs. One and Two)
Organizing the Program	Fieldsite Teacher's Manual	Teaching and Evaluation Strategies	Seminars for Parents	Funding Sources	Role playing	Seminars for Parents	Toward a New Relationship

Materials for Teachers, Administrators, and Parents



Full Year Course Selection



Supplementary Materials

The full-year package of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD materials includes items selected from each module of the course. Important materials from this unit which are not included in the full-year selection are: "Around the Way with Kareema," "At the Doctor's," "Oscar at School," and "Seiko at School." Any of these materials may be obtained separately and used with this guide.

Contents

OVERVIEW	1
INTRODUCTION: CONCENTRIC CIRCLES	5
Film Viewing: Around the Way with Kareema	7
In the Park	14
A GROWING SENSE OF SELF	19
The Expectations of Others	19
Film Viewing: At the Doctor's	20
Peer Influence	28
CHILDREN AT SCHOOL	31
Film Viewing: Summaries of School Films	34
Matching Messages	40
OBSERVING IN DEPTH	45
SELECTED READING	49
EVALUATION APPROACHES	56

ONE TEACHER'S PLAN FOR BEYOND THE FRONT DOOR

ORGANIZING QUESTIONS

What messages do people beyond a child's immediate family give him or her?

What sense does a child make of messages transmitted in interactions with people beyond the front door?

How does a child respond to messages from people beyond his or her immediate family?

A SAMPLE SEQUENCE OF ACTIVITIES FOR 20 ONE-HOUR CLASSES

<u>Activities*</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Activities</u>	<u>Class</u>
Read "Concentric Circles"; make mural (p. 6).	Class 1	Role play teenage socializing incidents	Class 10
"Concentric Circles" activity; view and discuss "Around the Way with Kareema"; assign parent interviews (pp. 13-14).	Class 2	(p. 2); free reading from <i>Childhood Memories</i> ; class discusses nature of children's friendships ("Peer Influence"); assign "Collection" and "Observations"; do "Memo-ries" (pp. 29-30).	Class 11
Do "How Many of You...?"; read "In the Park"; assign observations (pp. 15-16).	Class 3	View and discuss "Howie at School" (p. 34).	Class 12
Complete discussion of "In the Park"; share and discuss interviews and observations.	Class 4	View and discuss "Oscar at School" (p. 35); discuss collections and observations on friendships at field sites.	Class 13
View and discuss "At the Doctor's" (pp. 20-25). One group reads and discusses "Mini-Dialogues," while second group reads "Big Enough to Go Alone"; whole class shares perceptions.	Class 5	View and discuss "Rachel at School" (p. 37).	Class 14
Groups report on small group discussions of reading; talk with speaker(s) invited to class (p. 20).	Class 6	Class work time on <i>Inquirer</i> projects, using Guideline #5, and coding form if appropriate.	Class 15
Class spends time on <i>Inquirer</i> projects, using Guideline #4.	Class 7	Explore "Rachel at School" with parents (p. 39).	Class 16
Two groups read and discuss King and Creola readings; share role play (p. 27); discuss teenage experiences (p. 28).	Class 8	Do "Observations" in student's own school (p. 3).. Begin "Mona Goes to School."	Class 17
Free reading from <i>Childhood Memories</i> ; class shares and discusses messages these children receive from beyond front door.	Class 9	Discuss "Matching Messages" and "Mona Goes to School" (p. 40); assign "Interview Activity" (p. 41).	Class 18
		Read "When Messages Conflict" (p. 42); listen to and discuss Prof. Quintanilla's statements (Side 2, "Commentaries" Record).	Class 19
		Discuss interviews; begin "Observing in Depth" (p. 47).	Class 20
		Discuss "Coles's Method and Your Work with Children" (p. 49).	

*Page numbers refer to teacher's guide.

Overview

The teacher's role in *Beyond the Front Door* is to help students look for the values and childrearing practices children encounter beyond the front door, and to consider the messages children receive from people outside the family who care for and interact with them. Students will also examine the interrelationship between the messages a child gets at home and the messages he or she gets from beyond the home.

At the fieldsites, students themselves are important participants in the children's early encounters. In interacting with children, it is important for student caregivers to take into account the values and practices of a child's family, the values and practices of the preschool, and their own values and sense of what to do.

Goals

The goals of *Beyond the Front Door* are to help students consider messages transmitted by the people children encounter as they begin to experience the world beyond their immediate families; to give students a look at the socializing influence of these encounters; and to help students gain insight into their own socializing experiences outside their immediate families.

Some of the materials in this unit and in the final unit of Family and Society, *Children in Society*, look at childrearing practices in different cultures and under a variety of circumstances. This diversity is presented to help students:

- learn to respect the validity of different beliefs and practices, which grow out of history and continuing tradition as well as out of present needs and circumstances;
- realize the complexity of another's ways, and the difficulty of understanding them;
- consider one's own beliefs and practices in a new light.

Materials

The materials for the unit consist of primary data from children's interactions with the world beyond the front door: films documenting interactions, autobiographical accounts, a section from a novel, and an anthropologist's and a psychologist's observations of interactions.

The student booklet, *Beyond the Front Door*, is arranged in magazine format. Because it contains more reading material than many EXPLORING CHILDHOOD booklets, you might do the reading in a variety of ways:

- read in class, either silently or aloud by you or student volunteers;
- read in small groups;
- assign for home reading;
- make into extra credit reading for a few students.

If some of the reading is too difficult for some students, you might select excerpts from these pieces or omit them altogether.

Relation to Other Materials

Beyond the Front Door relates strongly to materials from both the Working with Children module and the Seeing Development module. Of particular interest will be "Fieldsite Previews" (pp. 16-30 of *Getting Involved*), *What About Discipline?*, *A Child's Eye View*, and *Making Connections*. You will also want to draw on other units from the Family and Society module--in particular, *Children at Home*, *The Inquirer*, and *Childhood Memories*. *Children in Society* will suggest to students ways of answering questions and concerns which these materials raise.

Values of Families and Schools

While preschools may be only one of many early influences in a child's life, schools and their socializing effects will have particular interest to you as a teacher, and to students who are both attending and assisting in schools. *Beyond the Front Door* focuses on the relationship of a parent's values to the socializing effects of schools. In addition to looking at how effective schools are--or should be--at carrying out a parent's goals, the class may wish to look at other roles schools play in socializing children, keeping in mind that the effects of all schools may not always be the same:

What roles do schools play in teaching children socially accepted behavior?

What roles do schools play in determining a student's future career and future economic or social status?

How much effect do schools have in relation to home and community?

SOCIALIZATION IN STUDENTS' LIVES

Socialization is not something that affects only children. From time to time, help students think about how *they* socialize and are socialized in their everyday lives.

For example, informal discussions might focus on aggression, dating, cheating, and male and female roles. As a discussion progresses, raise questions such as:

What do you feel is acceptable in this area of behavior? What values lie behind your idea of what is acceptable?

Where do these values come from? How did you learn them?

Role-playing situations might include dealings with:

- parents (using the car, getting your curfew extended)
- teacher or school authority (changing a grade, dropping a course, getting released time)
- employer (getting hired, expressing complaints, getting a raise, having your hours or work assignment changed)
- friends (borrowing money, telling unpleasant truths)
- fieldsite teachers (planning an activity, discussing a child)
- children (interceding in an argument, assisting in an activity)

Put individual situations on 3x5 cards. After each brief role play, have the students who watched discuss the ways in which the participants behaved. Why did the "actors" do what they did? What understanding about roles and about the other person did their behavior suggest? What values were revealed in their actions?

Fieldwork in the High School

In *Beyond the Front Door*, students are encouraged to observe the educational environment of a young child, both in films and at the fieldsite. Students are urged to think about two questions:

What are the goals and values held by the preschool teachers in the films and by the staff at the fieldsites where students are working?

How are the stated goals and values reflected in classroom practice?

You can apply these same questions to the high school situation, to help students examine their own educational experience. Following are some suggestions for interviewing and observing in order to take a closer look at the values of your school.

Ask students to interview the superintendent, principal, vice principal or other administrator about his or her goals and values for the school. They might make up a brief list of questions, such as:

What are your goals for this school?

Where do you think the goals are most successfully reflected?

What are you proudest of?

What do you think is the biggest problem in this school? Why?

Students can first try the questions out on you and on other classmates, eliminating those that seem vague or too general and adding others that refer to any concrete policies or innovations in your particular school. (See *The Inquirer*, Guideline #2 on interviewing.)

Several students can then make an appointment with the administrator and arrange for some way to record the interview, either by jotting down the responses or by tape-recording the conversation.

Having asked administration and staff members to articulate the school's values, students might ask themselves how they would expect these values to be reflected in the behavior and routine of the school. They might also interview a teacher about his or her goals for a class before observing the class. Afterward they can consider the ways in which the teacher's values were reflected in actual practice.

For example, one school's particular goal might be that students learn to be responsible for their own learning. One way to measure how well this goal is being realized in a classroom is to look for how much the teacher controls interactions, how much the teacher follows students' initiative, and how much students talk to and learn from each other.

Students might look for the following interactions:

- the teacher talking to the class
- the teacher talking to an individual student
- two students talking to each other
- a student talking to the teacher

Which kind of interchange happened most? What values are reflected by the frequency of certain kinds of interchanges?

Students might use the following form in observing and analyzing one of the school's classrooms. They should feel free to add or delete questions, or to make up their own form.

OBSERVATION FORM

Name of Observer _____

Date _____

Class _____

Name of Teacher _____

Number of Students _____

Grade _____

Time of Observation _____ o'clock

to _____ o'clock

Observation

In the first five minutes of your observation sketch a floor plan of the classroom.

Describe what was taking place during your visit. (Were several things going on at once?)

List some of the materials and equipment in the classroom.

Analysis

Did any of these activities demonstrate the values of the school? in what ways? (e.g., If a goal of the school is flexibility in classes, did any activity show students moving around the room? If a goal is attention to individual needs, did any activity offer options?)

What topic(s) were discussed?

What did you like best about the classroom?

What did you like least about the classroom?

Did you see anything that you weren't expecting to see? What?

Variations

1. Two students could observe the same class and compare their observations.
2. Arrange to visit a class in another school. In what ways is it similar to and different from your own?

THINKING ABOUT YOUR OWN SCHOOL

After comparing their observations, students might discuss:

What are your goals for your own education? What do you think are your parents' goals for your education?

What do you value most in your current high school experience?

How do your personal goals and values compare with those of your teachers?

In your observations, what did you think were the most positive aspects of the classes you observed? How would you change the classes?

Introduction: Concentric Circles

Purposes: To help students think about people beyond the family who influenced their own childhood.
To consider the impact of such people on growing up.

Time: 2 classes.

Materials: *Beyond the Front Door*, p. 3; mural paper, drawing paper, crayons, scissors, glue, magazines, photographs and memorabilia.

- my grown-up cousins, Harvey and Jack, in Canada

If you choose to do the journal activity, students might read their lists afterward, in small groups. By sharing their lists, students usually remember even more people and events from their childhood, and add to their lists.

Recalling specific incidents may help students remember the people they knew in those years. They can continue adding to their lists during discussions and as homework. They might look at old photographs or ask their parents to help them remember.

Students might do the journal activity described on page 3 of the student booklet before or after the following "mapping" activities.

MAPPING THE INFLUENCE OF PEOPLE

These exercises will help students consider the effects of their childhood encounters with people beyond the front door, and to recognize that not all acquaintances had an equal impact.

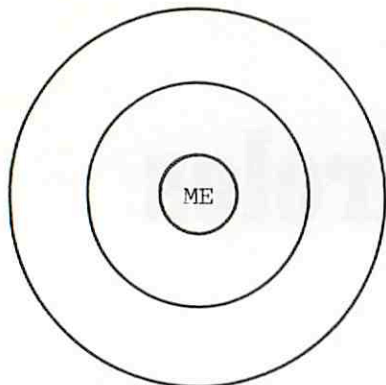
Instructions to students: Using letters of the alphabet, label the people on your list, top to bottom, a, b, c, etc. Then list your immediate family and number them: 1, 2, 3, etc. Next draw three concentric circles, filling a page of paper

INTRODUCING THE UNIT

After reading the description of the spheres of people and experiences children encounter as they develop, students might list in their journals (and/or brainstorm on the board) all of the people they can remember meeting outside of their families before they were six. Some examples of memories might be:

- the Riley girls next door, who played house and hide-and-seek with me
- Tom, my first "boyfriend," who played trucks with me when we were five
- my baby-sitter, who let me wear my braids loose when my mother was away
- the kids in my cabin at camp, especially Mary, who was so homesick

in your journal. Label the small circle at the center "ME."



Within the circle closest to ME, arrange the numbers of the people in your immediate family according to who had the most effect on you as a child. In the outer circle, put the letters referring to

people from beyond your immediate family, writing those with strongest effect closest to the inner circle.

MURAL ACTIVITY

Making a mural creates a composite representation of the class's experience as children with people "beyond their front doors." Students might draw the people listed, and the types of settings in which they were encountered (stores, doctor's or dentist's office, playground, neighborhood streets, preschool, etc.). This work could be done on drawing paper at desks, cut out, and later glued to the mural, while a few students work out a "map" on the mural, following the circle pattern (see p. 2, student booklet). Or students could look for appropriate pictures in magazines. Some students might have photographs or souvenirs of their early experiences, which can be added to the mural.



What messages do people beyond a child's immediate family give him or her?

What sense do children make of messages transmitted in interactions with people beyond the front door?

How do children respond to messages from people beyond their immediate families?

Introduction

Family is an early and powerful influence in a child's life. It is usually not long, however, before "outsiders" begin to enter into children's experience, communicating what attitudes and behaviors are expected of him or her. You might imagine a child's growing social world as a series of circles.

The three circles could be defined as follows:

The first circle: the womb. A controversial issue among experts is whether or not the baby has behaviors, attitudes, interactions, and experiences before birth.

The second circle: the immediate family. Who is present in this circle?

Third circle: a child's immediate world beyond the front door. Who may be present in this circle? Will differences in physical environment also affect a child's behavior and attitudes? In what ways?

journal activity: the family circle

Let your memories run free. What do you think are some of the behaviors and attitudes you learned from your immediate family during your first four or five years? What were some of the routines of your home? Try to recall conversations or experiences you had with your parents and siblings and/or other family members who were important in your early life. You need not write full sentences. Just put down the words or phrases that come to you as you try to remember the sights, sounds, smells and feelings of the early years of your life.

discussion activities: the third circle

- In small groups, discuss: Who was one of the first people outside your immediate family who had an effect on you? What was the effect? Brainstorm: What are some of the differences in personal interactions that a child might encounter outside the immediate family?

- As a class, discuss: What new ground rules do children need to learn for interacting with people beyond their immediate family?

film viewing: "around the way with Kareema"

This film shows some of the weekend activities of a four-year-old, both at home and in her neighborhood. Kareema is the youngest daughter in her family. Her family is close, and still very central to her life. Her three older sisters, Debbie, Celeste, and Felicia, help to take care of her. Kareema, in turn, has a role in helping to care for the little boys, Jamal, Hasib, and Amin.

- As you take a glimpse at Kareema's life, look for:
 - the values and behaviors she is learning in her family,
 - the kinds of people she encounters beyond her family,
 - what she may be learning from them.

FOCUSING ON THE EFFECTS

After doing the journal-writing activity students might comment on *why* these scenes stand out in their minds.

To discuss the "Third Circle" questions, each student might choose one person from the mural or concentric circles exercise who had a memorable effect on him or her. They should then explain in their journals the ways in which that person affected them, afterward sharing their memories in small groups. Students should relate how old they were at the time and who was accompanying them.

They should discuss why they think the encounter was significant. Groups might then be asked to discuss similarities and differences in values--those we learn from our families and those we learn from people beyond the front door.

To consider the "ground rules" they followed for interacting with new people, students in small groups might role play their first childhood meeting with the person they described as having had a strong effect on them. Afterward they could consider these questions:

How were they advised to address the person? (Mr., Miss, Mrs., Dr., Reverend...)

What warnings were they given? ("Be polite." "Don't talk to strangers.")

What cues about how to act did they pick up from the person they were meeting? from the person they were with?

Did the person they were meeting allow them to do something that their parents did not allow?

Did the person forbid something that their parents did allow?

Did the person expect they were able to do something that their parents thought they were unable to do?

What effect do they remember having on the other person, if any?

Film Viewing: Around the Way with Kareema

Purpose: To consider the encounters of a child, Kareema, beyond her front door; how she reacts to these encounters; and how these encounters and reactions relate to her life at home.

Time: 2 classes.

Materials: Film, "Around the Way with Kareema" (20 min.); *Beyond the Front Door*, p. 3.

Kareema is five years old. This film shows some of her interactions with members of her family, with children in her neighborhood, and with people in two stores--a neighborhood variety store and a supermarket outside the neighborhood.

View the film all the way through to get a general sense of it before viewing individual segments more closely.

Kareema's parents discuss the values they hold for rearing their children. In viewing the film, students should look for instances that they think reflect the family's influence on Kareema. The parents feel that their primary task is to build "a good foundation" for their children to grow from. They also believe that the family should be a cohesive unit. Following are some of her parents' values.

Responsibility: "Black families living in the urban city have to, when they're large, they have to be responsible to each other, the big brother, the big sister, the one next oldest, on down the line, and you hand that down. Each one had the responsibility to look out for each other.... We try to give them the sense of development by giving them responsibility to the younger brother and sister...like we give Kareema a little responsibility at a time."

Independence of Choice: "With our kids, we may express some of our values...but as far as they're making the choice, they should develop their own values."

Education: "We explain to them that they go to school, that we're working on our... education, to further our education, even though we're adults...and to make ourselves more skilled, to make a better life for all of us.... Not just for them, for everybody in the family. And that way, we influence Kareema to learn. We tell her to learn more so that she can develop very early in her life."

Positive Ethnic Identity: "And black identity. Yes, I buy them all the black games and black books...black dolls, because they have to have something that relates to them.... So they can learn about black history.... If you want them to have some background, some knowledge of themselves, you have to start it at home, and encourage them at home."

You and the class might look and listen for other values expressed in the film-- e.g., economy and strength.

FILM TRANSCRIPT

Father: *Kareema has three older sisters--Deborah, who is 19; Celeste, who is 18; Felicia, who is 10. She has a younger brother, Hasib, who is 18 months, and two nephews-- Jamal, who is three years old, and Amin, who is one year old.*

At Breakfast

Deborah: Sit down.

Kareema: Well, I got the same color you got, boy.

Deborah: Here, you want this one?

Father: *A black family that lives in a city, they have to be responsible to each other. We*

have daughters; we try to give them the sense of development by giving them responsibility to the younger brothers and sisters.

Mother: *She looks out for the little boys and she takes good care of them. She feels if she's hungry then they must be hungry. Every time she eats she fixes something for them to eat.*

Deborah: Get the door.

Kareema: Who is it?

Going to Market

Mother: *Even though I might take a cab, I still end up saving. Because we are poor and I try to get the most for my money. At the store I go to, out, the quality of service is better, the quality of food is better, than it is in the ghetto.*

Kareema: What's that for?

Mother: That's the price list, come on.

At the community store on certain days of the month, the prices are higher. At the store that is out, the prices are usually the same. And maybe that's because it is mostly an all-white neighborhood.

No, no, you can't buy that many.

Deborah: Two, two.

Mother: You can't get that many. One butter and one plain. Go get a plain.

Deborah: The plain is blue. Go get a blue one. Take this one back. Take two back and get a blue.

Mother: We can't afford to buy three.
Okay, now stop. I've spent
all the money. (To Kareema)
I know you can't carry it.

On the Block

Father: *The girl across the street,
Michelle, of the Taylor fam-
ily, she plays with a great
deal. Lisa and Deede, they
live right in the same house
on the first floor of the
Taylor family.*

Kareema: You can't have no company.
Stop, I'm not playing with
you, girl.

Children: Miss Sue, Miss Sue, Miss Sue,
Gimme A, B, C...

Father: *And there's the twin Dicarta
girls. The smallest of the
two she plays with her mostly.*

Mother: *I think she is just about the
youngest on the street.*

Father: *We worry that she doesn't run
across the street, get hit by
a car. But we also tell her
to stay on the street. Do not
wander off. Don't take any
time up with any strange
people.*

Mother: *Not to accept...money or candy
from any strangers.*

At the Corner Shop

Bill: You'll lose your job that way.
(Shopkeeper)

Assistant: You'll lose your job like
that, man.

Bill: You want money every night?
You don't get money every
night. You wait to payday.

Child: What day is payday?

Assistant: Every six days.

Child: Okay, in six days.

Children: Hi, Bill.

Bill: Hi. Do you want something,
baby? What else?

Child: Salt.

Bill: No salt, baby.

Kareema: I want some of those and one
piece of gum.

Bill: This?

Kareema: Yeah.

Celeste: No, no, no, no, no.

Bill: What does she want? Don't
give me no jiving now. Out-
side, just go.

Celeste: Come on, Kareema, tell him
what you want.

Bill: My woman quit me.

Celeste: When? Which one, what's her
name? The one on Blume Way?

Bill: I don't know which one. What
does she want with this?

Child: Bye.

Bill: Which one? Bye, now.

Playing a Game

Child: No, I'm taking it.

Deborah: Frederick Douglass.

Celeste: Give me Martin Luther King,
give me Martin Luther King.

Felicia: No, I want Martin Luther King.
I don't know that other man.

Deborah: Okay, I'll take Joe Lewis
here.

Celeste: "Benjamin Banniker, born 1731,
died 18 years early. A genius

of his day. Made first American clock...."

Mother: *I buy them black games and black books, black dolls. Because they have to have something that relates to them. So they can learn about black history. Because it is only since the late 60s that they started getting black history in school. Some schools still don't have it.*

Celeste: "Dr. Charles Drew born 1904-1950. Pioneered research in blood plasma...."

Deborah: You have school history. Did they tell you how Charles Drew died?

Celeste: No.

Deborah: How did he die, Felicia?

Felicia: I don't know.

Deborah: Didn't I tell you?

Celeste: I know, I know. No. He died because he went to a white hospital and they wouldn't give him no blood. They told him to go to the black hospital that was across town. By the time he got there it was too late and he was dead. And your time's up, Kareema.

Deborah: That's not fair because you started talking to her.

Mother: *If you want them to have some background and some knowledge of themselves you have to start it at home. Encourage them at home. And that way if you put the foundation they can always build on it.*

Celeste: I won. Where's the prize? Where's the prize? Where's the prize?

Deborah: Right there!

Celeste: Where?

Deborah: That knowledge on the table!

Father: That's enough cutting, you don't need more than that.

Mother: *I don't have to be at work until 5:00. I wanted a job with those kinds of hours so that I would be home when Kareema got home from school. Because she looks forward to that. Most of the time I try to cook before I leave. And if I don't then Deborah cooks. And then she's home for the rest of the evening.*

Father: OK, take the gum out of your mouth. You can't eat your dinner with gum. You know that.

Celeste: Just because she wants a private secretary.

Deborah: So?

Celeste: So.

Deborah: That's all you do is stay on the phone anyhow.

Celeste: Am I benefiting by calling the driving school for you? Am I benefiting? How?

Father: *She knows that I go to school. She knows that her mother goes to school. We tell her why we go to school, to make ourselves more skilled--to make a better life, for all of us. That way we influence her to learn and tell her to learn more that she can develop very early in her life.*

Bedtime

Kareema: Mommy. I have to tell you something.

Mother: Oh gee, what do you have to tell me, Kareema?

Kareema: I have to tell you.

Mother: Okay, you can come and tell me.

Kareema: Can you get me some birthday hats on my birthday?

Mother: Yes, when your birthday comes. It's not your birthday now, is it?

Kareema: No.

Mother: That's all you had to tell me?

Kareema: No. I want some vitamins.

Mother: You don't need any vitamins tonight. Come on, in the bed.

Father: Be a good girl.

Mother: *I think it's wrong for parents to try and put their values on their kids.*

Father: *She has to have her own values to please her, to make her content. To make her function. Because her life goes on. Because she's into the future. I'm the past. I can only hand down my wisdom or her mother hand down her wisdom.*

Mother: She's supposed to sleep in her own bed.

Father: Like you sleep in yours.

Mother: You're so silly tonight.

Father: Goodbye, Kareema.

Kareema: Play, Mom?

Father: Goodbye, Kareema!

Mother: No, you can't.

Father: Good night.

Kareema: I want to sit with you.

Mother: No, you can't.

Father: Good night!

Mother: You've got to go to bed. And get your rest. Otherwise you'll be tired. Then you'll fall asleep in school.

Kareema: I want to put something on my finger.

Mother: I don't see anything wrong with that finger. I don't see anything there. I don't see anything on that finger at all.

Kareema: I know, but it hurts.

Mother: You must have smashed it in the door or something because you don't have a splinter or anything in it.

Kareema: Put a bandaid on.

Mother: I don't have another bandaid.

Kareema: Let me see.

Mother: Go to bed, Kareema.

Kareema: I saw one.

Mother: Go to bed, Kareema.

Kareema: I saw one.

Mother: Come on, good night. Good night.

Father: Good night.

Kareema: Wait. Fix my lunch.

Mother: You're not going to have one. Kareema, get out of here and go to bed.

Kareema: Can I have a pear?

Mother: You can't have anything. You never want to go to bed.

Most times the best jobs that black people could get was when I was looking, to be a teacher, or you get a job in

the post office. But now it's not a closed thing. Now there are so many different avenues open. They can go to college. They can go into a technical school. They can set their own goals. They see that life itself is a learning experience.

Father: *Their values will probably be different than our values.*

Mother: *Of course, because each generation is different.*

Father: *The only value I have right now as far as she's concerned to grow up to be a strong, beautiful black woman.*

Mother: *Come on, big girls don't cry. Come on, come on. It's time for you to go to bed. It's eight o'clock.*

Kareema: *I don't want to go to school.*

Mother: *Well, you got to go. You*

gonna be a dummy? Huh? Go to bed now, I'll see you in the morning.

Kareema: *My finger hurts.*

Mother: *I don't see anything wrong with your finger, Kareema.*

Kareema: *It hurts.*

Mother: *It doesn't hurt. Go to bed.*

Kareema: *My thumb's broke.*

Mother: *I don't see anything wrong with your thumb.*

Kareema: *Well, it still hurts. I want to go to sleep now, cut the lights. Cut off the lights.*

The following incidents and sample questions could provoke a discussion of the family's influence on Kareema at home and outside the home, the influence of people beyond the family on Kareema, and Kareema's reactions and interactions.

INCIDENT

Kareema is having breakfast. One older sister and the three little boys of the family are present.

Kareema goes to a supermarket outside her neighborhood with her mother and one of her older sisters.

Kareema plays outdoors with her friends.

Kareema goes to a neighborhood store with her sisters.

The family has dinner, then plays a black history game.

Kareema prepares for bed.

SAMPLE QUESTIONS

Is Kareema assuming responsibility for the younger children? How does she respond to each of them?

Who influences Kareema's learning in this situation? What may she be learning?

How does Kareema respond to these two girls? How is she like or unlike the way she was at breakfast? at the supermarket? Why? How may the age of Kareema's companions affect her behavior?

How does she behave here? What may she be learning?

What might Kareema be learning in each situation?

What messages might Kareema be receiving from her mother? How is Kareema affecting her mother? her father?

We can assume that these incidents are not unique, but are repeated often in similar form during Kareema's early years.

How might such incidents contribute to Kareema's "sense of self"?

How does she tailor her responses to each situation and person? How do you think she learns to do this?

When viewing the film a second time, you might stop it after each incident to allow students to add to their first impressions. Use these questions, and others you or students raise.

EXPANDING ACTIVITIES

Referring to the concentric circles (p. 2 of the student booklet) have the class make a similar diagram for Kareema, showing the people with whom she interacts. What messages may Kareema be getting from the people and situations that fall into these different spheres? For example, Kareema might get the following messages in the neighborhood store:

From Celeste: I know that I can depend on my sister to take me to the store, but my choice of items is limited by the amount of money we are able to spend.

From the proprietor: He will talk to me and ask me what I want to buy. If I don't speak loudly and quickly he will wait on someone else. He will joke easily with my big sister. He's the boss of his store and people don't fool around with him.

From the girl next to Kareema in the store: This girl decides what she wants and doesn't wait for him to serve me. She can go before me because she's older, or maybe because she speaks up.

From the act of going to the store: I know what items this store carries. My selection must be one of those items. The store is more personal than the supermarket--the proprietor knows us and jokes with us. We know the other people in the store.

Students may do this exercise in groups so that they can pool resources and come up with as many responses as possible. They may want to look first at all the messages Kareema receives and gives in the family, then at the messages she receives and gives outside of the family. Later, you and the students might discuss similarities and differences in the messages and how messages from one sphere of experiences--at home--may influence another sphere of experiences--outside the home. For example:

Can Kareema be dependent on her older sisters both at home and outside? Explain, giving examples from the film.

How does Kareema behave when she is the oldest in the group? when she is the youngest? Why? (Consider her at home, at the supermarket, on the sidewalk or her porch, at the corner store.)

How do various adults respond to Kareema's questions? (Consider the man stocking the milk cooler at the supermarket, parents, sisters, and the man at the neighborhood store.)

PARENT INTERVIEWS

The parents' narration in "Around the Way with Kareema" was excerpted from a taped interview in which the film maker asked some of the following questions:

What are the children's responsibilities?

With whom do the children usually play?

Where do they play?

Where can't they play?

Have they picked up any traits from people outside of the family?

Is there anyone outside of the immediate family who has had a strong influence on the children's lives?

Do you have much to do with other families in the neighborhood? How are your children involved in these interactions?

Reading about childrearing practices that are quite different from those generally observed in America can help students understand that the way children are trained varies greatly from one culture to another. By discussing points from the reading and doing an observation exercise in their local area, students can think about how childrearing practices vary, and how the differences are partly determined by cultural traditions.

PROCEDURE

You might begin by reading aloud the first set of "Questions for Discussion" (p. 8, student booklet) and asking students to recall and reexperience through fantasy a childhood scene in a park or playground. (For an example of a teacher leading such a fantasy activity, listen to the Module III "Classroom Experiences" record, side I, band 3.) Students might describe such a memory in their journals. Another introductory activity, "How Many of You...?", is described on pages 16-18 of this guide.

Handling the Reading

Able readers might be asked to read the article and note which of the French practices they would be surprised to see occurring in parks in their own neighborhoods. They might also note practices that they would expect to see in parks near them.

For students with reading difficulties, select and read aloud several passages. Ask them to discuss their reactions to each of the practices you read about.

The reading might be done in six small groups with each group reading material under one subhead:

"French Parents Take Their Children to the Park"

"Sacred Solidarity of Brothers"

"Acceptance of the Little Ones"

"Grownups Stop Children's Aggression"

"Restraint in Motor Activity"

"Childhood Is Not for Fun"

Each group could then discuss how they would handle these issues and compare their ideas to those in the reading. Then they could report to the class before discussing together the remaining questions for discussion on page 8.

In considering the "French way" of handling aggression, students should realize that there are many theories on the effects of suppressing anger in childhood. These theories range from the belief that the suppressed anger will emerge later in the form of ulcers or hostility, to the belief that habitually suppressing anger will decrease angry feelings and behavior.

Recall "The Worst Thing" activity (p. 19, *Family and Society, Part One, Teacher's Guide*). What would the French consider to be the worst thing a child could do in the park? How does this compare to students' own beliefs?

OBSERVATION ACTIVITY

Allow time for students to discuss where they will go to make their own observations (p. 8, student booklet). It might be interesting for students to observe in pairs or teams so that they can compare their observations and conclusions about childrearing influences.

When students present their findings, ask them to compare what they have seen to what was described in the French reading, looking for similarities and differences. With this comparison in mind, students might add common practices and "variations" in childrearing to the "Childrearing Charts" (p. 20, *Family and Society, Part One, Teacher's Guide*) begun earlier.

In conclusion, reread the last section of Wolfenstein's report. Ask students to hypothesize about the view of adulthood that underlies the types of childrearing practices they have read about and those they have observed. Students might like to discuss how they feel they have been

trained to function as adults in their own society. The following questions might be posed during the discussion:

Do different societies have different values for adulthood? What are they?

Are these differences reflected in the ways in which each society trains its children? How?

Or do different societies simply have different theories about how to rear the same kind of adult? Explain.

How Many of You...?*

Purposes: To stimulate curiosity about how one's own behaviors and attitudes developed.

To focus attention on ordinary behaviors and attitudes as products of socialization.

To foster the realization that others may view and act with children in patterns quite different from one's own.

Time: 5 minutes warm-up.

PROCEDURE

This warm-up activity can be introduced whenever you feel it would be a useful way of launching a discussion. List six to eight possible behaviors and attitudes that relate to whatever situation the class is about to discuss. For example, the following was prepared for discussing "In the Park."

*Our thanks to Sidney Simon and Howard Kirschenbaum, from whose work we adapted this strategy (cf., *Values Clarification: A Handbook of Practical Strategies for Teachers and Students*. Hart Publishing Co., 1972).

If you were a parent, how many of you would:

- tell your children not to talk to strangers?
- want your children to stay close to you in a public place?
- tell your children not to touch other children's toys?
- want your children not to get dirty while they play?
- want your children to be friends only with children of your own friends?
- want your children to fight their own battles?
- want to take advantage of every incident to teach your children something, or to give them a task to perform?

Or, as children, how many of you:

- played only with your own toys?
- played with children younger than yourself?
- got in trouble for getting dirty while playing?
- were told not to talk to strangers?
- were told not to play with certain children?
- took care of younger children?
- had parents who intervened in a fight or argument?

Here is another sample list, prepared for use with the *Children at Home* films:

RULES

The following three rules should guide any "How-Many-of-You" lists you make.

1. Keep the list short--no more than six to eight items.

2. Include some items that can lead to issues related to the focus of the lesson you have planned.
3. Vary the level of sensitivity of the items: too many "heavy" issues may distance students or overload discussion.

How Many of You:

- ...eat your meals sitting on the floor?
- ...use napkins when eating?
- ...frequently read while eating meals?
- ...frequently watch TV while eating meals?
- ...wash your hands before eating?
- ...use chopsticks?
- ...eat at least one meal a day in the company of your full family?
- ...adhere to a particular diet? (e.g., vegetarian, kosher, fish on Fridays, Lent, to lose weight?)
- ...talk about issues of importance during mealtimes?

In class, read your items aloud, one at a time. Students should indicate their response to each with:

- a raised hand (affirmative response)
- a "thumbs-down" gesture (negative response)
- folded arms (undecided)
- no action at all (do not wish to respond)

To avoid influencing the students' responses, you should hold your own response until after most students have taken a position. Ask students to decide quickly --remind them that parents and caregivers usually do not have time to ponder decisions about their actions.

Do not discuss any items until after you have gone through the entire list. During the discussion following the "inventory," give students an opportunity to *qualify* and explain their responses, and to consider implicit issues in more depth.

Each question could be taken in turn for discussion, or students could be asked individually to select one of the questions and give reactions to it. You can also pose specific questions for discussion arising from items on the list. For instance, in discussing the first sample list of items for "In the Park," students might be asked where a particular belief has come from--from agreement or disagreement with their parents' practices? from a tradition in our society?

The following samples may trigger ideas for "How-Many-of-You" exercises for other parts of Family and Society.

8 In the Park



New Scene 1890

hard to catch the rings. *Attention! Regarde ton travail! Regarde bien, chou-chou!* [Look out! Watch what you are doing! Watch carefully, dear!] *Au milieu*, indicating with her finger the middle of the ring at which the child should aim. *Doucement!* [Gently!] When a child used his stick to beat time instead of to catch rings, the old woman scolded him for this frivolity. . . . Thus, even on the carousel, children have a task to perform. The elders direct, commend, and rebuke them. They are not there just for fun.

The paradox from the American point of view is that the French grow up with a great capacity for enjoyment of life. The adult enters fully into the pleasures which have not been permitted to the child. There seems to be a successful realization that pleasure is not taboo, but only postponed. The song of Charles Trenet, *Quand j'étais petit* [When I was little], ends with the triumphant, *Où n'est plus petit!* [One is no longer little]—everything is now permitted. It remains one of the puzzles of French culture how this effect is achieved: that the restraints to which children are subjected have only a temporary influence and do not encumber the adult with lasting inhibitions.

If we compare Americans and French, it seems as though the relation between childhood and adulthood is almost completely opposite in the two cultures. In America we regard childhood as a very nearly ideal time, a time for enjoyment, an end in itself. ☺

questions for discussion

- Think back to when you were four or five. Who might have been the one to take you to a park or public place? How would you have reacted to other children? How would the person with you have encouraged you to act?
- How do you think the way that these French adults treated aggression in their children affected them? How do you try to handle the aggression of children at your favorite site?
- How do French adults treat other

issues that arise "at the park"? How do you treat those issues? Why?

observation activity

Choose a place where parents (or caregivers) and children are spending time together in public—a park, a children's shoe store, or a museum, for example. Spend about half an hour watching what they do and what they say to one another. Try to jot down as many details and incidents as you can.

Here are some things to think about while observing:

- What do the adults encourage? How? What do they discourage? How?
- Over what issues do adults exert control?
- What kind of attention do children try to get from adults?
- How much attention do children pay to other children? What kind of interactions occur?

Childrearing practices vary from country to country; for instance, French and American children are raised somewhat differently. In the United States, where many cultures have come together, such variations can be seen. If possible, go to another neighborhood in your city or town, or to an area where you think childrearing attitudes and behaviors might be different from those among people you know, and make a second observation. Choose a setting as similar to your first one as possible—a supermarket if you chose that the first time, a playground if you chose that the first time. Follow exactly the same procedure in doing your observation.

Share your observations with your classmates. Then look back over the statements Wolfenstein made about:

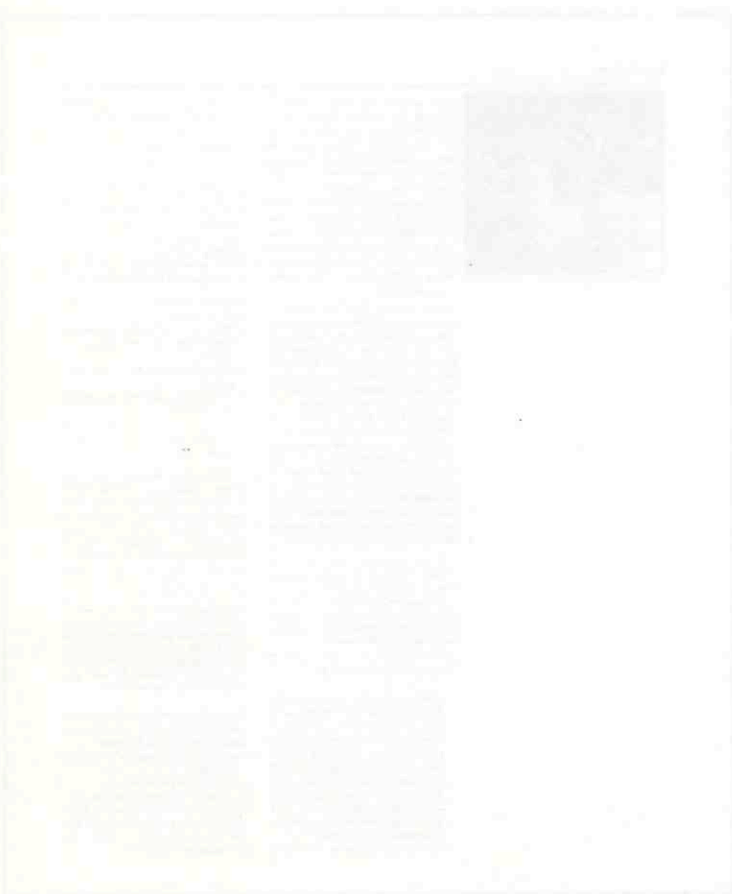
- what adults encouraged and discouraged,
- children's behavior patterns.

As a class or individually, what generalizations can you suggest about present-day childrearing in your own neighborhood based on what you and your classmates have observed?

How Many of You:

- ...are influenced by others in what you wear?
- ...approve of parents spanking children?
- ...play competitive sports?
- ...enjoy eating meals with your family?
- ...use a car to get most places?
- ...have lived in this town all your life?

- ...think the place of women is in the home?
- ...play a musical instrument?
- ...have ever seen a dead body?
- ...think brides should wear white?
- ...know someone who has stolen something?
- ...think grades should be abolished?
- ...watch TV more than two hours a day?
- ...go to a religious service regularly?



A Growing Sense of Self

The Expectations of Others

In "Mini-Dialogues"; the film, "At the Doctor's"; and the reading "Big Enough to Go Alone," doctors are examples of people who probably have an influence on the children they come in contact with.

Purposes: To consider the messages destructive of one's self-image that children may encounter outside the family.

To examine young children's reactions to prejudice.

To look at the ways in which parents try to help their children cope with such messages.

Time: 4 classes.

Materials: *Beyond the Front Door*, pp. 8-17; film, "At the Doctor's."

Suggested Speakers: People with professional responsibility for children.

In the Park 9

From the people around them, children receive messages that tell them who they are and what they can expect to grow up to be. As they accept some of these messages and ignore or reject others, they build their sense of who they are and of the kind of person they want to become.

A Growing Sense of Self

The Expectations of Others

There are many people outside of the immediate family who know children in early childhood! Children know them in their various capacities—relative, neighbor, babysitter, storekeeper, clergyman, etc.—and learn what behavior each expects of them. In the next three selections, children are exposed to the expectations of doctors.

As you meet these doctors, consider the following questions:

- What kinds of childrearing practices do the doctors expect from the children's parents or caregivers?
- What behavior and attitudes do they expect from the children?
- How do the children react to the doctors and to the messages they transmit? What sense do the children make of the messages?

mini-dialogues

In the following reading,* written in 1971, an American mother describes her three-year-old's experience with doctors in France.

*From a letter by Jane McMahon Kennedy.

Three overall questions are suggested in the student materials (p. 9). It might be useful to refer back to these, as students acquaint themselves with each of the three readings to see whether students can expand on their ideas with each additional exposure to portraits of doctors.

CLASSROOM SPEAKERS

You might invite a pediatrician, family doctor, or school nurse to class, to talk about their own behaviors and attitudes toward children. People in other professions that affect children--school principal, social worker, child psychologist, or divorce lawyer--might also be invited. The questions mentioned above could be used as guidelines for formulating questions to ask the visiting professional. In addition, ask:

What impact do you believe your work has on children?

Mini-Dialogues

After students have read this brief report by Mona's mother, ask them to recall (or ask their parents about) their own early experiences with a doctor. Was the doctor friendly, humorous, trying to put them at ease? What do they recall most about their doctors? Do they recall the doctor's suggestions about their own behavior--comments about thumb-sucking, toilet training, food and sleep patterns? Do they remember any instances of the doctor giving advice to the children themselves? to the adult who brought the child to the doctor? Were they ever sick away from home, and seen by an unfamiliar doctor? How did they react to this person?

Film Viewing: At the Doctor's

In this film, a family doctor demonstrates a good deal of general interest in the development of the children. During the course of the film, he gives clear messages to the mother and children about the

film viewing: "at the doctor's"

A child's sense of self grows out of three awarenesses:

- individuality—I am myself, different and separate from others.
- similarity—But who else am I like, and in what ways?
- expectations of others—How do others see me and what do they expect of me?

As you watch this film, look for instances in which the adults define their visions of each of the children, and watch the ways in which the children respond to the adults' view of them.

The Reinforcement Theory
Psychologist B. F. Skinner believes that people's behavior is shaped by positive reinforcement (praise and reward) and negative reinforcement (blame and punishment). Children learn at a very early age that other people are a source of such encouragement and discouragement, and their sense of self is influenced by these responses to their behavior.

- What examples of positive and negative reinforcement can you find in the film "At the Doctor's"?
- Can you give an example of reinforcement that you have given a child at your fieldsite? What effect did it have?
- Can you think of any reinforcement you have seen children give each other? What happened?

questions for discussion

- What qualities does the doctor see in Mark? in Jill? What messages do you see him giving each child?
- How does Mark respond to messages about himself? Which does he accept? How does Jill handle messages about herself as an individual person? as a female? as a sister?



way he sees the children's personalities developing.

Before showing the film, discuss the first paragraph in the student booklet (p. 9) about a child's sense of self. Ask students to supply examples of such messages and suggest that they look for similar examples in the film, as well as at their fieldsites.

FILM TRANSCRIPT

Mother: My children do not like to hear her cry. So whenever she cries during the night I hear the pitter-patter of little feet coming across the hall and, "Why is she crying?" And, "Is it necessary?" and so forth and so on.

Doctor: As you say my children, you look at one child. Is that right?

Jill: She wakes me up a lot.

Mother: Yes, Jill.

Doctor: I think it's one child.

Mother: Mark can pretty well weather the storm.

Doctor: Mark puts up with a lot of things, don't you, Mark? Is this baby going to be like you?

Mark: Oh yeah.

Doctor: You'd like her to be, wouldn't you? I would too.

Mark: But I hope she doesn't cry anymore.

Jill: She woke me up last night.

Doctor: Doing what, crying? Why don't you like to hear her cry?

Jill: Because I like to get sleep.

Doctor: You do. Jill, that's news. You never used to like to get sleep. Why do you like to get sleep now?

Jill: Because I won't be tired in the daytime.

Mark: Like, if she wakes up four times, I'll wake up about twice.

Doctor: Oh Mark. It's nice to have that kind of regulator. Is he like his daddy?

Mother: Yes, his daddy is quite even-tempered and easy-going; and he can take most anything in his stride.

Doctor: (to Mark) Why don't you take them off. Would you? That would be neat. Great!

Mother: Mark is quite helpful.

Doctor: Mark is helpful?

Mother: And so is Jill.

Doctor: I bet Jill is.

Mother: They do quite a lot. They get diapers for me. And they *help* change. And they watch her if I have to leave the room. They are really quite helpful.

Doctor: It's really the payoff, having children old enough when you get a baby, isn't it? Because they really can participate. Does Jill do things for her?

Mother: Oh yes. She helps feed her. Don't you, Jill?

Doctor: Mark, you're great. I don't know whether it showed on the film but you see him take her fingers out so he didn't hurt them. He's very gentle with her. That's pretty hard to do, isn't it? Mark, you're really neat. Mark's learned a lot about babies with this one, haven't you? See how he picks her up, he puts his hand right under her head. Up under her neck and her shoulders, so he doesn't let her head flop. Does she ever smile at you?

Mark: Uh huh.

Doctor: See if you can make her smile. You know a lot about her, Mark, because you sort of know how to pace yourself. Do you know what I mean by that? You sort of wait until she's ready to get active and you hold her hand when she's free like this and looking at you while you let her go and you don't intrude. Then when she seems to need something you lean down toward her and talk to her, which is awful nice. And obviously you're thinking about her.

Mark: Don't start crying, don't start crying.

Doctor: (to Jill) Can you feel her pulling on the bottle when you put it in her mouth? As you see, a baby

has to adjust pretty rapidly to lots of changes when her sister's giving her the bottle.

Jill: Sometimes she lets you know when she doesn't want any more milk.

Doctor: How does she do that, Jill?

Jill: She doesn't open her mouth.

Doctor: If you've watched the baby learning, having to manage the nipple while Jill's giving it to her, she's had about three different postures with her mouth. And the marvelous thing about a newborn baby is that they can do this. They can shift from one position to another and keep right on going, with something they care about, like sucking on the nipple. And this baby now is getting a real experience with her sister. She's learning a lot about her sister. And she's learning a lot about how to adjust to the nipple. So this is what I think of anyway as infant learning. What do you think she's going to be like when she's a big person?

Mark: When she gets bigger she'll probably be good in kick ball because we could feel my mother's stomach and she kept on kicking and kicking.

Jill: She would be good in handling fights.

Doctor: Yeah, what would you like for her to be when she grows up?

Jill: A mother.

Mother: During my pregnancy Jill especially noticed the enlargement of the abdomen and wanted to know why and when would the baby be here and how much bigger did I have to get before the baby would come. And then when she started moving, I let them feel the baby, the activity, which they enjoyed

quite a bit. And at different times we could point out the extremities of the baby which they thought was quite interesting.

Doctor: Really. You could feel him inside your mommy's stomach. How do you think it felt to your mommy when she was in her tummy?

Jill: Bad.

Doctor: Bad.

Jill: She had awful pains. And cramps.

Doctor: What do you think about that? A mommy having pains when she has a baby.

Jill: I just hope I don't have one.

Doctor: You hope you don't have a baby?

Jill: Because it really hurts.

Doctor: But you just said you wanted her to grow up and have a baby, I thought you would like to grow up and have a baby, too.

Jill: Oh, no.

Doctor: You wouldn't?

Jill: I'd have to go all through that trouble.

Doctor: Do you think it's worth it or not?

Jill: Well, I think it's worth it.

Doctor: Well, I don't think you do think it's worth it, though. You don't sound like it. Do you think your mommy thinks it's worth it to get another baby?

Mark: One more!

Doctor: No. I bet you wanted a baby boy. Don't you want her to have another one?

Mark: Yeah, yeah.

Jill: Then you might take your chances and it may be another girl.

Doctor: That's true. It might not be worth it.

Jill: Everybody says to Mommy, "I hope she has twins," and she says, "Oh."

Doctor: Oh, how would you like to have twins?

Mark: I would. A boy and a girl. One for Jill and one for me. Double the trouble.

Doctor: Double the trouble.

Jill: I'm not going to get married when I grow up.

Doctor: Why? Why not?

Jill: I don't like getting married.

Mark: I'm going to live with my cousin when I grow up.

Doctor: Is your cousin a boy or a girl?

Mark: A boy.

Doctor: So you don't have to get married and have babies. And things like that?

Mark: I'd rather have animal babies than baby babies.

Doctor: Why is that, Mark?

Mark: Because they're more easier. And they don't cry or anything like that.

Doctor: And they don't make you have fights.

How about your husband, how is he adjusting to the baby?

Mother: Well, he's working quite a bit but somehow he has taken more interest in this child. When Mark was younger he could do anything for Mark that I could do. And then when Jill came along he kind of lost all his interest in the baby, as babies themselves. Now, when she got a little bit older-- she was small--but when she got a little bit older he would handle her. But he didn't want to handle her.

Doctor: Was this because she was so difficult?

Mother: Yes, yes. With Mark he did anything for Mark that I could do.

Doctor: Really.

Jill: My grandmother was holding me and while she was holding me my brother was sitting next to her and so he snatched me out of her hand.

Doctor: Your brother did? He started fighting pretty early, didn't he? Well, tell me this. Does he like Jill being as active and as vital and as exciting as she is now?

Mother: Yes.

Doctor: I bet he does. What is he like? I don't know him very well. Is he like Mark or is he like Jill?

Mother: He's like Mark. He's a big fellow. He's 6'1" and he weighs 225 lbs.

Doctor: Wow!

Mother: He likes to romp and play with the children. But he is quite even-tempered, easy-going. Well, very easy to get along with actually.

After the film, discuss the questions on page 11. If time permits, show the film a second time and observe in depth the individual personalities. Suggest that each student choose one person to watch closely, noting what the people say, their body movements, and their facial expressions. Afterward, ask students to make some journal notes about what they observed on the second viewing that they missed on the first.

Alternately, the second viewing could be silent, with students considering what their chosen person on the screen is thinking: What messages is the person receiving? How do his or her silent messages differ from what he or she actually says? (See "Silent Viewing," p. 58, *Family and Society, Part One, Teacher's Guide*.)

THE REINFORCEMENT THEORY

B. F. Skinner is one psychologist who has worked on the assumption that behavior can be shaped. He has explored this shaping process, which he calls "conditioned learning," by experimenting with pigeons and other nonhuman subjects. His theory on how learning takes place has been widely applied to advice for parents, design of textbooks, and therapy for mental patients. Underlying Skinner's theory of conditioned learning is the process of providing *positive* or *negative reinforcement*; this process is briefly outlined in the student materials.

If students are confused by the meaning of positive reinforcement, they might consider the physical definition of reinforcement: the addition of material to support and strengthen a structure so that it better serves the purpose you have in mind for it.

What does it mean to reinforce a sagging beam? a seam on a dress? the binding of a book?

What are some ways that people can support and strengthen behavior in others? (Positive reinforcement)

What are some ways that people can weaken and discourage behavior in others? (Negative reinforcement)

Feeling Reinforcement

Ask students who observed and took the roles of different people in the film to consider:

Who encouraged or discouraged you?
In what ways? How did you feel?

Whom did you encourage or discourage?
In what ways? How did they seem to react?

Students might discuss these questions in small groups, one for each person in the film. Each group could then report to the rest of the class.

Examples of positive reinforcement in the film might include the doctor praising Mark's maturity for not being a nuisance over the baby's crying, the mother saying that both children have been helpful with the new baby. Jill receives almost no reinforcement of her attitudes toward the baby, or only negative reinforcement. She is told that she is making her mother's sleep more difficult. The mother keeps readjusting the way Jill holds the baby's bottle. Is Jill's self-image as a fighter reinforced in any way? How?

Students might also like to consider the ways in which their behavior has been/is being reinforced by others.

How did/do your parents encourage and/or discourage behavior in you? your teachers? your peers? others?

How does what people encourage or discourage in you affect your sense of who you are?

ACTIVITY

Ask each student to make two lists of behaviors in a particular child at their fieldsite: one list of behaviors that

they would like to support, one of behaviors they would like to discourage. Next to each list, individually brainstorm ways of supporting or discouraging those behaviors (cf., "Ways of Encouraging or Discouraging," p. 24, *Family and Society, Part One, Teacher's Guide*). In small groups, students might share their lists and discuss:

How are the lists of desirable and undesirable behaviors different for different children?

In what ways are behaviors reinforced for different children? For different students?

How do the methods students suggest compare with Skinner's reinforcement theory?

Big Enough to Go Alone

In this reading, students meet a very different doctor, and a nurse who echoes his opinions. The children's mother suspects that the children will have a difficult experience; yet she cannot bring herself to go with them. Students may wish to consider how the situation might have changed if the mother had been along.

To Francie, the doctor was an outsider who sized her up at a glance, categorizing her as poor, dirty, and ignorant. How did she handle these statements from an awesome stranger?

Ask students to reminisce about their own childhood. Were there times when people sized them up by their appearance or by the circumstances in which they were found? Students might also try to recall incidents in which people's (or their own)

"big enough to go alone!"*

Children encounter many people beyond the front door. Some they know personally, like neighbors or family doctors. Others they encounter only briefly, yet brief encounters can also leave their mark.

In the following episode,* two children from an Irish family living in New York City in the 1930s meet a public health doctor and nurse, and the vaccination scar is not all they receive.

Francie was seven and Neeley six. Katie had held Francie back wishing both children to enter school together so that they could protect each other against the older children. On a dreadful Saturday in August, she stopped in the bedroom to speak to them before she went off to work. She awakened them and gave instructions.

"Now when you get up, wash yourselves good and when it gets to be eleven o'clock, go around the corner to the public health place, tell them to vaccinate you because you're going to school in September."

Francie began to tremble. Neeley burst into tears.

"You coming with us, Mama?" Francie pleaded.

"I've got to go to work. Who's going to do my work if I don't?" asked Katie covering up her conscience with indignation.

Francie said nothing more. Katie knew that she was letting them down. But she couldn't help it, she just couldn't help it. Yes, she should go with them to lend the comfort and authority of her presence, but she knew she couldn't stand the ordeal. Yet, they had to be vaccinated. Her being with them or somewhere else couldn't take that fact away. So why shouldn't one of the three be spared? Besides, she said to her conscience, it's a hard and bitter world. They've got to live in it. Let them get hardened young to take care of themselves.

"Papa's going with us then," said Francie hopefully.

"Papa's at Headquarters waiting for a job. He won't be home all day. You're big enough to go alone. Besides, it won't hurt."

Neeley wailed on a higher key. Katie could hardly stand that. She loved the boy so much. Part of her reason for not going with them was that she couldn't bear to see the boy hurt. . . not even by a pin prick. Almost she decided to go with them. But no. If she went she'd lose half a day's work and she'd have to make it up on Sunday morning. Besides, she'd be sick afterwards. They'd manage somehow without her. She hurried off to her work.

Francie tried to console the terrified Neeley. Some older boys had told him that they cut your arm off when they got you in the Health Center. To take his mind off the thing, Francie took him down into the yard and they made mud pies. They quite forgot to wash as mama had told them to.

They almost forgot about eleven o'clock, the mud pie making was so beguiling. Their hands and arms got very dirty playing in the mud. At ten to eleven, Mrs. Gaddis hung out the window and yelled down that their mother had told her to remind them when it was near eleven o'clock. Neeley finished off his last mud pie, watering it with his tears. Francie took his hand and with slow dragging steps the children walked around the corner.

They took their place on a bench. . . Behind the frosted glass door where the terrifying business was going on, there was a steady howling punctuated by a shrill scream, resumption of the howling, and then a pale child would come out with a strip of pure white gauze

*Abridged from pp. 121-125 in *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* by Betty Smith. Copyright 1943, 1947 by Betty Smith. By permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

about his left arm. His mother would rush and grab him and with a foreign curse and a shaken fist at the frosted door, hurry him out of the torture chamber.

Francie went in trembling. She had never seen a doctor or a nurse in all of her small life. The whiteness of the uniforms, the shiny cruel instruments laid out on a napkin on a tray, the smell of antiseptics, and especially the cloudy sterilizer with its bloody red cross filled her with tongue-tied fright.

The nurse pulled up her sleeve and swabbed a spot clean on her left arm. Francie saw the white doctor coming towards her with the cruelly-poised needle. He loomed larger and larger until he seemed to blend into a great needle. She closed her eyes waiting to die. Nothing happened, she felt nothing. She opened her eyes slowly, hardly daring to hope that it was all over. She found to her agony that the doctor was still there, poised needle and all. He was staring at her arm in distaste. Francie looked too. She saw a small white area on a dirty dark brown arm. She heard the doctor talking to the nurse.

"Filth, filth, filth, from morning to night. I know they're poor but they couldn't wash. Water is free and soap is cheap. Just look at that arm, nurse."

The nurse looked and clucked in horror. Francie stood there with the hot flamepoint of shame burning her face. . .

After the doctor's outburst, Francie stood hanging her head. She was a dirty girl. That's what the doctor meant. He was talking more quietly now asking the nurse how that kind of people could survive, that it would be a better world if they were all sterilized and couldn't breed anymore. Did that mean he wanted her to die? Would he do something to make her die because her hands and arms were dirty from the mud pies?

She looked at the nurse. To Francie, all women were mammas like her own

mother and Aunt Sissy and Aunt Eey. She thought the nurse might say something like:

"Maybe this little girl's mother works and didn't have time to wash her good this morning," or, "You know how it is, Doctor, children *will* play in dirt." But what the nurse actually said was, "I know. Isn't it terrible? I sympathize with you, Doctor. There is no excuse for these people living in filth. . ."

When the needle jabbed, Francie never felt it. The waves of hurt started by the doctor's words were racking her body and drove out all other feeling. While the nurse was expertly tying a strip of gauze around her arm and the doctor was putting his instrument in the sterilizer and taking out a fresh needle, Francie spoke up.

"My brother is next. His arm is just as dirty as mine so don't be surprised. And you don't have to tell him. You told me." She stared at this bit of humanity who had become so strangely articulate. Francie's voice went ragged with a sob. "You don't have to tell him. Besides it won't do no good. He's a boy and he don't care if he is dirty." She turned, stumbled a little and walked out of the room. As the door closed, she heard the doctor's surprised voice.

"I had no idea she'd understand what I was saying." She heard the nurse say, "Oh, well," on a sighing note. ☐

questions for discussion

- What messages did these interactions contain? messages from the mother? the doctor? the nurse? and from the children?
- What expectations were at work here? What did the mother expect of Francie? What were the doctor's and nurse's expectations? What did Francie expect of the nurse and why? What does Francie expect of herself? Why?



first impressions of children (and/or adults) were mistaken, based on snap judgments or stereotypes.

Why might the doctor and nurse in the reading have assumed Francie didn't understand?

The class might discuss some ways in which adults can prepare children for the people they are likely to meet "beyond the front door."

How is this issue handled by adults in the *Childhood Memories* autobiographies? in the selections "Learning About Discrimination" and "The People to Be Like"?

Questions for Discussion

As students discuss the questions on page 13, they may wish to talk in terms of what people expect of others. Francie expected the nurse to be sympathetic. Why? Ask students to list people from whom they ex-

pect certain behavior: e.g., bus driver, police officer, youth group leader.

What did they expect of these people? Where did these expectations come from?

Once students have described the expectations displayed by people in the incident, they should discuss the effect of these expectations and messages on Francie's sense of self. Students might consider each of the four doctors who are presented in the unit (mini-dialogues, film, and story) in terms of what they seem to expect from their young patients. Students could write in their journals how they think they might have felt about each doctor's messages.

Learning About Discrimination and The People to Be Like

These readings are adult recollections of childhood experiences involving coping with negative messages. Reading the inci-



In the two readings that follow, adults recall early experiences that affected their sense of personal worth. Like Francie, they felt "labeled" by people whom they encountered outside the protection of their families.

As you read, try to answer the following questions:

- How did the writers feel at the time about themselves?
- How did they feel about the people from whom they received these messages?
- How did they respond?

Learning about discrimination*

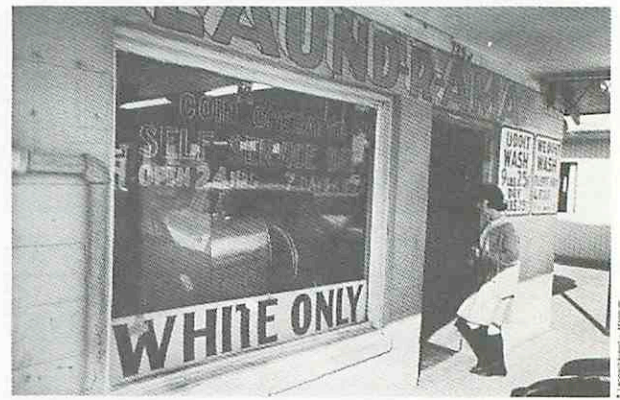
While I was still too young for school, I had already learned something about discrimination. For three or four years my inseparable playmates had been two white boys whose parents ran a store across the street from our home in Atlanta. Then something began to happen. When I went across the street to get them, their parents would say that they couldn't play. They weren't hostile; they just made excuses. Finally, I asked my mother about it.

Every parent at some time faces the problem of explaining the facts of life to his child. Just as inevitably, for the Negro parent, the moment comes when he must explain to his offspring the

facts of segregation. My mother took me on her lap and began by telling me about slavery and how it had ended with the Civil War. She tried to explain the divided system of the South—the segregated schools, restaurants, theaters, housing; the white and colored signs on drinking fountains, waiting rooms, lavatories—as a social condition rather than a natural order. Then she said the words that almost every Negro hears before he can yet understand the injustice that makes them necessary: "You are as good as anyone."

My mother, as the daughter of a successful minister, had grown up in com-

*Reprinted from *Martin Luther King, Stride Toward Freedom*, New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1964. Copyright © 1958 by Martin Luther King, Jr.



parative comfort. She had been sent to the best available school and college and had, in general, been protected from the worst blights of discrimination. But my father, a sharecropper's son, had met its brutalities at first hand, and had begun to strike back at an early age. With his fearless honesty and his robust, dynamic presence, his words commanded attention.

I remembered a trip to a downtown shoestore with Father when I was still small. We had sat down in the first empty seats at the front of the store. A young white clerk came up and murmured politely:

"I'll be happy to wait on you if you'll just move to those seats in the rear."

My father answered, "There's nothing wrong with these seats. We're quite comfortable here."

"Sorry," said the clerk, "but you'll have to move."

"We'll either buy shoes sitting here," my father retorted, "or we won't buy shoes at all." Whereupon he took me by the hand and walked out of the store. This was the first time I had ever seen my father so angry. I still remember walking down the street beside him as he muttered, "I don't care how long I have to live with this system, I will never accept it."

And he never has. I remembered riding with him another day when he accidentally drove past a stop sign. A policeman pulled up to the car and said:

"All right, boy, pull over and let me see your license."

My father replied indignantly, "I'm no boy." Then pointing to me, "This is a boy. I'm a man, and until you call me one, I will not listen to you."

The policeman was so shocked that he wrote the ticket up nervously, and left the scene as quickly as possible.

dents aloud may give students an opportunity to *hear* the various ways hurtful messages may be transmitted. The messages can be loud and direct, or subtle and low in tone. The situations should be examined both in terms of the incident and in terms of the roles and responses of the individuals involved.

Role Play Activity

It may help students to empathize with the characters and to put themselves into the situation if they are asked to reread the selection with a role-playing assignment in mind.

You might take the role of the negative message-giver and have the child role (Martin or Ruth) taken by a student. The child can then relate the incident to his or her parent, another student, who can then respond to the child.

Observing students might then react to the parent's method of response and its effect

on the child. The role players can discuss how they felt while playing the role -- as a child experiencing a situation, as a parent attempting to help the child deal with the situation, as an outsider giving the message.

NOTING THE ADULT RESPONSES

Students should note the methods that the adults in these readings used to prepare children for negative encounters with people beyond the front door.

In "Learning About Discrimination":

Martin Luther King's mother used the incident to "teach" her child about discrimination. Her explanation dealt with history and current events and was not specific to that particular context.

The father's language and manner transmitted his feelings about racial discrimination to his son.



Ruthie at seven

the people to be like*

Every time they saw each other that week in late August — which was fairly often, since we lived around the corner from each other — my grandmother and mother discussed whether to buy or to make the dress. It was finally decided that my mother would make the dress herself so that it would be just what they wanted for me to wear that first day of kindergarten.

It was so important to them — how I looked — and they felt it would make a great deal of difference to a teacher — especially for a little girl with an Italian name. They so wanted her to think well of me.

As my mother dropped me off at the front door of the great, austere brick building that morning, she said, "Remember, Ruthie, be a good girl and do exactly what the teacher says." How I wished I were back in my living room with my wide-eyed younger sisters, who were probably by this time having a cup of tea with grandma.

I tried to sit carefully in the circle so as not to mess the new dress which the teacher hadn't noticed yet, but which I hoped she would acknowledge in some way. I didn't want her to think I was just another one of those Italian kids I'd heard about who didn't amount to much in school. I was so shy — I couldn't think of a way to tell her all the things stored in my head that I had heard endlessly repeated around family cups of tea by my parents and aunts and uncles who all lived close by: That we may be Italian, but we were Protestant after all, and didn't that mean we were almost like everybody else? And that my parents had been to school, too — to college. But somehow if your name was Italian, all those things didn't matter. You still were not, well, not like the people to be like.

But even though I couldn't say any of those things to the teacher, when she



asked us to do something, I was so pleased! Now I could show her that I was really able, that my family was respectable, and that I was like those other people whose houses looked different from ours — just kind of plain and nice, instead of with fussy gardens in front, like ours.

The teacher asked us each to place a chair in front of us, and gave us each a long, black shoelace. She had us put it around the chair back, and then tried to teach us to tie a bow. How I struggled! I was shaking and felt hot all over. While I was still trying hard, the teacher said, "Some of you have done beautifully. All of you who have done so well can go down to the gymnasium to play. The others of you will have to stay here to practice." Such a little thing, it seems in retrospect, but how well I remember the wave of shame that spread over me! Already I had failed. The teacher was calling out the names of those who could go to the gym. I couldn't make my arms move, my fingers try. But a hand sure of something rose in my throat and somehow stopped the sob. "Never," I thought, "never again will I be caught this way. Next time and every time after that I will do it first. This is no way to get to be like the people to be like."

But what could I tell my waiting mother and grandmother? They would be so disappointed. I planned my first conscious subterfuge that moment: I would tell them nothing about the incident. I guess I never learned more during any school day after that than I did during my first one there. ☺

questions for discussion

- What messages did each of these children receive from family members? from people outside the family? What feelings and reactions did each have?
- The experiences of Martin Luther King, Ruth Creola, and Francis Nolan occurred earlier in this century. Do you know of any experiences similar to these that have happened to present-day children?
- How can a parent or person working with young children help them understand such experiences?
- How can you help teach young children not to label or look down on others?

* A memory retold by Ruth Creola.

In "The People to Be Like":

What image of herself does Ruth get from her family? How does her family transmit this image? What may have influenced her family's ideas?

What do you think were the teacher's goals? Might Ruth's experience have been avoided? In what way?

In the Student's Own Experience

Depending on the willingness of the class, a discussion of experiences occurring today could include things happening to other adolescents, or to themselves, including supportive reactions.

Where might children you know run into negative messages like those received by Francie and these two authors?

How are these destructive messages received by the child? How can you tell?

How can an adult provide positive support for a child?

Consider also instances in which the message received by the child is different from the message intended.

CLASSROOM DEBATE

At this point the class might like to consider how parents can best prepare their children for the outside world. You might present the following opposing theories:

Many people, feeling that the outside world can be chaotic, uncaring, and unresponsive, hold the theory that children should experience unresponsiveness in their homes in order to be prepared for it in the outside world. For example, a father who wanted to teach his son a lesson asked him to jump from a table into his arms. When the child jumped, the father didn't catch him and let him fall. His reason for doing so was to teach his son to be wary.

Another theory, reflected in the verse "Children Learn What They Live," on page 17 of *Beyond the Front Door*, holds that being responsive at home and filling a child with love and a good self-image will help him or her to be strong in future situations.

What do students think? You might ask them to write their opinions in their journals, then divide the class into sides for a formal debate on the issue. The class could debate for and against the resolution that parents should prepare their children for the worst in the world by sometimes acting unresponsive and uncaring at home. A moderator can run the debate, calling alternately on supporters of and dissenters from the resolution.

Peer Influence

Purpose: To consider how children influence and are influenced by their peers, i.e., children they associate with from other families.

Time: 1 class.

Materials: *Beyond the Front Door*, pp. 18-19.

The quotations on pages 18 and 19 are a collection of children's own statements. As a class, consider:

What causes one person to become a friend, and another not to be a friend?

What role do friendships play for children? (Consider "Rachel at School" and the Martin Luther King and Ruth Creola readings, as well as fieldsite observations.)

Are there different types of friendships at different ages? (Refer back

to what students learned about development. Recall at which ages children experience parallel but independent play, and at which ages they begin to interact with each other. Then ask students to try to remember their own first friends.)

Do children's friendships seem different from your own? How?

Recalling the reading, "In the Park," and the film, "Around the Way with Kareema," ask students to look for instances of friendships between older and younger children at their fieldsites, or to remember such friendships from their own childhood.

FIELDSITE ACTIVITY

Students might like to ask children to tell them what they think a friend is. These responses might be recorded on tape, or noted in the students' journals. Students could also write each child's definition across the top edge of a piece of

drawing paper, and then ask the child to illustrate his or her definition with pencil, crayons, or paint. These pictures could then be arranged on a bulletin board in the classroom, to get an idea of the range of ideas that occur to little children when they think of "friend."

Using Childhood Memories

The following questions for use with the *Childhood Memories* autobiographies could provide further insights into the mix between family learnings and experiences beyond the front door. (See *Family and Society, Part One, Teacher's Guide*, pp. 77-80 for further information.)

How is affection expressed in this family?

What constitutes disobedience? How is discipline handled?

18 Peer Influence

* Copyright © 1971 What is a Friend? by Lee Ann McGinnis and Joan Slocum. Reprinted by permission of Expanded Special Editions, a division of Simon & Schuster Inc.

A FRIEND IS SOMEONE WHO IS SOMEONE WHO IS SOMEONE WHO YOU PLAY WITH



A Doctor is your friend when you are sick
a policeman is your friend when you are lost. but I don't know about Dentists.
Charlie*

My Friend
He is dependable He is someone who blames what you did on someone else.
Johnny*

Peer Influence

what is a friend?

Around age four or five, other children begin to become an important influence in a child's life. From their friends, children receive many messages about themselves, about how to behave, about what to value.

- What do you think it means to a small child to have a friend?

Here are some children's definitions of "a friend." As you read each one, ask yourself:

- What does this child expect from a friend?
- What sense of self does the definition suggest?

Peer Influence 19

A FRIEND IS NICE

I Love friends

What is a friend
A person who is always there whether you want them or not.
Carol O.

a friend is someone who sometimes as arguments ~~with~~ with you

children together? How important do these friendships seem to be to the children involved?

Choose one such friendship to observe closely for a few weeks. What messages can you detect being exchanged? What influences do they seem to have on one another? on other children?

(2) Look for instances of friendship between older and younger children. What role does each child play in this sort of friendship? Do you think it is different from friendships between children close in age? Explain.

- **Memories:** By jotting for five or ten minutes in your journal, try to recall as many details as you can about one of your earliest friends. Share your memories with a partner, or in a small group. Discuss: How did you and your friend influence one another? Afterward, write a few paragraphs about what you now think about that early friendship.

Who is the most powerful figure in the child's life? Does the same person fill this role throughout the narrative?

What do the family members want the child to learn? What skills and lessons does the child learn? From whom?

What is most hurtful or upsetting to the child? How is the child's distress treated by others?

What does the account tell you about male and female roles: Do young boys and girls have the same experiences in this family? What is each sex exposed to? protected from? expected to do and learn?

What role does the physical environment play in the narrator's life?

What role do religious beliefs, rituals, and myths play in the child's life? How do they affect his or her view of the world? How does the child learn of spiritual matters?

Children at School

Purposes: To examine messages about behaviors and attitudes transmitted to children at school by adults and other children.

To consider how these messages affect children (in films and at field-sites).

To consider how messages transmitted by families and schools might complement or conflict with one another.

Time: 5 classes.

Materials: Films "Oscar at School" (time 6 min.), "Howie at School" (time 7 min.), "Rachel at School" (time 11 min.), and "Seiko at School" (time 7 min.); "Commentaries" record, Side 2, Band 4; *Beyond the Front Door*, pp. 20-22.

Suggested Visitors: Invite parents of pre-school children to view one of the films.

Students tended to see the teachers as available, rather than "going off and doing housework." Parents "work all night and day" and "aren't around to 'correct' a child's mistakes." If a babysitter takes care of the child, he or she will not correct the child either. Generally, "teachers take more time with the child."

These attitudes reflect lack of awareness on the part of students concerning the power of home and societal socialization and its importance to all aspects of a child's development. The formal "educational" aspects of school seem to dwarf student recognition of how children learn.

Have students consider the "at home" and "at school" films, their own experience, and that of young children they know. Ask them to develop lists of ways in which home experience contributes to children's development. They might do this in four small brainstorming groups, each group drawing up a list for one of the four areas of development (intellectual, physical, social, emotional).

Glimpses Through Film and A Longer Look

The children in these four films can also be seen in the "Children at Home" film series. Film-viewing techniques discussed in *Family and Society, Part One, Teacher's Guide* offer several procedures appropriate here. These films do not present models of behavior but simply examples of real behaviors that can provoke analysis and

Our national evaluation of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD students' attitudes and understanding after studying the Seeing Development module and working in their field-sites revealed an exaggerated view of the role of the preschool in learning compared to the role of the home.

discussion. We feel it is important to offer several examples of school behavior in order to reflect reality and variations.

Begin by having students look at the film without any special instructions for viewing and then discuss their spontaneous feelings and thoughts. (See "First Impressions" and "Noting Feelings," pp. 57-58, *Teaching and Evaluation Strategies*.)

What do students think it would be like to be at that school?

How do they think the child feels about the school? about his or her other peers? about him- or herself?

THE SECOND VIEWING

The following activities will extend students' awareness of messages at school and of children's responses to the school setting.

1. Divide the class into three observing groups: one for the child, one for the teacher (whether actually appearing on screen or not), and one for the other children. (In the case of "Rachel," additional groups can observe the father, Jessie, and Kara.) Ask each group to read through the "Questions for Discussion" on page 20 of the student booklet before making their observations.

How do the people they are observing affect Howie, Oscar, Seiko, or Rachel? How are those people affected by the children?

Consider also how each child is affected by messages he or she receives from others.

2. Students might then discuss the questions on page 20 in small groups that include students who observed each character. In the course of this discussion, they might reenact an incident in the film with students playing the parts of the people they observed. In the case of

"Rachel," a partial transcript is included in the student booklet. Such role playing can help students recall the details of an incident and empathize with the feelings of the person whose role they take.

A recorder should take notes, which can be put up on the board or read aloud that day or during the next class. The entire class might then discuss differences or similarities in perceptions, and even take another look at the film.

3. Another way to discuss a film would be to group together people who observed the same character in each film. Each group could go over the questions on page 20 looking for similarities and differences in their perceptions of the child's reactions to and effects on others.

4. The class as a whole might make a list for each of the following categories:

- school's expectations of child
- child's expectations of school
- messages from other children and teacher
- responses of child
- self-image encouraged
- values fostered by school
- behaviors fostered by school

Ask students to tell what evidence they find for items they list.

Surveying these lists, students might then look for discrepancies and similarities between what seems to be expected by a school and how a child responds. In explaining discrepancies, students can consider how children develop as individuals and how they are influenced by their families.

5. Students might view a film to see what differences and similarities they find in the way Howie, Oscar, Seiko, or Rachel act

at home and at school. (See p. 21 of student booklet.)

Students might make a list of *differences* and *similarities*. (They may want to review the relevant "at home" film.)

What values did students feel were transmitted by the home, and how does the school reinforce or undermine those values?

What differences and similarities do students see between home and school in behaviors expected of the child and the child's expectations of what adults will do?

How do they explain these differences?

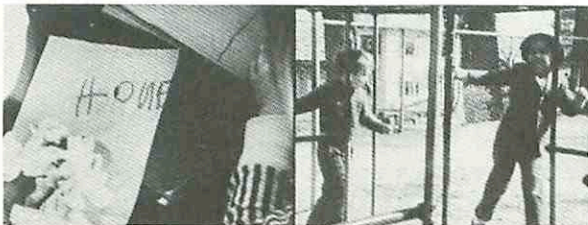
To explain these differences and similarities, students need to consider all of the conditions of the school: the racial and cultural mixture of children and teachers, as well as the values and expectations transmitted by words, behavior, and activities. (cf., "Matching Messages." How do children feel/cope

when their home and their school treat them differently or expect different things from them?) Students also *need* to consider how being a member of a group of four-year-olds differs from being the only four-year-old in a family.

Students might write a journal assignment about how and why they act differently at home than at school.

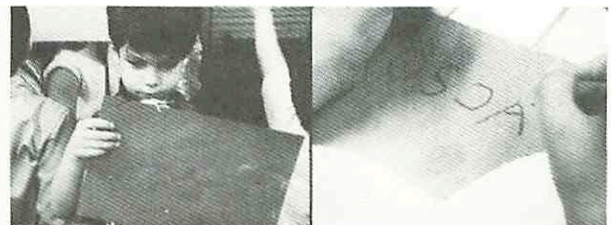
6. After viewing a film, one way of exploring the process of socialization in the children's lives is to recall with students each of the incidents presented in the film. "Howie at School," "Seiko at School," and "Oscar at School" are particularly suited to this technique. Each of these three films is summarized here. While none of these incidents are especially memorable, they represent the small everyday events that make up major socializing factors in our lives. Opposite each incident, sample questions suggest some ways of eliciting student response about the socializing that students may discern in each situation.

20 Children at School



howie at school

Children at School 21



oscar at school

Children at School

School is a special place for children, quite different from other situations that they have encountered. At home, at the doctor's, or with people they meet, children are being socialized as individuals. At school, children are being socialized as part of a group.

glimpses through film

Presented in two short films, "Oscar at School" and "Howie at School," are actions and activities that are typical of the children's interactions at their preschools. These are real glimpses of the children, shown in the sequence in which they occurred one day. While viewing these films, look at the incidents as a series of socializing experiences that the children go through. Look at the boys' actions and interac-

tions to see how they are affected by the people around them, and how they, in turn, affect others.

questions for discussion

- What is expected of each child at school? What does each expect of others?
- What message does each get from his peers? from his teacher?
- How does each respond to the various messages? What self-image do any of these incidents seem to encourage?
- What values and behaviors does the school foster? How?

a longer look

The film "Rachel at School" allows you to follow a child's interpersonal relationships during a morning at her preschool. By recalling "Rachel at Home," you can consider how this child's experience at home may or may not influence her interactions at school.

Before viewing the film, you might discuss the following questions:

- How much is a child the same or different in a new context (outside of home)?
- What kinds of interaction does each activity area of a field site offer for social learning?
- To what extent can a field site reflect the values of a child's home? After viewing the film, consider: In this film, Rachel responds to the presence of her peers and adults. Do you feel that she acts differently with them than she does at home with her family? In what ways is she different? In what ways is she the same?

Read through a portion of the transcript from the film, which follows.

Try to trace the interactions between the three girls that begin over use of the tracks.

"It would be more nicer"

Jessie: I want to go.
Rachel: Here, Jess.
Jessie: I want to go. She's not letting me go. Tell her to let me go.
Rachel: Kara, will you please let Jessica go? If you hit me, I'm going to hit you. Kara's not letting Jessica go through and I just tried to get her to do it but instead she hit me and I tried to hit her back.

Kara: I'll tell my Mumma you hit me.
Jessie: I want to get through, ooooh.
Kara: I won't let you come to my house anymore. Just let Stephen and, ummm, Jake. That's all. Not you two.
Rachel: Well, then, I'm not going to let you come to my house for 86 weeks.
Jessie: I can't come through.
Kara: I'm going to move away from you.
Jessie: Good, then I can go through.
Rachel: Well, then I'm going to wreck the track.
Jessie: I want to go through.
Kara: I'm going to take that away.

Film Summaries

Howie at School

INCIDENT

Howie hangs upside down, then climbs the jungle gym equipment.

Howie gets on the "bouncing board," then off again; steps very carefully over the board.

Howie pushes a girl on swing; goes to sandbox; responds to a call and pushes another girl.

Howie and other boys improvise a sort of chasing game under the jungle gym.

Teacher helps Howie with his shoe, saying: "It sounds like you got sand in your throat, too. Do you want a drink?...You do and you don't. You don't know what you want, do you?" Then later, "I didn't hear anything. What do I hear?"

Howie asks another boy to swing with him.

In class, children are given back corsages they made on a previous day. One of his classmates responds unfavorably to Howie's corsage.

Teacher tells Howie to write his name on his bag. Howie wants to pin the corsage on himself.

All the children are gathered to play "Farmer-in-the-Dell."

SAMPLE QUESTIONS

For Howie here, "Play is a chance to...?"

Why might Howie have left this activity so quickly? What messages might have been exchanged between him and the girl who stayed on the board?

What role is Howie choosing to play with children? Why might he do this? Why might the other children call him?

What are the "rules" of this game? Where did the rules come from? (cf., "All in the Game.") What role does Howie play in it? leader? follower? How does this compare with his play in previous incidents?

How is the teacher's help the same or different from Howie's mother's help in dressing? What messages is the teacher giving Howie? How does he seem to react?

How does this piece of equipment encourage the children to interact? Think about playground equipment in this film and at your site; then list those that allow one, two, and more people to play. What role does Howie play in initiating and continuing this incident?

How does Howie respond? What learnings might the corsage activity offer children?

What messages about self do you think Howie is given in each of these exchanges?

What does this game teach? What does it teach about roles appropriate for girls and boys? What role does an adult play in this situation and why?

What other kinds of group-movement games do children play? What might they get out of each?

Oscar at School

INCIDENT

Oscar climbs to the top of the jungle gym and surveys the scene below.

Oscar runs across the play yard to watch a small group of children playing in the dirt.

The Spanish-American preschool teacher (speaking English and Spanish) distributes snacks. Children say what they want; eat at place mats.

Teacher, speaking English, instructs students in Sombrero activity: "Who wears sombreros? Mexicanos wear sombreros." "Y'all still didn't tell me what this is." "A band." "A band?"

Oscar asks for help, then staples his paper. "Okay, now I want you to write your name on top."

Children help gather tinker toys and get in line. "Let's get in line-- Alex, now we're acting like a clown."

Teacher calls each child's name and distributes the children's work.

SAMPLE QUESTIONS

What feelings might Oscar be having?

Why might Oscar choose to stand and watch? How do the children respond to his arrival?

Does this happen at your site? Do you do anything?

What might children be learning by having snack time this way? What is being encouraged?

What differences or similarities do you see between what happens at snack time in this situation and what happens at Oscar's house? In what ways is it similar or different from your site?

What do you think the children may be learning from this activity? What effect might language differences have on the relationships between teachers and students?

How does Oscar ask for help? What might he learn from the way the teacher helps him?

What messages do these activities seem to you to convey?

How do the children react? What other adults are present? What role do they play?

What do you think might be the teacher's reasons for concluding the day in this way?

How does Oscar react when his name is called? when he receives his work?

How would you characterize how Oscar relates to his peers? How might you explain his style (or behavior) at school?

Seiko at School

INCIDENT

Passing out napkins and cups.

Teachers prepare the table for finger painting and children begin.

Seiko circulates in the playground.
"Can I play with you guys?"

"Teacher, I got a hurt."

Seiko shows her bandaid to a teacher.
"You got a bandaid on it, huh? Now it's gonna be all right."

Seiko resumes play in the playground.

SAMPLE QUESTIONS

What do the children do during this waiting time?

What decisions do children make for themselves in participating in this activity? What decisions do the teachers make?

What rules seem to apply?

Make a list of everything the children may be learning.

How does Seiko use her outdoor free play period?

How do the teachers respond to Seiko's "hurt"?

With whom does Seiko seem to interact most comfortably?

What seems to influence Seiko's choice of how to use this time?

Transcript for Rachel at School

Before using the questions for discussion following the transcript of the incident between Rachel, Jessie, and Kara, you might first check out perceptions of the facts of the incident of conflict (the transcript in the student booklet will be helpful) by asking these questions:

How does the conflict get started?

What words and actions do the children use to convey their displeasure? to try to get what they want?

What is the role of each child in the conflict?

When discussing how the events might contribute to each girl's sense of self, you might refer to the definition of "sense of self" given on page 9 of the student booklet.

The Role of Adults

Teachers and aides: One has to observe closely to note adults' roles in relation to the children. For example, Kara and Jessie vie for the seat beside Rachel. Kara gets the chair and Jessie is displeased. A teacher puts a chair for Jessie between Kara and Rachel. Jessie moves the chair so that she is sitting beside Rachel but not beside Kara.

How else might an adult have intervened?

Did the chair and the popcorn serve as a distraction, or did this situation offer the children a means of reconciliation? Explain.

How do you decide when and how to intervene at the fieldsite in children's arguments?

Parents: Rachel's parents chose this preschool for their daughter. An important theme of this unit is how parents' expectations of their children relate to the expectations of the school.

"Rachel at School" takes a glimpse at some of Rachel's experiences during her half-day session at preschool. In recalling "Rachel at Home" you may want to think in terms of how a child's interactions at home may or may not influence her interactions at school. During this viewing, you might stop the film at intervals, as you did with "Rachel at Home."

Arriving with her father, Rachel is reluctant to leave him. She successfully delays his departure for a short time. Stop the film and consider:

Have students observed how parents at their sites leave their children?

How is Rachel able to stall her father?

How might her behavior here grow out of her relationship with her father at home?

How does her father get Rachel to let him leave?

22 Children at School

Rachel: You better not.	Kara: I want her near me. Jessie.	Adults influence and shape the behavior of children. The teachers and other adults are not often visible through the lens of the camera, but they are directly or indirectly responsible for the children's classroom.
Jessie: See what you just did. I'm angry at you now, Rachel.	Rachel: Come on, Jessica. It would be more nicer if we be her friend.	
Kara: I got the track first. You can't play. I am going to play by myself.	Jessie: Yes, but we're not, right?	
Rachel: Well then, we're not going to let you play with us ever again in the housekeeping corner.	Rachel: I am.	
Kara: It's everybody sharing. It's everybody's toys to share. I'll be your friend if you let me play.	Jessie: Anyway, so am I. Where's another stick?	
Rachel: Come on, Kara, you can play, too.	Rachel: I don't know, Jessie. I've two of them.	
Jessie: But not with us, right?	Jessie: Why don't we share?	
Rachel: Yes, she can. She's our friend from now on.	Rachel: One each, when I'm finished.	
Jessie: She's not going to be our friend.	Jessie: Ooooh, I smell popcorn!	
Rachel: She's always going to be near me.		
Jessie: But remember, Kara, our lockers are near each other.		

questions for discussion

- How does each child cope with the situation?
- What do they expect of each other? of adults?
- How do you think this experience might have contributed to each child's sense of self?

- What roles did adults seem to play at this preschool? If you have had a similar experience at your fieldsite, share it with the class and explain the role that you played.
- The values children have been learning at home and the values encouraged at their preschool influence the ways they behave toward one another.
- What values did you see being encouraged in this film?
- To what extent does Rachel's school experience seem to reflect values you saw in her home life?

rachel at school

FILM TRANSCRIPT

Father: You're showing off a little bit, aren't you?

Rachel: Stay up on my daddy all day.

Father: I'm going to go now, Rachel.

Rachel: No.

Father: No? Jessie is here. Why don't you bring Jessie over? Let's kiss bye-bye. Okay? Bring Jessie over and show her all these contraptions, okay?

Rachel: I can eat you up.

Father: I can eat you up. Hi, Jessie. Show Jessie how these things work.

Rachel: I'll eat you up. I'll just eat your coat.

In the Housekeeping Corner

Jessie: Mil mil mil, mil mil mil.

Rachel: Yesterday after school, we went to a place that sells children's toys and my mommy let me play on some of things that people were selling, but we didn't buy it. Hey wait, I can't hold on to you (tossed doll on bed). You're the oldest. Jennifer's the youngest. (Toss on floor) Hey Jennifer, you stay there for a minute.

At the Trains

Jessie: I want to go.

Rachel: Here, Jess.

Jessie: I want to go. She's not letting me go. Tell her to let me go.

Rachel: Kara, will you please let Jessica go? If you hit me, I'm going

to hit you. Kara's not letting Jessica go through and I just tried to get her to do it but instead she hit me and I tried to hit her back.

Kara: I'll tell my Mumma you hit me.

Jessie: I want to get through, ooooh.

Kara: I won't let you come to my house anymore. Just let Stephen and, ummm, Jake. That's all. Not you two.

Rachel: Well, then, I'm not going to let you come to my house for 86 weeks.

Jessie: I can't come through.

Kara: I'm going to move away from you.

Jessie: Good, then I can go through.

Rachel: Well, then I'm going to wreck the track.

Jessie: I want to go through.

Kara: I'm going to take that away.

Rachel: You better not.

Jessie: See what you just did. I'm angry at you now, Rachel.

Kara: I got the track first. You can't play. I am going to play by myself.

Rachel: Well then, we're not going to let you play with us ever again in the housekeeping corner.

Kara: It's everybody sharing. It's *everybody's* toys to share. I'll be your friend if you let me play.

Rachel: Come on, Kara, you can play, too.

Jessie: But not with us, right?

Rachel: Yes, she can. She's our friend from now on.

Jessie: She's not going to be our friend.

Rachel: She's always going to be near me.

Jessie: But remember, Kara, our lockers are near each other.

Kara: I want her near *me*, Jessie.

Rachel: Come on, Jessica. It would be more nicer if we be her friend.

Jessie: Yes, but we're not, right?

Rachel: I am.

Jessie: Anyway, so am I. Where's another stick?

Rachel: I don't know, Jessie. I've two of them.

Jessie: Why don't we share?

Rachel: One each, when I'm finished.

Jessie: Ooooh, I smell popcorn!

Using "A Longer Look" with Parents

Since an important goal of the unit is to help students be sensitive to the values families transmit to their children, this is a good time to ask the parents of a few preschool children (ideally parents of children at the students' fieldsites) to visit class.

Good issues to discuss with parents when they visit the class might be:

What values, skills, and behaviors do they consider most important for their children to learn?

How do they prepare their children to cope with school? How do they say

goodbye when they leave them at (or send them to) school?

What role do they hope the school will play in encouraging these values?

Parents might first describe what they try to teach their children at home--perhaps by doing the "Ideal Child" or "Rank Ordering of Behavior Traits" exercises from Unit 1 with the class. Or you might view "Rachel at Home," and ask parents and students to list the values they see communicated to Rachel, giving examples of how those values are made evident in behavior. Parents might then compare these values with their own. You might stop the film at various points (e.g., when Rachel mixes the egg, cuts her toast, drops Jenny, brushes teeth) to ask parents what they would do in that situation and, later, how they feel about what Rachel's parents did.

At this point, the group can view "Rachel at School" and compare Rachel's preschool with what they would like in a preschool.

At school Rachel is afforded an opportunity to develop relationships with other children. Note from the film the interactions that go on, and the materials, activities, and areas in the classroom that help bring about this interaction.

After the film, encourage parents to express their feelings about what happened and about the relationship of both Rachel's school and home to the incident. Discuss:

What values do they see in the play that occurs?

How would they want their children to handle an argument?

What role would they like a teacher to play in an argument?

Matching Messages

Purposes: To consider the behaviors and attitudes that parents hope their children's pre-school will foster.

To consider what behaviors and attitudes specific preschools try to foster.

To consider how children deal with these two sets of expectations.

To consider conflicts between expectations of home and school.

Time: 2 classes.

Materials: *Beyond the Front Door*, pp. 23-25; films, "Howie at School," "Oscar at School," "Seiko at School," and "Rachel at School."

Suggested Visitors: Parents of young children and of students.

When children go to school, time is spent separating them from their parents. This separation does not involve breaking ties with the family, but it does demand that children learn some principles of conduct different from those of their family, and some of the "rules" that apply to settings outside the family with nonfamily members.

Mona Goes to School

From what Mona's mother says, do you think Mona's expectations about school were changed by the fact that neither her mother, her mother's friend Marie, nor her own friend Jacques could be in her classroom with her?

In looking at Mona's first day at school, students should assess the values and expectations of the French culture as

reflected in the school setting. They should use information provided in the letters from Mona's mother, in the observations of "In the Park," and in the further incidents described by Mona's mother, which you might read to the class.

Matching Messages 23

Matching Messages

mona goes to school*

As children are absorbing values and patterns of behavior at home, outside their homes they are exposed to new messages about how to behave, what to expect from others, and who they are. Some of these messages confirm and strengthen the messages of home. Others introduce the child to new ideas and possibilities, or may even contradict the values and expectations of the child's family.

most powerful new source of social messages. In the following letter from Mona's mother, you will read about Mona's first days in her French nursery school. As you read, look for what seem to be some of the mother's values and expectations for her child. Compare them to what seem to be some of the values and expectations of the school.

* From a letter by Jane McMahon Kennedy.

In France, children are expected to be in school at a very early age, a policy encouraged both by general opinion and by government policy. At two and a half, Mona seemed to be looking forward happily to her first day of school. She had fantasies about slides and swings, and seemed to think that Marie (my close friend) and I, as well as five-year-old Jacques (Mona's only close friend, but a dear one) would all be "in school" with her.

When I enrolled her, the "Directrice" firmly told me that I was to leave Mona at the door of the school, regardless of her reaction. But I was worried that this method of "separation" would be traumatic for Mona at first—she would suddenly be without me, along with thirty other children, some or all of whom might be crying. So I followed the example of a friend who planned to postpone the first day for her two small boys. The day before school was to start I left a message at the school that Mona would start a week late, offering the half-valid excuse that Mona had just returned from Spain with us and needed some time to adjust to the French language again.

On the day when school was starting for the other children, I talked with the Directrice, an imposing woman in her mid-fifties, whose determined voice and gait are somewhat frightening even to adults. She firmly dismissed my fears, and told me to bring Mona the following morning. I meekly agreed, partly because I was afraid of the Directrice, and partly because I wanted to make sure Mona got a warm welcome at the school.

I asked, "What if she cries?" The Directrice replied, "They all cry the first day." I questioned, "Do they cry all the first day?" She answered, "Never, of course not."

When I happily commented that there were only 27 children in Mona's class, she quickly assured me that there would be 60 by the end of the year, and seemed pleased about that!

Students can also collect (by tape recording or taking notes) parents' recollections of their child's first day at pre-school. (They might also ask their own parents to describe their [the students'] first days at school.)

Students could then use these "first-day" recollections. If they had observed first days of children at their fieldsites, they may draw upon these too.

FURTHER INCIDENTS FROM MONA'S SCHOOL

Madame la Directrice, one of the nursery school teachers, and I were chatting in a classroom full of late four-year-olds. While explaining what nursery schools were like in the United States, I happened to mention that my brother had taught in

a nursery school last year. A look of astonishment crossed over their faces and, not trying terribly hard to conceal their amazement, they did concede that, after all, there was no reason why men shouldn't teach preschoolers. A ripple of laughter passed between them, though, as one of them said, "Then we would call the nursery schools the Écoles Paternelles instead of Écoles Maternelles.*"

A few minutes later I asked the teacher of the three-year-olds whether the children called her "tu" or "vous" when they addressed her. In French, "tu" (translated "you," singular) is the form generally used when addressing another member of the family, a close friend, or a child. "Vous" (translated "you," also singular sense though plural form) is used when addressing mere acquaintances, older people, or people in authority, i.e., in a more formal situation. The teacher said, "Oh, 'tu,' of course," and explained that since the écoles maternelles are supposed to replace the home during school hours, she thought that the use of the familiar "tu" helped the child to think of his or her teacher as a sympathetic mother figure.

INTERVIEW ACTIVITY

Students might interview one or two parents (preferably parents of children at their fieldsites) to get their views on what they expect preschools to do for their children. Students could design their own set of questions as a class or in small groups, or they could use the following questions:

What skills do you hope your child is learning at preschool?

Why did you choose this preschool?

What changes in behavior or attitudes have you noticed in your child since he or she entered preschool?

What do you think caused each of the changes?

How do you feel about the changes?

What do you do when you disagree with a teacher's methods or values for your child?

Caution: Impress students with the need to remain in the interviewer role--i.e., to listen and encourage rather than argue or agree. If they wish to get parents' views, they must simply ask the questions they have planned and not enter into a dialogue with the parents by giving their own opinions.

After interviewing parents, students should interview their fieldsite teacher, using basically the same set of questions. Finally, students should compare the parent and teacher expectations they have recorded.

Are the expectations in total agreement? If not, what are their differences?

If the interviewees are parents of children at the students' fieldsite, students could think carefully about how these children act in that site. Now that they have talked with the parents, do students have greater insight into the behavior and attitudes of some of the children?

When considering who else besides the preschool teacher and the parent has opinions about how the child should act, students should recall personal and fieldsite experiences and "Rachel at School." (Possible answers include teenager, other aides, custodian, lunch mother, other parents, principal, or head of school.)

Students can make a list of such people--their own experiences will furnish people for the list. As they make the list, they should think of the messages each of the people gives to the young children, and whether the messages are new or different from those the children received from their parents or teachers.

*French name for nursery schools. *École paternelle* translates into "paternal school"; *école maternelle*, "maternal school."

When Messages Conflict

When the school exists under a different culture from some of the homes of its students, reconciliations must be made. The commentary (on "Commentaries" record, Side 2, Band 4) by Professor Guadalupe Quintanilla, Director of Mexican-American Studies at the University of Texas, provides a basis for discussion on the ways of reconciling such conflicts. (The following briefly summarized statements come from Professor Quintanilla's conversation with a community leader and staff members of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD:

If you scold a child from a Mexican-American home, the child will tend to look down and the teacher doesn't understand why. The child has been taught to respect the person of authority and he would be being disrespectful if he looked up. (Band 4a)

Another thing that the teacher does not understand many times is that the parents of the child from a Mexican-American home want him to stay home if someone is ill in the family. If the whole family takes a trip to go to see relatives someplace, the child is absent from school and gets penalized for being someplace else. But we want to be together when something happens at home. (Band 4b)

Because we love our children so much, we tend to make them dependent on us, on the elders--what grandmother says, what mother says, what uncle says, what cousin says. We tend to be dependent on each other. On the other hand in the Anglo-American household, they teach the child to be independent, dependent on his own abilities only. In the Mexican-American household, the child doesn't necessarily learn for himself only because he is trying to consider everyone else in the family, everyone else's feelings. (Band 4c)

The teacher is the second parent; what the teacher tells you goes. It is a shock to the child when the mother tells him, "If the teacher tells you something, it goes," and then the child finds that the teacher is trying to destroy what he has learned at home. He is confused. (Band 4d)

Parents are afraid to question the teacher. Many times the teacher doesn't understand what to do with the child. If you are going to be dealing with Mexican-American children, let the teacher be a Mexican-American, who has had the expertise and the background--because many things you learn in life, and you feel; and feelings are not learned in books. (Band 4e)

DISCUSSION

Finally, students could meet in small groups to try to find ways of handling an issue that continues to trouble educators and communities:

In those areas where parent and preschool expectations and values differ, what do you think should be done?

After small groups have reported their ideas to the whole class, students might be asked to think about their own influence on the children with whom they work.

Matching Messages 25

questions for discussion

- What values and expectations is Mona experiencing?
- How does she seem to handle them?
- Can you remember any occasions in your childhood when you encountered values or expectations different from those you learned at home? What did you do?

when messages conflict

On the Commentaries record, Guadalupe Quintanilla, Director of Mexican-American Studies at the University of Texas, suggests four areas where a child from a Mexican-American home frequently experiences conflicting values and expectations.

How to Show Respect: "If you scold a child from a Mexican-American home, the child will tend to look down and the teacher doesn't understand . . ."

The Family as a Unit vs. Reliable Attendance: ". . . The parents of the child from a Mexican-American home want him to stay home if someone is ill in the family . . . We want to be together when something happens at home."

Dependence vs. Independence: ". . . In the Mexican-American household, the child doesn't necessarily learn to do for himself -- only because he is trying to consider everyone else in the family, everyone else's feelings."

Teachers: ". . . If the teacher tells you something, it goes . . . Then the child finds that the teacher is trying to destroy what he has learned at home. He is confused."

The following statements might be made to a child at school. How do you

think each of these might make a child feel? Why?

- "Look at me when I talk to you."
- "We missed you yesterday. Did you go away with your family?"
- "At your age you should be able to button your boots."
- "Now, I want you to decide what you will do today."

interview activity

Interview a few parents to get their views on what they expect preschools to do for their children. You might ask the following questions:

- What social skills do they hope their child will learn at school?
 - What changes in behaviors or attitudes have they noticed in their child since he or she started school?
 - What do they think caused each change? How do they feel about the changes?
- You can then interview the children's teacher, using the same questions, that you used for the parent interviews. Compare the values and expectations of the children's homes and school.

- What agreements are there? What differences?
- If the children are at your fieldsite, ask yourself these questions:
 - Who else besides the teacher and the parent has opinions about how the child should act? What messages do they convey?
 - Which influences seem strongest for the child in a specific incident that you can recall? Is that influence always strongest?

questions for discussion

- Do you remember any time when your goals for a child were in conflict with those of the teacher or parent? What did you do?
- What do you think can be done in

those areas where parent and preschool expectations and values differ?

Professor Quintanilla urges that teachers of minority children be trained by people of that minority. She explains, ". . . many things you learn in life, and you feel, and feelings are not learned in books."

- What do you think of her recommendation?

Do you remember any time when your goals for a child were in conflict with those of the teachers or of a parent? What did you do?

MAKE A STORY BOARD

This might be a good time to create a "Fieldsite Preview," as suggested on page 30 of *Getting Involved*.

Teens, Parents, and Schools

Thinking about how the values of home and school work together in influencing children is bound to start students thinking about the relationship between their own

homes and school. They might discuss or write in their journals, then discuss in small groups such questions as the following. (If students are interested, they might also invite their parents to class to join the discussion.)

What sort of life do students' parents want for them?

How do their parents want school to prepare them for life?

Do students think that the school is meeting their *parents'* expectations?

Do they feel they are treated differently or the same by home and school? Is different or similar behavior expected of them by home and school?

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Observing in Depth

Purposes: To consider how observing can help one person to know another and to understand the values and childrearing practices of others.

To consider how a family's values and practices come into conflict with some beliefs held by people outside of the family.

Materials: *Beyond the Front Door*, pp. 27-31.

how he comes to know people. Then ask them to rephrase his method in their own words.

How do these ideas relate to students' own relationships with children at their sites?

An important question to address is why Coles would want to know people this well.

Do students feel that he has intruded in others' lives? Why?

Coles' Method

The central question addressed by Robert Coles in the description of his observing "method" is *how one person can come to know another*. When Coles "observes," he does not consider himself as a detached, uninvolved observer, but as someone who desires really to "know...another." His description of doing this through respect for the individuality of the people he observes and through a deep and personal involvement over an extended period of time might best be understood by students after they have read some of his observations.

Then they might address the question of how Coles came to know the Allen family so well.

Why would they reveal so much about themselves and how could Coles have won their trust?

Ask students for homework to read Coles's own introductory comments on page 27 about

Observing in Depth 27

"Somehow we must all learn to know one another."

Observing in Depth

Throughout this course you have been asked to observe children and write up what you see them do and how you see them grow. You have probably discovered that there are many ways to observe and write up behavior.

Robert Coles is a child psychiatrist who has studied not only children's illnesses and problems, but also people's lives. He has developed a special way of observing people. Here are some of his thoughts on his method of observation.

coles's method*

... when I started seeing particular black and white people caught up in a phase of historical change I also became determined to do something else as well: ... observe how people live and conduct their affairs and try to make do — those who live out from day to day their own version of history by trying to deal with particular burdens, historical, social, political, and awful economic burdens....

What sounds like a series of random and unrelated studies or explorations has over a decade gained enough coherence for me to feel I can set down on paper some descriptions of particular lives and some discussions and observations that are tied to those lives and others very much like them. I have used years of conversations and experiences in many counties of many states. The heart of the work has been the thirty families I have visited and worked with and watched and come at times to feel almost joined to — as a doctor, a companion in travel, a friend....

No family have I now, as I write, known less than six years; some I have known over a decade, and the great majority from seven to nine years. I have, additionally, talked with many, many others whose lives touch upon, bear upon, connect up with, have to do with the people in these thirty families: teachers, employers, merchants, county officials, sheriffs, so-called community organizers — and of course they range from advocates to opponents, from helpers to completely unsympathetic onlookers....

I have tried to be discreet: I have tried to respect the desires and attitudes of the individual families concerned. I have asked them tenly after I have known them for months, I hasten to add) whether I might record some of our talks, so that I can have them, as it were, and keep them and go over them....

I also take photographs of the people I visit ... to hold near me and help guide my mind (and I hope my heart) a little nearer to what I guess has to be called the essence (words simply fall here) of particular lives. And there does come a time, after a few years of visits

and more visits, talks and more talks, good talks and rather dismal ones, when something seems to have happened, "clicked," ... so that a mountaineer can say: "Well, I guess I know you a small bit and you know me the same, and I sure hope you go and tell those people out over beyond those hills what we're really like. But the funny thing is, I don't believe I know myself what it is we're really like, and I don't believe you'll ever know, either, to be frank with you."

The aim of all these trips and visits can be put like this ... to approach, to describe, to transmit as directly and sensibly as possible what has been seen, heard, grasped, felt by an observer who is also being constantly observed himself — not only by himself but by others, who watch and doubt and fear and resent him, and also, yes, show him kindness and generosity and tenderness and affection....

Later, when it is time to say goodbye, there still may be plenty of "gaps" around, a "cultural" gap, a "generational" one, a "socioeconomic" one; but there is also in visitor and visited a touch of sadness, a feeling that attachments have taken place, that separations are painful.

*Reprinted from *Children of Crisis*, Vol. 2: Migrants, Sharecroppers, Mountaineers, by Robert Coles by permission of Little, Brown and Co. in association with *The Atlantic Monthly Press*. Copyright © 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967 by Robert Coles.

an appalachian family

The "Allens" were one of the families who shared their lives with Dr. Coles. These brief excerpts from Volume II of *Children of Crisis* illustrate how Coles shares with us what he has learned through his work. Learning a little about the Allens may also help you to understand more about how the world beyond the front door affects what families teach their children. As you read, ask yourself:

- Who are some of the people beyond the Allens' front door?
- What values, expectations, or attitudes toward them do you think the Allen children may be learning?

Mr. Allen: A lot of cars come riding through here, you know. Everyone wants to look at the hills, and the bigger the waterfall you have to show, the better. They'll stop their driving and ask you directions to things, if you're down there on the main road, and I always try to help. You see, we're not against those people. It's beautiful here, right beautiful. You couldn't make it better if you could sit down and try to start all over and do anything you want. If they come here from clear across the country and tell you how they love what they've seen and they want to see more, I'm ready to help them, and I always act as polite as I can, and so do they, for the most part. The ones I don't like one bit are different. They don't want to look and enjoy your land, like you do yourself; no, sir, they want to come and sit down and tell you how sorry you are, real sorry, and if something isn't done soon, you're going to "die out," that's what one of them said . . .

A year ago I heard someone talk the very same. He came to the church and we all listened. He said we should have a program here, and the kids should go to it before they start school. He said the government would pay for it, from Washington. He said they'd be teaching the kids a lot, and checking up on their health, and it would be the best thing in the world. Well, I didn't see anything wrong with the idea. It seemed like a good idea to me. But I didn't like the way he kept repeating how bad off our kids are, and how they need one thing and another thing. Finally I was about ready to tell him to go home, mister, and leave us alone, because our kids are way better than you'll ever know, and we don't need you and your kind round here with nothing good to say, and all the bad names we're getting called. I didn't say a word, though. No, I sat through to the end, and I went home. I was too shy to talk at the meeting, and so were a lot of the others. Our minister was there, and he kept on telling us to give the man a break because he'd come to help us. Now, I'm the first to admit we could stand some help around here, but I'm not going to

have someone just coming around here and looking down on us, that's all, just plain looking down on us — and our kids, that's the worst of it, when they look down on your own kids.

My kids, they're good; each of them is. They're good kids, and they don't make for trouble, and you couldn't ask for them any better. If he had asked me, the man out of the East, Washington or someplace, I would have told him that, too. We all would have. But he didn't want to ask us anything. All he wanted was to tell us he had this idea and this money, and we should go ahead and get our little kids together and they would go to the church during the summer and get their first learning, and they would be needing it, because they're had off, that's what he must have said a hundred times, how bad off our kids are, and how the President of the United States wants for them to get their teeth fixed and to see a doctor and to learn as much as they can. You know what my wife whispered to me? She said, he doesn't know what our kids have learned, and still he's telling us they haven't learned a thing and they won't. And who does he think he is anyway?

Describing Mrs. Allen, Dr. Coles writes:

She was thirty and, I thought, both young and old. Her brown hair was heavily streaked with gray, and her skin was more wrinkled than in the case with many women who are forty or even fifty, let alone thirty. Most noticeable were her teeth; the ones left were in extremely bad repair, and many had long since fallen out — something that she is quite willing to talk about, once her guest has lost his embarrassment and asked her a question, like whether she had ever seen a dentist about her teeth. No, she had never done anything like that. What could a dentist do, but take out one's teeth, and eventually they fall out if they are really no good. Well, of course, there are things a dentist can do — and she quickly says she knows there must be, though she still isn't quite sure what they are, "those things." For a se-

cond her tact dominates the room, which is one of two the cabin possesses. Then she demonstrates her sense of humor, her openness, her surprising and almost awesome mixture of modesty and pride.

Mrs. Allen: If you want to keep your teeth, you shouldn't have children. I know that from my life. I started losing my teeth when I started bringing children into the world. They take your strength, your babies do, while you're carrying them, and that's as it should be, except if I had more strength left for myself after the baby comes, I might be more patient with them. If you're tired you get sharp all the time with your children . . .

I make corn bread every day, and that's filling. There's nothing I hate more than a child crying at you and crying at you for food, and you standing there and knowing you can't give them much of anything, for all their tears. It's

unnatural. That's what I say; it's just unnatural for a mother to be standing in her own house, and her children near her, and they're hungry and there isn't the food to feed them. It's just not right. It happens, though — and I'll tell you, now that you asked, my girl Sara, she's a few times told me that if we all somehow could eat more, then she wouldn't be having trouble like me with her teeth, later on. That's what the teacher told them, over there in the school.

Well, I told Sara the only thing I could tell her, I told her that we do the best we can, and that's all anyone put here on this earth can ever do . . .

Now, if Sara's daddy made half that teacher's salary in cash every week, he'd be a rich man, and I'd be able to do plenty about more food. But Sara's daddy doesn't get a salary from no one, no one, you hear? That's what I said to her, word for word it was, and she sat up and took notice of me, I'll tell you. I

made sure she did. I looked her right in the eyes, and I never stopped looking until I was through with what I had to say. Then she said, "Yes, ma'am," and I said that I didn't want any grudges between us, and let's go right back to being friends, like before, but I wanted her to know what the truth was, to the best of my knowledge and nothing more. She said she knew, and that was all that was said between us.

Dr. Coles explains: In point of fact Mrs. Allen is usually rather silent with her children. She almost uncannily signals them with a look on her face, a motion of her hand, a gesture or turn of her body. She doesn't seem to have to talk, the way so many mothers elsewhere do, particularly in our suburbs. It is not that she is grim or glum or morose or withdrawn or stern or un-giving or austere; it is that she doesn't need words to give and acknowledge the receipt of messages. The messages are constantly being sent, but the children,



Do they believe that sharing his observations will serve any purpose? How?

Coles begins to offer some answers to these questions in Mr. Allen's description of the difficulties caused by the government man and the teacher who did not know the family well.

What good do students see in "observing" children in Coles's way?

With whom do the students share their observations and understandings? What purpose does their sharing serve?

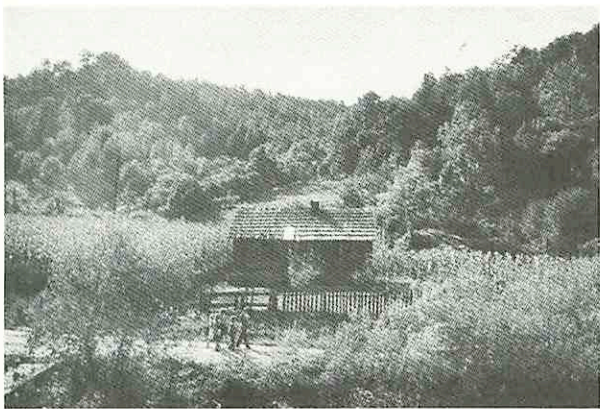
Reading a second time, students can consider the "Questions for Discussion" by taking notes on: the values the Allens express for their children; the ways (verbal and nonverbal) that they encourage these values; and the "matches" between these values and messages encountered beyond the front door. Students might then share and discuss their perceptions in small groups.

READING LEVEL

Students for whom reading is difficult could feel defeated when faced with this reading. For such students you might select passages to read aloud. Or you might ask other adults to read passages onto a tape recorder to play in class—this approach could help students follow the parts of the reading you select and also bring to life the people whose views are expressed.

Cole's Method and Your Work with Children

One way to summarize learning in this unit would be for each student to look through his or her journal, underlining examples of interactions between children that show values being expressed (such as sharing, telling the truth, being friends, waiting



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rather like their mother, do things in a restrained, hushed manner — with smiles or frowns, or if necessary, laughs and groans doing the service of words.

The Allens speak eloquently of where they live.

Mr. Allen: I was out of here, this county, only once, and it was the longest three years of my life. They took me over to Asheville, and then to Atlanta, Georgia, and then to Fort Benning, and then to Korea. Now, that was the worst time I ever had, and when I came back, I'll tell you what I did. I swore on my Bible to my mother and my father, in front of both of them, that never again would I leave this county, and maybe not even this hollow . . .

When you ask me to say it, what we have here that you can't find anywhere else, I can't find the words. When I'd be in Georgia and over in Korea my buddies would always be asking me why

I was more homesick than everyone in the whole Army put together. I couldn't really answer them, but I tried. I told them we have the best people in the world here, and they'd claim everyone says that about his hometown folks. Then I'd tell them we take care of each other, and we've been here from as far back almost as the country, and we know every inch of the hollow, and it's the greatest place in the world, with the hills and the streams and the fish you can get. And anyone who cared to come and visit us would see what I mean, because we'd be friendly and they'd eat until they're full, even if we had to go hungry, and they'd never stop looking around, and especially up to the hills over there, and soon they'd take to wishing they could have been born here, too . . .

And Coles tells about some ways in which the parents pass on these feelings to their children: His children love the

hollow, and maybe they too will never really be able to leave. They are unmistakably poor children, and they need all sorts of things, from medical and dental care to better and more food; but they love the land near their cabin, and they know that land almost inch by inch. Indeed, from the first days of life many of the Appalachian children I have observed are almost symbolically or ritually given over to the land. One morning I watched Mrs. Allen come out from the cabin in order, presumably, to enjoy the sun and the warm, clear air of a May day. Her boy had just been breast-fed and was in her arms. Suddenly the mother put the child down on the ground, and gently sootled him and moved him a bit with her feet, which are not usually covered with shoes or socks. The child did not cry. The mother seemed to have almost exquisite control over her toes. It all seemed very nice, but I had no idea what Mrs. Allen really had in mind un-

til she leaned over and spoke very gravely to her child: "This is your land, and it's about time you started getting to know it."

What am I to make of that? Not too much, I hope. I was, though, seeing how a particular mother played with her child, how from the very start she began to make the outside world part of her little boy's experience. What she did and said one time she has done and said again and again in that way and in other ways.

She loves her children and she loves her property. When she holds an infant in her arms she often will sing. She sings songs about hunting and fighting and struggling, songs that almost invariably express the proud, defiant spirit of people who may lack many things, but know very clearly what they don't lack.

Mrs. Allen: I tell the kids there's more to life than having a lot of money and a big brick house, like some of them have down towards town . . . The other day I was trying to get my oldest boy to help me, and he was getting more stubborn by the minute. I wanted him to clean up some of the mess the chickens make, and all he could tell me was that they'd make the same mess again. I told him to stop making up excuses and help me right this minute, and he did. While we were working, I told him that the only thing we had was the house and the land, and if we didn't learn to take care of what we have, we'd soon have nothing, and how would he like that. He went along with me, of course. But you have to keep after the child, until he knows what's important for him to do. ☺

questions for discussion

- How do you think Robert Coles's way of observing people over a long period of time can help you understand their lives and how they raise their children?
- What are some of the values which the Allens seem to stress? What are

some of the ways they encourage these values?

- How much do these values seem to match some of the messages the Allens encounter beyond their front door?

coles's method and your work with children

Look back through all your journal entries and all the materials you have collected from your field work. What things do you understand better as a result of the time you have spent at your fieldsite? Try writing a little about what you have learned.



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one's turn, being quiet, speaking up). These might then be listed on the board. Then discuss how the children are learning these behaviors.

Students might then make three lists: their own values (as they have been clarifying them, as in the "Ideal Child" activity in *Family and Society, Part One, Teacher's Guide*); the fieldsite teacher's values (learned from observations and interviews); and parents' values (collected from visits of parents to class or student's interviews of fieldsite parents). The class can then discuss:

What differences and similarities do you see in these lists?

Has getting to know more about a child's home life affected your ways of helping the child?

A WRITING ASSIGNMENT

Students are asked to write about something they understand better now that they have spent an extended amount of time with a particular child or children. By combining their experiences and journal entries concerning development and family and community influences, their writing might focus on how the values people hold affect the children with whom they work.

For Students with Writing Hang-ups

Some students might offer their insights in the form of a report from notes rather than in a written report. Or students working at the same fieldsite might work together and prepare a brief statement about how *getting to know a child or children* better led to new understandings.

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Selected Reading

Beyond the Front Door asks students to explore how children interact in the expanded world beyond their homes:

What contacts do children have?

What values do children encounter among people and institutions outside their families?

For a moment let us turn specifically to the school, one such influence. Children spend a great many hours of their youth here. As professionals, we work to create relevant and worthwhile experiences for children in school, but it is important for us to consider the messages we sometimes unwittingly give to our students through the rules we establish, the language we use, our teaching techniques, and the structures of our classrooms.

*Through systematic and extensive classroom observation, Philip Jackson has considered those messages. He points to several aspects of school life that he feels are significant to children as they come to grips with the facts and values of institutional-school life. Below are several excerpts from his book, *Life in Classrooms*, which you may want to think about as your students work with preschool children at their fieldsites, and as you work with adolescents in your classroom.*

The daily aspects of classroom life that he discusses--crowds, praise, and power--form what he calls a "hidden curriculum," which he feels students and teachers must master if they are to make their way satisfactorily through the school as it is now structured.

The Daily Grind*

Philip W. Jackson

The characteristics of school life to which we now turn our attention are not commonly mentioned by students, at least not directly, nor are they apparent to the casual observer. Yet they are as real, in a sense, as the unfinished portrait of Washington that hangs above the cloakroom door. They comprise three facts of life with which even the youngest student must learn to deal and may be introduced by the key words: *crowds, praise, and power....*

Crowds

In crowded situations where people are forced to take turns in using limited resources, some must stand by until others have finished. When people are required to move as a group toward a goal, the speed of the group is, necessarily, the speed of the slowest member. Almost inevitably, therefore, in such situations some group members are waiting for the others to catch up. Moreover, whenever the future is thought to be more attractive than the present--a common perception among school children--slow movement can sometimes seem like no movement at all.

*From *Life in Classrooms*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968. Copyright © 1968 by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

All of these different kinds of delay are commonplace in the classrooms. Indeed, when we begin to examine the details of classroom life carefully, it is surprising to see how much of the students' time is spent in waiting....

Nor does the waiting end when the line has disappeared. Even when students are sitting in their seats they are often in the same position, psychologically, as if they were members of a line....

Even in rooms where teachers do not operate "by the numbers," as it were, the idea of taking turns during discussion and recitation periods is still present. After a student has made a contribution in a more informally run class the teacher is less likely to call on him again, at least for a brief period of time. Conversely, a student who has said nothing all period is more likely to have his raised hand recognized than is a student who has participated several times in the lesson. Unusual variations from this procedure would be considered unfair by students and teachers alike. Thus, even during so-called free discussion invisible lines are formed.

In rooms where students have considerable freedom to move about on their own during seatwork and study periods, the teacher himself often becomes the center of little groups of waiting students. One of the most typical social arrangements in such settings is that in which the teacher is chatting with one student or examining his work while two or three others stand by, books and papers in hand, waiting to have the teacher evaluate their work, give them further direction, answer their questions, or in some other fashion enable them to move along. At such moments it is not unusual for one or two of the seated students also to have their hands raised, propped at the elbow, waiting patiently for the teacher to get around to them....

A final example of the kinds of delay to be observed in the classroom involves the situation in which the group is given a problem to solve or an exercise to complete and some students complete the work long before others. At such times the teacher

may be heard to ask, "How many need more time?" or to command, "Raise your hand when you have finished." This type of delay may only last a few seconds, but it occurs very frequently in some classrooms....

Furthermore, delay is only one of the consequences of living in a crowd and perhaps not even the most important one from the standpoint of constraining the individual. Waiting is not so bad, and may even be beneficial, when the things we are waiting for come to pass. But waiting, as we all know, can sometimes be in vain.

The denial of desire is the ultimate outcome of many of the delays occurring in the classroom. The raised hand is sometimes ignored, the question to the teacher is sometimes brushed aside, the permission that is sought is sometimes refused. No doubt things often have to be this way. Not everyone who wants to speak can be heard, not all of the student's queries can be answered to his satisfaction, not all of their requests can be granted. Also, it is probably true that most of these denials are psychologically trivial when considered individually. But when considered cumulatively their significance increases. And regardless of whether or not they are justified, they make it clear that part of learning how to live in school involves learning how to give up desires as well as how to wait for its fulfillment.

Interruptions of many sorts create a third feature of classroom life that results, at least in part, from the crowded social conditions. During group sessions irrelevant comments, misbehavior, and outside visitors bearing messages often disrupt the continuity of the lesson. When the teacher is working individually with a student--a common arrangement in elementary classrooms--petty interruptions, usually in the form of other students coming to the teacher for advice, are the rule rather than the exception. Thus, the bubble of reality created during the teaching session is punctured by countless trivial incidents and the teacher must spend time patching up the holes. Students are expected to ignore these distractions or at least turn quickly

back to their studies after their attention has been momentarily drawn elsewhere.

Typically, things happen on time in school and this fact creates interruptions of another sort. Adherence to a time schedule requires that activities often begin before interest is aroused and terminate before interest disappears. Thus students are required to put away their arithmetic book and take out their spellers even though they want to continue with arithmetic and ignore spelling. In the classroom, work is often stopped before it is finished. Questions are often left dangling when the bell rings....

Another aspect of school life, related to the general phenomena of distractions and interruptions, is the recurring demand that the student ignore those who are around him. In elementary classrooms students are frequently assigned seatwork on which they are expected to focus their individual energies. During these seatwork periods talking and other forms of communication between students are discouraged, if not openly forbidden. The general admonition in such situations is to do your own work and leave others alone.

In a sense, then, students must try to behave as if they were in solitude, when in point of fact they are not. They must keep their eyes on their paper when human faces beckon. Indeed, in the early grades it is not uncommon to find students facing each other around a table while at the same time being required not to communicate with each other. These young people, if they are to become successful students, must learn how to be alone in a crowd....

Here then are four unpublicized features of school life: delay, denial, interruption, and social distraction. Each is produced, in part, by the crowded conditions of the classroom. When twenty or thirty people must live and work together within a limited space for five or six hours a day most of the things that have been discussed are inevitable. Therefore, to decry the existence of these conditions is probably futile, yet their pervasiveness and frequency make them too important

to be ignored. One alternative is to study the ways in which teachers and students cope with these facts of life and to seek to discover how that coping might leave its mark on their reactions to the world in general....

Returning to the situation in our schools, we can see that if students are to face the demands of classroom life with equanimity they must learn to be patient. This means that they must be able to disengage, at least temporarily, their feelings from their actions. It also means, of course, that they must be able to re-engage feelings and actions when conditions are appropriate. In other words, students must wait patiently for their turn to come, but when it does they must still be capable of zestful participation. They must accept the fact of not being called on during a group discussion, but they must continue to volunteer.

Thus, the personal quality commonly described as patience--an essential quality when responding to the demands of the classroom--represents a balance, and sometimes a precarious one, between two opposed tendencies. On the one hand is the impulse to act on desire, to blurt out the answer, to push to the front of the line, or to express anger when interrupted. On the other hand, is the impulse to give up the desire itself, to stop participating in the discussion, to go without a drink when the line is long, or to abandon an interrupted activity....

Praise

Every child experiences the pain of failure and the joy of success long before he reaches school age, but his achievements, or lack of them, do not really become official until he enters the classroom. From then on, however, a semi-public record of his progress gradually accumulates, and as a student he must learn to adapt to the continued and pervasive spirit of evaluation that will dominate his school years. Evaluation, then, is another important fact of life in the elementary classroom....

The most obvious difference between the way evaluation occurs in school and the way it occurs in other situations is that tests are given in school more frequently than elsewhere. Indeed, with the exception of examinations related to military service or certain kinds of occupations most people seldom encounter tests outside of their school experience.¹ Tests are as indigenous to the school environment as are textbooks or pieces of chalk....

The dynamics of classroom evaluation are difficult to describe, principally because they are so complex. Evaluations derive from more than one *source*, the *conditions of their communication* may vary in several different ways, they may have one or more of several *referents*, and they may range in *quality* from intensely positive to intensely negative. Moreover, these variations refer only to objective, or impersonal features of evaluation. When the subjective or personal meanings of these events are considered, the picture becomes even more complex. Fortunately, for purposes of the present discussion, we need to focus only on the more objective aspects of the student's evaluative experiences.

The chief source of evaluation in the classroom is obviously the teacher. He is called upon continuously to make judgments of students' work and behavior and to communicate that judgment to the students in question and to others. No one who has observed an elementary classroom for any length of time can have failed to be impressed by the vast number of times the teacher performs this function. Typically, in most classrooms students come to know when things are right or wrong, good or bad, pretty or ugly, largely as a result of what the teacher tells them.

¹There are, of course, the popular quizzes in newspapers and magazines which many people seem to enjoy answering. But these exercises, which might best be called "toy tests," are of little consequence when compared with the real thing that goes on in school.

But the teacher is not the only one who passes judgment. Classmates frequently join in the act. Sometimes the class as a whole is invited to participate in the evaluation of a student's work, as when the teacher asks, "Who can correct Billy?" or "How many believe that Shirley read that poem with a lot of expression?"² At other times the evaluation occurs without any urging from the teacher, as when an egregious error elicits laughter or an outstanding performance wins spontaneous applause.

There is a third source of evaluation in the classroom that is more difficult to describe than are the positive or negative comments coming from teachers and peers. This type of evaluation, which entails self-judgment, occurs without the intervention of an outside judge. When a student is unable to spell any of the words on a spelling test he has been apprized of his failure even if the teacher never sees his paper. When a student works on an arithmetic example at the blackboard he may know that his answer is correct even if the teacher does not bother to tell him so. Thus, as students respond to test questions or complete exercises in their workbooks, or solve problems at the blackboard, they inevitably obtain some information about the quality of their performance. The information is not always correct and may have to be revised by later judgments (Not everyone who thinks he has the right answer really has it!), but, even when wrong, evaluation can leave its mark....

The separation of classroom evaluations into those referring to academic attainment,

²Jules Henry, an anthropologist, has witnessed signs of what he terms "a witch-hunt syndrome" in several elementary classrooms. A chief component of this syndrome is the destructive criticism of each other by the students, egged on, as it were, by the teacher. See his article, "Attitude organization in elementary school classrooms," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 27: 117-133, January 1957.

those referring to institutional adjustment, and those referring to possession of personal qualities should not obscure the fact that in many situations all three kinds of assessment are going on at one time. For example, when a student is praised for correctly responding to a teacher's question it may look as though he is simply being rewarded for having the right answer. But obviously there is more to it than that. If the teacher discovered that the student had obtained the answer a few seconds before by reading from a neighbor's paper he would have been punished rather than praised. Similarly, if he had blurted the answer out rather than waiting to be called on he might have received a very different response from the teacher. Thus, it is not just the possession of the right answer but also the way in which it was obtained that is being rewarded. In other words, the student is being praised for having achieved and demonstrated intellectual mastery in a prescribed legitimate way. He is being praised, albeit indirectly, for knowing something, for having done what the teacher told him to do, for being a good listener, a cooperative group member, and so on. The teacher's compliment is intended to entice the student (and those who are listening) to engage in certain behaviors in the future, but not simply in the repeated exposure of the knowledge he has just displayed. It is intended to encourage him to do again what the teacher tells him to do, to work hard, to master the material. And so it is with many of the evaluations that appear to relate exclusively to academic matters. Implicitly, they involve the evaluation of many "non-academic" aspects of the student's behavior....

From all that has been said it is evident that learning how to live in a classroom involves not only learning how to handle situations in which one's own work or behavior are evaluated, but also learning how to witness, and occasionally participate in, the evaluation of others. In addition to getting used to a life in which their strengths and weaknesses are often exposed to public scrutiny, students also have to accustom themselves to

viewing the strengths and weaknesses of their fellow students. This shared exposure makes comparisons between students inevitable and adds another degree of complexity to the evaluation picture.

The job of coping with evaluation is not left solely to the student. Typically the teacher and other school authorities try to reduce the discomfort that might be associated with some of the harsher aspects of meting out praise and punishment. The dominant viewpoint in education today stresses the pedagogical advantages of success and the disadvantages of failure. In short, our schools are reward-oriented. Thus, teachers are instructed to focus on the good aspects of a student's behavior and to overlook the poor. Indeed, even when a student gives a wrong answer, today's teacher is likely to compliment him for trying. This bias toward the positive does not mean, of course, that negative remarks have disappeared from our schools. But there are certainly fewer of them than there might be if teachers operated under a different set of educational beliefs....

Although the student's task in adjusting to evaluation is made easier by common teaching practices, he still has a job to do. In fact, he has three jobs. The first, and most obvious, is to behave in such a way as to enhance the likelihood of praise and reduce the likelihood of punishment. In other words, he must learn how the reward system of the classroom operates and then use that knowledge to increase the flow of rewards to himself. A second job, although one in which students engage with differing degrees of enthusiasm, consists of trying to publicize positive evaluations and conceal negative ones. The pursuit of this goal leads to the practice of carrying good report cards home with pride, and losing poor ones along the way. A third job, and, again, one that may be of greater concern to some students than to others, consists of trying to win the approval of two audiences at the same time. The problem, for some, is how to become a good student while remaining a good guy, how to be at the head of the class while still being in the center of the group.

Most students soon learn that rewards are granted to those who lead a good life. And in school the good life consists, principally, of doing what the teacher says. Of course the teacher says many things, and some of his directions are easier to follow than others, but for the most part his expectations are not seen as unreasonable and the majority of students comply with them sufficiently well to ensure that their hours in the classroom are colored more by praise than by punishment....

There is another way of coping with evaluations that warrants mention even though it is not deserving of the term "strategy." This method entails devaluing the evaluations to a point where they no longer matter very much. The student who has adopted this alternative over those of complying or cheating has learned how to "play it cool" in the classroom. He is neither elated by success nor deflated by failure. He may indeed try to "stay out of trouble" in the classroom and thus comply with the teacher's minimal expectations, but this is principally because getting into trouble entails further entanglements and involvement with school officials and other adults, a situation that he would prefer to avoid....

Power

The fact of unequal power is a third feature of classroom life to which students must become accustomed....

Perhaps one of the chief differences between the authority of parents and teachers, although not the most obvious, has to do with the purposes for which their power is put to use. Parents, by and large, are principally restrictive. Their chief concern, at least during the child's early years, is with prohibiting action, with telling the child what *not* to do....It is an authority whose chief goal is to place limits on natural impulses and spontaneous interests, particularly when those impulses and interests endanger the child himself or threaten to destroy something of value to the parent....

The teacher's authority, in contrast, is as much prescriptive as restrictive. Teachers are concerned with setting assignments for students rather than with merely curbing undesirable behavior....

At the heart of the teacher's authority is his command over the student's attention. Students are expected to attend to certain matters while they are in the classroom, and much of the teacher's energies are spent in making sure that this happens. At home the child must learn how to stop; at school he must learn how to look and listen.

Another view of the teacher's authority might focus on the process of substitution by which the teacher's plans for action are substituted for the student's own. When students do what the teachers tell them to do they are, in effect, abandoning one set of plans (their own) in favor of another (their teacher's). At times, of course, these two sets of plans do not conflict and may even be quite similar. But at other times that which is given up in no way resembles the action called for by the teacher. The lack of resemblance between the teacher's plans and the student's own must partially account for the difficulty some students have in adjusting to the classroom, but the relationship between these two states of affairs is surely not simple. The important point is that students must learn to employ their executive powers in the service of the teacher's desires rather than their own. Even if it hurts....

In the best of all possible worlds it is expected that children will adapt to the teacher's authority by becoming "good workers" and "model students." And, by and large, this ideal comes close to being realized. Most students learn to look and to listen when told to and to keep their private fantasies in check when class is in session. Moreover, this skill in complying with educational authority is doubly important because the student will be called upon to put it to work in many out-of-school settings. The transition from classroom to factory or office is made easily by those who have

developed "good work habits" in their early years....

Because the oppressive use of power is antithetical to our democratic ideals it is difficult to discuss its normal occurrence in the classroom without arousing concern. The concepts of obedience and of independence are often thought to be antithetical and, in our society, the latter concept is more often the declared objective of our schools than is the former. Therefore, we typically play down or fail to recognize the extent to which students are expected to conform to the expectations of others and when this state of affairs is called to our attention the natural response is one of alarm.

Yet the habits of obedience and docility engendered in the classroom have a high pay-off value in other settings. So far as their power structure is concerned classrooms are not too dissimilar from factories or offices, those ubiquitous organizations in which so much of our adult life is spent. Thus, school might really be called a preparation for life, but not in the usual sense in which educators employ that slogan. Power may be abused in school as elsewhere, but its existence is a fact of life to which we must adapt. The process of adaptation begins during the first few years of life but it is significantly accelerated, for most of us, on the day we enter kindergarten.

As implied in the title of this chapter, the crowds, the praise, and the power that combine to give a distinctive flavor to classroom life collectively form a hidden curriculum which each student (and teacher) must master if he is to make his way satisfactorily through the school. The demands created by these features of classroom life may be contrasted with the academic demands--the "official" curriculum, so to speak--to which educators traditionally have paid the most attention.

Evaluation Approaches

These approaches are provided to give teachers the opportunity to build evaluation into the day-to-day activities in the EXPLORING CHILDHOOD materials. Teachers can adapt these suggested approaches to the goals and needs of their individual classes. Students and teachers should share and discuss the purposes, expected outcomes and actual results of the evaluation approach chosen.

Approach	Description of Activity and Page References	Purpose	Evidence of Student Learning
Interview with Field Teachers Followed by Report or Class Discussion	<p>Have students prepare a set of questions to use in interviewing fieldsite teachers about the values of their child care setting and how these values are promoted. Some possible questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What kinds of growth does this site want most to encourage in children? • What things would a child not be allowed to do there? Why? • Individually or in pairs or threes (if students have interviewed together), students present findings to class. 	<p>To evaluate students':</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • understanding of the goals of his/her own fieldsite; • awareness of ways those goals are promoted; • ability to communicate with the fieldsite teacher about goals and procedures of the fieldsite. 	<p>Students point out child behaviors which would and would not be encouraged at this fieldsite.</p> <p>Students recognize purposefulness in such areas as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • room layout; • materials available; • use of outdoor space; • staff-child relationships; • activity choices. <p>Students indicate areas of possible disagreement between their own values and those of the fieldsite.</p> <p>Students indicate an attitude of interest in teacher answers and tolerance for areas of value difference.</p>
Essay (For individual student use)	<p>Read <i>Childhood Memories of Jade Snow Wong</i>, focusing on questions from "Matching Messages" (student booklet, pp. 23-25):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In what ways were the values of Jade Snow Wong's home and school complementary? conflicting? • How did she resolve the conflict situations? Draw on specific details from the reading. 	<p>To evaluate students':</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • understanding of the concept of values as referring to what is deeply cared about and promoted; • understanding of how values of families and schools may differ, which involves: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> --identifying the values implied by people's actions, --recognizing ways values differ or conflict; 	<p>Student identifies examples which do convey what the family cares about.</p> <p>Student recognizes values expressed indirectly, e.g., school games which support strong peer bonds, as well as those directly expressed, e.g., Jade Snow Wong's parents' directive that "a teacher is as your mother or father."</p> <p>Student points out ways the values of home reinforce those of school, e.g., importance of reading in both places.</p>

Approach	Description of Activity and Page References	Purpose	Evidence of Student Learning
<p>Observation (Film viewing) (Individual or small group exercise)</p>	<p>View and analyze a preschool film not previously viewed, using questions taken from the activity suggested on page 20 of the student materials:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is expected of each child at school? What does each child expect of others? • What message does each get from his or her peers? from the teacher? • How does each child respond to the various messages? What self-image do any of these incidents seem to encourage? • What values and behaviors does the school foster? How? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • awareness of a range of ways of coping with value conflict; • respect for a variety of childrearing beliefs and practices. 	<p>Student points out ways home and school may provide balance, not conflict, e.g., the discipline of calligraphy vs. the free brush drawing in school.</p> <p>Student points out a variety of Jade Snow's ways of coping, e.g.:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • seeking explanation from parents; • choosing between alternatives; • acting differently, depending on setting. <p>Tone of essay is nonjudgmental.</p>
	<p>To evaluate students' ability to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • observe specific details of behavior and setting; • be aware of the different processes by which people may influence each other, both directly and indirectly; • make some inferences about values of an institution from the behaviors of people in it. 		<p>Students recognize nonverbal behavior as well as verbal.</p> <p>Students include ideas from such categories of <i>direct</i> influence as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • demonstrating how to do something; • directing child physically; • telling child what is desired or expected. <p>Students include ideas from such categories of <i>indirect</i> influence as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reinforcing desired behavior; • offering certain activity choices. <p>Students note ways child's actions may be influencing adults, e.g., calls teacher's attention to self by standing outside group.</p>

CREDITS

The Teacher's Guide for *Beyond the Front Door* and the *Children at Home* Films was developed by Emma Wood Rous, Coordinator, Norma Arnow, Marjorie Jones, Barbara S. Powell, and Susan C. Thomas.

Editor: Nancy Witting

Production: Maria Rainho, Thomas Reeves, and Scott Paris

EXPLORING CHILDHOOD PROGRAM

Director:
Marilyn Clayton Felt

Curriculum Coordinator:
Ruth N. MacDonald

Module Head:
Susan Christie Thomas

Project Manager:
Kathleen Maurer Horani

Senior Scholars:
Jerome Kagan, Professor of Human Development, Harvard University

James Jones, Assistant Professor of Social Psychology, Harvard University

Freda Rebelsky, Professor of Psychology, Boston University

Consultants:
Elaine A. Blechman, Assistant Professor of Psychology, Yale School of Medicine, Yale University

T. Berry Brazelton, Pediatrician and Clinical Assistant Professor, Harvard University

Urie Bronfenbrenner, Professor of Human Development and Family Studies, Cornell University

Jerome S. Bruner, Watts Professor of Psychology, Department of Experimental Psychology, Oxford University

Betty H. Bryant, Nursery School Director, Center for Child Care Research, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey

Courtney Cazden, Professor of Education, Harvard University

Joan Goldsmith, Co-Director, The Institute of Open Education/Antioch Graduate Center

Patricia Marks Greenfield, Associate Professor of Psychology, University of California at Los Angeles

John Herzog, Associate Professor of Education, Northeastern University

David Kantor, Director of Research and Development, Boston Family Institute

Eli H. Newberger, Director, Family Development Study, The Children's Hospital Medical Center

Ed Tronick, Associate in Pediatrics, Harvard Medical School, Harvard University

Robert Selman, Clinical Psychologist, Judge Baker Child Guidance Center, Boston, Massachusetts

Beatrice Blyth Whiting, Professor of Education and Anthropology, Harvard University

Developers:
Norma Arnow
Wendy Johnson Barnes
Ellen Grant
Rogier Gregoire
Toby Grover
Patricia Hourihan
Margaret Janey
Peggy Lippitt
Ronald Lippitt
Karlen Lyons
Lucy Lyons
Pamela Matz
Jim McMahon
John Nove
Judith Salzman
Jeanette Stone
Ianthe Thomas
Juliet Vogel
Sandra Warren
Dennie Wolf

Filmmakers:
Henry Felt
John Friedman
Mark Harris
Lynn Smith
David Vogt

Film Staff:
David Barnett
David Berenson
Frank Cantor
Elvin Carini
Edward Joyce
Allegra May
David Nelson
Charles Scott
Dan Seeger
Charles White, Jr.

Editors:
Anne Cleaves
Anne Glickman
Marcia Mitchell
Marjorie Waters
Nancy Witting

Design:
Myra Lee Conway
Roz Gerstein
Diana Ritter
Michael Sand
Karen Shipley
Judy Spock
Alison Wampler

Production:
Patricia A. Jones
Scott Paris

Parent Education:
Louis Grant Bond
Naarah Thornell

Teacher Education:
Michael J. Cohen
Rita Dixon
Marjorie Jones
Edward Martin
Barbara S. Powell
Emma Wood Rous

Evaluation:
Geraldine Brookins
Martin Chong
Catherine Cobb
Karen C. Cohen
Joan Costley
Sherryl Graves
Aisha Jones
Eileen Peters
Toby Schneider
Caren von Hippel

Regional Evaluators:
John R. Brown
Karen M. Cohen
Judith McMurray
Mark Walker
Kaffie Weaver

Regional Field Coordinators:
Florence J. Cherry
Thomas A. Fitzgerald
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Support Staff:
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Florence Bruno
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Barbara Connolly Sweeney
Denise Weaver

Distribution Coordinator:
Steve Westlund

EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT CENTER/EDC SCHOOL AND SOCIETY PROGRAMS

Director:
Janet Whitla

Central Staff:
Marilyn Clayton Felt
Cheryl Healer
Earle Lomon
Ruth N. MacDonald
Dennen Reilly
Susan Christie Thomas

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