A STUDY OF LANGUAGE PATTERNS AND EXPRESSIONS OF AUTHORITARIANISM
IN WORKING CLASS CHILDREN

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J. A. D.
CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITION OF TERMS USED

I. THE PROBLEM

This study investigated the oral patterns used by working class children and analyzed their responses to unfinished stories to determine authoritarian tendencies in child-adult relationships. These children, sometimes identified as culturally deprived, are one part of the growing inner city sub-culture in United States metropolitan areas. Recent trends in urbanization have heightened concern for the education of these children and have confronted urban educators with new problems.

The life style of these culturally depressed and poverty-stricken individuals is characterized by poor housing, low income, crowding, and disoriented family patterns. Schools in these areas are "educationally impotent." Teachers are often demoralized because "from 50-80% of their classroom time is devoted to discipline and other non-academic tasks." Such situations


often nullify the little learning that can be achieved and may create apathetic or hostile reactions in the teacher toward the students. This points up another educational problem, that of the teacher's own attitudes. The teacher must begin with a basic respect for the children in the slum school. He must establish rapport with them before any effective teaching can be realized. Additional instructional time, as opposed to the custodial classroom, and improved teacher attitudes toward children suffering from cultural deprivation are necessary in increasing the effectiveness of learning experiences for the greater number of working class children.

However, the problems of extreme poverty and teachers' attitudes are not the only difficulties culturally deprived children must face. Whether society or teacher attitudes are at the root of the inability to benefit from learning opportunities, denial of educational opportunity at the present time means denial of equal opportunity in the economic and social worlds later.

Many children and their parents realize that schools are avenues of social mobility. In order to take advantage of this social escalator, they must meet with academic success. Contrary to commonly held teachers' opinions, studies indicate that culturally
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Many children and their parents realize that schools are avenues of social mobility. In order to take advantage of this social escalator, they must meet with academic success. Contrary to commonly held teachers' opinions, studies indicate that culturally


deprived students do see the school as a practical and vocational step toward self-improvement. However, many children from a slum environment are ambivalent toward education. This ambivalence grows as they progress in school and often takes the form of lower test scores and delinquency. The ambivalence may give way to indifference or passive resistance as school work becomes more difficult and frustrating to the child.

Several studies support the belief that underprivileged children do poorly in school. Riessman, in a summary of his investigation, stated several conventional reasons for the failure to learn. Most of these failures were related to the "non-school" environment; lack of books in the home, poor self-estimate, mal-nutrition, and poor health. He then suggested causes related directly to the school, such as unintentional discrimination by the classroom teacher, or discrimination in psychological testing situations. In the main, the evidence seems to say that for working class children, school is largely a field of frustration and failure. The feelings of defeat and alienation often lead to an unfavorable outlook on learning. The image of the school is generally negative and hostile to working class children.

Although the school is a contributor to this negative attitude, the deprived environment probably is responsible for

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6 Riessman, op. cit., p. 15.
7 Ibid., p. 5.
8 Ibid.
fostering much of the prevailing attitudinal slant. Riessman points to several factors in the environment of the culturally deprived which foster authoritarianism and rigidity and produce personalities reflecting this background. Characteristics which are associated with the typical individual working class are stated by Riessman. In the main, these people "like strong leaders, are prejudiced and intolerant, and are less likely to see the need for having dissident opinion." These personality traits admittedly could conflict with local school policies or teaching principles. In this light, negative and hostile attitudes toward the school are more easily understood, and it becomes more readily apparent why working class children may accept education, but still reject the school.

The rather complete renunciation of the school is evidenced by the high rate of dropouts among children of the working class. Their departure from school often cancels their one opportunity for upward social mobility. Macdonald states in an article from the New Yorker, that "children born into poor families today have less chance of 'improving themselves' than their parents had because of automation and the declining demand for unskilled labor." Thus, these children, with little or no success in school and without vocational training, "will probably perpetuate the poverty of their parents."

9 Riessman, op. cit., p. 28.
11 Ibid.
In any discussion of failure in school and the resultant dropout problem, attention must be directed to the area of the language arts. Central to academic success is command of the communication skills. Without this knowledge, practically all areas of formal instruction are closed to students. Riessman states that the greatest block to a deprived child's academic success is his "verbal inadequacy" or "lack of facility with a middle-class vocabulary."\footnote{Riessman, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 74-75.} However, there is some disagreement among educational researchers, as Keshian, in a study of 72 fifth graders representing high, middle, and lower class schools, found no apparent relationship between reading success and socio-economic level. However, this finding could have been a result of his small sample and the distribution of socio-economic status in his sample. The children in Keshian's study seemed to lean heavily toward the upper socio-economic levels. Again, Riessman stressed the significance of reading ability as it relates to competence in all other subjects.\footnote{Ibid., p. 115.} Allison Davis tended to disagree with what he deemed the overrated importance attached to reading. He questioned the theory that reading helps young children in solving more basic mental problems and stated that it stimulated a "narrow range" of interests and abilities by limiting the children. However, he did recognize that schools make reading the basis of a child's mental training.\footnote{Allison Davis, \textit{Social Class Influences upon Learning} (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), p. 91.}
Since ability in reading seems to be a major factor in academic success, methods of instruction must develop relevance for and motivation in the children of the working class. Reasons for lack of interest in reading or poor response to traditional methods of teaching have been suggested, among these are unfamiliar vocabulary and content which alienates those children not of the "true American, fair-skinned 'North European'" variety. Texts used in most schools are illustrated with predominately middle class situations, rarely presenting experiences of the disadvantaged. If the working class child is to accept the life style of his primer, he must reject his own home. For genuine interest to be stimulated in this child, he must read about things he sees and does himself.

A more recent development in the maze of theories concerning improvement of reading instruction for culturally deprived children is the study of actual language patterns. In this approach linguists attempt to analyze and compare structural and grammatical forms found in normal speech of persons from various social, economic, and cultural groups. It is believed that generalizations drawn from such investigations may be beneficial in the planning of reading curricula in the future. Although the working class children are not limited in oral communication in their own group, difficulties often arise in inter-group dialogue or in comprehension of written material. These investigations may indicate why the teaching of reading to certain economic or racial groups should

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include new methods and materials incorporating language patterns similar to those used in their own oral communication.

Unless working class children learn to read and develop the ability to learn from formal instruction, personal as well as social problems will result from their frustration and failure at school. Their rejection of middle class attitudes and values will not only alienate them from that class, but will produce dissention and upheaval in a society which often chooses to ignore the culture of poverty and its results.

Statement of Questions

It was the purpose of this study to investigate oral language patterns of working class children and to analyze their responses to unfinished stories to determine authoritarian tendencies in adult-child relationships. Findings from this study might be used to improve many facets of the language arts curriculum. Such investigations also could help teachers understand the reactions of working class children to school.

Questions to be answered in this study were: 1) Do speech patterns of a group of working class children differ in syntactical arrangement and frequency of use from those of a group of students more normally distributed in socio-economic status? And 2) Are tendencies toward authoritarian behavior in adult-child relationships evident in the responses of children from a working class subculture?

The first question was selected because of the apparent inadequate motivation and appeal of reading material used with
working class children. A clearer understanding of the structure of their language patterns was seen as one road to more effective reading materials.

The second question represented another approach to improved achievement in reading through an investigation into the structure of the subculture of the working class child. It was thought that tendencies toward authoritarianism in the non-school environment might contribute to reading difficulties. Problems which evolve from authoritarian adult-child relationships are frequently transferred to the teacher who represents authority in the classroom. When this type of thought is evident in the cultural background, a teacher must make an additional effort at building rapport to be successful in the instruction of these students. This extra effort usually comes only after a personal understanding of working class children has been established and when attention to their individual problems has been given voluntarily by the teacher. In this light the analysis of language patterns and the direction of responses of working class children was deemed an important area of research for the better understanding of the particular academic strengths and weaknesses of culturally deprived children.

In gathering the data on oral expression, a set of Anderson Incomplete Stories was used as a stimulus. These stories were developed to determine authoritarian relationships between adults and children. They also served the double purpose of eliciting extensive verbal responses (for further explanation, see page 26).
The data were then subjected to the following analyses: 1) description of sentence patterns according to Strickland's syntactic analysis, 2) comparison with Strickland's sample, 3) content analysis to determine authoritarian tendencies of the responses, 4) classification of the dominant themes in relation to socio-economic status, race, and sex of the children.

II. DEFINITION OF TERMS USED

Culturally deprived. The culturally deprived are those people in the working class who are from the "lower socio-economic groups in the community" and who are "notably deficient in cultural and academic strengths." They have not benefited from the educational opportunities common to middle class society; therefore, they are sometimes called "educationally deprived or culturally disadvantaged." In 1960 approximately one child out of every three living in the 14 largest United States cities were classified in this bracket. By 1970, it is estimated that the figure will have risen to one in two.

Dominant theme. The dominant theme was the major attitude or expression toward authoritarian or non-authoritarian behavior in the responses to Anderson Incomplete Stories. The stories were designed to elicit statements which indicate in a conflict situation whether children perceive an authoritarian relationship between adults and children. Anderson, in an extensive cross-cultural study, supported the hypothesis that the more authoritarian


17 Riessman, op. cit., p. 1.
the culture, the more evasive or untruthful the response. The present study investigated the relationship of socio-economic status and authoritarianism. Responses by working class children to the unfinished stories were analyzed. The dominant themes were determined by a judgment as to whether the direction and magnitude of the main theme in the response was authoritarian or non-authoritarian. Comparisons of selected categories were also done.

Language patterns. The language patterns studied in this project were identified by Strickland's syntactic analysis, Level I. The data were classified according to grammatical structure. An analyzed sequence, such as "I have a bicycle," would be labeled 1 2 4; the numbers coding slots for the subject, verb, and direct object, respectively. 18

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This study was developed around two major questions. Language patterns of working class children were analyzed as to grammatical structure and were compared to patterns from a group of more normally distributed children. Responses of the working class children to unfinished stories were analyzed to determine tendencies toward authoritarian behavior.

Chapter II will review the literature relating to this study. Chapter III describes the research design and procedures used. Chapter IV contains findings from the analysis of language patterns and responses to unfinished stories. Chapter V carries the conclusions and summary.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The study of educational problems of the culturally deprived is a recent one. The literature on culturally deprived children most closely related to this project falls into four categories: 1) general characteristics, 2) school achievement, IQ tests, and conflicts in educational value systems, 3) teacher preparation for schools in disadvantaged areas, and 4) experimental projects. Linguistics, as an approach to the teaching of elementary reading, is also currently in the exploratory stage. Few reports have been written which are specifically related to the problem of this study.

General Characteristics of Culturally Deprived Children

Frank Riessman authored what is now considered the basic document concerning characteristics, attitudes, and educational problems of culturally deprived children. In his report he examined crowding, home conditions, occupational status of parents, and other external evidences of social class, and related these factors to low achievement in school. He found that the above factors distinguish the working class child from the middle class "average" child, whom present educational institutions tend to favor.
Lists of actual characteristics of a "typical" working class child were presented in several studies. Riessman and Goldberg agreed that two dominant traits of working class children are extreme emphasis on physical strength and skill and the desire for immediate personal satisfaction. They saw the culturally deprived child as "thing oriented", anti-intellectual, and pragmatic. Deutsch called attention to the child's inattentiveness, learned early in his noisy, TV-ridden home. He stated that this trait, in turn, contributed to his characteristic lack of verbal skills and limited language facility.

Influences of cultural deprivation on personality have also been studied. Shaw suggested that the working class child may have greater difficulties in personal adjustment than does his middle class counterpart. He reported that psychoses are disproportionately high among the disadvantaged, and suggested that the failure to master the traditional academic curriculum contributes to their low self-esteem. This possibility is greatly increased if the child is a Negro. Ausubel has examined the effect of racial segregation on personality development and has found definite unfavorable self-concepts related to skin color. Research by Deutsch substantiates these findings.

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1 Passow, op. cit., p. 80.
2 Riessman, op. cit., p. 28.
4 Shaw, op. cit., p. 92.
5 Passow, op. cit., p. 116.
Another factor which relates to a lowered self-concept is the constant poverty some of the working class children experience. A good example of the effect of poverty on individuals lives is found in Lewis' *Children of Sanchez*. This is a depth study into the lives of four Mexicans, related in their own words. However, its descriptions are not restricted only to the Mexican poor. As Lewis suggests, "The culture of poverty has some universal characteristics which transcend regional, rural-urban, and even national differences."\(^7\) The lives of the four Sanchez children have many similarities to working class children in the United States and elsewhere. Investigations such as these do not offer a complete picture of the working class child; however, they do point out how he may differ from a middle class individual and why his adjustment to school and education may be difficult.

**School Achievement, IQ Tests, and Conflicts in Educational Value Systems**

Several studies have been conducted to investigate working class children's academic problems. Research has taken three directions: preparation for school, testing, and conflicting value systems.

The working class child is notoriously narrow in his thinking and deprived in experiences which contribute to success in school. Macdonald reported the effect of poverty on the emotional development of children. He stated that lack of motivation was the major

cause of failure in school. This failure, in turn, influenced all other areas in the poverty-stricken child's life. Davis questioned the emphasis on the "academic culture" of middle class society and stated that it failed to relate experience and learning materials to the needs of working class children.

Cloward and Jones discussed academic achievement as it relates to socio-economic position. Through interviews with adults from New York City's lower east side, they tentatively reached the conclusion that attitudes toward the importance of education are influenced primarily by occupational aspirations. Therefore, higher educational goals might result from informing the lower income people of the new opportunities in the occupational structure.

Through a detailed portrait of the working class child, Goldberg shows the inadequacy of his preschool preparation, even for simple tasks. Studies by Deutsch agree with this evaluation of early experience, and in one report, he states that "initial failures are almost inevitable" when children are so poorly prepared to meet the schools demands. This research clearly indicates the culturally deprived child's inadequate background for school.

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8 Macdonald, op. cit., unpaged.
10 Passow, op. cit., p. 215.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid., p. 88.
13 Ibid., p. 163.
Other studies emphasize further problems in academic areas. Several writers question the validity of present I.Q. tests in their evaluation of the potential learning ability of the working class child. Recently New York City banned group I.Q. tests due to the problems incurred with their use and their evident discrimination against working class children.

Davis suggested that a definite problem of intelligence tests was the alienation of the working class student by the middle class problems and language on the test. However, after rewording various items to make them more understandable, the working class children did not improve substantially.14 Later Haggard postulated that attitudes of the children toward the test situation were of more consequence than the content of test items. He supported this theory by giving an I.Q. test after holding three one-hour practice periods for both deprived and non-deprived children. With a combination of practice, motivation, and rapport with the examiner, the "I.Q.'s of the disadvantaged children improved sharply."15 Statements by Clark tend to agree with Haggard. Clark sees I.Q. test scores as reflections of cultural and educational deprivations and accentuations of the discriminations suffered by these children.16 As working class children advance in school, these scores often decline.17 Riessman also is in harmony with these theories that

14 Riessman, op. cit., p. 52.
15 Ibid., p. 53.
16 Passow, op. cit., p. 149.
17 Shaw, op. cit., p. 92.
correlate consistently low I.Q. scores for culturally deprived children with early impoverished environments.\textsuperscript{18}

Problems in academic achievement may be influenced by some variables other than poor preschool training or misinterpreted intelligence test scores. Conventional attitudes and values of the middle class often cause conflicts between a teacher and his working class children. Riessman quotes the findings from a study by Davidson and Lang which state that "teachers were less favorably inclined toward deprived children even when their school achievements were good.\textsuperscript{19} This negative evaluation of the children is reflected in a lowering of their own self concepts.\textsuperscript{20} As a defense against loss of self-enhancement, these children may become further alienated from the school. A study by Tenenbaum tends to support this thesis as it suggests that these children never feel that they are a part of the school or its functions.\textsuperscript{21} Teachers who understand and are not threatened by these children are in short supply. These teachers have traditionally fled the schools populated by working class children. Therefore, teachers' attitudes may be viewed as a crucial aspect in establishing good pupil-teacher relationships which are conducive to academic achievement.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[18] Riessman, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 57.
\item[19] \textit{Ibid.}, p. 18.
\item[20] \textit{Ibid.}
\item[21] Samuel Tenenbaum, "The Teacher, the Middle Class, the Lower Class," \textit{Phi Delta Kappan}, #2, 45:85, November, 1963.
\end{footnotes}
Teacher Preparation for Schools in Disadvantaged Areas

Recently, teachers for the culturally deprived child have been the subjects of some research and much criticism. Riessman presented a composite of a good teacher and also suggested several methods for promoting effective learning among working class children. He pointed to consistency as the "best overall principle."\(^{22}\) He also indicated that the teacher should place the emphasis on learning, with an "unvarying routine and simple, clear, enforced rules."\(^{23}\) Consistent standards teach the students to become organized as well as promote security in insecure lives. Increased achievement which results from a structured environment gives students a sense of satisfaction and accomplishment.

However, good classroom rapport alone cannot compensate for other problems faced by teachers working in schools populated by working class children. Vontress presents several demoralizing factors, such as an inadequate supply of teaching materials, antiquated facilities, and unenthusiastic co-workers. Wolf adds to the list with high pupil turnover, too-large classes, and contradictory expectations placed on the teacher.\(^{24}\) With all of these unattractive features, it is not surprising that teachers refuse appointments to the depressed area school, or leave at their first opportunity,\(^{25}\) therefore perpetuating instability in the system.

\(^{22}\)Rieussman, op. cit., p. 81.
\(^{23}\)Ibid., p. 83.
\(^{25}\)Passow, op. cit., p. 238.
Questions have been raised concerning the preparation of teachers for this type of experience. Rivlin and Haubrick, in separate reports, assessed the curricula in teacher-training centers and discussed their requirements in relation to large city situations. Haubrick stated on the basis of his two and a half year study of the programs at Hunter College, that more "interchange of personnel and environments" are needed to prepare teachers for service in depressed area schools.\(^{26}\) His theories were directed toward student teaching experiences.

Kornberg established an experimental curricula entitled the BRIDGE project which was set up at Queens College and designed to upgrade teacher education. The real issue Kornberg emphasized was whether the classroom creates "alienation or relationships."\(^ {27}\) He saw the professional commitment of the teacher as a major factor in successful teaching of working class children. Therefore, through the planned experiences in the BRIDGE project, undergraduates could have experience with working class children and would gain more commitment in this way.

**Experimental Projects**

In addition to changes in college curricula for prospective teachers of working class children, individual school districts have recognized the inherent problems in many of their traditional courses and methods of educating these children. Several city

\(^{26}\) Passow, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

\(^{27}\) Ibid., p. 240.
school systems have conducted experimental programs and demonstration projects designed to initiate more favorable attitudes toward the school. One approach in this improvement deals with changing materials and new methods. Teaching in which the methods are motor oriented is one possibility suggested by Goldberg. 28 Readers with interracial urban-oriented materials are also being developed. 29 Riessman and Rivlin discussed the need for programmed learning and teaching machines at the elementary level.

Another approach is compensatory educational opportunities which would offer culturally deprived children experiences which are not valued by their homes or that are totally inaccessible to them in normal life. Marburger contended that the "school must provide more for the disadvantaged child than it normally would for other children." 30 He then illustrated, using the Great Cities Project in Detroit which was developed in 1959 to "increase the competence of children with limited backgrounds." 31 The project was centered in the schools making them community educational centers. However, aspects of the schools' activities were designed to improve the homes in the deprived neighborhood. 32

A similar program, the Higher Horizons project, was organized in New York City. Besides working on curriculum improvement and

28 Passow, op. cit., p. 94.
29 Ibid., p. 93.
30 Ibid., p. 282.
31 Ibid., p. 303.
32 Ibid., p. 283.
other academic spheres, this project encouraged "raising cultural sights." Shaw reported that trips to museums, concerts, and colleges were regular features of the program. However, despite the apparent success of this experiment, Riessman stated that the Higher Horizons Program did not go far enough. The perspective of the Program is essentially limited to that of the educator and his horizons. It does not stress the positive culture of the underprivileged. On the other hand, the Program does demonstrate that the culturally deprived can be educated.

In America a large percentage of working class people are Negroes. The fact of racial discrimination is manifested in housing patterns in large cities, and consequently, is mirrored in segregated school populations. Problems of segregated schools are pertinent when educational improvement is discussed. In a paper Fischer suggested that to achieve a measure of equality in our present system, a new concept of compensatory educational opportunity may have to be initiated for those students who are handicapped by race or nationality. Kaplan sees programs for the disadvantaged as one method of reducing de facto segregation. However, only the superficial factor of segregation may be changed, as Vontress states that "segregation by race is giving way to

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34 Shaw, op. cit., p. 95.
35 Riessman, op. cit., p. 111.
36 Passow, op. cit., p. 296.
37 Kaplan, op. cit., p. 72.
segregation by economic class."\textsuperscript{38} Havighurst, in his examination of inner city schools, suggested locating new schools at borders of depressed areas in an effort to have "all class or mixed class schools."\textsuperscript{39} This plan sees the schools as instruments for social urban renewal as mixed social and racial groups share educational experiences.\textsuperscript{40}

A review of these studies indicates that work has been done in an attempt to determine the needs and understand the relationships of environment and personality in culturally deprived children. Educators need to know how these children view the world in order to discover and develop their potential.

\textbf{Language Skills as They Relate to Reading Success}

Besides an understanding of how working class children feel about life and their role in society, teachers need to know how these children express themselves. Although many levels of expression exist, schools are primarily interested and involved in communication through words, oral and written language. Understanding between teachers and working class children is usually adequate when speech is the medium. However, the written expression of books is often a threat rather than a challenge to these children, and educators question whether the content, illustrations, and language patterns are related to their personal experience.

\textsuperscript{38}Vontress, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 78.
\textsuperscript{39}Passow, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{40}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 41.
Therefore, in a response to this cultural ostracism of working class children, several researchers have considered new methods of reading instruction. Modern linguists have presented new opportunities in the teaching of reading. Many of them see the structure and arrangements of words to be as important in carrying meaning as the words themselves. Roberts states that individuals automatically recognize and understand the patterns in which these words occur because they have unconsciously assimilated them into their own speech by hearing and imitating the language of others. Since children can use and comprehend complex oral language patterns, one aspect of the teaching of reading is identification and interpretation of these same patterns in written form.

Strickland's study was concerned with this area. She described the structure of sentences used by children and compared it to the structure of sentences in reading textbooks. Her findings tended to substantiate the theory that an analysis of children's speech patterns could be made and used to prepare reading textbooks. In another study Lefcourt investigated several elementary English textbooks. She found that the form and structure of language were ignored.

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41 Strickland, op. cit., p. 3.
43 Strickland, op. cit., p. 4.
44 Ibid., p. 3.
These linguistic studies do have an important implication to the teaching of reading to culturally deprived children.
Riessman stated that their success in school is diminished because of verbal inadequacies. Yet, the differences between middle class and working class language are not related to the mental development of the groups. The language simply reflects the system of cultural behavior. Riessman quotes Basil Berstein as he describes the speech which is characteristic of an informal and pragmatic environment. He states that the language can often be recognized by "short, grammatically simple, often unfinished sentences...simple and repetitive use of conjunctions (so, and, then, because) frequent use of short commands and questions, etc." Through such evidence as presented above, educators have become convinced that the understanding of language may provide cues to the preparation of more effective reading materials.

Summary

With a knowledge of the prevalent speech patterns of working class children, and with an understanding of their particular environment, its strengths as well as weaknesses, it was thought that more effective reading material could be produced. With the added motivation of familiar ego-involving content and language patterns not unlike their own, these children could possibly learn to read more easily, thus beginning their academic career more positively.

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46 Riessman, op. cit., p. 74.
47 Davis, op. cit., p. 83.
48 Riessman, op. cit., p. 75.
The research presented in this review has been unified in a concern for improved educational achievement, particularly for children of the working class. Watson refers to these children as a "great reservoir of undiscovered and undeveloped intellectual talent". Certainly, educators must become aware of their potential through study and personal attention. "The stone which builders rejected may even become the head of the corner." 

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49 Riessman, op. cit., p. x.
50 Ibid., p. xi.
CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURES

This chapter presents a description of the research design and procedures.

I. RESEARCH DESIGN

The data collected were samples of oral language of working class children. These data were then subjected to syntactic analysis and content analysis. The linguistic study was compared to Strickland's study and responses to unfinished stories were categorized by sex, race, and socio-economic status. The responses to one story were compared to the findings of the Anderson study.

Description of Sample

The thirty children in the study constituted one of three heterogeneously-grouped fourth grade classes in a public school in Muncie, Indiana. The school was located in an industrial section of the city, and the students in the district were from working class families.

The total population for the study included 16 boys and 14 girls ranging in chronological age from 9 years to 11 years 6 months. Eighty per cent of the children were between 9 years and 9 years 11 months. The racial composition of the group was 17 Negro and 13 Caucasian.
The socio-economic status of the group was determined by occupational status only. The Minnesota Scale for Paternal Occupations was used to assign the sample. All classifications on the scale above Class V are omitted since none of these classes were represented. Table I shows that the sample fell into the remaining three classes:

TABLE I

Distribution of Socio-economic Status of the Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Occupational Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Semi-skilled occupations, minor clerical positions, and minor business (police)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Slightly skilled trades (factory, construction)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Day laborers (trucking, domestics)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Description of Instruments

The samples of oral language were obtained through responses of the children to four of a set of Anderson Incomplete Stories. The stories were designed to discover authoritarian and non-authoritarian characteristics in a culture by presenting unresolved conflicts between children and adults.

The stories were used to elicit personal interpretation of conflicts between children and adults. Anderson's hypothesis was that children from a more democratic culture would tell the truth in a conflict situation; those reared in an authoritarian

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1Strickland, op. cit., p. 47.
atmosphere would be evasive and give more hostile responses. The stories were one short paragraph in length, leading up to a conflict between a child and an adult.

"The Broken Window" story presented two boys playing with a football in a narrow space. One kicked the ball against a window, cracking it, but no one else saw the action. The rest of the story was left to the child to finish as he wished.

Parent-child conflict was the issue in the next two stories. In each one, the parent had made the error. Girls completed a mother-daughter problem in the "Broken Vase" story; boys responded to a father-son situation in the "Bent Bicycle." In each response authoritarianism was checked against mutuality of feeling and hostility of reaction.

The last story, "Missing Money," presented a school situation with conflict between child and teacher. The teacher noticed that fifty cents was missing from her desk. Where the money was and what the teacher did were the areas of response to this story. Answers showing punitiveness of the teacher and hostility between the pupil and the teacher indicated authoritarian tendencies.

(The complete texts of the four stories are found in Chapter 4.)

Analysis of the dominant themes in the content of the responses provided the basis for determining authoritarian or non-authoritarian responses. Interjudge reliability computed on classification of the responses as authoritarian or democratic found high agreement.

A major difference between this study and that of Anderson was the method of collecting data. His responses were written
by the respondents after their individual reading of the stories. The responses for this study were oral, in reply to the interviewer's telling of the story and additional probes and questions by her. There were several reasons for this procedure. First, the responses were to have a dual purpose, analysis of both content and linguistic structure. In addition, it was felt that verbal fluency would have been greatly stifled if written answers were required from the working class children. Another reason for oral responses was mentioned by Strickland. She states that "speech is the primary form of language." Therefore, it was thought that the children would feel more secure in oral responses than written ones.

The technique of syntactic analysis was taken from Strickland's linguistic study. The formula was originated by Ekhtiar and involved two levels of analysis. Only Level I was used in this study. This level involved "the scansion of sentences into fixed slots and movables, the separation of the utterances and non-structural elements from the structural elements of the sentence, and the tabulation of the fixed slots, movables, and sentence connectors." The material analyzed was taken from the responses to Anderson Incomplete Stories. Twenty-five sentences were selected from a point at which the child talked freely. Interjudge reliability was ascertained by comparing separate analysis of a sample of the material. Using the percentage of agreement

2Strickland, op. cit., p. 5.
3Ibid., p. 19.
formula, \( \frac{2 \times \text{agreement}}{\text{agreement} + \text{disagreement}} \), the judges reliability was .85 per cent and .89 per cent on two samples of data.

II. PROCEDURES

This study was a comparative study. The experimental group was composed of thirty working class children from Muncie, Indiana. The control groups were from two other studies. One control group was taken from a study conducted by Ruth Strickland from Indiana University. She analyzed speech patterns of 575 elementary students from Bloomington, Indiana. The other group used as comparison was from Harold Anderson's study of children's responses to incomplete stories. Anderson, from Michigan State University, made a cross-cultural analysis of these responses of children from the United States, Latin America, and Europe.

The oral language analyzed in this study was obtained in situations as informal and unstructured as circumstances permitted. The tape recordings were made in the school setting familiar to the children, and three incomplete stories were used to provide a usable sample for each child. In most cases thirty minutes was adequate time for each interview.

In an effort to establish rapport with the students and to become acquainted with the situation, the researcher spent over 40 hours in the classroom in observation and participation before actual interviewing began. The classroom teacher had previously used the tape recorder with the children, so that their initial curiosity about the machine was satisfied.
Children came individually from their classroom to the recording area. They were seated at a table, facing the interviewer. The tape recorder and microphone were on the table along with a few papers. Casual introductory conversation was used in an attempt to put each child at ease. A brief explanation of the interview followed, including simple recording procedures, if an interest was shown by a child. Each child was instructed to finish the stories in any way that he wished. If he could think of no comments, the interviewer would ask a question to help him complete his response. The stories were then presented in the same order to each child. Usually, the initial question concerned the feelings or immediate actions of the child in the story. Further questions were used as needed. A few children completed the entire story with no interruptions or long pauses. Most of them, however, needed much prompting and guidance to maintain a fluent response. Occasionally the conversation drifted to some personal experience that the child related to the story. This occurrence was not discouraged by the interviewer, because the child's speech at this time was free and fluent. However, the response was directed when the interviewer thought it necessary to return to the main thought of the story.

At times the interviews were interrupted by excessive noise in the recording area. Conversation not related to the story in progress served as a time-filler and provided the interviewer with more background on the student.
Preparing the Samples

Syntactic analysis. The responses were collected on magnetic tape, with approximately thirty minutes from each child. The investigator listened to the tapes as many times as necessary to type an accurate report of the oral expression. These protocols were then scanned for twenty-five sentences with some degree of fluency. Each sentence was analyzed according to Level I in Strickland's study "to identify the patterns of stationary elements, slots, and of the elements which could appear in different locations, moveables." After the 750 sentences were analyzed, a frequency count was made of the thirty-eight structural patterns. A second count was made in relationship to the variable of socio-economic status.

Content analysis. Complete responses to each story were then subjected to a content analysis to discover their dominant themes. Categories were established for each story under two large theme divisions. In the "Broken Window", these categories were: intent to communicate, intent not to communicate; voluntary restitution, involuntary restitution, no restitution. Categories in the "Bent Bicycle" were: openness, shyness; mutuality, fantasy, miscellaneous. In the "Broken Vase" categories were: hostility, non-hostility; mutuality, fantasy. In the "Missing Money" the categories were: hostility, non-hostility; punitiveness, non-punitiveness, miscellaneous.

The stories were then scanned for dominant themes which determined the direction and magnitude of the response toward adults in a conflict situation.
CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

The findings of this study are reported in separate sections under the two questions examined in this study. The two questions that guided the collection of data and general design of this study were: 1) Do speech patterns of a group of working class children differ in syntactical arrangement and frequency of use from those of a group of students more normally distributed in socio-economic status? And 2) Are tendencies toward authoritarian behavior evident in the responses of children from a predominantly working class subculture? Due to the small sample, the data were handled primarily qualitatively. Limited quantification was used when suitable.

SECTION I

Do speech patterns of a group of working class children differ in syntactical arrangement and frequency of use from those of a group of students more normally distributed in socio-economic status?

Twenty-five sentences from each of 30 children, a total of 750 units, constituted the language sample studied. This represented the speech of an arbitrarily-chosen fourth grade class from a school in an industrial area. The analysis of this
data was designed to provide information regarding the basic pattern of structure which appeared in the recorded oral language of the children and the extent to which these language patterns were related to socio-economic status of the parents. The data were then compared to Strickland's study.

The samples of oral expression were analyzed to identify the basic building blocks of the language. These predominant parts, stationary and immovable in the pattern, were called slots. The data were also analyzed for movables, expressions of place, manner, time, and cause which could usually be located at different points in a sentence. Tabulations of various patterns containing slots and movables were made and an interjudge reliability was run.*

The data from this study were compared to that found in Strickland. Table II is taken from the Strickland study. Table III is a corresponding table showing rank order by frequency of the patterns found in this study. Inspection of the two tables will show several differences in the frequency of use of specific language patterns for the two groups.

A Spearman Rank Order Correlation was run between the frequency of structural patterns found in Strickland's sample and the present study. The correlation was .35 significant at the .05 level of confidence. A possible explanation for this low correlation could be a partial answer to the major question of this study, that speech patterns may differ between social classes.

*For a more thorough description of this syntactic analysis, see Strickland.
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<th>Rank Order</th>
<th>Structural Patterns</th>
<th>f</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 2 4 + T</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 2b5</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>T 1 2 4 + T</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1 2 4 T</td>
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<td>$T1 2 4 M_1 + T$</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>$T1 2 4 T$</td>
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<td>$T M_3 1 2 4$</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$1 2 4 M_1 + T$</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$T M_3 1 2 M_1$</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A closer inspection of the two samples finds that on the basis of socio-economic status of the parents, the two samples are vastly different. Strickland's sample is definitely "skewed toward the upper level."\(^1\) in the classifications of occupational status as measured by the Minnesota Scale for Paternal Occupations.

Table IV is a comparison of the distribution of socio-economic status of the control group and the experimental group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Strickland's Sample Fourth Grade</th>
<th>Experimental Sample Fourth Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>(Omitted in this study)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>41.3%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
<td>76.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Children from university-connected families were included in her sample under Class I and composed 10.6% of the total group. Children in this study, however, were most heavily concentrated in Level VI, with none above Level V. Inspection of Table 3 shows the percentage of children in Class VI in

\(^1\)Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 14.
Strickland's group was 21.3% as compared to 76.7% in the experimental group. The bulk of the control group (41.3%) was in Class V, while only 10% of the children in the experimental group were in this category. Thus, the low correlation might be explainable in the difference in socio-economic status of children in each sample.

The list of structural patterns used by Strickland's fourth grade sample contained six patterns not used by the children in this study. One of these patterns occurred in ninth place in her frequency count. Strickland did find that children in the lowest class did not use three patterns containing movables. The fact that all the children in this sample were from Classes V, VI, and VII would seem to support her findings. However, each of the six patterns not used by children in this study included the coding symbol T. This symbol was arbitrarily assigned to a sequence of words preceding or following a specifically analyzed pattern. Therefore, the use of the T heavily determined the complexity of a syntactic pattern and was dependent on the subjective judgment of the analyst. For example, a compound sentence could be analyzed as two units with T's at either end or as two separate units with no T's.

She'd still be mad, but it wouldn't make too much difference if it was her money.

She'd still be mad (T).
(T) but it wouldn't make too much difference if it was her money.
She'd still be mad.
But it wouldn't make too much difference if it was her money.

Judgments in coding of this order may have clouded the findings.
The children in the study frequently used run-on units and lengthy sentences. This type of response has also been cited in studies of working class adults. Strauss and Schatzman found the interviewing of these adults to be difficult because they were often insensitive to the type of answer desired. Strauss and Schatzman, "Cross-Class Interviewing an Analysis of Interaction and Communication Styles," Human Organization Research (ed. Adams) (Homewood: Dorsey Press, Inc., 1960), p. 208.

Strickland quoted a study by Templin which indicated that the "length of a sentence was found to be a measure of maturity in the use of language." She also stated that younger children tend to use more long sentences than do older ones. More mature speakers make use of subordination to divide run-on units into more precise sentences. Some of the children in this study used many lengthy sentences in their responses. An example of a run-on unit is:

Well, a fingerprint set—what she coulda done was took the fingerprints off her desk drawer and then had everybody else make a fingerprint set and then compare them and the ones that compare are the right ones.

Other children gave consistently short and abrupt statements, such as:

Felt sad. They learned a lesson. Never to play on the street. They probably cried.

Many children used the connective phrase "and then" to link several ideas together. This seemed to be an attempt to maintain a fluent conversation. An example of this type is given here.

Strickland, op. cit., p. 25.

Tbid., p. 27.
And then they went through it again and their mother was mad. And then they go out and play football and they wouldn't go around the house no more cause the window might get broke again and they had to stay in. And then they don't want no more whippings cause it hurts.

Several children used subordinators, such as "because" and "so", as they connected a clause of cause or result to the rest of their sentence. A comparison of the pattern 1 2 4 in both studies showed an interesting point concerning subordination. This subordinating pattern was the least used in Strickland's number. However, its rank order was 12 in the data sample of working class children. It would seem that the children in the experimental group were able to use subordination, regardless of their supposed immature language ability. Examples of the pattern 1 2 4 are underlined in the sentences below.

If they don't have it in their pockets, they put it in their shoes.  
So she checks their shoes.  
If you get in trouble, you get your privileges taken away.  
They feel bad because they like the teacher.

Another pattern which occurred much more often in working class children's speech than that of Strickland's sample, was the pattern including the indirect object or inner compliment (1 2 3 4). This pattern was second in frequency among the working class children, but 24th in the comparative sample. Here, as in the above example, the two groups seem to have different dominant patterns in their speech. Examples of the 1 2 3 4 pattern follow.

She could go and ask them did they do it.  
She might buy her another present that ain't a vase.  
Mother will buy her a beautiful vase.
The responses of the children in this sample sometimes contained lists of objects or duties. These lists were logical and, for the most part, parallel grammatical constructions. Here is a list of jobs one boy suggested:

Mow lawns, or else deliver groceries, or else be a paper boy, or else clean out stores.

It is doubtful whether socio-economic status is a determining factor in the structure of language patterns. Strickland stated that "there were no outstanding differences in the distribution of use of language patterns when children were grouped according to the occupation of the parents. Children in all categories made some use of nearly all of the patterns." However, the complexity of the pattern did seem to be influenced slightly by socio-economic class. She reported that "children in the highest category made slightly less use of the common 1 2 4 pattern than did children in the lower categories, but made more use of the variations of the pattern." Also, as stated in this study, there is a difference between the Strickland group and the experimental group in the frequency of use of specific patterns (indirect object, 1 2 3 4, and subordination 1 2 4).

The difficulties in the coding system should be recognized at this point. The use of the symbol T was arbitrarily assigned to the speech before or after analysis was terminated. Although reliability was established, a more definitive symbol would have been of great help, since the T reflects a great deal of judgment on the part of the coder.

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6 Strickland, op. cit., p. 47.
7 Ibid.
Summary

In summary, the findings of this section suggest that children from the working class can make use of almost all language patterns identified by Strickland. However, the complexity of the patterns and the frequency of their use seemed to differ between the two groups. These variations may be related to differences in socio-economic status.

SECTION II

This section will describe the findings which relate to the second major question of the study. The question is: Are tendencies toward authoritarian behavior in adult-child relationships evident in the responses of children from a working class subculture?

Responses to four of the Anderson Incomplete Stories from each of the thirty children constituted the data. The analysis of these data was designed to provide information regarding the content of the responses from working class children, and the extent to which this content indicated authoritarian or non-authoritarian relationships between adults and children.

The responses from each story were analyzed in their entirety. Identification of the direction of individual responses indicated how the child perceived the adult-child conflict. In most cases responses were clearly positive or negative; however, some children expressed ambivalence in their replies. The categories under each theme were dichotomized; thus, a forced choice was made in judging the direction of the response. The data then were tabulated according to socio-economic status, race, and sex. Investigation
into possible relationships between authoritarianism and one or more of these classifications was made.

Texts of the stories are given in this section followed by the questions used to elicit responses from the children. Each story is analyzed separately with a comparative theme table and examples from the data. An extended analysis on the data concludes the section.
THE BROKEN WINDOW

The Broken Window story was answered by both boys and girls. It presents an adult-child conflict with the child making a mistake. The story and a sample of the questions used by the interviewer to motivate the child's response appear here.

George and Tom are playing with a football. They know that they should not play football on the narrow space in front of the house. George gives the ball a strong kick, and the ball hits a window and makes a big crack in it. Tom thought that someone had appeared behind the window. No one could have seen who had kicked the ball against the window.8

How did the two boys feel?

What did they do?

The analysis of dominant themes is given in Table V. The themes are divided into categories as to whether the boys intend to communicate or do not intend to communicate and whether they suggest payment for the damage. The categories of dominant themes are listed in the left column of the table. Table V shows the distribution of themes according to the total group (T), socio-economic status (Levels 5, 6, 7), race (N-Negro, W-white), and sex (G-girl, B-boy).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table V</th>
<th>Dominant Themes in the Broken Window Story</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theme Categories</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communicate</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-communicate</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary Restitution</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involuntary Restitution</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Restitution</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the total group 67 per cent intended to communicate with the owner of the window. According to race, 76 per cent of the Negroes intended to communicate as compared to 54 per cent of the white children. Girls were more likely to communicate (78 per cent) than boys (56 per cent).

Examples from the data which show the intent to communicate are below. These were responses to the question "Would the boys tell anybody?"

I'd tell my father. Their mother and father. They'd say they's sorry they'd broke a window.

Some children indicated that the boys would tell someone other than their parents.

I'd tell my friends, but if they tell my mother, I'd beat them up.
Tell the people. They probably wouldn't tell their parents cause they would whip them.
They probably wouldn't tell them parents--let the man tell them.

Examples of no communication when asked, "Would the boys tell anybody?" are:

They were afraid the maybe someone would tell their mother and they'd get a whipping. They'd act like nothing happened.
If he told anybody, then they'd know who kicked the ball and he'd have to pay for the window.

Fifty per cent of the total group suggested voluntary restitution in their responses for breaking a window, while 33 per cent indicated involuntary payment. Among white students 46 per cent implied involuntary restitution; 38 per cent favored voluntary payment. Responses from Negroes were more heavily centered on voluntary restitution (59 per cent). Fifty seven per cent of the girls mentioned voluntary payment, while boys
split 44 per cent each way on voluntary and involuntary restitution.

Several of the children indicated that the boys would get jobs, or use their allowance to pay for the window. Other responses under voluntary restitution suggested that the boys' parents would assume responsibility for payment. Examples of this latter theme are:

Parents' supposed to pay for it when you do something
Cause they're bigger.
The parents, they had to pay for it.
Their mother had to pay for the window.

The children who suggested involuntary restitution gave responses such as these.

A policeman might go, if he knew who the boys were,
he mighta went and told their mothers and they mighta had to pay for breaking the window.
If they woulda know who it was, they would made him pay for it.
The owner of the house started chasing them, and he caught them. And they had to pay for the window.

Other interesting responses involved asking for the owner's forgiveness, and a formal apology to him by the boys' parents.

In both of the major themes in the Broken Window Story, socio-economic status seemed to have little correlation to direction of the response. The major distinctions have occurred between racial and sexual divisions, with the extreme positive group being Negro girls; the extreme negative group, white boys. Responses of white girls and Negro boys occurred in an intermediate position.

A difference was found when the category of voluntary restitution was analyzed according to race. Fifty nine per cent
of the Negro children indicated a positive response, but only 38 per cent of the white children stated that the boys would pay for the window voluntarily. It may be that docility and compliance fostered by the cultural expectation of the Negro environment may have been factors in this discrepancy between responses classified by race.

An interesting point comes from the comparison of the categories of intent to communicate and voluntary restitution. A fairly high percentage of the total group (67 per cent) were willing to tell the owner about the accident, but only 50 per cent indicated voluntary reimbursement. Perhaps this response is the result of the scarcity of money and/or the personal desire to spend it on self.

Comparative Analysis of the Broken Window Story

The responses of the Broken Window story were also compared with findings from the group of United States children in Anderson's study of adult-child relationships. The dominant themes of the responses fell in four categories: intent to communicate, no intent to communicate; voluntary restitution, and no restitution. Table VI shows a comparison of the frequency of dominant themes in the Broken Window story between Anderson's group and the experimental group.
TABLE VI

Frequency of Responses in Broken Window Story of Anderson's Group and Experimental Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme Categories</th>
<th>Anderson's Group</th>
<th>Experimental Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communicate</td>
<td>66.8%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-communicate</td>
<td>24.1%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary Restitution</td>
<td>48.7%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Restitution</td>
<td>40.3%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This study further divided the category "No restitution."

The following percentages of response were found: Involuntary restitution, 33.3 per cent; No restitution, 16.7 per cent. The actual numbers in each category are carried in Table V, page .

In the responses of the two groups much similarity was found in comparing the frequency of dominant themes. The only appreciable difference was found in the category of non-communication, with responses of this type occurring in 24.1 per cent of Anderson's cases and 33.3 per cent of the experimental group's responses. However, this discrepancy may be accounted for in the incomplete percentage listing of Anderson's study. Also, in Anderson's study no findings were reported for the category of involuntary restitution. This category contained 33.3 per cent of the responses regarding restitution from the experimental group.

Although Anderson did not control for socio-economic status, his percentage of responses in each category was quite similar to that of the working class children in this study. The high degree of similarity in frequency of response gave the researcher
confidence in the validity of Anderson's stories to elicit consistent responses concerning authoritarianism. The number of cases involved in Anderson's study was 672; in the experimental group, 30 responses were analyzed. The experimental group's responses were further divided into categories by race and sex. There was no comparative classification in Anderson's study.*

*For specific details of this breakdown, see page 26.
THE MISSING MONEY

The Missing Money story was answered by both boys and girls. It presents an adult-child conflict with the child making the mistake. The text of the story follows with a sample of the questions used by the interviewer to motivate the child's response.

The teacher suddenly discovers that fifty cents has disappeared from her desk. She looks up and sees that all the class are working on their arithmetic. She wonders what happened to the money and what she should do.9

What happened to the money?
What does the teacher do?
How does the teacher feel?

The analysis of dominant themes is given in Table 5. The themes are divided into categories, as to whether the teacher reacts with hostility or non-hostility, and whether she is punitive or non-punitive after the money has been found. A theme was interpreted as a hostile theme if the child indicated that the teacher searched the class without first checking her own desk or personal belongings. The categories of dominant themes are listed in the left column of the table. Table VII shows the distribution of themes according to the total group (T), socio-economic status (Levels 5, 6, 7), race (N-Negro, W-white), and sex (G-girl, B-boy).

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9Anderson, op. cit.
TABLE VII
Dominant Themes in the Missing Money Story

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme Categories</th>
<th>Socio-Economic Status</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>T 5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostile</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-hostile</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-punitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the total group 77 per cent responded that the teacher would search the class to find the missing money. Responses, according to socio-economic status and sex, were quite similar, with 78 per cent of the girls and 75 per cent of the boys expecting this reaction from the teacher, which was interpreted as suspicious and hostile. A slight contrast was seen in racial categories. White students seemed to be more expectant of a negative reaction, as 85 per cent responded in this manner. This contrasts to 71 per cent of Negro answers in the same category.

The teacher's searching the students immediately was interpreted as a hostile reaction. Examples of responses in this category are given below.

And she should go round and check everybody's desk--check everybody's pockets, and hands and shoes and socks and see if they got it.

So the teacher said "When I call your row, everybody line up." And they line up and she checks everybody, and when she checks them, then she says they can go on home.

Go around and look in their eyes and see if any of them looks like their consciences are bothering them, or something like that.
Some responses indicate that the teacher will check her own belongings before accusing the class of taking the money.

She look in her desk and look in her pocketbook again and look in the kid's desks and pockets and her pockets and coat pockets until she finds it. She might look on the floor and right beside her desk and then ask the other children if they seen the money laying on her desk. And then she might tell them, she might tell some of the kids to stop working for a little bit and then look on the floor; see if they could find it.

Students expressing expectations of non-hostile conduct from the teacher usually suggested a misplacement of the money. Samples of this type of theme are listed here.

She came back out and asked who got the 50 cents off her desk and then she asked everybody look in their pocket to see if they got it. And she looked under her desk. She looked under all her papers, but one of them--she left one paper down. And then a boy raised his hand up, and he said, "Raise up the other paper." She raised it up, and she found her 50 cents. It mighta just fall off on the floor and rolled over under her desk, or up on the chair. Maybe accidentally she dropped it or something. And she shouldn't, if she didn't find it, she shouldn't get too mad at them because she mighta lost it or maybe accidentally put it somewhere where she knew where it was, but just had forgotten it. Probably she lost it or somebody done--I don't believe nobody'd take it.

Punitiveness, as a trait in a teacher, was indicated in 67 per cent of the responses. There was very little difference in percentages as analyzed separately in the individual categories of socio-economic status, race, and sex.

The most common punitive measure was paddling or "whuppins." Examples from the responses are:

Shake him. Paddle. Send him home.
She paddles him. Then when she got through paddling, she...told him not to go home for dinner...then she told him not to get nobody else money in his whole life.
Give them a paddling and make them do a lot of homework after school.
Paddles them--no, questions them first.
She'll probably get mad at them and she'll probably paddle them and tell them to be ashamed of themself.
The teacher usually directed her punishment only to the person guilty of stealing the money. However, responses such as the following were not uncommon.
She'd probably punish everyone--make sure she gets the right one.
And finally she'd probably make all the kids in her room stay after school.
Well, she'd get mad. And then, she'd paddle everybody in the room...the principal gets mad. The principal paddles them.

Measures of punishment other than paddling by school officials were suggested by these responses:

Tell his parents that he got a U in social studies...that he's gonna fail because he's stealing money out of her--out of the teacher's desk.
She should tell their parents. Then their parents get it out of them, either whipping them or else sending them to bed without no supper or punishing them.
She sits down and gets real mad and get--gives them something to do, like 11 problems in arithmetic or make them write a word a hundred times.
Make them stay in from recess for a week.

Non-punitive behavior of the teacher was illustrated in a few responses. Examples are:

She thought they took it because she couldn't find it.
She found it and apologized to them.
When everybody comes back to school the next morning, she says that she was sorry to check them and sorry that she didn't trust them to get it.
She didn't think anybody in her room would steal it.
They were such nice little children.

Over two-thirds of the children in this sample expected hostility and punitiveness from a teacher in a situation involving
missing money. Significantly, the responses from this story were the most uniform throughout the categories of socio-economic status, race, and sex of any of the four incomplete stories used in the study.

Perhaps this indicates that most working class children meet the same types of situations in school regardless of their race or sex. However, this theory is not generally accepted by researchers who have studied differences in achievement between Negro and white children. The uniformity of response could be related to past experience with teachers. In the data children often mentioned names, showing their extended experiences which personalized the stories. The responses were marked by severe disciplinary measures experienced in previous years of school. It would seem that these early school experiences had had a great influence on the perception of later incidents and could contribute heavily to the working class children's attitudes toward learning.
THE BENT BICYCLE

The Bent Bicycle story was answered by boys only. It presents an adult-child conflict with the adult perpetrating the injustice. The text of the story follows with a sample of the questions used by the interviewer to motivate the child's response.

John worked hard and bought a new bicycle with his money. One Saturday, while John is playing with friends, John's father decides to ride this bicycle to the store to buy cigarettes. He leaves the bicycle in the street. When he comes out of the store he finds the front wheel bent and some of the paint on the frame is badly scraped. No one is around. The father could still ride the bicycle home.\footnote{Anderson, \textit{op. cit.}}

What does the father do?
How do they both feel about it?
What does John do?

The analysis of dominant themes is given in Table VIII. The themes are divided into categories, as to whether the father was open and truthful about the accident, or whether he attempted to mislead his son by repairing the bicycle without his knowledge. The second theme was divided as to whether a mutual understanding between the father and son was evident, or whether expressions of anger were shown toward the father. The categories of dominant themes are listed in the left column of the table. Table VIII shows the distribution of themes according to the total group of boys (T), socio-economic status (Levels 5, 6, 7), and race (N-Negro, W-white).
TABLE VIII
Dominant Themes in the Bent Bicycle Story

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme Categories</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Socio-Economic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 6 7 N W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Openness</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1 8 0 5 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slyness</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0 6 1 4 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutuality</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1 10 0 8 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anger</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0 4 0 0 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Comment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0 0 1 1 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Openness of the father to his son about the bicycle accident was suggested in 56 per cent of the total responses. Analysis of socio-economic status and race yielded similar percentages with no striking differences.

Some responses showing openness are:

"Son, I wrecked your bicycle. Bent the front tire."
He could say that he'd get it fixed in a couple days, if he could.
He'd go home and tell the boy about it.

Well, his father went home and the boy saw his bike, so he came home and tried. . .the boy asked him, "What happened to it?" Told him he left it out in the street and when he came out—let's see—the wheel was bent and paint was scratched off. And he didn't mean to.
And he said he might buy him new paint and stuff to paint it or he might buy him a new bike.

The child's seeing slyness on the father's part was quite evident in several responses.

Oh, the best thing for him to do is sneak in and get it in the garage. If he can get away with it, he won't tell John! He probably knows he should tell the truth and he thinks it will hurt his boy; he thinks he'll just keep it to himself.
Probably his father wouldn't let him know about it and probably get it all fixed up. He rides the bicycle home and he doesn't tell Johnny, so Johnny won't get mad. And then he paints on the color and fixes the fender so Johnny won't know. And then puts it in the same place where Johnny had it and then when Johnny goes to ride it, he won't know the difference.

Mutuality of feelings between father and son was evident in 69 per cent of the boys' responses. However, a sharp contrast resulted from comparison of responses according to race. Only 43 per cent of the white boys felt a mutual feeling; the rest showed anger or resentment to the father. In contrast, 78 per cent or eight out of nine Negroes indicated a mutuality of feeling between the father and son.

The responses usually indicated that the son understood about his father's accident with the bicycle, and they were both temporarily upset by the misfortune. Examples of themes of mutuality are found below.

He'll probably get mad. But he shouldn't, cause his father couldn't help it, cause he was in the store. Probably his father and him would work together to get the bicycle fixed up.

\(\text{He wasn't mad because he knew that he could get it fixed at the bicycle shop. They both feel bad about a new bike being all wrecked up.}\)

Several indicated that the father-son relationship was inherently good, by stating that you know they're good friends "cause John is his son" and "cause it's his father."

Feelings of anger and resentment are apparent in the following examples.

Then the boy probably won't let him ride it \(\text{bicycle}\) no more cause the way he bent the other one.
John thinks that his father done it on purpose cause—
I don't know—he probably scratched it up cause he
don't like his kids to have bikes.
If John feels bad, he could jump on his father and make
him buy a new one.

Some children expressed ambivalence of feeling in response
to this story. They indicated the way they thought they ought
to feel in a similar situation, but also stated the way they
really felt about the problem. Examples of this ambivalent
response are:

His father say he was sorry, he probably not, might be mad.
He should just try to get the money again to fix it. . .
No! I think his father should get the money to fix it.

Responses to this story would seem to say that although
both Negro and white boys sense an openness in father-son
relationships, white boys are far less secure in their under-
standing of, and confidence in, their fathers.

One wonders if the high percentage of mutuality among Negro
boys results from fewer contacts with the father figure, or if
it comes from a different type of father-son relationship rooted
in the racial subculture.

The subject of the story offers another suggestion in this
area. Perhaps the likelihood of borrowing a bicycle has a
different connotation to a Negro boy than to a white boy. Maybe
the story itself lends distortion in suggesting that a boy could
earn enough money in his own job to purchase a new bicycle, for in
this group, few boys have bicycles or hope for a bicycle in the
near future.
THE BROKEN VASE

The Broken Vase story was answered by girls only. It presents an adult-child conflict with the child on the receiving end. The text of the story follows with a sample of the questions used by the interviewer to motivate the child's response.

Mary's grandmother gave her a beautiful vase for her tenth birthday. One day Mary's mother comes in with flowers which she puts in the vase. She places the vase in the window, though she knows the window ledge is too narrow for this vase and that it might fall off. As her mother is dusting, she bumps the vase and it crashes to the floor and breaks. While Mary's mother is in the kitchen getting a cloth, Mary returns from school and finds the vase in pieces on the floor.\footnote{Anderson, \textit{op. cit.}}

What does the girl do?
How do they both feel about it?
What does the mother say?

The analysis of dominant themes is given in Table IX. The themes are divided into categories as to whether the daughter reacts with hostility and anger or non-hostility, and whether a mutuality of feeling was present between the mother and daughter. The categories of dominant themes are listed in the left column of the table. Table IX shows the distribution of themes according to the total group of girls (T), socio-economic status (Levels 5, 6, 7), and race (N-Negro, W-white).
TABLE IX
Dominant Themes in the Broken Vase Story

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme Categories</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Socio-Economic Status</th>
<th>Race</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>T 5 6 7 N W</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostile</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0 6 1 4 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-hostile</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2 4 2 4 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutuality</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2 9 3 8 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Anger

Of the total group 57 per cent of the girls indicated non-hostile reactions to the accidental breaking of the vase. According to socio-economic status, hostility was most evident in Level 6 with 55 per cent. Both Levels 5 and 7 were much lower, with 0 per cent and 33 per cent respectively. Ana analysis based on race showed that 50 per cent of the Negro girls implied a hostile reaction, while 33 per cent of the white girls answered in this way.

Responses showing hostility are given below.

She got angry at her mother and made her mother buy her another one.
She'll go outdoors and start crying. And she'll go over to her grandmother's house and tell her that her mother bumped against the vase and broke it.

In one response a girl moved from initial hostility to an understanding of the situation.

She might get mad and then go up to her room and not come down for supper or not even speak to her mother. [Later] Mary feels like her mother wasn't aiming to do it, and she shouldn't have went upstairs.

Other examples of non-hostile responses are:

She's not mad. . . cause her mother didn't mean to. [Mary's not mad] cause you're not supposed to get mad at your parents.
Inspection of Table IX shows a 100 per cent response to mutuality of feelings between the mother and daughter.

Selected responses which show the compatibility between mother and daughter are below.

Her mother will tell her that she broke it, and she wouldn't mean to break it, but she was dusting the floor, and she bumped against it, and she broke it.

Her mother feels guilty. And she probably would cry, too, for breaking it.

She probably feels bad cause she broke something of her own daughter's. Probably will buy another one. It'll make her feel better, but not as good.

"I'm sorry I broke your vase. I will buy you a new one."

The responses to this story indicate an extremely high mutuality of feeling between mothers and daughters. Possibly this could be explained because of the constant influence mothers have on the early lives of their children, whether girls or boys.

It might indicate a healthy self-esteem which admits mistakes and accidents in self; therefore, can tolerate such traits in others. The fact that Negro girls gave more responses showing hostility than white girls did would tend to substantiate the findings of Ausubel in his study of Negro children.

The differences in responses between the levels of socio-economic status were greater in the Broken Vase story than in the other stories. However, the small experimental sample may have disguised the actual trends in responses.
EXTENDED ANALYSIS

A further extended analysis was made on the data. This analysis was less systematic than those done on individual stories. In this section the data were examined for suggestions or implications for the teaching of working class children. The analysis was carried out by a cross sectional reading of the children's responses and a comparison of the responses to previous literature related to the themes.

The dominant themes of each story were analyzed according to socio-economic status, race, and sex. There was very little distinction between responses when the dominant themes were classified according to socio-economic status. Possibly this similarity in findings was due to the distribution of the sample over such a narrow range of occupational levels, Classes V, VI, and VII. In the range covering three levels, there were only three cases in Class V, the highest level represented in the sample.

A further examination of data was made comparing the responses of boys and girls. This analysis showed that on the whole, girls indicated more positive behavior in conflict situations than did boys. In the Broken Vase story, presenting a conflict between a mother and daughter, a typical girl's response was:

She feels sorry cause she broke it. And shouldn't'a been up in the window. You know, small windows...

In contrast, a boy's response from the Broken Window story was:

They could run off and nobody knew what happened and who did it!

An exception to this trend was found in the missing Money story which presented a school situation. In this story, the girls'
responses evidenced more negative attitudes toward the teacher than did replies of the boys. Examples of this difference are:

When she paddles them, they will talk because that gets the truth out of them. (Girl)
She thought they took it because she couldn't find it.
She found it, and she apologized to them. (Boy)

The responses were also categorized according to race. In three of the four stories Negro children indicated more positive relationships with adults than the white children did. These positive reactions took the form of non-hostility and mutuality in the responses. One exception to this pattern was found in the Broken Vase story. In this story, the Negro girls' responses suggested much more evasiveness and a less understanding mother figure. In contrast, the responses of white girls showed a more accepting attitude toward the mother after she broke her daughter's vase. These examples show the different attitudes toward the mother:

She got angry at her mother and made her mother buy her another one. (Negro)
No. she didn't get mad cause her mother didn't mean to break the vase.

Although the Broken Vase story revealed some hostile attitudes of Negro girls towards their mothers, an exceptionally high degree of mutuality was found in the content of all the girls' replies. The response of mutuality between mother and daughter (100 per cent) contrasted sharply with the mutuality in the father-son relationships analyzed in the Bent Bicycle story (69 per cent). As the reader will recall, the theme of mutuality showed understanding between the adult and the child. Examples of the mutuality theme are:
Her mother feels guilty. And she probably would cry, too, for breaking it. They both feel bad about a new bike being all wrecked up.

The difference in boys' and girls' responses of mutuality might have been a result of the content of the stories used as stimuli with each group. The Bent Bicycle story, which was used with the boys, shows a deliberate act by the father against his son--taking the bicycle without informing the son. The accident with the bike does not compare equally with the accidental breaking of the vase in the story used with the girls. The mother had not acted in secrecy as the father had, in riding the bicycle to the story. Therefore, the accident was the only factor to consider in the mother-daughter situation. The double conflict in the father-son relationship--taking the bicycle without permission and then having the accident--may have had considerable influence on the lower response of mutuality in the boys' replies, since the situations in the two stories were not of the same order.

Examination of the boys' responses showed that the Negro boys seemed to have a more positive relationship with their fathers than did the white boys in this sample. This would seem to be contradictory to the current beliefs about male relationships in the Negro community. One wonders, then, with the prolonged absence of a male adult or a revolving male adult in many Negro families, if this theme is not an artifact of an idealized reality. The responses may have been wishes for the kind of relationship desired by the boys, not what they actually experienced in their real lives. Oscar Lewis commented on the split between the ideal
and real in the lives of the poor when he observed in the culture of poverty "a great emphasis on family solidarity--an ideal only rarely achieved."  

As is seen in this further analysis of data, a high percentage of the responses indicated positive relationships with adults. It would be interesting to know if one reason for this could be the "acquiescence set." Perhaps the children were so used to the punitiveness and scorn of adults in their lives that they did not feel open to oppose adults, even in completing a story. However, care must be exercised in generalizing. Many of the children in the sample evidently had quite positive and good relationships with adults. Their experience would not fit completely in the general life pattern of the culturally deprived as described in literature.

In this further analysis it can be seen that the data are rich in suggested hypotheses for teaching working class children. Analysis and comparison of responses according to race and sex have provided avenues for further exploration in reading instruction and classroom enrichment. Specifically, some questions which seem to be suggested by the data as being fruitful to explore in further studies are:

Why do working class girls seem to have a more positive outlook on their life situation than boys from a similar environment?

12 Lewis, op. cit., XXVI.
Why are the adult-child relationships in the Negro subculture as favorable and high in mutuality as responses in this study seem to indicate?

What implications for teaching are there in the high degree of mutuality in the responses of working class girls in this study?

It would take further research to document these findings and to support whether they are consistent in the working class subculture or if the findings were a function of the way this study was conducted, which is always a possibility.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study investigated the oral language patterns used by working class children and analyzed their responses to unfinished stories to determine authoritarian tendencies in adult-child relationships. The data collected were responses of a fourth grade composed of working class children to a set of four Anderson Incomplete Stories. The responses were recorded in an interview situation where an attempt was made to maximize fluency in the children.

The data in this study were handled in two ways--a syntactic analysis and a content analysis. Twenty-five sentences from each child's responses were selected from the data for an analysis of their grammatical structure. The sentences were then compared with a language sample of fourth graders in Ruth Strickland's linguistic study. The complete data were also subjected to content analysis to discover the direction and degree of authoritarianism in the dominant themes of the responses. These dominant themes were classified and compared according to socio-economic status, race and sex of the children.

Syntactic Analysis

One question which guided the study was: Do speech patterns of a group of working class children differ in syntactical
arrangement and frequency of use from those of a group of students more normally distributed in socio-economic status?

The main findings and conclusions on this question were:

1. Despite some ideas that language patterns of working class children are simple and uncomplicated, this study found that the working class children used a wide range of language patterns. However, the patterns were not as varied as those in the comparative study by Strickland, which had a more normal distribution of socio-economic status (six levels instead of three.)

2. The frequency of use of specific language patterns differed between the experimental group of working class children and the control group from Strickland's study. Language patterns including the indirect object or inner compliment were extremely high in frequency in the speech of working class children. An example of this pattern (1 2 3 4) is given later in the text.

The five most prominent patterns used by these children were basic structures with few movable parts of clauses. An example of each of these patterns is given below.

1 2 4 I'd go tell the truth.

1 2 3 4 She might ask them why did they steal the money and everything.

1 2b 5 They feel unhappy.

1 2 4+ T The owner of the house started chasing them and he caught them.
They probably mighta told the people.

In addition to an analysis of children's speech patterns, Strickland studied four basal reading series to find which patterns occurred most frequently in their texts. It is noted that two of the prominent patterns used by working class children in this study (1 2 4 and 1 2b 5) have a high frequency of occurrence in each of the four series of reading texts selected and analyzed by Strickland. Two of the other patterns used most frequently by the children in this sample (1 2 3 4 and 1 2 4+T) are found in only two of the four textbook series. This would seem to indicate that these reading texts are neglecting a pattern of sentence structure commonly used by working class children. It has long been hypothesized that if the oral language patterns of children were represented in instructional materials, these children might develop skill and interest in reading more readily.

3. In contrast to the control group (Strickland's study), the experimental group of working class children used subordination easily and rather frequently in their speech. The difference possibly could be accounted for by the way the data was collected. Children in Strickland's group were interviewed in groups of two or three and were stimulated to talk about themselves or any topic of interest to them. The children's responses in this study were structured by unfinished stories and directed, when necessary, with probes or leading questions. It would seem that guiding the conversation to a specific focus would encourage more use of subordination than allowing the response to ramble in an unstructured fashion.
A comparison of oral language patterns in this study to those in Strickland's study found a low correlation, .35 significant at the .05 level. These findings would support the hypothesis that there is some similarity in basic language patterns in the speech of children with different socio-economic backgrounds. However, the level of the correlation would raise the question whether enough similarity in speech patterns exists among children to justify the use of the same reading materials in all socio-economic groups.

The data also showed that working class children are not necessarily limited in oral communication skills, even though their basic language patterns may differ somewhat in structure from higher socio-economic groups. The difficulties experienced in language would seem to arise from written material, rather than oral expression. Therefore, it would appear that better reading instruction for working class children could possibly result from the use of materials which incorporated similar language patterns to those found in the speech of these children.

Experience charts and other materials prepared by the teacher for individual groups offer one method of using the actual oral language patterns of the children in reading instruction. In this way the teacher would not have to wait for commercial materials to be produced to deal with her children's inadequacies. Also, she could determine the specific strengths and weaknesses in the children's speech and could use appropriate methods and materials for her particular class. An analysis of children's speech patterns from the experience charts might give the teacher leads into language arts activities which would encourage more variety.
in sentence structure and fluency in conversation.

Some problems were incurred in the analysis of language patterns which might be rooted in the inadequacies in the coding of the Strickland study. One especially knotty problem is the coding symbol T, which was arbitrarily assigned to unanalyzed speech. Frequent use of the symbol T made comparison of the two samples quite subjective and possibly inconsistent.

Some of the similarities between socio-economic groups in this study and the Strickland study may be attributed to this inadequate system of coding. In future studies involving syntactic analysis, more specific symbols should be used to insure greater reliability in the coding.

Content Analysis

The second question which guided the study was: Are tendencies toward authoritarian behavior in adult-child relationships evident in the responses of children from a working class subculture?

The main findings and conclusions on this question were:

1. In the responses to the Broken Window story, the sample of working class children tended to be open about their own mistakes. However, they were less inclined to make restitution for them. Perhaps the scarcity of money in their subculture is one reason for this finding.

2. The working class children responded almost uniformly to the Missing Money story which presented a school situation. This finding would seem to indicate that working class children tend to meet similar types of
situations in school regardless of their race or sex. The uniformity of response also could be related to past experience with teachers.

Over two thirds of the children expected hostility and punitiveness in the situation involving missing money at school. The responses consistently portrayed a negative stereotyped teacher image, threatening and punishing, and may be a prominent factor in the learning climate of these children. Another facet of this negative image which may be important to educators is that the attitudes produced by an environment of poverty often direct hostility and anger toward any figure representing authority. Therefore, even in a favorable school situation, the weight of the past experiences of the working class children may overcome their present reality of an understanding teacher. This theory is significant for a teacher, if she is interested in building a relationship with these children which is conducive to learning.

3. In the individual stories used with either boys or girls, the themes of mutuality of feeling between parent and child showed sharp contrasts when the responses were broken down by sex and race. Girls' responses indicated extremely high mutuality or understanding between the mother and daughter. On the other hand, boys tended to have a less positive relationship with their fathers. As was pointed out previously, this finding
may be related to the content of the stories completed by the children. Another possible explanation for the contrasting responses by sex could be the belief in male superiority. Is mutuality seen as being a feminine role? If so, then expectation of the subculture would lead boys to assume an extremely masculine role in order to gain acceptance and recognition.

There was a striking difference in the response of mutuality when categorized by race. Negro boys indicated much more mutuality between father and son than did white boys. This unusual finding would seem to contradict some beliefs about Negro male relationships. In contrast to this, it was found that Negro girls' responses showed more hostility between mother and daughter than was evident in responses of white girls.

Several of these findings indicate a high degree of conflict in adult-child relationships in the working class subculture, and the resulting hostility from these relationships. According to Anderson, hostility is one evidence of an authoritarian environment. Viewed in this light, the findings in this section have several implications for teachers and other educators. Such questions might be raised as:

If hostility is such a dominant attitude in working class children, what effects does it have on the child in school?

In what way does authoritarianism inhibit learning?

Might not hostility reduce curiosity which is related to openness?
Does fear of failure, used widely in many schools, heighten hostility to a level where it blocks learning?

How does the individual teacher penetrate through the ambivalence reflected in adult-child relationships?

Might hostility reflected in school actually be developed by adult-child relationships outside the school?

Might not the school have to cultivate a new level of adult-child relationships?

Answers to these and other similar questions would help teachers as they face a classroom of working class children. Understanding the cultural deprivation these children must overcome to compete in school could make a critical difference in the educational approach taken in programs for these students.

That the school has not been overly successful with working class children has been extensively documented. The discrepancies in American value espousal and value reality is being caught up in the titanic struggle for expanded civil rights. In this light, special educational provision for working class children becomes of critical concern. Some realize that upon the success of these programs rides the hope for reduction of authoritarianism with its subsequent reduction in hostility. Increased academic aid also helps to maintain an expanded avenue of social mobility for people in the working class.

In this larger sense, better educational programs loom heavily as a partial resolution of the civil rights conflict which poses a serious threat in all major urban areas. For at the root of educators' attempts at understanding working class children and formulating improved educational programs for them is the fundamental assumption which fuels the civil rights movements--
improved opportunity for every individual to realize his potential. This study has attempted to look specifically at selected factors in this problem. It will, I hope, make a small contribution to the larger critical task ahead.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


