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middle class culture. Values differ markedly. Most of these people live in a never ending cycle of poverty. The cycle is something like this; "low motivation, poor education and jobs, unemployment, low income, broken homes, poor housing, increased low self-esteem, poor school performance."7 Those living out this cycle of poverty want desperately for their children to rise above it but there seems to be no way open. That the task is extremely difficult is exemplified in this poem.

THE GIFT OF KNOWLEDGE

The gift of knowledge
Does not come easily.
Do your homework,
Learn! Arise!
I can't!
Young children fighting, crying,
Screaming.
Mother comforting,
Sometimes
Screaming back at the young children
Under my feet.
Late to bed, I can't sleep.
I hear them arguing,
Mother crying
In the next room
And I know, to rise
Out of this hole,
I must KNOW,
I must overcome.

Debbie Winston

Their manner of living produces characteristic traits and actions widely different from those common to the

so-called middle class. These children live openly and actively. They are controlled by physical punishment such as "beatings" and the children learn not to fear them. They do fear disease, separation and hunger. Physical aggression is part of their lives. Disadvantaged children are not protected from life and therefore mature more rapidly than the middle class child. Roles of man and woman are sometimes reversed, the mother being the head of the family and the job holder. Adults are more outspoken and more aggressive sexually than other segments of the society. The family is important and there are close family ties. Whatever is practical and material is more desirable. They value abstract ideas rarely. There is no value in prestige as far as they are concerned and so there is no striving for the prestige because it is unavailable. The disadvantaged face failure day after day, which, in turn results in a negative self-image and outlook. How one values himself has much to do with the success or failure of a learning situation.

Verbal abilities of the disadvantaged

It seems that most authors, no matter what their field, feel that language ability is the key to the problem of the disadvantaged. The sociologist and social psychologist provide one basis for this argument. Studies emphasize the function of language and the development of the person or self.

8Allison Davis, op. cit., p. 12.
Allison Davis states that in the major cities as many as two thirds of the people are in the lower socio-economic class. The entire population, including those who are disadvantaged must be trained and tapped as a resource in order for our nation to survive. As our nation becomes more technologically oriented, there is less need for the unskilled and semi-skilled worker and more need for an educated people. Not only is the "affluent society", as U.S. society is labeled, able to take more time and concern for the disadvantaged in the form of a "War on Poverty", hopefully it can see the need for helping them to educate themselves for a better life.

WHO ARE THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED?

Since there are so many who belong to this group there must be a way of recognizing and categorizing the people known as the culturally disadvantaged. Describing them is not particularly easy, but they must be described so that they may be identified. The following definition is general and somewhat arbitrary. Not every culturally disadvantaged person follows this pattern completely. He may or may not possess all the attributes and often may

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3Allison Davis, "Society, the School and the Culturally Deprived Student," Improving English Skills of Culturally Different Youth in Large Cities, ed. Arno Jewitt, op. cit., p. 11.
have only a few. Many people do break out of the cycle and succeed. Keeping these limitations in mind, the following criteria may be used for recognizing a disadvantaged person.

One of the obvious criteria is socio-economic status. Nearly all culturally disadvantaged persons belong to the lower class, worker group. A few in the upper classes may be considered culturally disadvantaged but will not be dealt with in this paper. This group often belongs to a racial or cultural minority. They have a limited education. Statements of most authors have been summarized by Richard Corbin,

Whatever the racial or ethnic background of these disadvantaged, their circumstances are much the same. They come from families that exist on annual incomes which fall below the established national minimum subsistence level, that have known little or no schooling, that have no job security. More than half have only one parent (generally the mother), and many have never known either parent. They come from families who seldom aspire, or when they do, aspire unrealistically, who are often idle because few jobs are open to them. They are the people who exist—one can hardly say "live"—on the wretched rim of an otherwise affluent world.5

Experiences of the disadvantaged

The disadvantaged person seldom has a wide range of experiences. During their childhood, few have been farther than a few blocks from their homes. Many live in the inner city and have never seen flowers, trees, the animals in the

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4Frank Reissman, op. cit.

CHAPTER I

THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED CHILD

INTRODUCTION

"All men are not the same and children know it better than adults."¹ There is a widespread concern in American society today for a growing sector of the population. Those people who are a part of the sector have been known by many names from poverty stricken through culturally deprived or disadvantaged to socially handicapped. No matter what they are labeled, they do exist and their existence is being made known to the general population by educators, social workers, and anthropologists. Why is there this sudden recognition? Why is there now a need to be concerned about this particular segment of the population?

First, the culturally disadvantaged comprise a rather large portion of the population of the United States. Frank Reissman says they are one third of the

Benjamin Whorf, a sociologist, based an entire study of language on two cardinal hypotheses. The two hypotheses are as follows:

1. All higher levels of thinking are dependent on language.

2. The structure of the language one habitually uses influences the manner in which he understands his environment.9

C. Wright Mills uses many of George Herbert Mead's ideas in stating that language is the way in which the human forms ideas and concepts. It is not merely a sounding board for the ideas and concepts. Concepts begin with the formation of a self-image. An individual reacts to his "self" as he sees it reflected from others. The way in which one views one's own capabilities and limitations is a result of what others think. One's role is learned by trying out many roles. There is no "real self". Men are formed by society and learn through language. As he learns the language, a child learns to internalize definitions of events, things, and self. It is important to have a cooperative language for a successful human society.10

Sociology relates many ideas or basic assumptions about language. Language is not a means of relating what one thinks but rather thinking is dependent on the language and concepts available. Language is dependent on the


situation. For example, a word in one situation has an entirely different meaning in another. In this manner, society functions on interpretation of and reaction to other's verbal symbols. The limits of perception are the limits of language. No verbal symbol is formed for ideas or objects which have no meaning. To elaborate, the ideals, values and language of a culture are those which the culture deems necessary or relevant. These may differ within subcultures of the same culture.

Indications are that lack of a wide vocabulary and home environment give the lower class, impoverished child a negative self concept. One of the major ways to combat this is to give the child a positive self-image through expanding his vocabulary and range of experiences. Davis states that by the time a lower class child is two he is inferior in verbal skills. His interactions and range of experiences further limit him until by the time he reaches school there is a wide gap. These ideas are not new but the problem is to understand the implications of this language difference.

The ideas of formation of a self-image, particular language used by a culture or subculture, and experiences, and values and goals of the disadvantaged may be combined to formulate new ideas and understandings for finding a solution to the problem of these people.

In forming his self-image, the lower class child depends on his environment and the adults and peers in this environment, the rules and standards of that society, the roles of others and his own role in relation to others of that society. "The child's gradual approach to conventional speech presupposes the cooperation of adults." If those adults with whom he lives have non-standard, or "non-middle class", English, so will the child. One may assume through sociological knowledge that if the parent uses language very little, the child learns little language. If the parent, busy with his own problems and concerns, talks to the child it is usually in the way of a reprimand or a coarse remark.

As the child attempts to communicate with others, and especially with his parents, he uses a relatively crude and limited language. In many middle-class homes, the child's language is extended by the parent's responses to his statements and questions. In culturally deprived homes, the parent is more likely to respond to the child with a monosyllable or to nod the head without using any words. The point of this is that one major difference between culturally deprived and more advantaged homes is the extension and development of the speech of children.

If the parent has little hope of success or sees no possibility of betterment this too is transferred. This may lead to a negative self-concept or feeling of inferior-

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ity. Language in this sense is a feeling, an action or an emotion which is not verbalized. Many studies support the idea that a negative self concept is a reality.

Each culture, or subculture utilizes and learns only those words which are necessary or relevant to its needs. Until the disadvantaged sense a need for changing their dialect or non-standard form of speaking they will continue to use it. To enter the middle class world, to obtain the jobs they seek, or find acceptance with other groups of society they must master the more acceptable language.

Two patterns of language emerge. First, from lack of contact with the spoken word a child may have very little language at all. These are the children for whom Head Start programs have specific help. Also, from hearing language among adults and peers of his own class, a child may develop a non-standard dialect. In this case children need to be taught English as a second language. In either case the child grows into an adult caught in the vicious cycle of poverty. He can seldom succeed in a middle class world with these language disabilities. Without the language a child performs less well in school than other children, he falls farther and farther behind and is consequently less educated.

Language has a tremendous impact on the total self, in forming attitudes, ideals, and aspirations.

Thus, the deprived child enters school inadequately prepared for the typical language tasks of the first grade. The greatest handicap seems to be
a lack of familiarity with the speech used by teachers and insufficient practice in attending to prolonged speech sequences.

In the long run, the language which the deprived child has learned at home is likely to be inadequate as an aid and tool in conceptualization. Furthermore, language serves as a means of social distinctions which can limit opportunities for mobility.

Because of this impact, many educators feel that the preschool and early school program should include an abundance of language experiences. Most educators in the early childhood field feel that it is the most important aspect of early learning and the basis of all further school work. "Human beings cling to the language which makes it possible for them to control chaos and to survive in the situations in which they find themselves." 15

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING THE DISADVANTAGED

The urgency for giving special education to the culturally disadvantaged can hardly be over-emphasized. Poverty breeds poverty. Education can help to break this cycle of poverty. It is not the answer to overcoming poverty but it is an important path toward alleviating the situation. According to John Hersey, "The schools cannot drain the slums or break down ghetto walls, or wipe out job discrimination, or enforce laws...They can teach skills

14 Ibid., p. 71.

that earn money. They can give hope. The poor must learn to help themselves." 16

The real answer, however, lies in the type of education which is afforded for these children. From test results and observations one is led "to conclude that a majority of children in disadvantaged communities come to school very unprepared to succeed in the traditional school curriculum: they come to school already seriously retarded, particularly in their verbal skills." 17 The school must relate to their world and not to abstract ideas. These children need to see their own lives as relevant and acceptable.

Society must view children of the disadvantaged as human beings potentially able to learn. Some could be college material but the standard curriculum, without changes which meet their needs, only hastens their failure.

Why pre-school?

"The task of the pre-school is to lay the foundations on which it is hoped can be built later school success, something which statistics normally deny the disadvantaged child." 18 These are the formative years.


Bloom's recent study of human development based upon longitudinal and other studies, presents the proposition that environmental variations can have their greatest effect during the period of rapid change for that characteristic. For many developmental characteristics, including height, intelligence, and intellectuality, as well as aggressiveness in males and dependency in females, fully half of the organism's total development occurs before the child reaches school age. Even general school achievement is half developed by grade three. This would suggest that in order for environmental manipulation to have its greatest impact in the area of intelligence, it ought to occur during the pre-school years.\(^{19}\)

Learning, as indicated in the section on language, is based on early experiences. If enrichment is not begun at an early age, speech becomes increasingly difficult to alter.

The curriculum must be altered to benefit the disadvantaged so that they may have the opportunity to be stimulated by their surroundings, be confident about themselves and their speech, and be ready for a successful school experience. This does not preclude that the adapted program should stop with their entrance into school. It needs to be a continuous process from pre-school to elementary to secondary levels.

Problems of the teacher

"More than 95 out of every 100 teachers are from the middle socio-economic class."\(^{20}\) Many of these teachers experience 'culture shock' when they begin teaching the


\(^{20}\)Allison Davis, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 15.
disadvantaged. The prejudiced teacher is often a cause for alienation on the part of the child. It is difficult to cover prejudice. Often no more than the expression on one's face indicates prejudice against dirt, confusion and ill manners.

Teachers need to know how to help break the barriers of disadvantage and prejudice. The teacher should be trained to understand and appreciate the disadvantaged, their values and goals. Sympathy or pity are not the answers but rather empathy. The child identifies with a teacher who does not show discontent with the child or his behavior. If the child understands that the teacher respects him he will come to have respect also. Gradually the class will follow the example of the teacher as being another way, a more acceptable way, of doing things. The teacher should never fall into the trap of imposing middle class values as the only "right ones." The most difficult task for the teacher is the realization that his own values are not static. He must realize, too, that there is a time and place for both sets of values. One such instance is that it is necessary for the child to maintain rapport with his family and peers. He must also learn the acceptable standards and values of a school setting. This may also help the child in understanding both worlds.

21 Ibid.

22 Cornelia Goldsmith, "Our Concerns for Young Children Today," Young Children, 22; 76+, November, 1966.
The school alone cannot solve the problem of disadvantage. The school is limited in its total effectiveness when a child has only three productive hours in school and ten hours of exact antithesis at home.\textsuperscript{23} The school can do very little if the home reinforces a child's negative attitudes. Often parents are not interested in school and give no encouragement. They are reminiscent of their own failures and so fear school and anything related to it. Sometimes parents are interested and want the best for their children but they have no idea as to how to help. These are the parents who are unaccustomed to the school being interested in them.

If schools work with parents, much can be accomplished. When the teacher and/or social worker can make the parent feel that there is genuine interest and concern, the parent may change his views of the school. It becomes necessary then to go to the parents. When talking with parents, the teacher must be understanding and empathetic.\textsuperscript{24} The parent must be shown a possible role as a partner in the education of his child. If the parent is attentive and interested in education, the child will be more motivated to learn.

A teacher must remember to utilize the resources available. Community organizations should not be forgotten. There needs to be a strong system of unity and interaction.

\textsuperscript{23}Richard Corbin, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 51.

\textsuperscript{24}Gordon P. Liddle, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 400.
This should occur within the school, between the school and the community, and among the school, the home, and the community.

This discussion has presented a picture of the conditions that exist among the culturally disadvantaged. In the following chapters a description of one program, and the degree to which it is effective with selected children will be presented. Other possible approaches and curriculum practices will be reviewed.
CHAPTER II

THE HEAD START PROGRAM

ORIGINS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

During the nineteenth century the child under six or seven was considered not yet educable. As psychiatry, pediatrics, preventive medicine, social work, mental health and research began to develop it was found that the early years were very significant to learning. Children acquire not only facts, but attitudes. Nursery schools began to appear. They were set up "without guidance or control and entirely apart from the public school system."\textsuperscript{1} These nurseries or day centers were groups of women giving care to poor children, children with working or incapacitated mothers, or demonstration and laboratory schools for universities, or hospitals and research centers.\textsuperscript{2}

Many dedicated men and women in the field of nursery education have been working since the 1890's to strengthen and expand the existing program. Parents and educators began to realize the need for a good program. In the spring of 1965, an opportunity unfolded. On April 11, 1965,

\textsuperscript{1}Cornelia Goldsmith, \textit{op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{2}Ibid.
the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was legally enacted. Special provisions under this act paved the way for an effective pre-school program.\(^3\)

The larger proportion of Title I funds, under the ESEA Act, provide for pre-school education. These funds are directed to the needs of poverty children. The type of program that may be established is almost entirely left to the local educators.\(^4\) Title I "stipulates that cooperation with community action organizations should be an important part of development plans."\(^5\) A very successful use of Title I funds is Project Head Start which was set up within and administered through the Office of Economic Opportunity. Educators have learned "...the necessity for special enrichment, cultural, and recreational activities to help fill the vacuum in their (culturally disadvantaged) student's lives. Their new programs also are being geared to overcome the social and emotional inadequacies that are partially responsible for the failure of these youngsters."\(^6\)

Funds are available through Title I for testing the methods and materials being used as well as particular needs of any new program. The local educators identify


\(^4\)Ibid.


\(^6\)A Chance for a Change, op. cit.
the needs and evaluate what is being done. Then state agencies must approve the programs and projects of the local group.

Once a proposal was accepted and funds granted, the Head Start projects had to be organized and decisions made as to what needs the disadvantaged child must have to afford him an equal opportunity with other children.

Experience with experimental classes indicated that "...classes seem to work best when there is a teacher and an aide for each fifteen pupils."7

Of great value was the combination of educational practices with a good health program and nutritional improvement. It is difficult for a four year old to concentrate on learning if he has hunger pains.8

Cooperation among the student, the teacher and the parent was another essential for a good program.

Materials must be interesting and on the child's level for effective learning to occur. In early programs the teacher talked constantly to the child to acquaint him with words and ideas which he lacked. Language and vocabulary are at the very center of the program.

Head Start programs have accomplished a great deal toward helping the disadvantaged child. The most outstanding findings are these:

7Education: An Answer to Poverty, op. cit., p. 20.
For the teacher:

1. The idea is not to feed the child so much information he can't understand. There is rather a need to touch, feel, experience and verbalize.

2. There should be a close relationship between the teacher and the child. This should be one of empathy and understanding, not sympathy or pity. Knowing the child's world and how he sees it helps considerably.

3. Children need to be aware of reality. They have no need for ideals that don't belong in their own world when they aren't ready. Honest praising is fine. The teacher should help these children to understand that all people have fears at times.


For the child:

1. Children need to talk. "The ability to verbalize facilitates the child's ability to reason." 9

2. A child needs confidence in his ability to speak. This is greatly enhanced by the teacher's ability to listen.

3. The child needs to first explore his own world before attempting another.

4. Children need to dramatize and describe so as to use their imaginations.

For the program

1. For the success of the program everyone connected

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9 Bernice H. Fleiss, "The Continuity of Education from Pre-Kindergarten to Primary," *Young Children*, 22; 88+, November, 1966
with it must realize that there is no set pattern for these children, only similarities. Recognition of individuality is essential.

2. The atmosphere of the classroom should be free and spontaneous learning, not unguided disorder.

3. Alternate periods of active and passive activities are most successful.

4. The curriculum is set up to teach the skills needed for school success, not to teach middle class values.

The above list is derived from many authors and these findings are repeated often in educational journals, studies of Head Start and similar programs.

PROGRAM POSSIBILITIES

In setting up a compensatory program for teaching the disadvantaged, there are many possibilities. When one concentrates on language, many methods and techniques are available. The best program should utilize language experiences in both listening and speaking. The methods that are suggested in this paper are only a few of the many methods that have been suggested and used successfully in pre-school programs.

The self-image may be very low or even negative on the part of the child. Many times they do not even know their own names as they have not been used. They learn to answer to substitute names such as "sister" or "boy".
The teacher should give each child the opportunity to see and hear his name often. Games may be played using the name for identification. A photograph of the child or a mirror helps him identify with his "self". While placing the child's name on his work the teacher should read it to him.\(^\text{10}\)

As boys and girls learn their own names they may discover that all things have names and that two quite different objects may have the same name. If a teacher always names the objects being used and encourages children to name them, children will have made a beginning.\(^\text{11}\)

A child needs to learn to depend on the vocabulary he knows and he needs to be encouraged to use the more acceptable, standard English. It is best not to tell a child he is wrong in this situation but rather that there is a better word. He should be helped to realize that his own way of speaking is appropriate in some situations but he needs to learn a vocabulary usable in school situations and later in other levels of society. Language should not be static. Children should be helped to use a complete sentence by asking questions which require answers in the form of a complete sentence or by saying it for them.\(^\text{12}\)


\(^{11}\)Richard Corbin, op. cit., p. 43.

Materials and methods which may encourage speech and conversation are listed below.

1. Trips to the zoo, public park, museum or other places of interest provide an opportunity for expression and language.

2. The use of puppets affords a front for shy children who need to gain courage and confidence in speaking.

3. A newsletter can be made by the children who draw pictures to tell a story. If newsletters are taken home and explained to the parents, a bridge between the home and school is created.

4. A tape recorder may be used so the child may hear his own voice. They can learn to listen for possible language errors.

5. Photographs or magazine pictures can be used to stimulate discussion and imagination.

6. Materials such as books, paints, crayons, number games and other devices should be available so that children may become familiar with them.\(^{13}\)

Consideration of conversation development and good vocabulary for the situation are the most important things to remember in evaluating materials and activities. Art work should be included as it affords a means of expression to encourage conversation.

A POSSIBLE FUTURE FOR HEAD START

There is a great need for a follow through program succeeding Head Start. There must be a continuation of motivation and encouragement throughout the school years. The present curriculum needs to be evaluated and perhaps reworked. One need is even more conversation and discussion. One of the most difficult problems is in maintaining interest. A child must be motivated to learn. This suggests a more extensive study of home and community environment, home visits and talks with parents.

A beginning has been made. More progress can be made, better ideas are in the working but progress is being made.
CHAPTER III

A PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH HEAD START

HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION IN INDIANAPOLIS

The Head Start program in Indianapolis was originally organized under the control of the Public School system. It was then operated as a summer program. It has since come under the jurisdiction of the Indianapolis Pre-School Center. It is now operating as a year round program.

Children who are designated as disadvantaged and who are aged three or four before October 1, are eligible for the program. Those who have reached five years of age before October 1, are eligible for regular kindergarten. A licensed teacher and an aide are responsible for each group of children. It is desirable that the teacher and the aide are not of the same race. Such a practice is used so that the children see people of differing races in positions of equal authority. In many instances, one teacher is well acquainted with the community in which the children live. A third member of the team may be a licensed social worker who works with the parents and shares information relative to home conditions with the teacher. A file is kept for each child containing information from
the teacher, the aide, and the social worker. Completed files are sent to the principal of the school in which the child eventually enrolls and will attend. This file lets the principal and teachers of the school know what experiences the child has had and how he reacted to them.

BACKGROUNDS OF PARTICULAR CHILDREN

The particular group of children observed by the author differ slightly from the arrangement which has just been described. They were placed in a new center and consequently began the program in the summer. The three year olds continued for the following year but the fours had only the seven week experience. In this situation, no regular social worker was assigned to the group. Therefore, it was necessary for the teacher to visit the homes when she had the time available. With these two exceptions this particular program followed the same pattern as others in Indianapolis.

The room itself was equipped with several toys, large blocks, a model kitchen, a jungle gym, books, paper and crayons. Each child also had his own chair and table space. An electric cooler was provided for milk and food. The teacher filled out an order blank once a week for food to be used the following week.

On the first day there were thirteen boys and three girls, all Negro. As the weeks progressed, attendance at

1 Interview with Dr. Helen Santry, June, 1966.
the daily program averaged the same group of ten or twelve boys. Out of the entire group there appeared to be only one child who was not neatly and adequately clothed. In visiting their homes the teacher found no really intense poverty except in this one case. They were from low income homes but not the lower-lower socio-economic class. The community is composed of janitors, factory women, grocery boys, petty thieves, prostitutes, and drunks. While the children’s clothes and houses might have kept them from being considered disadvantaged, their realm of experience did not. They did not have the same background of experiences as middle and upper class children. Books and magazines were not a part of their homes. Interviews with both parents and the children seemed to indicate an interest on the part of the parent but little communication between parent and child. The language spoken by the parents was non-standard English, lacking in proper grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation of words.

The children were especially fascinated with the blocks, jungle gym and a wooden baby carriage, although most other activities were going on at the same time. The first day the program was initiated, the children played most of the time, merely laughing or shouting. It was not quiet but words were absent. The teacher helped children to assume responsibility for returning whatever he worked with to its designated place. This, then was the first lesson to which the children were exposed. Reinforced constantly, it
seemed to be working by the end of the summer. The children had begun learning initial responsibility.

CONTINUING OBSERVATIONS OF THE CHILDREN

On that first day the children seemed quite excited about being in "school". As the children played, they were shy and not very talkative. Those who already knew each other from a previous experience, played together and excluded others. Most children played by themselves. Later, on this opening day, after a snack and trip to the restroom, the play was more boisterous and less inhibited. It was difficult to hear much language and many were very reluctant to speak to the adults.

Throughout the seven weeks, growth could be noticed in most of the children. The author observed six of the boys one day each week for the purpose of determining whether such experiences aided in language development. Reports of these observations should be significant to future planning for the Head Start program in that language growth can be related to activities which children experience and to the attitudes exhibited within the children during those experiences.

FRED

Four years of age, male, Negro, an only child with a good home life, always clean and neatly dressed.

On the first day Fred cried loudly and intently. No one could quiet him by any method. His speech was muffled
by the tears. He gradually gained confidence in one adult who stayed near. When the other children left the room he began to play with some of the blocks and a small wooden model of a train. He was having trouble trying to hook the cars together and the adult whom he seemed to trust, helped him. He continued playing with the same toy throughout the remainder of the morning. If someone tried to take the toy from him or bothered him in any other way he became angry and cried again.

In later observations, Fred had stopped crying. He became a very aggressive child, one who was loud and outspoken. He clung to any attention that was given to him. His speech changed from a near whisper to loud shouting. The words were not very clear and meaning was often difficult to grasp. By the end of the summer these problems seemed to be improving. He was given enough attention, but not more than other children. The teacher felt it would be best if he didn't come to depend on special attention.

Each child was given a language test. He was presented with a set of four pictures. He was to indicate the one picture named by the tester. The child continued the test until he missed eight consecutive pictures. The sets were increasingly difficult. This test, the Peabody Vocabulary Test, is an attempt to estimate an approximate I.Q. level. It is not intended to produce a definite figure for I.Q. On this test Fred was very slow and deliberate. His score was less than average.
Fred was observed in a kindergarten situation during the fall. He seemed to be working well with other children and participating in the group. His speech was more precise.

**BOBBY**

Age four, male, Negro, lives with both parents and near other children, father is in and out of jail repeatedly, he is not shown affection by his parents.

In contrast to Fred, Bobby was probably the best adjusted to any situation. He was a happy boy who liked to play with everything and everyone. Each time he was observed he seemed more free and his imagination ran wild. As he was not given the attention at home, the program gave him his much needed chance to talk. Although he had a limited vocabulary, he used it to its fullest and learned new words quickly.

The fifth week of the program the teacher interviewed some of the children on a tape recorder. They had used it before, listening to their own voices. Bobby's interview was by far the most lengthy and most clearly stated. During the summer his speech was fairly clear and he used logical order in speaking. It was easy to see from his answers that his language depended on his limited experience. He related that he had learned his name at church. A picnic meant a swing. Once he said he would jump in a lake but couldn't relate what a lake was. He once told the author a very clever story about a snake in a lake. He was playing with a rubber snake at the time and gave answers such as the snake got its food from the rocks and he didn't have to breathe. He kept saying the snake would bite.
During the interview he gave very insightful answers to questions about his family. He told about his father's trips to jail. It was a matter of fact presentation with little emotion. It followed like this:

Teacher: "Do you like to go home?"
Bobby: "You ain't a kiddin'!"
T: "Who comes after you?"
B: "Archie, Andy's Dad."
T: "Does he go to jail?"
B: "No."
T: "Does Andy's mother go to jail?"
B: "Nobody don't go to jail, nobody go to jail but my dad."
T: "Do you miss him when he goes?"
B: "I don't cry if he goes...Police say he gonna let him come back."
T: "Do you want him to come back?"
B: "He can come back. I don't care."
T: "Are you afraid of your daddy--does he ever hurt you?"
B: "No."

Bobby later related that his mother had told him that if his daddy ever beats her Bobby is to get a knife and "stick" him.

Bobby scored very high on the Peabody Test. His stories were more imaginative and he used a wider vocabulary by the end of the summer.
ANDY

Age four, male, Negro, lives with two parents, an aunt and a smaller brother, a nervous child who must keep his hands busy or he puts them in his mouth.

Andy was normally very quiet with other children and adults. He seemed to be afraid. Gradually he gained confidence in his teacher and eventually became more talkative with the children.

At the time of his interview he was quite informative. His speech was fairly clear but much more limited than some other children. He answered many questions with an "um-hum". Andy knew his name and names of people close to him. He did not know his age. He seemed to see his father negatively as exemplified in this dialogue.

T: "What does your father do?"
A: "Works at Doc's...don' do nuthin'."
T: "Does he talk to you?"
A: "Um-hum, he whups me too."
T: "Why?"
A: "For hitting Mel (his brother)...he hit me too."
T: "What do you think about your daddy? (Silence) Do you like him?"
A: "Um-hum."

Later in the interview he said his father got drunk because he drank beer. These words he knew.

Andy also knew some things about policemen. "Police-men put us in jail...Tom's (Bobby's dad) got hung up for fussing with Geraldine...Amalance put us in back and make us be dead...Won't be back—we get hung up."
MARVIN

Age four, male, Negro, neatest boy in the class, well behaved, both parents worked but gave him encouragement.

The first day Marvin seemed to be an average boy. He came with another boy and they were content to stay together. They pushed other children away from them.

Later, Marv got along well with all the children and adults. He lacked the imaginativeness of Bobby but had far more initiative and decisiveness.

In future visits Marv exhibited consistently good work. His language test indicated a high I.Q. and he used the language well. He was definitely a very bright and alert boy.

TOMMY

Age four, male, Negro, lives with both parents who are friends of Marvin's and the families are close.

On the first day Marvin and Tommy were inseperable. Tommy would not talk with adults and seldom spoke to other children. As the weeks went by, his relations with other children constantly improved. He played well and seemed content. When approached by adults he lost communication. Often he stared at the person talking without even a facial response. His teacher felt this was partially a result of his association with Marv. Marv was very bright, but Tommy was merely average. The parents often reminded him of Marv's ability and his own lack. This may have given Tommy a feeling of inferiority which transferred to all adults.
Tommy's Peabody Test indicated his ability was slightly less than average, but he took the test quickly and seemed to give random answers.

By the end of the summer he was quite verbal. He talked with the children and seemed to be making progress with his teacher.

**WILLIAM**

Age three, male, Negro, invalid mother, father deceased, nine year old sister cares for them and one other brother, clothes were tattered and not as clean as other children.

William sat the first day on one chair in the corner. He either cried quietly or stared. He never uttered a single word and answered all questions by nodding his head. William was the one more severely disadvantaged child.

During the seven weeks, William offered little response of any kind. He would do what he was told but took no initiative. When he did talk it seemed to be comprehensive and clear, but a rare occurrence.

Gradually he learned to play with the children but progress was slow. He could identify only one picture in the language test; a gun. He would sometimes respond in unison with the class. In an interview he nodded yes to every question.

**GENERAL COMMENTS OF THE CHILDREN**

"What do you want to be when you are a man?" "Work in a store like my daddy."

"What do you do in the Army?" "Shoot." "Why?" "I don't know."
Many of the children had trouble with the days and time. Saturday as a word held no meaning. They knew the colors and could often count to ten. Some said they had taught themselves.

CONCLUSIONS

In general it was found that among all the children, language is confused and unsure. Concepts were not complete. The reasons stated in earlier chapters are possibly and probably applicable here. The main problem in this particular portion of the Indianapolis program is clear. Although all twelve boys were considered disadvantaged they had twelve different reasons. This would be true in any program of this sort. All children remain individuals even if that individual is formed by society and his environment. At the same time, Head Start gave each of them something. They all were given a much needed chance to talk. For some, like Bobby, it opened a realm of imaginative and clever thinking. To Tommy it may have shown him he was capable of offering something worthwhile. They were given a chance to express themselves with toys, organized games and art work that other, more advantaged, children have at home. They learned responsibility for looking after what was "theirs" and putting it away. Each saw his name constantly and most could associate his name with himself.

In addition to these important experiences they were given individual recognition and encouragement.
Perhaps these things would have been learned or acquired in kindergarten. It does, however, seem unlikely in a room of nearly thirty children and slim knowledge of each child's background that this could be accomplished. Individualized teaching is not an impossibility with twelve or fifteen, five year olds. It becomes extremely difficult with more. With some semblence of a "normal middle class" home-like environment these children may learn to succeed.

Head Start, or any other pre-school program, could not possibly aid every child who needs it. Total enrollment does not even begin to include children that it might. It is, however, helping some who, consequently, may learn to help themselves. Even this is a great accomplishment. The ESEA AND OEO have provided the opportunity for teaching the disadvantaged. It is hoped, by this author, that more programs such as Head Start can be established and present ones improved and expanded into eight or twelve years of school.
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