THE LEFTOUTS: DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN
IN HETEROGENEOUS SCHOOLS

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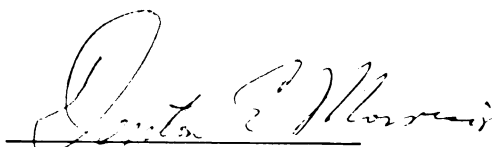This is to certify that the

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070

ABSTRACT

THE LEFTOUTS: DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN
IN HETEROGENEOUS SCHOOLS

by Sandra Ardah Warden

A Leftout is defined as an organically normal, socio-culturally disadvantaged elementary-school child who attends a heterogeneous school, i.e., a school in which the majority of his age-mates are significantly better prepared than he is to meet the academic and social demands of the contemporary public school system. It is suggested that the Leftouts are culturally alienated and economically disadvantaged children who typically fail to adjust to the socially approved academic and interpersonal demands of a heterogeneous school situation because of their deviation from the value orientations and behavioral expectations of their teachers and more advantaged age-mates. It is proposed that both academic and social mobility potential is greater for these children. However, their potential for academic and social maladjustment is also proposed to be greater because they must daily cope with the demands of a school situation designed primarily for children who are well prepared.

An extensive exploration of the literature related to socio-culturally disadvantaged school children yields a number of relevant interrelated antecedent and consequent variables. These variables are identified and then

synthesized in an analytical effort to understand the causes and consequences of the Leftout's potential maladjustment in heterogeneous schools.

The analysis is developed within a larger social psychological framework from which is derived the assumption that academic and social difficulties are interrelated--and that difficulties in either or both of these dimensions are related to emotional maladjustment for the Leftout.

Five interrelated specific causes of the Leftout's maladjustment are suggested: (1) a relative lack of language facility, (2) relative deprivation in early interpersonal affiliations, (3) relative status deprivation among teachers and age-mates, (4) relative disadvantage in knowledge and/or acceptance of the values typical to the "middle-class core culture" of the heterogeneous school, and (5) relatively low levels of self-esteem. In the development of the analysis, each of these indicated causes is analyzed separately and a series of interdependent consequences are suggested. From these, in turn, are derived suggestions for needed research and compensatory programs designed to "cure" the Leftout's disadvantage.

THE LEFTOUTS: DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

IN HETEROGENEOUS SCHOOLS

By

Sandra Ardah Warden

A THESIS

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To: Frank, Mike, Lynda, and Greg who cooked, cleaned,
     cajoled, and commiserated--but never laughed!

ii

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

iv

CHAPTER I

THE LEFTOUTS: WHO, WHAT, WHERE, WHEN, WHY, AND HOW?

The United States is philosophically devoid of class bias and has traditionally been a uniquely open and fluid society. It has been argued that in this century, notable for its rapid technological expansion, the social structure has exhibited a tendency toward becoming more rigid. This rigidity is seen to be based partly on such factors as regionality and occupational categories, but most particularly on educational categories. The contemporary social scene is being influenced by an emphasis on ideological liberalism and the increasingly large role which government agencies at several levels are playing in educational concerns. "Equality of opportunity for all" is evolving from a philosophical tenet into a concrete goal and active efforts, supported in part by governmental financing, are being made to reduce educational barriers to social mobility. Many social scientists, including the author, feel that the possibility of upward social mobility in the contemporary United States rests primarily within the educational system-- and specifically in the public school system.

In the United States, philosophical and educational
tradition affirm the public school's task of unifying a
diverse society without creating uniformity among its citi-
zens. Whatever problems may be associated with such a com-
plex demand and whatever the results of its efforts, the
public school is most certainly a highly significant agency
of socialization. With an ideological command to provide
"education for all" and the task of socializing children of
broadly divergent backgrounds, the public school system has
done a highly admirable job. Historically, through repeated
influxes of immigrants, the school system in the United
States has done a commendable job of assimilating and
acculturating children from many dissimilar cultural back-
grounds while allowing for the preservation of distinctive
cultural heritages. Today the problems faced by the public
schools are somewhat different. The "culturally disadvan-
taged" child of our era is apt to be a native-born citizen,
with at least nominal English as his native tongue, and
without a deeply rooted cultural heritage. The threat of
what has been called the "tyranny of conformism" hangs as
the sword of Damocles over the social theorist who would
argue that the problem can no longer be focused on main-
taining cultural diversity but must focus on raising all
citizens to a minimum level of literacy, competence, and
even common value orientations--conformity if you must!

The "culturally disadvantaged" child of today most
often comes from the lower socio-economic strata. However,

large numbers of children from low socio-economic back-
grounds are able to adjust to school and classmates without
giving evidence of being essentially different from other
children. A full understanding of what is involved in the
culturally disadvantaged child's adjustment, or lack of ad-
justment, in the public school system requires an acquaint-
ance with several lines of theory and research seemingly
far removed from the central problem.

This book represents an attempt to tie together these
diverse endeavors and to elict from them, as parsimoniously
as possible, a set of explanatory principles that may lead
to further research. It is fortunate that the literature
related to this subject is extensive--it is unfortunate
that it is so widely scattered and so lacking in theoretical
perspective. The literature in this area of interest tends
to be fraught with an abundance of mystical pronouncements
and seemingly unrelated findings. The attempt here will
be to critically review some of the major works extant, to
synthesize a number of findings which relate to the problem,
and to develop clear analytical statements in a consistent
way which will aid in understanding who the Leftout is,
where, when and why he got to be that way, and how compen-
satory measures may foster his successful adjustment to
school. We will offer a framework which is at least poten-
tially capable of dispelling some of the ambiguities
surrounding the causes and consequences of children's

"cultural disadvantage" as this term is understood in the mid-20th century.

Borrowing the journalistic dictum that serves as the title of this introductory chapter does not imply a journalistic approach. In the pages to come we shall explore together, in a scientific frame of reference, these questions--who, what, where, when, why, and how--as they relate to the Leftouts. The general area of concern here is that of the impact of the social system on personality--as it develops and as it must change to cope with the demands of the interpersonal environment.

Of special interest is the impact of the social subsystem of the public school on those children who have variously been termed "deprived," "disadvantaged," "without," etc. Even more specifically our attention will be focused on the "Leftout." A Leftout is defined as an organically normal, socio-culturally disadvanted elementary-school child who attends a heterogeneous school, i.e., a school in which the majority of his age-mates are significantly better prepared than he is to meet the academic and social demands of the school situation.

Our approach is social psychological, i.e., we assume that the majority of what any individual thinks and feels, and a great deal of how he acts and reacts, is the direct result of his interaction with other people. Our fundamental theoretical assumption is that the most basic characteristic of human life is its social quality. Because

humans are inherently social--because they continuously
live, work, and play together--they come to share an under-
standing of the meaning of a tremendous array of sounds,
symbols, postural cues, and overt action in their inter-
personal environment. The individual's interpretations of
the meanings for himself of each of these things is the
basis upon which he chooses his own actions and decides
what he thinks and feels of himself, his situation, and other
people.

We assume, further, that the major sociological con-
cepts relating the social system and personality are those
of socialization, social roles, cultural value systems, and
reference groups. Each of these concepts will be considered
in some depth in succeeding chapters; here our purpose is
to lay the theoretical foundation on which later discussions
are to be erected. The social psychologist's definition of
personality is based on its being a social product, i.e.,
the result of social learning acquired during the socializa-
tion process. This process is one of learning and internal-
izing beliefs, values, attitudes, world views, and a
conception of self from those with whom the neophyte inter-
acts. Note the use of the term "neophyte." Much of the
psychoanalytically oriented thinking about socialization
centers on the neonate, but for the social psychologist,
socialization is an ongoing process which is not complete
at puberty, adulthood, or any other point in time but con-
tinues so long as new experiences do. Thus, the social

psychologist may speak of "socialization" in as widely
divergent contexts as toilet training an infant or the
kind of role learning required of a man who is today "a
banker" and tomorrow "a retiree." Social psychologists
do not imply that early experiences are unimportant, but
only that later ones are important too!

The social psychological view of socialization has
been heavily influenced by George Herbert Mead's thinking
about the development of the "social self" (Mead, 1934) and
symbolic interactionism, the "interpersonal" approach of
Harry Stack Sullivan (1953), other neo-Freudian thinking,
and learning theory. Mead emphasized the reciprocal nature
of human interaction on the basis of shared symbolic
meanings and learned mutual expectations. Sullivan stressed
the importance of interpersonal interaction to personality
development during the process of socialization. Some of
Piaget's work on the development of intelligence (more thor-
oughly treated in Chapter III), especially the importance of
a stimulating environment, has also had a fairly direct in-
fluence on contemporary social psychological thinking about
socialization. Parson's (1951) discussions of "anxiety,"
and Merton's (1957) of "alienation," follow fairly closely
Karen Horney's (1945) conceptions of "basic anxiety," i.e.,
a generalized fear of separateness and aloneness. The
interpersonal-social-learning approach to socialization and
personality development is exemplified in the current work
of Bandura and Walters (1963)--a work which we will have

occasion to cite several times in the ensuing discussion.
This position might be described as a wedding of the ele-
ments of classic learning theory (stimulus, response, rein-
forcement) with notions of the specific importance of people,
social rewards, and how the individual perceives and inter-
prets the actions of those with whom he interacts.

Those elements of Freudian psychoanalytic theory which
have been retained in the contemporary social-psychologi-
cally oriented view of socialization are: (1) a generalized
conception of an internally organized personality structure
of interrelated parts which have some bearing at least on
overt behavior, (2) the importance of early experience, and
(3) identification as the facilitating mechanism by which
socialization attempts can successfully influence the inter-
nalized personality development. Social psychologists have
added to these ideas: (1) the importance of later experi-
ences; (2) the tremendous influence of other people, the
situation, and social expectations; (3) the ideas of social
learning through identification with role models and refer-
ence groups; and (4) the great importance of communication
in general (broadly defined) and language acquisition in
particular.

It would seem that the social psychological approach
to the concept and content of socialization improves upon
the psychoanalytic view because: (1) it is more nearly
demonstrable by research, (2) it relies less heavily on
introspective reports, (3) it accounts for both individual

differences and individual similarities without postulating
some biologically inherited social past, and, most impor-
tantly, (4) it moves the whole area of interest into the
realm of the conscious and observable and does not rely on
untenable and untestable propositions about unconscious mo-
tivations and unobservable defenses. Social psychologists
have also contributed the conception of man as an <u>inherently</u>
social animal and rejected the notion that "civilization"
is merely a thin veneer painted over what is basically a
Darwinian brute!

We take as axiomatic that the values, beliefs, atti-
tudes, etc., which are learned during the socialization
process are, in a large part, consensually shared by the
already existing group of which the neophyte is a new mem-
ber. To some extent then, his value orientation and behav-
ior will be like that of <u>all</u> other men (to paraphrase
Kardiner). However, the group with whom any individual
interacts in his lifetime is, necessarily, a sub-segment
not only of the total human species but also those who com-
prise any particular society. Thus, the value orientations
and behavioral proscriptions and prescriptions to which he
is exposed may differ from those prevalent in some other
sub-segment of those "modal" to the total system. There-
fore, any individual's value orientation and behavior is,
to some extent, like those of only <u>some</u> other men. And,
of course, some specific experiences, and surely the com-
binations of particular experiences, will be idiosyncratic

for any given individual. Thus, to some extent, his value orientations and behaviors will be like those of no other man.

Within any social system or sub-system each individual occupies one or more positions, i.e., roles, which are accompanied by normative expectations as to how a person in that position should think, feel, and behave. One of the major products of the socialization process is that of knowledge of role expectations. Since any social system is comprised of identifiable and interrelated positions, it is possible to talk of social "structure." From the viewpoint of the social system roles are differentiated and their expectations developed in keeping with what is regularly required for the maintenance of the structure qua structure. In much the same way, an individual may be said to possess a personality system and a cognitive structure. From the viewpoint of the individual, roles are delineated and expectations accompanying them internalized and "fitted into" the developing personality in a way which will help maintain that structure qua structure. We might also speak analytically of a cultural structure--a structure of interrelated normative regulations for beliefs, behavior, perception, etc., which must also seek to maintain itself as a structural whole and preserve a patterned "way of life." However, the individual is not wholly a product of the social or cultural structure of which he is a member. Primarily, the influence that the social or cultural system

may have on the developing individual is most directly felt only at the point where the needs of the social structure, the cultural structure, and the personality meet. Not all behavior is included in this area--for a variety of reasons.

Consider, for example, the degree of differentiation that can occur among social and cultural systems. In large, complex, highly differentiated social and cultural systems and sub-systems the range of roles is wide--and so too is the range of socialization practices. Thus, in anything as broad as a "social class" for instance, we would expect a wide range of possible personality orientations. A second kind of consideration is the degree of integration among the components of a system or sub-system. In a highly integrated system, where the roles are extensively inter-related, influence on the developing personality should be greater than in a situation where various roles are less well integrated and, thus, no one alone has the power to influence that would an integrated whole. For example, consider the differential influence that a teacher in the sub-system of the public school might have among children who, on one hand come from families whose values and behav-vioral expectations coalesce with those of the school and, on the other hand, those who come from families whose value orientations are antithetical to those of the school. This is a subject we shall explore more fully in subsequent chapters.

A third limitation to the influence of the social and cultural systems on personality is that of the degree of structuring per se, i.e., the number of normative rules setting behavioral limits which may be present in any system of roles. Some sub-systems and roles may be accompanied by more of such normative regulation than others. Thus, some may have a more clearly definable influence on developing personality than those which permit a wider range of behavior and interpretation. Consider, for example, the role of "child" as opposed to that of "student." Each permits a fairly broad interpretation, but the role of "student" is accompanied by basic expectations concerning diligence, motivation, promptness, respect for teachers, and so on which are not included in the more loosely structured role of "child."

We can conclude that the effectiveness of the social and cultural systems on the development or changing of personality systems is always modified by the degree to which these can influence the socialization process and maintain control in the face of many experiences and situations. Reference groups which are selected by the individual have a mitigating influence on the development of personality. That is, those people in the interpersonal environment to which the individual elects to attend may support and strengthen the general social and cultural structures or they may undermine and weaken their effects by devaluing those things which are valued in the larger system. It is

with these basic theoretical considerations that we approach the more specific problem at hand.

Who?

During the last two decades, and particularly at present, there has been a burgeoning interest in the relationship between socio-cultural disadvantage and school achievement, motivation, and general social and emotional adjustment among children. Adjustment is defined for our purposes as continual adaptive learning in the face of new experiences. A great deal of the literature in this area of interest deals with more or less geographically isolated "poverty pockets," e.g., urban slum areas and isolated rural areas, in which the vast majority of the children in a given school system may be designated as disadvantaged. Little attention has been directly focused on the even more common phenomenon of the disadvantaged minority who must attend school with age-mates who _are_ prepared. Rapidly increasing moves toward consolidation of rural schools and integration of racially and/or residentially segregated urban schools tend to expand this kind of situation even further. Therefore, we shall direct our special attention to the socio-culturally disadvantaged child who, in comparison with his more advantaged classmates, is disadvantaged.

Concern will be centered here on those youngsters whose background suffers by comparison to their classmates in terms of adequate prior training and experience to prepare

for the demands of the school system. That is, those children whose sub-cultural socialization patterns have been inadequate to equip them to successfully reach goals typical of the expectations of their teachers and their more advantaged age-mates.

The contemporary American public school system is the "given" in our consideration. Obviously individual schools differ from each other in many ways, e.g., teacher and/or classmate attitudes and behavior toward children of socio-economic, ethnic, racial or religious minority groups may be negative, positive, or neutral; specific teacher's methods and personality may aid or hinder the disadvantaged child's adjustment; and the particular social "climate" in any given school may foster academic achievement or impede it. Nevertheless, all public schools in our society exhibit basic similarities in that: (1) the students are separated by age groups and into roughly equivalent grades or achieve-ment groups; (2) a variety of detailed cumulative records are kept concerning each child's academic rating, his scores on standardized intelligence and achievement tests, his social adjustment to his classmates, and his general physi-cal and emotional health--all of which serve as the basis for evaluation of his level of success and determine with which group he shall be placed; (3) the basic orientation of the instruction and testing is intellectualism, with a strong verbal focus, and (4) the primary content of the instruction centers on the development of uniform academic

skills such as reading, writing, arithmetic, and on ac-
quisition of knowledge of the white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant
historical heritage and the contemporary core-cultural
values of this group. These similarities are what we refer
to when discussing the school system. Thus, while we will
have occasion to discuss the specific adjustive/maladjustive
factors in a school system, we typically refer to the Left-
out as disadvantaged in relation to the goals and practices
of this generalized school system.

It has been widely suggested that fundamental changes
are required in this generalized system if it is to ade-
quately cope with educating the socio-culturally disadvan-
taged child. Indeed this may well be the case. However,
it does not seem feasible to attempt to effect changes until
those variables which are maladjustive in this system have
been identified. In order to identify the maladjustive
variables in the system, an analysis of the causes and con-
sequences of the Leftout's disadvantage must be available.
This is our goal.

Schools which serve heterogeneous (or worse, dichoto-
mous) student bodies often enhance the discrepancies in
background--to the increased detriment of the child who is
lacking. Class work in such schools is geared, necessarily,
to the child who has had at least an average preparation
for school, and who--from teachers and in the family--
receives, as a matter of routine, encouragement and support
toward academic and social success. In this kind of

setting, a child who is ill prepared and/or poorly motivated
may indeed be left out. It should be noted that there is
no intended implication that heterogeneous or integrated
schools are inherently inferior to more homogeneous ones--
although it is postulated that the range and scope of both
social adjustment problems and achievement potential in
heterogeneous schools may prove greater. In such schools,
problems require careful attention and tendered solutions
demand skillful planning.

For the disadvantaged minority, the discrepancy be-
tween their own position and that of the majority of their
classmates may create severe conflicts and frustrations, as
we shall see in the succeeding chapters. While our dis-
cussion will focus on those children who are most severely
disadvantaged, we do not wish to exclude those whose dis-
advantage is less extreme and those who might even be
classified as "advantaged" if they were compared to some
other group than the one in which they are interacting. We
are suggesting that socio-cultural disadvantage ranges along
a continuum and this is the reason for our insistence on a
definition of "disadvantage" specifically in comparison with
with those children with whom the Leftouts are actually in
contact in a heterogeneous school system. It is possible,
of course, for comparative disadvantage to take into account
the larger society with whom the child will one day come to
interact; so that the slum child in a homogeneous social
setting where he is not now disadvantaged in comparison to

his classmates could be seen from the perspective of his eventual contact with those whose ability, motivation, knowledge, and experience are substantially greater than his own. However, we shall focus our attention on those children who are in daily contact with their more advantaged age-mates.

Our primary objectives in the chapters to come are to examine how the Leftout differs from his age-mates and to analytically connect these variables of how and why the Leftouts get to be that way in their particular school situation. It is clear from our definition of the Leftout as socio-culturally disadvantaged in comparison to his classmates, that part of his potential adjustment problem in the school situation must center in his cultural alienation from the expectations of the majority group and/or in his economic disadvantage.

The term "culturally deprived child," which was prevalent in the literature until recently is coming to be supplanted by "socio-culturally disadvantaged child" and related variants. In any attempt to define this cultural disadvantage or alienation from the cultural expectations of the majority group, it is necessary to consider the concept of culture. Several considerations help to clarify the concept. In the first place, "culture"--as social scientists employ the term--is a universal attribute of all social groupings, and variations among cultures cannot properly be interpreted as differences in amount or in value,

but only as differences in kind. Thus, no individual is "deprived" of a culture, and cultural "disadvantage" or "alienation" must be considered in relation to some other kind of culture than his own. In this case, "culture" refers to the established pattern of norms and values of some group. Those who are "culturally alienated" are alien to (foreign, outside of) the mainstream of the "core" culture of the majority group in any society and, by definition, are minority group members (sometimes in the more accepted use of that term too, but not always).

Although all groups in our society share to some extent in the prevailing "middle-class core culture," there are many different patterns of culture, reflecting more or less distinct ways of life among particular nationality, religious, ethnic, social class, geographical, and other sub-groups within the population. These may be characterized as "sub-cultures." Ethnic, racial, and other criteria for distinguishing sub-groups often do play a part in socio-cultural disadvantage, but "minority group status" in the usual sense is unsatisfactory alone for use as a criterion of those who are Leftouts.

These sub-cultures vary in the extent to which their socializing influences, i.e., intra-family relationships, child-rearing practices, language patterns, intellectual pursuits, behavioral norms, values, outlooks, etc., equip children to adjust successfully to the middle-class core cultural patterns which prevail as the ideal in the larger

society and which are taught in the schools. Thus, children
who are socialized in sub-cultures markedly different from
the prevailing standard may or may not find themselves
"disadvantaged" in the schools, where "core" cultural values
and behavioral patterns are commonly required for success-
ful academic and social adjustment.

The term "culture" also has a second common meaning.
In this sense culture relates to things such as experience
with and appreciation of art, music, drama, and other such
"cultural" accouterments. The common denominator of those
children whose socializing influences have been largely
alien to the demands of middle-class norms of cultural appre-
ciation is relative poverty and social discrimination. The
children involved live mainly in urban and rural slums, in
substandard housing, with poorly educated parents, and with
little opportunity to develop an interest in things "cul-
tural." Thus, in this sense, those who are culturally
alienated are also alien to the trappings of society which,
given limited economic facilities, are foregone as un-
attainable or unknown luxuries. From this perspective,
and at a very common sense level, cultural alienation is
linked to economic disadvantage.

Economic disadvantage is not nearly as sticky a prob-
lem as is cultural alienation as defined in the first
instance, for it can largely be measured in terms of dollars
and cents. The only real trick here is to avoid any kind
of rigid classification into specific states of deprivation.

Again, each empirical instance must be measured in comparative terms, i.e., in direct comparison to those with whom the individual interacts. For example, the federal government's definition of poverty relates to an annual income of approximately $3,000. While such an income may be adequate to avail a child of the cultural opportunities offered in Hazard, Kentucky or Bay Mills, Michigan, it is hardly adequate for minimum subsistence in Los Angeles or New York City. The kind and depth of compensatory programs offered by the schools to economically disadvantaged children must take into consideration the range and availability of "cultural" activities offered outside the classroom.

We wish to emphasize that the concept of sociocultural disadvantage is not used here as a stereotype for all children nutured in sub-cultures of poverty and/or ethnic discrimination. Although large numbers of such children find it difficult to cope with typical school tasks, this is by no means universally the case! Such children exhibit a wide range of individual differences--and part of our concern will be in suggesting answers to the question of why some of these children adjust successfully to typical school demands and why some do not. The following chapters seek to explore the bases of socio-cultural disadvantage among school children and draw implications concerning the impact of various kinds of deprivation of the developmental and adjustive process in heterogeneous schools. We

will examine deprivation in the areas of achievement moti-
vation, general knowledge, specific experience and training
in language, and such disadvantage as may be inherent in the
social situation in which the Leftout finds himself. The
primary purpose of this study is to undertake a systematic
systhesis of research findings and theory relating to the
academic and social adjustment of the socio-culturally dis-
advantaged child in the heterogeneous school situation.

Our discussion will center on the particular age group
found at the elementary school level. We limit our con-
cern in this way for two reasons. The first of these is
based on our belief in the hoary proposition that "an ounce
of prevention is worth a pound of cure." Secondly, we
believe that the influence of family and other adults,
directed at molding behavior to accepted social standards,
is greatest in the child's early years.

As we shall see, research indicates that problems in-
tensify and multiply with increasing age. Research findings
also suggest that feelings of isolation and social rejection
arise from everyday experiences which indicate to the child
that he is, indeed, alone and left out. If the child holds
his teachers and classmates in the position of a reference
group (and many elementary-age children do), then failure
to establish successful interaction with teachers and class-
mates may have crushing repercussions on the child's social
and emotional adjustment to the heterogeneous school situ-
ation. By the time the child reaches adolescence, after

several years of frustration and unhappy experiences, it is quite possible that the Leftout may <u>not</u> perceive his teachers and more advantaged age-mates as a reference group.

It is evident both theoretically and by only superficial observation that the "birds of a feather may flock together," i.e., that Leftouts may form their own subculture within the school and look to each other as a reference group. That this happens particularly in the adolescent period is beyond question. Thus, our concern will be specifically with pre-adolescent children among whom clique boundaries have not been as rigidly drawn and where it is both possible for the Leftout to gain acceptance (given the proper compensatory experience and training in social and academic skills) by the majority group and probable that he wishes to do so.

We are suggesting that by junior high school, and certainly by high school, programs aimed at academically and socially integrating the Leftout are extremely difficult to devise, if not doomed to failure. Not because his "personality" is permanently formed and not amenable to change, but because the Leftout has by this time so radically altered his initial goals, self-concept, and reference group identification that only with extreme difficulty, great patience, and many rewarding experiences could he possibly be induced to revive the goals and interests with which he entered the social sub-system of the heterogeneous school. Our interest, then, lies with trying to understand--

and perhaps suggest ways of "short circuiting"--the connection between socio-cultural disadvantage and academic and social maladjustment among elementary-school children.

What, Where, When, Why, and How?

The "what" of our interest is the dual concern with social and psychological perspectives and how they are interrelated in the comparatively disadvantaged child's personality development, academic achievement, and social growth within the social sub-system of the heterogeneous school. Burton (1953) claims two challenges have been issued to American education, "to develop a minimum literacy and simple fundamentals of citizenship" and "to develop cultural unity within a diverse society simultaneously with full development of individual talent." Throughout our society, public school programs and curricula as they now exist appear to accomplish both of these goals relatively well for a large proportion of American school children. It has been argued that approximately one-half of the children who enter the public school system successfully adjust to the current program and social climate and emerge as responsible, well trained young adults (Bloom, Davis, and Hess, 1965). By the same token, of course, approximately one-half of the children who enter school experience at least some difficulty or failure in successfully adjusting to the social and academic demands of the public school. Obviously the reasons for adjustment problems are many and

varied, and some of them lie outside our specific interest area. On the other hand, a large proportion of our Left-outs will eventually be numbered among those who fail to successfully complete high school.

The successful completion of public school training through high school is ever more increasingly the determining criterion of status, economic opportunity, and successful entry into the responsibilities and privileges of adulthood in the larger society. In a nation such as ours, with a highly developed technological economy and a highly literate, socially conscious populace, the youngster who does not complete secondary school training is denied admission to an ever expanding sector of the occupational hierarchy and is increasingly more disadvantaged as a citizen. In the past, when there was sufficient opportunity in the economic system for unskilled workers with a minimum of education and when even such daily-living requirements as driving an automobile, rearing children, voting on bonding and legislative issues, shopping for food and furniture, and the myriad of other tasks which face all modern families were less complex and demanding, the schools could operate on the principle of weeding out the less able and selecting the most capable for advanced education and specialized training. However, we are in the midst of a time of far-reaching basic social changes which are affecting the entire society, and which will increasingly place pressures on all aspects of the educational system. Our rapidly

developing, complex, urbanized, industrial society requires
that every functioning member be literate, responsive to
rapid changes in every aspect of life and work, and be
capable of learning and relearning relatively complex skills
and ideas as minimal prerequisites for economic security,
social responsibility, and mature independence. The public
school must bear the major burden of training children to
be functioning members of such a society. The public
schools, therefore, can no longer be selective, but must be
particularly concerned with the life and career potentials
of those youngsters who are adversely affected by the present
school program and social climate. The contemporary focus
of the educational system must emphasize raising both the
aspiration and achievement levels of the group of children
who have been ignored, rejected, or placed in a marginal
position relative to their more advantaged classmates.

It is a happy commentary on our society to note that
educational planning and concern is currently being directed
toward precisely these kinds of goals. It is our feeling,
however, that too little attention is being directed toward
an analysis of where and when the disadvantaged child's
troubles begin, why some children of apparently similar
backgrounds and intelligence successfully adjust and achieve
in school while others do not, and how compensatory programs
may be designed to reduce the disadvantage of the Leftouts.
What we hope to accomplish in the body of this work, is to
raise some of the theoretical issues underlying the problem,

explore their interrelationships, and arrive at a reasonably
sound analysis of the "where," "when," "why," and "how."

Compulsory attendance laws bring into the school
children who are poorly motivated, ill prepared, and have
little concern for the goals of the school. Our interest
will be largely limited to the particular concern of the
child as he relates to the social sub-system of the school.
However, the consequences of membership in the specific
sub-system of the school are partly determined by pre-school
and non-school related influences--particularly those of
the family and the child's socio-economic sub-culture. Thus,
it is necessary to consider the initial preparation, value-
orientation, and motivation to achieve that the school-age
child has developed prior to and outside of school, and the
amount of school-oriented support he may receive from other
sources. While we may analytically discuss the problems
perpetrated or perpetuated within the specific sub-system
of the school, there is in fact no clearly defined point
of separation between school influences and those of parents,
peers, or general sub-cultural experiences. Therefore, non-
school issues must be raised.

The "what" of our objectives here is threefold:
(1) to arrive at a clearly delineated picture of the Left-
out's social and academic problems, which entails discussion
of what is meant by the lack of academic and social adjust-
ment and a look at how the Leftouts differ from other young-
sters in apparently similar circumstances; (2) to garner

from the extant research and theoretical literature those
variables relevant to an analysis of how and why the Left-
out gets to be that way; and finally, (3) to systematically
present a frame of reference which will account for the
Leftout's academic and social maladjustment, and from which
suggestions related to both theoretical concerns and to
practical problem-solving programs may be derived.

Extensive, albeit somewhat impressionistic, experience
already underlies our concern with socio-culturally disad-
vantaged children's adjustment--or lack of it--to the
heterogeneous school situation. For some eighteen months
the author had the privilege and responsibility of setting
up and administrating Michigan State University's Student
Education Corps.* Exercising this responsibility required
meeting at length with school administrators and teachers
in some 30 heterogeneous schools in Michigan. Each of these
schools is intimately concerned with how best to approach
educating socio-culturally disadvantaged children. In
addition, the author's experience has included personal
observations of "problem" classrooms as well as contact
with a minimum of 400 University student volunteers who
were working directly with disadvantaged children. The
author also had the privilege of participating in two in-
tensive conference sessions which afforded contact with
people from all over the nation who are concerned with
variants of this problem. These experiences have pointed

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*For discussion of the program, see Warden, 1964.

up the very real need for the type of analysis we have under-
taken here.

As for the "where" and "when" of our problem, one of
the sources of difference in school adjustment among chil-
dren is that of the differential backgrounds they have as
a result of membership in various socio-economic strata.
As a broad generalization, to be extensively qualified in
Chapter II, upper and middle-class children adjust well to
school while lower-class children in varying degrees tend
toward maladjustment and failure. Part of the "where," then,
is located in the sub-culture in which the child is reared,
and part of the "when" of the development of disadvantage
occurs prior to entry into the school. In our analysis we
seek to examine the antecedants of particular kinds of value
orientations, social behaviors, and communication skills
among school-age youngsters. One obvious source of such
antecedents is the child's socio-economic background--and
Chapter II is partially devoted to exploring the truth of
that proposition.

Already mentioned is a basic theoretical proposition
which underlies this exploration--that value orientations,
behavioral expectations, and symbolic systems are learned
in social interaction. Another basic proposition, as speci-
fied in Homans' (1961) theoretical formulation, is that the
more rewarding men find the results of an action, the more
likely they are to take this action. Translated into our
specific interests, these two propositions suggest that if

there is acceptance of the teacher as a significant other by the child, contingent on the teacher's acceptance of him, and if he finds the learning situation a rewarding one--then he learns. If he does not accept the teacher's values and goals, and if the learning situation is not rewarding--then he does not learn. Thus, one of our concerns must be an examination of what factors influence mutual acceptance between teacher and student and how school situations, values, goals, etc. come to be perceived as rewarding by some students but not by others.

In keeping with what we have said of the general relationship between the social system and personality development, it is expected that there are individual differences in susceptibility to social influence. However, we must assume that it is possible to predict that certain rewards will be effective in the learning process for most members of a particular group since these group members will share many common experiences. It is especially useful to know something of the sub-cultural, age, and sex differences among children in considering continuities in personality. Bandura and Walters (1963) noted that since children from diverse backgrounds experience different reinforcement contingencies and are exposed to widely differing social models, there are marked group differences at any age level. There is often marked inter-individual variability due to biological, socio-economic, ethnic, and cultural differences and to variations in the child-rearing practices of families.

These factors are likely to remain relatively constant throughout much of the child's earlier lifetime, and one would expect a considerable degree of intra-individual continuity in value orientation and behavior at successive age periods--even if these change in the face of new demands from other socializing agents. Thus, social-learning approaches to personality development lay stress on inter-individual differences and on intra-individual continuities. The subject of Chapter II will be an exploration of what is known of the influence of "social class" and sub-cultural differences on value orientations, perceptions of the reward value of school, and on social acceptance among children.

This kind of approach to social learning relates to external stimuli in the form of behavioral examples and patterns of reinforcement for guiding and modifying the responses of the child. However, as we shall see, inter-nalized sanctions (conscience formation), the child's self-conception, his generalized conceptual schema, and other intra-individual factors play important roles in guiding and modifying his responses. This internalized discriminative activity is also socially developed, largely within the influence sphere of his primary family group through fear of significant others disapproval. Thus, the role of the family as an agent of social influence and as prerequisite models to the development of internalized discriminative activity must be considered. In Chapter III the role of the

family in the maladjustive development of socio-culturally disadvantaged children will be explored.

The task of defining disadvantage in comparative terms demands explicating something of the general process of normal, i.e., typical of or acceptable to the larger social system, socio-cultural growth. Maladjustive behavior patterns and value orientations cannot be defined nor evaluated independently of some description of a well-adjusted developmental pattern. Thus, theory and research aimed at general child development and personality development within the family becomes not only relevant but crucial. We do not assume that we can cope with the obviously impossible task of explaining the behavior of every individual child. We do hope to develop an analytical framework which will explain why large numbers of individuals placed in similar circumstances, having similar backgrounds, facing similar demands, and sharing similar social experiences are apt to behave in similar ways--and the consequences of this behavior are likely to be similar! Thus, a major concern here must be with what constitutes "similarity." Some children of apparently "similar" sub-cultural backgrounds adjust successfully to school while others do not. This indicates that sub-cultural criteria of similarity may be too broad for very accurate or reliable prediction and explanation of socio-cultural disadvantage. Thus, in Chapter III, we will examine some of the variability among children which has its antecedents specifically in the family and in such

individual developmental factors as language acquisition and the choice of role models.

In discussing the social psychological development of the organically normal school-age child who is our primary focus of interest, it is important to note that at this age the child regularly spends 7 to 10 hours daily _outside_ the home, away from his parents' direct influence, and is thus subject to influences from many sources. (Note that of the 14 to 17 hours the child _does_ spend at home, a minimum of 8 of these are given over to sleep, so hours of outside influence equal if not surpass hours of parental control.) The value orientations, behavioral expectations, and self-concept developed in the family setting may or may not be reinforced by these other influences and, of course, the child may or may not hold these others in the position of a reference group, depending on whether or not he perceives that it is rewarding to do so. One possible source of non-family influence is that of teachers and other adults, who largely fulfill the role of parental surrogates. However, many of the skills and values acquired during the socialization process in our society are learned in peer groups which freely supply a variety of rewards for appropriate, i.e., approved, social behavior. The child has little or no incentive to deviate from the expectations of his peers—whose approval may be _more_ rewarding to him than that of his parents or other adults—unless he cannot fulfill their expectations and is rejected by them. A child's social

acceptability by his peers is an extremely important influence in directing and modifying his value orientation and his behavior. The nature of his reception by his classmates in school will undoubtedly influence his general attitudes and behavior. Similarly, the child's self-concept --already partly determined by experiences prior to and outside of school, as well as by teacher's attitudes and his level of academic success--will be further modified by his perception of social acceptability among his peers. The nature of this self-concept, in turn, will have consequences for the child's total adjustment to school. Thus, in Chapter IV, we shall explore something of the character and consequences of peer group influences, and examine the idea of self-concept and how it relates to maladjustment in school. We are taking the theoretical position that self-acceptance and social-acceptance are positively related, and that an adequate self-concept is a necessary prerequisite to successful adjustment in school.

Our examination of socio-culturally disadvantaged youngster's adjustment to heterogeneous schools suggests the necessity of a three-fold criterion of "adjustment to school." One dimension is relatively clearly defined in terms of academic performance--as measured by standardized tests, grade point averages, etc. A second dimension of adjustment, not as easily defined, relates to social acceptance. This dimension is most often measured in terms of affective social relationships, sociometric rankings,

accessibility of participation in valued activities, etc.
These two elements of adjustment, the cognitive and the
social, might be termed "outer-directed" and be discussed
in terms of relationships with objects and people. A third
dimension of adjustment, emotional adjustment, deals with
the "inner-directed" element of self-concept as held by the
Leftout. Measurement of this dimension is typically done
in terms of standard personality tests and clinical reports.

A somewhat eclectic approach to the development of
our analysis seems indicated since no single extant theory
or research effort takes into consideration all, or even the
majority, of the many areas of maladjustment and disadvan-
tage as we have defined it that are prevalent among the
Leftouts. The basic theoretical framework employed here is
the general social psychological one we have already dis-
cussed. Our specific analysis, developed within this broad
context, will synthesize formulations derived from many
sources. However, no one but the author need be accused of
responsibility for the end product which is detailed in
Chapter V.

It is perhaps necessary at this point to draw a dis-
tinction between our analysis and our theoretical frame of
reference. The latter refers in this case to our gener-
alized social psychological perspective, i.e., our particu-
lar approach to the problem at hand which serves to suggest
the kinds of variables which should be considered as rele-
vant. On the other hand, our analysis is a series of

statements relating what is known or suspected about the explicitly posed issue at this particular point in time. Our issue is represented by the Leftout, who is a particular kind of student in a particular type of school. What we ask of our analysis is to offer tentative suggestions concerning (1) the causes of the Leftout's disadvantage, (2) the consequences of his disadvantage, and (3) what variables seem to offer the greatest potential as a means to overcoming his disadvantage.

In this case the frame of reference is extremely important. The particular selection of means to approaching the problem directs the selection of observations which will be utilized in the initial steps of the development of the analysis. The frame of reference in this case represents a conscious effort to orient the direction of problem exploration in a meaningful way. For this reason we have taken the time to explicate our theoretical frame of reference both at the beginning of this chapter and elsewhere as indicated in the body of the work.

In this case the term "analysis" refers to what we hope is a sound set of interrelated propositions, containing explicit definitions, and offering a tentative explanation of the empirical phenomena we are examining, i.e., the Leftout's potential maladjustment in the heterogeneous school situation. Our analysis is developed inductively from the findings of prior empirical investigations that are assumed to logically relate to the potential theory on the basis of

our generalized theoretical perspective. The crucial role expected of our analysis is that of clarifying the nature and extensity of the problem under study. For example, our analysis (inductively compiled from research evidence and related theoretical formulations) argues that the academic, social, and emotional adjustment of an elementary-school child are all equally important in determining his total adjustment potential in school. Furthermore, we argue, these three dimensions of adjustment are rather directly interrelated. The suggestions derived from this analysis indicate the most obvious theoretical causes, consequences, and potential "cures" for the Leftout's particular adjustment problems. At the same time, the general analytical framework should prove capable of extension to understanding the success or failure of any child's adjustment to any school situation.

Although we have stopped at this point, it is clear that the analysis may be put to test by further deducing research hypotheses, i.e., conditional statements which specify the conditions which are to be taken as their disconfirmation, testable in the empirical world, and which are subsequently accepted or rejected on the basis of empirical data. We did not take this step for two major reasons. The first of these centers in our concern with examining the very broad range of prior research we felt to be relevant to the Leftout's problems. Such a bringing together of diverse materials and their integration into a coherent

whole was felt to be a major undertaking in itself.
Secondly, the very scope of the derived suggestions vir-
tually precludes any empirical test by a single researcher,
or the development of any single "critical hypothesis" upon
which the whole analysis might be seen to rest. In one
sense the empirical evidence has already been collected--
for this is, after all, the basis for the development of
the analytical framework. What remains to be tested, of
course, is the particular analytical combination of sug-
gestions we have offered. It is hoped that our synthesis
will generate a great deal of empirical research.

Both the author's experience and a critical explora-
tion of current theoretical and research literature,
strongly suggest that one critical variable which is both
antecedent to and a consequent of socio-cultural disadvan-
tage in general--and the Leftout's maladjustment to the
social sub-system of the heterogeneous school in particular--
is lack of communication skill. Comparative ineptness in
communication skills required in the school and by the
larger society is seen as a consequent of inadequate lan-
guage acquisition based on stimulus deprivation, i.e., an
environment which affords comparatively little opportunity
for constructive stimulation. Comparative lack of language
skill is also seen to be directly related to conceptual
ability, measured intelligence, and difficulties in learning
both formally taught academic skills and more informally
taught social skills. Thus, in Chapter V we shall briefly

examine the theoretical and empirical contributions of the
work of Martin Deutsch and others who have directed their
special attention to the consequences of stimulus depriva-
tion.

Our analysis also indicates a number of other var-
iables of crucial importance in any effort to understand
and explain the Leftout. Therefore, in Chapter V, we shall
also be concerned with the final pulling together, from
various theoretical and empirical works, those ideas which
relate to the Leftout's deprivation in the areas of:
(1) general knowledge of the "core" cultural expectations,
(2) achievement motivation and functional anxiety, (3) ex-
perience and training in social skills, (4) general ad-
justive ability, and, (5) self-concept. We shall consider
Wilbur Brookover's theoretical and empirical work as it
relates to the antecedents and consequences of a low self-
concept of ability. Our theory will deal with the three
levels of concern which are analogous to the three dimen-
sions of adjustment--academic, social, and emotional--and
how each of these intra-personal areas are influenced by
the social and value structures of the school as a sub-
system of teachers and peers. The "what" of our work, then,
is a systematic look at what is known about Leftouts and
the organization and synthesis of this knowledge into a
coherent whole which is presented in Chapter V. Our analy-
sis deals with the "where," "when," and "why" the Leftout
gets to be that way. It also concerns itself with the

consequences of such deprivation for the disadvantaged child in a heterogeneous school.

In the chapters to come we shall examine a number of contemporary research efforts which serve as the basis for the analysis. We have been primarily concerned with empirical research reports which are relevant to the over-all problem area or some specific aspect of it, which hold implications for both theory and practice. We do not pretend to offer a complete summary of all the research relating to socio-cultural deprivation and its impact on children or on the educational system. We have selected research for presentation in these chapters which seems to bear most directly on the development of an analytical framework. The "truth" of the analysis can come only from extensive and intensive testing of the many interrelated propositions it presents. We suggest that the analysis can serve as a framework within which many otherwise nontheoretical studies can be subsumed, and as a beginning point for directing future studies at many levels.

In Chapter V we shall also present the suggested directions for future research which are typical of and almost obligatory in an analysis such as this. However, our purpose in making such suggestions has something more than the usual fervor behind it because the need for directed, controlled research in this problem area is urgent and critical. The current pressure of public concern and the ready availability of research funds for work in this area

(including great quantities of government money) have con-
tributed to a proliferation of programs, many of which have
something less than a fully adequate analytical and metho-
dological basis. The issue of the socio-culturally disad-
vantaged child's maladjustment to the heterogeneous school
situation _is_ pressing. Common humanity demands that quick
solutions be found for what are highly complex problems.
It is hoped that one significant contribution of our analy-
sis will be to the understanding of the Leftout--and that
with understanding will come constructive ideas for correc-
tive measures!

CHAPTER II

THE ROLE OF "SOCIAL CLASS" IN DIFFERENTIAL

SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT

In one sense, the Leftouts with whom we are concerned
represent a "class" of disadvantaged children. We are de-
fining the Leftout in comparative terms. That is, in terms
of comparison to others with whom the child must interact
in the school system--and, eventually, the larger social
system--he falls at the bottom of any scale of those who
have the ability, motivation, knowledge, prior social
training, and financial resources to approximate the ideal
behavioral values of his particular group. Note the phrase
"approximate the ideal." It suggests that no group of human
beings lives up to the ideals they espouse in full measure.
However, every group does develop norms of behavior which
specify more or less clearly the bounds of acceptable diver-
gence--and it is these norms that the Leftout must learn
and observe if he is to successfully adjust to the inter-
actional demands made upon him in the social sub-system of
the school in its present form.

In another sense, we are not primarily concerned with
social class in the usual meaning of the term. By the Left-
outs is not meant those children whose ethnic identity,

social class status, nor economic background falls into some standardized classification system. We are not addressing ourselves to the problems of social class per se but always as these, and other factors, relate to the development of social skills, acquisition of role-knowledge, development of value orientation and achievement motivation.

The concept of "social class" has played a large part in the history of social scientific concern with children's adjustment to the educational system in the United States. Unfortunately, this concept is probably one of the most misused and abhorred sociological clichés extant. It is, at one and the same time, abhorred because it implies the negation of a strong cultural ideal of equality for all men and misused because it is often employed to rigidly, and sometimes artificially, stratify social groups. It is, at its best, an ambiguous concept virtually devoid of agreed-upon definable parameters and, at its worst, a rigid stereotype which does grave injustice to the individuals pigeon-holed within "class" categories.

Despite these drawbacks the notion of patterns of social stratification has been widely used--and not entirely uselessly. Properly employed the concept of social class is an analytical tool for codifying data of individual and group differences. It is apparent to any interested observer of the world around him that ethnic, economic, educational, occupational, and sub-cultural value differences do exist among men. Furthermore, these differences may be

recognized as crucial variables in understanding the dynam-
ics of many social situations. Therefore, while social
scientists may not agree on the precise meaning of "social
class," nor how it is best measured, there is general agree-
ment in the literature--and we concur--that relatively clear,
relatively stable, relatively definable sub-group differ-
ences do exist. And, moreover, that these differences will
account for at least some of the variation in human behavior
insofar as they influence the socialization process. It is
assumed that just as the attitudes, value orientations,
beliefs, and behaviors of the individual members of the
child's family may have an important influence on the social-
ization process, so too may the broader sub-cultural values
typical of the particular socio-economic stratum in which
the child is reared. This assumption leads us to the
necessity of at least a brief consideration of the relation-
ship between individual variables and broader social-
systemic variables.

Differences in individual acceptance of socialization
attempts have been known and noted since Cain was cast out
from Eden. However, efforts to observe, compare, and con-
trast similarities and uniformities also have a long and
distinguished history. The ancient Greeks differentiated
among the structural characteristics and resultant member
personalities of their several city-states by drawing com-
parisons between Athenians and Spartans, for example. Thus,
we take it as axiomatic that there are definable sets of

system-wide beliefs, values, and behavioral norms and that these sets vary between sub-cultures. One of the fundamental attributes of any social system _qua_ system is that it is normative. That these norms are essentially arbitrary and differ not only between systems but within the same system over time is clear. Nevertheless, certain uniformities tend to persist and for this reason the reciprocal and interdependent interaction of individuals who are members may properly be said to constitute a social "system." And one of the primary functions of a social system lies in providing the means and content of the socialization process through which neophytes become full-fledged members.

It is assumed that this process of socialization to system-wide beliefs, value orientations, etc. begins in the family and is strengthened by secondary contacts. This concept of value orientation, as used here, refers to the generalized theme which is representative of the complex of an individual's beliefs concerning that which is to be valued and the means by which evaluations are to be made. It is a tacit or explicit theme which finds expression in each of the role and life-style choices an individual makes. This notion of social "choice" implies selection from among a _perceived_ set of finite, concrete, and _available_ alternatives. The social system influences individuals to the extent that it places limits on available alternative choices, that it supports and strengthens early family experiences, and that it offers alternatives in such a way

as to be perceived as choices by the individual. However, the role played by the social system in shaping and developing individual outlook may be overemphasized. Many factors can influence the acceptance of influence attempts during the socialization process. The intensity and extensity of the interaction of social-systemic and individual psychological variables is always delimited, it seems to us, to the extent that the social unit is able to: (1) influence the socialization of the individual while value orientations are developing; (2) maintain some degree of control against change, through a system of sanctions, once the individual has developed a value orientation; and (3) serve as the reference group for the individual and hence command his ego-involvement in internalizing commonly shared values.

In much of the literature dealing with the interrelationships between social class and scholastic achievement, "social class" is treated as a determinate of behavior. We postulate that "social class" as typically defined in this literature does not constitute an integrated social system which can specifically define and delimit alternatives, control behavior, nor serve as a reference group. At best the social stratum of which the individual is a member can only imperfectly function in this way and have only a generalized influence. Thus, the same social class may be experienced in different ways by different individuals who are nominally members.

Neal Gross (1953) has expounded some specific criti-
cisms of using "social class" as a determining variable in
educational research. He argues that social stratification
phenomena are but one important factor useful as a predic-
tor or explanatory variable in educational research. He
warns that social class is inadequate as the single explana-
tory "cause" of educational problems--and specifically urges
guarding against confusing causation with statistical asso-
ciation. He notes the lack of agreement on the "proper"
way of classifying the various social strata, e.g., race,
income, education, occupation, ecological area, prestige,
etc. (though it should be noted that many such factors co-
vary) and emphasizes the importance of considering the con-
ditions under which two factors are related. For example,
if social class can be shown to be related to some educa-
tional phenomena under condition A there is no reason to
assume that the relationship will hold under conditions B,
C, and D. Gross also notes that techniques employed to
determine social class are often highly questionable on
methodological grounds. For example, the way in which the
questions are asked in highly influential on responses and,
in addition, "social class" may have no generally recog-
nized meaning among members of the sub-cultural group.

Gross is not alone in his criticisms of the use of
the concept of social class--and other criticisms could be
mentioned, e.g., tendencies toward overgeneralization, un-
critical acceptance of research findings, confusing

value-propositions with validated research, and artificial
forcing of evidence into prearranged class categories. We
shall choose the line of least resistance and admit that
research of this kind is prey to all of the evils we have
discussed--and probably more. This is why we have placed
emphasis on relative, general, and comparative patterns,
and the burden is on the reader to bear this in mind as we
consider the influence of social class on the developmental
and adjustive process.

Historical Development of Interest in
Social Class and Education

At least four sociological "classics" have dealt with
the relationship between social stratification and education
in the United States. Major studies by the Lynds, Warner,
Davis and Hollingshead have been widely read and have had
an impact on critical thinking about the American educa-
tional system. The Lynds (1929) in their extensive study
of "Middletown" drew two major conclusions: (1) all Middle-
town parents, regardless of social class level, recognize
the value of education for their children; and (2) lower-
class children are penalized within the school system since
they do not come to school with experiential background
which adequately equips them to deal with the verbal symbols,
attitudes, and behavioral characteristics most valued by
the dominant middle-class group. Warner's (1944) conclu-
sions were similar: (1) for all but the upper-class in the
community, the school may serve as the means to upward

social mobility, by teaching those skills which are essential for both high status occupational preparation and the acquisition of those socially rewarded values and attitudes typical of the middle class; but (2) the child with a lower socio-economic background is penalized in the social system of the school because he is not prepared to conform to the school's middle-class standards and expectations.

Davis, in the 1948 Inglis Lecture delivered at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, briefly summarized Warner's data on middle-class and lower-class sub-cultures and urged that consideration be given to social class influence on children's learning. He argued that the schools currently existing had a built-in bias in curriculum, teaching methods, and intelligence tests based on linguistic apptitudes which favored the middle-class child--to the detriment of the lower-class child. Hollingshead (1949) also concluded that opportunities for attaining desired rewards varied positively with the child's position on the social class "ladder." He proposed that the socialization process typical to the working-class is not satisfactory preparation for the child's educational adjustment. He also argued that the middle-class adults in the school, i.e., teachers, supervisors, etc., force their class values on the children in their care and that they reject or ignore those children who do not or will not conform to them.

Davis (1948) emphasized basic differences in socialization patterns as they are found in middle-class and

lower-class sub-cultures. His work--and that of other thinkers in this period--has been the impetus for a great deal of research--and the target of much criticism. On the positive side, in 1953 the Harvard Educational Review devoted an entire special issue to research related to the impact of social stratification on education. Loeb, writing in that issue, employed the concept of "core culture" to discuss the American class system and its implications for personal and social development. He characterizes the "middle-class core culture" as the official culture of the society. He notes that its major features are: (1) an emphasis of "success" in the form of upward social mobility, which often requires severing established affective ties; (2) an emphasis on "propriety" in the form of observance to both overt and covert normative guides to behavior; (3) an emphasis on the ownership of material goods, cleanliness, avoidance of overt aggression--particularly physical aggression--active participation in organizations, etc.; and (4) an emphasis on delayed gratification of needs and desires. These cultural values have elsewhere been caricatured as the "Boy Scout virtues"--and the reading of the Boy Scout "Laws" quite literally affords a clear insight into the "core" cultural prescriptions which Loeb has suggested is the culture taught in American schools. For Loeb, the teacher serves as the mediator between the child, whatever his specific background, and this established core culture.

The basic ideas inherent in the concept of "social class" are that, first, people who share a common position in the economy are apt to be in prolonged interactional relationships which foster the development of characteristic sub-cultural norms. These norms serve to guide behavior, perception, cognition and affective ties--in short, a consensual value system develops which differentiates sub-cultures. And, secondly, these behavioral patterns and value systems (sub-cultures) are differentially evaluated and hierarchically ranked on a system-wide basis. Status is accorded in terms of this stratification. Upward social mobility refers to changes in behavior and value orientations required of those individuals who would seek to raise their status evaluation. Loeb suggests that if there is a conflict between parental class culture and the core culture taught in the school, anxiety may result and the child may rigidly and dependently cling to established modes of behavior rather than exhibiting motivation toward social mobility. As we shall see in the next chapter, the child not only learns certain behaviors from significant others during the socialization process, but comes to invest them with what Loeb refers to as positive feelings of "belongingness." Loeb argues that if the child lacks a feeling of sufficient social security, he will cling to the affective ties with family and neighborhood, and the value orientations that are familiar and he will experience anxiety if he is forced to give them up for other people and other values. The

child is, in effect, incapable in this situation of changing
his behavior or adapting his value orientation to new
demands. This failure to seek upward social mobility in
the school often results in his being characterized in the
classroom as a non-learner. Or, if his behavior is highly
deviant and rebellious or aggressive, he may be labeled a
delinquent.

Loeb suggests that the school system represents a
major pathway to social mobility, but he argues that for
lower-class children much of school learning falls under
the headings of meaningless content, conflicting motivations
(e.g., immediate vs. delayed gratification), and incompre-
hensible goals. Burton, writing in the same special issue,
argued that the schools have typically been geared

> to the aims, ambitions, moral, and ethical standards
> of the white, prosperous middle class, Protestant,
> Anglo-Saxon population. . . . The school is not or-
> ganized to capitalize upon the nonverbal types of
> intelligence often found among children who have not
> had access to or constant contact with books. The
> school often does not recognize the emergence of high
> intelligence and creative behavior in forms other
> than the abstract verbal type long fostered by the
> school (Harvard Educ. Review., 1953; p. 248).

Loeb, with regard to this last comment also discussed the
problem of testing. He noted that standard school-adminis-
tered achievement and intelligence tests assume motivation
on the part of the child to do his best. Unfortunately,
this motivation may not exist at all for the lower-class
child and, even if it does, such tests often involve behav-
ior which is neither familiar nor meaningful in his

evaluation. We will consider motivation and school achievement at greater length in subsequent sections and chapters. Our purpose at this point is to explicate the historical generalization that American public schools support a dominant middle-class value orientation and are controlled by a middle-class administration. We have termed this approach "historical" despite the fact that it is still found in the literature, because it gave rise to much criticism which has succeeded in modifying the social class approach.

Such criticisms can be--and have been--leveled at these studies for generalizing from research done in a few relatively small communities to all of American society. It has been argued that their data fail to fully support the hypotheses that curriculum selection, participation in extra-curricular activities, achievement levels, sociometric friendship patterns, school drop-out rates, etc. are wholly determined by social class position or unjust school policies which literally barricade the road to upward social mobility for the lower-class child. Among many others, Charters (1953), Brookover (1953), and Hernandez (1963), writing a decade apart and nearly thirty years after the initial work, indicate that the subject of social class and education is still far from being a dead issue. What has died--or, at least, suffered mortal wounds--is the uncritical acceptance of social class as a unitary explanatory principle. Charters questioned the assumption that all individuals internalize, to the same degree, the value orientations

of "their" social class. He notes that the impact of social class background may be profoundly altered by subsequent experience with other sub-cultural groups and by shifts in reference group identification. Implicit in Charters' argument is the theoretical position we have already explicated--that personality and value orientations are open to modification throughout life by changing social influences and new experiences.

Charters analyzed the evidence for a dominant social class control of the school and concluded that such control had not been demonstrated. Brookover (1953) also critically examined research evidence relating to the social class position of public school teachers and the impact of various social class teacher models on children's levels of aspiration, general personality, and behavior. He argued that the evidence was not sufficient to allow conclusive generalizations about the teachers' position in the stratification system nor how this position might affect the children under their direction. In a later work, Brookover (1961) notes that research evidence indicates that teachers tend to encourage achievement and mobility of certain children not on the criterion of their measured social class per se but, rather, on the basis of the teacher's perceptions of the child's behavior and value orientations in relation to the teacher's stereotypes of social class.

Many thinkers have criticized the "one factor" method of analysis, which stops with the exploration of a single

variable such as social class, as being an inadequate approach to a complex problem. Hernandez (1963) bluntly proclaims that the concept of social class is being misused in the field of education and points to the dangers of pursuing social class as a fixed determinate of individual values. He concludes that "individual behavior cannot be predicted from socio-economic status." Perhaps that conclusion is as broad an overgeneralization as is the concept he criticizes, but we would agree that knowledge of an individual's position in the stratification system alone is not enough if we are to understand his values and attitudes. What appears to be the case is that sub-cultural variations in the socialization process produce a typical but not universal set of attitudes indicative of value orientations which are related to the demands of the school situation. These attitudes may or may not correspond to the general value orientations of the sub-system of the school or those specific to particular teachers and administrators.

It is important at this point to consider the definition of "attitudes"--for it has significant implications for considering the interrelationship between individual outlook and behavior of both the school child and his teacher. The definitions of "attitude" are legion in the literature, but the point worth noting is that attitudes may be defined either in terms of cognitive organization, i.e., regularities in feelings and thoughts, or in terms of behavioral motivations, i.e., predispositions to act in

a specific way--or both! The most fruitful approach to defining the concept of "attitude" appears to be this last integrative one. For our purposes, then, attitudes are defined as ways of organizing and evaluating cognitions about people, experiences, physical objects, and abstract ideas which affect the likelihood that an individual will behave in a way which is consistent with these organized evaluations given conditions which: (1) permit their expression, and (2) arouse the motive to do so. When attitudes are defined in this way it allows for talking about generalized attitudinal value orientations which may or may not influence actual overt behavior depending on the nature of the situation. Thus, even if all members of a given social class category were socialized in an identical manner--which they are not, of course--and developed identical value orientations, these attitudes would not necessarily be reflected in behavior. At best, we can speak only of "general," or "typical" or "usual" patterns. However, to the extent that these generalized sets can be distinguished, they are useful for providing some information about differences among and between people provided that they are not taken as the only explanatory variable. Thus, however cultural alienation and/or adjustment to school are evaluated, simple equation with social "class" as defined by such criteria as father's occupation, level of family income, area of family residence, parent's level of educational achievement, etc., is not the total picture but only

one fragment--but this fragment may yield important clues and guidelines to completing the entire puzzle.

One element common to the descriptions of "class" differences we have noted is the theme of deviance from some norm taken as a standard. "Deviation" has come to be a heavily value laden term connoting a general "badness," which may or may not be accurate. Deviance, literally, means different from some standard, i.e., lack of conformity to some law, rule, value, attitude, or behavioral characteristic held as "proper" by a majority group. Whether or not this is "bad" is a matter of judgment. Some kinds of deviance are obviously "bad" in that they would be so defined by consensual agreement of all the members of a social system, e.g., murder of an in-group member. Other kinds of deviance are consensually "good," e.g., innovations which produce increased rewards for all members of the system. Most kinds of deviance have no such clearly consensual definition as good or bad and "bad for whom or what?" becomes the central question. The Leftouts with whom we are concerned may be defined as deviants, and in doing so it is explicitly assumed that such deviance is, for these children, "bad." That it is, in fact, bad for them becomes an empirical rather than a purely judgmental question when their goals are specified. In this case we assume that at least the initial goal of any individual-- including Leftouts--in the school setting is twofold in that it involves some degree of personally defined success

in: (1) educational achievement, and (2) social acceptance. Thus, any deviation from the accepted means of achieving these goals within the group is bad, or, if you prefer, maladjustive. It has been shown that, in our society, attractive rewards are freely available to some members and denied to others. Some highly valued rewards are permitted only to those who have attained a certain status by reason of age, social position, prestige, ethnic background, etc. Barriers to attaining such rewards may arise from personal limitations, intellectual or physical factors, and other fortuitous factors over which the individual has little or no control. Lack of skill, knowledge, and opportunity may also lead to deviancy. This deviancy from the accepted paths to success is reflected in differential distribution of rewards.

Abrahamson (1952) investigated the relationship between the child's social class level and the awarding of scholastic rewards. His sample of 705 students in the early Junior High grades was drawn from two urban, two suburban, and two rural schools. Rewards were defined in terms of selection for participation in extra-curricular activities, prizes received, and academic grades. In all cases he found that middle-class students received a disproportionate share of high grades, occupied the majority of class and school offices, and were the primary participants in extra-curricular activities. Abrahamson did not consider the I.Q. scores of the students, nor such factors as whether or not they

were required to work at home or elsewhere after school,
thus limiting their ability to attain rewards. However,
his research does permit the conclusion that more scholastic
rewards are obtained by children of higher socio-economic
background--for whatever reason.

As we have suggested earlier, one of the prominant
features of the socialization process is the tremendous
amount of variability that occurs within each of the social
class levels. Normative behavior is not a simple concept.
Much of the research literature has failed to distinguish
possible sub-patterns within the lower socio-economic class.
Cohen (1964) suggests that, while most human behavior is
learned through experiences in a particular cultural setting
which offers particularistic norms, in a complex urban
industrial society such as ours alternatives are numerous
enough and available enough to make predictions of individ-
ual behavior hazardous. Some rural and/or geographically
isolated sub-cultures with more narrowly defined populations
afford more limited alternatives, but variations at the
family and individual level are still wide. Added to this
problem of variation in sub-cultural patterns, Cohen points
out that the cultural norms vary in their specificity.
Some areas of behavior may be culturally undefined, or the
social sanctions applicable to deviancy may be unclear--
thus increasing the opportunity for variation. Even when
it is not possible to deal with idiosyneratic variations
but patterns of response must be the basis of analysis, it

is important to distinguish how various aggregates within a social class respond. Cohen, among many others, notes that the interaction between personality and social structure plays an important role in any behavioral picture and that circumstances nurturing particular kinds of development must be identified. He distinguishes between two subcultures in the lower socio-economic strata--a "lower-class culture of poverty" and a "working class."

He argues that members of the "poverty-culture" have little opportunity for mastery of skills and that lack of skill is anxiety producing. A sense of shame is also seen to accompany limited opportunity. Often this anxiety and shame act together to produce hostile aggressiveness, lack of trust in others, feelings of inadequacy, withdrawal, and a generally suspicious and negative attitude toward the social environment. On the other hand, "working class" members have the opportunity for skill mastery, pride in achievement, and some social power (derived through labor union membership) which serve as anxiety-reducing functions. Cohen argues that "working class" life nurtures family cohesion and stability. Assuming, as we have, that children learn through contact with and observation of their social environment, this kind of psychological setting obviously would provide a qualitatively different kind of socialization background for the school child than does that of the lower class "poverty-culture."

Miller (1964) has outlined an even more detailed
analysis of sub-cultural patterns within the lower classes.
He identifies four possible sub-groups using economic
security and family stability as subdividing variables.
Type I, the Stable Poor, is characterized by economic and
family stability; where the principal wage-earner is regu-
larly employed but in a low skill occupation. The majority
of families falling in this class are white, rural, and
southern. The aged and the downwardly mobile are over-
represented in this group. Negro familes with higher social
class than their white counterparts are also included. Chil-
dren of these familes are those most likely to be upwardly
mobile in the educational system. Type II, the Strained,
is characterized by a secure economic pattern but an un-
stable family one. This is a category more influenced by
individual variation and is cross-sectional in terms of
demographic variables. Children of these familes tend to
be anxious and less easily adjust to school demands on the
basis of their personal insecurity. Type III, the Copers,
is characterized by economic insecurity and family stability.
This group increases appreciably during periods of economic
contraction and contains the largest share of urban, north-
ern, and Negroes. Children of these families are sometimes
withdrawn from the school to help supplement family income,
or because family finances are inadequate to provide appro-
priate clothing, lunch money, etc. These children do poorly
in school because of frequent absences or residential

mobility engendered by a search for economic stability.
Type IV, the Unstable, is characterized by economic insecu-
rity and family instability. Miller points out that not
every family in this category is a hard core case, but that
even here there are degrees of strain and instability. In
general, this category contains unskilled irregular workers,
broken families, the physically handicapped and mentally
disturbed poor. The families in this category are typically
chronically dependent on some sort of welfare agency because
of sickness, alcoholism, prolonged periods of unemployment,
and/or high rates of illegitimacy. Children from these
families are those least likely to successfully adjust to,
or derive many advantages from, the educational system.
Miller suggests that for Type IV a concentration of public
assistance funds on compensatory education for children
might be of more value than diffuse efforts to remedy family
stability.

It is clear that the historical development of concern
with the interrelationship between social stratification and
education has shown a progressive and profitable modifica-
tion; and every indication in the literature suggests that
it will continue to do so. "Social class" is no longer the
unitary concept it once was. With these modifications in
mind, we shall turn to a review of some of the specific
findings that have come out of social class research which
help, at least in part, our attempts to understand the Left-
out.

Negro vs. White--a Special
Case of Stratification

The discussion of "color caste" in our contemporary
society has been the central concern in a rather large
body of separate literature. We have neither the time nor
is this the place to review it. However, the special case
of the Negro in our social system cannot be completely ig-
nored. The central issue in this chapter is that of social
"class"--which is not the same as that of "caste." The
Negro in our society--irrespective of his economic, occupa-
tional, education, or other achievements--has been the
object of discrimination. While other ethnic groups have
successfully been assimilated in the "core culture" fol-
lowing relatively short problem-frought periods, the Negro
--because of readily identifiable physical characteristics--
has been largely excluded and forced to remain as a separate
"caste." Within this color caste a somewhat parallel system
of social "class" categories have developed which are recog-
nized by other Negroes but, until very recently, have been
given but occasional and scant recognition by whites. In
the majority of studies we will review, when color distinc-
tions are made, the Negro child is relegated to the lower-
class categories. This is justifiable by and large because
social discrimination functions as both a cause and a con-
sequence. That is, social discrimination directed toward
Negroes has caused nearly insurmountable barriers to gener-
ally recognized means of upward mobility. These barriers,

in turn, result in keeping the typical Negro family in the lower socio-economic strata and preserving among them the behavioral characteristics and value orientations which serve as the rationale for discrimination against them. Neither the relatively few individual Negro families who have managed to escape this vicious circle nor recent anti-discrimination legislation have had far-reaching positive influence to date on the social evaluation of Negroes in general. Desegregation in the schools is not yet complete. Even in those schools where it is complete, or where segregation per se never existed, there is still something less than "integration" in the ideal sense between Negro and white students. Physical proximity is not equivalent to social acceptance and lack of segregation is not tantamount to integration.

In the U.S. Department of Labor Report to the President (1965) it is emphasized that the most difficult fact for white Americans to understand is that the circumstances of Negroes in our contemporary society have been getting worse, not better. The Report suggests that indices of average income levels, standards of living, and educational achievement levels are deceptive. Individually, Negro families are reaching higher levels of social status than ever before achieved. Collectively, in a stratification system where a few get much and many get little, Negroes are among the lowest socio-economic strata. The Report argues that

the gap between Negroes and most other groups in American society is widening.

> The fundamental problem, in which this is most clearly the case, is that of family structure. . . . The evidence--not final, but powerfully pervasive--is that for the Negro family in urban ghettos the fabric of conventional social relationships does not exist. . . . So long as this situation persists, the cycle of poverty and disadvantage will continue to repeat itself (U.S. Dept. of Labor: Report to the President, 1965).

Moynihan (1965), addressing himself to this same point, postulates that the family structure is not only the product of social causes but is itself, as the primary socializing agent, a significant and dynamic element in the creation of culture, of social character, and of social structure. He argues that while there is no universal family pattern to be found among urban, poor Negroes, there is a tendency toward high incidence of broken homes dominated by women, where children never acquire any stable relationship with male authority, and never acquire any rational expectations about the future. These problems, as we shall see in the next chapter, are not exclusively "Negro" problems. We do not presume the problems of Negro children to be in any way different from those of white children except insofar as they are increased by the factor of a negatively evaluated skin color. It is this factor which constitutes an additional social handicap--and one over which the child has no possible control. Gottlieb (1964) argues that there is considerable evidence that both white and Negro teachers respond differentially to white and Negro children as well as to

children of different social classes. This differential
treatment takes the form of negative evaluation of children
with dark skin color and/or perceived lower socio-economic
status. In this context it is important to briefly consider
whether there are objective differences to be found between
groups on the basis of race.

Several studies yield evidence to support a hypothesis
that social structural factors are more significant in dif-
ferentiating between Negroes and whites than is the variable
of skin color. These studies would indicate that in many
cases there is no particular reason for emphasizing race
as a crucial variable. Dreger and Miller (1960) critically
reviewed psychological studies of Negroes and whites pub-
lished during the period of 1943 to 1958. They found that,
in general, there is a great deal of psychological similar-
ity in the value systems of Negroes and whites. While
religion was highly evaluated by Negroes--in keeping with
the prevalent racial stereotype--this element also ranked
high with white females. They did find marked differences
in self-concept among Negroes and whites, with Negroes'
being less adequate. Related to this is the finding that
there is a higher incidence of mental illness among Negroes
than among whites. However, we would suggest that both of
these findings could be explained on the basis of social
structural differences which keep the Negro in a position
of inferiority, discrimination, and highly limited oppor-
tunity. Dreger and Miller found many reports of intelligence

differences--with Negroes ranking lower than whites--and research evidence shows that educational achievement differences largely correlate positively with the pattern of intelligence test differences. They argue, however, that environmental rather than hereditary factors can explain these differences--and that is precisely the view supported by our theoretical position. In reviewing studies of temperament, Dreger and Miller found that differences have been noted but that evidence is insufficient to determine the cause. They also point out that cross-race similarities are more typical than cross-race differences. They conclude that differences found between Negroes and whites in leadership styles, family patterns, child-rearing practices, fertility rates, etc. all seem to conform to social structural differences rather than to racial differences. Thus, in the areas of social psychological concern, social learning variations are shown to serve more clearly as the basis for differentiation among people than do racial differences.

Lott and Lott (1963) also explored the value systems and goals of Negro and white high school children, particularly as there were relevant to their educational and vocational choices and plans. They found no significant differences among Negro and white children in the area of need for affiliation. The dominant goals for both groups were a desire for popularity, desire to attain security, and a desire to obtain knowledge and achieve success. The

authors found that, despite their awareness of the problems
of discrimination and prejudice, Negro children were gener-
ally more optimistic about their futures than were white
children. It could be argued, of course, that by this age,
(late adolescence) the more pessimistic children would have
left the system. The authors indicate some evidence pointing
to the relatively high status in the school system of the
"successful" Negroes, i.e., those who had become school
leaders. The socio-economic background of the Negro leaders
was higher than that of their white counterparts. The
parents of Negro leaders were better educated than the
parents of most other Negro students and were at least as
well educated as those of the white leaders. Negro leaders
were found to be more motivated to achieve financial secu-
rity and social respectability, while white leaders were
motivated toward more idiosyneratic sources of success.

Lott and Lott also found generally that white students
have greater economic and home stability than do Negro
students. It would appear to be clearly the case that
racial differences per se do not play a major role, but
that the social structural dynamics we have already men-
tioned--of discrimination, economic disadvantage, and struc-
tural instability in the family--are the variables which
cause Negro vs. white differences. Thirty years or more
ago Frazier was writing of the pattern of family disorgan-
ization prevalent among Negroes and noting its results.
He argued that the most important problem resulting from

family disorganization was the economic one of reliance on
the meagre earnings of the mother or female head of the
family. More recently Frazier (1950) points out that
financial support programs such as Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) have alleviated the economic problem to some
extent but left untouched the devastating social problem.

> As a result of family disorganization a large proportion of Negro children and youth have not undergone the socialization which only the family can provide. The disorganized families have failed to provide for their emotional needs and have not provided the discipline and habits which are necessary for personality development. Because the disorganized family has failed in its function as a socializing agency, it has handicapped the children in their relations to the institutions in the community. . . . Since the widespread family disorganization among Negroes has resulted from the failure of the father to play the role in family life required by American society, the mitigation of this problem must await those changes in the Negro and American society which will enable the Negro father to play the role required of him. (Frazier, 1950, p. 277).

Frazier goes on to draw an important distinction between "unorthodox" family patterns and "disorganized" patterns which is applicable to our concern with understanding the Leftout regardless of his skin color. He suggests that "disorganized" patterns are especially prevalent among the lowest socio-economic strata--Miller's Type IV-- and are characterized by: (1) a lack of family traditions and kinship ties; (2) a lack of discipline within the family unit; (3) a lack of "familiness," e.g., eating meals together, family forms of recreation, etc; and (4) a lack of socialization to specific values but, rather, superficial

admonitions to "be good," "honest," "sexually pure," etc. Frazier points out that high rates of dissertion and illegitimacy are found among Negroes. However, these rates are not equivalent to disorganization if unmarried couples function as a family unit or if children are absorbed into existing family units, e.g., are reared by grandparents or other relatives. He points out that it is not the child from an unorthodox home but from a disorganized and inadequate one who reaches the school, which teaches values not previously taught or at odds to those he's learned, and finds it dull, uninteresting, unintelligible, and anxiety producing. And, because of a general lack of discipline training, self control, and value training the child will seek to escape whenever possible. This escape may be either in the form of physical absence or psychological withdrawal.

Jenkins (1958) specifically studied the relationship between illegitimate birth status and the school, personal, and social adjustment of Negro children. His study of 45 Negro children in grades 4 through 12 attempted to determine whether illegitimate children of economic status similar to their legitimate classmates differed significantly from them in adjustment to school. "Adjustment" was equated with a combination of I.Q. scores, age-grade placement, number of absences, teacher's ratings, cumulative grade records, and scores on the California Test of Personality (CTP). Jenkins found that while illegitimate children tended to

rank lower than legitimate children in every area except
that of number of school absences, significant differences
of at least .05 were found only on teacher's ratings and
I.Q.-age correspondence. CTP scores failed to show signi-
ficant differences in any of its various areas, although
the scores consistently favored legitimate children.
Jenkins concludes that his data suggest that birth status
affects the school adjustment of Negro children.

Jenkins argues against a belief, claimed to be preva-
lent among many social workers and other professional people
(which may be derived from Frazier's position), that illegit-
imacy is accepted as a normal status in the Negro sub-
culture and that this acceptance precludes stigma or social
ostracism from operating adversly on the personality of the
illegitimate Negro child. Jenkins maintains that these
assumptions are invalidated by his research. We would agree
that these assumptions may have been called into question
by Jenkin's study--but his evidence hardly serves as proof
to the contrary since statistically significant differences
were found in only two areas. The fact that teacher's
ratings were found to exhibit significant differentiation
particularly suggests that perhaps the teacher's personal
values against illegitimacy may influence perception of the
illegitimate child's adjustment. We are not told whether
or not the teachers were aware of the children's birth
status, but, if birth status is to be an influence on social
relationships at all we assume the status must first be

known. There would seem to be no theoretical or intuitive
explanation for birth status differences in the case that
Frazier suggests, i.e., where the unmarried parents act
as a family unit or the illegitimate child is taken into
an existing family unit unless the fact of his illegitimate
status is known to those who disapprove.

Jenkin's findings also indicate that younger illegit-
imate children consistently rated higher in comparison to
their legitimate classmates than did older children. In
addition, there was found to be a significant negative cor-
relation between age and I.Q. The author hypothesizes that
this lower ranking is due to increasing social stigma that
comes with increasing age. He offers no further explanation
but we would suggest that the reason pressures increase
with age is that social contacts become wider with age--and
that some of these social contacts lie outside of the Negro
sub-culture which has accepted the fact of the child's
illegitimate birth status. Thus, it seems plausible at
least to consider Frazier's argument that unorthodox fam-
ilies and family disorganization are not necessarily equiva-
lent in their consequences. This kind of argument again
suggests the necessity of considering disadvantage and lack
of adjustment in the light of multi-variable determination.

Bloom, Whiteman, and Deutsch (1963) undertook a study
to separately analyze the factors of race and social class
among a sample of 292 pairs of parents and their first and
fifth grade children. The data were derived from interviews

with the children and parents' response to questionnaires.
Three social class groupings were used, on the basis of
educational achievement level and occupational prestige
ratings of the family's main wage-earner. There were simi-
lar proportions of Negro and white children in each class
level. The dependent variables considered in the study in-
cluded housing conditions, educational and occupational
aspirations, family life styles, and others. Bloom et al
found that by and large Negroes are similar to whites in
the lowest class group. This group was characterized by
a high frequency of residence in sub-standard housing and
absence of the father from the home.

In this study, where race and social class were inde-
pendently treated, it was found that lower class Negro
parents reported higher educational aspirations for their
children than did lower-class white parents, and that Negro
children aspired to higher levels of occupational prestige
than did white children. It was found that for lower-class
families housing is more crowded, mothers are more often
employed outside the home in relatively menial tasks, and
there is a tendency for mothers to be away during meal
times (especially breakfast) and that children more often
have inadequate breakfasts--but Negro/white differences in
these areas are non-significant. The authors of this study
conclude, as we have done, that general cultural, social,
and economic handicaps that are associated with low position

in the stratification system seem to be more influencial in predicting behavioral and attitudinal factors than is race.

Social Class and Achievement Motivation

As we shall see in the next chapter, children's achievement motivation is heavily dependent on parental attitudes. If these attitudes are positive, and if they are supported by the child's secondary contacts in his more general social environment, these attitudes will support the child's motivation to achieve in the school situation. However, if parental attitudes and/or those of the sub-cultural environment are negative toward educational achievement, the child may lack both initial motivation to achieve and subsequent support for any motivation which may be aroused by his teachers and classmates. Several studies have been aimed at differentiating value orientations toward educational achievement prevalent in various sub-cultures. Some of these issues have already been raised in connection with our consideration of the historical development of concern with social class and education. We turn now to some more specific findings that have contributed to knowledge in this area.

Hieronymus (1951) studied the nature of differences in social and economic expectations and attitudes toward education among different socio-economic strata. He administered a battery of attitude, socio-economic, expectation,

intelligence, and performance scales to 610 ninth grade students in four schools. Socialized anxiety for education was considered to be the major variable in both educational expectations and performance. Hieronymus concluded that perception of social class status is more closely related to levels of expectation than is tested intelligence or performance scores. He found a correlation of approximately .30 between socio-economic status and attitudes toward education. This correlation was in the expected direction, i.e., lower-class children held less positive attitudes toward education.

Employing Hieronymus' own concept of "socialized anxiety for education," we would suggest that this correlation between socio-economic status and attitudes toward education might have been higher and more useful had he separated out those children in the lower classes whose families were stable and supportive from those whose families were disorganized and negative or indifferent toward educational achievement. A study by Kahl (1953) points out that lower class parents who are discontented with their own status tend to train their sons from the earliest years of school to take schooling seriously and to use educational achievement as a means for upward social mobility. However, Kahl notes that it is only those children who internalize such value orientations who are sufficiently motivated to overcome cultural, social, and economic handicaps, and

perceive the need for academic achievement who develop what Hieronymus has termed "socialized anxiety for education."

Rosen (1956) examined the idea that social class differences in attitudes toward and concern with achievement and upward striving for social mobility exist in our society. He hypothesized that there were class differences in two components of the achievement attitude: (1) an internalized personality factor termed "achievement motivation," and (2) value orientations which define and implement achievement-motivated behavior. Note the closeness of his formulation to our definition of an attitude, in that it contains both internal organizational and external behavioral components. Rosen's sample consisted of 120 white boys, ages 14 to 16, with middle and lower social class backgrounds. Thematic Apperception Tests, scored for achievement motivation, and a questionnaire to measure value orientation were administered. Responses which were future-oriented, activistic, and individualistic were taken to represent those values most likely to define and implement achievement motivation and striving for upward social mobility. Rosen found that lower-class boys scored lower on achievement motivation and were less likely to express achievement oriented values than were middle class boys. It was found that a personality factor of achievement motivation was positively related to high academic grades, but achievement-oriented values per se were not. On the other hand, educational aspiration was related to value orientation but not

to motivation scores. In short, actual achievement--in this case high grades--requires behavioral motivation, not just high attitudinal evaluation; it is necessary to work at it not just dream about it.

Rosen has shown that achievement value and achievement motive are independent, though they often and ideally occur together. (We would further suggest that while values may not be accompanied by motivation to act on them, it is doubtful that a child who is motivated would lack the relevant value orientation.) For our interests this suggests that in order to produce motivation toward academic achievement, producing positive values toward education is not enough-- behavior aimed at goal achievement must be elicited. Thus, lower-class parents who place high cognitive value on education may still inadequately socialize their children if they fail to provide a role model or some other actual motivation training. Rosen suggests that achievement value orientations are conceptual and probably acquired through relatively complex verbal communication. On the other hand, motivation probably has its beginnings in parent-child interaction and identification, and is likely to be unverbalized yet internalized by the child. Middle-class children are more likely to be taught the motivation that makes achievement possible because middle-class parents are better able to serve as adequate role models.

Whether or not lower class children actually do place a value on educational achievement and occupational

mobility has been the subject of several research studies, and the findings are somewhat in conflict. We will briefly consider two studies as examples of the problem.

Sewell, Haller, and Strauss (1957) examined the general hypothesis that children's levels of educational and occupational aspiration are associated with the socio-economic status of their families. The subjects of their study were 4167 randomly selected non-farm students, who were carefully controlled by level of intelligence. Data were gathered on the basis of a questionnaire which was designed to elicit information concerning present occupation of parent, level of educational aspiration, and actual occupational plans. The responses were arranged in five equal-sized, rank-ordered categories on the basis of prestige of parental occupation and the level of student intelligence. Their findings support their hypothesis, and the authors conclude that for both boys and girls, when intelligence is controlled, there is a significant positive relationship between both educational and occupational aspirations and the level of parental socio-economic status.

Contrary evidence is supplied by Bennett and Gist (1964). They studied the educational and occupational aspirations of 800 urban students in relation to their social class background and types of family influence. Social class was determined again on the basis of the prestige ranking of the father's occupation. These researchers found that educational and occupational aspirations show

little variation among classes. Only specific occupational
plans varied significantly by social class. It should be
noted, at this point, that both of these studies dealt with
high school seniors who were above the age of compulsory
school attendance--a fact which suggests the possibility
that poorly motivated students from the lowest and most un-
stable socio-economic levels may already have been elimi-
nated. We suggest that many children from Type II and
Type IV families (in Miller's terms) have already dropped
out by the senior year of high school and, therefore, most
of the lower class children represented in these studies
have been socialized to and found support for high levels
of achievement in their homes. Weiner and Murray (1963)
attempt to account for these kinds of conflicting evidence
about aspiration levels and social class in terms of the
parents' ability to help their children attain desired goals.
They suggest that parents from different socio-economic
strata may have the same level of aspiration for their chil-
dren, but that the higher status groups are more certain
that their aspirations will be fulfilled. In a study in
Westchester County, New York, these authors found that most
parents and children, regardless of social class, aspired
to professional occupations. However, whereas 100% of the
middle-class children were enrolled in college preparatory
courses aimed at reaching this goal, only 37% of the lower-
class children were taking such courses. In short, Rosens'

distinction between achievement value-orientation and actual motivation would appear to be a significant one.

The work of Sewell et al suggests that controlling for intelligence is also an important factor. We shall see in the next chapter that measured intelligence reflects social stimulus and training. It could be hypothesized that those who receive the least stimulation, poorest training, and least support at home would also be those children in the lowest groups on the basis of tested intelligence--and that very low socio-economic rating, low intelligence ranking, and low educational aspirations are not wholly independent but tend to vary together. However, this tendency may be mitigated by an unusually stimulating family background or a stable family which allows for and supports training for their child outside the home. By the same token, of course, high socio-economic status does not offer an unqualified guarantee of environmental stimulation or parental training and support. Thus, it is hardly surprising that low aspiration and low socio-economic status go together in some cases but not in others.

In this context it is important that Bennett and Gist considered types of family influence. They found that these types of influence varied dramatically with social class ranking. Maternal influence, relative to paternal, appears to be both stronger and more effective at lower class levels, regardless of race. Both Negro and white lower-class children attributed stronger attempts to influence their

opinions to their mothers. The authors hypothesize that in the lower classes the low social prestige of father's occupations will lead to matricentrism in the family. They suggest that mothers--regardless of social class--have nearly equal opportunity to measure up to general societal expectations for their roles, but that lower-class fathers typically fall short of cultural criteria of success as reflected in the mass media and the value orientation prevalent in the school. Bennett and Gist argue that the lower-class father's recognition of his own role failure causes him to renounce responsibility for influencing his children. This is to be expected in terms of the theoretical position on family roles which we will discuss more thoroughly in the next chapter. We shall also point out that when the mother devalues the father, as may well be the case in this situation, she will see her own role as the dominant one. This is, of course, also the case in father-absent families.

Pressures toward motivation to achieve may have drawbacks unless they are accompanied by specific training to the socially approved means for attaining success. In the absence of clearly articulated means-training, the motivated child may attempt to employ normatively disapproved avenues to success or he may develop deep-seated anxiety because of the lack of knowledge of the appropriate means to his ends. Either of these modes of achievement motivation are maladjustive in terms of our definition. Davis (1944) has considered this particular problem of the difference between

adaptive competition and ambition, and maladaptive rivalry and aggression. In this theoretically-oriented work he postulates that successful socialization of the child to achieve depends upon the degree of adaptive anxiety to which he has been socialized. While this kind of concept is difficult to operationally define, the implication is that a certain level of anxiety is necessary to motivate achievement behavior--which leads to ambition and socially approved competition for rewards and concern lest these rewards not be obtained. On the other hand, over-anxiety leads to aggression and disapproved means of striving for rewards. Davis argues that children learn the consensual behavioral expectations and value orientations of the sub-culture to which they belong and in which they are social-ized. The middle-class child is better prepared for motiv-ation to achieve in the school setting than is the lower-class child because the middle-class sub-culture approves adaptive ambition and the lower-class sub-culture approves maladaptive aggression. The author concludes that the problem of American public education is to learn how to motivate lower-class children to socially adaptive anxiety and the generally acceptable means to achievement. He implies that lower-class children must be resocialized to these means, which often seem remote from their goals, and convinced of the reality of the end rewards.

Bandura and Walters (1963) point out that achievement demands are highly variable among sub-cultural groups, but

in a society in which upward mobility is an ideal, great
pressures are exerted on children to at least equal--and
preferably surpass--the attainments of their parents. How-
ever, high degrees of social approval are contingent both
on achievement striving and on the observance of normative
prescriptions and proscriptions designed to prevent this
striving from having socially harmful consequences. Com-
pliance with social expectations thus involves a consid-
erable amount of discrimination learning and the exercise
of self-control. Any radical change effort to correct the
child's anti-social behavior may threaten the social and
material rewards associated with his deviant career unless
he perceives that he will be provided with satisfying sub-
stitute rewards. The persistence of deviant behavior can
be accounted for in terms of social learning. Persistence
of disapproved behavior appears to result from intermittent
positive reinforcement, such as would be derived from those
behaviors and value orientations rewarded by parents, peers,
or sub-cultural group when they are in conflict with those
taught in the school. However, if this conflict can be
overcome, the principles of social learning can be used
to foster socially approved response patterns and establish
self-control. The authors note that research evidence in-
dicates that devaluation of goals that are not readily at-
tainable is one learned way of maintaining self-control.
An equally important means of learned self-control is

placing high evaluation on unpleasant means to a highly desired goal.

Such a position clearly indicates that environmentally learned social behavior patterns must be considered when interest is directed toward understanding the acquisition of achievement motivation and self-control over the means employed. Again we caution that these patterns are not universal within any socio-economic status category--individual differences as the result of socialization practices and experiences in specific families may obviate the pattern. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for lower-class children to be statistically more often socialized to a pattern of aggressive competition which is maladaptive as the basis for successful achievement motivation. Achievement motivation implies _active_ efforts on the part of the child to attain rewards. As we have noted, this differs from simply placing high evaluation on such rewards as academic success, social acceptance, occupational prestige, etc. Several other factors are related to achievement besides those of high evaluation and actual efforts. One of the most important factors in educational achievement is intellectual ability. We will discuss, in the next chapter, the high theoretical relationship between language acquisition and the development of tested intelligence. A number of studies have dealt specifically with language and intellectual differences among the various social classes, some of which we will explore in the next section. Other factors in

achievement include actual mental capacity, time orienta-
tion, and the use to which leisure time is put. Differences
in each of these bases of achievement have been related to
socio-economic level. We turn now to a brief consideration
of each of these prerequisites to successful achievement.

Social Class and the Bases of Achievement

It would appear to be unlikely that the child who is
severely handicapped in the area of language skill would be
highly motivated toward educational achievement unless or
until such a handicap was overcome. An element which recurs
in almost all of the social class literature on educational
achievement is that of the lower class child's relative dis-
advantage in this area of communication skills. The lower-
class child's cultural handicap typically includes the lack
of books in the home, little emphasis on reading or verbal
communication, and the dialect which he learns from his
family and peers. Ample research evidence clearly indicates
differential socialization to language exists at different
class levels. Bernstein (1962) discusses two linguistic
codes, the "elaborated" and the "restricted" which he sees
as function of different social structures. He discusses
differences in family structure and activities which relate
to these particular types of language development and usage.
We shall not consider here the specific origins of language
disadvantage but will limit our concern to its consequences.

John (1963) in her study of language deprivation among Negro children studied the impact of early social environment on the patterning of intellectual skills at three levels of socio-economic status. That this study dealt only with Negro children seems irrelevant to our concerns in keeping with the theoretical assumption we have expressed that social environment supersedes race as a crucial variable. She examined patterns of verbal and cognitive behavior among a sample of 69 first grade and 105 fifth grade children. Three major levels of language behavior were analyzed--labeling, relating, and categorizing. Consistent social class differences in these language skills were found to emerge between children of different socio-economic levels. Some initial differences were noted but, by the fifth grade, lower class children were significantly less skilled in all communication areas. She found that middle-class children surpass their age-mates in that they possess a larger vocabulary and a higher non-verbal I.Q. in their ability to produce a best-fit response. She found trends toward this pattern at the first grade level, but points out that all children at that age are primarily occupied with the acquisition of language skills. The gap, however, grows wider with age so that by the fifth grade middle-class children are far better at tasks requiring precise and abstract language.

Middle-class children are more skilled in such verbal behavior as the use of descriptive and integrative language

and the use of language as a conceptual tool. John suggests that lower-class children, because of their relative poverty of language, may also experience difficulty in pooling and processing varied experiences. This is in keeping with the theoretical position explicated by Bruner that we shall discuss more fully in the next chapter. John sees this as the source of the lower-class child's disability in the area of accepting delayed gratification.

Several such studies show that children from lower socio-economic backgrounds employ shorter and more fragmented sentences than do their middle-class age mates. Typically these children have both more limited vocabularies and poorer articulation. Newton (1962), as director of the Reading Skills Clinic at North Carolina College at Durham, has collected considerable evidence concerning the backgrund of the child who is deficient in language skills. She points out that the foundation for the child's verbal development is laid subtly but inexorably in (1) the general cultural level of his home, (2) his parent's language patterns, (3) language patterns of his peers, (4) the general level of culture in his community, and (5) the educational resources available to him in school and outside of school. Thus, the standard English usage of teachers, textbooks, and more advantaged peers is virtually an alien tongue to the Leftout. If the child has not grown up in an environment which affords both breadth and depth of educationally stimulating activities he will not have the background

concepts to which to relate verbal symbols. Newton cata-
logues the socio-economic status, personal characteristics,
and language patterns typical of the "verbally destitute"
child. He is:

1. usually a member of a family in which there
   is less than two full generations of literacy;

2. often the product of a small, sub-standard
   public school system located in communities
   barren of cultural opportunities--or of large,
   over-crowded, outmoded public schools in
   ghetto-like urban areas;

3. frequently a racial or cultural minority group
   member and/or resides in a geographically
   isolated place--or is a migrant;

4. during his formative years he communicated
   customarily through non-standard English,
   characterized by: (a) casual observance
   of standard inflections, (b) simple words,
   (c) frequently mispronounced and uncorrected
   words, (d) rare use of descriptive or qualifying
   terms, (e) simple sentences or sentence frag-
   mentation in both oral and written expression,
   and (f) speech heavily infused with vernacular
   expressions;

5. usually performing two or more years below
   grade expectancy on verbal tests, but frequently
   demonstrating adequate scholastic potential on
   non-verbal tests;

6. generally disenchanted with all types of book-
   centered learning which he displays through
   aggressive, defensive, or indifferent attitudes
   in the classroom;

7. generally experiencing difficulty relating present
   activity to future goals.

The author's own experience with disadvantaged chil-
dren substantiates this view, but we regret that these
studies are not derived from a theoretical approach to lan-
guage and cognition. We will attempt, in the next chapter,

to bring some theoretical perspective to bear on this problem. Luria, for example, has provided part of the explanation for cognitive deficit exhibited by speech retarded children. Our general hypothesis is that this lack of language skill is created by restriction in the child's social environment--either lack of educational stimulus and/or monotony of stimulus.

Deutsch (1963) has outlined the main factors which affect the disadvantaged child's readiness for the demands of school. One such factor he cites is the lack of variety of visual, tactile, and auditory stimulation in the lower-class home. This position has been criticized by Reissman, and we shall consider his arguments and other theoretical positions in Chapter V. Here we simply want to note that Deutsch argues that the lower-class home contains few objects which aid in the development of visual discrimination skills and that lack of manipulatable objects reduces tactile development. He points out that lower-class environment affords much "noise," but little direct communication and feedback. In such circumstances the child is apt to learn skills of inattention in an effort to drown out indiscriminate noise. Thus, the lower-class child is deprived of meaningful experience and constructive feedback. Deutsch concludes that differences in life styles among various socio-economic strata provide different training patterns. If language acquisition is taken as the prerequisite to concept formation and problem solving--as we suggest in the

next chapter--then this deficit has a tremendous effect

on intelligence and the capacity to successfully adjust to

school achievement demands.

In a later work, Deutsch (1964) more extensively re-

ports his data on language and cognitive variations among

a sample of 292 white and Negro children in the first and

fifth grades. He explored the interrelationships between

socio-economic status, race, grade in school, and language

skill. Comparative disadvantage was significantly cor-

related with race more frequently among children in the

fifth grade than in the first grade. The language variables

of abstraction, verbalization, and experientially dependent

enumeration are those found to be correlated significantly

with race. The number of significant correlations with

socio-economic level remained relatively constant at each

grade level. The general language disadvantage evident by

both social class and race standards reflect deficiency in

abstract and categorical use of language as opposed to

labeling and denotive usage. His data indicate that social

class differences in perceptual abilities and general

orientation to the environment decrease with age, while

language differences tend to increase. Thus his data

clearly support the "cumulative deficit" hypothesis which

he advanced in his previous work and which is also supported

by the work of Vera John noted earlier. Deutsch argues

that, even considering the disadvantaged child's initial

inadequacies, the decline in his comparative performance

brings into question the adequacy of the school system.
We would suggest that before all the blame for increasing
comparative disadvantage is placed squarely on the shoulders
of teachers and institutional administrators certain other
factors should be considered. Undoubtedly poor school
practices are partly responsible, but we suggest that other
factors also play a part in cumulative deficit.

Deutsch's own work suggests at least one supplemental
hypothesis. He notes that social class differences remain
relatively stable but that racial differences especially
increase with age. This fact would appear to point up the
fact that the role of social acceptance by peers plays an
increasingly large role as age increases. (We are assuming
that fifth grade teachers, on the average, are no more
discriminatory in their practices than are first grade
teachers.) One big change in social environment which does
occur during the period between first and fifth grade is
an increase in racial discrimination among children. Sev-
eral studies have indicated that children of first-grade
age, i.e., six or seven, make racial distinctions but are
not highly discriminatory in their behavior. However, by
age ten or eleven, peer groups are apt to be more sharply
race divided. If the Negro child lacks social acceptance
by his more advantaged peers then we would hypothesize
that he also lacks positive significant interpersonal sup-
port and suffers from a lowered self-concept. Furthermore,
he may also lack a role model for learning which keeps him

in a position of lower relative ability. Thus, the peer

group may also be partly responsible for cumulative deficit.

We will have more to say of this subject in a later chapter.

The <u>particular</u> language pattern found in many disad-

vantaged homes may also be a contributing factor. Many

Negroes--and whites living in similar circumstances of

cultural isolation--speak a non-standard English dialect

with common characteristics: (1) slurring words, e.g.,

"smothertam" for "some other time"; (2) certain letter

sounds are omitted, e.g., "hep yo sef" for "help your self";

(3) some letter sounds are transposed, e.g., "bofe" for

"both"; as well as those features we have already noted of

poor grammar, inadequate sentence formation, and a poverty

of elaborate abstract and categorical terms. This kind of

dialect can be so pronounced as to be tantamount to a

foreign language. Disadvantaged children may lack support

for "school English" in the home and neighborhood and thus

in essence, be required to speak and learn two languages.

The problem is not confined to Negroes! Many Left-

outs are in the position of having to learn two languages--

two languages which are not apt to be complementary. In

situations of true bilingualism the introduction of funda-

mental educational material in the original language pro-

vides the basis for developing competence in the new lang-

uage. However, in <u>this</u> situation at least three variables

operate to reduce the child's potential for true bilin-

gualism: (1) because it is usually assumed that the child

speaks English as a native language, little or no emphasis is given to initial <u>teaching</u> of formal language as functional but, rather, the emphasis is placed on "expansion" and "correction"--which places the disadvantaged child in the position of being inferior, wrong, and often criticized; (2) rarely, if ever, are non-standard dialects employed in the school system as a teaching tool for developing skill in formal language; and (3) much of the archaic language typically employed in schools, e.g., "wraps," "cloakroom," "monitor," "pupils," etc. are terms which are employed nowhere else and only detract from the child's efforts to learn more important things.

In this situation the disadvantaged child's alienation is also apt to be increased by the text and pictures typically found in elementary readers. For example, Dick and Jane romp on their green lawn while Spot gambols off through the blooming rose bed to greet Father who, neatly dressed with brief case under his arm, stands near his automobile and smiles at Mother who is waving a welcome from the cool, screened veranda. The Negro child, the child who has never seen his father, the child who lives on the third floor of a deteriorating apartment building, the child whose "playground" is an empty warehouse, a rubbish filled vacant lot, or a city street cannot always identify these scenes let alone <u>identify with</u> the people in them. This problem with the intricacies of "foreign" words and pictures would clearly seem to contribute to his relative disadvantage.

Initially, at the first grade level, all children are relatively lacking in language skill, but the child who becomes as adept as his peers by the fifth grade must also have support for his formal school-taught English outside the classroom. And this may be absent in the home environment and unattainable from more advantaged peers who discriminate against the disadvantaged child--partly on the basis of the "funny way he talks." Social distinctions among dialects are made not on linguistic grounds but in terms of status considerations. Thus, the family and general sub-cultural environment may also be partly responsible for cumulative deficit.

A third non-school factor which may possibly contribute to cumulative deficit lies largely in the realm of speculation at this point, though some limited research would indicate that it cannot be overlooked. We are assuming, in the bulk of this discussion, that the disadvantaged child has, for all practical purposes, both the physical and intellectual capacities needed for social and scholastic adjustment. Unfortunately this may not be the case. In the next chapter we shall rule out any practical effect on the basis of heredity but it must be recognized that environmental deprivation can conceivably also have physically limiting consequences--and the disadvantaged child may be the victim of irreparable damage which no amount of compensatory education can wholly overcome. We caution that this suggestion probably applies to a limited

segment of severely handicapped children and in no way is to be interpreted as a rationale for not providing compensatory programs for disadvantaged children in general. We only suggest that these programs may also have to provide for non-academic training of those children who may not be capable of achieving successfully in the standard school program.

Hunt (1961) has noted research evidence to show that various deficiencies in maternal diet and care during pregnancy that are associated with low socio-economic levels can produce complications of both pregnancy and parturition which result in intellectual retardation and behavioral disorders in children. Clearly severe retardation or behavior problems exclude the child from our area of concern. However, we assume that these problems are arranged along a continuum of severity and insofar as the disadvantaged child is functioning adequately enough to be regarded as "normal" and enrolled in the public school, they may affect our specific concerns. In addition to the factor of maternal diet and care during pregnancy, the disadvantaged child may himself be subject to inadequate diet and lack of medical care which result in health problems which carry over and influence social adjustment and academic ability. In January of 1966 the American Association for the Advancement of Science held a two-day symposium on "Behavior, Brain, and Biochemistry." One major discussion question centered around whether learning and memory could be retarded or

improved by chemicals. Contemporary neurobiological theory of learning holds that memory depends on a process in which molecules of ribonucleic acid (RNA)--a protein derivative-- are coded to record particular events and then become lodged in specific nerve cells in the brain to be summoned up when required. Experimental work with infra-human animals indicates that a relatively large supply of protein in the diet increases actual ability to learn., Protein derivative tests (in the form of administering a "smart pill" with the trade name of Cylert) are just beginning with human subjects. However, theoretically at least, protein rich diets could increase memory and ability to learn--and, presumedly, protein poor diets could restrict this ability. Probably hot-lunch programs and school sponsored medical and dental clinics can help compensate, at least in part, for this kind of physically based deficiency. However, some even more disturbing physiological evidence was presented at this symposium.

Experiments on rats by Mark Rosenzweig, a psychologist at the Berkley campus of the University of California, have shown that rats reared in a richly stimulating environment are not only better off chemically (RNA level) but have a cortex--which controls voluntary action and thought--that averages 4% heavier than do rats raised in an environment of low stimulation. The researcher concluded that brains literally grow and improve with use. In short, with infra-human animals at least, it is possible to produce tangible,

measurable differences in actual brain size by altering environments. The limiting factor of a poor environment can place the organism in a position of relative disadvantage which it can never overcome, and which would only increase over time if environmental stimulation remained at a low comparative level. Rosenzweig himself translates his findings into human terms when he suggests that "the more richness an individual experiences, the more his brain expands (Newsweek Magazine, January 10, 1966, p. 45)." We are taking the view that socio-economically disadvantaged children are apt to have a high potential for school maladjustment unless compensatory efforts are made. Contemporary neurobiological research confirms this view and, in addition, by showing that the effects of a poor environment effect the very structure and chemistry of the brain, suggests that the socio-economically disadvantaged child is not only less well socialized but is also less capable of learning and remembering. In this case, cumulative deficit is what would be expected quite apart from any inadequacy of the educational institution.

We have been suggesting here that social class differences in evaluation of education and child-rearing practices in fostering motivation, of socio-economically based factors of health, nutrition, and actual ability all play a role in the social and academic adjustment of the disadvantaged child to school. Other factors associated with socio-economic differences in life style, such as how

leisure time is used and attitudes of time-orientation, may also influence the child's motivation to achieve and his ability to do so. Several studies (Davis, 1948; Mac-Donald et al., 1949; Lewis, 1959 and Schoor, 1964) have shown evidence for socio-economic differences in the leisure time activities of children--with higher status children being more active in formal organizations with constructive goals and lower-class children active primarily in non-goal directed leisure behavior. Significant socio-economic differences are also found in the amount of leisure time devoted to family-oriented activities. Again, the highest socio-economic strata engage in the most family activity. The number of persons, both children and adult family members, who read books increases with increases in socio-economic level, while movie attendance and hours devoted to watching television decreases with increases in socio-economic level.

These studies (and others, e.g., LeShan, 1952) also give evidence to support the view that individuals in the higher status levels are characterized by a deferred gratification pattern and, conversely, those in the lowest socio-economic strata are oriented toward an immediate gratification pattern. These studies argue that among the lowest classes, when it is impossible to satisfy basic needs in any adequate or dependable way, the satisfaction of immediate goals becomes more important to both children and their parents. They develop a fatalistic attitude

which generalizes to alter their pattern of living in such
a way that there is little energy available for long-range
planning or for developing distant goals. Present-time
orientation is more central in their conceptual schema than
is future-time orientation. Their ability to cope with the
environment and to plan for the future is impaired. A gen-
eral attitudinal orientation of passivity, defeatism, and
hostility results. Since much of what goes into the adjust-
ment demands of the school system requires a time-orienta-
tion of deferred gratification, the child who does not
possess and/or cannot develop such an orientation is again
placed in a position of disadvantage.

We would suggest that, while this kind of pattern may
be statistically more prevalent among the children of the
lowest socio-economic strata, it is certainly possible for
any child to develop such a maladjustive orientation in
the face of unfulfilled basic needs. The lack of success-
ful adjustment to school based on present-time orientation
and a generalized pessimistic personal outlook can, over
time, do much to present the child with a self-fulfilling
prophecy in which he expects his basic needs to be frus-
trated. His expectations, in turn, determine his view about
himself and his relationships to his environment which, if
repeatedly verified, have personality consequences in the
form of a low or inadequate self-concept. In the succeeding
chapters we will explore more thoroughly the influence of
family and individual personality factors on school

adjustment and the interrelationship between these social structural, familial, and individual factors.

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Patterns and Themes in the Social
Class Literature

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Our investigation of the theoretical relationship between socio-economic status and potential adjustment to the social sub-system of the school has been predicated on two assumptions: (1) children do not always reflect the value orientations and behavioral expectations of "their" social class and, therefore, (2) that knowledge of social class background alone will not allow for prediction about the attitudinal orientations held by specific children. Social class per se is a poor criterion for prediction since between-family and within-family variations in interpersonal environment, as well as differences in individual orientation, are found within the full range of social classes in our contemporary society. There is a difference between patterns that are statistically representative and actual individual behavior which must not be overlooked! However, statistically identifiable patterns can help us understand what there is apt to be in the child's socio-economic status background that could lead to disadvantageous variations in attitudes, values, and behavior. Social class is probably the best single predictor of behavior currently available in the social sciences.

Toby (1957) undertook an analysis of middle-class and lower-class orientations toward education in an effort to

determine the factors leading to lack of school success for the lower-class child. In this social structural approach to the bases of disadvantage the child is viewed as the passive victim of situations over which he has no personal control. Toby notes that one prevalent theme in the literature is that teachers hold middle-class value orientations and penalize--consciously and/or unconsciously--those children who do not or can not as a result of their pattern of socialization. This theme suggests that the child who is identified as a member of the lower socio-economic strata is handicapped in his chance for development because of stereotypic discrimination. A second theme prevalent in the literature relates directly to the social and economic disabilities of the child's family. We have illustrated each of these themes in our discussion. Toby points out that the middle-class parent not only expects his child to get an education but is in a position to help with studies; tne environmental pattern is one of pressures toward academic achievement and social acceptance. Toby notes environmental patterns support values and behavior which are maladaptive for achievement and acceptance in the general culture. The teacher is a good parent-surrogate for the middle-class child because parent/teacher roles are comparable in content. The middle-class child learns that scholastic competition is somewhat analogous to his social and preschool preparation for he is exposed to wider vocabularies and abstractions in everyday life. He achieves

higher status in school and exerts even further efforts to maintain it.

The parents of the lower-class child may not support the value orientation of the school. Even if they do, the parents probably have less education and are less able to make school work meaningful for the child. Parents of low socio-economic status often lack the incentive, training, and ability to encourage and help their children. The child is thus disadvantaged and repeated failures may result in lack of interest in school. Because school work is cumulative, (in a few years) the lower-class child is retarded in basic skills. The consequences of a child's lack of training, ability, or interest in school are not immediate. For those who have lost hope in social mobility, school is a symbol of competition in which they believe they cannot succeed and their self-concept suffers.

The lower-class child's verbal skills are not highly developed. The lower-class parent is more adept in operating concrete objects than symbols in his occupational role and thus is a poor role model for the development of complex verbal skills. However, the school system gives an advantage to those children who exhibit verbal skills and thus the lower-class child is at a disadvantage. Because verbally-oriented intelligence tests are geared to higher socio-economic groups they are not necessarily a good measure of intellectual ability in the lower-class child; however, such tests are quite highly predictive of academic

accomplishment and lower-class children do comparatively poorly on them. (We shall have more to say of testing intelligence in a later chapter.)

The notion that the occupational role of parents may influence their value-orientations and, hence, the manner in which the child is socialized is one which bears some brief comment. Kohn (1963) has argued that class differences in parent/child relationships are a product of differences in parental values; with middle-class parents' values centering on self-direction and working-class parents' values on conformity to external prescriptions and proscriptions. He suggests that these value differences stem from conditions of life, particularly occupational conditions, with which the parents must contend. He notes that those occupations which are typically evaluated as "middle class" require a greater degree of self-direction than do "working class" occupations, which more often require that the individual follow explicit rules set down by someone else in a position of authority. Kohn's interpretive model is, in essence: social class results in certain conditions of life which, in turn, are reflected in value orientations and behavior. We would agree with this kind of analysis as far as it goes, but it doesn't go far enough for our purposes.

The sub-types to be found within the lower classes, such as Miller has suggested, carry the analysis to a finer level of abstraction. However, variations in reference

group orientation, in self-concept, in family patterns and
expectations, and many other factors may account for some
of the school-related differences in achievement, social
acceptance, and emotional adjustment which have been attrib-
uted to social class alone. In the following chapters we
shall explore some of these "intervening variables." We
are suggesting that social class background is important
if it can tell us something of what the child's general at-
titudes, value orientations, and behavior is apt to be.
Patterns typically though not universally found among
Negroes, unstable lower socio-economic groups, compara-
tively poorly educated or low income families, etc. can sug-
gest what kinds of disadvantage to look for and what types
of compensatory programs are indicated.

It is perfectly possible for lower-class children to
be well adjusted in school and, of course, for higher status
children to be poorly adjusted. Social class is not
regarded as a totally overwhelming influence on personal
development. It is a rough guide not an alchemist's formula.

CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENTAL PROCESS AND THE
ROLE OF THE FAMILY

The social sub-system represented in the school situation, and its impact on the developing child, is the central focus of this book. However, the tremendous influence exerted by other social sub-systems to which the child is exposed cannot be ignored. Each child brings to school with him an already developed collection of values, beliefs, attitudes, and behavior patterns through which these values and meanings are expressed. These cognitions and behaviors are based on preschool experiences gained largely from the home situation. Thus, in order to understand the background of the Leftout, it is necessary to know something of how his early experiences and training influenced his present thinking and behavior. For this kind of concern, the family is the critical focus of attention, for it is the family which serves as the first agent of socialization. This chapter, and to some extent the preceding one dealing with the influence of the social stratification system, consider the family and its strengths and weaknesses in influencing the developing child.

The Leftouts with whom we are centrally concerned have experienced an abnormal and comparatively disadvantaged socialization pattern. The task of defining the particular abnormalities and disadvantage is the focus of Chapter V. However, the definition of comparative disadvantage demands explicating the general process of normal socio-cultural growth, since maladjustive patterns cannot be evaluated independently of some criterion of a normal developmental pattern and its consequences. Thus, the large body of literature relating to child development in general, and intellectual and personality development in particular becomes not only relevant but crucial. The sections of this chapter will be devoted to a consideration of some of the more widely known theories of the developmental process in children.

The Developmental Process in Children

For our purposes "personality" is defined as an analytical construct, based on the observation of overt behavior (including test-taking behavior), which is consistent with the hypothesis that internal, systematically (but not necessarily logically) organized cognitions and affective relationships influence many overt behaviors in a relatively stable manner. "Intellect" is defined, for our purposes, as the observable aspect of this internal cognitive ordering. Intellect is the result of the individual's mental operation upon information from internal and external sources in order

to change it into productive thinking aimed at problem solving, analytical and logical inductions and deductions, as well as creative actions. Our approach to the general developmental process is a social-psychological one, as discussed in Chapter I, which conceives the basis of personality and intellectual development to be social learning in an interpersonal environment. Human beings live in a social world--a world that requires knowledge of consensually shared values, beliefs, meanings, and attitudes of its members. As the newborn infant develops into the mature adult an ongoing intensive and extensive process of social learning must occur. This social development includes the learning of language, a vast body of empirical facts relating to the physical and social environment, a variety of specialized skills, the acquisition of moral values and standards of evaluation for self and others, and the normative "rules" concerning ways and means of relating to other people. This entire complex social learning process is subsumed under the rubric of "socialization."

The primary agents of this process of socialization are other persons--parents, teachers, siblings, peers, and others who are significant to the child. For the preschool child, whose social contacts are apt to be limited, the family--particularly parents and siblings--is the principal source for social learning. It is primarily the adults or older siblings in the family who serve to stimulate the child's early intellectual and social development.

Social learning theories, supported by a great deal of research, pinpoint the elements of the family environment which appear to be most significant in influencing the general social learning of the child as well as such more specific factors as measured intelligence, school achievement, social acceptance, and so on. In very general terms these elements may be delineated as: (1) providing the tools, stimulation, opportunity, and reinforcement for general learning; (2) providing role models for social learning; (3) providing help and guidance in language development; and (4) providing stimulation, concern, and support for achievement and learning outside the home, especially at school.

Theoretical analyses and empirical investigations help to reveal the dynamics of the process of interactional learning between the developing child and his social environment. Development refers to change that occurs over time and there are a wide range of theories extant in the literature concerning the process of intellectual and personality development--not all of which are as emphatically social in orientation. The central controversy found among these theories relates to the question of whether or not development proceeds in a sequential and invariant order, i.e., in "stages" or "levels," and the role played by her dity and physical maturation in the developmental process. While the work of Piaget exemplifies the position that the developmental process is sequential, invariant, and

biologically based there is much of value to be learned from his work which has bearing on a more social orientation.

The theoretical analyses of Jean Piaget reflects the detailed observations of his own three children plus thirty years of work with his collaborators at the Rousseau Institute in Geneva, Switzerland. Piaget has devoted a professional lifetime to studying the development of intellectual functions and logic in children, thus it is with his work that we shall begin. For Piaget, intelligence is a special case of general interactive adaptation to the environment. Two complementary processes--"assimilation," corresponding to internal cognitive organization and "accomodation" corresponding to external behavioral adaptation--are seen as basic to the developmental process. Assimilation occurs whenever the child incorporates anything from his environment into his cognitive framework. Piaget assumes that the child always acts in terms of a Gestalt-like centrally organized structure mediated by any memories he may have of previous experiences with the same or similar events and/or objects in his environment. Accomodation is the complementary process and occurs whenever the existing cognitive structure must be modified to meet the demands of variations in environmental circumstances. It is in these two ways that the environment is seen to influence the child.

Piaget describes the development of the behavioral aspects of intelligence in terms of stages. These stages

are seen as sequential and the order in which they appear
as fixed. He analytically separates the stages in terms
of transition points but repeatedly emphasizes that the
development of intelligence is a process of continual change.
Since the child is in continuous interaction with his en-
vironment he must constantly adapt to external environmental
demands and progressively modify his internal cognitive
organization. Thought processes are seen to develop through
gradual internalization of action, are "decentered," and
eventually come to dominate over both direct perception and
action. This is made possible by the concomitant develop-
ment of the central neural system. Piaget argues that with-
in the limits imposed by the genetic capacity for develop-
ment of the central neural system, intelligence is capable
of indefinite extension into time and space.

Note that this formulation of environment-child inter-
action through accomodation and assimilation considers both
heredity, through limits on the development of the central
nervous system, and environment. Hunt (1961) in reviewing
Piaget's work, points out that several principles may be
derived from his formulation. Especially important, for
our purposes, is the principle that appropriate environ-
mental stimulation and the opportunity to exercise devel-
oping thought processes are required if the thought process
is to survive. Equally important is the idea that new ac-
comodative modifications and new assimilative cognitive
combinations are sources of pleasure to the child. In

other words, new experiences are seen as inherently rewarding
to the child. Another important derived principle is that
continuous and progressive changes take place in the struc-
tures of behavior and thought, but the nature of this ac-
comodation (adaptive change to environmental circumstances)
implies that the rate of development is largely a function
of the diversity the child encounters in this environment.
On the basis of these principles, Hunt derives the hypothe-
sis that the more new things a child has seen and heard,
the more he is interested in seeing and hearing. In addi-
tion, the more variation in environment with which he has
had to cope, the greater his capacity for coping. Hunt
modifies this latter hypothesis with a warning that the
child may be presented with too much too fast, become be-
wildered, and fail to cope at all!

Thought processes are conceived to originate through
a process of internalizing actions. Intelligence, for
Piaget, increases as thought processes are loosened from
their bases in direct perception and action and, thereby,
have the capacity to become reversible, transitive, asso-
ciative, and symbolic. The impact of language and the
development of conceptual thinking becomes crucial at this
point. The development of conceptual thinking is of vast
importance for creating order out of perceptual and environ-
mental chaos. "Conceptual thinking" refers to thought
processes which employ symbols and categories of classifi-
cation for ordering information. This kind of thinking is

a critical link between the environment and the individual since these concepts are learned. Language acquisition provides the basic tool, both facilitating and directing the learning process. The learning of concepts and the development of conceptual thinking is a complex dynamic involving basic processes of perception, discrimination, transposition, and generalization--all of which are mediated and facilitated by language in the form of consensually shared symbols.

Bruner (1964) takes the position that the development of human intellectual functioning is directed by a series of "technological" advances in the use of the brain--by mastery of techniques which are transmitted, with varying efficiency and success, by the culture or sub-culture of which the child is a member. For Bruner, language acquisition is the primary technique employed in intellectual development. This is so because children, as they grow, must acquire ways of representing the recurrent regularites of their environment (representation), and must learn to transcend the events of the moment by developing means of linking past, present, and future (integration).

For children in the age group we are considering-- roughly five to twelve years--language comes to play a powerful role as a technique for knowing, representing, and integrating. Language serves the function of integrating intellectual activity into coherent, organized sets. Language is internalized as a program for ordering experience.

Thus, if the child is deficient in his experience with language skills or has had inadequate language training he is disadvantaged indeed.

The importance of language acquisition to intellectual functioning raises some questions concerning a fixed level of intellectual potential based on biological characteristics for the physically normal child. The conception of a fixed level of intellectual development potential is based on, and receives supplemental support from, the assumption of genetically predetermined development which may be traced rather directly to Darwin's theory of natural selection and other such theories prevalent in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This kind of orientation is seen in Freud's work, in Piaget's formulations, and culminates in Thorndike's conceptions of trial and error learning and stimulus-response theories of problem solving. However, it is with both the order of "stages" of transition, as well as the invariant nature and physiological basis of this order that other thinkers have disagreed with Freud and Piaget. There is a wealth of support for the conception that stage theories of developmental sequences are not theoretically adequate--nor is a conception of normal intelligence potential as biologically predetermined under the environmental circumstances available to the vast majority of people.

The critics of this position oppose the view that various inherited abilities unfold along a growth continuum in ordered stages of biological maturation with modification

by environmental circumstances given only a secondary and relatively minor position of influence. These thinkers hold that the child's personal and intellectual development is the product of learning experiences, i.e., differential levels of ability, knowledge, and skills are a function of these experiences. In these formulations "stages" are not to be regarded as universal but, rather, particular to particular classes of situations. A "stage" theory is not necessarily contradictory to a theory of environmental influence, although the assumption that developmental sequences are biologically determined is. Experience can function to move the individual from one stage or level to the next.

For Hunt (1961), intelligence is conceived of as a central neural operation for the processing of information which is developed in the course of encounters with the environment. He presents the findings of a large number of research studies which quite clearly support the position that experience with the environment is the major influence on the development of tested intelligence and conceptual thinking. He emphasizes that it is environment-interaction which affords the opportunity for genetic potential to be achieved. He points out that only rarely, if ever, is the experiential environment so rich and stimulating that hereditary limits are reached for the normal child. Thus, in effect, heredity is _not_ an influencing factor in fixing the level of intelligence as it is commonly measured.

Many studies have confirmed the fact that deprivation of experience affects the rate and extent of intellectual development. Hunt reviews a large number of such studies with both infra-human and human subjects which relate to the role of experience in shaping intellectual development. Typical of those he mentions is the Berkeley Guidance Study which found variations of 30 or more I.Q. points in a period of six to sixteen years among 10% of a sample of 222 children. In 3 to 4% of the cases, positive changes of a magnitude of three standard deviations (60 I.Q. points) occurred! Developmental curves of this range would suggest unequivocably that measured intelligence is modifiable through experience. Hunt concludes that perceptual capacity demands a background of conceptual experience which is then generalized to new experiences. Experience continually adds to the developing child's intellect a hierarchy of operations for processing information and for coping with and adjusting to new or changing environmental circumstances. It is clear from the evidence surveyed by Hunt that early impoverishment of experience can retard the development of tested intelligence. In terms of the traditional measurement of intelligence this means a reduction of I.Q. scores for the disadvantaged child. With this kind of a conception of intelligence, the assumption that intellectual development is fixed and predetermined by genetic factors is untenable. Assuming the absence of any gross organic defect, inadequate intellectual development is relatively permanent

only insofar as there is failure to take active measures
to compensate for early deprivation.

Hunt argues that a number of externally manipulable
factors participate in controlling the depth and permanence
of the negative influence of deprivations in childhood ex-
perience. He notes that one crucial element appears to be
the duration and frequency of the deprivation. On the basis
of research evidence he finds that another important ele-
ment is the opportunity available for experiences calculated
to correct for early disadvantages and deficiencies. These
are important points for our concerns.

Hunt suggests that a third critical factor is the op-
portunity for verbalization in the home. He cites evidence
to support our view that conceptual thinking and such school-
oriented dimensions of intellect as reading-readiness are
a function of language experience. Thus, the impact of
language skill--developed through interpersonal interaction--
and its basic relationship to the very processes of thought
and intellectual development, has clearly come to the fore
as a major theoretical concern in our analysis of the dis-
advantaged child. We take the view that language acquisi-
tion is more than just a tool to be used in conceptual
thinking.

Watson (1960) points out that language development in
early childhood clearly demonstrates that both egocentric
and socially oriented functions are served by its acquisi-
tion. Any uniformity in the "real world" is known only

through the experience of those who observe; and "objectivity" may be defined as uniformity of observation. The attainment of the common perspective essential to the establishment of observational uniformities relies on the symbolic equipment, i.e., language and normatively consensual signs, of the observer--and on the possibility of cummunication between observers. Thus, symbolic systems serve a dual role.

First, from the perspective of the individual, systems of shared symbols serve as objects of orientation for, and as internalized components of, personality systems. Secondly, from the perspective of the social--system, symbols appear as institutionalized patterns in the form of language and serve as the vehicle for the transmission of shared value and belief systems. Complementarity of expectations and perceived reactions is necessary for human interaction--a complementarity which would not be possible without relative stability of shared meanings made possible through symbolization. Thus, symbolic systems provide the basis for the maintenance and elaboration of human interaction and it is necessary to examine the function of language in studying any aspect of the development of human behavior.

Watson points out that not only does the size of the vocabulary normally increase during the early developmental years of childhood, but this same period is typically characterized by changes in clearness of articulation, in the integration of words into sentences, in the length of sentences,

in the relative increased use of grammatical parts of speech, and in the development of introspective and time oriented responses. These external signs of developing language skill are normally found to show greater elaboration and maturity with increases in chronological age. For Watson, as for other thinkers we have mentioned, the development of Understanding is viewed in terms of concept formation and language skills and speech rests firmly on the social learning process. He points out, however, that this leads to the expectation of individual, group, and sex differences in language skill and intellectual development on the basis of diversity in environmental experience.

Luria and Yudovitch (1959) have intensively investigated the relationship between deprivation in language training and the development of the child's mental processes. They report the findings of an experimental investigation into the speech and productive thinking development of a set of identical twins. The theoretical position underlying the study--stripped of its overtones of Russian political ideology--closely follows that which we have been examining. They argue against reducing the complex forms of children's mental activity to a combination of elementary motor habits and sequential steps of physical maturation. They postulate instead that intellectual development relies on three fundamental propositions: (1) all mental processes are complex functional formations which are built up as a result of concrete forms of interaction between the child and his

environment; (2) development is in stages only insofar as changes in these concrete forms of activity made possible by physical maturation present the child with new problems and new demands which, in turn, necessitate the development of new forms of action or cognition for adjustment; and (3) the child's mental activity is the outcome of manipulable social circumstances such as opportunity for communication with the members of his interpersonal environment.

Luria and Yudovitch hypothesize that in infra-human animals the development of higher nervous processes in each species is the outcome of individual experience but, for humans, language is essential to intellectual development. The child acquires from adults the experience of many generations through intentional instruction (speech) and incidental learning acquired through imitating role models (consensual symbols). They argue that for the child language is crucial for both the transmission of knowledge and the formation of concepts--the latter being the central process of the child's intellectual development. Interpersonal communication is seen as of decisive significance because the acquisition of language allows for abstraction, isolation, generalization, and perceptions of relationships among objects in the external environment--a systematization of experience. Language introduces forms of analysis and synthesis into the child's perception which he would be

unable to develop by himself in the absence of consensual symbols.

With this theoretical basis, Luria and Yudovitch set out to test its implications in the situation where language development was abnormal, i.e., retarded and inadequate for the demands of the social situation. They selected for study a set of 5-1/2 year old identical twins whose speech development was severely retarded. The twins were able to communicate with each other and make their needs known to their parents, but were quite inadequately prepared to cope with the communication demands of the school situation which faced them. Their pre-test behavior indicated poor mental structuring in terms of a generalized inability to plan their actions, direct them toward abstract or future goals, or to detach words from objects and actions. In keeping with their theoretical formulations, the researchers experimentally separated the twins and established conditions such that it became necessary for them to employ language. Concurrently, a program of intensive language training was instituted with one of the twins.

Within a three month period both twins had developed nearly normal speech for their age group (with only minor problems of a grammatical nature). For the twin who was intensively language-trained there was also evidence of cognitive restructuring in depth. His speech came to reflect narrative and planning elements, he could formulate the aims of his activity verbally, he engaged in goal-directed

play and other productive and constructive activities. In
addition, he evidenced the new-found ability to carry
through a series of intellectual operations to solve a prob-
lem and there was evidence of discursive thinking--all
significant changes in the structure of his cognitive activ-
ity. This experiment not only demonstrates that language
acquisition is important to more complex mental processes
but, also, that while intellectual development is handi-
capped by deprivation in the area of language skills it is
possible to induce rapid and deep seated changes in a rela-
tively short period of time given: (1) the necessity of
employing speech, and (2) training in its use. Thus, per-
ception and attention, memory and imagination, consciousness
and action, are not regarded as simple, innate mental
properties but as the product of complex social processes
which directly influence the formation of complex human
activity.

Bruner (1961) has examined the long-term cognitive
consequences of early experiential deprivation. He presents
a probabilistic metric for understanding the development
of normal, i.e., environmentally appropriate cognitions,
beliefs, values, or attitudes. He suggests that it is neces-
sary to take into consideration: (1) the set of environ-
mentally possible stimulating states that might occur at
any given time, and (2) the degree of bias in their like-
lihood of occurrence. He argues that the basic learning
problem for a child is to reduce the complexity of his

environment to the level where he is able to cope with it,
i.e., to match his cognitive programming to the likelihood
and the significance of particular experiences in his en-
vironment. Bruner's formulation reflects a contemporary
shift in psychological studies of perception away from a
rigid model of neural activity to a functional emphasis,
wherein perception is seen as directly related to the on-
going activities of the individual in interaction with his
environment.

The implications of this kind of approach for our con-
cerns with the effect of sensory deprivation are many. In
general, Bruner's findings support others we have cited,
that an impoverished background--one with little heterogenity
of experience, and with little opportunity for situational
manipulation and diverse experience with discrimination--
produces a child with: (1) reduced abilities to discrimi-
nate; (2) with dysfunctional modes of coping with problems
requiring complex or future-oriented solutions; (3) with
little interest in exploratory, creative behavior; and
(4) with a notably reduced tendency toward cognitive organ-
ization aimed at coalescing disparate elements in his en-
vironment. Thus, a certain amount of differentiated
sensory stimulus seems necessary for normal orientation to
his environment and even for mental adjustment in the child.
Bruner concludes that to operate effectively in, and suc-
cessfully adjust to, his environment the child must develop
during the socialization process an adequate implicit model

of that environment--for two reasons. In the first instance
this implicit cognitive model of the environment--this
"world view"--functions to conserve information in the form
of concepts or universals. Secondly, it serves as the
basis for extrapolating or interpolating from partial infor-
mation and incomplete experiential cues. Without such a
model, learned in early childhood--and one adequate for the
adjustive demands made by later environmental contacts--
the control functions of the central nervous system are
without a basis for predicting that certain events are more
likely than others (or preclude others), i.e., there is no
basis for selectivity among stimuli.

The unhampered operation of this evaluation process
is essential to the adjustment, i.e., continuing adaptation
of the child. This is true for both the long-range develop-
ment of adequate cognitive and social functioning, and for
directing here-and-now behavior. Bruner suggests that one
of the prime sources of anxiety lies in the individual
being placed in a state in which his conception and per-
ception of environmental demands do not "fit" into his
previously learned conceptual model. Thus, he has no basis
for prediction of the environment in a manner that makes
reasoned action possible.

> It follows that when an organism is prevented from
> monitoring the fittingness of his percepts and his
> cognitive structure, he is cut off from one of his
> principle sources of maintaining adjustment (Bruner,
> 1961, p. 207).

This kind of division between what is familiar and what is novel is precisely the situation which faces the school-aged child who has been inadequately socialized to the demands of the school situation. Early experiential deprivation prevents the formation of adequate models and means of coping with the environment of the school. The problem is one which centers on the transferability of learning--especially nonspecific transfer of experiential learning, e.g., the establishment of generalized models, constructs, or concepts that represent the environment in such a way that when a new task or situation is encountered it is possible to cope with it as an exemplar of familiar concepts that are already associated with socially appropriate responses. Such model formation involves the learning of normative ways and means for dealing with relatively common features of the child's environment. Early experience with a comparatively rich perceptual environment is needed for such learning, and experiential deprivation prevents it. This kind of learning is seen to be a kind of continuous-feedback evaluation process by which children learn to guide their own development by internalizing a program for perceiving, cognizing, ordering, and manipulating their environments.

We have seen that this process of internalization depends on interaction with others and has its basis in a need to develop corresponding categories and conceptions for communal action. We must conclude, therefore, that it

is misleading to view the course of the human developmental process independently of the experiential and educational opportunities which make that development possible. It is clearly evident that the opportunity for verbalization, and the kind of language training available to the child in his family setting will have a significant impact on his intellectual development. The intellectual model that he develops of the world around him will serve to guide the child's general patterns of cognition and perception. In keeping with this interpersonal approach to human development, let us next turn to the consideration of how the interpersonal environment of the child may foster or hinder his development in other ways as well.

The Role of Significant Others in the Developmental Process

Our over-all theoretical position is one of the impact of the social system on personality. This sociologically oriented social psychology of human development assumes that the basic learning processes involved in general over-all personality development, including the development of a conception of self, affective responses, internalization of socially prescribed and proscribed behavior expectations, and cognitive learning, are all dependent on the individual ordering his experience in keeping with rewards and cues from significant others. Thus, social learning (socialization) is the major factor in both intellectual development and in more general personality development which also

includes such dimensions as internalization of role ex-
pectations, conscience formation, and the development of
a self-conception. Cooley and Mead spoke of the "other"
and "taking the role of the other" as important to the
socialization process and the development of personality.
Sullivan introduced the idea of "significant" other in order
to refine the concept and add a dimension of selectivity.
Individuals are not affected by, influenced by, nor even
aware of all of those other persons in their interpersonal
environment. It is only the responses of selected others
which are of major importance in personality development.
Thus, significant others are defined as those persons whose
opinions, values, judgments, sentiments, and attitudes are
important in shaping the direction of the developing per-
sonality. "Reference group" refers to the multiple version
of significant other. Hyman introduced the term reference
group and has argued, along with many others, that the term
is not necessarily synonymous with "membership" group.
That is, the individual may be influenced by the values,
beliefs, opinions, and attitudes of a group of which he is
not a member but with whom he identifies. Significant
others and reference groups are seen to serve two functions
for the individual. In the first instance they set the
normative standards which the individual adopts as his own,
and secondly they serve as the models for comparative eval-
uation of self and of others. For the young child, with a
limited range of social contacts, these significant others

are most certainly found among the members of his family.

The family attempts to exert influence over the child's development in most cases. That is, the socialization process that occurs within the family setting is usually a direct attempt to exert social influence. Kelman (1960) has formulated a useful distinction between types of response to social influence attempts which points up the kind of power required and the likelihood of long-range success. He delineates three distinct consequents--compliance, identification, and internalization. Compliance refers to a surface level of obediance to the demands of the interpersonal environment in keeping with a fairly direct surveillance by the influencing agent whose source of power is means control. Identification refers to a somewhat deeper level of conformity to social expectations in keeping with a need to maintain a rewarding relationship with the influencing agent whose source of power is attractiveness. Internalization refers to a deep seated level of value orientation in personality developed in keeping with the relevance of these values to maintaining cognitive and affective congruency. At this level the conditions for performance of responses no longer require the presence of an influencing agent but are mediated through the individual's own cognitive structure.

We are suggesting that this kind of distinction demonstrates the successive development of personality as it is

socially influenced. That is, first the child complies to
the demands of those in his interpersonal environment
because they deliberately maintain a close surveillance
over his behavior and place restrictions on his choice be-
havior. In addition, the persons in his interpersonal en-
vironment, most usually his mother during early childhood,
have direct power to control the means of satisfying his
personal needs for food, warmth, tactile stimulation, and
so on. Secondly, if his social relationships are per-
ceived as satisfying to him, the child comes to view those
in his interpersonal environment as attractive and com-
pliance with their demands as rewarding. He becomes aware
of their expectations of him and concerned that he fulfill
these expectations in order to maintain the rewarding re-
lationship. At this point, identification, in the sense
of associating his own behavior and self conception with
the demands and evaluations of significant others, has
occurred. As the next step in the development of person-
ality, the child comes to assume those values, beliefs,
evaluations, and role expectations of his significant others
as his own. These are incorporated into his world view and
direct his future activities even in the absence of the sig-
nificant others who have been instrumental in shaping his
personality. At this point, internalization of social ex-
pectations, values, conceptions, and beliefs occurs and
the conscience (morality guide), the conceptual structure

(cognitive guide), the role expectations (behavioral guide), and the self-concept have begun to develop.

We must make two cautionary notes. First, we have spoken of "successive development" as though the developmental process occurs in some specifiable time sequence--a thing we do not intend to imply. It is assumed that internalization is the goal of all influence attempts, but it is quite clearly the case that this goal is not always successfully reached by all those who might attempt to influence the direction of a child's development. It is postulated that compliance is always the starting point and that identification must precede internalization--but nothing is said of when, or even if, each of these levels will be reached. Furthermore, it would appear to be possible for the child to return to a previous level if for some reason the object of his identification loses its attractiveness or the values he has internalized are brought into question.

Secondly, we have spoken of the end products of influence attempts as though some developmental limit is reached at which point no further changes occur. Again this is not the implication intended. We agree that the early years of childhood are of great importance to the development of personality. However, socialization is viewed as an ongoing process which does not stop at age five, or puberty, or adulthood, or at any other specific chronological point but continues as long as new experiences do. As

social learning continues, continual personality adjust-
ments must be made in response to new perceptions and
experiences. Personalities change over time in response
to new experiences or reinterpretations of old ones in
light of changed perceptions which demand reorganization
in beliefs, values, and attitudes. Thus, we do not postu-
late that adult personality is wholly dependent upon early
experiences, nor do we postulate that early experiences are
unimportant. We argue only that personality is also modi-
fiable, at least to some extent, by experiences which occur
after the period of early childhood.

Nevertheless, certain aspects of personality remain
stable enough over time to permit investigations with
personality as an independent variable. It is assumed, in
keeping with Rokeach's (1960) formulation of personality
systems, that the various components of a personality system
are organized along a centrality-peripherality continuum
and, thus, some aspects are more salient to the individual
and more stable than others. When we speak of the child's
personality development in this chapter we are specifically
addressing attention to those aspects of personality which
are normally developed by early experiences in the family.
We have used the term "normal" in several instances--a
term that many writers have found objectionable on the
grounds that it represents a value judgment. That is not
our intention. Normal, for our purposes, is defined as in
conformity to the appropriate socially consensual evaluative

standard found in whatever social system is under consideration.

The work of Bandura and Walters (1963) exemplifies the social learning approach to personality development that has been described here. They discuss both intentional instruction and incidental learning as methods of social learning. That is, social learning is achieved through two broadly defined interactional processes which operate jointly in actual situations. The first of these, intentional instruction, refers to formal institutionalized ways of socialization to value orientations and behavioral expectations. The second, incidental learning, refers to processes of identification with, or emulation of, role models in the imitator's behavioral field. Bandura and Walters place strong emphasis on the concept of "vicarious reinforcement" as it influences social learning, i.e., learning from observation of behavioral models without direct personal participation.

> New responses may be learned or the characteristics
> of existing responses may be changed as a function
> of observing the behavior of others or its response
> consequences without the observer's performing any
> overt responses himself or receiving any direct re-
> inforcement during the acquisition period (Bandura
> and Walters, 1963, p. 47).

They cite research evidence to confirm the idea that social response patterns, both normal and deviant, can readily be transmitted through the influence of a model, and that imitation of the model's behavior is facilitated if the model receives rewards. On the other hand, if the model is observed to receive punishments, the observer may refrain

from making new deviant responses or even be restrained from making deviant responses he has already learned.

Bandura and Walters employ the single term "imitation" to cover concepts which have been variously called "imitation," "identification," and "role practice." They note that attempts have been made in the literature to differentiate these concepts, but they conclude that any or all of these terms may be defined as behavior which observably reproduces the actions, attitudes, or emotional responses of some real or symbolic model without any formal instructions being given as to how the observer should behave. Accordingly, for our purposes, these terms will be used interchangably and with the assumption that they are synonymous. The content of this behavior depends, of course, on what is taught and who is selected as the model for identification. In our contemporary society there is a broad range of cultural, sub-cultural, and individual-family differences in "normal" socialization practices. In the next section we will briefly consider some fairly typical differences in child-training techniques and some generalizations based on research concerning personality development in response to them.

The Family and Child-Rearing Techniques as They Influence Personality Development

Watson (1960) notes that for the infant, considered in relation to a matrix of other persons, the mother-- serving as the first agent of socialization--is the most

significant of other persons in the development of the

child's personality. He cites research evidence, however,

to support the contention that

> specific practices in maternal behavior have <u>not</u>
> been found to show invariant relationships with
> consequent personality development. . . . [Gener-
> alized] maternal attitudes were found to be much
> more closely related to behavior in children.
> Both attitudes and patterns . . . [of maternal
> behavior] . . . allow one to see maternal propen-
> sities to behave in <u>general ways</u> which are then
> related to later adjustment in their children. . . .
> Maternal attitudes and patterns of behavior were
> found to be interrelated (Watson, 1960, pp. 277-
> 278, emphasis ours).

This conclusion has been borne out by other researchers.

Sewell (1952) empirically tested the relationship

between mother's reports of their specific child-rearing

practices and subsequent personality adjustment on the part

of their children. The child's personality adjustment was

measures in terms of scores obtained on a battery of

standard paper-and-pencil and projective personality tests,

ratings by teachers, and behavioral information gained from

interviews with the mothers. Sewell's general hypothesis

(stated in the null form), that "the personality adjustment

and traits of children who have undergone varying specific

infant-training experiences do not differ significantly from

each other," could not be rejected. Of the 460 possible

interrelations between specific infant-training practices

and theoretically derived hypotheses concerning their effect

on subsequent character and personality development which

he examined, only eighteen were statistically significant

at or beyond the 5% level. Of these eighteen, eleven were
in the expected direction and seven were contrary to the
relationship expected on the basis of theory. This kind of
evidence would seem to rule out any direct link between
certain specific child-rearing practices such as breast vs.
bottle feeding, age and abruptness of weaning, age and
severity of toilet training, etc., and subsequent specific
personality adjustments. However, children do differ
measurably on standard personality tests, and their exper-
iences in early childhood do seem to be linked with general
personality development. Sewell follows the theoretical
position that we have noted above as espoused by Watson,
that

> it is entirely possible that the significant and crucial
> matter is not the practices themselves but the whole
> personal-social situation in which they find their ex-
> pression, including the attitudes and behavior of the
> mother (Sewell, 1952, p. 159).

One of the sources of differences in maternal attitudes
appears to be social class--an idea which was extensively
explored and modified in the preceding chapter. Social
class differences in child-rearing practices have been the
subject of a number of empirical studies. Perhaps the best
known of these is the work by Sears, Maccoby, and Levin
(1959). Sears and his associates investigated patterns of
child rearing and found reported differences among mothers
of differing socio-economic strata and differing levels of
formal education. They draw some general conclusions re-
garding the differences in socialization practices as

employed by "working-class" and "middle-class" parents.
(The subjects ranged from scores of 1 to 5 on Warner's
7 point scale of occupational status, with the two lowest
categories entirely missing from the sample.)

Generally they found that working-class mothers re-
ported themselves to be less permissive and more rejecting
of dependency behavior than were middle-class mothers.
Children of working-class parents were reported to exper-
ience more severe sex training, i.e., their mothers were
more strict in the areas of modesty training, masturbation,
and social sex play. Working-class mothers reported that
they were more punitive about aggression directed toward
parents while being less punitive than were middle-class
mothers regarding aggression toward neighborhood children.
Sears et al. found no class differences among mother's
attitudes toward sibling aggression.

Working-class mothers reported more restrictive and
demanding attitudes about noise in the house, care of
clothing, table manners, etc. These mothers, as opposed
to middle-class mothers, were also reported to give their
pre-school children less freedom to cross streets or leave
the immediate neighborhood to play. (The authors note, in
connection with this point, that the area of residence for
working-class children was apt to be physically less safe
for such freedom than were middle-class neighborhoods--
suggesting that this particular attitude may be a reasonably
objective function of the area of residence.) Working-class

mothers also reported placing more pressure on their children to achieve in school than did middle-class mothers while, at the same time, holding fewer aspirations toward higher education for their children.

Since effective socialization is seen as the result of its reward value for the child, a concern with parental attitudes toward rewards and punishments is an important consideration. Rewards and punishments are not always easily distinguishable. Bandura and Walters point out that punishment may have very diverse effects depending on its timing and intensity, its nature, and on the perceived status of the punitive agent. They also note that non-reward following reward is typically perceived as punishment while non-reward following punishment is seen as positive reinforcement. Sears et al. found some important differences among mothers' general attitudes toward punishment. They discuss two categories of reward/punishment techniques-- love oriented and object oriented. Love-oriented techniques involve verbal praise as a means of rewarding desired behavior, social isolation as a punishment, and withdrawal of love as the principle punishing technique. The effectiveness of this technique depends on a close personal and "warm" relationship between parent and child; a relationship which is perceived as rewarding by the child who will, thus, feel punished at the threat of a disruption in the relationship. The parent's source of power in this case is the attractiveness of the relationship. Object-oriented

techniques, on the other hand, involve dispensing tangible objects as incentives and rewards, with deprivation of privileges and physical punishment as the primary punitive techniques. The effectiveness of this technique is largely limited to the parents' ability to maintain control of the child by wielding means/ends power or by physical force.

Sears et al. found that working-class mothers reported they were more punishing in general than middle-class mothers and, at the same time, their punishment techniques were more often object-oriented. Working-class mothers reported that they punished mainly by physical means and deprivation of privileges. The researchers found no class differences in the use of isolation and withdrawal of love as punishment techniques; these would appear to be individual-family differences. However, they did find that working-class mothers more frequently reported employing ridicule as a punishment technique. There were no reported class differences in the kind of reward technique most frequently used, although working-class mothers reported being slightly less demonstrative toward their children in general.

The family setting which was experienced by the child of working-class parents appeared to be generally less stable than that of middle-class children insofar as working-class mothers reported more open quarreling between them-selves and their husbands and were typically more critical of their husbands than were middle-class wives. In a number

of cases it was found that the mother's educational level
alone--regardless of socio-economic status, age, size of
the family, etc.--was the determining factor in her atti-
tudes toward socializing her child. After an extensive
factor analysis it was found that the two social classes
studied could be significantly differentiated only on the
general attitudinal factors of (1) permissiveness/strict-
ness, (2) general family adjustment, (3) warmth of mother-
child relationship, and (4) aggressiveness and punitiveness.

This particular study by Sears and his associates,
being fairly typical in design, exemplifies some problems
related to our concern with disadvantaged children. In
the first instance, the data was gathered by means of retro-
spective interviews with the mothers only--all data on
fathers' attitudes included--who were being asked to recall
how they had treated their children from early infancy to
current attitudes toward the child who was entering kinder-
garten at the time of the investigation. The authors do
note that "the interviewing of mothers about their child-
rearing practices and attitudes provides a limited descrip-
tion of those phenomena (Sears et al., 1957, p. 448)." It
is at least possible that such studies do not document
actual behavior so much as the middle-class mother's
superior knowledge of socially acceptable responses to
questions about their child-rearing practices! Quite apart
from any suggestion of intentional misrepresentation of her
attitudes, there is also the reasonable possibility that

the mother may simply fail to accurately recall her prior behavior and attitudes toward the child, especially if she has had other children.

Secondly, the sample of mothers interviewed was drawn from a fairly narrow sub-segment of the population. Criteria of selection demanded that the child be living with both natural parents, that neither parent be foreign born, that the child must neither be a twin, physically handicapped in any way, nor mentally handicapped, a Negro, nor a pupil in attendance at anything other than a public school. Each of these criteria effectively eliminates from study a fairly wide segment of those children who might reasonably be expected to be most severely disadvantaged. Even with these rigid requirements, another 10% of the original 481 target families were eliminated because they refused to participate in the investigation. Apparently nothing is known of the reasons for their refusal.

Bronfenbrenner (1958, 1961) has given serious and scholarly attention to reports of differences in specific child-rearing practices among parents of varying socio-economic status. His extensive review and analysis of a wide range of studies led him to some conclusions that are relevant here. He notes, among other things, that for methodologically sound interpretation of reports of child-rearing practices it is essential to distinguish between the time the data are gathered and the actual period to which this information refers. This is important because

it is a well known phenomenon that child-rearing practices change over time. By comparing generalized changes in trends with the specific information gathered in the various empirical studies (reinterpreted according to the actual period of time they refer to) Bronfenbrenner concludes that these changes in general trends in socialization of the child occur over time irrespective of the social class level of the parents. Evidence of changing trends in child-rearing are found in standard infant-care manuals as they are offered in continuously revised editions. Bronfenbrenner's analysis points to the fact that mothers not only read these manuals and take them seriously, but that their behavior toward their children is affected accordingly.

Bronfenbrenner's own general hypothesis about changes in specific child-rearing practices extends beyond the confines of social class.

> Child-rearing practices are likely to change most quickly in those segments of society which have closest access and are most receptive to the agencies or agents of change, e.g., public media, clinics, physicians, and counselors (Bronfenbrenner, 1958, p. 411).

In this connection he reports that middle-class urban mothers, in general, are more apt to be in a position to read and hear advice than are lower class or rural mothers. He also notes that the data support the conclusion that lower-class parents, as a function of increasing income, education, and exposure to the body of child-rearing literature, are gradually reducing their "cultural lag." For

our concerns this suggests that training programs designed to acquaint the parents of disadvantaged children with effective child-rearing practices are indicated and should prove helpful.

Bronfenbrenner's extensive analysis of child-rearing studies does support much the same kinds of general attitudinal conclusions about socialization and social class that Sears et al. have suggested. The data depict the middle-class parent as more permissive in general, having higher levels of achievement expectations, and being less apt to use physical punishment as a disciplinary technique but resorting more to reasoning, isolation, and love-oriented techniques. These differences appear to remain constant as a description of the attitudinal polarity of socialization differences among social classes.

In his later work, Bronfenbrenner (1961) examines the data as it applies to the effects on children of the consistencies and changes in patterns of child rearing. He draws several generalizations from the literature, including the fact that increased movement over time away from techniques of physical punishment toward reliance on psychological techniques of discipline is shown to be a powerful and positive force for bringing about desired changes in the child's behavior. He finds that girls are more likely to be disciplined by love-oriented techniques than are boys and, as a result, are found to be more obedient, more cooperative, and generally better socialized

than boys. Girls, however, tend to become "oversocialized" and susceptible to the detrimental influences of over-protection while boys are more subject to the detrimental effects of insufficient parental discipline and support. Boys are more apt to receive inadequate discipline in the lower socio-economic strata than are boys in the upper classes.

Other indications of class differences are found in studies which report that in the higher socio-economic levels, girls excel boys in acceptance of responsibility and social acceptance while, in the lower classes, boys excel girls in assuming leadership, their level of aspira-tion, and in competitiveness. For all socio-economic levels it is found that mothers primarily employ love-oriented disciplinary techniques regardless of the sex of the child. This is true, across class levels, for father's disci-plinary techniques toward girls. However, all fathers tend toward using more direct kinds of discipline toward their male children, with fathers in the lower socio-economic classes generally employing more physical punishment as a disciplinary technique regardless of the sex of the child. Bronfenbrenner points out that evidence indicates boys tend to be better socialized when the father is the princi-pal disciplinarian and girls profit most when the mother is the primary authority figure. He notes that boys from father-absent homes tend to be more highly dependent and concludes that the absence of the father is especially

critical for male children. This is a point which we will discuss more completely in the next section. Bandura and Walters point out, in this connection, that the normative developmental process requires a gradual modification of dependency responses for boys, which is a more marked developmental change than is required of girls. For this reason, the presence in the home of atypical parental sex-role models, or the absence of a male model, during early socialization experiences may make subsequent emotional adjustment outside the home situation particularly difficult for boys.

Bronfenbrenner suggests that emphasis on intellectual achievement is becoming the dominant force in redirecting the aims and practices of socializing the child in the contemporary United States. He also notes that while specific practices and general attitudes toward achievement training may well successfully produce high achievement motivation in children, this same training may also give rise to such normatively undesirable personality characteristics as extreme aggressiveness, cruelty, domineering attitudes, and anxiety. For our concerns this suggests that in planning practical programs designed to foster achievement motivation the planners must be willing to accept the full responsibility for undesirable consequences.

The obvious conclusion that can be drawn is that it is wise to be cautious about predicting the effects of specific child-rearing practices on children's subsequent

personality development. However, insofar as socialization
is defined as the process by which personalities are in-
fluenced by the experience of living--and especially by
early experiences in family living--the general parental
attitudes toward warmth and dependency, permissiveness/
strictness, reward/punishment, and achievement training do
seem to have a farreaching impact on personality development.
Furthermore, these attitudes are, at least in part, dif-
ferentially distributed among the various social classes
as they are distinguishable in our contemporary society.
It should be equally obvious that not all the families
within a given socio-economic status subscribe to the typi-
cal pattern--a subject which has been more thoroughly dis-
cussed in Chapter II.

Several of the works we have considered have noted
sex differences in both parental attitudes and in children's
responses to them. Most developmental studies treat the
mother's role extensively. In the next section we shall
consider the influence of the mother and the father specif-
ically--with special attention to the often neglected role
of the father in the developmental process.

The Roles of the Mother and Father in the Socialization Process

Bronfenbrenner's analyses indicate something of the
importance of family structure to the child's personality
development. The particular problems created by observing
the differential effects of varying child-rearing practices

and their general ineffectiveness as a predictor of long-
range personality development, raises the issue of the
relative influence of such efforts at intentional instruction
as opposed to incidental learning from parental attitudes
and behavior. In this section we shall be interested par-
ticularly in the effects of incidental learning accomplished
through identification with the parents as role models. The
concept of "identification" is employed here to describe
the process which accounts for the selection of one role
model rather than another. Mussen, Conger, and Kagan (1963)
define identification as a belief that some of the attributes
of a role model belong to the self. They postulate that
the motivation for identification is provided by the child's
desire to command the attractive goals possessed by the
chosen model. Many other possible motivating influences
on identification have been postulated in the literature,
including observation reinforced vicariously (secondary re-
inforcement as exemplified by the thinking of Bandura and
Waters), dependency as the primary motivating mechanism
(as exemplified by Sears), status-envy, social power, simi-
larity to self, and others. There seems to be general
agreement that children learn many things by copying the
behavior of models, and each of the various theories of the
underlying motives which induce identification finds some
experimental support. It is most probably the case that
several or all of these mechanisms may operate simultaneously
or at different times in different situations to produce

identification with a chosen model. We will take the position that identification is multi-determined and go on to consider its effects rather than its causes.

In current child development literature incidental learning through identification is most often cited as influential in the areas of achievement motivation, aggressive behavior, and in the area of adult role modeling--especially sex-role identification. There is, in the majority of the developmental literature, a strong and consistent emphasis on the importance for personality development of a warm and satisfying relationship between mother and child in the early years of socialization. We do not deny that the mother is assuredly a most important figure in the child's interpersonal matrix, especially during infancy and very early childhood. However, only recently has the role of the father in the developmental process been given much attention. Kohn and Carroll (1960) reflect this fairly new emphasis in their study of social class differences in the perception of the proper allocation of parental responsibilities in child-rearing. Their purpose was to examine the effects of varying socio-economic class attitudes toward the division, between mother and father, of responsibilities for training and disciplining their children. Their sample consisted of 200 white middle-class and 200 white working-class families of fifth grade children. The data were obtained by interviews with all of the mothers and slightly over a fourth of the fathers and

children. The findings indicate that middle-class mothers emphasize the equality of the mother/father roles in training the child, while the fathers' role as disciplinarian was given only secondary importance. Middle-class fathers generally agreed with this assessment of their responsibility, though they were stronger in their agreement as to their proper role in relation to sons than to daughters. Working-class mothers expected their husbands to be firm disciplinarians but expected little from them in terms of supportive training. Working-class fathers were found to feel that child-rearing, in all its aspects, is properly the mother's responsibility. It would seem reasonable to assume that the parents' perception of their role responsibilities would have an important influence on the developmental process in children.

Earlier references to the father's role were made largely in terms of his influence as a sex-role model for boys. In more recent works has come considerably more emphasis on the general role of the father. Sears, Rau, and Alpert (1965) tested a series of hypotheses derived from a theory of identification motivated by dependency which concerned child-rearing antecedents of certain behaviors in children, e.g., attention seeking, prosocial aggression, sex typing, emotional upset, etc. which were presumed to be learned through this process of identification. Little theoretical support was found--perhaps because of their unidimensional approach to identification

motivation--but some general conclusions, particularly concerning the father's role, are of interest to us. They found, among other things, that the level of permissiveness of _both_ parents is an important factor in the socialization of boys _and_ girls. The father is seen to be important not only as a male sex-role model, but as he is perceived to be the source of power in the family, to be an agent of morality training, and to set high achievement standards. Studies have been done which specifically deal with the parental role in the development of achievement motivation.

Rosen and D'andrade (1959) examined the origins of achievement motivation among ten-year-old boys in light of their training in the family setting. Forty white boys, matched by group on the factor of measured intelligence, i.e., I.Q., were assigned to "high need achievement" and "low need achievement" groups of twenty boys each on the basis of Thematic Apperception Tests (TAT) procedures. The subject groups were further controlled so that there were ten middle-class and ten lower-class boys in each of the two "need achievement" groups. However, no differences by social class were found so it is possible to disregard this division. The parents of the forty boys also participated in the experiment.

Each boy, in the presence of both his mother and father, was given a series of tasks to complete which allowed his parents the opportunity to interact with the child while being observed by the experimenters. From these observations

it was concluded that parents do provide achievement and independence training, but fathers contribute more to training for boys than do mothers. However, it was found that mothers of boys with high achievement motivation gave more emphasis to achievement training, were more dominant, and rewarded their sons with approval and punished them by hostility more often than did mothers of boys with low achievement motivation. In short, these mothers were behaving more typically like fathers than in the more common love-oriented mother role. The study concluded that for high need achievement to develop the boy needs both more autonomy from his father than from his mother and, at the same time, a strong model for achievement motivation--most usually his father. Thus, we suggest that parental pressures for and reward of early achievement, when coupled with a high ratio of successes to failures for the child, results in high need for achievement in the school situation, provided that the child identifies with his supportive parents.

In the Sears et al. study the size and direction of the correlations among findings do not allow for many specific conclusions about the effects of parental influence, but a general indication is that in the socialization process, the mother's influence is more significant for girls while the father's influence has the greatest impact on boys. They state the general principle that "when the parent of the opposite sex rewards dependency, the child develops behavior qualities characteristic of that sex

(Sears, Rau, and Alpert, 1965, p. 255)." They add, however, that the converse of this principle is not so clearly supported. They also found that there is little support for a dependency-motivated theory of identification account of the development of masculinity in boys, though such a theory does appear to account for the development of sex-appropriate roles for girls and sex-inappropriate behavior among boys who have not had a strong masculine role model.

Kagen (1958) has suggested that sex-role identity plays a central role in directing the child's personality development because this identity sets boundaries on subsequent behavioral choices. He notes that sex-role influences are felt in several behavioral areas, including general stability of behavioral responses over time and differential mastery of academic skills, in addition to sexual behavior toward love objects. He cites research evidence to support the position that boys typically have higher levels of academic achievement with respect to tasks involving spatial and mechanical reasoning, science, and mathematics than have girls. Furthermore, boys are typically more autonomous and persistent in their orientation to problem-solving tasks than are girls--in response to differential sex-role socialization. These pervasive aspects of sex-role identity on personality development make concern with sex-role identification an important one in our consideration of the causes of the Leftout's maladjustment to school.

Kagan defines a sex-role standard as a learned asso-
ciation between selected characteristics, behaviors, and
attitudes with concepts of male and female. Early sex-role
discrimination by the child is in response to a desire to
make his behavior and attitudes conform to his perception
of the sex-role standard. Kagan points out that the sex-
role standard applies to two distinct kinds of response in
the child: (1) as an internalized part of his self-concept,
and (2) as knowledge of a set of culturally consensual
behavioral expectations. Sears has made an important dis-
tinction between sex-role "preference" and "identification."
Sex-role preference refers to sex-linked behavior which the
individual would like to adopt or which he perceives as
the preferred or more desirable behavior. This preference
may differ from his sex-role identification which refers
to sex-linked behavioral proscriptions and prescriptions
which the individual internalizes as appropriate for those
of his biological sex. It is interesting to note that
psychoanalytic theory postulates that the girl is expected
to experience greater difficulties in assuming her feminine
role than is the boy in assuming his masculine role because
of "penis envy," i.e., masculine sex-role preference. This
is diametrically opposed to the social learning theory
offered here which assumes less difficulty in learning the
feminine sex-role since girls typically have more and closer
contacts with their mothers, who act as role models, than
do boys with their fathers. We assume that sex-role

preferences which differ from the appropriate sex-role iden-
tification of the child are abnormalities produced by in-
adequate socialization.

For adequate socialization and subsequent personality
adjustment, the child needs to acquire a sex-role identity
which matches his biological sex. This learned identity
is acquired by differential identification--whatever its
motivating force--with the same-sex parent, parental sur-
rogates, older siblings, and significant others. Unfor-
tunately, for the children who are the center of our concern,
abnormal family structures and inadequate sex-role models,
e.g., father-absent or mother-dominated, both parents ab-
sent, etc., are an all too typical occurrence.

Lynn and Sawrey (1959) examined the effects on both
boys and girls reared in father-absent families. They
selected forty father-absent and forty father-present
Norwegian families of equal socio-economic levels. The ab-
sent fathers were sailors--typically away for an average
of nine months each year. Their data were gathered on the
basis of interviews and doll play situations with the early
elementary school age children of these families. It was
found that more father-absent boys than father-present boys
showed signs of immaturity, stronger striving toward mas-
culine identification, and had poorer peer adjustments.
Father-absent girls were better able to make peer adjustments
than were father-absent boys, though their problems in this
area were more pronounced than were those for father-present

children regardless of sex. Father-absent girls also evi-
denced more dependency on their mothers than did father-
present girls. This would suggest that an important part
of developing sex-role identities includes the opportunity
to observe and interact with complementary-sex models as
well as same-sex models.

Lynn and Sawrey concluded that the absence of the
father affects the personality development of both boys and
girls, although boys seemed to be more severely disadvan-
taged by their father's absence. They also suggest that
other factors may also have influence, e.g., the personality
and attitudinal orientation of a woman who would marry a
sailor.

Others have suggested, as we have seen, that mothers'
attitudes toward the father's role responsibilities differ.
Thus, presumably, if the mother is content with the family
structure--whatever it may be--there is less apt to be
strain associated with a situation which demands that she
fulfill the typical aspects of both parental roles. How-
ever, this assumption does raise the question that if
developmental inadequacies can be found among children of
father-absent families when the mother willingly accepts
the situation, what more severe problems might lie in wait
for the child of a father-absent family when the mother is
more apt to resent the situation, such as the case where
the father is in jail or has deserted the mother?

The U.S. Department of Labor Report (1965) reviewed
in the previous chapter, concerns itself with this kind of
situation among Negro families in our society. In this
report to the President it is emphasized that the fundamen-
tal problem among Negroes in general is that of a dis-
organized family structure. The report points out that
for vast numbers of the unskilled, poorly educated, urban
Negro working-class the fabric of conventional family rela-
tionships is all but absent. The Report notes that nearly
a quarter of urban Negro marriages are dissolved, a large
and growing number of births are illegitimate, and that more
than a quarter of Negro families are dominated by females;
whether or not the males are actually absent they have be-
come socially emasculated in many cases. We have discussed
in the preceding chapter, the special case of Negroes in
the contemporary social structure--the point we wish to make
here is that Negro families are not the only families to
suffer from structural disorganization, nor are Negro chil-
dren alone the victims of the effect of personality develop-
ment this kind of disorganization spawns. While the specific
role of the father in influencing developing personality
is far from crystal clear, it is clearly an important one
and deserves the attention that is slowly becoming focused
on it.

Nash (1965) has recently reviewed the literature re-
lating to the father's role in personality development--
which he notes to be meagre compared to that directed toward

the mother's role. It is not entirely incidentally that
we point out that he specifically criticizes the common but
methodologically unsound practice of investigating father
attitudes indirectly by way of his wife's reports concerning
them. He cites evidence that independent interviews with
both mother and father yielded only small agreement between
them on either their perceptions of their children's be-
havior, or their own statements about attitudes toward and
interactions with their children. (Independent outside
criteria tended to support the father's reports as being
more accurate than the mother's!)

Nash concludes from his review and analysis of the
literature that the general opinion among sociologists today
is that American society in particular, and Western indus-
trial society in general, is "mother-centered" in its philos-
ophy of child care. The development of this philosophy can
be traced to the economic history of industrial civilization
in which the traditional family cooperative economy has been
supplanted by an economic pattern in which the father is
typically engaged in economic activity away from the home.
This pattern, in turn, forces him to delegate his child-
rearing responsibilities to his wife. Some psychologists
have accepted this generalized cultural phenomenon so un-
critically as to come to the assumption, as evidenced by
their theoretical writings, that the rearing of children
is an exclusively feminine responsibility. However, Nash
cites research evidence from clinical studies and

investigations of delinquents which suggest that father-
child relationships--especially those between fathers and
sons--may be of considerable etiological importance to both
social and psychological maladjustments. He points out that
psychosexual problems apparently result when the child's
major identification is with the opposite-sexed parent.
Thus, a mother-centered family structure--as is reasonably
common for the children with whom we are particularly con-
cerned--is peculiarly unsuited to the needs of boys. Nash
concludes that evidence supports the view that identification
of the child with his same-sex parent is not only signifi-
cant in sex-role development but in general personality
development as well. He notes that this identification can
be understood in terms of social learning theory, i.e.,
warm, affectionate relationships and prolonged associations
(in contrast to the hostility assumed in the oedipal theory),
and that these kinds of relationships are essential require-
ments of successful identification, adequate socialization,
and well-adjusted personality development.

Since we are interested in children who suffer dis-
ruptions of one sort or another in family relationships it
becomes important to look at the body of literature specif-
ically relating to deprivation in the area of these relation-
ships. Nearly all such studies are found classified under
the rubric of "maternal deprivation." While we do not wish
to be accused of underestimating the mother's role, we
do suggest that the evidence strongly indicates that

deprivation of one parent has different effects for boys and girls--depending upon which parent is absent or inadequate--and, for boys at least, paternal deprivation may be as serious as maternal deprivation. In all fairness, it should be pointed out that many of the studies of maternal deprivation have been, in reality, concerned with the effects on children who are deprived of <u>both</u> parents. Since few, if any, of the authors of these studies have made any attempt to separate the differential effects of maternal vs. paternal deprivation Nash has suggested that the term "parental deprivation" would be more accurate. Consequently, we shall treat the findings of this body of literature as relating to a more general disruption in the social structure of the family rather than to the specific loss of a close personal relationship with the mother alone.

Limitations of Parental Influence on the Developmental Process

The general over-all conclusion that can be drawn from our examination of the developmental process is the hardly surprising one that a verbally oriented, close, warm, supportive, and continuous relationship with both parents is the best possible family setting in which both boys and girls may develop. Concomitantly, any disorganization in this family pattern will deprive the child to some extent of a chance for adequate socialization. Or, at least, limit the influence that the family has over the developmental process.

While we accept these basic premises, Yarrow (1964) among others, has pointed out that the differential impact on personality development between good parental care and the adverse effects generated by parental deprivation is not a simple and straightforward problem. He suggests that the terms "deprivation" and "separation" need to be distinguished--despite the fact that they are typically employed synonymously in the literature. Furthermore, he notes that there are several possible varieties of separation experiences, e.g., single brief separation with reunion, single permanent separation, repeated permanent separation (such as when the child is shuttled about among relatives or a series of foster homes), and others. He suggests the need to examine the effects of these various types of separation. He also postulates that the age of the child at separation, i.e., before or after the development of a meaningful focused relationship with specific significant others, has an important influence on the consequences of separation.

Yarrow suggests the need for considering several other factors as well. Among these is the quality of the relationship between the child and his parents prior to separation. For example, if the family setting is such that there are distortions in the parental attitudes, separation may be preferable to highly deviant conditions. In short, it is assumed that separation will have differential meanings for the child depending upon whether it represents a break in a meaningful, satisfying, intimate, protective

relationship or simply is the culmination of parental indifference or overt rejection.

Other factors such as the nature of the relationship with parents during temporary separation, the duration of the separation experience, the nature of subsequent parental care following separation with reunion, and reinforcing experiences outside the family setting must also be considered. Yarrow concludes that accumulated evidence supports the view that the effects of deprivation in the areas of sensory, social, and emotional stimulation which are frequently concurrent with parental separation are more harmful than is parental separation per se. This kind of stimulus deprivation would appear to be clearly linked to inadequate intellectual development, as was seen in the first section of this chapter, and to more general inadequacies of personality development as we have discussed above.

Casler (1961) also undertook to summarize the major findings of the maternal deprivation literature. He reviewed a wide variety of studies which employed the institutional, cultural, animal-experimental, and neuro-anatomical approaches to the problem. His central proposition was that sensory reinforcement of many kinds bridge the gap between physiology and social learning for the child. Such sensory stimulation may be tactile, visual, or auditory. He concludes, as does Yarrow, that there is no real proof that the absence of the mother (or parents) per se accounts for the observed problems of deprived children, but that

stimulus deprivation in general is a more useful concept--
and a more precise one--for accounting for their problems.
He argues that deprivation of maternal love can have ill
effects only after specific affective responsiveness has
been achieved by the child. This normally occurs in the
last six months of the first year of life. However, we
postulate that this affective bond may occur much later or
not at all in a child/parent relationship characterized by
hostility, rejection, or severe structural disorganization.
Ill effects found among children who have not established
this affective bond probably has some other cause than that
of separation from one or more of his parents. This "other
cause" being perceptual deprivation, i.e., the absolute or
relative absence of tactile, verbal, visual, or emotional
stimulation.

Evidence indicates that this kind of stimulus depriva-
tion may be produced by either social isolation, environ-
mental sameness, or both. In this connection Casler points
out that "it is not the stimulus itself, but rather the
response to the stimulus which provides the perceptual or
sensory stimulation." In short, stimulation without benefit
of contrast may not be perceived and stimulation that does
not fit the socially learned cognitive structure may be
ignored.

Casler postulates a causal relationship between per-
ceptual stimulation and intellectual, emotional, and physi-
cal functioning. In light of our earlier discussion of the

importance to intellectual development of language acquisi-

tion, it is interesting to note that he cites studies by

Brodbeck and Irwin of the verbal behavior of institution-

alized children, who were found to be consistently less

vocal than those raised in families. He points out, however,

that those forms of social stimulation necessary for proper

language development can be provided in an institutional

setting if the need for doing so is recognized. In addition,

he notes that

> recent evidence indicates that there is no relation
> between the relative extent of early vocalization
> and later verbal facility if sensory reinforcement
> later occurs. . . . Perhaps the most conclusive
> support for the contention that social reinforce-
> ment, not mother love, plays a dominate role in the
> development of vocalization comes from a study by
> Rheingold, Gewitz, and Ross. Three-month-old babies
> showed increased vocalization after visual, auditory,
> and tactile reinforcements; and extinction was
> demonstrated when the reinforcement was withdrawn
> (Casler, 1961, pp. 6 and 28).

For our purposes, these kinds of findings, along with

others we have discussed, suggest the feasibility of programs

in the school designed to compensate for early stimulus

deprivation.

In addition to the limitations of parental influence

on the developmental process among children which we have

already discussed, e.g., separation and role-model inade-

quacies, other factors are particularly relevant to the

culturally and socio-economically disadvantaged children

with whom we are primarily concerned. In the first instance,

we are centrally focusing on the school-age child: Mussen,

Konger, and Kagan (1963) propose that development during middle-childhood, i.e., elementary school age of approximately five to twelve, is normally characterized by an expansion of the social environment. Bandura and Walters (1963) point out that innovations in social behavior may occur, as the child gets older, because of increased opportunity for contact with role-models provided by peers and adults other than his parents. They suggest, however, that the degree of innovation is likely to be a function of the diversity of available models. They cite Schachter's conclusion that in homogeneous groups, individual deviant behavioral patterns are likely to elicit social rejection from other members of the group. Bandura and Walters suggest that in a heterogeneous group, behavior and values acquired in the family situation will govern the choice of role-models outside the home. In this connection, we suggest that this selection may be made either on the basis of similarity, if family relationships have been satisfactory, or dissimilarity (i.e., rejection of familial values), if the child's relationship with his family has been unsatisfactory.

In any case, the influence of the social sub-system represented by the school is an important one for any school-age child. Watson (1960) points out that children of this age group in general are in a great deal of contact with adult role-models outside the home. These adults, e.g., teachers, recreation leaders, religious instructors, etc.,

are as intent upon bringing about in the child those be-
haviors, attitudes, and values that they consider proper
as are the child's parents. He quotes Havinghurst's view
that the school systems in our contemporary United States
go far beyond minimal instruction in academic subjects--
and that it is necessary for them to do so. It is suggested
that there is no area of the developmental process in
children which the school may safely ignore and still ac-
complish its goals. In the social sub-system of the school
teachers are required to perform a wide variety of social-
izing tasks and, in successfully doing so, employ much the
same methods that are effective for parents in the sub-
system of the family.

It is important to note again, in this context, the
fact that the child is typically in school for seven to nine
hours a day, five days a week, nine months a year. Of the
remaining time available to him daily, he spends eight to
twelve hours in sleep, and from one to several hours outside
the home engaging in a variety of recreational activities.
The parents are fortunate to have personal contact with the
child for more than three to six hours a day during the
normal school year--and often have little more during vaca-
tion periods. Hence, the direct influence of the parents
over the developmental process in any child is severely
time-limited for this age group.

It is also worthwhile to briefly consider the influence
that peers and older siblings may have on the socialization

of the child. The role of peers will be examined in more detail in Chapter IV, but by way of an example of their importance to the developmental process consider Sutton's findings. Using the scores of 90 fifth grade children on the Syracuse Scale of Social Relations plus socializing records kept by their teachers, Sutton (1962) concluded that school-age children select their same-sex peers as sources for both academic and social help more frequently than they select either teachers or family. We are suggesting that, for the school-age child at least, the peer group is a significant influencing agent for personality development.

There is some research evidence to support the viewpoint that for socio-economically disadvantaged school-age children particularly, parental influence is quite drastically limited. Lewis (1961) found evidence to support the hypothesis that among low income families, unguided, unplanned influences outside the family are relatively more important and affect the socialization of the child relatively earlier than among higher income families. An effect of this outside influence is the early appearance (at ages five or six) of the point at which the parents cannot or will not attempt to control their children.

One reason for this limitation of parental influence among low-income families is the fact that the mother and the father (if there is one) are often both employed outside the home. A reasonably typical pattern among low

income families leaves much of the responsibility for child-rearing to older siblings. In the case of actual separation from the parents where the child is raised by a married (or at least considerably older) sibling the sibling's influence on the developmental process probably differs little from that of the parents. However, Rosenbaum (1963) has suggested that the psychological effects on a child who is largely reared by a sibling who is only slightly older than himself may be extreme and severely maladjustive. He postulates that this is the case because the older sibling who is not biologically or psychologically prepared to cope with child-rearing is apt to have negative attitudes toward his premature responsibility which will, in turn, have negative consequences for the personality development of the younger sibling left in his care. Rosenbaum also points out that such codeterminates as parental illness, separation or rejection, social and economic deprivation, and physical abuse often accompany the situation in which an older sibling becomes responsible for the rearing of younger members of his family.

We may conclude that parental influence on the developmental process, particularly among disadvantaged school-age children, may be limited by several factors. Some of these are a normal part of the developmental process for this age group, i.e., wider social contacts which allow for diversity of identification with non-family adult role-models and the increased influence of the peer group. Other

factors are more directly related to socio-economic dis-
advantage and parental inadequacies. Disruptions or
dysfunctional relationships in the family structure create
intellectual and general personality maladjustments in the
developing child. Families of low socio-economic status,
in addition to exhibiting a greater tendency toward broken
homes and inadequate financial means or educational skills
for offering a rich and stimulating environment, may also
place their children in the position of being the object of
social discrimination and possible rejection. This discrim-
ination reduces the child's chances of developing satis-
factory extra-familial social relationships with other adults
or peers.

Families of low socio-economic status are often charac-
terized by a high rate of residential migration in a search
for opportunities for economic and social betterment or to
escape liabilities. This frequent moving from one neighbor-
hood or community to another also tends to limit the child's
potential for developing long-term satisfying interpersonal
relationships outside the family setting. If these social
structural factors of poverty, discrimination, and residen-
tial mobility are coupled with a broken home or inadequate
parental relationships, then the chances that the child will
be adequately socialized or develop normally are slim indeed.
Even if but one of the many dysfunctional factors we have
considered in these chapters is present during the develop-
mental process, it seems reasonable to conclude that the

child will be disadvantaged to some extent--and that compensatory measures are required for fully adequate intellectual and emotional development.

While we do not regard the school as a panacea for either the personality maladjustments of individual children or the social ills of society in general, we do regard the school as a powerful influencing agent for the learning of attitudes and values. The schools <u>do</u>, therefore, have a socializing responsibility not unlike that of the parents--and the learning environment the school provides must allow <u>all</u> children to learn under as nearly ideal conditions as is possible. This means that school personnel must be aware of the background and developmental experiences to which the children in their care have been exposed, and some compensatory adjustments must be made in curricula, social climate, and teaching techniques when this background has inadequately prepared the child for the demands of the school situation. Some suggestions concerning how the school might compensate for children's disadvantage will be, in part, the subject of our final chapter.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL ADJUSTMENT IN SCHOOL:
THE ROLE OF PEERS AND SELF-CONCEPT

The opinions, values, beliefs, and attitudes of the particular significant others who are our peers are of great importance to all of us--and children are apt to be especially influenced by social pressures from peers. The child is simultaneously pressured by adults and his age-mates and these pressures may be directed toward anti-thetical value orientations and behavioral expectations. The child is automatically excluded from certain kinds of rewarding associations with adults because of his age and immaturity. It is only from his age-mates that he may derive such things as prestige and hierarchial status, and with whom he may develop friendships based on equality. An acceptable social status is an important requisite for satisfactory social and emotional adjustment at any age. Our view of man as _inherently_ a social being implies strong needs to form significant and meaningful relationships with others. Thus, social isolation, real or threatened, is a powerful motivating force for producing behavioral changes in keeping with the perceived requirements of social acceptance.

The means of initiating and maintaining close personal relationships are learned during the developmental process. This learning is, in part, based on perceptual awareness of others emotional needs, value orientations, and behavioral expectations. Horrocks and Buker (1951) have shown that the capacity for enduring friendships is gradually acquired during childhood and adolescence, and that the social skills necessary for developing satisfying friendships are teachable. For learning children's social skills the "teachers" are other children. That the peer group is the most common social reference group for school-age youngsters is a well documented fact. Only one study will be cited here for illustrative purposes for its findings are typical of many such studies. Much of the research on the impact of the peer group has been done with adolescent subjects; this study was chosen specifically because it deals with pre-adolescent youth. Sutton (1962) conducted research with 90 fifth grade children using the Syracuse Scale of Social Relations, supplemented by socializing records kept by teachers. His results show that children tend to select their peers as sources of help--for both social and academic goals--more frequently than either teachers or parents. We are proposing that a good deal of what children learn is taught by other children. Thus, one critical dimension in the study of adjustment to school is the impact of the peer group.

The impact of peers is to some extent inherent in
the structural system of the school where large numbers of
children are brought into daily contact in a setting which
has both a social group orientation and a task group orien-
tation. A general principle of our theoretical perspective
is that the more individuals associate with one another
under conditions of equality, the more they come to share
value orientations and behavioral norms, and the more they
come to like one another. For the Leftout, the problem
centers in the fact that the "conditions of equality" por-
tion of that principle may not prevail in the actual situ-
ation. There is an indisputable difference between physical
and social propinquity. The child in the group is part of
a complex network of relations with other children. Each
child observes and evaluates the events around him, responds
with feelings of liking or disliking, acts in the situa-
tion, and is the recipient of actions of others. Through
such processes the role and status of each child becomes
established and the particular nature of his relationship
to the peer group emerges. Homans (1950, 1961), among
many others, notes that the closer their normative orienta-
tion, the more frequently will individuals interact. And
when people are forced into physical proximity from which
they cannot withdraw, e.g., a work group or, in this case
a schoolroom, maximal general interaction will result from
positive sentiments while neutral or negative sentiments
will tend to restrict interaction to minimal, formal, or

problem solving situations. Homans proposes that inter-
action, i.e., the communication of sentiment in the form of
rewarding activity, must be <u>mutually</u> rewarding or it will
cease. Schachter (1951) supplies some evidence that when
a deviant is present in the group there is an initial up-
surge of communication in his direction, probably aimed at
bringing him into line but, if these efforts go unrewarded,
communication will diminish. The deviant is still present
but is ignored--effective social isolation.

An important factor, very much related to peer group
influence, is that of the <u>quality</u> of the interpersonal com-
munication among individuals in the same behavior field.
McClosky and Schaar (1965) point out the importance of com-
munication to the development of anomic, i.e., left out,
responses to social situations.

> One does not learn values and norms in precisely the
> way one learns facts: one is "socialized" into them
> through numerous interactions--living, working, and
> talking to others--repeated over time and in a variety
> of contexts. . . . Opinions and values have a con-
> siderable effect on the way he is received by a com-
> munity or group. . . . Partial acceptance of the rules
> will get one into the club; once inside, the processes
> of indoctrination and absorption can be carried much
> farther. . . . On the other hand, persons who fail to
> learn the dominant values of a group, or who hold
> beliefs and opinions not widely shared, are not likely
> to be well received by group members. This in turn
> reduces communication and makes socialization into
> the group even more difficult. A deviant lacks the
> intimate, vital experience of participation which is
> essential to full appreciation of the group's norms
> and values. His knowledge of those norms may be ab-
> stract and "theoretical," insensitive to subtle
> shadings of mood and meaning--a caracature rather than
> an accurate portrait (pp. 21-22).

This, in essence, is the problem of the Leftout because he has not had the prior training or experience to allow him to develop the appropriate value orientation, internalize the "proper" behavioral expectations, nor learn the accepted means of communication which would allow him easy access to the more advantaged peer group and gain for him their acceptance as an equal.

The broad environmental contexts of culture, sub-culture, and family examined in the earlier chapters need to be viewed as an integral part of peer relationships since these variables have important consequences for the impact of children's associations with age-mates. These environmental variables help determine the nature of the peer relationship by providing, or failing to provide, adequate training in requisite social skills and by setting the parameters for the sphere of peer group influence. General cultural, sub-cultural, and family influences serve to establish the framework within which peer relations operate, and within which the peer group becomes yet another agent of the socialization process. Thus, we may view the peer group as a determinant of stability and acceptance in social relationships, as a contributor to the child's developing self-concept, and as another force contributing to the form and substance of the child's value orientation toward the world around him. The extent of the peer group's influence is delimited by such factors as the characteristics of the situation itself, individual variations in susceptibility

to influence, the characteristics of the children doing the influencing, and the impact of adults (such as teachers) on children's peer groups.

One of the most important and enduring functions of peer relationships is their influence on the development of the child's self-concept. This notion of "self" is a key concept in sociology for the interpretation of personality. Mead (1934) regarded the development of "self" as dependent on language and arising "in the process of social experience and activity. . . . The self, as that which can be an object to itself, is essentially a social structure, and it arises in social experience . . . (pp. 135-140)." Self-concept has been used in sociology as the equivalent of the self: that is, one's self is the way he conceives himself, or his self-concept. Central to an individual's self-concept is his identity; that is, his generalized position in society deriving from his statuses in the groups of which he is a member, the roles which attend these statuses, and the social categories which he comes to accept as "his," e.g., age, sex, race, social class, etc. Thus, self-concept is defined as the individual's view of himself, derived from taking the role of significant others in social interaction, by means of which he organizes his personality and directs his action to reciprocate the perceived expectations of others. The self-concept consists of: (1) a view of identity, (2) attitudes which express personal interests and aversions, (3) a "world view" frame of

reference, (4) knowledge of goals and degree of past success in achieving prior goals, and (5) some kind of self-evaluation on the basis of comparison of self with others and their perceived evaluation.

Early in his group experiences a child becomes aware that his peers evaluate him along particular lines and, as the developmental process continues, he learns proficiency in interpreting his own status in the eyes of other children. High status in the group is a source of a positive self-concept; lack of status and social acceptance becomes a source of dissatisfaction with himself which produces either: (1) a rejection of the group and status seeking elsewhere, (2) high motivation to change in the direction of the group's expectations, or (3) a lowering of the self-concept.

It is clearly an oversimplification to suggest that acceptance by peers directly determines the extent of the child's self evaluation. Family influences, success or failure in non-social experiences (e.g., academic tasks), perceptions of teacher's and other adults' evaluation, etc. also play important roles in shaping the self-concept. Nevertheless, the peer group remains an extremely important source of self-evaluations. It is perfectly possible, of course, that an adequate self-concept leads to social acceptance while an inadequate self-concept leads to social rejection. It is probable that the causal relationship between self-acceptance and social acceptance works both ways. That is, an adequate self-concept is a prerequisite for

social acceptance, and social acceptance increases the like-
lihood of positive self-evaluations which, in turn, raise
the level of the self-concept. And, conversely, an inade-
quate self-concept leads to social rejection, social re-
jection increases the likelihood of negative self-evaluations
and tends to lower the self-concept even more. We are pos-
tulating that self-acceptance and social-acceptance are
positively related (regardless of the causal sequence), and
that an adequate self-concept is a necessary prerequisite
to successful adjustment in school.

In our interrelated three-fold criterion of adjustment
to school (academic, social, and emotional dimensions) the
social acceptance dimension is an important one. It is
probably best to regard the affective and cognitive dimen-
sions of learning as interacting aspects of a single process.
In certain task oriented situations, formalized teaching
aimed at the perceptual-cognitive dimensions gains ascend-
ancy and emphasis is directed away from the self-social
reference features of the learning experience. In other
school situations where the focal point is the social group,
the social-emotional dimensions are predominant and greater
emphasis is given to personality needs, value orientations,
motivation, social status, and the conception of self in
relation to others. In both types of learning situations
some aspects of all the dimensions of adjustment are present,
although primary emphasis may be given to one rather than

another. These considerations, and others we have indicated,
will be the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

Peer Relationships for the Leftout

For the Leftout who is the special object of our con-
sideration, peer relationships are of particular signifi-
cance. Evidence cited in the last chapter (Lewis, 1961)
suggests that by school age the socio-culturally disad-
vantaged child is apt to experience comparatively little
concern, attention, or support from his parents. Con-
comitantly, we suggest that the peer group takes on added
importance for such a child. Campbell (1964), in his com-
prehensive review of peer relationships in childhood, points
out that there are sub-cultural variations in the relevance
of the peer group for children. His data supports our view
that parents in lower socio-economic strata show less con-
cern about their children's activities outside the home than
do parents of higher socio-economic levels, and lower-class
parents typically exercise less control and supervision over
their school-age children. As we have seen, middle-class
child rearing practices give more emphasis to self-direction
and the development of internal standards of conduct while
lower-class parents tend to emphasize conformity to external
proscriptions. Given such differences in background and
training, it seems reasonable to suggest that one conse-
quence is to allow greater opportunity for the peer group
to assume an important socializing role in the development

of the lower-class child. Ausubel (1958) claims that "it
is mostly in heterogeneous urban cultures that values during
preadolescence tend to acquire a wider base and peers tend
to replace parents as interpreters and enforcers of the
moral code (p. 393)." From ethnographic comparisons Eisen-
stadt (1962) concludes that peer group pressures are
greatest "in those societies in which the family or kinship
unit cannot ensure . . . the attainment of all social status
on the part of its members (p. 34)." As we have seen, these
are the types of social systems of which the Leftout is
typically a member. It is also suggested that children's
overt dependent behavior increases in the case where there
is parental rejection and/or lack of cohesion in the family.
Both the objective structural characteristics of the commu-
nity and the family--such as the degree of integration/
disorganization, degree of differentiation, and degree of
financial security--help to shape the unique nature of the
child's relations with his peers and his value orientation
to the social world around him. Our Leftouts are disadvan-
taged in these areas, coming typically from the poorer urban
areas and from families whose interpersonal processes are
apt to be disorganized. Thus, for the Leftout, the peer
group and their acceptance of him becomes extremely impor-
tant.

At the same time, variations in socio-economic back-
ground have been found to be associated with differences
in children's value orientations and their aspirations to

achieve in school. Such differences in training and ex-
perience create for children different "world view" frames
of reference which, when translated into behavior, have
consequences for peer relationships. Values and aspirations
asserted in the home, as well as the quality of interaction
within the family, contribute to the nature of peer relation-
ships. Parents help to provide the child with knowledge
of social expectations and to crystallize his value orien-
tation. Middle-class parents especially influence peer
group relationships by intentionally or unintentionally con-
trolling contacts and by teaching their children discrimina-
tory life styles. The middle-class child's relationship
to his parents is apt to be far closer than is that of the
lower-class child and hence he is apt to be particularly
influenced by parental views.

There is a well documented tendency for people to
gravitate into groups or sub-groups with the effect of maxi-
mizing their shared values. Children as well as adults,
feel more comfortable when they are associating with others
similar to themselves. Thus, when the Leftout is brought
into contact with his more advantaged peers in the sub-
system of the school he may find that he does not share the
values necessary for social acceptance among these children.
A child typically learns quite early in life, usually by
his first years in school, what social class he belongs to:
not what name to give it, but how his value orientations
and behavioral expectations distinguish him from others,

who is above and below him, and with whom to be friends. Stendler (1949) found that in a midwestern community children at the first grade level were largely unaware of class-status symbols but that by the fourth grade they were partially aware and by the eighth grade they were as aware of the meaning of such symbols as adults--and could identify their own class position. Even at the preschool level, children are aware of ethnic and racial differences (Clark and Clark, 1952; Goodman, 1952; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958; and others). The hypothesized age at which these recognized differences are found to be actually reflected in children's social selection ranges from four to ten years on the basis of several studies. The point worth noting here is that sub-cultural differences do play a part in social acceptance among elementary-age school children.

Information on the extent to which friendship ties are related to socio-economic status criteria is slightly contradictory but there is reasonable support for the generalization that socio-economic status criteria are at least partially responsible for friendship choices. Neugarten (1946), using a modified sociometric procedure, found that both elementary school children and high school students discriminated along class lines in their selection of friends. In addition, among the younger children, social status was also clearly linked to rejection of peers. Bonney (1946) reported that socio-economic status criteria plays a small but consistent part in determining children's

friendships. Hollingshead (1949) concluded that clique membership tended to be established on the basis of class. Both Neugarten (1946) and Elkins (1958) found significant correlations between sociometric preference and socioeconomic status. Other factors which may counterbalance a low socio-economic status for the Leftout in his chances for social acceptance by his more advantaged peers will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

The peer group with whom any child associates tends to be of the same socio-economic strata as his own because of residential proximity, school location, family friendships and preferences, etc. Thus, like-classed children are apt to be in close association which results in identification of the characteristics they hold in common. However, the impact of status differences on peer relationships is not based on such ecological segregation alone. MacDonald, McGuire, and Havinghurst (1949) found that children living even in the same heterogeneous urban neighborhood and attending the same schools but having different social class backgrounds, use leisure time in quantitatively and qualitatively different ways. We have noted in earlier chapters this and other differences which might be assumed to influence peer relationships. For example, social class-linked differences in aggressive behavior have been noted. Tuma and Livson (1960) found that among early adolescent boys there is a strong negative relationship between socioeconomic status and conformity to authority. When children

of such diverse socio-economic strata, experience, and training are brought into contact in the school situation, the mingling of divergent value orientations and behavioral expectations may become a source of disturbance to each group of children. On the positive side, however, such culture contact becomes a source of knowledge about "how the other half lives" for children from each socio-economic strata and opens a potentially important avenue for social tolerance and understanding on the one hand and upward social mobility for the lower-class child on the other.

We have postulated that the more eager an individual is to become a member of a group, the more he will conform to its norms of behavior. Unfortunately, while the upwardly aspirant Leftout is eager for social acceptance he may well be at a loss to know what norms to conform to! He may be subject to pressure toward some norms at home, others from his teachers, and still others from his peers. When the child is caught in cross pressures between the norms of different groups of which he is simultaneously a member, he is apt to suffer some emotional strain: such that if conflicts are both severe and pervasive the resultant strain may become incapacitating, and even moderate amounts of strain will create some anxiety. The closer the correspondence between the value orientations and behavioral expectations of socializing agents (parents vis-à-vis teachers, or home vis-à-vis peers, etc.) the more adequately and the more rapidly socialization takes place. Conversely, the more

conflicts between the various agents of socialization, the slower and more inadequate the process.

It is possible, of course, that the child may not be aware of conflicts because he may not be aware of his more advantaged peer's group norms. We have suggested earlier that individuals are more likely to attend to those aspects of their environment they anticipate than those they do not, and they are more likely to anticipate those things with which they are familiar. It seems obvious that frequency of contact, ecological separation, and differences in value orientations and behavioral expectations fostered in the home or sub-cultural group all play a part in whether or not a child is aware of the socially acceptable norms. The more interaction the more similar become norms and values; the less communication or interaction the greater the likelihood of conflict and, the more conflict the less the interaction and communication of normative expectations. Thus, it appears equally obvious that the Leftout's potential social rejection by his more advantaged classmates is yet another reinforcing aspect of his disadvantage.

The Leftout may have problems of both acculturation and social assimilation. "Acculturation" refers to the process of learning the value orientations and behavioral expectations of a group different from the one in which the individual was originally socialized. "Social assimilation" refers to the process by which an "outsider" is accepted as a genuine member of a group, with full responsibilities

and privileges accorded to any member. We are suggesting the Leftout is culturally alienated. By this we mean that he has neither been acculturated to nor socially assimilated by his more advantaged age-mates. Furthermore, he does not know the appropriate norms, the content of much of what he sees and hears is meaningless to him, he is powerless to make changes in either the system or himself without special help, and as a result of these problems, he is socially isolated from the more advantaged peer group. It is postulated that the more contact the child has with appropriate role models the faster and more complete his acculturation, and the more complete his acculturation the more complete his social assimilation. Thus, the Leftout who is brought into daily contact with his more advantaged age-mates has the best chance of learning the norms essential for academic and social success. It is necessary, however, to remember our earlier qualification of this simplistic model: that the _nature_ of the contact is extremely important. It is possible for the Leftout to be acculturated without being assimilated--and vice versa. Either one in the absence of the other is more difficult, less frequent, and the process is apt to be especially costly to those being influenced (costly both psychologically and socially) than in the case where acculturation and assimilation go hand in hand.

The Negro in our society, especially the educated urban Negro, is a good example of acculturation without assimilation. The child from a "middle-class" Negro home

may have all or more of the advantages in his family background that contribute to academic and social success than his white peers have, yet continue to be socially and even academically disadvantaged because he is not assimilated into the advantaged peer group or he is the object of discriminatory behavior by teachers. Children of religious or ethnic minorities may serve as the example for assimilation without acculturation. Such children may be fully assimilated members of the peer and student groups while yet maintaining widely divergent ideological and normative patterns. It is probably more often the case, however, that the child with a different but strong cultural background is socially tolerated but not _fully_ accepted by all of his peers or his teachers. He too may become the object of academic disadvantage and mere social toleration--a kind of partial assimilation, accepted in some situations but not in others. This is the position in which children of Indian, Jewish, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Amish, etc. families find themselves in certain communities, certain schools or classes, or in certain activities.

The kind of disadvantage associated with ethnic or racial discrimination is far more difficult to overcome and differs qualitatively and quantitatively from the kind of disadvantage based on socio-economic criteria. We suggest that the adverse consequences of the various causes of disadvantage are cumulative. Thus, for example, a child raised in a lower-class cultural environment is less disadvantaged

than one who also comes from a disorganized family--and the latter, in turn, is less disadvantaged than a lower-class child of a disorganized family who is also a Negro. The more "strikes" against the child the poorer the prognosis for successful adjustment in the school situation. The balance is most favorable when all children meet on personal terms, on a common task, with shared interests, and on terms of social and academic equality. Davis (1957) has summarized the situation in terms of the educational system and ethnic and racial minorities. It does not seem illegitimate to generalize his conclusions to include any disadvantaged child or group. In general, both the acculturation of the subordinate group and its social assimilation with the dominant group in public schools are found to be most successful when: (1) the minority group is of approximately the same social-class level as the dominant group; (2) the minority is relatively small, constituting at the very most not more than 25% of the school population (3) the minority group comes from a middle-class background; (4) the minority group has been in the United States a relatively long time; and, (5) the minority group comes from the same kind of community (i.e., rural or urban) as that in which it now attends school (Davis, 1957, pp. 446-449).

We have suggested that, even in the case where no barriers are inherent in the social situation itself, the child who is ill prepared to understand and cope with the

value orientations and behavioral expectations of his more advantaged age-mates and his teachers will have a slow, difficult, and conflict-ridden time of socialization in the school situation. W. I. Thomas wrote that if men define situations as real, they _are_ real in the consequences. Thus, whatever the cause of his lack of social success with his more advantaged age-mates--racial, ethnic, or class discrimination, inadequate preparation, personality problems, or some combination of all of these--the Leftout feels rejected, withdraws and becomes more ingrown and isolated or seeks support and acceptance from others like himself who suffer status deprivation and, as a result, is more left out by the majority group. However, several things can "short-circuit" this maladjustive downward spiral. The Leftout may possess some valued talent or special skill, he may be particularly intelligent, he may be highly adaptable to changes in his social environment, he may be fortunate enough to be in a classroom where the teacher consciously attempts to influence the social integration of _all_ the students, or he may simply have fewer strikes against him in terms of his family relationships, his racial and ethnic identity, and his own personality stability. In the next section of this chapter we will examine the "how" of the acculturation/assimilation process and the bases on which social status is awarded in children's groups.

Processes of Peer Influence

Tuddenham (1952) points out that "the influence of other children constitutes a major component of the social milieu to which the child must adapt (Monograph I, p. 1)." He assumes that a child's reputation with his peers is of central importance in assessing his social adjustment to his peers. Roles are learned through interaction with others. As a part of this learning process the child acquires expectations of how others in the group will behave, he learns to predict what others expect of him, and how they will react to him. Bandura and Huston (1961) have studied the influence of peers on role learning. They hypothesized that identification with a reference person or group is a process of incidental learning and children will more readily adopt the behavior of others with whom they identify. In their experiment a reward was hidden in one of two boxes in a playroom. The subject child was allowed to observe the behavior of a "role model" through a one-way mirror. He was then allowed to go into the playroom with the role model under "model friendly/model cold" conditions. It was found that children conformed to the behavior of the friendly model in several task situations including verbal tasks. There was no conformity to the behavior of the "cold model" except in aggressive reactions. Since interaction leads to assimilation of roles, and friendly, rewarding social situations produce more interaction, it follows that friendly accepting situations would stimulate incidental role

learning. This is, essentially, a restatement of Homans'
liking-interaction hypothesis which we have already noted.
We will return again to the subject of the relationship
between the attractiveness of the agent of influence and
the extent of his ability to influence.

Fjeld (1961), in a thesis concerned with the relation-
ship of communication variables to the process of social
interaction among freshmen women college students, found
that the nature of the interpersonal relationships formed
tended to fit the pattern Homans suggests exists between
communication and interaction. It was hypothesized that
the values which individuals hold are important in deter-
mining the success of communication with others and, thus,
the subjects' preferences for each other. It was also
hypothesized that social preferences are _initially_ based
on simple indices of value agreement but that continued
interaction necessitates more complex indices of agreement,
and if there is failure to establish value agreement, inter-
personal relationships will disintegrate. By comparing
sociometric choice ratings over an eight month period, Fjeld
found strong support for both hypotheses. We are suggesting,
in short, that the bases of social acceptance change over
time. Later in this section we will examine the criteria
by which children establish status with their peers and the
sex and age differences among these criteria.

The notion of incidental learning is an important one
for considering the process of peer group influence. In

Chapter III we suggested that the learning of new roles, such as the culturally disadvantaged child faces in the school situation, is accomplished through two broadly defined, jointly operating, interactional processes: (1) intentional instruction, referring to deliberate and formal role socialization; and (2) incidental learning, referring to processes of identification with or emulation of role models in the imitator's behavior field. It is postulated that different goals will correspond to different socialization processes. Thus, a goal such as academic achievement will be primarily obtained through intentional instruction. Social goals, on the other hand, are more informally achieved. It is logical to suggest that in the school situation the teacher primarily provides intentional instruction for attaining achievement goals, while peers primarily provide a role model for learning social skills. However, the attitude of the teacher toward the social aspects of the school situation, as well as the attitudes of his peers toward the academic aspects, also influence the Leftout's adjustment potential.

Campbell (1964) suggests that at least five different types of situational factors exert some degree of influence over peer group processes of influence. First, the physical setting itself influences the group process. For example, there has been much experimental work done with the relationship between the structure of the environmental setting and communication potential. We have argued that

interpersonal communication is a prerequisite to interaction
and social influence, but when children are in a typical
classroom setting, i.e., seated in chairs or at desks ar-
ranged in ordered rows, each child has only limited access
to the others in the group and no child can exert much
direct influence over any other. On the playground, where
physical movement is maximally free, the potential for
direct influence is much greater. This kind of considera-
tion leads to another situationally limited factor suggested
by Campbell: that different activities lead to differences
in behavior and behavioral expectations. Yet another situ-
ational factor which has an impact on the influence process
is that of group size. Evidence is abundant to support the
notion that the smaller the group the greater the communi-
cation potential, the higher the rate of participation for
each individual member, and, therefore, the greater the in-
fluence potential.

Campbell points out a fourth situational factor,
that of the clarity of the task and associated expectations,
which affects the nature of the child's response to in-
fluence attempts. We have postulated that the Leftout lacks
knowledge of and experience with the behavioral expectations
of his more advantaged age-mates. Ambiguity is apt to lead to
deviance and the Leftout's deviance, and consequent rejec-
tion by the group--especially in a situation such as that
of the school where he cannot physically withdraw--may make
him anxious. Parsons (1951) notes that insecurity in social

relationships, and inadequacy in achievement oriented per-
formance are the primary foci of anxiety. In an environ-
ment where the value pattern places a special emphasis on
achievement in many forms--as in the school--the problem
is accentuated. That anxiety may have a crippling effect
on the cognitive process is not only established in numerous
experiments but is apparent as well from everyday observa-
tion. Intense anxiety sometimes leads its victims to with-
draw from reality, or at least to retreat from contacts of
a social nature. Obviously, this reduces the possibility
for communication, which leads in turn to a reduction in
socialization and learning potential.

Duffy (1961) gives some insight into the incidental
learning process among sixth graders as it is affected by
anxiety. In his study subjects were chosen on the basis of
experimentally induced anxiety extremes (high and low ex-
tremes on the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale) and randomly
assigned to two groups. The experiment involved two situ-
ations. The task for both groups was presented as a series
of line discriminations, but one group was presented with
easy choices and the other group with more difficult choices.
During the experiment both groups heard a taped recording
of the names of twelve cities--offered as a "distraction"
but really serving as the focus of the study. After com-
pleting the line discrimination task, recall scores for the
"incidental" material were obtained. Duffy found that
anxiety was increased by perceived status differences, by

the ambiguity of instructions given, and by the difficulty
of the task. However, regardless of the difficulty of the
task, high-anxious children directed their attention to the
assigned "relevant" task, i.e., intentional instruction
and learned significantly less "incidental" material than
did the low-anxious children. It doesn't seem too far
fetched to generalize Duffy's work to suggest a negative
relationship between high anxiety levels and incidental
role learning potential. Thus, if the Leftout feels status
deprivation and his academic tasks are both difficult and
ambiguous for him, he is apt to experience high levels of
anxiety. High levels of anxiety, in turn, hinder the Left-
out's ability to profit from incidental role learning--
which has negative consequences in terms of his potential
for social acceptance among his more advantaged age-mates.

Kitano's (1962) research findings indicate support
for such a suggestion. He found that in specifically struc-
tured situations, where role expectations are clear, where
there is consensus, and where role expectations are readily
enforceable (such as in the formalized structure of the
classroom) there is a relatively high degree of adjustment
on the part of all children. However, where the situation
is such that role expectations are not highly structured
and there is ambiguity and a lack of consensual norms (such
as in more informal peer group relationships) some children
will be anxious and fail to adjust.

A fifth situational factor noted by Campbell, the nature of the reward system, relates to the cohesiveness of the group and the degree of influence exerted by peers. It is assumed that the more cohesive the group the greater influence they can exert and the greater the reward power they have with any individual member. We are postulating that the Leftout minority aspires to academic success which is typically rewarded by the formalized school system--but has difficulty in achieving and thus are apt to be left out of the formal reward system. From the child's point of view, teachers distribute approval and disapproval in a consistent but unfair manner. In one illustrative study, de Groat and Thompson (1949) examined teacher's attitudes as perceived by sixth grade children and found that "Guess Who" nominations were consistent in showing that a few children received the bulk of the teacher's approval, and another small group bore the major burden of disapproval. These perceptions remained quite consistent over time. There was a correlation of .80 between the original test and a retest taken five weeks later. The children receiving the greatest teacher approval were the most intelligent (as measured by standard tests), showed the highest academic achievement (as measured by grades), and had the best over-all personality adjustment (as measured by a personality questionnaire administered by the researchers). Whether these results are cause or effect is of less importance for our purposes here than the fact that rewards _are_ perceived

to be differentially distributed with some consistency and
that this disparity in the reward system probably has con-
sequences for peer relationships, academic achievement, and
such personality factors as the child's self-concept. Our
Leftout is not apt to be among the better students in terms
of either measured intelligence, academic performance, or
well adjusted personality measures and, thus, is not apt
to be found among those who are reaping the rewards of the
formal system. Hence the Leftout's social acceptability
by his peers takes on added importance to him for its reward
value. But he isn't likely to receive school-sanctioned
rewards until or unless he views his more advantaged age-
mates as a reference group, i.e., when he seeks to conform
to their behavioral expectations. Thus, conformity to his
advantaged peers' expectations becomes especially important
for the Leftout elementary-age child who is at least ini-
tially eager to succeed in school.

Conformity depends on several factors which may create
variations in children's susceptibility to influence. No
over-all generalizations can be made but, on the basis of
evidence we have cited, several factors appear to be asso-
ciated with susceptibility to influence. Age and sex are
two important considerations. Younger children, such as
those who are the focus of our concern, are more susceptible
to influence than older children; girls are more inclined
to yield to social pressure than are boys. Status is
another important factor. The Leftout, whose status is apt

to be precarious, must rigidly conform to group expectations if he is to be socially accepted. His more advantaged peers, who are more apt to become or already are firmly established as accepted members of the group, are far more free to deviate from group norms to some extent--especially if they are group leaders. Wilson (1960) found that boys with indefinite status, i.e., those who were neither rated as fully accepted nor rejected, conformed most closely to group norms. Thus, status striving among Leftouts who feel that they could be accepted into the advantaged peer group helps to account for some of that group's influence on conformity behavior. We have also suggested that dependency needs and moderate (but not high) levels of "functional" anxiety contribute to susceptibility to influence.

We are not suggesting that conformity is a maladjusted response. Conformity to social expectations is a perfectly healthy response for any child and is highly desirable as an element of adjustment to school. Conformity is only maladjustive in the situation where the child becomes committed to deviant role behavior or value orientations which are dysfunctional for school-oriented success. Conformity to deviant roles is most apt to be found among those Leftouts who have experienced social rejection by their more advantaged peers and who feel that they cannot gain acceptance.

While we do not intend to imply that deviancy and delinquency are the same thing,* some of the research done in the area of delinquency offers some clues for our consideration of the causes and consequences of deviation--which is the other side of the coin of conformity. The work of Gold (1963) is particularly relevant for our interests since he deals with forces exerted toward deviant behaviors and values which are not necessarily legally delinquent. His sample includes boys who were merely police "contacts," e.g., truants and runaways, in addition to those boys who were actually arrested. His data also compares deviant responses to responses of a matched control sample of boys who had had no police contacts at all. The latter group will be referred to here as "non-deviants." Gold employed two criteria to select the behavior items on which to compare deviants and non-deviants. First, the items included only the boy's own behavior and attitudes--rather than general socio-cultural variables--to be consistent with our theoretical position and Gold's orientation that "the causes of deviancy are to be found in the provocations

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*Delinquency is a legal term, usually referring to arrests made for behavior which violates some duly constituted law. As we noted earlier, deviance is a generic term referring to behavior which is different from some standard. Thus, the delinquent is always a deviant, but a deviant is not necessarily a delinquent. The Leftouts with whom we are concerned are deviants--whether or not they are also delinquents is of no concern for our purposes. Since we are dealing with elementary-age youth who are not usually regarded as responsible under the law, their behavior--whatever it may be--is not apt to be defined as delinquent in any case.

and social controls created in the boys _themselves_ by these
and other factors (Gold, 1963, p. 176)." Secondly, they
include only those factors which distinguish deviants from
non-deviants. Among his major findings Gold notes:

1. Data based on self-report of deviant behavior
   suggest that proportionally more lower status
   boys exhibit deviant behavior and attitudes
   than higher status boys (p. 6);

2. When the relationship between quality of neigh-
   borhood recreation facilities and boys'
   attitudes toward aspects of their community is
   examined, more attitudes toward neighborhood
   are negative in those school districts with
   poorer recreational facilities (p. 112);

3. Deviants tend to regard their community and
   neighborhood less favorably than matched non-
   deviants (p. 113);

4. The poorer the quality of recreational facilities
   in an elementary school district, the higher the
   deviancy rate is likely to be in that district
   (p. 114);

5. Teachers are better paid in elementary schools
   surrounded by neighborhoods with high property
   values; schools are newer in areas where greater
   proportions of people own their homes (p. 116);

6. Newer schools and schools in which teachers are
   on the average earning higher salaries are located
   in neighborhoods with lower deviancy rates
   (p. 120);

7. Deviants are more likely to have negative atti-
   tudes towards school than are matched non-deviants
   (p. 121);

8. Deviants, especially in the lower socio-economic
   strata, less often report doing things with
   either parent than do non-deviants (p. 130-131);

9. Fewer deviants than non-deviants feel they can
   take their personal problems to adults; they would
   more likely go to a peer or to no one (p. 132);

10. Deviants report less agreement with their
    parents concerning standards for their behav-
    ior than do non-deviants (p. 133);

11. Fewer deviants than non-deviants regard their
    fathers as ideal-typical adult models (p. 136);

12. Deviants perceive their chosen models to be
    less disapproving of deviant acts than non-
    deviants do; the parents of deviants do in fact
    express less disapproval of these acts than
    do the parents of non-deviants (p. 143);

13. More fathers of deviants than of non-deviants
    punish their son' misbehaviors physically or
    by depriving them of privileges; differences
    in discipline among mothers tend in the same
    direction (p. 145);

14. Compared to the parents of non-deviants, parents
    of deviants do not believe their sons' chances
    are as good to eventually get the kinds of jobs
    they would like them to get (p. 157);

15. Parents of deviants believe their sons will
    need less education for their future jobs than
    do parents of non-deviants (p. 158);

16. Both deviants and non-deviants think of schooling
    mainly as a path to future opportunities (p. 160);

17. Deviants are likely to have earned lower grades
    in the fifth and seventh grades than their non-
    deviant matches (p. 163);

18. Boys' attitudes toward school are more positive
    when their grades are higher and when they think
    they have better chances to eventually get the
    jobs they want (p. 169);

19. Deviants less often feel that their teachers take
    a great deal of interest in their future than
    do matched non-deviants (p. 170);

20. An index composed of items which distinguished
    the attitudes and behaviors of deviants from
    those of non-deviants proves to be related to
    social status (p. 177).

In one sense much of Gold's research contributes yet

more evidence for the consequences of disadvantage in

socio-economic areas that we have discussed. Proportion-
ately more lower-class boys commit deviant acts than do
their higher-class age-mates. Disorganized family structure,
unfavorable perceptions of community, school, and teachers,
and lack of social acceptance by peers are among the
provoking factors in deviant behavior. In a second sense
this work is especially valuable because it deals with the
value orientation of deviant boys and implies the great
importance of conformity to behavioral norms of the peer
group--for both deviants and non-deviants. Gold concludes
that the controlling forces in behavior

> consist most importantly of attractions to norm-
> supporting individuals and organizations. The
> greatest potential for control is shown to be the
> family group and within it, the attractiveness of
> the father is most crucial (Gold, 1963, p. 181).

The next greatest source of control lies with the peer group,
and if the family fails in its control function the peer
group will assume the most prominent role.

Gold hypothesizes that the provocation force peculiar
to deviant behavior is perception of status deprivation,
i.e., feelings that there is little or no hope of achieving
positions of social acceptance with more advantaged age-mates
or eventually achieving positions of wealth and power which
are considered prestigeful. This notion of status depriva-
tion in relation to deviant behavior is explored more fully
in the work of A. K. Cohen. Cohen (1955) argues that
deviant behavior is an ideal solution for status deprivation
problems because such behavior: (1) repudiates the value

orientations of the reference group which serves as the basis for self-evaluation of failure, and (2) rewards the child with status among any peers who may share his status problems. Children who suffer status deprivation are quite synonymous with those who we have been calling Leftouts. Children of the lower socio-economic strata tend to be over-represented among these Leftouts because several of the problems often associated with lower-class styles of life that we have mentioned tend to weaken adult controls and the control potential of the more advantaged classmates and, simultaneously, to strengthen the provocation to deviant behavior. As we have suggested, it is expected that the same conditions can and do appear, but less frequently, among children from the higher socio-economic strata.

It is important to consider the non-deviants, for many of the children from "essentially similar" backgrounds are not and do not become deviants. The peer group again comes to the fore as a significant agent of socialization for the Leftout who is successfully acculturated and assimilated by the more advantaged majority. We have assumed that peer group acceptance is a strongly felt goal among all children, and that conformity to peer expectations is the primary means of gaining social acceptance. Thus, situations where conformity is instrumental to social acceptance should have the greatest impact on the child's susceptibility to influence. Walker and Heyns (1962) have examined the relationship of conformity to social acceptance.

They tested Festinger's principle that the more attractive the group the more cohesive the group, and the more cohesive the group the more conformity. Under one experimental condition conformity was instrumental to being liked, while under another condition it was not. Under the condition where conformity was instrumental to being liked (i.e., socially accepted), the degree of conformity was greater in high-cohesive groups than in low-cohesive groups. In the second condition, where conformity was not stressed as being instrumental to liking, conformity was slightly greater in the low-cohesive groups. The work of Tiktin and Hartup (1964) provides further substantiation for this latter point. They found that in the case where "conformity" refers to task-oriented behavior and social acceptance by peers is not a major consideration, i.e., is not an instrumental goal, then unpopular or disliked peers may be more effective in eliciting conformity than are popular or liked peers.

The apparent discrepancy between these findings and Festinger's theoretical principle may be resolved by considering the factors of instrumentality, as Walker and Heyns suggest, as well as that of time. It must be noted that the empirical findings of both Walker and Heyns and of Tiktin and Hartup were derived from short-term laboratory experiments. Especially in the conditions where conformity was not instrumental to social acceptance, the fact that the children were not <u>at that particular time</u>

conforming to popular or liked peers may be more a function of the specific situation than of long-term modes of response. These kinds of findings do suggest several derived hypotheses:

1. Task-oriented conformity and socially-oriented conformity are not necessarily complementary processes in any given situation.

2. In any specific situation, if task-oriented conformity (e.g., academic achievement) is the only goal it may best be influenced by reinforcement supplied by unpopular or disliked peers.

3. However, in the total school situation, social acceptance by more advantaged age-mates and academic achievement are both initial goals for the individual.

4. In the total school situation social acceptance is one condition necessary for an adequate self-concept which, in turn, is prerequisite for over-all adjustment to school--including academic success.

5. Total adjustment may best be developed through conformity to the behavior and value orientations of achievement-oriented peers.

6. Such conformity is best influenced by the situation in which it is instrumental to social acceptance by the child's more advantaged age-mates who are achievement oriented.

Thus, it becomes crucial to our consideration to examine those things which are instrumental in offering potential avenues of social acceptance by the advantaged peer group to the Leftout. The theoretical and empirical research literature indicates a number of factors associated with the awarding of status and prestige among children. Among these sex and age, socio-economic background, physical skills, personality factors, intelligence, and verbal

ability appear to be the most influential criteria for peer group acceptance. Overriding all of these is the general principle that social rejection is primarily associated with lack of knowledge of and/or conformity to the values and expectations of the majority group into which the upwardly aspirant Leftout seeks to be assimilated. Conversely, social acceptance can be attained by learning the socially acceptable values and subscribing to the appropriate behavioral expectations.

From preschool age until adolescence, sex homogeneity is a principle determining factor in friendships and clique memberships. Next to sex, age is the most important factor in the formation of peer groups (Tuddenham, 1952). Such segregation by sex and age is associated with differential interests and activities, and serves the function of teaching and strengthening differential sex roles. Children who learn and adopt the behavior prescribed for their sex and age group are rewarded with peer acceptance. White (1948) argues that the crucial arena for the development of self-esteem is to be found among the child's age-mates. He notes that in the home the child must be

> love-worthy: this may include being competent, but is heavily weighted on the side of being good, obedient, and affectionate. On the play-ground the values are different: he must be respect-worthy, able to command respect because he shows competence and handles himself with ease. . . . He must now show what he has in the way of physical prowess, courage, manipulative skill, outgoing friendliness, all in direct comparison with other children of his age. The penalties for failure are humiliation, ridicule, rejection from the group (White, 1948, pp. 144-145).

Investigators in this area of social acceptance have referred to "reputation," "popularity," "social success," "social status," and "prestige" in their specific works. In all cases these terms seem to be synonymous with what we have been calling social acceptance. Typically this factor is measured by a variety of sociometric techniques, employing the "Guess Who" and "Who Am I" tests extensively. In the elementary-school situation the child's degree of social acceptability has been found to remain fairly constant over periods of up to three years between studies, with increasing constancy found among older age groups (Bonney, 1943; Horrocks and Buker, 1951; Singer, 1951). The evidence is clear that, once elementary-age children have been brought together as a group: (1) in general, group patterns of relationships are quickly established and remain stable over time; (2) there is little or no group difference in friendship fluctuation between boys and girls at any of the various age and grade levels; (3) there are considerable individual variations in the stability of dyadic friendships at all age and grade levels; (4) the criteria by which acceptability is judged is similar within groups but changes between age, sex, and socio-cultural groups; thus, the socially acceptable child has as his primary characteristic social adaptability (Tuddenham, 1952; Watson, 1960).

These findings are important for the Leftout's social acceptance potential. In the first place, they indicate that the earliest school years are most important in terms

of gaining social acceptance by his advantaged peers. As we suggested earlier, clique boundaries are less rigid in the earliest years and thus the child has the greatest chance of acculturation and assimilation when the group is newly formed--and his chances in general decrease the longer the group has been established, the older are his age-mates, and the more stable existing patterns of acceptance/rejection have become. Secondly, these findings suggest that all is not lost if social adjustment to the expectations of the advantaged peer group is not successful in the earliest years. Since criteria for acceptance change over time the Leftout may possess or develop skills, talents, or personality characteristics which serve to reduce or overcome his disadvantage at a later date. Compensatory measures which foster his acculturation and eventual assimilation--whether they are the product of intentional instruction or incidental learning--also become important.

Research evidence (Campbell, 1964) indicates that those personal characteristics most important to social acceptance are: (1) social adaptability, (2) high intelligence, (3) well developed motor skills (especially for boys), (4) biologically appropriate sex-role identification, and (5) friendliness and sociability. The criteria associated with differential socio-economic backgrounds which are most important to social acceptance are: (1) verbal skills; (2) general core cultural value orientation toward lack of physical aggressiveness, scholastic achievement,

cleanliness, and grooming; (3) stylish mode of dress; and
(4) time for or interest in participating in a variety of
organized extra-curricular activities.

Pope (1953) has found definite contrasts to exist
between children's peer group prestige values among differ-
ent socio-economic levels in the same school. In his study
of twelve-year-olds a variation of the "Guess Who" technique
yielded a "reputation" score for each child (a combination
of 25 traits). Cluster analysis of these scores showed
characteristic social behavior patterns by social class.
For lower-class boys, most prestige among his peers was
awarded on the basis of aggressive, belligerent, domineering
leadership; those who were happy, sociable, and "able to
take a joke" were socially acceptable; but those who were
studious, conformed to teacher's expectations, and were
"sissy" were rejected by the lower-class peer group. For
middle-class boys, those with most prestige were active and
skilled in competitive games, friendly, personable, good
looking, but not aggressive; those who were "classroom in-
tellectuals" were acceptable; but those who were "sissy,"
bossy, unkempt, or physically aggressive were rejected by
the middle-class peer group. In other words, middle-class
children accept boys who are either athletically or academ-
ically competent but reject aggressive behavior, while
lower-class children award prestige to boys' aggressive be-
havior but reject academic competence and are not especially
concerned with athletic ability (as opposed to sheer physical

strength). Both groups value friendly, sociable personality characteristics but middle-class peers emphasize these as more prestigeful than do lower-class peers.

Pope found that for girls, social acceptance is based mainly on personality characteristics and academic ability. Little or no emphasis is given to motor skills in awarding prestige to girls. For lower-class girls, the most widely accepted traits among the lower-class peer group were friendliness, "goodness," tidiness, and academic ability. The socially accepted lower-class girls were not leaders nor did they associate with boys. A second lower-class pattern among girls, less frequently found but most prestigeful among lower-class peers, were those who were somewhat "rowdy," highly talkative, attention-getting in behavior and dress, aggressive, and associated with boys. Only one acceptable pattern for middle-class girls was found: those who were good looking, friendly, tidy, vivacious but not "rowdy," good students, and likely to associate with boys in limited but friendly competition. The middle-class peer group rejected those girls who were aggressive, bossy, or "tomboys." In short, prestige among the lower-class peer group tended to follow the general cultural stereotype of dividing girls into those who are "good" and those who are "exciting," awarding prestige--but of a different kind-- for each pattern. The middle-class peer group limited prestige to only one acceptable pattern for girls but allowed a wider and more sex-equal range of behavioral norms within

that pattern. For both lower-class and middle-class girls, academic ability is a source of prestige.

These findings indicate that the lower-class boy who would seek both academic and social prestige must do so through acceptance by the middle-class peer group, and to gain their acceptance he must give up the rewards offered by the lower-class peer group--a situation apt to be fraught with cross pressures and consequent anxiety. For the lower-class girl whose goals include both academic and social success,the road to successful school adjustment is not apt to be such a difficult one, especially if she subscribes to the "good girl" pattern acceptable to both her lower-class and middle-class age-mates. For girls, relatively minor factors such as mode of dress and specific interests are more apt to be decisive in determining what particular place she occupies in her peer relationships. And, although such "minor" factors can have devastating consequences for social acceptance/rejection, they are more readily amenable to maturational change and/or compensatory training than are more pervasive characteristics such as aggressiveness or degree of physical ability.

Watson (1960) points out that, especially for boys, the social-psychological significance of motor skills is greatest in the early school years. A high premium is placed upon motor skills by age-mates in the early elementary grades. The poorly developed child may be discriminated against--leading to the possibility of adverse consequences

such as withdrawal, depression, hostility, etc. Smith (1950) found that social indifference, withdrawal, rebelliousness, and hostility are attributes of low-status or rejected children. Thus, one vicious circle which can contribute to the Leftout's disadvantage is rooted in motor skills. If he has had little training in or opportunity for the development of motor skills, e.g., bicycle riding or ball playing (because of limited family finances or poor recreational facilities in his neighborhood), or if improper diet and/or lack of medical care have restricted his potential for muscular development and control, the prognosis for his early social acceptance is not good. On the other hand, the child adept in motor abilities is not only more accepted by his peers, but because of these skills is more apt to be chosen a leader--which may generalize to leadership nominations essentially independent of motor skills, and most certainly will aid in the development of a more adequate self-concept. McGraw and Tolbert (1953), in a study of 438 boys concluded that sociometric status and athletic ability are significantly related. Both athletic skill and willingness to participate in athletic events play an important part in making the child among the best-liked of the peer group. Thus, if the young Leftout boy does possess some degree of motor ability this may serve as one important avenue for social acceptance.

Schurr (1964) studied 289 children in grades one through six to determine the relationship between objective

scores on three motor skills (running, throwing, and jumping) with peers' judgments of their ability in these skills. She found that judgments were accurate at all grade levels and that teammate choices were made in relation to objective skills. However, Schurr's data tends to refute that of McGraw and Tolbert in that she found no statistically significant relationship between choice of friends and choice of teammates. While it may be the case that Watson is wrong, and McGraw and Tolbert's research merely an idiosyncratic finding, it would appear more reasonable to suggest that Schurr's contradictory findings are a result of: (1) combining boys and girls, i.e., girls may be as accurate as boys in judging motor ability and selecting teammates but they give such ability less weight in the selection of friends; and, (2) combining age groups, i.e., motor abilities are more important as a source of prestige and social acceptance to younger children than to older children. Watson notes that by the sixth grade, research evidence shows that qualities desired in a friend have shifted in emphasis to personal characteristics such as friendliness, cleanliness, cheerfulness, and tidiness--showing an increase in socialization to the core-cultural norms. We shall, therefore, postulate that motor skills are one means available to the Leftout--especially younger males--for overcoming some of his other disadvantages and gaining at least a modicum of social acceptance.

As we have noted, ability to fulfill behavioral expectations may get the child "into the club" but, once in, he must subsequently learn the appropriate value orientations of his more advantaged peers during his association with them because the criterion of his initial acceptance will not suffice alone for long-term assimilation. Homans (1950, 1961) and Watson (1960) have both emphasized that in order for friendships to endure they must be mutually satisfying. If one or the other gets nothing from it the interaction will cease. Thus, when increasing age brings socialization development away from according prestige on the basis of motor skill alone, the child must have adapted his social abilities to fit the changed requirements of friendship with his advantaged peers or find himself again left out.

There are other sources of potential prestige open to some children who might otherwise be left out in terms of what appears to be similarity in backgrounds. We have seen that lack of physical aggressiveness is one valued characteristic among the members of the more advantaged peer group and in the formal school system. Thus, if the Leftout is disadvantaged in many socio-cultural areas but happens to have been reared to devalue and/or avoid physical aggression, his chances for social acceptance by peers and rewarding associations with teachers are enhanced.

The Influence of "Intelligence" and
the Situation

In the same way, "high intelligence" may compensate for socio-cultural disadvantage among those who would typically be Leftouts. Measured intelligence is statistically related to socio-economic background. Substantially lower average I.Q.'s are consistently found among members of the lower socio-economic strata. For example, Cronbach (1960) found the mean I.Q. of children from low income urban or rural areas to be 90, while the mean I.Q. of children from white-collar and skilled-labor homes was 115. Siller (1957) also found that children of the higher socio-economic strata outscored those of the lower socio-economic strata on all tests of conceptual ability. However, when his subjects were matched on non-verbal concept tests dealing with the same kinds of conceptualization as the verbal tests, lower-class children scored more highly than did middle-class children. It is important to note that these findings represent averages--and that any given child from a particular socio-cultural background may deviate widely from these averages. It should also be pointed out that the largest absolute numbers of people with high I.Q.'s are from the numerically larger lower-classes.

However, as we noted in the preceding chapter, lack of educational stimulus is often associated with lower socio-economic environments, as well as poor language training and development. Both of these things may foster the

formation of general modes of perception and problem-solving which, though successful in the home/community situation, may stand in the way in the school situation where they are not appropriate and where they hinder the child's measured intellectual ability. Thus, while the Leftout is most often a product of this kind of background, not all children from the lower socio-economic strata are Leftouts. Some of them experience more adequate stimulation in their homes, some of them receive more language training (which aids in concept formation and adaptability), and some of them are more secure in their social relationships (which allows for less anxiety, more acceptance of self, and greater ease in learning) which is, in turn, reflected in increased levels of measured intelligence. Wolf (1964) found that thirteen variables could be employed to describe the background interactions between parents and children insofar as this interaction concerned the development of measured intelligence. These variables were classified into three major groups: (1) press for achievement motivation, (2) press for language development, and (3) provision for general learning. Wolf interviewed the mothers of 60 fifth-grade children in a midwestern community. Each family or home was rated on each of the thirteen variables. He found a multiple correlation of +.76 between these ratings and Henmon-Nelson I.Q. scores. This correlation may be contrasted with correlations of +.40 or less between measured intelligence and the variable

of socio-economic status as measured by parent occupation
or parent education.

Watson (1960) contends that "intelligence" is a noun
which should be a verb. A child is intelligent insofar as
he acts intelligently, stupid insofar as he acts stupidly.
For Watson, intelligence is: (1) always expressed in some
behavior, (2) not an entity but a construct inferred and
indirectly measured, (3) related to cognitive functions and
learning. Many research studies concerned with intellectual
development of school-age children employ the Stanford-Binet
Tests of Intelligence as their basic measuring instrument.
Factor analysis of the items in this test show it to be
most heavily weighted on verbal factors. Thus, major in-
tellectual differences between individual children reduce
largely to differences in facility in dealing with such con-
ceptual thinking as can be most readily measured by the
use of verbally-oriented tests. Experience and training
can have a major impact on "intelligence" as it is thus
measured. Environmental factors such as prior schooling,
socio-economic status (interpreted in terms of differential
reinforcement of verbal learning), and social-emotional
factors such as anxiety may significantly influence measured
intelligence. Nevertheless, the standardized tests, however
"culture bound" and however weighted in favor of the more
advantaged child, do reflect efficiency of adjustment to
the culture for which they are designed--the formal core-
culture taught in the public schools. While it is true that

children from certain subcultures typically do not do as well on conventional intelligence tests as their more advantaged peers, these tests do predict academic success in the higher grades (Lavin, 1965). Thus, the otherwise disadvantaged child who is atypical in terms of his verbal experience and language training (and thus is more "intelligent"), will be less likely to be left out either academically or socially.

The child of a disadvantaged background who does do well on intellectual performance is socially rewarded in that his chances of academic success are greatly increased and, thus, he is more acceptable in the eyes of his teachers. In addition, the more intelligent and creative children are generally more accepted by their advantaged age-mates, while slow learners are less well accepted (Campbell, 1964, p. 305). Thus, comparative ineptness in communication skill is related to maladjustment not only for formally taught academic goals but to informally taught social goals as well. Commoss' (1961) study substantiates this point among second-grade school children who scored in the top and bottom quarters in sociometric ranking among their peers. She found strong positive relationships to exist between social status and (1) certainty of the appropriate values in inter-personal relationships, and (2) ability to communicate ver-bally. In a sociometric study of three classes in an elementary school, Potashin (1946) set up special discussion sessions for "friends" and "non-friends," i.e., those who had and had not made reciprocal sociometric choices. He

found that for friendly pairs, uninterrupted discussions
were significantly longer than among non-friendly pairs.
He also found that for non-friendly pairs, there were sig-
nificant differences between the members in the amount of
talking each did and the number of initiations of interaction
made by each child. Friendly pairs were much more likely
to share equally in the interaction process than were non-
friendly pairs. Taken together, these studies and many
others like them indicate the reciprocal process between
communication skill-interaction and interaction-social
acceptance. We are postulating that there is a high correla-
tion between verbal aptitude and other abilities. It is
assumed that general intelligence both stems from and con-
tributes to this verbal ability.

In their survey of research, Berelson and Steiner
(1964) have shown that communication skill develops earlier
and better: (1) the healthier the child, (2) the greater
the opportunity to learn (from family, books, peers, etc.),
(3) the higher the socio-economic level of the family (es-
pecially related to parental educational level), (4) in
girls than in boys--and this difference increases with age,
(5) in financially secure family environments as opposed to
financially insecure or structurally disorganized families;
(6) the fewer the number of siblings--each child has more
chance for individual attention and educational stimulation,
(7) if the child is learning only one language. Much of
our examination has substantiated these points. We have

also seen that the Leftouts with whom we are concerned characteristically are disadvantaged in all or the majority of these areas, but the more of these favorable factors any child possesses or experiences the less likely he is to be comparatively disadvantaged along a continuum of potential for school adjustment. Thus, when speaking of "similarity" in background among those who are Leftouts and those who are not, it is essential to consider carefully the way in which "similarity" corresponds in fact to a point by point analysis of family, sub-cultural, and individual differences!

Another important element which may have a significant influence on the Leftout's potential for successful social adjustment in the school situation is his teacher. We suggest that the classroom teacher is apt to be a significant other for the elementary-age child, not only because she is in close contact with him and possesses the power to reward him academically, but because she may also reward him socially. If she accepts him herself, and is neither prejudiced nor discriminatory in her interpersonal relations with him, this has important positive consequences for his self-evaluation. She may also influence and guide peer relationships. Trager and Yarrow (1952) found that among first and second grade children, substantial changes in both attitude and behavior toward age-mates who were of ethnic and racial minorities could be brought about through the teacher's influence. Their study covered a period of fourteen training sessions, with before-and-after projective

tests and systematic observations as the source of the data.
Two groups of children were selected. In the experimental
group the adult leader openly accepted socio-cultural dif-
ferences among the children and worked consciously toward
creating an atmosphere of inter-group participation, under-
standing, and social acceptance. A control group met in
a comparable situation but without the specific efforts of
the teacher to foster inter-group unity. The data showed
major changes in the children's responses in the direction
of the atmosphere established by the adult leader. Thus,
for the Leftout, a warm receptive teacher who makes con-
scious efforts to influence his acceptance by his more ad-
vantaged peers is a very valuable asset.

It is not only what the teacher teaches that is impor-
tant--important too is the manner in which it is taught.
Watson (1960) points out that the teacher

> helps individual children in the school group by a
> variety of consciously recognized devices--by creating
> situations in which it would be possible to cast a
> previously objectionable child in a new role, getting
> a previously ignored child to contribute a talent
> which the other children have not recognized, helping
> a child accept her by accepting him as a person of
> worth, hoping this will lead to peer acceptance (p. 565).

The extent to which an adult can influence sociometric
status of specific children was experimentally verified by
Flanders and Havumaki (1960). They brought seventeen
groups of children together for a single discussion session
with a teacher unknown to any of the children. The teacher
gave praise only to those seated in odd-numbered seats.

Subsequently, sociometric data were obtained which indicated that the praised students received the greatest number of choices. The relevance of this finding becomes more important still in light of the evidence we cited that teacher's responses to high status children differ from their responses to those with low status. This leads to the possibility of another vicious circle, in which: (1) the child may be negatively evaluated by teacher and peers alike, (2) such negative evaluations mutually reinforce one another, (3) the child may become aware of his own rejected status in the eyes of significant others, and (4) he may respond in such a fashion that his behavior serves to further reinforce his rejection from the group. We suggest that this kind of vicious circle may lead to a lowered self-concept which, as we shall see, has consequences for academic maladjustment as well. While increased awareness of group processes and personal evaluations would not alone be sufficient to permit the teacher to circumvent this sort of situation, her awareness could constitute a reasonable step toward the creation of a positive environment for the social, emotional, and academic development of the Leftout.

There is at least one other important situational influence on the Leftout's potential for successful school adjustment, i.e., the "value climate" most prevalent in the school he attends. Coleman (1959, 1960) found that in each school he investigated there was a similarity in those things for which prestige was awarded by peers, e.g.,

athletic skill and physical attractiveness, irrespective
of the size of the community, the type of school, or the
socio-economic backgrounds of the children. However, his
investigation also made it clear that schools do differ in
specific value climates--which can alter a child's previous
value orientations and behavioral expectations. The peer
group social climate in the sub-system of the school not
only helps to determine the general behavior pattern of
age-mates outside the classroom but has a strong influence
on academic achievement as well. We have suggested that,
at least initially, the Leftout is apt to seek social ac-
ceptance by his more advantaged age-mates. Mobile individuals
identify--in norms, values, behavior, and appearance--with
the upper level to which they aspire (anticipatory social-
ization). The upwardly mobile child is not apt to cling
strongly to value orientations and behavior patterns not
currently associated with prestige and achievement among
his more advantaged peers--except in those cases where he
is clearly socially rejected by them. Thus, if the Leftout
finds himself in a value climate where academic achievement
is highly valued by his peers, his chances for successful
academic adjustment are enhanced.

According to one extensive study, conducted by Rogoff
(1961) among 35,000 high school seniors, regardless of their
socio-economic background seniors <u>at least double</u> their
chances of scoring in the top 25% in college aptitude tests
if they attend a school where the majority of their

classmates come from the upper socio-economic strata. In other words, the more advantaged students there are in a high school the higher the college potential of all students --advantaged and disadvantaged alike. We suggest that this is true because of differences in value climates prevalent among more or less class-segregated schools. Even considering the measured intelligence of the students, these class-linked differences remain. Kahl (1953) has noted that the higher the social class background of the student, the more value that is placed on formal education as both an end in itself and a means to future goals. He found that the college plans of boys from different socio-economic strata indicate that the low-I.Q. sons of upper-class fathers are _twice_ as likely to go to college as the high-I.Q. sons of lower-class fathers. Of course, this kind of finding can be interpreted in terms of relative financial ability on the part of upper and lower-class families to send their sons to college. However, in light of the proliferation of junior colleges and other small schools (particularly in urban areas), the increased pressure for college attendance which has been brought to bear in the last five to ten years, and the relative availability of scholarship aid and loans to financially disadvantaged youth it would appear that much of this difference is still centered in differential value orientations.

We assume that these value climates do not spring up full-blown at the high school level but are representative

of value orientations that develop in the elementary school years with which we are concerned. Thus, we hypothesize that differential value orientations in various school settings also influence our Leftout's potential for school adjustment. These findings, coupled with what we have said of the dynamics of the social learning process, lend credence to our position that while the range and scope of social adjustment problems may be greater in heterogeneous schools the Leftout's achievement potential is also greater-- particularly in the kind of school setting in which the socio-culturally disadvantaged child is in the statistical minority.

We have seen that the school child's concept of him- self and his place among his peers and teachers are in- fluenced by a great many variables: (1) his family's socio- economic status and type of structural organization, (2) the value orientations and behavioral expectations of the sub-cultural group with which he identifies, (3) the edu- cational background and language skill of his parents, (4) his ethnic and racial identification, (5) his sex-role identity, (6) his knowledge of the value orientations and behavioral expectations of his age-mates and teachers, (7) his degree of social acceptance and adaptibility, and (8) his own experiences with success or failure--socially and academically. In short, an individual's self-evalua- tion is strongly influenced by the social system's ranking of himself and of whatever group he is a member. It seems

likely that those children who are upwardly mobile are more subject to emotional disorders and to decreases in self-esteem level than those who are stationary--partly because of the cross-pressures in value orientation and behavioral expectations to which they are subject.

It is important to distinguish between perceptions and feelings in this context. Any given child may have extensive and accurate perceptions of differences between himself and others, but feelings and attitudes about these differences may be absent, confused, positive or negative! It is only when he feels left out that the Leftout's environmental and situational disadvantage adversely affects his self-concept. However, if he does feel left out, a lowered self-concept is almost sure to be the consequent. This inadequate self-concept can and does have important ramifications for social adjustment (as we have suggested) as well as for academic and emotional adjustment in the school situation. In the next section we shall examine some of the adverse consequences of an inadequate self-concept.

Self-Concept in Relation to Total School Adjustment

This period of the elementary school years which is of primary concern to us is one of social and self discovery. We have assumed that the initial goals of any child in the school system involve some degree of personally defined success in: (1) academic achievement, and (2) social

acceptance. Thus, we postulate that failure, particularly repeated failure, in either of these areas will have negative consequences for the child's self-concept, and failure in both of these areas at the same time will foster serious emotional maladjustment. For defining adjustment to the school situation there must be a twofold criterion, analogous to the twofold goal of the child assumed above. In the first sense, failure to adjust to demands for scholastic achievement centers in the restricted background of the culturally alienated and socio-economically disadvantaged child. The Leftout, when he is confronted with a formal communication-oriented curriculum which assumes that he has certain verbal skills and a relatively sophisticated awareness of the world beyond his immediate neighborhood, will have difficulty. Our schools operate, for the most part, in terms of norms which specify that the "good" student is not only expected to be capable in learning academic materials, but he is also supposed to already possess a variety of social skills and attributes. Within the first few years of his formal educational training, the Leftout, unless he is exceptionally intelligent or there is a concentrated effort on the part of the educational system to broaden his experiences, may fail to adjust academically. Unfortunately, the Leftout is the one who is most likely to experience a lack of adequate compensatory experience from his teachers--and often lacks the support of his parents and more advantaged age-mates as well.

It has been noted that from the perspective of the social system, symbols emerge as institutionalized patterns in the form of language. The learning of language skills, then, is one of the most important areas of educational achievement for any school child, and especially so for the culturally alienated child whose verbal skills are apt to be severely delimited. However, the very lack of facility with the manipulation of symbols may strongly influence scholastic achievement and trap the Leftout in yet another vicious circle.

The youngster who comes from an impoverished background is no less eager to learn and to discover than are other children. However, whatever his initial motivation and desires, the Leftout will be the first to experience a disenchantment with formal schooling as he falls behind his agemates who come from more advantaged backgrounds. This disenchantment leads to diminished chances for successful adjustment. Malpass (1953) found significant correlations between 92 disadvantaged eighth grade students' perception of their school situation and their mean semester grades. He concludes that there is a positive relationship between the attitudes revealed by the Leftouts toward school situations and their academic success. This is true because, over time, as failure to achieve continues and he encounters repeated failures and disappointments the Leftout is apt to experience a change in his self-concept. He may become

convinced that he can do no better and that he is destined to fail in whatever he attempts.

Fink (1962) investigated the relationship between self-concept and academic achievement among elementary school pupils. He hypothesized that an adequate self-concept (as measured by independent analysis of the data by three psychologists) is related to high academic achievement and that, conversely, an inadequate self-concept is related to low achievement. His findings support these twin hypotheses at the .01 level for boys and at the .10 level for girls. (This sex-linked difference will not be treated here but obviously bears investigation.) Of particular interest for our purposes is the area of this underachievement. Curry (1962) found that the socio-economically disadvantaged child was particularly prone to failure to achieve in the area of language skills. In his investigation of 360 randomly selected sixth grade children Curry found that as intellectual ability decreases from high to low, the effect of social and economic background conditions on scholastic achievement increases greatly--not surprising in light of our discussion of verbal skill influences on measured intelligence--but, importantly, this effect is most severely felt on the subsequent learning of language.

In Curry's study the California Test of Mental Maturity was used to determine the "intellectual ability level"; the California Achievement Test (Elementary Battery) was used as the measure of "achievement"; and the basis for

assigning "socio-economic level" was questionnaire responses
from the children's parents. Among his conclusions, he
notes:

1. Socio-economic status seems to have no effect
    upon the scholastic achievement of sixth-grade
    students when the students have high intellec-
    tual ability. High intellectual ability off-
    sets any deficiency which may be created by
    lower socio-economic conditions.

2. Social and economic factors have a significant
    effect upon language achievement in the
    medium intellectual ability group. The upper
    and middle socio-economic groups both achieve
    a greater amount than the children of lower
    socio-economic levels. Likewise, in total
    achievement, the upper socio-economic group
    achieves a greater amount than does the lower
    group.

3. In the low intellectual ability group, social
    and economic factors have a negative effect
    on achievement in reading, language, and total
    achievement. In language especially the upper
    socio-economic group achieves more than the
    middle and lower socio-economic groups.

Thus, as has been suggested, unless the Leftout is highly
intelligent he finds himself caught in a downward spiral
from which there is little hope of escape. His initial
lack of verbal facility works to his disadvantage in aca-
demic achievement efforts; lack of achievement over time
negatively effects his self-concept; a low self-concept is
related to continued lack of achievement; and, for the
lower socio-economic child especially, this lack of achieve-
ment is felt primarily in the area of language skills. Thus,
the Leftout is indeed apt to be left out in the dimension
of academic adjustment to the school situation, which may re-
duce the level of his self-concept of ability.

Brookover et al. (1965) have studied the relationship of self-concept of ability to school achievement. They define "self-concept of ability" as "those definitions a student holds of his ability to achieve in academic tasks as compared with others (p. 13)." Their longitudinal research, designed to follow a group of students during a six year period from grades seven through twelve, is still in progress. This 1965 interim report details the findings of three experimental efforts to enhance self-concept of ability among low achieving students. Their basic postulate is that, among potentially successful students, academic achievement is artificially limited by the child's self-concept of his ability to achieve. They argue, as we have done, that this inadequate self-concept is a consequence of perceived negative evaluations by significant others. Their initial research (Brookover et al., 1962) clearly showed that self-concept of ability functions quite independently of measured intelligence in influencing academic adjustment, and is a better predictor of achievement potential. This is in keeping with our theoretical position, but Brookover's latest work supplies evidence that positive changes in significant other's evaluations will raise the child's self-concept of ability and positively influence academic achievement.

In this study, three groups of low-achieving students were selected and each group was treated with a different experimental method in an effort to raise the student's

self-concept of ability. For one group the significant others were their parents (who actively cooperated in the experiment), for a second group the effort was made by the school counselor, and for the third group an outside "expert" from a university made conscious efforts to enhance the student's self-concept of ability. Only in the parent-centered group were any significant positive changes in self-concept of academic ability and achievement found. Neither frequent sessions with the counselor nor efforts by the "expert" were successful, although the authors note that some long-range effects may yet appear. While Brook-over et al. did successfully induce changes in the expected direction through cooperative parental efforts, they found that simply "involving" parents was not enough. The parents' attention had to be directed toward their responsibility for raising their evaluations and expectations of their children.

Obviously, supportive parents are an extremely helpful asset to the Leftout. However, as we have suggested in Chapter III, the parents of at least some of the Leftouts who might be expected to have inadequate self-concepts of ability are apt to be somewhat less than wholeheartedly interested and fully cooperative in attempts to effect positive changes. In these instances the classroom teacher might be a quite reasonable source of conscious efforts to raise the Leftout's self-concept of academic ability. Brookover's experimental work did not include the cooperative

participation of regular teachers. There are complex difficul-
ties inherent in designing an experimental situation in which
the teacher's directed efforts to raise a student's self-
concept of ability do not contaminate the results of such
efforts. If a workable program could be designed, we suggest
that in the elementary school situation the teacher is apt to
be a significant other for the child's self-concept of academic
ability, and her early help in efforts to raise an inadequate
concept could be most influential. We have also cited evidence
that the role of peers can be significantly influential in
determining over-all self-concept, and, therefore, they might
be expected to be extremely helpful in raising a child's self-
concept of academic ability if their support were properly
elicited by the teacher's efforts.

We have cited evidence that failure to achieve academ-
ically may result in a lowered self-concept, and that an
inadequate self-concept of academic ability placed func-
tional restrictions on achievement. Our second criterion
of school adjustment relates to the Leftout's goal of
social acceptance. We have suggested that social failure
also results in lowered self-concept. Research evidence
supports this viewpoint (Wilson, 1960; Horowitz, 1962).
While school adjustment is thus seen to be strongly in-
fluenced by self-concept of academic ability, total self-
concept is dependent upon several other interrelated
variables. We are suggesting that these variables include:
(1) the importance to the individual of the specific area

of focus of others' evaluations. (2) the individual's knowledge of others' expectations and evaluations, (3) his perceptions of the quality of these evaluations, and (4) his attraction to those doing the evaluating. When the area of evaluation is interpersonal relationships and the child accurately perceives what is expected of him by the age-mates to which he is attracted, but he perceives that he has failed to gain social acceptance among them, he may come to evaluate himself in a less favorable way.

Berelson and Steiner (1964) cite evidence that as a result of prejudice and discrimination, members of ethnic and racial minority groups particularly tend to suffer some deterioration of personality; especially self-doubt, self-hate, impulsive and superstitious behavior, resigned exploitation of their inferior status, deviant behavior and even mental illness.

It has been noted that, from the perspective of the individual, systems of shared symbols also serve as objects of orientation for personality systems. It is postulated that social learning is vital to the formation of personality and that some degree of social acceptance is crucial to a healthy personality adjustment. Prejudice and discrimination against minority groups (racial, ethnic, or socio-economic) are maintained by a reinforcing spiral of cause and effect: those who are disapproved are deprived of social contacts with approved others and, as a result, fail to learn the acceptable values and behavioral

expectations and are further disapproved. It is clearly
an oversimplification to suggest that acceptance by his
more advantaged peers directly determines the extent of the
Leftout's self-esteem. Nevertheless, the likelihood is
that a Leftout's more advantaged age-mates may make major
contributions to his developing identity and, if they re-
ject him because he deviates from their value orientations
and behavioral expectations, his low social status and
isolation from the majority group can adversely affect his
emotional adjustment. The problem of social deviance and
isolation from the advantaged majority is also circular:
social isolation leads to a lack of knowledge of acceptable
norms, which leads to probable deviation from those norms,
which reduces the likelihood of communication and interaction
with the majority group, which restricts the opportunity
for learning the acceptable norms, which leads to social
isolation.

Lest we be accused of placing too much emphasis on
peer group interrelationships and their impact on the Left-
out's personality, consider the evidence that has already
been cited concerning the influence of peers, especially
their influence among disadvantaged children. Carlson
(1963) has also examined the relative role of identification
with parents and peers in the development of the child's
self-concept among 43 sixth grade youngsters. Children who
identified with supportive parents were consistently more
self-accepting, less dependent upon current social

relationships, and more accepted by peers. However, Carlson also found that, for the children in this sample, self-ideals were closer to modal peer group ideals than to those of either parent--suggesting that for all children models outside the family may be important as sources of self-ideals at this developmental level. When self-esteem is defined as the amount of agreement between the child's self-description and his description of an ideal self this kind of finding places crucial significance on the relationship of peers to the development of an adequate self-concept. Especially so for Leftouts who are often disadvantaged in that they do not identify with supportive parents.

In a consensus of several studies, Hovland and Janis (1959) found evidence to support the contention that individuals low in self-esteem are more persuasible, more field dependent, and more conforming than those with a high level of self-esteem. This relationship between self-esteem and orientation toward the social environment has implications for behavioral change under social pressure--implying that predispositions to social influence are built into the self-concept structure of an individual with low self-esteem. For the Leftout, whose self-esteem is apt to be low, this means that he is likely to be especially susceptible to social pressures which may, of course, be adjustive or mal-adjustive in content. On the positive side, it means that pressures toward conformity by his advantaged peers may be very effective in influencing his adjustment to the demands

of the school situation. On the negative side, it means that he is also highly susceptible to social pressures from other status-deprived children and to any cross pressures that may exist. As has been noted, we postulate that if these pressures are both severe and pervasive, the Leftout may experience emotional maladjustment.

That social acceptance in the school situation may be a significant influence on emotional adjustment and mental health is indicated by the findings of Bedoian (1953). He tested 743 "socially over-accepted" (on the basis of a multi-criteria sociometric test) and "socially under-accepted" sixth grade pupils, using Thorpe, Clark, and Tieg's Mental Health Analysis (Elementary Series, Form A). He found that the socially over-accepted children had a significantly better average mental health score than did the socially under-accepted children. It must be noted that what is defined as emotional maladjustment ranges considerably from one social system to another and even from one sub-segment of the same system to another. Trained professionals in the field of mental health disagree on the symptoms, the classification, and the appropriate treatment of emotional problems. We shall not be concerned here with an effort to rectify these difficulties. For our purposes "emotionally maladjusted" is defined as any case in which the individual concerned seeks or is referred for special help to any professional outside of the regular classroom, e.g., school counselors, visiting teachers, child guidance

clinicians etc. We also include any child placed in a
special school class designed to specifically serve dis-
turbed children (as opposed to retarded children). In
addition, we include any child who would be classified as
emotionally maladjusted by psychologists or psychiatrists
if they were tested by them.

Between teachers in the public schools and profes-
sional clinicians there is apt to be disagreement on the
characteristics rated most maladjustive. Schrupp and
Gjerde (1953) found that teachers rated as most serious:
(1) impertinence and defiance, (2) impudence and rudeness,
(3) writing obscene notes, (4) disobediance, (5) disorder-
liness, (6) heterosexual activity, (7) masturbation, and
(8) untruthfulness--in that order. On the other hand, pro-
fessional clinicians rated as most seriously maladjusted:
(1) shyness, (2) suspiciousness, (3) dreaminess, (4) fear-
fulness, (5) sensitiveness, (6) being overly critical of
others, (7) imaginative lying, and (8) nervousness--in that
order. Two obvious conclusions can be drawn from their
findings. First, teachers are apparently primarily con-
cerned over behavior which is disruptive in the classroom
and they tend to overlook the emotional maladjustment of
the quiet withdrawn child. Secondly, there is no agreement
whatsoever between teachers and clinicians about the symp-
toms of serious emotional distrubance. It may be hypothe-
sized that the practical consequence of this difference in
opinion may be that, from the viewpoint of the professional

clinician, the children who are most in need of help are least apt to be referred to sources of outside aid by school personnel. Conversely, those most often referred are least in need of professional help. This is particularly important in considering the Leftouts because their behavior is not apt to fully meet the demands of the core-cultural norms expected in the classroom and they are especially likely to behave in a way that could be described by the teacher as rude, impertinent, disorderly, etc.

It is important to note that the perceptions of teachers and counselors who are responsible for evaluating school children's emotional adjustment may be unintentionally influenced by the child's socio-economic level. McDermott et al. (1965) present the data obtained from psychiatric evaluations of 263 children of "blue-collar" families who were referred to the University of Michigan's Childrens Psychiatric Hospital during the year of July, 1961 to July, 1962. These children were further divided into two groups on the basis of their father's occupational status and are referred to in their report as "skilled" (n - 115) and "unskilled" (n - 148).* McDermott et al. give special emphasis to the clinical and social questions which are raised as the result of differential diagnoses between the two groups. They found significantly more often

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*The "skilled" group were chosen on the basis of occupations such as machinist, self-employed farmer, etc. The "unskilled" group was comprised of children whose father's occupations were such things as janitor, assembly-line worker, etc.

(p < .05 in each case) the "unskilled" group were seen to exhibit overt hostility, impulsivity, paranoid reactions, affective disturbances, and withdrawal while the "skilled" group were seen to exhibit anxiety, obsessive compulsive behavior, and somatic complaints. "Unskilled" children were characterized as coming from unstable, conflict-ridden homes significantly more often than "skilled" children (p < .005). Nevertheless, families of both groups rates their children alike with respect to adjustment at home-- 30% of both groups claimed their children were "doing well at home." However, marked differences in the children's adjustment to the academic standards of the school were noted. The upper end of the scale, i.e., "doing very well at school," was assigned to the skilled group significantly more often (p < . 02) and the lower end of the scale, i.e., "doing very poorly in school, failing grades" to the "unskilled" group (p < .025). In fact, general school mal-adjustment most frequently was considered the primary reason for referral to the clinic among children in the "unskilled" group. It was also found that there was a sig-nificantly longer delay in referral of the "unskilled" children to the clinic from the time their problems first became apparent (p < .01).

As we have seen, it is hardly surprising that children with backgrounds typically found among the lower socio-economic strata should be having difficulty with the academic demands of the schools, with affective relationships

and with conflicts created by a disorganized home life.
However, McDermott et al. note that the heterogenity of the
blue-collar group made class distinctions difficult to iden-
tify and follow. They also suggest that unskilled people,
in our complex and rapidly changing social system which is
based on technical competence are increasingly more socially
and culturally isolated and, therefore, less able to help
their children adjust to the demands of the core-culture
taught in the schools. They contend that teachers and
counselors who appraise behavior as normal or abnormal un-
wittingly view the "unskilled" group differently because
of their own values. The authors point out that paranoid
thinking, withdrawal, hostility, and impulsivity are, at
least in part, the reaction of a perfectly normal child who
is totally foreign to the setting and uncomfortable--a
child who simply does not know how to communicate and inter-
act with teachers and more advantaged peers! Again we see
the significance for adjustment of communication skills and
the tremendous advantage the verbally and socially facile
child has over one who is inept in these areas.

There is evidence to suggest that some of the emotional
difficulties of Leftouts may center in self-concepts of sex-
role identity--especially among boys. As we have suggested,
the family life of Leftouts is prone to disorganization.
This disorganization often takes the form of father-absence
or of inadequate male-role models. However, the total blame
can not be put on the structure of the boy's family. Lynn

(1959) found that the identification process differs for boys and girls in that the girl identifies with a particular feminine model while the boy identifies with a general cultural or sub-cultural stereotype of a masculine model. Hartley (1959) offers impressive bibliographic and empirical evidence that stereotypic male-role demands contribute to serious adjustment problems for boys. He notes that the higher rates of referral of boys over girls to child guidance centers indicates the markedly greater incidence of failure in social functioning in boys as compared to girls. In addition, males are more apt to engage in deviant behavior and, among the intellectually gifted, boys are more apt to be underachievers than are girls. Through a sifting of this kind of evidence, and through interviews with 41 eight to eleven-year-old boys, Hartly concluded that there are at least five major adjustment problems associated with the demands of the male sex-role: (1) lack of adequate models, (2) extensive supervision by women, (3) the conflicting nature of multiple demands within the male role, (4) lack of clear positive definition of the male sex-role during socialization, and (5) the rigidity of role demands.

Teachers, especially women, may compound the difficulty for Leftout boys. The quality of the interpersonal relationship between a teacher and her student is significantly important in determining the effects of the school situation on a child's psychological development and adjustment. The

teacher, because of her position of authority, possesses a great deal of reward power. Her judgment of what constitutes good/bad, proper/improper behavior determines which behaviors will elicit her approval and to whom she will dispense rewards; even though she may not even be aware of the basis for her evaluations. Davis and Havighurst (1947) have discussed at length the divergence of cultural normative expectations between lower-class children and middle-class teachers. Their work may be summarized in the assertion that the goals defined by the middle-class teacher do not receive reinforcement from the lower-class child's peer group or from his family. Sub-cultural definitions of acceptable male and female behavior are particularly divergent--especially with respect to physical aggression among boys. Several investigators have suggested a sex-typing hypothesis in connection with teacher-student interrelationships, i.e., the behavioral tendencies of girls (irrespective of social class background) is in closer agreement with teachers expectations than is that of boys--especially lower-class boys who are more apt to be aggressive. These more "masculine" boys are the ones who receive the greater share of the teacher's disapproval. This teacher disapproval, in turn, is apt to generate anxiety and have an adverse affect on the general personality adjustment of boys--especially, again, on boys reared in a lower socio-cultural milieu. Although some degree of aggressiveness is a normal part of the masuline sex-role, the Leftout who typically lacks a

strong sex-role model and who is the subject of consistent disapproval from his teachers, may find that the conflict only increases his own anxiety and has negative consequences for his self-esteem.

We are postulating that such factors as anxiety, inadequate sex-role identity, social rejection, cross pressures on upwardly mobile children, and repeated academic failures will certainly tend to create emotional maladjustments of some kind for Leftouts in the school situation. However, there is a paucity of evidence concerning the nature and extent of this maladjustment--and the little evidence that _does_ exist is beclouded by such issues as the nature of the developmental antecedents of various specific symptoms as well as their proper identification and classification. The whole difficulty is even further compounded by the influence that socio-economic and sub-cultural variables might have on the recognition, diagnosis, and appropriate treatment of emotional maladjustment among school children. This is obviously an area which demands and deserves some immediate theoretical and experimental attention.

In the next chapter we shall briefly review a few of the major works intended to give an over-all picture of the causes and consequences of disadvantaged children's maladjustment to the social sub-system of the school. We will then proceed to the task of putting together the various

interrelated findings and suggestions we have discussed
and building an analytical framework with them, designed
to illuminate the particular consequences of socio-
cultural disadvantage for children in heterogeneous
schools.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS: CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES AND "CURES"

There have been several recent major works directed
at a comprehensive overview of the causes of socio-
culturally disadvantaged children's maladjustment to the
school system. Reismann (1962) sought to describe the
general characteristics of disadvantaged school children
and to suggest specific remedial approaches to their edu-
cation on the basis of general principles derived from
current knowledge. He postulates that disadvantaged chil-
dren often do not have experience with and do not accept
such school-centered things as books, formal language, and
many other aspects of the educational system. He suggests
that the "culturally deprived" are ambivalent toward edu-
cation, i.e., they value "education" as an abstraction but
are often antagonistic towards the goals and practices of
teachers and schools. The basis of this ambivalence is
proposed by Reismann to be a strong negative attitude toward
intellectualism coupled with an equally strong positive
attitude toward vocational training.

Reismann points out that the contemporary school
system lacks transitional techniques for assimilating the
socio-culturally disadvantaged child into the existing

academic mainstream. He notes in the manner of teachers

and counselors a "discrimination without prejudice"*--a

devasting albeit inadvertent lack of respect for the disad-

vantaged child based on failure to recognize and accept

differences in value orientation. He argues that the

"underprivileged" not only possess a culture but one which

has some values which are both utilitarian and worthy of

emulation. This may well be the case, although the sub-

ject is surely a controversial one. Certainly some sub-

cultural, ethnic, and religious groups among those who could

be defined as "underprivileged" in our social system do have

fully developed cultural heritages that simply are different

from the core culture taught in the school system. At the

same time, we have suggested that a number of the children

with whom we are principally concerned lack such a clear

and unambiguous religious and/or ethnic heritage and devel-

op instead in a "culture of poverty" in which a sense of

low status, lack of power, cultural alienation, economic

deprivation, and limited opportunity are its principle

characteristics (Lewis, 1966; Will and Vatter, 1965). In

any case, we do not wish to confuse lack of "conformity"

per se with school maladjustment. Conformity to certain

norms is prerequisite to successful school adjustment, but

total conformity to an ideal typical core cultural pattern

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*President Mary Bunting of Radcliffe has termed such
people "the hidden dissuaders."

is both irrelevant to our concerns and probably impossible
in practice.

Reismann points out specific aspects of the socio-
culturally disadvantaged child's value orientation which
make him deficit in school know-how. The normative culture
of the socio-culturally disadvantaged is typically strongly
masculine in value orientation while the school system is
seen as strongly feminine in orientation. Furthermore,
Reismann argues, families in the lower socio-economic levels
typically employ physical discipline which conditions the
child to expect physical violence for infractions of rules
and to react with physical violence when he feels wronged.
The tendency is for teachers to use the same bland control
measures irrespective of the severity of the misbehavior.
When mild and severe problems are handled alike it is dif-
ficult for any child to distinguish between what is a grave
trespass against the person or rights of others and some
relatively harmless infraction. For the child who antici-
pates physical punishment for severe infractions, the
disciplinary measures he encounters in the school situation
may be meaningless to him and hence he continues to break
rules until he is in grave difficulty--at which time he
feels wronged and is apt to react with what is interpreted
(by his teachers and counselors) as unwarranted and un-
acceptable violence. Reismann contends that the family
background of the disadvantaged child is also significant
in that the "lower class" tend to discourage individualism

and self-concern in the child's development of self. He
argues that far more emphasis is given to compulsive con-
formity to external demands and cooperation in such families
while the school expects individual achievement striving
in competition with others and injects fear of personal
failure as a motivating device.

Reismann's major argument centers around the disad-
vantaged child's "Achille's heel" of ineptness in formal
communication skills. This relative lack of skill shows
up in intelligence testing and in an unfamiliarity with
core-cultural speech which is often translated into a
designation of the child as a "slow learner." He notes
that it is often contended that the disadvantaged child
is non-verbal and cannot conceptualize, but he argues that
this is not true--the disadvantaged child is seen by
Reismann as merely unfamiliar with formal English as it is
used in the school system. He argues that the disadvan-
taged child usually possesses a well developed symbolic
communication system but this system fails to correlate
highly with the system he is expected to employ at school.
No data is supplied to substantiate this position, which
disagrees with several works we have cited (Luria and
Yudovitch, 1959; Bruner, 1961; John, 1963; Deutsch, 1964)
that offer ample empirical evidence that communication
skill is not merely equivalent to speech patterns. For
example, Gussow (1965) points out that socio-culturally
disadvantaged children watch TV as much or more than their

advantaged age-mates, and are able to reproduce whole units of formal language which they have heard. Nevertheless, this rote reproduction is non-functional in that such standard speech is not subsequently employed as a language variant in situations unrelated to TV. We do not argue that the disadvantaged child is non-verbal in the sense that he does not possess speech patterns (although he may suppress these in the school situation if he is ridiculed or criticized). We _are_ suggesting that he lacks knowledge of and experience with broad communication skills, including abstractions and formal language, which is maladjustive for the development of complex conceptualizations required in the school situation. We agree with Reismann insofar as it is possible to say that every mentally and physically normal child acquires speech. What we question, in opposition to Reismann, is its adequacy among disadvantaged children for full _intellectual_ development. Communication skills are functional for the disadvantaged child in his interpersonal environment in those situations where they are applicable and needed--but we argue that these situations are fewer, more monotonous, and hence less educationally stimulating for the disadvantaged child. Language skill is not only related to the way a child _speaks_ but also to the way he _thinks_. A low status dialect may hamper social mobility but a restricted language development places limits on intellectual potential. Thus, socioculturally disadvantaged children may begin school with a

deficit not only in <u>using</u> formal language but in <u>concep-</u>
<u>tualizing</u> as well.

We have seen evidence that this deficit is cumulative
and that it has negative consequences for the Leftout's
ability to adjust to the academic and social demands of
the integrated school system. The need to develop curricula
aimed specifically at fostering formal verbal skills among
children who lack training and experience in this area is
a very clear one. Whatever non-formal verbal skills the
disadvantaged child may have are largely irrelevant for his
school adjustment (which correlates highly with future oc-
cupational potential and his adult social status) unless
he <u>also</u> develops communication skills in keeping with the ex-
pectations and requirements of the school system. The speech
patterns, the symbols, and the conceptual ability a dis-
advantaged child spontaneously acquires may be a major
barrier to his potential for achievement of intellectual
and social equality in the school system.

Reismann has been criticized for his lack of a con-
sistent educational theory or any over-all conceptual frame-
work with which to unite his "diagnosis" to his proposals
for treatment. His syncretism of "educationally deprived,"
"disadvantaged," "underprivileged," "lower socio-economic
group," "lower class" and just about anyone else who is not
defined as middle-class allows for sweeping generalizations
which are simply not true of all children from such back-
grounds. We sympathize with his problem because these are

the global terms employed in the literature, but we cannot
condone his lack of probing into the specific variables of
"lower class," "underprivileged," etc. backgrounds in more
detail to point out those which provoke social and academic
deviancy among some "lower class" children but not others.
For example, while much of his discussion concerns racial
and ethnic minorities he fails to consider the import of
social acceptance/rejection of such children. We suggest
that his work is an oversimplification of the problem and
is not adequate alone to give insight into the causes of
school maladjustment among socio-culturally disadvantaged
children. He _does_ suggest that differences in sub-cultural
and family value orientations play a part, and he gives
emphasis to the importance of ineptness in communication
skills as a significant variable in school maladjustment.
In doing this much Reismann offers at least two keys to
understanding the Leftout's problem of social and academic
maladjustment in the school system.

Passow (1963) edited a compendium of contemporary re-
search and theory bearing on the problems of the disadvantaged.
His volume contains articles relating to five different
though interrelated, aspects of school disadvantage: (1) the
schools themselves as they are found in depressed areas,
(2) the psychological aspects of education in depressed
areas, (3) the sociological aspects of education in de-
pressed areas, (4) the quality of teachers in depressed
areas, and (5) school programs in depressed areas. Much

of the material to be found in this volume relates to more
or less class-segregated schools in which the disadvantaged
are the majority group and, because our concern is aimed
at understanding the problems of the disadvantaged child
who attends school with advantaged age-mates, we will not
review it in any detail here. However, Deutsch has con-
tributed an article to this work which emphasizes the inter-
action of social and developmental factors which have an
impact on the intellectual growth and school performance
of the Leftout. He offers the theoretical framework sur-
rounding language deficiency and its consequences that
Reismann failed to supply.

Deutsch's thesis is that the child lacking in language
facility enters the school situation so poorly prepared to
produce what the school demands that initial failures are
almost inevitable and the school experience becomes nega-
tively rather than positively reinforced over time. These
children are seen to have a qualitatively different prepara-
tion for school arising from a background of stimulus
deprivation. Deutsch centers his discussion on the causes
and consequences of stimulus deprivation. He argues in
terms of Piaget's developmental theory, that the disadvan-
taged child has had access only to a limited segment of the
spectrum of stimulation potentially available and the seg-
ments that have been made available to him tend to have
poorer and less systematic ordering of stimulation sequences,
and thereby prove less useful to the developmental growth

and activation of cognitive potential. This deprivation does not, necessarily, limit eventual cognitive capacity provided the initial handicaps can be overcome. Deutsch postulates that the culturally disadvantaged home is not verbally oriented, which implies a restriction on the opportunity for the development of auditory discrimination skills. He argues that in order for the disadvantaged child to successfully adjust to school he must have special help. He argues that the community, family, and school share the blame for the child's disadvantage but the school, as the institutionalized receptacle for and pervayor of social values, must accept the major responsibility for correcting the situation. He contends that the school must be willing to engage in productive experimentation and innovation.

Deutsch notes that stimulus deprivation does not necessarily imply a restriction on quantity but, rather, a restriction in quality and variety. When he is placed in a position of competition with other children who have had broader and constructively stimulating experiences, the child whose language training has been inadequate has a greater potential for failures and frustrations. As we have seen, repeated failures have consequences for the child's evaluation of his own ability. Brookover's work with the notion of "self-concept of ability" has been reviewed and shown to offer yet another key to understanding the Leftout's problem.

Reismann's work suggests something of the complexity of the antecedents of school maladjustment among socio-culturally disadvantaged children. Deutsch helps by offering a theoretical cause and effect explanation of one of those areas of disadvantage. Brookover explains how an inadequate self-concept of ability can in and of itself place functional limits on the child's academic potential in later years if it is not overcome by compensatory measures. We have argued that the appropriate time to begin compensatory measures is in the child's earliest school years when his cumulative academic deficit is not so large and when, for the Leftout, he is most likely to be accepted by his more advantaged peers and most amenable to their influence and that of his teachers.

We are particularly concerned with this elementary-age group because many of the most severely maladjusted will leave school at the earliest possible opportunity and thus they become difficult to reach if not entirely lost to later compensatory programs. Lambert (1964), reporting the results of an intensive five-year follow up study of children rated in elementary school as potential dropouts, found that those children who experience the most difficulty in academic and social school adjustment in the elementary years are the ones who become delinquent earlier and drop out of secondary schools sooner. Her data reveal that academic and social vulnerability and failure in the early school years is a significant predictor of greater

vulnerability and likelihood of failure in the child's later years. "The path of the vulnerable student from elementary school on is not a level one; it is nearly always downhill (p. 63)."

The Leftout is a "vulnerable" student. On the one hand he is open to criticism and attack in the school system and in interpersonal relationships with his more advantaged peers because he lacks social and academic skills derived from prior knowledge, experience, training, and motivation. We would suggest, on the other hand, this very vulnerability also makes him potentially very responsive to pressures exerted toward conformity to expectations of teachers and more advantaged age-mates. Most of the literature we have examined has dealt specifically with the socio-culturally disadvantaged child--as defined in one way or another. Whatever the definition employed in each work, the clearly common element these children share is vulnerability to a situation with which they are unfamiliar and for which they are inadequately prepared. We argue that for the Leftouts, i.e., those disadvantaged children who must attend classes with youngsters who are prepared and for whom the school situation has many elements of familiarity, the adjustment problem is apt to be more severe while, at the same time, their potential for successful adjustment is also greater.

Title VI of the U.S. Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides that Federal aid shall not be available for programs

involving racial discrimination. Federal aid to educational programs is an important source of financial support for public schools. Francis Keppel, U. S. Commissioner of Education, has interpreted Title VI to mean that not only racially segregated schools in the southern United States but schools in the North which evidence de facto racial or social class segregation because of the way in which school-districting lines are drawn, are not eligible for Federal monies. For example, in October of 1965 the government suspended payment of a $30 million aid program for Chicago public schools under this ruling. This payment was eventually made despite a lack of appreciable change in the system, but the challenge has been issued and may well indicate the direction of future interpretations of civil rights legislation. In Massachusetts a new (1965) state law requires schools to correct any discriminatory practices or forfeit the state funds that supply a major source of income for operation. And the city of Boston has an "open enrollment" policy which permits any child to transfer to any school of his choice so long as there is room. These are but a few examples of the kind of legal changes that are occurring which will most certainly have repercussions on what are now largely segregated schools--segregated either racially or in terms of social class and area of residence. Add to this the number of separate rural schools which are closing their doors in favor of consolidation with the nearest urban center or largest semi-rural school and the

likelihood of bringing together numbers of children who are ill prepared for the academic and social demands of an integrated school system with those who are adequately prepared increases. Thus, the problem of the Leftout is very large in scope and growing larger.

In our exploration of some of the relevant theoretical and empirical literature we have discovered and discussed a large number of antecedent and consequent variables which have been shown to have a significant impact on the disadvantaged children's maladjustment to school. No one of them is sufficient alone. Some are unique to maladjusted children--most are not. These variables must all be taken into account in a comprehensive analysis of the Leftout and his special problems. Even for understanding disadvantaged children in general singular concepts such as "stimulus deprivation," "language deficiency," "low self-concept of ability," "delayed gratification pattern vs. immediate gratification pattern," and so on are insufficient alone. So too are such glittering generalities as "socio-cultural disadvantage" or "status deprivation." It is necessary, for example, to specify the theoretical consequences of "stimulus deprivation" or "status deprivation" and how both relate to "low self-concept of ability." Other considerations are also important. For example, given an apparently similar background of socio-economic deprivation all children do not fail to adjust to the contemporary school system. "Lower class" children can and do successfully

adjust to the school system--academically, socially, and emotionally. This variation, and others, suggests a multi-dimensional "cause" of school maladjustment.

"Disadvantaged" children have a wide variety of socio-economic, cultural, and personal experiences both prior to school and in the classroom. This variation suggests a continuum of disadvantage in school adjustment potential, ranging from very little trouble to severe maladjustment problems. We would suggest that the greater the number of areas of disadvantage any disadvantaged child experiences, the more severe is his maladjustment to the school system likely to be.

The unique thing which separates Leftouts from other disadvantaged children is the nature of the particular social situation in the heterogeneous school and the impact this has on the consequences of his general disadvantage. We have argued that these consequences are in some ways similar to those experienced by any disadvantaged child in any school. We have also suggested that for Leftouts the consequences may, at the same time, be more severe and yet offer a more favorable setting for overcoming his disad-vantage.

We have discussed a number of "vicious circles." Taken in the broad sense, the entire problem of socio-cultural disadvantage is a vicious circle! Disadvantaged backgrounds produce children who are disadvantaged in relation to others when they begin school; comparative

disadvantage portends early school maladjustment which tends to become cumulative over time; school maladjustment is reflected in limitations of potential and restrictions on future adult status; low status and comparative lack of education produces disadvantaged parents whose children suffer comparative disadvantage in background knowledge, experience, training, and motivation--and thus it continues from generation to generation.

The problem is to break into this vicious circle and stop its downward spiral. The Leftout must be recognized and compensatory measures taken to influence positive changes in his academic, social, and emotional adjustment to school. To do this it is necessary that a theoretically oriented analysis be available which allows for an understanding of the interplay of socio-economic, cultural, social interactional, and personal forces and how they combine to influence the Leftout's potential for school maladjustment. An analysis that improves the power to understand human behavior also makes it possible to more effectively plan compensatory programs for behavioral change. The next section is devoted to how the variables explored in our earlier discussion may be synthesized into a coherent picture of the causes and consequences of the Leftout's problems.

The Analysis

Let us begin with a brief restating of some of the more important concepts which influence the analysis. We have defined the Leftouts as socio-culturally disadvantaged elementary-school children who attend a heterogeneous school in which the majority of their age-mates are significantly better prepared than they are to meet the academic and social demands of the school situation. Their general disadvantage, shared with all disadvantaged children, centers in cultural alienation and economic disadvantage--a combination which increases the Leftout's specific potential for maladjustment to the socially approved academic and interpersonal demands of a heterogeneous school system because of the resultant deviation from the normative expectations of the majority group.

Cultural alienation is defined as foreign to or outside of the core culture of the majority group; neither acculturated to nor assimilated by the majority group and, therefore: (1) lacking knowledge of appropriate norms, (2) the content of the norms, if known, seem meaningless, and (3) lacking in power to make changes in the norms or his own behavior. The core culture represents the "official" culture taught in the public schools. It's major features are: (1) an emphasis on "success" in the form of upward social mobility which is seen to be achieved by (a) ambition (as opposed to aggression), (b) honesty, (c) thrift, (d) hard work; (2) an emphasis on "propriety"

in the form of conformity to both overt and covert normative guides to behavior which demands (a) courtesy to all people, (b) loyalty to friends and family, (c) obedience to legitimate authority, (d) avoidance of overt aggression, especially physical aggression, (e) cleanliness in thoughts as well as in body; (3) an emphasis on delayed gratification of needs and desires which requires (a) impulse renunciation, (b) patient hard work toward future goals, (c) aspirations toward future goals and rewards; (4) an emphasis on the ownership of material goods; (5) an emphasis on active citizenship which demands (a) participation in organizations, (b) exercising the right and responsibility to vote; (6) an ideological belief in the "American creed" which demands subscription to the principles of (a) freedom, equality and justice as the right of all citizens, (b) democracy as the ideal-typical form of government, and (c) free enterprise as the basis of the economy.

Adjustment refers to continual adaptive learning in the face of new experiences or modifications in the environment. Academic adjustment is exemplified by the successful performance of required academic tasks in the school situation, as measured by age-grade placement, grade-point averages, and scores on standardized tests. Social adjustment is exemplified by social assimilation and acceptance by teachers and more advantaged age-mates, as measured by sociometric techniques. Emotional adjustment is exemplified by over-all personality stability as measured on standardized

personality tests or as defined by his teachers and counselors in the school situation.

The Leftout's failure to adjust, or maladjustment, refers to a lack of ability to cope with new experiences or modifications in the environment and learn from them. Academic maladjustment is exemplified by repeated difficulty or failure to achieve at a level or rate commensurate with his age-mates. Social maladjustment is exemplified by the Leftout's discriminatory exclusion from the social activities of his more advantaged age-mates on the basis of prejudice, i.e., unreasonable bias founded in unfavorable preconceptions, and by his teachers' prejudically discriminatory behavior toward him. Emotional maladjustment is exemplified by undue anxiety or other symptoms, especially (a) rigidity, (b) anti-social behavior, (c) depression, or (d) withdrawal. Maladjustive refers to any value orientation, belief, or behavior which for the Leftout contributes to maladjustment in the school situation.

The Leftout's deviation simply refers to his being different from some standard, and when this standard is taken to be his more advantaged age-mates who are familiar with and conform to the core cultural norms of the school system, the Leftout is--by definition--a deviant.

We have suggested that the Leftout's potential for successful adjustment to school is equally dependent on: (1) academic success, (2) social acceptance, and (3) emotional adjustment. These factors are seen to be

interdependent and failure in these dimensions of adjustment to school as the consequences of the Leftout's disadvantage. Our examination of the literature suggests that the Leftout's lack of general knowledge of and conformity to the value orientations and behavioral expectations of the core culture represented in the heterogeneous school situation results in: (1) maladjustment to the academic demands of the school situation, and (2) maladjustment to the social demands of the school situation since deviation from core cultural means of achieving academic and social success is maladjustive. We have argued that at least the _initial_ goals of any child, including Leftouts, in the school situation are some degree of personally defined success in academic achievement and social acceptance. Thus, failure--particularly repeated failure--in either of these areas will have frustrating and anxiety-provoking consequences; and failure in both of these areas at the same time will foster emotional maladjustment.

Our examination of the literature has suggested at least five interrelated specific causes of the Leftout's academic, social, and emotional disadvantage and potential for failure to adjust to the heterogeneous school situation. These stem in part from his socio-cultural background and in part from his position in the school situation. The Leftout's disadvantage, then, is typically based on some or all of the following interrelated problems:

1. relatively low socio-economic background,
    with attendant learned deviant values and
    behavioral expectations;

2. relative lack of language facility;

3. relative deprivations in early interpersonal
    affiliations;

4. relative status deprivation among teachers
    and age-mates;

5. relatively low levels of self-esteem.

The adverse consequences of these various causes of disad-

vantage are suggested to be cumulative, such that the more

kinds of disadvantage any particular Leftout experiences,

the poorer his prognosis for successful adjustment to the

heterogeneous school situation.

Let us examine, within a social psychologically

oriented frame of reference, the processes which connect

the causes of the Leftout's disadvantage to their maladjust-

ive consequences in the heterogeneous school situation.

Relatively Low Socio-Economic Background

Theoretical Framework.--A fundamental attribute of

any social system qua system is that it is normative. People

who are in prolonged interactional relationships because

of relatively similar socio-economic position develop

characteristic consensual value orientations* and

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*Value orientation--the generalized theme of attitudes,
represented by the entire complex of the individual's ex-
pressions regarding that which is to be valued and the means
by which evaluations are to be made; value orientations find
observational expression in each of the behavioral and cog-
nitive choices an individual makes.

sub-cultural* normative expectations which serve to guide perception, cognition, affective relationships and general behavior. There are definable sets of system-wide beliefs, values, and behavioral norms which are idealistically defined and known to the members. These sets vary between sub-cultures and conformity to these sets of normative ideals varies within sub-cultures. However, the majority of what any individual thinks and feels, and a great deal of how he acts and reacts, is the direct result of his interaction with others in his sub-cultural environment.

Behavioral expectations, value orientations, and symbolic systems are learned in social interaction. The more individuals associate with one another under conditions of equality, the more they come to share value orientations and behavioral expectations. The more individuals associate with one another under conditions of equality the more they come to like one another.

Internalized sanctions (conscience formation), an individual's self-concept,** sex-role identity, generalized

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*Sub-cultural--refers to those behavioral norms and value orientations which are reflected in more or less distinct ways of life among some sub-segment within the total population of a social system.

**Self-concept--the individual's view of himself, derived from taking the role of significant others [those selected persons whose opinions, values, judgments, sentiments, and attitudes are influential in shaping the direction of an indivual's self-concept, behavioral expectaions, and value orientations] in social interaction, by means of which he organizes his personality and directs his actions to reciprocate the perceived expectations of

conceptual schema, and other intra-individual factors such as <u>achievement motivation</u>* are also developed in social interaction. The characteristic value orientations and behavioral expectations of various socio-economic strata are hierarchically evaluated and differentially rewarded on a system-wide basis.

Synthesis.--The Leftout is disadvantaged in his potential for school adjustment in that he often has a lower <u>social class</u>** background which is less likely to have adequately socialized him to the social and academic demands of the heterogeneous school situation. Social classes vary in the extent to which their characteristic socializing influences, i.e., intra-family relationships, child-rearing

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others. An individual's self-concept consists of: (1) a view of identity, (2) attitudes which express personal interests and aversions, (3) a generalized conceptual schema for viewing the environment, (4) knowledge of personal goals and degree of success in achieving prior goals, and (5) a self-evaluation on the basis of comparison with others and their perceived evaluations.

*Achievement motivation--an internalized personality need which gives impetus to actual achievement-oriented behavior; implies active, goal-directed efforts (as opposed to achievement-oriented values which merely define and give high evaluation to achievement); motivation and value ideally occur together, but high evaluation on achievement may occur without the motivation which is the basis of actual achievement.

**Social class--(socio-economic class) the hierarchical ranking of persons in a social system into groups with relatively clear, stable, and definable sub-cultural differences in life styles including value orientations and behavioral expectations; most usually measured on the basis of criteria such as: (1) prestige of own or parental occupation, (2) family income level, (3) level of own or parents' educational attainment, (4) area of residence or type of dwelling, etc.

practices, language patterns, intellectual and leisure time pursuits, behavioral norms, and value orientations equip a child to adjust successfully to the core cultural expectations of the school situation. However, there appear to be a number of relatively stable social class differences in the statistical probability of certain generalized attitudes and behaviors affecting child rearing.

Parents in the lower socio-economic strata (in relation to middle-class parents): (1) more often employ object-oriented rewards/punishments; (2) are more apt to physically punish the child, (3) are more rejecting of dependency behavior, (4) are apt to be less able to provide the bases of achievement motivation, (5) are less apt to have the educational or experiential background to offer specific help in attaining school success, (6) are less likely to provide a verbally-oriented environment, (7) are less likely to place a value on intellectual accomplishment per se (as opposed to valuing occupational training), and (8) are more likely to be separated or to be inadequate sex-role models. Thus, one of the sources of difference in school adjustment potential among children is that of the differential backgrounds they bring into the school situation as a result of membership in various sub-cultural socio-economic strata.

The programs and teaching methods in contemporary public schools are typically geared to the aims, ambitions, moral, and ethical standards of the core culture represented by the white, prosperous middle class, Protestant,

Anglo-Saxon population. Thus, heterogeneous schools often enhance the discrepancies in children's backgrounds, to the increased detriment of the lower class Leftout, by: (1) discrimatory practices of teachers; (2) inflexible teaching and testing methods; (3) inadequate counseling, especially at the elementary school level; (4) such school policies as separate classes for "slow learners"; (5) rejection of deviants by the majority group of age-mates; and (6) allowing for coalition of deviant peer groups.

The Leftout from a lower socio-economic background is also disadvantaged in that he statistically more often lacks: (1) achievement motivation, (2) functional anxiety, and (3) a future-time orientation. Thus, socio-economic background differences will account for some of the Leftout's disadvantage in the heterogeneous school situation. Social classes, by definition, differ in the behavioral expectations and value orientations typical to their members. However, the intensity and extensity of the interaction of social systemic and individual personality variables is delimited to the extent that the social unit is able to control against conflicts created by new experiences and situations.

No individual is wholly a product of the social class of which he is a member because a social class does not constitute an integrated, structured social system which can specifically define norms, control behavior, and serve

as a <u>reference group</u>.* A social class can have only a generalized or statistically representative influence on individual value orientations and behavior. Thus, the same social class may be experienced in different ways by different individuals who are nominally members. Social class background may be, for any individual, profoundly altered by subsequent experience with other sub-cultural groups, and/or shifts in reference group identification. Thus, Leftouts do not invariably reflect the value orientations and behavioral expectations of "their" social class and, therefore, knowledge of social class background <u>alone</u> will not allow for prediction about the adjustment potential of specific Leftouts.

Social class is useful as a concept when exploring gross between-group differences, but must be modified to include within-group differences if we are to fully understand the nature of the Leftout's potential for maladjustment in the heterogeneous school situation. Thus, when concern lies with explaining why some lower class (or Negro, or immigrant, or Indian, or ....) children adjust to the school situation and some from apparently "similar" backgrounds do not adjust, it is necessary to consider within-group differences.

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*Reference group--a selected group of persons in the interpersonal environment to whose beliefs, value orientations, and behavioral expectations the individual elects to attend and with whom he identifies or seeks to be identified. (The multiple version of significant other.)

It is suggested that within the lower socio-economic strata family differences have differential effects on the child's potential for school adjustment, such that: (1) if the family structure and economy are both stable, the child is more likely to be upwardly mobile and adjust more readily to the school situation; (2) if the family structure is unstable but the family economy is stable, the child is apt to evidence some personal insecurity in family affiliations that is maladjustive in the school situation, especially as relates to interpersonal experiences; (3) if the family structure is stable but their economy is insecure, the child is apt to experience difficulty in academic adjustment because of frequent moves, absences, etc.; (4) if the family structure and economy are both unstable, the child is least likely to successfully adjust to the academic and social demands of the heterogeneous school situation. Upper and middle class children in general adjust well to the social and academic demands of the school situation while lower class children in varying degrees tend toward maladjustment and failure.

Academic Consequences of Low Socio-Economic Background

Sub-cultural value orientations include differences in specific attitudes toward education, and concern with academic achievement and upward social mobility. These differences affect the adjustment potential of the child in the school situation. In general, the lower the social

class background of the student, the less value he places
on formal education as an end in itself and as a means to
future goals.

The middle class child is statistically more often
better prepared for motivation to achieve than is the lower
class Leftout because: (1) the middle class sub-culture
approves adjustive competition while the lower class sub-
culture approves maladjustive aggression; (2) middle class
parents are better able to serve as role models for ambition
and achievement; and (3)middle class parents foster independ-
ence and internal controls while lower class parents tend
to foster obedience to external authority. Obedience to
authority is, of course, not maladjustive in the school sit-
uation except insofar as normative expectations are not in-
ternalized and this obedience requires direct surveillance
by the agent of authority.

The successful adjustment of the lower class Leftout
to the demands of the heterogeneous school situation
depends, in part, upon the degree of "functional anxiety"
to which he has been socialized. Functional anxiety
("socialized anxiety for education," "adaptive anxiety")
is an internalized state related to a need for academic
achievement as a means of upward social mobility which gen-
erates sufficient motivation for the child to seek to over-
come any existing cultural, social, economic, or intellec-
tual handicaps. Lower class sub-cultures are less likely
to socialize the Leftout to the kind of anxiety which leads

to ambition and socially approved competition for rewards and concern lest these rewards not be obtained. Functional anxiety is opposed to both a lack of anxiety or extreme anxiety--both of which are maladjustive in the heterogeneous school situation.

For the lower class Leftout, much of school learning represents meaningless content, incomprehensible goals, and conflicting value orientations and behavioral expectations. Insofar as he is not motivated to achieve and he does not understand what is expected of him (or the expectations conflict with what he expects) then his lower socio-economic background is maladjustive for the academic demands of the heterogeneous school situation.

A great deal of what goes into the adjustment demands of the school system requires a future-time orientation (delayed gratification pattern). For lower class children a present-time orientation (immediate gratification pattern) is statistically more often central in their conceptual schema. This is maladjustive for the academic demands of the school situation.

It has been shown that measured intelligence* is statistically related to socio-economic background such that

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*Measured intelligence--the comparatively measured overt aspects of intellect. Intellect refers to the observable aspects of internal cognitive ordering hypothesized to result from the individual's mental operations upon raw stimuli from internal and external sources to change these into productive thinking aimed at problem solving, analytical and logical inductions/deductions, as well as creative cognition.

substantially lower average I.Q.'s are consistently found among children from the lower socio-economic strata. Children of higher social classes outscore those from the lower classes on all verbally-oriented tests of intellectual ability. The lower class child's lack of verbal skill and motivation produces low scores on standard achievement and intelligence tests. Very low socio-economic status, low intelligence ranking, low educational aspirations, and low levels of academic achievement tend to vary together statistically. Thus, a low socio-economic class background is maladjustive for the academic demands of the school situation. However, for any individual this tendency may be mitigated by: (1) an unusually stimulating background, (2) a financially secure and structurally stable supportive family, (3) high need for achievement, (4) association with achievement-oriented peers, and/or (5) compensatory training at school.

Children from the lowest socio-economic strata are apt to be found as a large proportion of those who lack facility with formal language, come from broken or inadequate homes, and suffer status deprivation among their teachers and age-mates. However, not all lower class children share these problems, and these problems are not necessarily the product of low socio-economic status. Thus, these specific factors will be discussed separately in the next sections.

Social Consequences of Low Socio-Economic Background

Again, insofar as a low socio-economic class background fosters problems of language facility, inadequate affiliations with parents, and status deprivation the social consequances will also be discussed in the next sections. Let us here consider those elements statistically related to socio-economic background that have adverse consequences for the lower class Leftout's potential for social adjustment in the school situation.

General socio-economic, sub-cultural, and family influences on the developing child's personality serve to establish the framework within which peer relations operate and within which the peer group becomes yet another agent of socialization. Status deprivation problems are statistically more likely to occur among children of the lower socio-economic strata because social failure in the heterogeneous school situation is presaged by the lower class Leftout's lack of background training and experience with core cultural value orientations and behavioral expectations. The lower class Leftout is disadvantaged in social relationships with teachers and his more advantaged age-mates as a consequence of his lack of the social skills which are a prerequisite to their acceptance of him.

Sub-cultural differences are one basis for determining social acceptance potential among elementary-age school children. Socio-economic status criteria are at least partially responsible for friendship choices, such that lower

class children tend to be rejected by middle class age-mates--and the division increases with age.

Status and prestige is awarded among children's peer groups on the basis of: (1) similarity of age, (2) similarity of sex, (3) similarity of socio-economic background, (4) physical skills, (5) adaptive, pleasing personality, (6) verbal ability, and (7) intelligence. The lower class Leftout may be disadvantaged in all of these areas--including those of age, which could differ if he has failed often, and sex, which could present adjustment problems for him if he has failed to develop an appropriate sex-role identity. The socio-economic status criteria which have the most influence on peer group selection and relationships in the heterogeneous school situation have been shown to be: (1) use of leisure time (which differs quantitatively and qualitatively by social class), (2) social class-linked differences in attitudes toward education, (3) social class-linked differences in physically aggressive behavior, and (4) social class-linked differences in speech patterns, grooming, mode of dress, and other readily identifiable variables. Thus, a lower class background may be maladjustive for the social demands of the heterogeneous school situation.

Leftouts who fail to learn the dominant values of their teachers and more advantaged age-mates, or who cling to beliefs and values not widely shared, are not likely to be well received in the heterogeneous school situation. This lack of acceptance, in turn, reduces communication

potential and makes acculturation and social assimilation more difficult for the Leftout.

If there is a conflict between parental-class culture and the core culture prevalent in the school, moderate anxiety which is adjustive for social mobility may result. So too may extreme anxiety, antagonism and rejection, withdrawal, or rigid and dependent clinging to established modes of behavior. These latter consequences are all maladjustive for the social demands of the school situation.

Lack of academic and social skill is apt to be anxiety producing for the lower class Leftout. It has been shown that a sense of shame often accompanys limited opportunity for skill development. Taken together these maladjustive factors are likely to produce: (1) hostile aggressiveness, (2) lack of trust in others, (3) feelings of inadequacy and a lowered self-concept, (4) withdrawal, and (5) generally suspicious and negative attitudes toward the social environment in the school situation. This is maladjustive for the academic, social, and emotional adjustment demands of the school situation.

As a result of prejudice and discrimination, lower class Leftouts of ethnic and racial minority groups particularly tend to suffer some deterioration of personality, especially: (1) self-doubt, (2) self-hate, (3) impulsive and superstitious behavior, (4) resigned exploitation of their inferior status, and even (5) mental illness.

Love-oriented techniques of discipline have been found to be a more powerful and positive force for bringing about desired changes in children's behavior than are object-oriented techniques of reward/punishment. Thus, children in the upper socio-economic strata are apt to be more adequately socialized than are children with lower class backgrounds. Lower class boys especially are more apt to receive inadequate discipline and parental support. These inadequacies are maladjustive for the social demands of the school situation because: (1) inadequate discipline allows for deviant behavior which may serve as the basis for discrimination, and (2) inadequate support from family affiliations may increase the Leftout's dependency on supportive relationships outside the family.

"Cures" for a Lower Socio-Economic Class Background

When children are given the opportunity to proceed at their own speed individual differences in academic achievement increase. In such an environment those who lag behind soon drop out with feelings of failure. On the other hand when classes are regimented, the well prepared, bright child gets bored and loses out from lack of interest or comes to feel he does not like school. The way to maximize both achievement potential and the freedom of the environment is to individualize the encounters each child has with the school situation. To do this it is crucial that as much as possible be known of the child's unique prior

experiences and training. Knowledge of social class back-
ground is a beginning point. However, since intra-class
differences have been shown, there needs to be extensive
research conducted to thoroughly explore within-group dif-
ferences--with particular attention being given to those
variables which have been suggested to have maladjustive
consequences for the lower class Leftout's academic, social,
and emotional adjustment potential.

Compensatory programs of the kind especially designed
to foster verbal facility and abstract conceptual reasoning,
and to foster early acculturation and social assimilation
with teachers and more advantaged peers, should also aid in
overcoming the Leftout's social class-linked disadvantage.
Taken collectively, our examination is provocative and
suggests that many, if not all, Leftouts can and should be
offered much more cognitive stimulation than they are
receiving. The advantages of utilizing the now relatively
untapped preschool years for compensatory education are mani-
fest. The crucial probability exists that conceptual
learning, interest areas, value orientations, and behavioral
patterns are more favorably established during the early
years of the developmental process.

The Educational Policies Commission, which is sponsored
jointly by the National Education Association and the Amer-
ican Association of School Administrators (but is autonomous
of both organizations), in June of 1966, proposed that free
public schooling should be available to and mandatory for

every four and five-year-old child in the United States.
This kind of major change in the structure of the educa-
tional system is supported by our analysis of the Leftout's
problems. It also reinforces the urgency of cooperative
research among social scientists and educators aimed at the
development of programs effectively designed to overcome
the lower class Leftout's social psychological problems.
For example, qualitatively we know almost nothing about
language among lower class populations. Only a very few
studies have attempted to analyze dialect patterns in the
urban United States. We know little of the influence of
the peer group on language development, although this in-
fluence is likely to be considerable among the early inde-
pendent lower class Leftouts. Further research is required
to identify those particular aspects of language develop-
ment and dialect speech patterns which are maladjustive to
the academic and social demands of the heterogeneous school
situation; this research to subsequently serve as the basis
for designing effective compensatory programs.

Hunt (1961) argues that compensatory schooling for
young children has been repeatedly shown to have a positive
effect on tested intelligence. Even those children rated
as retarded have shown rates of intellectual growth ranging
from 10 to 30 I.Q. points after special nursery-school
experience. Moreover, he points out, children retain their
accelerated rate of gorwth during experimental follow-up
periods of from three to five years. This, taken with what

we have said of the predictive efficiency of standardized tests are related to potential for future academic achievement, suggests that compensatory measures designed to raise the Leftout's I.Q. level should aid in overcoming part of his social class-linked disadvantage.

However, measures of norms of cognitive development which fail to take into account differences in the lower class Leftouts' life histories are meaningless as valid measures of their cognitive functioning. The need for research to develop new tests or modify old ones to probe the cumulative limits of cognitive learning is clear.

The notion of ordinal scales of intelligence implies a homogeneous level of intellectual functioning which belies research evidence on the side of asymmetries or heterogenity in talent, i.e., intra-individual differences. Compensatory programs can force accomodative modifications only when there is an appropriate match between the environmental circumstances and the prior experiences the child has already assimilated into his cognitive repertoire. Discrepancies between present programs and past experiences which are too large constitute a source of maladjustive anxiety and negative motivation for the Leftout. On the other hand, discrepancies of a lesser order are a source of adjustive curiosity and positive interest. Thus, research designed to answer the question of "how much is too much?" is urgently needed and essential to effective compensatory programs.

Pre-school compensatory education is not alone sufficient to overcome the lower class Leftout's academic and social disadvantage potential. The school environment must continue to offer: (1) appropriate role models, (2) compensatory training, and (3) chances for positive evaluation, rewards, and affiliations with teachers and more advantaged age-mates. Both preschool and ongoing compensatory programs should consider the interrelationships of academic, social, and emotional adjustment. There is a need for research designed to integrate social and academic programs in the school situation. Revising the preparatory education of teachers to include intensive training in group dynamics and extensive objective exploration of socio-cultural differences among children should help to overcome the Leftout's class-linked maladjustment potential in the school situation.

Relative Lack of Language Facility

Theoretical Framework.--Man is inherently a social animal, and complementarity of expectations and perceived reactions is necessary for social interaction. Socialization*

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*Socialization--a complex social learning process in which culturally approved value orientations and behavioral expectations are inculcated in the neophyte; including: (1) the acquisition of language, (2) learning a vast body of empirical facts relating to the physical and social environment, (3) developing a variety of specialized skills, (4) the acquisition of moral values, beliefs, and standards of evaluation of self and others, and (5) learning the normative "rules" concerning the appropriate ways and means of relating to other people.

is a prerequisite to complementarity of expectations and interpersonal communication in the form of symbolic systems is a prerequisite to socialization. Symbolic systems provide the basis for the maintenance and elaboration of human interaction. Both egocentric and socially oriented functions are served by symbolic systems. From the perspective of the individual, systems of symbols serve as objects of orientation for, and as internalized components of <u>personality</u>* systems. From the perspective of the social system, systems of symbols appear as institutionalized patterns in the form of consensual language and serve as the vehicle for the transmission of shared value orientations and behavioral expectations. The acquisition of language for any individual occurs within a probabalistic metric which includes the set of environmentally possible stimulating states that might occur, and the degree of bias in the environmental likelihood of their occurrence. As we have seen, the Leftout is apt to be disadvantaged in this

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*Personality--an analytical construct, based on the observation of overt behavior (including test-taking behavior), which suggests that internal, systematically (but not necessarily logically) organized cognitions and affective relationships influence many overt behaviors in a relatively stable manner.

area of language skills because he is less likely than his
age-mates* to experience <u>constructive (educational) stimula-</u>
<u>tion.</u>**

<u>Synthesis.</u>--This dimension of disadvantage has aca-
demic and social consequences which are maladjustive in the
heterogeneous school situation. Language acquisition is the
primary technique employed in intellectual development--for
abstracting, isolating, representing, integrating, organ-
izing, and perceiving relationships among objects, events,
and ideas--for the general systematization of experience.

A background which affords little heterogenity of ex-
perience, little opportunity for situational manipulation,
and lacks diversity of discrimination experience produces
a child with: (1) reduced abilities to discriminate,
(2) little interest in exploratory or creative behavior,
(3) maladjustive modes of coping with problems requiring
complex or future-oriented solutions, and (4) a notably
reduced tendency toward conceptual organization. However,
it is not the stimulus itself but rather the response to
the stimulus which provides the perceptual or sensory

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*Age-mates--refers to all those children of approx-
imately equivalent age with whom the child is in contact
in the school situation--as opposed to peers. <u>Peers</u> refers
to the sub-segment of age-mates who serve as significant
others and as a reference group for the child, and with
whom he elects to interact when he is free to make a choice.

**Constructive (educational) stimulation--visual and
auditory stimuli which is ordered, goal directed, allows
for interactional feedback, and which aids learning either
with or without intentional instruction.

stimulation. Thus, stimulation without contrast may not be perceived, and stimulation which does not fit the socially learned cognitive structure may be ignored.

For the socio-culturally disadvantaged child, early experiential deprivation prevents the formation of adequate cognitive models and the learning of normative means of coping with the unfamiliar environment of the school. The Leftout's problem in this area centers on the nonspecific transfer of experiential learning in that he has not established the generalized models, constructs, or concepts that allow him to cognitively represent the school environment in such a way that when new academic tasks or social situations are encountered it is possible for him to cope with them as exemplars of familiar concepts that are already associated with normatively appropriate responses.

One of the primary sources of maladjustive anxiety for any individual seems to lie in being placed in a state in which his conception and perception of environmental demands do not fit into his previously learned conceptual model. He has no basis for prediction of the environment in a manner which makes reasoned action possible.

We have argued that extreme anxiety may have a crippling effect on the cognitive process which is maladjustive for academic and social learning. Anxiety is based on lack of knowledge, experience, training, skill, or ability. Anxiety has been found to be increased by: (1) perceived status differences, (2) ambiguity of

expectations, (3) the difficulty of the task, and (4) lack of skill to cope with the task at hand. Extreme anxiety can be incapacitating for <u>any</u> learning, including both intentional and incidental learning.

A lack of language facility greatly reduces cognitive, perceptual, and learning potential. In the school situation where communication, basically through language, is a central part of both academic and social learning a lack of language facility may create extreme anxiety. Anxiety, in turn, may reduce learning even further or preclude it altogether. Thus, comparative lack of experience with symbolic systems, especially lack of language skill, is directly and positively related to difficulties in ability to learn both formally taught academic skills, and more informally taught social skills.

Academic Consequences of Inadequate Language Facility

The bases of academic achievement include tested intelligence and motivation. Individuals are more likely to be motivated to attend to those aspects of their environment they anticipate than those they do not. Individuals are more likely to anticipate those things with which they are familiar. If the Leftout's background has afforded little constructive stimulation, in such circumstances he learns to be skillful in the art of inattention developed in the effort to drown out indiscriminate <u>noise</u>* and thus he may

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*Noise--a potpourri of visual and auditory stimuli lacking in order, goal, feedback opportunities, and educational intent or value.

subsequently have difficulty in focusing his attention. This is maladjustive for the academic demands of the school situation.

Experience with the environment is the major influence on the development of measured intelligence and conceptual thinking. Only rarely, if ever, is the experiential environment so rich and stimulating that hereditary limits on intellectual ability are reached for the organically normal individual. Thus, in effect, heredity is not considered to be an influence in fixing the level of the Leftout's intellectual potential.

The learning of concepts and the development of conceptual thinking involves basic processes of perception, discrimination, transposition, and generalization. Standard achievement and intelligence tests are based on such conceptual thinking. They are verbally oriented and assume motivation on the part of the child to do his best. Thus, the Leftout lacking verbal facility is apt to score significantly lower than his more advantaged age-mates on intelligence and achievement tests.

Standardized tests, however "culture bound" and weighted in favor of the child with an advantageous background, do reflect efficiency of adjustment to the culture for which they are designed and do predict the child's potential for academic success in the higher grades with a reasonable degree of accuracy. The typical public school program is not organized to capitalize on non-verbal types

of intelligence. Therefore, any non-verbal skills the Left-out may have are of little value for adjustment to the academic demands of the school situation.

The Leftout who is inept in core cultural communication skills is faced with learning what is tantamount to a "foreign" language--with the difference that he lacks solid grounding in a comparable "native" language. This is maladjustive for the academic demands of the heterogeneous school situation, which assumes a certain degree of initial facility with formal English.

Initial lack of verbal facility works to the Leftout's disadvantage in academic achievement efforts. As we have seen, this lack of achievement is primarily felt in the area of developing language skills and verbal facility. Thus, the Leftout is apt to become more disadvantaged in this dimension of academic adjustment over time. Lack of achievement over time negatively effects his self-concept of ability.* A low self-concept of ability has been shown to place functional limits on academic achievement potential.

Social Consequences of Inadequate Language Facility

As we have seen, children who are perceived as intelligent and creative are generally more accepted by their advantaged age-mates, while "slow learners" are less well

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*Self-concept of ability--"those definitions a student holds of his ability to achieve in academic tasks as compared with others (Brookover et al., 1965)."

accepted. Thus, the Leftout's relatively low level of measured intelligence is maladjustive for the social demands of the heterogeneous school situation.

The Leftout may be discriminated against by teachers and age-mates alike because of his general lack of communication skill and his particular dialect--not on linguistic grounds but in terms of status considerations. Thus, the specific language pattern used by the Leftout may be maladjustive for the social demands of the heterogeneous school situation.

Ineptness in communication skills and anxiety induced by lack of language facility may preclude the learning which would allow for social acculturation and assimilation. Thus, lack of language facility and resultant anxiety is maladjustive for the social demands of the Leftout's school situation as well.

"Cures" for Inadequate Language Facility

Continuous and progressive changes take place in the structures of behavior and thought, but the nature of this accomodation* implies that the rate of development is largely a function of the diversity the individual encounters in his environment. The more new things a child has seen or heard, the more he is interested in seeing or hearing. The more

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*Accomodation--corresponds to external behavioral adaptation, occurring whenever the existing cognitive structure must be modified to meet the demands of variations in environmental circumstances.

variation in environment with which he has had to cope, the greater his capacity for coping--to the limits that he is able to make requisite assimilations* and accomodations without developing extreme anxiety. New experiences are seen as inherently rewarding because new accomodative modifications and new assimilative cognitive combinations are sources of pleasure to the child. Therefore, special compensatory programs designed to offer educationally stimulating new experiences, which necessitates the child's employing language, coupled with intensive training in language development without the assumption of prior adequate "native" experience should help to overcome the Leftout's maladjustment in the area of communication skills.

Concomitantly, new techniques for measuring non-verbal types of intelligence and school programs designed to capitalize on this type of intellectual development should be developed and employed--if only as the basis for the subsequent teaching of core cultural verbal skills.

Conscious efforts by the Leftout's significant others, such as parents and teachers, directed at attempts to preclude or raise a low self-concept of ability should help in overcoming academic maladjustment.

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*Assimilation--corresponds to internal cognitive organization, occurring whenever the individual incorporates any stimulus from his environment into his cognitive framework. [Both accomodation and assimilation are explored and explained in Piaget's work.]

In addition, active efforts to foster understanding and social acceptance among the majority group of dialect differences should aid in overcoming the Leftout's social maladjustment based on ineptness in core cultural communication skills. By finding social acceptance despite his lack of verbal facility he will be brought into contact with his more advantaged age-mates who are verbally facile and, freed of anxiety over his shortcomings, he can then learn from them.

Relative Deprivations in Early Interpersonal Affiliations

Theoretical Framework.--All individuals have affiliative needs. Affiliation with parents or parental surrogates is a prerequisite for early personality development. Affiliation with accepting others is rewarding. An acceptable social status is a requisite for satisfactory social and emotional adjustment at any age. Social isolation or rejection, real or threatened, is a powerful motivating force for producing behavioral changes in keeping with the perceived requirements of social acceptance. The Leftout may be disadvantaged in the area of personality development because he is more likely than his advantaged age-mates to experience disorganized family affiliations during the early developmental period.

Synthesis.--The family is the most significant agent for influencing the general socialization of the child--as

well as such specific factors as measured intelligence, school achievement, and social acceptance--by: (1) providing the tools, stimulation, opportunity, and reinforcement necessary for general learning, (2) providing role models for social learning, (3) providing help and guidance in language development, and (4) providing stimulation, concern, and support for achievement and learning outside the home, especially at school.

A verbally oriented, close, warm, supportive, and continuous relationship with both parents is the best possible family setting in which both boys and girls may be reared. Concomitantly, any disorganization in this ideal family pattern will be maladjustive. The greater the degree of disorganization, the more maladjustive the consequences for subsequent academic, social, and emotional adjustment in the heterogeneous school situation.

The depth and relative permanence of the maladjustive consequences of affiliative deprivations in the Leftout's family experience will vary in terms of: (1) duration, (2) frequency, (3) degree of disruption to established affiliative ties, and (4) compensatory opportunities which are available to him. In general, as we have seen, the effects of deprivation in the areas of sensory stimulation, social training, and emotional support which are concurrent with family disorganization or parental separation are more maladjustive than is disorganization or separation per se. Thus, a disorganized family structure is more likely than

a stable family structure to fail as a socializing insti-
tution.

Both parents are an important source of affiliative
support for both boys and girls. The father is especially
influential: (1) as a sex-role model, (2) as a source of
disciplinary control, (3) as an agent of morality training,
(4) in the setting of achievement standards, and (5) as a
guide to the development of achievement motivation.

A disorganized family is characterized by: (1) a
lack of family traditions and kinship ties--which would
lend support to the child in his extra-familial environment,
(2) a lack of socialization to a strong, adequate, and
specific value orientation--as opposed to generalized ad-
monitions to be "good," "honest," etc., and (3) a failure
of the father to serve as an adequate sex-role model.

Academic Consequences of Deprivations in Family Affiliations

As we have seen, the specific child-rearing practices
of parents have not been found to show invariant relation-
ships with subsequent specific aspects of the child's per-
sonality development. Generalized patterns of parental
attitudes and behavior, such as strictness/permissiveness
and the warmth and supportiveness of the affiliative rela-
tionships, are found to be much more closely related to
personality development and behavior of children. Under the
condition that the child identifies with supportive parents,
parental pressure for and reward of early achievement, when

coupled with a high ratio of successes to failures for the child, results in high achievement motivation in the heterogeneous school situation. The typical Leftout may not have supportive parents, and his parents' interest, ability, and desire to socialize him to achievement motivation is apt to be inadequate. When the family does not support the child and fails to socialize him adequately, there is less chance of his developing high achievement motivation. This is maladjustive for the academic demands of the heterogeneous school situation.

Pressures toward achievement may have maladjustive repercussions unless they are accompanied by specific training to the socially approved means for attaining success. In the absence of clearly articulated means-training the child may: (1) employ normatively disapproved avenues to success, or (2) develop extreme anxiety because of his lack of knowledge of the appropriate means to his ends. Either of these modes of achievement motivation is maladjustive.

Upward social mobility* through academic achievement is contingent on achievement striving under conditions of observance of normative prescriptions and proscriptions

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*Upward social mobility--refers to those changes in behavior and value orientations which allow the individual to raise his status evaluation; any behavioral change made for or required of such status reevaluation. May be: (1) intergenerational, i.e., between the individual's rank and that of his family, or (2) intra-generational, i.e., between the individual's present or future rank and his own previous or present rank.

designed to prevent this striving from having socially harm-
ful consequences. Thus, achievement striving involves con-
siderable amounts of discrimination learning and self-
control. The Leftout, whose parental affiliations are not as
likely to provide him with clearly articulated value
training, may be disadvantaged in his learned ways of main-
taining self-control. One means of self-control is devalu-
ation of goals which are not readily attainable. This
means is more prevalent among Leftouts but is maladjustive
for the academic demands of the school situation. A second
means of self-control is high evaluation of sometimes un-
pleasant means to a desired future goal. This means is less
prevalent among Leftouts but is adjustive in the school
situation.

Those children who receive the least social stimula-
tion, poorest training, and least support in the family
setting will also be those who are in the lowest groups at
school on the basis of measured intelligence. The affili-
ative interaction of parents and children influences the
development of measured intelligence in three major ways:
(1) parental provision for general learning, (2) parental
press for language development, and (3) parental press for
achievement motivation. Low levels of measured intelligence
are maladjustive for the academic demands of the school sit-
uation.

Teachers typically define emotional maladjustment in
terms of children's disruptive behavior. The behavior of

affiliatively deprived Leftouts is not apt to fully meet the expectations of the classroom. Leftout boys are especially likely to behave in ways that could be interpreted as disruptive--particularly by female teachers. Thus, the Leftout is more apt to be defined as emotionally maladjusted (whether he is so in fact or not). The definition of emotional maladjustment often results in separation of the Leftout from the regular classroom and his more advantaged agemates and placement in "special" classes. This is apt to have maladjustive consequences for the normal academic demands of the school situation.

Social Consequences of Deprivations in Family Affiliations

Sex-role identity is learned by differential identification within the family. An important part of developing sex-role identities includes the opportunity to observe and interact with complementary-sex models as well as same-sex models. Thus, both parents (or parental surrogates) are influential in the sex-role development of boys and girls. Disorganized families are characterized by the absence of the father or, if the father is present, inadequacies in his ability to serve as a culturally appropriate sex-role model. The absence of the father, or any inadequacy in serving as an appropriate sex-role model, is maladjustive for the social development of both boys and girls--although boys especially are disadvantaged by the lack of a strong male-role model. This is true because the normative

developmental process requires a gradual modification of dependency responses for boys, which is a more marked developmental change than is required of girls.

Boys from disorganized families exhibit more immaturity, stronger striving for masculinity (usually in the form of overplaying the masculine role), and poorer peer adjustments than their age-mates. Girls from disorganized families do not have as severe adjustment problems but their problems are greater than those of either boys or girls who are reared in normal family settings.

Deprivations in early family affiliations have adverse consequences for personality development. Thus, the presence in the home of atypical parental sex-role models, or the absence of a strong male model during early socialization, makes subsequent social/emotional adjustment outside the home more difficult, especially for boys.

Biologically appropriate social conformity to a sex-role standard* is crucial to social/emotional adjustment because: (1) it serves as an internalized part of the child's self-concept, and (2) it sets boundaries on behavioral choices through knowledge of a set of socially acceptable behavioral alternatives. For boys especially, some of the Leftout's potential social difficulties in the heterogeneous school situation may center in problems of

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*Sex-role standard--a learned association between selected characteristics, behaviors, and attitudes with concepts of male and female.

sex-role identity created by the likelihood of inadequate
male-role models during his early socialization experiences.
This is maladjustive for the social demands of the hetero-
geneous school because of the: (1) conflicting nature of
multiple demands within the stereotyped male role, (2) typi-
cally extensive supervision by women teachers which deprives
the disadvantaged child of adequate models in his current
situation, and (3) conflicting expectations concerning
appropriate male and female sex-roles among the various
socio-economic strata found in a heterogeneous school.

The school-age child regularly spends large amounts
of time daily outside his home and away from his parent's
direct influence. Thus, any child is involved in non-
family affiliative situations. It has been found that self-
ideals among elementary-age children are closer to modal
peer group ideals than to those of either parent. Thus,
for all children, affiliations outside the family are im-
portant sources of affiliative support and socialized
learning. However, sub-cultural and individual variations
in the relevance of the peer group for children have also
been found.

Children who fail to identify with supportive parents
are less self-accepting, less readily accepted by peers, and
more dependent upon current social relationships. In a
heterogeneous group, behavior and values acquired in the
family will govern the choice of role-models outside the
home, either: (1) on the basis of similarity, if family

relationships have been satisfactory, or (2) on the basis of dissimilarity (rejection of familial values), if they have been unsatisfactory or are inadequate for goal attainment. As we have seen, peer group affiliations have more importance when parents exhibit less concern for or control over their children's activities outside the home, and in those cases where the family unit cannot ensure the full attainment of social status on the part of its members. Thus, the Leftout deprived of satisfactory family affiliations is more likely to seek affiliations with his age-mates while, at the same time, is less likely to be accepted by them. This is maladjustive for the social/emotional dimensions of adjustment in the heterogeneous school situation.

"Cures" for Deprivations in Family Affiliations

Obviously the school cannot become a family to the Leftout who has been deprived of early satisfactory family affiliations. However, the kinds of academic and social problems fostered by the Leftout's inadequate family affiliations suggest that compensatory programs should make every effort to enlist the aid and active participation of parents, especially fathers. In addition, it is indicated than an important part of compensatory education should consist of employing male teachers in the early elementary grades. One function served by male teachers is that of providing a strong sex-role model. Male teachers are also more likely to be accepting of the type of masculine

behavior which is apt to be defined as disruptive by female teachers.

Compensatory programs aimed at the development of close, warm, personal, and supportive affiliative relationships with parents and/or selected teachers should aid in overcoming the affiliatively deprived Leftout's potential for school maladjustment.

Compensatory programs aimed at specific means-ends training, and with careful attention given to clearly relating present tasks to desirable future goals should prove helpful in overcoming the Leftout's maladjustment potential.

Care needs to be exercised in selecting the criteria for defining "emotional maladjustment" among Leftout school children. Cooperative research efforts between educators and psychologists should be undertaken in this area. In the absence of unambiguous criteria of emotional maladjustment, compensatory programs need to exercise extreme caution in separating the "emotionally maladjusted" Leftout from his more advantaged age-mates--since peer group affiliations with them could serve to help "cure" his problems.

Conscious efforts to foster understanding and the Leftout's acceptance among his more advantaged age-mates should result in greater potential for peer group affiliations, thus aiding in compensating for the Leftout's maladjustment based on inadequate affiliative relationships in the family.

Relative Status Deprivation Among Teachers and
Age-Mates

Theoretical Framework.--In our society, attractive
rewards are freely available to some members and denied to
others. Some highly valued rewards are permitted only to
those who have attained certain levels of status by reason
of age, education, social position, prestige, and ethnic
or racial identity. Barriers to attaining valued rewards
may arise from: (1) a relatively low social class position,
(2) ethnic or racial identity which is devalued, (3) intel-
lectual or physical limitations, (4) lack of achievement
motivation, (5) lack of skill and training, (6) lack of
knowledge and experience.

The seeking of valued rewards is a powerful motivating
force for producing behavioral changes in keeping with the
perceived requirements for their acquisition. The giving
of rewards for socially acceptable behavior and denying
rewards (or punishing) for unacceptable behavior will be
effective in the socialization process.

Socialization to cultural value orientations and be-
havioral expectations begins in the family and, ideally,
is strengthened by secondary contacts. The content of
socially acquired value orientations and behavioral expec-
tations depends on what is taught in various sub-cultural
groups, and which group or individuals are selected as the
model for identification. Thus, the significant others
or reference groups with whom the Leftout identifies may

either support and strengthen the socialized values learned in the family setting, or weaken and undermine their effects by devaluing those things which he has been taught to value.

Social interaction must be perceived as mutually re-warding by the individuals involved or it will cease. The more cohesive the group the greater the influence they can exert over value orientations and behavioral norms, and the greater the reward power they have over any member under the condition that conformity to the group's expectations is perceived by the individual to be instrumental to their social acceptance of him. Social rejection is primarily associated with lack of knowledge of and conformity to the value orientations and behavioral expectations of the group in which an individual seeks social acceptance.

Interaction leads to social learning and shared norms. Rewarding social stiuations produce more interaction. Friendly, accepting situations stimulate the incidental learning* required for acculturation** and social

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*Incidental learning--the process of learning by iden-tification with or emulation of role models in the behav-ioral field who are not aware of their instructional func-tion: as opposed to intentional instruction. Intentional instruction refers to formal institutionalized means or deliberate attempts to influence socialization; may employ verbal communication and/or role models but in this case the latter are aware of their instructional function.

**Acculturation--the process of learning the value orientations and behavioral norms of a group different from the one in which the individual was originally socialized.

assimilation.* The less interaction among persons, the greater the likelihood of conflicts in value orientations and behavioral expectations. The more conflict the less interaction and communication of norms. Social rejection by the majority group in a heterogeneous school situation precludes the incidental learning required for accultura- tion and social assimilation by the Leftouts.

Synthesis.--The Leftout may be disadvantaged in the area of rewarding social affiliations in the school situa- tion because he is more likely to suffer status depriva- tion** and he is more likely to be rejected by his teachers and more advantaged age-mates. Rejection by either has been shown to reinforce rejection by the other.

The bases of social status among elementary-school children have been shown to be: (1) social adaptability, (2) high intelligence, (3) well developed motor skills (especially among younger boys), (4) biologically appro- priate sex-role identification, (5) friendliness and sociability, (6) physical attractiveness (as socially defined, including ethnic and racial characteristics of body build and skin color), (7) communication skills, in- cluding speech and dialect patterns, (8) core cultural

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*Social assimilation--the process by which an "out- sider" is accepted as a genuine member of a goup, with the full responsibilities and privileges accorded to any member.

**Status deprivation--refers to an individual's per- ception of external limitation on his potential for person- ally defined prestige.

cultural value orientations toward lack of physical aggressiveness and valuing scholastic achievement, (9) cleanliness, careful grooming, and stylish mode of dress, and (10) time for and interest in participating in a variety of school sponsored extra-curricular activities. Thus, the Leftout's status deprivation may be based on racial, ethnic, or social class discrimination; inadequate training and experience; and/or personality problems resulting from inadequate socialization.

The status deprivation problems of Negro Leftouts will differ from those of white Leftouts only insofar as they are _increased_ by the factor of a skin color which serves as the basis for social discrimination. Social learning variations are more clearly the basis for differentiation among groups than are racial factors.

The elementary school classroom functions much as does the family, i.e., as a primary social system in which needs are satisfied and aspirations developed. It serves as a mirror for the child's developing self-concept and as a touchstone for his value orientations and behavioral expectations. The elementary-school classroom has both a social group orientation and a task group orientation. Thus, the consequences of membership in the specific social system of a heterogeneous elementary school are partly determined by the child's academic status and partly by his status in interpersonal relationships with teachers and age-mates.

Socialization is achieved through the two jointly operating interactional processes of intentional instruction and incidental learning. Different goals in the school situation correspond to different socialization processes. Thus, academic achievement will be primarily obtained through intentional instruction by the classroom teacher and knowledge of the means to social acceptance will be primarily obtained through incidental learning from age-mates. Nevertheless, the attitudes of the teacher toward social aspects, and the attitudes of peers toward academic aspects, are both influential for the Leftout's adjustment potential in the school situation.

The elementary classroom teacher has a significant influence on the Leftout's potential for total school adjustment in that she has both formal reward power and social reward power. She can accept or reject him as a person and she can help to influence and guide peer relationships. Thus, she is apt to be a significant other to the Leftout.

It has been shown that the child's perception of his social status is more closely related to levels of academic achievement expectation than is either measured intelligence or actual performance. Thus, if there is acceptance of the teacher and age-mates as significant others by the Leftout (contingent on their acceptance of him) and if he finds the learning situation a rewarding one, then he will learn. If he does not accept the values and goals of his

teachers and age-mates, and if the learning situation is not intrinsically rewarding, then he will not learn.

Any child is automatically excluded from certain kinds of rewarding associations with adults because of his age and immaturity. It is only with his age-mates that he may find prestige, hierarchical status, and friendships based on equality. Thus, the peer group is the most common social reference group for school-age youngsters. Many of the skills and values acquired during the socialization process are learned in peer groups. The influence of other children constitutes a major component of the social milieu to which the Leftout must adjust in a heterogeneous school situation.

We are suggesting that peer associations are rewarding. A child's social acceptability by his peers is an important influence in directing and modifying his value orientation and his behavior if changes are instrumental to his social acceptance. We have suggested that it is probable that the Leftout, at least initially, seeks affiliative interactions with his more advantaged age-mates. However, the quality of the interaction is important. There is a significant difference between physical and social integration. Physical integration refers to simply being in the same place at the same time, while social integration refers to the closeness of shared value orientations and behavioral expectations. A heterogeneous school may be "integrated" without fostering social propinquity. Physical propinquity may still allow the Leftout to: (1) be ignored, (2) be rejected actively,

or when forced into association, (3) restrict his inter-
action with his more advantaged age-mates to minimal,
formal, or problem solving situations. Social propinquity
is required for maximal general interaction.

The closer their normative orientation, the more
frequently will children interact under conditions of
equality. The Leftout typically does not share value
orientations and behavioral expectations under conditions
of equality with his more advantaged age-mates and, thus,
is likely to suffer status deprivation. Provocation to
deviant behavior and values is suggested to be strengthened
by the Leftout's status deprivation in the heterogeneous
school situation.

We would argue that among Leftouts, the provocation
force peculiar to rejection of the system, coalition with
others like himself, and continued deviant behavior in the
heterogeneous school situation is perception of status
deprivation. We would suggest that the greater the degree
of perceived status deprivation the more likely are the
Leftout's value orientation and behavioral norms to remain
deviant.

Academic Consequences of Status Deprivation

Research evidence has suggested that teachers' re-
sponses to high status children differ from their responses
to those with low status in that they are more likely to
negatively evaluate those children they perceive as being

of low status. Rewards in the formal academic system are differentially distributed. Children receiving the greatest teacher approval are those who: (1) are most intelligent, (2) show the highest academic achievement, and (3) have the best over-all personality adjustment. Disadvantaged children typically receive fewer rewards in the formal system. For the Leftout, the discrepancy between his own status and that of his more advantaged age-mates may create severe conflicts and frustration. We would suggest that such conflicts and frustration may lead to: (1) a rejection of the demands of his teachers and more advantaged age-mates if he can achieve status elsewhere; or (2) dysfunctional anxiety and curtailment of his learning potential if his only way to potential status is through rewards in the formal system. Either of these is apt to be maladjustive for the academic demands of the heterogeneous school situation.

We have suggested that prolonged failure to achieve academic status may result in a lowered self-concept of ability. Self-concept of ability functions quite independently of measured intelligence in influencing academic adjustment and has been shown to be a better predictor of actual achievement potential. Thus, we would argue, disparities in the reward system on the basis of status have consequences for future academic achievement potential, in that fewer rewards tend to lower the child's self-concept

of ability. This is demonstrably maladjustive in the school situation.

We have suggested that status deprivation in the formal reward system makes informal rewards from peers especially important to the Leftout. However, value climates* among peer groups vary. Peer group differences in value climates: (1) may help or hinder in altering the Leftout's maladjustive value orientations and behavioral expectations, (2) influence both social and academic adjustment potential. Thus, if the Leftout finds himself in a value climate where academic achievement is highly valued by his peers, his chances for successful academic adjustment are enhanced. On the other hand, if the Leftout seeks social status among peers whose value climate devalues academic achievement this is maladjustive for academic adjustment in the heterogeneous school situation.

Our review of the literature has suggested that peers, as well as parents and other adults, influence the child's value orientation and behavioral expectations. Research evidence has shown that peer group affiliations are formed early in the child's school career and become more firmly established over time. Thus, the value climate of the peer group may have important influences on the Leftout's school adjustment potential. It has been shown that academic

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*Value climates--a situational variable referring to the particular bases for awarding of prestige which is present in any given age, sex, grade, or socio-economic group in any specific school or classroom.

maladjustment increases over time, resulting in a cumulative deficit in excess of the original level of the Leftout's comparative disadvantage. Therefore, not only is selection of the particular peer group important to academic potential, but the earlier the affiliation occurs and the length of time it remains established also influences academic potential. If the Leftout's status deprivation among teachers and more advantaged peers leads him to affiliation with peers who devalue academic achievement, then the earlier and more protracted this affiliation the more maladjustive for academic demands in the school situation.

The range and scope of both achievement potential and social adjustment problems in heterogeneous schools is suggested to be greater because of: (1) contact chances with achievement-oriented peers--the juxtaposition of norms and values, and (2) learning chances provided by the range of role models. The Leftouts is typically caught in cross pressures between the norms of the different groups in a heterogeneous school situation. Cross pressures among conflicting normative expectations may create emotional strain for the Leftout. Severe and pervasive pressures may create incapacitating anxiety which is maladjustive for academic adjustment.

Moderate strain may be functional in that it creates a desire to reduce the strain. One way of reducing the strain is to conform to the value orientations and behavioral expectations of teachers and more advantaged peers--

which is adjustive in the school situation. However, in-
security in social relationships and inadequacy in achieve-
ment performance (leading to status deprivation) can in-
fluence the Leftout to allow the cross pressures to create
extreme anxiety or be resolved by rejection of the value
orientations and behavioral expectations of his teachers
and more advantaged age-mates. Either of these modes of
dealing with cross-pressure strain is maladjustive for the
academic demands of the school situation.

Social Consequences of Status Deprivation

The peer ·group's direct influence is modified by:
(1) the characteristics of the situation itself, (a) the
physical setting, (b) they type of activity, (c) the size
of the group, (d) the clarity of the task and associated
expectations, and (e) the nature of the reward system;
(2) individual variations in susceptibility to influence
created by (a) the strength of the reference group bond,
and (b) individual personality needs; (3) the characteris-
tics of the children doing the influencing; and (4) the
impact that adults, e.g., teachers or parents, may have on
children's associations. Nevertheless, peer group affilia-
tions are influential and important to the school-age
child. As an agent of socialization the peer group acts
as: (1) one determinant of stability and acceptance in
social relationships, (2) a contributor to the child's

developing self-concept, and (3) an influence on developing value orientations and behavioral expectations.

Feelings of isolation from, or social rejection by, age-mates arise early in the school situation and from everyday experience. It is suggested that if the Leftout holds his classmates in the position of a reference group, then failure to establish status among them will have a negative effect on his social and emotional adjustment in the school situation.

A child's social status with his age-mates is of central importance in assessing his social adjustment to them. Research evidence suggests that once children have been brought together as a group in the school situation: (1) in general, group patterns of relationships are quickly established and remain relatively stable over time; (2) there is little or no group difference in friendship fluctuation between boys and girls at any of the various age and grade levels found in the elementary school situation; (3) there are considerable individual variations in the stability of dyadic friendships at all age and grade levels; and (4) the criteria by which acceptability is judged is similar within groups but changes between age, sex, and socio-cultural groups.

The Leftout may be deprived of status among teachers and more advantaged peers alike. Such status deprivations mutually reinforce one another. The child becomes aware of his own status deprivation through his rejection by

significant others. This status deprivation may lead to a lowered self-concept (which is both academically and socially maladjustive) or he responds in such a fashion that his behavior serves to further reinforce his rejection from the group. Deviant behavior is also both academically and socially maladjustive.

The Leftout is by definition a deviant. However, the persistence of deviant behavior can be accounted for in terms of social learning in the school situation. Children will most readily adopt the behavior and value orientations of those with whom they identify. Children conform most closely to the behavior of models: (1) who are friendly, i.e., accepting of them, and (2) when conformity is instrumental to social acceptance.

Response patterns to social norms, both deviant and non-deviant, can readily be transmitted through incidental learning and vicarious reinforcement.* Behavior which is reinforced is learned. Behavior that is ignored or punished is extinguished. The Leftout has little or no incentive to deviate from the expectations of his age-mates unless he cannot fulfill their expectations and is rejected by them--which punishes his affiliative seeking and redirects or extinguishes it.

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*Vicarious reinforcement--a sub-type of incidental learning; refers to learning of response consequences from observation of behavioral models without the observer's performing any overt responses himself or receiving any direct reward or punishment.

Even incomplete knowledge and/or partial conformity to the normative expectations of his more advantaged age-mates may gain for the Leftout some degree of social acceptance. Once "in" the processes of acculturation and social assimilation can be fostered through learning in interaction. Imitation of the model's normative behavior is facilitated if that model receives rewards. Thus, if the Leftout's models are his more advantaged age-mates (who are more likely to receive rewards) his own learning is facilitated. On the other hand, the Leftout may refrain from making new deviant responses or from repeating already learned deviant responses if he observes that such behavior is not rewarded.

However, if the Leftout is deprived of status among his teachers and more advantaged age-mates, deviant behavior is an ideal solution to these problems of status deprivation because it: (1) repudiates the value orientations of the reference group which serves as the basis for the Leftout's self-evaluation of failure, and (2) at the same time rewards him with status among any peers who may share his problems. The literature suggests that persistence of deviant behavior results from intermittent positive reinforcement, such as would be derived from those behaviors and value orientations rewarded by peers when these are in conflict with those expected in the school by teachers and more advantaged age-mates. Among pre-adolescent children clique boundaries are not rigid (although they solidify with increasing age) and it is possible for a Leftout to be

socially accepted by his more advantaged age-mates if he
has some knowledge of the prevailing norms, is willing to
conform to them, and is socially adaptable, i.e., changes
to conform to changing value orientations and behavioral
expectations. Thus, the Leftout's affiliation with other
status deprived children is maladjustive for the social
demands of the heterogeneous school situation.

In general, clique boundaries have been shown to be
less rigid in the earliest years. Thus, the Leftout has
the greatest chance of acculturation and social assimilation
when the group is newly formed. His chances for an ac-
ceptable social status among his more advantaged age-mates
in general decrease: (1) the longer the group has been
established, (2) the older his age-mates, and (3) the more
stable the existing patterns of acceptance/rejection have
become. Nevertheless, while social preferences are ini-
tially based on simple indices of value agreement, continued
interaction necessitates more complex indices of agreement.
Among children the bases of social acceptance change over
time. Thus, the socially acceptable child has as his pri-
mary characteristic social adaptability. Therefore, even
if the Leftout has acquired some limited acceptance among
his more advantaged age-mates his status may remain insecure
if he fails to adapt to changing demands.

If there is failure to establish value agreement,
interpersonal relationships will disintegrate. Continued
social frustration and rejection are apt to result in:

(1) social withdrawal from teachers and more advantaged age-mates, i.e., the Leftout will change his reference group; or (2) emotional withdrawal, i.e., he will exhibit a lowered self-concept and withdrawn, depressed symptoms. Either of these consequences of status deprivation are maladjustive for the social demands of the heterogeneous school situation.

High social status in the group is a source of positive self-evaluation for the child. Status deprivation is a source of dissatisfaction with himself which may produce: (1) high motivation to change in the direction of the group's expectations under conditions of instrumentality, i.e., if no other group can offer comparable rewards, or (2) a lowering of his self-concept if boundaries are perceived as insurmountable. We are suggesting that there is an interactional relationship between self-concept and social acceptance such that: (1) an adequate self-concept is a prerequisite for social acceptance and social acceptance increases the likelihood of positive self-evaluations which, in turn, raises the level of the self-concept even higher; (2) an inadequate self-concept leads to social rejection and social rejection increases the likelihood of negative self-evaluations which, in turn, tend to lower the self-concept even more. Thus, we suggest that status deprivation is maladjustive for the social and emotional requirements of the heterogeneous school situation.

"Cures" for Status Deprivation

The kind of compensatory programs that have already been suggested should also aid in helping overcome the Leftout's status deprivation. In addition, the problems engendered by status deprivation indicate that the earlier such compensatory measures are taken the better.

It has been shown that social acceptance can be fostered if the Leftout has a classroom teacher who consciously attempts to reward him in some manner and who works at fostering social integration among all students. It is suggested that Leftout's are apt to be especially susceptible to the socializing influence of their teachers and age-mates because of: (1) their relatively greater dependency need, (2) their relatively indefinite status, (3) their anxiety for acceptance (if not extreme), and (4) their relatively low levels of self-esteem.* This greater susceptibility to social influence can be exploited to help overcome status deprivation. However, any radical change effort to correct the child's disapproved behavior in the school situation (either academic or social) will threaten whatever social and material rewards are associated with his deviant career unless he perceives that he will be provided with satisfactory substitute rewards.

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*Self-esteem--refers to the amount of agreement between the child's self-description and his description of an ideal self, such that the higher the agreement level the higher the degree of self-esteem.

Research evidence indicates that children's susceptibility to influence efforts also varies with: (1) age-- younger children are more susceptible to influence attempts; (2) sex--girls are more susceptible than boys; and (3) instrumentality--if conformity is made instrumental to achieving his goals, then the Leftout will be more susceptible to influence attempts.

Social acceptance should be fostered if the Leftout has help in developing some talent or special skill valued by his more advantaged age-mates. But compensatory measures designed to help the Leftout develop such skills and talents, and to foster his acculturation and social assimilation, are best taken during the earliest school years.

Social acceptance should be fostered if the Leftout can be influenced by significant others to be adaptable to changes in his social environment. Since the bases of social acceptance among children change over time, the socially rejected child has an opportunity for future acceptance if he possesses or develops skills, talents, or personality characteristics that can be exploited at a later date to overcome status deprivation. Thus, compensatory efforts should not stop with the earliest school years.

If deviant behavior is to be extinguished it is best to ignore it if possible or punish it if it is a gross violation of normative expectations. However, it is also necessary to supply guidlines to <u>approved</u> behavior by

intentional instruction and/or incidental learning from
role models. Because of the influence that peers have on
the Leftout's value orientations and behavioral expecta-
tions, the more contact a Leftout has with appropriate role
models from the majority group, the faster and more com-
plete should be his acculturation. The more complete his
acculturation, the more complete his social assimilation.
Thus, the Leftout who is brought into daily contact with
his more advantaged peers has the best chance of learning
the norms essential for academic and social success--
and overcoming his status deprivation. Compensatory pro-
grams should not separate Leftouts from their age-mates
but should be designed to utilize more advantaged children
as role models, for social influence, and as instructors
for the value orientation and behavioral expectations re-
quired for an acceptable social status in the heterogeneous
school situation.

Upward social mobility through academic achievement
is probably more likely to result from experience in hetero-
geneous classrooms than in homogeneous classes. Hetero-
geneous classes are less likely to provide a common value
climate and more likely to provide associations with
teachers and/or age-mates which will facilitate the Left-
out's achievement of social status. When children of
diverse experience, training, and socio-economic background
are brought into contact in the heterogeneous school situ-
ation, the mingling of divergent and sometimes conflicting

value orientations and behavioral expectations may be a source of frustration and disturbance for each group of children. At the same time, such heterogeneity is both: (1) a source of knowledge, developing tolerance, and understanding for the majority group; and (2) a source of the social learning required for upward mobility for the Leftout. In a heterogeneous public school, in general, both the acculturation of the Leftouts and their social assimilation should be most successful when: (1) the Leftouts are a relatively small minority, constituting not more than 25% of the school population; (2) when the Leftouts are from a socio-cultural group which has been in the United States a relatively long time, and are not discriminated against because of race or religious and ethnic identity; (3) when the Leftouts come from the same kind of community (i.e., rural or urban) as their more advantaged classmates.

Status deprivation problems should also be mitigated by similarity of social class background. However, as we have seen, the Leftouts are also apt to be disadvantaged in this area.

Relatively Low Levels of Self-Esteem

Theoretical Framework.--Personality and value orientations are open to modification throughout life by changing social influences and new experiences. Thus, the stability of personality is relative. Adjustive stability requires

continual adaptations in response to new experiences or reinterpretations of old ones in light of changed perceptions or demands for reorganization and reevaluation of value orientations and behavioral expectations. In short, socialization is ideally a continuous process.

One of the major products of the socialization process is that of knowledge of role expectations. Within any social system each individual occupies one or more roles, which are accompanied by normative expectations as to how a person in that particular position should think, feel, and behave. The normative expectations accompanying various roles may be pervasive or delimited, complex or simple, clear or ambiguous, integrative or conflicting. Ambiguous or conflicting normative expectations are seen to create cross pressures which are apt to result in emotional strain and anxiety for the individual.

The closer the correspondence between the value orientations and behavioral expectations of various socializing agents, the more adequately and the more rapidly socialization takes place. On the other hand, the more conflicts between the value orientations and behavioral expectations of the various agents of socialization, the slower, more anxiety prone, and the more inadequate is the socialization process apt to be.

Synthesis.--We are suggesting that the Leftout, who is apt to be ill prepared to understand and cope with the

value orientations and behavioral expectations of his
teachers and more advantaged age-mates, is also apt to have
a slow, difficult, and conflict ridden time of socializa-
tion in the school situation. Such conflicts create frus-
trations and anxieties which may result in an inadequate
level of self-esteem. Thus, the Leftout may be disadvan-
taged in that he has a relatively lower level of self-
esteem than his more advantaged age-mates.

The lack of successful adjustment to school seems to
be based on: (1) lack of knowledge, experience, training,
and motivation; (2) maladjustive value orientations and
behavioral expectations; (3) repeated failures to achieve
academic and/or social status; and (4) a pessimistic
evaluation of self, i.e., a low self-concept. These factors
have been shown to have personality consequences in the
form of a low or inadequate level of self-esteem.

Children low in self-esteem have been shown to be:
(1) more persuasible, (2) more field dependent, and (3) more
conforming than those with high levels of self-esteem. Thus,
a low level of self-esteem may have adjustive consequences
for the Leftout in that pressures toward conformity by his
teachers and more advantaged peers may be very effective
in influencing his adjustment to the academic and social
demands of the heterogeneous school situation. On the other
hand, a low level of self-esteem may have maladjustive con-
sequences because the Leftout is also highly susceptible to

social pressures from other status deprived children and to any cross pressures that may exist.

It has been suggested that the cross-pressured Leftout may chose two general alternatives: (1) reject the value orientations and behavioral expectations of his teachers and more advantaged age-mates in favor of forming a coalition with others like himself; or (2) attempt to conform to the expectations of his teachers and more advantaged age-mates, in which case repeated academic and social problems are apt to have maladjustive emotional consequences. We would argue that the direction actually taken will depend on other personality and situational variables. We suggest that when the Leftout is unattracted to those doing the evaluating of his position, when negative academic and social evaluations among teachers and more advantaged age-mates are unimportant to him, when he knows what they expect of him but choses not to conform, and when alternative status giving positions are available to him, he is more likely to form a coalition with other disadvantaged children. We have already discussed the potentially negative consequences of this alternative in the last section. On the other hand, we suggest that when the Leftout is attracted to those doing the evaluating of his position, when academic and social evaluations among teachers and more advantaged age-mates are important to him, when he knows what they expect of him but cannot meet their expectations or when their expectations are unknown to him, and when there

seem to be few alternative means of achieving status, he is apt to evidence some emotional maladjustment in the heterogeneous school. Let us examine here the consequences of this alternative.

Academic, Social, and Emotional Consequences of Low Levels of Self-Esteem

The Leftout's self-concept--his feelings about himself, his place among his peers and teachers, and his academic ability--is influenced by many interacting variables: (1) his parents' evaluation of him, (2) his family's socioeconomic status and type of structural organization, (3) the value orientations and behavioral expectations of the subcultural group with which he chooses to identify, (4) his educational background and language skill, (5) his ethnic and racial identification, (6) his sex-role identity, (7) his degree of conformity to the value orientations and behavioral expectations of his teachers and more advantaged age-mates, (8) his degree of social acceptance and adaptability, and (9) his own experiences with academic success or failure.

We are suggesting that the more of these areas in which the Leftout is disadvantaged, the more likely he is to exhibit a low level of self-esteem. A low level of self-esteem is suggested to be maladjustive for the academic and social demands of the heterogeneous school situation and to give rise to emotional maladjustment.

As we have seen, the more conflict between the value orientations and behavioral expectations to which the

Leftout has previously been socialized and those demanded by the new situation of the heterogeneous school are pervasive (deep in quality) and/or extensive (many in quantity), the more likely he is to evidence severe anxiety symptons and be functionally incapable of changing his behavior or adapting his value orientation to new demands. Severe conflicts have been shown to result in: (1) failure to achieve academically, (2) failure in interpersonal relationships, (3) erratic, aggressive, rebellious, deviant, disruptive behavior that is often defined as emotional maladjustment. All of these may serve to reduce the Leftout's already low level of self-esteem even further. We would argue that those Leftouts who are upwardly mobile are more subject to emotional disorders and to decreases in self-esteem levels than those who are stationary--partly because of the increased normative cross-pressures to which they are subject.

The etiology of the Leftouts' maladjustive low levels of self-esteem would seem to include, then: (1) perceptions of inability to reach goals to which they aspire--which may result in frustration, anxiety, and self-disparagement (negative self-evaluation) and (2) downward readjustment of mobility aspirations. When the area of evaluation is academic achievement and the Leftout accurately perceives what is expected of him by his teachers and achievement-oriented peers, but he is incapable of fulfilling these expectations because of a lack of background experience, training, or skill and he feels he has failed, he is apt

to come to evaluate himself in a less favorable way, i.e.,
lower his level of self-esteem. When the area of evalua-
tion is interpersonal relationships with the majority group,
and the Leftout accurately perceives what is expected of
him by his teachers and more advantaged age-mates but he
perceives that he has failed to gain social acceptance among
them, he is apt to come to evaluate himself in a less
favorable way, i.e., lower his level of self-esteem.

We are suggesting that the nature of the Leftout's
self-concept is apt to have adverse consequences for his
academic adjustment in the heterogeneous school situation
such that an inadequate level of self-esteem tends to be
reflected in academic achievement in the form that the lower
the self-esteem level the more likely he is to fail. A low
level of self-esteem is apt to have adverse consequences
for the Leftout's social adjustment in the heterogeneous
school in terms of his social acceptance in the form that
the lower the self-esteem level the more likely he is to
be rejected by others--including others like himself!

Low academic or social status may result in emotional
maladjustment, especially: (1) social indifference (with-
drawal), (2) rebelliousness (hostility), and/or (3) severe
anxiety and depression. Any of these responses to the
heterogeneous school situation are seen to be symptomatic
of the Leftout's emotional maladjustment.

It is suggested that emotional maladjustment may both
stem from and contribute to academic and social maladjustment.

Emotional disturbance is seen to be maladjustive for the demands of the heterogeneous school situation in that it tends to be incapacitating for the Leftout's learning potential, either through intentional or incidental means.

It must be remembered, however, that this relationship between the Leftout's social and academic problems and the nature and extent of his emotional maladjustment is largely a theoretical one. The proper identification and classification of emotional maladjustment among elementary-age school children, the exploration of the relative impact of various suggested developmental antecedents, and the selection of appropriate treatment measures all represent primary areas for scientific investigation.

"Cures" for Low Levels of Self-Esteem

It is suggested that for the Leftout, an inadequate self-concept is more likely because of his lack of prerequisite skills required for social and academic success. Thus, the kinds of compensatory programs already suggested should help to overcome the Leftouts' low levels of self-esteem. The Leftout's self-concept is developed: (1) prior to and outside of school, especially through family contacts, (2) by teacher's attitudes toward him, (3) by his level of academic success, and (4) by his level of social success among his peers. Compensatory programs which include the cooperative and active efforts of parents, teachers, and peers to raise the Leftout's self-esteem level should have

a positive influence on his school adjustment potential.

Self-esteem levels are also dependent on several personal variables. For the Leftout these include: (1) the importance to him of the specific area of focus of others' evaluations, (2) his knowledge of others' expectations and evaluations, (3) his perceptions of the quality of others' evaluations, and (4) his attraction to those doing the evaluating. Thus, compensatory programs must be designed to: (1) foster the Leftout's ego involvement, (2) offer specific training in core cultural value orientations and behavioral expectations, (3) offer rewards and chances for positive evaluations, and (4) foster social acceptance of the Leftout with warm, supportive teachers and peers.

Our analysis indicates that the early identification of low levels of self-esteem and appropriate compensatory measures are crucial to the Leftout's potential for school adjustment. Thus, cooperation among psychologists and teachers to develop more accurate evaluative and predictive measures of level of self-esteem is indicated. So too is the need for more counselors at the elementary school level to work both directly with the Leftout child and to help in the planning of effective compensatory programs.

Postscript

Compensatory programs intended (at least in part) to aid socio-culturally disadvantaged children have burgeoned in the last three years. Probably the best known and most generally admired of these programs are VISTA and Project Head Start, conducted under the auspices of the Federal government.

VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) is one of the major anti-poverty programs established by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. When help is requested, VISTA volunteers (sometimes referred to as the Domestic Peace Corps) are assigned for one year and engage in a number of projects ranging from clean-up campaigns and home management demonstrations to job training and employment assistance. A number of educational programs dealing with preschool or elementary-age children are staffed by VISTA volunteers. These are typically located in areas of "hard core" poverty in urban slums, isolated rural areas, among migrant workers, and on Indian reservations. For example, VISTA provides tutoring service through the Youth Opportunities Board of Los Angeles, California. Volunteers work in an area of twelve counties in Easter Kentucky through the Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc. (Berea), tutoring, participating in a book program for schools, and remodeling school buildings. Through the Michigan Migrant Opportunity, Inc. (Lansing), volunteers provide educational training and day care for the children of migrant farm

workers. In Minnesota, in cooperation with the Fond du Lac Reservation Business Committee (Cloquet), volunteers are assisting in such activities as remedial reading and mathematics, organizing youth clubs, field trips, and recreation programs for Chippewa children.

For the first time in the summer of 1965, Project Head Start of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) supported 2,400 programs of compensatory education that were offered for periods of six to eight weeks to approximately 560,000 four and five-year-old culturally disadvantaged children in nearly every section of the country. The purpose of these projects is to try to prepare disadvantaged children to cope with the demands of the public school situation. Most of these children came from homes so blighted with poverty that they had never colored with crayons, listened to a story, visited a zoo, or enjoyed any of the other pre-school learning experiences which middle class children take for granted. In some instances, the growth of their minds had been so stunted by deprivation and neglect that they had speaking vocabularies of less than 100 words. For six to eight weeks these children received attention rarely accorded to the children of poverty. Doctors checked their health and gave them immunization shots. Dentists examined their teeth. Other specialists tested their sight and hearing. Specially trained teachers led them gently into a new world of books, pictures, music, and classroom activity. Each day they received a nourishing

lunch. Even the strongest boosters of Head Start do not
contend that eight weeks of intensive help can enable such
children to begin school on a par with children who have
had four or five years of tender, loving, stimulating care.
The most expected is that Head Start classes will reduce
the gap, and give these children an uphill chance to adjust
in school.

OEO Director Sargent Shriver has reported that pre-
school children enrolled in Head Start programs in 1965
gained an average of nearly 10 points on standard I.Q. tests.
There has been little or no carefully controlled, scientific
study of the immediate or long-range effects of these pro-
grams to date, but the OEO has provided funds and approved
research proposals from five major university centers
around the country to carry on longitudinal studies of the
effects of Head Start programs in their areas. (Michigan
State University and the Merrill Palmer Institute, in a
cooperative effort, will conduct one such research project.)
Head Start has generally received high prase and ardent ap-
proval. The OEO has reported a sampling of specific
findings:

> 1. Head Start children in Baltimore led non-Head
> Start children by the equivalent of ten IQ points on
> picture vocabulary tests.
> 2. Many 4- and 5-year-olds who had never before
> been called anything but "boy" or "sonny" began to
> recognize themselves as individuals. Before-and-
> after tests on 61 children on Staten Island in New
> York shcwed marked improvement in their ability to
> draw pictures of themselves. These same children
> also achieved a fourteen-month advance during the
> summer in their ability to use words.

3. Head Start children in Chicago were able to concentrate on what their first-grade teachers were saying better than the non-Head Start group.

4. Children at a Montessori school in Clovis, California showed gains of between four and twelve months on mental-maturity tests during the course of their program. The greatest gains were made by Mexican-American children who started with the lowest scores.

5. Attempts to get parents to reinforce Head Start programs at home--one of the major goals of the project-- were often disappointing. . . . These are families who live from one crisis to another and worry about things like how they're going to scrape something together for lunch.

6. In Boston, doctors found that 441 of 1,123 children they examined were emotionally disturbed, 67 of them seriously. Only two of them were known to have received treatment (Newsweek Magazine, February 21, 1966.)

All of which indicates, as we have suggested, that compensatory programs are needed, helpful, and should not stop with pre-school efforts but should be coordinated with programs in the everyday school situation.

In a proposal to Congress on July 17, 1965, President Johnson called for the establishment of a National Teacher Corps of specially trained teachers to work in urban slums and areas of rural poverty. The Corps will add to the teaching staff of local school systems to enhance their efforts. Training programs are being conducted this summer (1966) focusing in four specific areas:

1. to prepare teachers to deal with and to accept the attitudes and behaviors characteristically found in low income communities;

2. to prepare team leaders for roles as promoters of innovative thought and teaching methods;

3. to assist teacher-interns to achieve receptiveness to innovations and learning from new experiences; and

4. to provide all Corpsmen with firsthand knowledge of the home and community life of disadvantaged children.

This is one of the few compensatory efforts being made which recognizes the importance of special training for classroom teachers who will be working with disadvantaged children.

In addition to these programs, literally thousands of state, local, and independent projects are being conducted. Some efforts are being made to coordinate activities of various voluntary programs, including programs designed to offer compensatory education, by state governments in several areas. For example, the Michigan Human Resources Council has just completed its first year as a state agency with a budget in excess of $100,000.

Tutorial programs established and run by college students proliferate. In a new step toward closer relations with the tutorial movement, to help determine their needs, and to offer financial assistance, OEO recently negotiated a contract with the National Student Association to organize and operate a Tutorial Assiatance Center (TAC). The TAC is acting as a clearinghouse for information among the many student tutorial projects across the country, and between them and the government. Under its contract for over $130,000, TAC is preparing a series of pamphlets and other publications designed to help college students and others who want to start new projects. It has also begun to publish a newsletter, is preparing a directory of present projects, and will hold conferences for staff workers on

projects, in addition to providing advice to OEO staff on the problems and needs of tutorial programs. These student projects range from the Tuskegee Institute for Community Education Program, run by the institute, which provides assistance through 25 centers in ten rural counties of southeastern Alabama with a $2,109,345 grant from OEO, through several small tutoring projects in northern urban slums.

There is apt to be little cooperation and continuity between these programs and the public schools. Some of these programs have political overtones. For example, the University of Chicago's Student Woodlawn Area Project (SWAP) believes it is a part of their task to press for changes in the operation of the city school system. Nearly all of these tutorial programs are run as after-school projects. The student volunteers dress casually and try to avoid creating the impression that they are teachers, but rather seek to be "friends" with the children whom they work. While this may be an excellent way to reach children who have suffered status deprivation in school, this kind of philosophy also tends to foster the impression that is is only outside of the routine school situation that individualized, supportive attention is available. Michigan State University's Student Education Corps (SEC) is a unique exception. SEC volunteers work directly in the schools, during regular school hours, and in cooperation with the regular classroom teacher. This kind of help allows for

individualizing the child's experience while, at the same time, fostering the idea that school is a good, helpful, and rewarding place to be.

The majority of compensatory educational programs have dealt with children who attend fairly homogeneous schools in more or less isolated "poverty" areas. This effort is a worthy one, but our principle concern has been with educationally disadvantaged children in heterogeneous school situations. Of course, many of the problems are the same-- simply intensified when the child must attend school with those who _are_ prepared to cope with the demands of the school situation. Title I of the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 allowed for the authorization of more than $1 billion for the fiscal year of 1966 to aid school districts with even small numbers of low income families to supply books and materials, community educational centers, conduct research and teacher training programs. This program is aimed at assisting the "educationally deprived" whatever the cause may be, although the majority of children in this classification are also from families regarded as economically disadvantaged. Title I financing has been made available to local school districts for:

1. increasing the number of counselors in elementary schools;

2. financing field trips;

3. providing enrichment courses in creative writing, art, music, and drama;

4. hiring additional supervisory personnel;

5. hiring additional teachers with special training;

6. providing remedial courses in all subjects;

7. financing additional administrative help required by the program;

8. intensifying instruction;

9. hiring of community-school coordinators;

10. supplementing the Head Start program in regular classes;

11. improving elementary-school libraries; and

12. establishing neighborhood and youth encouragement programs.

This kind of program conducted within the structure of the existing school system, with integrated planning, and special selection and training of teachers would seem to come much closer to fulfilling the needs of the Leftout. There would seem to be no reason that volunteer help could not be used to supplement this kind of compensatory education effort.

It seems obvious that money and help is readily available--but equally obvious that more than good intentions and financial support is needed for effective compensatory education. Cooperative planning, coordinated activities, and a great deal of research and training seems indicated; all of which should begin with a thorough understanding of the problems of the socio-culturally disadvantaged children. The social psychological problems of the Leftouts most especially need attention because they are often indeed left out of much current compensatory educational planning.

Our analysis has pointed to a number of at least theoretically supported relationships which are worthy of concentrated research efforts. Part of our analysis of the particular problems of Leftouts, generated by their specific social situation in the heterogeneous school, has relied on research and theory only indirectly related to the specific problem at hand--for the simple reason that no one to date has considered the problems of disadvantaged children in heterogeneous schools as they might differ from those of disadvantaged children in homogeneous schools. It seems obvious that many of the Leftout's problems will not differ from those of any disadvantaged child in the school system. It is the consequences of this disadvantage in a particular kind of social setting which are suggested to make the Leftout's problems different. In our analysis we have tried to indicate the probable consequences of socio-cultural disadvantage for the Leftout.

It is with the consequences of the values, attitudes, and behavior of teachers and more advantaged age-mates in this unique social setting that we have been primarily con-cerned. Thus, our analysis has relied heavily on social psychological theory, on child development literature, and on such empirical research as seems relevant. Our analysis seems reasonable enough in light of this kind of evidence, but far more directed research is indicated.

It has been important to our argument that both teachers and peers are potentially significant others for

an elementary-age child, especially for disadvantaged children in the heterogeneous school situation. Thus, important areas for directed research must be those of: (1) the general significance that teachers and more advantaged age-mates have for the Leftout; (2) the relative influence of parents, teachers, and peers for the Leftout's development of value orientations and behavioral expectations; and (3) the specific nature of the consequences for the Leftout of parental/teacher/peer conflicts in demands.

We have assumed, in the bulk of this discussion, that the Leftout has both the physical and intellectual potential needed for successful social and academic adjustment, given appropriate compensatory training. Thus, other crucial areas for research must center on: (1) the truth of this assumption, (2) appropriate ways of meaningfully measuring physical and intellectual capacity among disadvantaged children, and (3) the design and evaluation of appropriate compensatory programs.

We have argued that academic, social, and emotional factors in the heterogeneous school situation are interdependent and equally important for the Leftout's potential for successful school adjustment. Thus, research efforts also need to be directed toward investigating more fully the relationship between these variables for the disadvantaged child in a heterogeneous school situation.

Finally, we have strongly suggested that the particular social situation in which the Leftout finds himself

both compounds his general disadvantage and, at the same time, offers the means for overcoming it. Thus, research is urgently needed to: (1) show whether in fact the Left-out's unique social situation has differential consequences, and (2) the specific nature of any observed differences.

We have tried to offer cogent, theoretically oriented guidelines for each of these areas of needed research.

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335

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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APPENDIX

347

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