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FIVE COLLEGE DEPOSITORY

THE CROSS-CULTURAL APPROACH TO READING

A Dissertation Presented

By

Gary A. Simpkins

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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and Behavioral Sciences

187

THE CROSS-CULTURAL APPROACH TO READING

A Dissertation Presented

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ABSTRACT

The Cross-Cultural Approach to Reading

(July 1976)

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Without the acquisition of functional reading skills the probability of one's having a happy, productive life, free from the crippling cycle of poverty and frustration is extremely low. Those persons who do not possess functional reading skills, with a few exceptions, are relegated to a caste system. They become the people least equipped to cope with a complex, rapidly changing society.

This society places a heavy stigma on the functionally illiterate. The functionally illiterate person is considered to be dull, ignorant, backward. Even worse, the functionally illiterate person often comes to consider himself/herself to be all these things and more.

The academic failure among Black students in this country's school systems has become so widespread and such a common occurrence that it is no longer necessary to present the statistics of failure. The emphasis is on finding solutions. The Cross-Cultural Approach to Reading represents an alternative approach designed to intervene in the pattern of failure exhibited by Black students in the public schools.

The Cross-Cultural Approach to Reading is designed to accommodate the culture and language of Black non-mainstream students. It is an educational approach which attempts to bridge the void that exists between the learning that takes place in the Black non-mainstream community and the learning that Black students are expected to acquire in schools.

There are two teaching-learning strategies in this approach: (a) Associative Bridging; and (b) Peer Control. Associative Bridging is the process of going from the familiar to the less familiar. This strategy seeks to improve the students' reading ability by first teaching them in their familiar dialect, and then extending that learning via a series of steps to the standard American English dialect. Reading in standard English is thus taught as an extension of reading in the students' familiar dialect. Peer Control is an oral reading procedure designed to give students control over the learning process. It is a small group, oral reading exercise which draws heavily on the call and response oral tradition of the Black community. In Peer Control, the students correct each other's oral reading.

In the Cross-Cultural Approach, there are two rules for the development of reading instructional materials: (a) the developers and the intended consumers of instructional materials must share a common cultural and linguistic background; and (b) the developers must hold constant the general concepts relating to the advantages or disadvantages of literacy they wish to convey to the students, while allowing the content and cultural context of the materials to vary in order to match the immediate environment and language of the consumers.

Students using the Cross-Cultural Approach follow a structured sequence that repeats itself as they move through the various materials. The sequence allows the students to proceed at their own individual pace, without reference to the other students in the classroom.

The teacher, in the Cross-Cultural Approach, assumes three roles: (a) manager of behavior; (b) manager of materials; and (c) individual learning consultant. As a manager of behavior, the teacher dispenses reinforcement, in the form of praise statements, for on task behavior, ignoring inappropriate behavior whenever possible. In the role of manager of materials, the teacher supervises the distribution, use and flow of materials. As an individual learning consultant, the teacher consults with individual students on any learning problems or difficulties they experience pertaining to the materials or procedures employed in the Cross-Cultural Approach.

The program model for the Cross-Cultural Approach has been evaluated by three studies: (a) the Los Angeles Study; (b) the Boston Study; and (c) the Houghton Mifflin Field Test. The Los Angeles Study, an exploratory preliminary evaluation, indicated a need for revisions. The Boston Study provided valuable insights as to how the program works in simulated classroom situations and a basis for future development. The Houghton Mifflin Field Test results indicated that the program model for the Cross-Cultural Approach to Reading was a valuable tool for intervening in the reading failure of Black non-mainstream students, and that it should be distributed nationally.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

An immense amount of information must be shared by means of the printed word in a modern industrial society such as the United States. The ability to read is a valuable instrument for navigating one's way through society. Appropriately, reading constitutes one of the highest priorities in American education. Although few indictments of a school are considered more damaging than low achievement in reading among its students, more than twenty-five percent of this country's population are functionally illiterate. Approximately fifty percent of the student population in large city school systems read below expectation.

The reading problem is even greater among Black students. The "Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey" (Coleman, et al., 1966) focused attention on the massive pattern of academic failure among Black students in this country's school systems. A more recent survey (Lewis, et al., 1973) of the average reading levels of students in ten low socioeconomic, predominately Black urban school systems, indicates that the pattern of failure still exists.

Nine years after the Coleman report the question remains: What can be done? It is no longer necessary to present the statistics of failure. Today, the underachievement of Black students in our urban centers has become so widespread, and such a common occurrence, that it is no longer necessary to document it in order to prove it exists. The emphasis has been on finding causes which led to possible solutions,

and/or strategies for intervention. This dissertation presents an alternative approach, "The Cross-Cultural Approach to Reading," designed to intervene in the pattern of failure exhibited by Black non-mainstream students.

The term "Black non-mainstream" refers to Afro-Americans who are generally members of the lower socioeconomic class, speak what is known as Black English, and relate to the culture which that dialect represents. In the literature they are sometimes referred to as "disadvantaged," "culturally deprived," "culturally different." For further descriptions, see Chapter 5 of Dillard's book, Black English, (1972).

Chapter I gives the objectives of this dissertation. It discusses the developmental background of "The Cross-Cultural Approach to Reading." It also reviews related literature on the "Deficit" and "Cultural Difference" models which seek to explain the underachievement of Black non-mainstream students in this country's school systems.

Chapter II analyzes the function cultural ethnocentrism has played in the American institution of public education, and its relation to the "academic failure" of Black non-mainstream students. That chapter examines the ways in which public education has traditionally sought to normalize Black students, and the resulting effects of that practice. In addition, some of the ways in which social science research has provided a "scientific" basis for cultural ethnocentrism are discussed.

Chapter III presents an overview of the "reading problem" in this country in general, and among Black non-mainstream students in particular. Some of the major alleged causes for the underachievement of Black

students, which focuses on the ethnocentric nature of the educational institution rather than Black students and the Black community, are discussed.

Chapter IV describes the theoretical framework of "The Cross-Cultural Approach to Reading." Associative Bridging, a general teaching-learning strategy which constitutes the methodology for the implementation of the Cross-Cultural Approach, is described. Peer Control, a specific teaching-learning strategy for oral reading embodied in the Cross-Cultural Approach, is also described.

Chapter V discusses the development of Cross-Cultural instructional materials. That chapter discusses the development of reading materials, skill-related materials, audio materials, and the Associative Bridging sequence for arranging the materials. The chapter also describes the Student Feedback Chart, a method for students to record and keep track of their progress.

Chapter VI discusses the method for implementing the Cross-Cultural Approach in the classroom. It discusses the roles of the teacher and the students in implementing the approach. The chapter also discusses the implementation of the Peer Control procedure.

The final chapter analyzes existing data on the efficacy of the Cross-Cultural Approach. Future directions for further research and development of the Cross-Cultural Approach are discussed.

Objectives

The primary purpose of this dissertation is to present an alternative conceptual and pedagogical approach to reading, "The Cross-Cultural Approach to Reading," designed to accommodate the culture, language, and interest of Black non-mainstream students. The intent is to present an educational approach that can be used to bridge the void that exists between the learning that takes place in the Black community and the learning that Black students are expected to acquire in the schools.

The specific objectives of this dissertation are as follows: (1) to present an alternative approach to reading that can be used as an effective tool for intervening in the massive pattern of failure exhibited by Black non-mainstream students in the public schools; (2) to compile and integrate into one manuscript the writings, programs, and research of the author which have come to be known as the "Cross-Cultural Approach to Reading"; (3) to compile and evaluate the existing data on the Cross-Cultural Approach in order to ascertain the feasibility and effectiveness of the approach.

Background

Technomics Research and Analysis Corporation, a Los Angeles-based scientific corporation, undertook at its personal expense, after the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., to attack the problem of widespread reading failure among non-white youths in urban ghettos. The author was engaged by Technomics as a special consultant on the project.

Burton R. Wolin, Ph.D., Vice President of Research at Technomics, and the author designed a reading and writing instructional package tailored to the language and experience of Black urban ghetto youths of high school age "who had never experienced the benefits of reading" (Technomics, 1969). The design of the instructional package was based on knowledge culled from research on reading, learning theory, Black dialect, and untested ideas of Dr. Wolin and the author.

Due to lack of funds the project was canceled by Technomics. The author continued to work on the reading component of the package. The reading component was changed to a separate reading program.

In 1973, Houghton Mifflin Publishing Company formed an Urban Programs Department within their Education Division. The charge of the Urban Programs Department was to publish innovative educational programs aimed at minority communities. The author was contacted by the Director of the Urban Programs Department and told that his reading program was highly recommended by Black educators and researchers in various parts of the country.

An appointment was arranged between the author and the Director to review the reading program and to discuss the possibility of Houghton Mifflin's publishing the program. The author agreed to develop a comprehensive reading program. The agreement was contingent upon Houghton Mifflin's allowing the author to choose his own author team and committing the company's resources to a field test of the program in the public schools. In addition, the author insisted that the publishing company agree not to market the program unless both the author and the publishing

company agreed that the field test data indicated that the program was an effective tool for teaching Black inner-city students to improve their reading.

The reading program, which came to be known as "Bridge: A Cross-Cultural Reading Program," was field tested in various parts of the country in February of 1975. The results of the field test were extremely promising. Both the author and the publishing company agreed that the data clearly indicated the program was an effective tool for teaching Black inner-city students to improve their reading. Based on the data from the field test, a final edition of the program was prepared. The program, at the time of this writing, is in press and scheduled to be marketed around the country in November of 1976. (For an expanded version of the Background section, refer to Appendix A.)

Related Literature

Since the late fifties, there has been a plethora of research by psychologists and educators on the subject of the education of Black children. The impetus for this research was the massive pattern of academic failure displayed by Black children in this country's public schools as documented by standardized test scores.

Williams and Rivers (1975) in summarizing the bulk of the research on Black children from the late fifties to the early seventies state:

Many studies report that white students obtain higher scores on standardized tests than Black students. As a result, it has been assumed that the cognitive development and language acquisition processes of Black children are deficient in relation to the same developmental processes in white children.

Williams and Rivers further state that this body of literature consistently reports that Black children: (1) enter the public schools lacking the skills required to cope with kindergarten and first grade curricula, (2) have inferior language development, (3) possess underdeveloped auditory and visual discrimination skills, (4) have a higher probability of dropping out of school before completing high school than White children, and (5) have self-concepts which are poorly developed.

Williams and Rivers conclude that they reject the vast majority of this body of research and the above assertions on the grounds that most of the research studies in the areas of language, intellectual and self-concept development of Black children were culturally and racially ethnocentric. Williams and Rivers state that most of the research which supplied the data base was (1) conducted by White researchers who (2) used culturally biased normative instruments such as the Stanford-Binet, Wechsler and Peabody, which were standardized on White children and which (3) did not involve ethnically relevant or familiar content.

Williams and Rivers' position is similar to that of Joan and Stephen Baratz (1970). The Baratzes, after examining the literature and the underlying assumption of intervention programs of the sixties designed for Blacks, suggest that the failure of White social scientists and educators to overcome their cultural and racial ethnocentrism rendered the programs ineffectual. They suggest that the reluctance of researchers to recognize and utilize existing cultural forms of the Black community to teach new skills doomed the intervention programs to failure before they were started.

The Deficit Model

The research and literature of the late fifties through the early seventies on Black children can be categorized under the label of the "deficit model" or "deficiency hypothesis." This model, or point of view, was used to explain the causes of the Black child's "failure in the public schools." This point of view explains the failure of Black children as a function of the children's being deficient in cognitive, linguistic, and intellectual skills. It assumes this deficiency was caused by the environment, culture, and family structure of the community (Bernstein, 1961; Clark and Richards, 1966; Deutsch, C., 1964; Deutsch, M., 1965; Hess and Shipman, 1965; Kagan, 1968; Larson and Olson, 1963; Riessman, 1962).

The deficit model, with its focus on the alleged deficiencies of the Black child, the Black family and Black culture in general, served as an effective smoke screen for the public schools. It served to focus attention on the alleged deficits of the Black community and to deflect attention from the ethnocentrism of the mainstream society and the schools.

Identifying characteristics of the deficit model are the pejorative labels employed--such as "culturally deprived," "culturally disadvantaged," and "linguistically impoverished." A central allegation of the deficit model is that Black children have acquired fewer communication skills than their White counterparts, and that those communication patterns which they display are defective (Deutsch, M., 1963; Hunt, 1968). This

defect was assumed to be the result of the children's having a "deficient" linguistic model; i.e., Black dialect, the primary language which the children learned. This defective dialect, in turn, was assumed to have contributed to the failure of the children in the schools because it did not provide them with the communication skills necessary to learn academically related topics and to develop cognitively (Caldwell, 1968; Gordon, 1968).

Cultural Difference Model

In contrast to the deficit model, an alternative view to the educational problems of Black children in the public schools is the cultural difference model. The cultural difference model postulates that the Black child's language, culture, family structure, and life style are not deficient, but different from those of their middle class counterparts. Williams (1971) defines the cultural difference model in the following manner:

Briefly stated, the cultural difference model asserts that the difference noted by psychologists in intelligence testing, family and social organizations and the studies of the Black community are not the result of pathology, faulty learning, or genetic inferiority. These manifestations are the result of a viable and well-delineated culture of the Black American. The difference model also acknowledges that Blacks and Whites come from different cultural backgrounds which emphasize different learning experiences. To say that the Black American is different from the White American is not to say that he is inferior, deficient, or deprived.

Fanon (1967) aptly stated that a person's language is the central variable of his existence; it reflects his culture and experience, and his being. This view is supported by Corbin and Crosby (1965) when they

state that "a major function of language is its role in the process of thought, in the assimilation of specific information into meaningful concepts." It is not surprising that the most convincing data in support of the cultural difference position has come from the language area. Linguists (Labov, et al., 1965, 1968; Labov, W., 1967; Stewart, 1964, 1967, 1968) and behavioral scientists (Baratz, J., 1968; Cazden, et al., 1970) have shown in their research that the language spoken by Black people throughout the United States is a systematic, rule-governed dialect, and not in any way defective or deficient. Moreover, this dialect is the language of a specific culture, with different human relations, different values, and different language behavior from the dominant middle class culture.

CHAPTER II

CULTURAL ETHNOCENTRISM: THE RELATIONSHIP OF PUBLIC EDUCATION
AND SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH TO THE "FAILURE"
OF BLACK NON-MAINSTREAM STUDENTSSocialization and Public Education

Whites can give lip service to Afro-American culture as legitimate and creative, to the Black man as psychologically and culturally adequate, as long as they can be assured that he is really more White than anything else. As long as Whites can conceive of him as being a "Black-white man," he will be psychologically more palatable to them.

It places the Black man in this country in a perpetual position of inferiority. For the Black man becomes a "sick white man" who never quite measures up to the real White man, who in turn becomes the standard of measurement (Simpkins, Williams and Gunnings, 1971).

Historically, the socialization of poor and ethnic group students has been one of the primary and overriding objectives of American education. The major goal of the public schools, when they were first established in the late 1830's, was to create students who were similar in aspirations, attitudes, values, language usage, and cultural trappings. Central to this goal was belief in the concept of the "melting pot," which asserts that diverse ethnic groups would be blended to produce one nationality based on English as a language, western Europe as a culture, and the middle and upper classes as models of excellence. According to the melting pot concept, these groups would shed their ethnic impurities as they blended into the great American mainstream.

The common school in America was based on the premise that "all men are created equal," and, therefore, there should be equal treatment for all.

On the surface "equal treatment for all" seemed laudable as a purpose. When bureaucratic organizations tried to act upon it, however, they found it administratively convenient to achieve equal treatment by treating everyone as if they were alike (Erickson and Krumbein, 1971).

American educators, following in the tradition of Dewey, attempted, with the zeal of missionaries, "to see to it that each individual gets an opportunity to escape from the limitations of the social group in which he was born."

No doubt Dewey meant well when he spoke in liberal optimism of "liberating the individual from the limitations of the social group to which he belongs." But there is an inherently patronizing quality in the concept "limitation." Limitation may mean poverty; it is clear that to Dewey it also meant cultural difference (Erickson and Krumbein, 1971).

Educators as Socializers and Oppressors

American educators assumed a two-fold role with respect to Black students--that of socializer and that of oppressor. As socializers, it was their appointed task, as they viewed it, to impose a single standard of behavior: the Americanization of Black students. Following an industrial model, they attempted to take in raw materials (Black students) and turn out a finished product according to specifications. It was their goal to produce a finished product that displayed the specifications of White mainstream America in the areas of verbal behavior, aspiration, attitude, and values. As oppressors, it was their chosen task to eradicate what they believed to be a defective and inferior "subculture."

They considered Black culture to be a subculture--and a grotesque distortion of American culture resulting from the conditions of slavery and its aftermath, the urban ghetto and rural poverty. It was their belief that this defective subculture prevented Black students from being properly educated and assimilated into the great American mainstream.

Success Model for Black Students. American educators spotlighted those Blacks who "had made it" via the schools--those Blacks who had become "educated" and achieved upward mobility in the American mainstream. They proudly held up their success to Black America. They vocally informed Black students that they could become just like the success models if they applied themselves, worked hard, and "got a good education." Black students could not help but notice that the Black doctors, lawyers, educators, scientists, and other success models were culturally more White than anything else--they were "Black-White men." The message to Black students was clear: If you want to become educated and achieve "the good life," you must become similar to White mainstream people. Many Black students have looked at the success models help up for them to emulate and said to themselves, "Yeah, they made it. But besides they skin, them dudes ain't nothing like me. And I don't think I can or wanta be anything like them."

Cultural Accommodation

Black social scientists and educators have for a long time recognized that in order to be successful in the American educational system, Black students must assimilate mainstream American culture. The closer Black

students are to the mainstream culture in their language, interests, learning and life styles, the higher the probability for successful achievement in the schools.

The public school system has become the major sorting mechanism in this society and the major means of instilling social control. In doing so it seems to have become, as well, the major agency involved in the creation and evolution of model middle class values. . . .

In addition, there is a cluster of sociocultural traits involved /that are necessary for success in the schools/ which contains such obvious matters as language, including dialect and accent; religion and dress, and more subtle values and attitudes. Again, the classification is in terms of a presumed Anglo-Saxon, Puritan ideal of questionable historicity; inner directed, individually responsible, morally upright, rationally and emotionally restrained, ambitious but socially unostentatious, competitive, cleanly, prudent of time, money and self (Dickeman, 1973).

The further removed Black students are from the mainstream culture, or better stated, the closer they are to Black non-mainstream culture in their language, interests, values, learning and life styles, the lower the probability for their successful achievement in the schools.

The schools, as representatives of the larger society, virtually ignore the values of these groups, while embracing the perspective of the "White Anglo-Saxon Ideal." Thus, there appears to be a direct relationship between the degree to which a group's values, norms, and standards are excluded from the dominant values of the society, and the failure of the society's schools to educate its members. Apparently, the schools, as subsystems of the larger societal system, reflect the dominant trends of the society, vis-a-vis its powerless minorities (Barnes, 1974).

This is not a new phenomenon or observation. In fact, it is as old as slavery and as American as racism.

Black mothers, historically, have been forced to host the oppressor. Black mothers have been forced to teach their children to accommodate to White mainstream culture in order for their children to survive. Many

Black children have heard their mothers say, "I'll kill you myself before I let them kill you. You gonna have to learn." This behavior has its roots in the American system of slavery. It was once, for Black people, a functional coping mechanism against the harsh, oppressive, dehumanizing effects of slavery. Across time, this cultural accommodation on the part of Blacks to White culture became accepted by both Black and White educators as the best, and possibly the only way for Blacks to become "educated."

If Black people are educated, they are expected to display the refinement of White culture--especially in their verbal behavior. It was, and it is today, for White people and unfortunately for a great many Black professionals, a massive, mind-boggling paradox for a Black man to be intelligent and "educated" and to cling to Black non-mainstream culture. Cobbs and Grier, two Black psychiatrists, relate in their book Black Rage, the case of a Black man who was a doctoral candidate in speech, but clung tenaciously to his Black vernacular; or as Cobbs and Grier put it, "his outrageous pathos." Cobbs and Grier explained this contradiction in the classical Freudian mode: The man's bizarre verbal behavior was pathological, resulting from early childhood interactions with his mother, with definite sexual implications.

If Black people did not assimilate White mainstream culture, their "education," as well as their intelligence was suspect; and in some cases their sanity--all of which have a direct bearing on determining whether or not they would succeed in acquiring "the good life."

To succeed. . .the individual must abandon most of the cultural traits of his home, except those few, stripped of all real symbolic significance, which the dominant society deems tolerable. Those behaviors, values and attitudes which he must abandon are those emotionally embedded, acquired as they were in the context of infancy and early childhood. To do so he must disrupt his ties to his group of origin. What is demanded, then, is a rejection of his affiliation with kin and community, of his ties to his group of birth. What this means is a rejection of those emotional bonds with family and community (Dickeman, 1973).

Problems with Cultural Accommodation

Though both Black and White educators seem to agree that in order to become educated and thus have access to the good life, Black students must take the route of mainstream culture, there were, nevertheless, some major problems with this approach. Sizable numbers of Black students were refusing to become enculturated into mainstream culture. This occurred particularly in the area of verbal behavior. Despite massive efforts on the part of the schools, Black students still clung tenaciously to their dialect and culture.

In addition, educators and social scientists began to observe that these same students were not substantially benefiting from this country's educational system. They asked why. The answers most frequently heard were based on biological explanations to account for racial differences--genetic inferiority. By the sixties, educators and social scientists began to seriously challenge biological explanations and turn toward environmental-social class explanations.

Gradually, however, with an occasional throwback or backlash, educators and scientists by the sixties began seriously to challenge the absurdity of biological explanations and to shift to the other equally absurd social class explanations (Erickson, Bryan and Walker, 1972).

Cultural Deprivation Explanations

The failure of Black non-mainstream children in the American public school system was explained on the basis of the children's being "culturally deprived" when they entered school. This view held that Black non-mainstream children brought to school a language, culture, and motivational system that was not conducive to educational achievement. The cultural environment of the Black community retarded the children's cognitive and linguistic growth. The prescription most often recommended was enrichment (a healthy shot of good White mainstream culture).

One approach particularly in vogue in the early sixties. . . was the theme that many children are "culturally deprived" when they enter school. From the "culturally deprived" view, white middle class children are assumed to have the benefit of exposure to a more enriched culture than lower class (particularly non-white) children (Erickson, Bryan and Walker, 1972).

Missionary Mentality of Social Scientists

Social scientists, equipped with the American missionary mentality and a mainstream measuring rod began descending upon unsuspecting Black communities throughout the country in order to help them solve their educational problems through the miracle of modern research activities.

There is very little in the research literature generated over the last twenty years that is complimentary to the Black child. Generally, he is portrayed as a scholastically inept, psychologically deficient, language-poor, culturally deprived drag on the educational system of this country. . . .

However, there has been no scarcity of sociological, psychological, and educational missionaries waiting to rescue him from the depths of intellectual and social obscurity. . . . The amount of money spent researching Black children over the

years attests to the favor of these scientists. However, it is unfortunate that their efforts have been directed toward "victim analyses" rather than toward ways in which the basic positive, natural abilities of these children may be assessed and used in the development of valid educational systems (Rivers, 1973).

These social scientists, in their misguided efforts to rescue Black non-mainstream children, studied the scientific literature with damaging labels and concepts to explain the Black child's "condition."

Over the years white experts have generated euphemistic labels for Black children such as "culturally deprived," "culturally disadvantaged," and "culturally deficient." Each label implicitly and explicitly points to an alleged deficiency, weakness, or absence of a quality in the Black American (Simpkins, Williams and Gunnings, 1971).

Black Protest. Black protest groups in the form of "Black caucuses" started appearing on the social science scene in the mid-sixties. When Black social scientists began to point out that these labels and the concepts that they conveyed were of a pejorative nature embodying myths, stereotypes, faulty and often racist assumptions about Black people, they were accused of being oversensitive and preoccupied with semantic irrelevancies. Their White counterparts began to state that they did not know what to call Black people because Blacks got offended by any and all labels they used. They stated that such nitpicking diverted attention from the real and pressing problems of Blacks. Some went on to state that perhaps the real problem was not in the labels used, but that Blacks were offended by Whites pointing out their obvious shortcomings; that Blacks do not understand that the prerequisite for intervention and eventual solution is honest recognition of the problem.

While working on an instructional reading program for Black non-mainstream students at a major publishing company, a paper came across the author's desk. The paper was titled, "The Culturally Deprived Reader: Research, Diagnosis, and Prescriptions." The following comments were written on the front page of the paper: "A good review--outlines problems and their causes. . . ." The phrase "culturally deprived reader" immediately caught my attention. The title brought to mind children who had spent their lives locked in a closet, or who had been raised by animals, or had experienced some other form of isolation from humans, and thus were culturally deprived.

On the first page, the author of the paper presented her rationale for using the term "culturally deprived."

In this report, "culturally deprived" and similar terms are utilized for cataloging efficiency, with the understanding that the "deprived" culture is still rich in tradition. . . . It is deprived, then, not of culture in the anthropological sense, but perhaps of some standardized middle class culture (Serage, 1973).

The author went on to state what, for Blacks, has become a very familiar rationalization employed by social scientists:

Only by identifying the child as he is can we take him from where he is to where he ought to be so that he may live a life of self-fulfillment and creativity. With this qualification, it is hoped that referential phrases may be taken as objective rather than as objectionably contemptuous terms (Serage, 1973).

Several questions immediately came to mind upon reading the author's rationale for her choice of terms: (1) How does employing illogical, unscientific (in an anthropological sense), and probably racist labels lead to cataloging efficiency? (2) How can such labels be taken as

objective when they so grossly violate the most basic definition of objectivity as used in science?

The author approached the problem of academic failure of Black non-mainstream children in the public schools from a typical mainstream perspective. Her approach, unfortunately, is representative of a great many educators and social scientists. The problem is perceived, first and foremost, as a Black problem. The children do not fit the mainstream institutions and way of life. They are often mismatched along the variables of language, culture, learning, and life styles. Following a simplistic and often syllogistic line of reasoning, it is concluded that there is something "wrong with" or "deficient in" Black non-mainstream children. This alleged deficiency calls for intervention and massive remediation in order to get the children to match the mainstream institutions and way of life.

The Ugly American Syndrome

This faulty, ethnocentric reasoning appears to be based on the following assumptions, which this author calls "The Ugly American Syndrome":

1. There is something intrinsically valuable about American mainstream culture and behavior which makes it the standard of comparison against which all other cultures and behaviors in this country can be evaluated.
2. To be different from American mainstream culture is a sign of deficiency, inferiority, and/or pathology.

3. It is a misnomer to speak of Black non-mainstream culture; or to paraphrase Glazer and Moynihan: The Black man in this country is American and nothing else. The only culture he possesses is that of America. He has no unique values or culture to guide or protect himself.

These assumptions and myths in the very recent past (In all fairness it must be admitted that the situation is somewhat improved today, but not much.) constituted a profound and axiomatic belief--a general, shared position. This general position was never questioned in itself. The position was held to be true because there was consensus regarding it in the minds and hearts of mainstream educators and scientists. As a product of their culture, they saw what their culture taught them to see. "What a man sees depends both upon what he looks at, also what his previous experience has taught him to see" (Kuhn, 1970).

Mainstream social scientists readily adopted the Ugly American Syndrome. They found it difficult to divorce themselves from their cultural ethnocentrism. They carried their cultural ethnocentrism into their science and used it as a basis for research on Black non-mainstream populations.

Social science research with Negro groups has been postulated on an idealized norm of "American behavior" against which all behavior is measured. This norm is defined operationally in terms of the way white middle class America is supposed to behave. The normative view coincides with current social ideology--the egalitarian principle--which asserts that all people are created equal under the law and must be treated as such from a moral and political point of view. The normative view, however, wrongly equates equality with sameness. The application of this misinterpreted egalitarian principle to social science data has often left the investigator with

the unwelcome task of describing Negro behavior not as it is, but rather as it deviates from the normative system defined by the white middle class. The postulation of such a norm in place of legitimate Negro values or life ways has gained ascendance (Baratz, S., Baratz, J., 1970).

Conceptual Weakness of Research

The major weakness of research conducted on Black non-mainstream children was in the conceptual area. The investigators failed to realize the degree to which their cultural learning and value system influenced the questions they asked about Black non-mainstream children and the interpretations they gave to the data they collected to answer their questions. The primary reasons for this conceptual weakness seems to stem from the way social scientists view differences among people. The prevailing tendency was for social scientists to ignore, distort, and obliterate the role of cultural learning as an influence on behavior. Social scientists chose instead to embrace the myth of the "melting pot." They chose to believe that American society had become the melting pot where ethnic differences, in terms of a behavioral norm, have been transformed into a standardized, idealized norm of "American behavior."

They sought to explain, through their research activities, why Black non-mainstream children were behind White mainstream children in achievement scores. Rather than taking a critical look at mainstream culture and the products of that culture (schools and other institutions), they chose instead to search for deficits in the language, culture, motivational system, and family structure of Black children, the victims of cultural ethnocentrism, cultural aggression, cultural accommodation, and

unequal educational, social and economic opportunities. Social scientists chose to find their answers in the symptoms, rather than in the disease.

Assumptive Explanations. The effects of these social scientists' mainstream cultural learning and value systems could be clearly seen in their invocation of purely assumptive explanations to explain why White mainstream children were successful in school and Black non-mainstream children were not. Assumptive explanations can be found throughout the research literature of the sixties and early seventies.

McClelland's Achievement Motivation Theory assumed a failure in the socialization process of the Black home. Blacks as a group are assumed to be lacking in the achievement motive (n Ach) because of the matri-centric structure of the Black family and the persistence of child rearing practices that originated in slavery. "Negro slaves. . . developed child rearing practices calculated to produce obedience and responsibility, not n Ach, and their descendants, while free, should still show the effects of such training in lower n Ach, which is in fact exactly the case" (McClelland, 1968).

Katz assumed that achievement strivings are not socially recognized and reinforced by Black parents. He gives as an example helping with homework, which is at best an assumed mainstream route for success in school. Katz asserts that although Black parents verbalize high academic goals for their children, attainment is more difficult than verbalization, "especially when there are not models to imitate, and when achievement strivings are not socially recognized and reinforced by Negro parents" (Katz, 1967).

Hunt assumed that the educational problems of Black non-mainstream children are caused by the failure of Black parents to provide adequate linguistic models. "These parents themselves often fail to utilize prepositional relationships with precision, and their syntax is confused. Thus, they serve as poor linguistic models for their young children" (Hunt, 1968).

Bereiter and Engelmann assumed verbal deprivation on the part of Black non-mainstream children to be the primary cause for the failure of Black children in the schools. Bereiter and Engelmann assert that Black children have a "primitive notion of the structure of language"; that the language of Black non-mainstream children "is not only merely an underdeveloped version of standard English, but is basically a non-logical mode of expressive behavior" composed primarily of gestures and "badly connected words and phrases." Bereiter and Engelmann assumed that because of their lower class origin, the Black non-mainstream children "have not learned the language rules that are necessary for defining concepts; for drawing conclusions; for asking questions; and for giving explanations" (Bereiter and Engelmann, 1968).

This type of research is worse than useless; it is extremely harmful. It supplies a "scientific" basis for the cultural ethnocentrism and institutional racism of America's public educational system. It serves to perpetuate the status quo--to maintain Black children in a position of educational inferiority. It transfers the blame for the educational system's failure to properly educate Black non-mainstream children squarely onto the shoulders of the Black community. It forces

Black non-mainstream children to accommodate to the schools, rather than have the schools accommodate to the children; thus putting these children on a one-way street.

Such research has not gone unnoticed by the Black community. To paraphrase the words of Charles W. Thomas (1970), a Black psychologist presenting an invited lecture at the American Psychological Association, "It is not entirely by accident that the Black community is saying more and more words to the effect, 'social scientists, take your social science and go home'."

Massive reform of social science research is needed if social science research is to be used as a tool to promote "human welfare," rather than as an instrument for maintaining the status quo at the expense of oppressed peoples.

Black and white scholars involved in social research must challenge the centuries-old misuse of knowledge and power. New research, as well as the reinterpretation of research done in the past, should be based on a new perspective; a perspective that uses the scientific method to effect advances in society, rather than to subjugate and dehumanize (Garcia, Blackwell, Williams and Simpkins, 1969).

What is needed are ethical guidelines for conducting research on "culturally different peoples." These guidelines should be written in conjunction with representatives of the various culturally different groups, and should be based on a thorough review of the scope and effects of cultural ethnocentrism in the social sciences.

The guidelines should be issued by the various professional associations in the social sciences and in the field of education. There should be strict sanctions for violations of these guidelines. If the

guidelines are to work, the government, the largest sponsor of such research, must cease to fund research projects of a culturally ethnocentric nature. Private foundations, which are regulated by the government, must also participate. The government and professional associations should use their influence (certification, monetary support) on the academic community in order to affect the training of future researchers.

CHAPTER III

CONCERNING READING AND BLACK NON-MAINSTREAM STUDENTS

The Problem

If non-mainstream children wish to make their way successfully in mainstream society, it is necessary that they learn standard American English. In a complex, technological, highly impersonal society such as the United States of America, a great deal of information must be shared by means of the printed word. The ability to read well is a prerequisite for navigating one's way through such a society. Without the acquisition of basic reading skills, the probability of one's having a happy, productive life, free from the crippling cycle of poverty and frustration is low indeed.

Those persons who do not possess basic functional reading abilities --with a few, a very few exceptions--are relegated to a caste system. They become the people least equipped to cope with a complex, rapidly changing society.

The importance of reading becomes even more obvious if one considers what happens in our culture to those who fail to learn to read well. As he gets older, the poor reader is increasingly handicapped by his difficulty. He is almost sure to repeat grades, and if he gets into high school, he is practically certain to leave without graduation. Many desirable occupations will be closed to him (Harris, 1970).

Many economic, social, and cultural avenues are closed to non-readers and poor readers. When people learn of their illiteracy, they generally consider it to be symptomatic of low intelligence. This society places a

heavy stigma on illiteracy. The illiterate person is considered to be dull, ignorant, backward, narrow, and uneducable. Even worse, the illiterate person often comes to consider himself/herself to be all these things and more.

The illiterate person will frequently give up all attempts at formal learning because he or she has internalized the stigma attached to illiteracy. The illiterate person in a highly literate, technological, achievement-oriented society is hanging by a thin thread psychologically. The person's ego must constantly defend against tremendous feelings and perceptions of inadequacy. As an adjustment, or ego defense, the illiterate often learns to engage in avoidance behavior. He or she often avoids school and educated people because both tend to elicit feelings of anxiety and frustration--feelings of failure and inadequacy.

It is no accident that reading instruction constitutes one of the highest priorities in American education. A school system's reading scores serve as indicators of the academic health of the system. Few indictments of a school system are considered more damning than low achievement in reading on the part of its pupils. Many school superintendents have discovered that their job security is directly or indirectly dependent upon how their school system ranks in comparison with national reading norms.

Yet in this country--the most technologically advanced in the world--the reading problem is of frightening proportions. The headline of a recent article in the Boston Globe read, "Study shows one-fifth of U.S. adults functionally illiterate in today's society."

About one-fifth of the nation's adult population--some 23 million persons--is "functionally incompetent," lacking the basic educational skills needed to get along. . . . Nearly one-third of the population, 35 percent, just get by; and only a minority of the population is deemed "proficient," possessing the skills needed to cope with the complexity of modern living (Boston Globe, Vol. 208, No. 122, October 30, 1975).

Approximately "one out of every four elementary students needs special reading assistance." It is estimated that "of the 700,000 students who drop out of school annually, the majority are reading two or more years below ability" (New England Consortium for the Right to Read, 1975).

Problem Greater Among Black Non-Mainstream Students

Black non-mainstream students, sometimes referred to as Black inner-city students, represent a reading problem of even greater magnitude. They come from families that are poorer than the general population and that are considerably lower in formal educational attainment. They possess a culture, language, and set of experiences that are different from the general population. And to complicate things, they must, for the most part, attend schools that are not prepared and/or willing to use their culture, language, or experiences in an educational manner.

Their problems are even further complicated by the assumptions made concerning students, which underlie the educational philosophy of schools in this country. It is mistakenly assumed that all students are, or should be similar to the "idealized White mainstream, normative student." If Black non-mainstream students differ from the normative student by not responding to the methods of instruction and material

in a similar manner, their abilities are suspect. They are frequently labeled and stigmatized as "educationally retarded," "culturally deprived," and "linguistically impoverished." This occurs with little or no regard for the fact that the standard of comparison is founded largely on the behaviors of White mainstream students in school systems designed to accommodate their culture, language, learning and life styles.

Today, it is not uncommon for seventh and eighth grade Black non-mainstream students to score at the second and third grade level on standardized reading tests. It is not uncommon for Black non-mainstream students to finish high school reading below the fifth grade level (Simpkins, Gunnings and Kearney, 1973).

The underachievement of Black non-mainstream students has become so widespread and such a common occurrence that it is no longer necessary to present the statistics of failure. The emphasis today is no longer on documenting the problem, but on finding the causes.

Alleged Causes of Black Students' Underachievement

"The Black child is not achieving in school." This statement is heard whenever the question of education and Black children is raised. The usual response is to look at the Black child and see what is wrong with him. The question then becomes, "What are the characteristics of being Black that lead to failure?" (Covington, 1975).

Educators, acting on advice based on so-called "hard data" from social scientists, have looked to Black students and the Black community in general for the causes of Black students' academic underachievement. The prevailing hypothesis among educators and social scientists is that there is something wrong with Black students. Whether one hypothesizes

that it is hereditary, i.e., in the children's genetic makeup; or in their environment, i.e., in their culture, language and family structure, the hypothesis is still the same--there is something wrong with Black students. The most frequently alleged causes for the academic failure of Black students are the students themselves and the Black community.

An Alternative Hypothesis for the Underachievement of Black Students

Let us for a moment explore a feasible, rival, alternative hypothesis: The causes for the underachievement of Black students lie not in the students nor in the Black community, but in the ethnocentric nature of the dominant society and its educational institutions.

If Black people are not achieving in today's educational system, it seems logical to believe that it is not their language (or culture) but the fact that they are Black (Covington, 1973).

Such an alternative hypothesis should consider the following: (1) Black Dialect; (2) misconceptions of teachers; (3) the traditional approach of teaching Black children to read; and (4) the mismatch in the instructional system.

Black Dialect

A great deal of time and energy is wasted in classrooms around the country trying to program out well learned verbal behavior in Black students' vernacular. This occurs despite the fact that there exists no empirical evidence to support the popular notion that certain languages are superior to other languages, or that one dialect of a language may be impoverished with respect to another.

Yet in no sense is there any empirical evidence to support such notions as language A is "impoverished" vis-a-vis language B, or that dialect X of language C is "impoverished" with respect to dialect Y of language C; i.e., that the grammar and vocabulary of X is some diminished subset of the grammar and vocabulary of Y. Such notions are meaningless, for the grammars of X and Y are simply equal sets that intersect in vast and important ways (O'Neil, 1971).

Yet in the case of Black non-mainstream children the notion persists that the phonology, lexicon, and syntax of their dialect is a restricted, illogical, poorly constructed imitation of the mainstream American dialect of English. William Labov, one of this country's most respected linguists, summarizes some of the popular misconceptions:

Negro children from the ghetto area are said to receive little verbal stimulation, to hear very little well-formed language, and as a result are impoverished in their means of verbal expression. They cannot speak complete sentences, do not know the names of common objects, cannot form concepts or convey logical thoughts (Labov, 1969).

These misconceptions have no basis in linguistics. They are based on racial, social class, and stylistic preferences. Their roots are to be found in the ethnocentric manner in which this country views language differences, and the misleading information that has been disseminated by social scientists. Labov goes on to say:

Unfortunately, these notions are based upon the work of educational psychologists who know very little about language and even less about Negro children. The concept of verbal deprivation has no basis in social reality. In fact, Negro children in urban ghettos receive a great deal of verbal stimulation, hear more well-formed sentences than middle class children, and participate fully in a highly verbal culture. They have the same basic vocabulary, possess the same capacity for learning, and use logic (Labov, 1969).

Many Black students speak a variety of English sufficiently different from the mainstream American dialect of English to be considered a separate linguistic system with its own independent structure and logic (Dillard, 1966, 1967; Labov, 1967; Steward, 1967). Black Dialect (sometimes referred to as Ebonics, Black vernacular, Black idiom, and Black non-standard English) is a cohesive, well developed, rule-governed, complex linguistic system closely related to, while in many ways different from, the mainstream American dialect of English.

It is important to note that many speakers of Black Dialect, for the most part (quantitatively and qualitatively), have more standard than non-standard forms in their speech. The similarities between Black Dialect and Standard English are much greater than their differences. However, Black Dialect speakers use more non-standard forms than other groups and they also use different forms which are absent from the speech of other groups. An example of these different forms is the absence of the linking verb, as in "He late," and the use of the distinctive "be," as in "He be late."

The following are examples of prominent features which are conspicuously absent from most instructional materials (from Simpkins, Holt, Simpkins, 1974):

Structure. The grammatical features, or forms of Black English represent the remnants of an historical language tradition resulting from African migration to Anglo-Saxon America. Some forms of Black Dialect are similar to forms of Caribbean-Creole English and West African Pidgin English. Some forms are shared with standard mainstream English.

A number of the most significant structural differences are listed in the following:

<u>Grammatical Variable</u>	<u>Black Dialect</u>	<u>Written Standard Mainstream Dialect</u>
1. Past Marker	Just about everybody got <u>drown</u> .	Just about everyone got <u>drowned</u> .
2. Possessive Marker	<u>Billy mother</u> say, "I don't know where he is."	<u>Billy's mother</u> said, "I don't know where he is."
3. Plural Marker	I only got four <u>cent</u> .	I only have four <u>cents</u> .
4. Verb Form	I <u>drunk</u> the soda pop.	I <u>drank</u> the soda pop.
5. Indefinite Article	I want <u>a</u> orange.	I want <u>an</u> orange.
6. Subject Expression	<u>George, he</u> a stone player.	<u>George</u> was a stone player.
7. Linking Verb	<u>They</u> at the hotel.	<u>They're</u> at the hotel.
8. Negation	The dude say he <u>ain't</u> hear <u>nothing</u> 'bout <u>nothing</u> like that <u>no</u> way.	The guy said he <u>hadn't</u> heard <u>anything</u> about <u>something</u> like that.
9. Preposition	He over <u>to</u> the school.	He is <u>at</u> the school.
10. Use of "Be"	He <u>be</u> home.	He <u>is</u> home <u>all of the time</u> .
11. Use of "Be" and the Negative	I <u>don't</u> want <u>nobody</u> to <u>be picking</u> out my clothes for me.	I <u>don't</u> want <u>anyone</u> to <u>pick</u> out my clothes.

Sound System. A mismatch may occur for the Black Dialect speaker when the non-mainstream vernacular does not "match" the sound system of the teacher and the printed word. Sight-sound correspondence may become complicated or confused. For instance, in Black Dialect, word endings are often made shorter or eliminated, creating differences from standard mainstream English.

Homonymns are created:

Standard Mainstream
Pronunciation

called
told
door
ask
that
with
road
find

Black Non-Mainstream
Pronunciation

call
toll, toe
doe
aks
dat
wid
row
fine

Possessive, plural, and tense forms vary:

Possessive:

Jerry's hat

Jerry hat

Plural:

three minutes

three minute

Past tense:

talked

talk

Present tense, third person
singular:

talks

talk

It is important to note that there are numerous Black Dialect pronunciation possibilities that differ from the Standard Mainstream Dialect. The reader should be aware that these differences are not necessarily uniform in all Black Dialect speakers.

Vocabulary. Though the majority of vocabulary items are identical to those used in standard mainstream English, there are, nevertheless, sufficient differences. For example, in Black Dialect, "I'll carry you to the store" means "I'll drive you to the store" in Standard English. There are also city, sectional and regional differences in vocabulary.

For example, in Atlanta, when you leave, you "cut out"; but in Chicago you "space" or "split"; and in another section of the city you may "get in the wind."

Black Dialect
Vocabulary Items

Standard Mainstream Equivalent

Bad	Bad, good, great
Blood	Member of the same race, relative
Cracking up	Laughing
Fox	Attractive female, shapely female
Half-stepping	Getting by without doing one's best
Hawk	Bitter wind, strong wind
Piece	Gun, pistol
Superbad	The best, great
Taste	A small amount, an intoxicating drink
Smoke it over	Discuss
Jaws tight	Angry
Hat up	Leave, depart

Sentence Patterns. Numerous differences in syntax exist between

Black Dialect and Standard Mainstream Dialect. The following are examples:

1. Duplication of Adverbs Describing Place

"I wanna get on back down to Pear's Place."

2. Differences in Word Order

In Black vernacular, the active voice, such as "The boss fired Jay," are more frequent than the passive, "Jay was fired by the boss."

3. "If" Equivalent

The Black vernacular sentence, "I don't know can I get the number for you to call," differs from the Standard Mainstream Dialect version, "I don't know if I can get the number for you to call."

4. Use of Extra Intensifiers

Black vernacular sentences often show extra intensifiers as in, "He was a stone cold blooded dude."

5. Prepositional Phrases at the Beginning of a Sentence

In Black vernacular, prepositional phrases are seldom used at the beginning of a sentence. "I work hard to keep my pad" is a more common form in Black vernacular than "In order to keep my house, I work hard."

The absence of Black Dialect features from most instructional reading material, and the ability and/or reluctance of most teachers to use these features in a positive educational manner in the classroom contribute to the academic difficulties of the Black non-mainstream student.

Misconceptions of Teachers

Practically all teachers emerge from backgrounds that can be categorized as mainstream, or middle class. Even if the teachers came from a non-mainstream background, they are generally mainstream in their cultural and social orientation as a function of the training and socialization they have undergone en route to becoming a teacher. (There are numerous exceptions, but they are exceptions rather than the rule.)

In part, the educational difficulties encountered by Black non-mainstream children in learning to read are due to the kind of language and experiences that they bring with them when they enter school. Many of these children have different cultural and social backgrounds from

their teachers. The environment in which these children live and learn is also, in most instances, different. Teachers seldom have the opportunity in their professional training to study the environment in which these children develop; and when they do, teachers are generally focused on weaknesses and assumed deficiencies, rather than on strengths and differences.

There is a tendency for teachers to assume that all children are, or at least should be, very much alike--very much like mainstream normative children. The tendency is to assume that if Black non-mainstream children do not have the normative behaviors and learning experiences when they enter school, they have not learned anything.

Many teachers overlook the fact that a great deal of learning takes place in Black non-mainstream children's environment before they enter school, and concurrently while they are in school.

It is not unusual to see a five- or six-year old Black inner-city child, labeled (by the schools) culturally deprived and educably retarded, mastering learning behaviors of a much greater complexity than those he has failed to learn in the school. These same children often have the sophistication of thirteen- and fourteen-year old White middle class youths. They often take care of younger siblings, shop, cook, clean house, and display a highly sophisticated language development in their vernacular (Simpkins, 1969).

Most Black non-mainstream children experience very few or no learning difficulties prior to the onset of formal schooling. Yet after they enter school, the longer they stay, the further behind they get. Outside school, in the natural environment again, the children experience few or no learning difficulties.

Whatever learning difficulties present themselves for the Black student in the classroom, all such difficulties are resolved when he hits the streets. Educators must ask why is learning on the street so efficient. Why has learning in the classroom been so inefficient? How can education as a process benefit from observing how children learn outside of school? (Kochman, 1969).

Skills learned outside of school may come into conflict with the skills that the schools are attempting to teach. A prime example of that conflict is in the area of language. The language skills necessary for Black non-mainstream children to successfully negotiate their way through their environment outside the school differ from the language skills required for ultimate success in the schools (Simpkins, 1973).

These out-of-school verbal skills are often considered by teachers to inhibit formal classroom learning. They are seldom recognized as legitimate verbal abilities and thus they are seldom utilized in teaching reading. Non-mainstream Black children with highly proficient verbal skills in their natural environment are discouraged from using these verbal skills because they are considered by teachers to be vulgar, backward, irrelevant, and destructive to learning in the classroom. They are considered to constitute "learning the wrong way." Teachers often fail to realize that there is no such thing as learning "the wrong way" when what is learned fosters adaptive behavior in the learner's natural environment. They try to program out well-learned verbal skills and competencies in order to facilitate formal "correct learning." All too often the effects of such well meaning efforts result in the exact opposite of that intended by the teachers (Simpkins, et al., 1974).

The Traditional Approach of Teaching Black Children to Read

Traditionally, in this country, teaching Black children to read has consisted of giving the children basal readers about White children looking and seeing each other running and playing with their dog, Spot. When the children passed this stage, they were introduced to the joys of reading about White mainstream children who lived in big white houses on tree-lined streets with carpet-like green lawns. And, of course, the children always visited grandmother and grandfather on the farm. Black children would read about father who was a big White man in a business suit, and mother who had nothing to do all day but bake cookies and cakes, shop, and clean the big white house.

The rationale for using such instructional materials was that the average American child either came from a similar mainstream background or was at least familiar with such a background. It was thought that this familiarity held the children's attention and made it easier for them to read and comprehend.

Mismatch in the Instructional System

In the case of Black non-mainstream children, the mainstream frame of reference of the reading instruction materials was unfamiliar and did not represent their reality. There existed a mismatch in terms of the children's culture, language, experiences, and interests. What this mismatch represented was a massive breakdown in the instructional system.

The major variables in an instructional system are the child, the teacher, and the developer of instructional materials. The children

were mismatched with teachers and developers of instructional materials in terms of sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Learning to read is contingent upon both the child's speech skills and the social environment in which he uses them. . . . When the child, the teacher and the developer of instructional materials share a common social and linguistic background, the effectiveness of reading materials need not suffer if many social and linguistic aspects of instruction are left tacit. However, when social and linguistic backgrounds vary from child to teacher to developer, then the instructional system must take into account the background of the child. Otherwise, ineffective reading instruction will result (Legum, William and Lee, 1969).

Cognitively, due to the mismatch in the instructional system, the task of learning to read is much greater for non-mainstream children than for their mainstream counterparts. The Black non-mainstream student must not only learn to decode and comprehend written words, he/she must also take on the additional task of translating them into his/her familiar language and sociocultural frame of reference.

This presents him with an almost insurmountable obstacle since the written words frequently do not go together in any pattern that is familiar or meaningful to him. He is baffled by this confrontation with (1) a new language with its new syntax; (2) a necessity to learning the meaning of graphic symbols; and (3) a vague, or not so vague (depending upon the cultural and linguistic sophistication of the teacher) sense that there is something terribly wrong with his language (Baratz, J., 1969).

The traditional basal readers have disappeared from most schools. Black faces have begun to appear in most instructional reading materials and many of the readers feature stories about Black people. But what has not disappeared is the mismatch in the instructional system. It is as true today as it was twenty years ago--reading instructional materials do not reflect the culture, language, and interests of Black non-mainstream children.

CHAPTER IV

THE CROSS-CULTURAL APPROACH TO EDUCATION
IN THE AREA OF READING

The Cross-Cultural Approach to Education is a pedagogical approach designed to accommodate the culture and language of Black non-mainstream students. It is an educational approach which attempts to bridge the void that exists between the learning that takes place in the Black non-mainstream community and the learning that Black students are expected to acquire in schools. An overriding theoretical, philosophical and political consideration of the Cross-Cultural Approach is that any educational program for Black students must be part of, and sympathetic to, the students' culture, language, experiences, and interests.

A second major consideration is the importance of language in the educational program. The culture and experiences of students are reflected in their language. They speak the language of those with whom they identify and those who are most meaningful to them. Black Dialect, aside from being central to human communication and identity, has been the convenient whipping boy of programs which have sought to normalize Black non-mainstream students under the guise of remedying a defective language and culture.

A basic premise of the Cross-Cultural Approach is that the repertoire of language skills and competencies brought to school by Black non-mainstream children can and should be used to facilitate new learning. This approach represents an attempt to utilize the learning that

Black non-mainstream children have experienced outside of school. The strategy of this approach is to engage the students by using as a starting point in the learning process the verbal behavior of the students in their familiar cultural context.

In educational pedagogy there is almost universal belief in the Dewey axiom, "Start where the child is." In the field of linguistics, this axiom becomes the battle cry, "Begin with the child's cultural-linguistic knowledge and experiences as an educational foundation upon which to build." The Cross-Cultural Approach views language as the common denominator between what students know and what they are expected to learn. It embraces the presupposition that reading or any other subject matter can be best taught by beginning with the verbal behavior that is available to learners, and with instructional materials that incorporate language with which the learners already have phonetic, lexical, syntactical and cultural familiarity. This familiarity forms the cultural context for the learners. It assists the learners in comprehending concepts that otherwise may appear strange and confusing.

Cognitive Concerns of the Cross-Cultural Approach

It is assumed in the Cross-Cultural Approach that Black non-mainstream children have the same cognitive apparatus and abilities as mainstream children; that differences in academic performance occur because their cognitive apparatus is differentially triggered by the cultural context. The differential triggering of their cognitive apparatus causes learning to be more effective for these students "in

the streets" than in the classrooms. Similarly, as in the phenomenon that occurs in reading, the students must perform an additional cognitive operation in order to grasp many concepts taught in the schools; they must translate incoming conceptual material into a familiar cultural context.

If one studies, as this author has, the behavior of Black non-mainstream students at the entering college level, one will observe evidence of this phenomenon. The following is one of many similar observations made by the author:

Hey man, what was that dude talking 'bout? I ain't understand a word of that stuff. I was completely lost. And everybody else look like they knew what was going on. I'm gon drop this class; that shit is hard as Chinese algebra.

The other student responded:

No man, hang on in. That stuff is light. It's just the way the dude talk that make it seem hard. Dig it, what the dude was try to say was. . .

After the fellow student finished translating the lecture, the first student said,

Damn man, why didn't he say that in the first place?
Them White folks always be trying to make stuff hard.

In the above exchange, one student was able to translate the conceptual material into the familiar cultural context and was therefore able to help his fellow student to understand the concepts.

The author once taught research methodology at a major urban university with a class composed entirely of Black undergraduates. They found it difficult to comprehend the meaning and function of many of the concepts. The readings were, to use their words, "Greek" to them.

After several unsuccessful attempts to explain the concepts in standard mainstream English, the author began lecturing in Black dialect (in the students' familiar cultural context). The following is taken from a taped lecture given to that class:

Okay, say we got two Brothers--Brother A and Brother B. For the purpose of illustration, we will consider Brother A our experimental group and Brother B our control group. Now, these two Brothers are hitting on this here stone foxy lady. Now, we the researchers. We a research team and this is our experiment. Now, what we wanta know is which one of the Brothers got the best rap, which one got the strongest game. Can you dig it?

Now, our independent variable under study is the Brothers' rap, and our dependent variable is getting over. You know, making a hit--getting next to the sweet, young foxy lady. You all got that? The independent variable--the presumed cause--is the Brothers' rap. And our dependent variable --the presumed effect--is getting over with the fox. Everybody got that? Alright, now we cooking. We gon make some sense of this stuff.

Now, we wanta make sure that the Brother who gets over gets over 'cause of his rap--our independent variable under study. So we gotta be controlling for some things. One of the Brothers just may get over, quiet as it's kept, 'cause he got some long green, some heavy bread. And that would have nothing at all to do with his rap. Now would it? Right on. Did everybody hear that? That's an extraneous variable, or an unwanted variable. It's also an independent variable that could effect the outcome, 'cause long green "show 'nough" can help you get over.

Can you think of some more extraneous, or unwanted variables that are also independent variables that we need to be controlling for? Did everybody hear that? The Brother may get over 'cause he super fly. So we gotta be controlling for rags, for dress. Can you think of any more? Right on. You got it. We gotta be controlling for the Brother's ride, and the Brother's looks. The Brother may have a bad set of wheels and get over. And he may be a good looking dude and get over on his looks. A whole lot of you Sisters like them pretty boys. And one more thing--the Brother may get over 'cause he's a professor. You

know, he be teaching research methodology at the university and that may impress the fox. So we gotta be controlling for his gig.

Okay, now that we done generate a list of extraneous, or unwanted variables that are also independent variables that can effect the outcome of our experiment, what we gon do to control them? Speak up. I can't hear you. Did everybody hear that? We gotta randomize. I see you been reading the book. That's good. Randomization is the best thing to do to control extraneous variables. Except in this case. We can't randomize 'cause we only got a N of two, Brother A and Brother B. But if we had more subjects in our experimental and control groups, that would be the best thing to do. 'Cause then we could just assume that both groups would be equal of everything. So we gotta go the next best thing. Can anybody run it down to me what that is? Right on, Sister. I see you been dealing with the book, too. Did everybody hear her? We gotta match. We gotta match the Brothers on all the other independent variables that might possibly effect the outcome of our experiment. And that's all the ones we listed, except our independent variable under study--the Brother's rap.

So what we gotta do is make sure that Brother A and Brother B both got the same amount of bread, the same ride, just about the same looks, rags, gigs, and all that good stuff. We do that so that if one of the Brothers get over, we can say, with a fair amount of certainty, that he got over because of our independent variable under study--his rap. Can you dig it? Good question. What if none of the Brothers get over? Well, then we say that there wasn't no significant difference in their rap. They both struck out.

Although Campbell and Stanley, and Kerlinger (the authors of the two texts used in the class) would probably cringe at the above lecture, the students found it extremely helpful. After a series of lectures illustrating the concepts of research methodology in the students' familiar cultural context, the students found it easier to read the assigned texts. They were able to demonstrate on exams, in standard mainstream English, basic knowledge of the concepts and details of the course.

The problems encountered by these students are not isolated, amusing instances; they are representative of the difficulties experienced by a great many Black non-mainstream students at all levels of the school system in this country. Many students sit through classes confused, never understanding the concepts that are being presented. Many students manage to pass classes, some with high grades, by mimicking back the instructor's lectures and the contents of their texts without ever understanding the concepts.

Rivers (1969) describes the organization of cognitive patterns in Black non-mainstream students. He suggests that in many instances standard English, in the context of mainstream culture, does not signal or activate the Black child's linguistic conceptual systems to the extent that systematic transformations are involved to produce appropriate cognitive responses. He theorizes that the child's "communication intake gates" may not be fully activated by the stimulus properties of standard mainstream English.

The underlying academic problem of Black non-mainstream students appears to be a mismatch in the instructional system. Although most teachers do not possess the knowledge and ability to eliminate the additional cognitive operations that many of these students have to perform, instructional materials can be developed in the students' familiar cultural context. The Cross-Cultural Approach addresses the problems encountered by non-mainstream students which pertain to the "mismatch" in the instructional system.

Teaching-Learning Strategies of the Cross-Cultural Approach

There are two teaching-learning strategies in the Cross-Cultural Approach. These two educational strategies are called Associative Bridging and Peer Control. Both strategies are designed to accommodate the culture and language of Black non-mainstream students. They are designed to bridge the void which exists between learning in the Black community and learning in the schools.

Associative Bridging is the general educational strategy which underlies the entire Cross-Cultural Approach. It is reflected in almost every aspect of the Cross-Cultural Approach. Peer Control is a specific educational strategy designed to give students control over the learning process and to accommodate the oral tradition of the Black community.

Associative Bridging

The Associative Bridging strategy (Simpkins, 1973), broadly speaking, is a restatement and extension of the Dewey axiom--start where the children are and take them to where you would like them to be in a series of steps, utilizing their cultural-linguistic knowledge as an educational foundation. It is the process of going from the familiar to the less familiar in a series of steps, associating the familiar elements with the less familiar elements. The familiar is Black Dialect in the context of Black non-mainstream culture. The less familiar is standard mainstream English in the context of mainstream culture.

Associative Bridging uses Black Dialect as a starting point (assuming that the student is most familiar with this language population and possesses the most accomplished verbal skills in it). This method seeks to improve the students' reading ability by first teaching them in their dialect, and then extending that learning via a series of steps to the standard mainstream English dialect. Reading in the mainstream dialect is thus taught as an extension of reading in the students' familiar dialect. In this way, Black non-mainstream English serves as a springboard from which to move to the presentation of standard mainstream English.

Two Language Populations. If one accepts that the language spoken by Black non-mainstream children is systematic, logical, rule-governed, and by no means a primitive underdeveloped version of standard English, then one can conceptualize two different language populations. These two different language populations can be labeled (1) Black Dialect, and (2) standard mainstream English (Simpkins, 1973).

As mentioned in Chapter III, Black non-mainstream children often bring to school a great deal of well-learned verbal skills and competencies in the Black Dialect language population. Generally, schools fail to take advantage of this well-learned verbal behavior. For example, Black Dialect is an expressive mode of communication which draws heavily on metaphoric language (Holt, 1971). When teachers attempt to teach Black non-mainstream students metaphors or figurative language in the classroom, few teachers utilize the metaphoric quality of their Black students' language. Instead, they try to teach a different figurative

language, often using what is to the students, a strange vocabulary, embedded in strange syntax, to form strange and confusing metaphors.

These same students who failed to learn what a metaphor is and how to use and understand figurative language have been heard to say, once they hit the streets, things like, "The teacher didn't cut me no slack. She was steadily on my case. This school stuff is a strain on the brain. But that's okay. I'm just gon lay in the cut." On the streets, Black students use and understand a profusion of metaphors and richly figurative language in the Black non-mainstream language population.

Bridging the Two Language Populations. Black Dialect and standard mainstream English often blend together as one language population in the speech of Black children. This is a natural phenomenon--the children's language is in fact a mixture of standard mainstream English with non-standard features. The children do not make discriminations between the two language populations in their speech. It is hypothesized that in order to bridge the two language populations the children must begin to acquire fine and gross discriminations between the two language populations (Simpkins, 1973). The fine discriminations contain elements of language such as syntax and lexicon, but not phonology. The gross discriminations are life styles, values, and plots. The fine and gross discriminations are achieved systematically by contrasting the elements of the two language populations.

The student, for example, progresses from reading materials and accompanying skill exercises written in Black Dialect to reading materials

and skill exercises written in a transition form. The transition form consists of a series of steps which constitute the bridge between the two language populations. The instructional materials in the transition form use a blend or combination of both language populations. In some of the transition forms, the combination or blend is weighted toward Black non-standard English, while in others, it is weighted toward standard mainstream English. The student proceeds from the transition form to materials and skill exercises written in standard mainstream English, thus completing the progression from the familiar to the less familiar. In the progression, the content of the skill exercises varies, while the concepts (skills) are held relatively constant.

Both dialects are presented to the student on an equal footing. Careful attention is paid to eradicating the negative value connotations that the schools, teachers and the dominant society, in general, have placed on Black non-standard English.

Associative Bridging can be conceptualized as the methodology for spanning the two language populations. By making the two language populations distinct, the students can learn reading and the associated reading skills in their familiar dialect; then in a series of transitional steps, they can generalize this learning to the less familiar dialect. Once the students have experienced success in learning in their familiar language population and are made aware of the similarities and differences of the properties of the two language populations, they can transfer this learning to the less familiar language population. Associative Bridging thus rectifies the mismatch in the instructional

system for Black non-mainstream students and provides the methodology for assisting the students to make the appropriate linguistic and cognitive translations.

Peer Control

Peer Control is a specific teaching-learning strategy of the Cross-Cultural Approach. It is an oral reading procedure designed to give students control over the learning process.

The "Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey" (Coleman, 1966) examined three expressions of student attitude and motivation which were believed to be closely related to academic achievement. The first was interest in learning. The second attitudinal variable examined was the student's self-concept. The third attitudinal variable examined was labeled by the report as "sense of control of the environment." The report defined sense of control of the environment in the following manner:

For children from disadvantaged groups, achievement or lack of achievement appears closely related to what they believe about their environment: whether they believe the environment will respond to reasonable efforts, or whether they believe it is instead merely random or immovable. In different words, it appears that children from advantaged groups assume that the environment will respond if they are able enough to affect it. Children from disadvantaged groups do not make this assumption, but in many cases assume that nothing they do can affect the environment--it will give benefits or withhold them, but not as a consequence of their own actions (Coleman, 1966).

The sense of control of the environment variable proved to be the most important attitudinal variable for predicting the achievement level of Black students. It accounted for approximately three times as much

test variance for Black students as for their White counterparts. It was considerably stronger in its relation to achievement than any of the family background factors.

Alschuler (1973) suggests that the relationship between sense of control of the environment and achievement results from the psychological consequences of oppression.

The painful consequences of this institutionalized oppression on children do not stop with induced poorer self-image, lower self-confidence and less belief that they can control their fate. To the degree children internalize the belief that they are somehow inadequate (instead of oppressed), they also do poorly in school.

In other words, if children believe they cannot control their own fate, that their efforts make little difference in what happens to them, then they do not make use of, or benefit as much from, the schooling available.

It is easy to trace the escalating vicious cycle. With each year of school, minority children fall further behind, aided by mono-racial curricula and biased school standards.

The Coleman study documented the massive pattern of academic failure among Black students in this country's school system. The question that remains, nine years later, is: What can be done? The question is one of policy: How can educational opportunity best be implemented? The persistence of the problem and the experiences of the last nine years seem to suggest that in order to implement educational opportunity, greater attention must be focused by educators, researchers, and government on providing new methods and materials which accommodate the experiences, realities, and needs of Black children.

If we really want to provide educational opportunity for the ghetto-bound child, these are the kinds of hard issues that will have to be addressed. We'll have to explore whether Negro children have educational needs that are distinctive, whether new methods and materials are required, and if it is possible and desirable to develop a "black" curriculum, one that is responsive to the reality of the Negro child's existence (Day, 1969).

Kenneth B. Clark, one of the pioneers in the struggle for equal educational opportunity in this country, raises similar concerns:

Some questions which we must now dare to ask and seek to answer as the bases for a new strategy in the assault against the inhumanity of the American system of racial segregation are: (1) Is the present pattern of massive educational inferiority and inefficiency which is found in predominantly Negro schools inherent and inevitable in racially segregated schools? (2) Is there anything which can be done within the Negro schools to raise them to a tolerable level of educational excellence?

If the answer to the first question is yes and to the second question is no, then the strategy of continued and intensified assault on the system of segregated schools is justified and should be continued unabated. . . .If, on the other hand, the answers to the above questions are reversed, it would suggest that a shift in strategy and tactics, without giving up the ultimate goals of eliminating the dehumanizing force of racial segregation from American life, would be indicated (Clark, 1968).

It is proposed here that the question to be answered is: In what type of program would Black non-mainstream children achieve best? If the assumption is accepted that Black non-mainstream children with a low sense of control of their environment perceive their environment in a somewhat realistic manner (i.e., the environment is harsh and tends to be immovable; it will give benefits or withhold them, but not necessarily as a consequence of their own action), then it may be

concluded that the achievement level of these children will be higher in an environment in which they can control the reinforcements.

Although teachers can do little to provide Black children with greater control of the environment outside the classroom, a great deal can be done within the classroom to provide them with greater control over the reinforcements. Teachers, for example, control the distribution of reinforcements. This is accomplished by smiles, frowns, threats, verbal approval or reprimand, and grades. Hammond and Simpkins (1973) point out that teachers often distribute reinforcements on a noncontingent basis. They go on to suggest that those children who are closest to the teachers' mainstream orientations in their speech patterns, values and aspirations receive the lion's share of the positive reinforcement. Silberman (1965) suggests that freedom from the teacher may serve as a positive reinforcer.

Labov et al. (1968) report that the primary influence on the verbal behavior of Black non-mainstream children is the peer group. He recommends that the peer group influence should somehow be made compatible with the implicit requirements of the school.

Kochman (1969) differentiates two distinctive styles of learning operating in Black and White children. These different styles, he suggests, are dictated by their respective cultures. White mainstream children (more accurately, mainstream children in general) tend to learn best via the written channel, by means of tests and papers; whereas Black non-mainstream children tend to learn best via the spoken word, by means of oral-aural communication. Kochman points out that though

the schools give recognition and reinforcement to learning via the written channel by means of tests and papers, little or no scholastic recognition is given for oral expertise, particularly spontaneous oral expertise, which tends to be highly developed in Black culture. This means that there is a mismatch between the value placed on oral expertise inside the classroom and the value placed on it outside the classroom. He strongly suggests that education as a process can benefit from observing how Black non-mainstream children learn outside the classroom and from understanding the role that culture plays in the learning process of these children.

A similar position is taken by Simpkins (1973). He recommends that the implicit requirements of the classroom should be made compatible with the implicit requirements of the Black non-mainstream child's cultural environment outside the classroom.

Extrapolating from the above, a program model designed to raise achievement levels of Black non-mainstream children with a low sense of control of the environment might include the following:

- (1) Reinforcers that are controlled by the students rather than the teachers.
- (2) The influence of the peer group as a major factor in the learning process.
- (3) Emphasis on learning via the spoken channel via oral-aural communication.

The Peer Control Method

These three points are incorporated into a teaching method called Peer Control (Simpkins, 1973; Simpkins et al., 1974). The full name of this teaching method is Peer Control and Student Feedback Oral Reading Procedure. In addition to the three previously mentioned points, the Peer Control Method also includes the following:

- (1) Reinforcement is contingent upon the accuracy of the students' responses in a manner which leads to the shaping of skillful reading behavior.
- (2) Knowledge of the correctness or incorrectness of the students' responses is supplied in close temporal relation to the responses by a built-in feedback system.
- (3) Control of the learning process is turned over to the students on a gradual basis.

Description of the Peer Control Procedure. In the Peer Control procedure, students are assigned by the teacher to small groups. The groups are matched by the teacher as closely as possible in terms of reading proficiency. This practice is to maximize the probability for equal success on the part of all the participants in the group.

Each student in the group is assigned a number ranging from one to five, depending upon the size of the group. The numbers are randomly assigned by placing them on slips of paper and having each student select one from a receptacle. One number is randomly selected from the receptacle; the student whose number corresponds to the number selected is

designated "The Reader." The other students in the group are called "The Correctors."

Each student in the group has an identical copy of a reading selection. The Reader's task is to read orally to the group a fixed proportion of the reading selection. The Corrector's task is to read silently along with the Reader, stopping the Reader whenever he/she recognizes an inappropriate response to the reading selection; i.e., an error. When the Reader is stopped by a Corrector, and an error in his/her reading is pointed out to him/her, as well as the correct response (answer), the Reader must return to the beginning of his/her portion of the reading selection.

When the Reader successfully completes his/her portion of the reading selection without being stopped, he/she then becomes one of the Correctors. The Reader selects another student's number from the receptacle and that student becomes the Reader. This sequence is repeated until each student in the group has completed his/her turn as the Reader. After the last student in the group has completed his/her turn as the Reader, the numbers are returned by the students to the receptacle and the procedure starts again. The group continually rotates in this manner.

The teacher assigns the portions of the reading selection. He/she will generally begin by assigning two or three sentences, gradually increasing the amount to be read as the group rotates. In the initial stages of Peer Control, the teacher is part of the group, one of the Correctors. The teacher models for the group, pointing out the types of errors for which they should look. Whenever the teacher stops the

Reader, he/she asks the group to identify the error. If the group cannot recognize the error, the teacher gives them the name of the error and asks them to tell him/her, in their own words, what the error was. The teacher then asks the group for the correct response. If the group does not know the correct answer, the teacher then shows them how to find it. For example, if the error is a mispronunciation (dialect pronunciation, such as "doe" for "door" is acceptable), the teacher gives the group a short lesson in word attack skills and demonstrates how to use the dictionary for such purposes.

The teacher, as a member of the group, helps the group to first recognize and correct simple errors, then gradually more complex ones. The types of errors the teacher alerts the group to from his/her position as one of the Correctors are not limited to oral reading skills per se. The teacher may stop the Reader and ask him/her to summarize what he/she has read. If the Reader cannot give a summary statement, it is considered a comprehension error. The teacher explains to the group that the Reader must first understand what he is reading. Comprehension is stressed in the group.

The teacher gradually turns control of the group process over to the students. Eventually the teacher leaves the group. At this point, the teacher enters the group only when the Correctors have spotted an error but do not know the correct response. The teacher also enters the group when he/she hears the group consistently overlooking certain errors or when he/she wishes to inject additional errors for the group to spot.

Relationship to How Children Learn in Their Natural Environment.

The Peer Control Procedure grew out of observations of how Black non-mainstream children learn in their natural environment. The natural learning mode from which Peer Control was adapted is called "playing the dozens." Playing the dozens, also called "sounding" and "woofing," is a game of ritualistic verbal insults engaged in by small groups for entertainment and for sharpening and validating one's verbal skills. It is a contest of spontaneous verbal facility performed in front of a small audience.

Although playing the dozens is usually viewed from a pathological perspective by social scientists, the author views it as a cultural convention with educational implications--a group mechanism which gives practice, feedback, reinforcement, and recognition to the individual's verbal skills through competition. The following excerpt was taken from an actual tape of Black non-mainstream students engaged in Peer Control:

Reader: So, Jim went down the hall to John Fox's apartment. He knew that John Fox was a good reader. He told John Fox that he had brought a me-al box. . .

Corrector: Hold tight, stop! You just made one of them mistakes that they call mispronunciation. Dig it, the word was metal, and you said he had brought a me-al box. You got that, METAL, like iron baby. Now, back it up and try one more time.

Reader: So, Jim went down the hall to John Fox's apartment. He knew that John Fox was a good reader. He told John Fox that he brought a. . .

Corrector: Stop it right there, my man. And let's get this together. You done made a mistake called omission. That's when you skip over a word that you wasn't 'pose to skip over. You understand what I'm trying

to say? You read, "He told John Fox he brought," instead of "He told John Fox he had brought." You left out "had" and that ain't too cool. So let's back it up again.

Reader: So, Jim went down the hall to John Fox's apartment. He knew that John Fox was a good reader. He told John Fox that he had brought a metal box and a combination lock so he could protect his valuable possessions.

Corrector: Alright! Go head, with your bad self. You finally got it together.

Reader: Yeah, and I hope you be next. 'Cause I'm gon keep you reading for days.

The Peer Control Procedure also draws heavily on the "call-and-response" oral tradition of the Black community, which is seen in the call-and-response behavior of the Black church, where the audience becomes an active participant with the speaker.

In the typical classroom, one can observe interactions similar to playing the dozens. The teacher can, and often does (intentionally or unintentionally) "sound on the student"; i.e., give negative comments. But the student cannot retort within the rules of the classroom game, for there is an unequal power distribution between the student and the teacher. Although in playing the dozens, the participants are equal in terms of power, the route to greater power is through greater verbal competence. Thus, the one who displays the greatest verbal competence becomes the high status-power person and receives the lion's share of the positive reinforcement.

Past observations (Simpkins, 1973; Houghton Mifflin, 1975) have shown that the Peer Control Procedure is autotelic. The term "autotelic"

describes the quality of an instructional sequence which becomes an end in itself, so that performing the sequence is intrinsically reinforcing. Students tend to engage in Peer Control for its own sake, rather than for extrinsic rewards or punishments. Teachers have reported that often students do not want to disengage from their Peer Control groups when the bell rings to end the class.

The Peer Control Procedure approximates the mechanics of expensive program learning systems. Knowledge of the correctness or incorrectness of the students' responses to the reading materials is supplied in close temporal relation to the responses by a built-in feedback system. An incorrect response is identified and immediately followed by a stimulus event which serves to inform the Reader of the nature of the correct response. The Reader is then recycled back to an earlier successful stage. Reinforcement is contingent upon the Reader's response in a manner which leads to the shaping of skillful reading behavior.

CHAPTER V

DEVELOPMENT AND DESCRIPTION OF INSTRUCTION MATERIALS

The development of Cross-Cultural instructional materials encompasses two components: (a) the development of instructional materials which reflect Black language and culture, and (b) the development of instructional materials which reflect mainstream language and culture. The development of instructional materials which reflect mainstream language and culture does not pose a problem for educators. An abundance of books and other forms of literature exist on the subject. There are many programs which can be used as models. In addition, there is a clearly defined prescriptive formula for using the standard mainstream dialect, and clearly delineated developmental norms based on extensive research. But when it comes to the development of instructional materials which reflect Black language and culture, a completely different situation exists. There is a poverty of literature. There are few, if any, programs that can be used as models. There is no clearly defined prescriptive formula for using Black dialect and no developmental norms based on research.

Due to the availability of information on the development of mainstream instructional materials and the conspicuous lack of information on Black dialect instructional materials, the focus of this chapter is on the development of Black non-mainstream instructional materials. In developing instructional materials for Black non-mainstream students,

one of the most important variables, and the most distinguishing feature, is the language used in the materials. Language is sometimes conceptualized by educators as a neutral terrain, devoid of any attachment to a culture, where one might justifiably correct students for using "substandard English" without implications of cultural ethnocentrism or racism. Such notions are at best a convenient naivete. Concepts such as "standard English" and "substandard English," when applied to Black vernacular, are, from a linguistic perspective, clearly a product of cultural ethnocentrism.

Black children learn and speak the language of those persons who are closest and most meaningful to them. When educators conceptualize the language that Black children bring to the schools as "substandard" or "deficient" rather than different, they are guilty of cultural ethnocentrism. When educators correct the children, verbally or nonverbally, for using "substandard English" rather than telling the children that they wish to teach them a different dialect of the language, they are guilty of cultural aggression against Black culture, the children, the parents of the children, and the larger Black community which speaks Black dialect. One cannot disparage the language of a group of people without disparaging the culture of that group. Language is the primary conveyor of culture; and in an oral culture, language and culture are inextricably bound together.

If one rejects the cultural deprivation hypothesis that Black children are deprived of a suitable language and culture, then one is led to place a great deal of importance on the sociocultural context in

which the children learn and use their language. The Black dialect in this country stems from an oral tradition. Hence, the dialect is learned by Black children solely from the sociocultural context or the environment in which it is used.

Linguists (Labov et al., 1965, 1967; Steward, 1964, 1967, 1968) have recently devoted a great deal of attention to the study of Black dialect. They have delineated certain phonological, syntactical, and lexical features closely associated with Black dialect speakers. The work of these linguists constitutes a giant step forward in the scientific study of Black dialect. They have provided accurate and reliable information about the language of the vast majority of Black people to combat the myths, stereotypes, and falsehoods which have historically been accepted by educators and the general public in this country.

But, one must be cognizant of the fact that research on Black dialect is not a closed book. A great deal of information is simply not available. For example, little is known about the rules which control the mixing of dialect features and Standard English features. There is no prescriptive formula for speaking Black dialect, and perhaps more important to the developer of instructional materials, there is no prescriptive formula for writing in Black dialect; nor are there developmental norms or stages.

Developers of instructional materials have attempted to use the features discovered by linguists to be closely associated with dialect speakers as a system of rules, as a prescriptive formula for translating from Standard English to Black dialect. The end product of this

procedure is usually reading materials that are stilted, lifeless, colorless, unnatural and stereotypic. The materials, often unintentionally, miss the beauty, richness, humor, and poetry of Black dialect and Black culture. The materials often portray the speakers as dull, stupid, and the like.

In any language or dialect of a language there are varying degrees of ability among speakers. There are those speakers who are articulate and those who are inarticulate; there are speakers who possess little verbal facility, speakers who possess average verbal facility, and speakers who possess exceptional verbal facility. In the case of Standard English, a great deal of research has been devoted to the assessment of verbal ability and language developmental norms. Out of this research, numerous instruments for measuring verbal ability have been developed. Well defined norms have been established.

In the case of Black English there are no standardized instruments for assessing verbal ability or language developmental stages. Educators generally assess Black children's language ability by using norms and instruments developed for mainstream English speakers. They overlook the fact that verbal ability and language developmental norms can be meaningfully ascertained only in the context of the children's dialect and culture. Norms which characterize one dialect and culture should not be automatically applied to other dialects of that language that represent a different culture.

Certain kinds of differences among cultural groups interfere with the assessment of students' language ability. For example, it would be

foolish to assess White mainstream students' ability to "play the dozens" as a measure of language ability. For this population, the ability to play the dozens is not an important cultural convention, and invariably, such students would score low on such an assessment device.

Faced with a lack of instruments and norms based on research in the Black community, the developer of instructional materials in Black English must turn to the cultural context in which the dialect is used for the norms and standards of excellence. The developer must be knowledgeable about those individuals in the Black non-mainstream community who are considered by the community to be highly proficient verbally; those "Brothers and Sisters" who can really "get down with the language." The developer must know the cultural conventions, oral tradition and range of variability of the language. It is the lack of a functional conceptualization of excellence and variability of Black English based on norms which can be observed in the Black community, which prevents developers from designing acceptable instructional materials and causes the Black community to appear to reject the pedagogical use of Black English.

Although one can find in the literature numerous accounts of Black people's rejecting the pedagogical use of Black English, the author's experiences with the Black community have failed to bear this out. In fact, the author's experiences have been quite the opposite. If the instructional materials portray authentic (nonstereotyped) vernacular, and are true to Black non-mainstream culture, empathetic to Black students

and Black culture, and are of literary and educational value, the Black community readily embraces them.

Most efforts to use Black dialect in reading materials fail to take into account Black people's sensitivity to its pejorative uses. Materials that were psychological carbons of stereotypical literature, inherently offensive to Black people, were dated and doomed from the moment of their publication. Thus, it was the manner of realizing the dialect for literary purposes which created the offense, not the idea of using the dialect per se (Holt, 1974).

A basic premise of the Cross-Cultural Approach pertaining to the development of instructional reading materials can now be stated: The developer of instructional materials and the intended consumer of those materials must share a common cultural and linguistic background (Simpkins, 1973). All too often the literature on Black culture and language is distorted, written from a mainstream culturally ethnocentric perspective. What one frequently finds in the literature is Black culture viewed through the eyes of culturally ethnocentric mainstream social scientists (Williams and Rivers, 1975).

A prerequisite for the development of cross-cultural instructional materials in Black English is that the developer know the language and culture of Black people from a phenomenological perspective. This necessitates that the developer learn Black English from an experiential frame of reference in cultural context rather than solely from instruction and the literature.

This should not be interpreted to mean that only Blacks can develop instructional materials for Black non-mainstream children. If the developer does not have an experiential perspective, then the developer

should enlist the aid of someone who is familiar with the language and culture of Black people. This person should not be utilized as an informant, but as an integral part of the project, with shared decision-making power over instructional content and style.

Diversity of Subject Matter

A common misconception is that the developers of instructional reading materials in Black dialect are limited in the content area. Although it is of critical importance that instructional materials honestly reflect Black culture, this requirement in no way imposes limits on the content area. Developers are often tempted to write exclusively about those things that are considered to uniquely characterize Black culture and the Black community. All too often this practice leads the developer to write exclusively about the deprivation, violence, or humor of the community.

The critical variable in selecting subject matter for Black dialect instructional materials is not the unique experiences, or events, but the different cultural expressions of shared human experiences or events. Upon close examination, one will discover that there are very few experiences of people in the Black community, from conception to death, that are different or unique. The experiences become differently or uniquely expressed as a function of the cultural context in which they occur. For example, children growing up in the Black community share many of the same experiences as children growing up in the mainstream community. They experience a father, a mother, love, happiness, tears, separation, and neglect. Contrary to the notions of "cultural" and "sensory deprivation,"

the experiences of Black people are by no means limited. Their experiences are differentiated by cultural, historical, economic and personal considerations.

The developers' only limit in developing instructional materials which reflect Black culture is their knowledge of Black culture, language and students--and their own creativity. Refer to Appendix B for three examples of stories which illustrate the diversity of experiences and themes in the Black cultural context, around which reading instructional materials can be developed. It is important for the reader to note that the experiences and themes occur in both Black and mainstream culture.

Elaborating the Benefits of Literacy Through Reading Material

A frequent complaint of teachers working with Black non-mainstream students is that nothing they do seems to motivate the students to want to learn to read better. The students are just not interested in reading. Many teachers suggest that the problem is in the homes. The students do not see the need for reading or reading improvement because literacy is not valued in the homes or in the students' immediate environment. The students seldom see any books or reading materials around their homes and therefore they have no models with which to relate. In addition, teachers are quick to point out that the values of the students' peer group are antipathetic and often times hostile toward literacy.

At a workshop the author was conducting, a teacher once told the author that she had become totally frustrated trying to instill an appreciation for reading and general literacy in her Black non-mainstream

students. She said that she had tried everything possible, but to no avail. She had tried exposing her students to the great literary works of western civilization. They were bored. She invited Black professionals who were highly literate to talk to the students about the need for reading and general literacy in their work. The students were unimpressed. She talked about and read to them the works of famous Black authors like James Baldwin and William Du Bois. The students were inattentive. She took the class on a field trip to a Black newspaper. Not one expressed any interest in journalism.

This teacher was different in that she was more energetic than most teachers. But the problem she related is one shared by the vast majority of teachers working with Black non-mainstream students. The frustration she felt is also shared by a great many teachers.

As simplistic as it may seem, the problem--lack of interest in reading and general literacy-- is caused in part by the failure of the schools to tell the students why they should learn to read in a manner that is meaningful to them in their everyday life. They have told them repeatedly that it is important for them to learn to read well in order for them to obtain employment "sitting behind a desk." It is important to learn to read well so that they can become a doctor, or a lawyer, or an engineer. In essence, they have told them that it is important to learn to read well so that they can benefit in the future in a different setting.

Seldom are the benefits of reading and general literacy explained to the students in their immediate environment. That is not to say that

long-term goals are not important, or that there is something wrong with pointing out the benefits of reading and literacy as they relate to prestigious professions. But what needs to be pointed out is a "happy mixture" of longterm and immediate benefits. This is based on the realization that it is increasingly difficult for the learner to strive for long-term goals or benefits when the learner sees few immediate or short-term benefits.

It is of critical importance that the benefits of reading and general literacy and the disadvantages of illiteracy are elaborated to the learners in a manner which relates to their immediate environment and life style. Reading instructional materials can and should be written to accomplish this goal. To accomplish this task, the developers of reading instructional materials must take experiences, information, values, attitudes, and themes concerning the advantages and disadvantages of general literacy and translate them into the learners' familiar cultural context.

The general instructional principle is: The developers of instructional reading materials must hold constant the general concepts relating to the advantages or disadvantages of literacy they wish to convey to the learners, while allowing the content and cultural context of the instructional materials to vary in order to match the immediate environment and language of the consumers. Refer to Appendix C for two examples of stories which serve to illustrate this principle.

Black Folklore

Black folklore is an excellent source of content material reflecting Black culture. Black folklore can be considered as Black oral history passed down from generation to generation. Black folklore is a rich, imaginative, colorful source of Black oral literature, culture, and heritage. Unfortunately, most libraries and schools have ignored this body of oral literature and concentrated on folklore which reflects the European heritage. A vast body of folklore known as oral epic poetry, or "toasts" has been almost completely ignored. In recent years, with the upsurge of interest in Black dialect this body of folklore has been "discovered" by researchers.

Oral epic poetry is, perhaps, one of the best sources of content material for instructional reading material reflecting Black culture. This body of folklore is an outgrowth of African folklore's coming into contact with the New World, the experience of slavery, and the aftermath of slavery--the urbanization of Blacks. It belongs to the Black person in the streets. With the exception of those narratives which describe certain specific historical events, it is difficult to date. The oral epic poetry narratives are generally regarded by Black people as part of the developmental exposure of non-mainstream Blacks--part of Black culture. They appear to have no geographical focal point. They are as well known in the South as in the North, in the East as in the West. At one time almost all Black people who had grown up in inner-city settings were acquainted with this body of folklore. Refer to Appendix D for a

story based on Black folklore which serves to illustrate the vast potential of this body of oral literature as a source of content material for reading instructional materials.

Skill-Related Materials

Traditionally, as well as currently, most reading programs and approaches teach reading skills by having the students engage in mass practice at problem solving through skills exercises. A problem is given and the students' task is to find the answer to the problem. It is assumed that by finding the answers to items in an exercise, the students will gain proficiency in a particular skill related to reading. Emphasis is placed on mass problem solving rather than on instructing the students how to find the answer. Often the students are not told how to find the answer: They are simply given the correct answer.

In the Cross-Cultural Approach, the emphasis is not on mass problem solving practice in finding the correct answer to skill exercises; emphasis is on understanding the concept underlying the particular skill. In explaining concepts, the students are given (a) a statement of purpose; i.e., they are told what they will learn from the particular skill; (b) an explanation of the concepts underlying the skill, designed to tell them how to work the skill; and (c) a series of examples on how to apply the skill.

The Cross-Cultural Approach makes the assumption that the best way for Black students to understand skill-related concepts is to put the concepts in the students' familiar language and cultural context. This

approach assumes that once the students understand the concepts in their familiar dialect and cultural context, they can generalize the concepts to mainstream English, and then to their everyday school reading activities. It assumes that the best way to teach reading-related skills is to start the students with the familiar, in terms of their language and culture, and take them in a series of steps to the less familiar (See Associative Bridging, p. 48.).

Some of the basic assumptions for using the students' familiar cultural context in the skill-related materials are as follows: (a) the cultural context represents ways of thinking and doing things which are normal to a culture; (b) the cultural context influences the ways in which students engage in such cognitive activities as recall, rule setting, and task orientation; (c) by starting with the familiar cultural context, the added cognitive operation-translation, which Black students must often perform in order to process the concepts, is eliminated (See Cognitive Concerns of the Cross-Cultural Approach, p. 43.); and (d) the familiar cultural context supplies intrinsic reinforcement, thus serving as a greater success facilitator than the less familiar.

Skill Exercises

The following two skill exercises are designed to accompany the story, Shine. (Refer to Appendix D for the story.) These exercises serve to illustrate how emphasis can be placed on the skill-related concepts and how the familiar cultural context of Black students can be employed (See Appendix E for an example of a skill exercise in mainstream English.).

Skills Lesson: Shine, A Story in Black Vernacular

Part A. Digging on the Meaning of Words by Checking Out the Context.

What you gonna learn from this: How to check out the meaning of words you don't already know.

Check this out: When you be reading, sometime you get hung up on words you don't know. Here go two ways you can dig on what them words mean: (1) Sometime you can come up with what a word mean by checking out the sentence the word is in. (2) Other times, you gonna have to check out some more sentences to help you get the meaning together. Doing these two things is what we mean when we say digging on the meaning by checking out the context.

Now check this example:

He jumped on in the water and started to splash.

Splash mean a. to drink b. to dance c. to swim.

Suppose you don't know what splash mean. 'Cause the sentence say Shine "jumped on in the water," you can figure out that splash mean "to swim." Got that?

Next, you got to look at the answers you got to choose from.

Then, you got to pick out the meaning of splash that's closest to what you figured out from the context. Now, you know ain't nobody gonna jump in the ocean and start "to dance." And you know ain't nobody crazy enough "to drink" no salty

ocean water. So in this here case, you know the answer is "to swim." And that's the one marked, ain't it?

Now dig this:

You ever heard of the Titanic? Yeah, that's right.

It was one of them big ships. Titanic is a. a ocean liner b. a train c. a bus.

Now suppose this here word Titanic hang you up. What you gonna do? You got to dig on the meaning by checking out the context. Now, if you check out the sentences around the word Titanic, you can figure it was a big ship, 'cause the last sentence tell you, "It was one of them big ships."

Next, you got to look at the answers you got to choose from.

Then, you got to pick out the meaning of Titanic that's closest to what you figured out from the context. Now, you know "a train" ain't no ship. And you know "a bus" ain't no ship. So you know it got to be "a ocean liner." And that's the one marked, ain't it? That's easy, ain't it?

You right! It's easy!

Let's put this stuff to work for you: Dig on the word that's underlined. Make like you hung up on it. Figure out the meaning by checking out the context. Then circle the letter in front of the meaning you figured out. One is already done to show you how.

Now dig this:

It was supposed to be unsinkable. Wind, storm, icebergs
 --nothing could get next to it. It was a superbad ship.
 The meanest thing in the water. Unsinkable mean
 (a.) couldn't go down b. couldn't stay up c. couldn't
 go very fast.

Now check these:

Shine was a stoker on the ship. He shovel coal into the
 ship's furnace. A stoker is a. the dude who steer the
 ship b. the dude who mop the deck c. the dude who
 shovel coal into the furnace.

Word was there was few survivors. Just about everybody
 got drowned. Survivors are a. the people who died
 b. the people who lived c. the people who slept.

He was a big, Black, strong Brother by the name of Shine.
Shine is a. the name of the captain b. the name of
 a Brother c. the name of a ship.

Shine yanked off his clothes in a flash. He jumped on in
 the water and started to splash. Yanked means a. pulled
 b. brushed c. shoveled.

Part B. Digging on Figures of Speech.

What you gonna learn from this: To dig on words that say more than what the words really mean.

Check this out: You got a figure of speech when you come across a word, or some words, that ain't really saying what it seems to be saying. To understand this here figure of speech thing, to really get it together, you got to use a little taste of imagination. You can't be using the exact meaning of the words. What you got to do is trip on the picture that the words paint for you.

Now check this example:

Shine shot on off through the water like a motorboat. Now, if you was to say, "Shine shot on off through the water like a motorboat," what would you be saying? Now, you wouldn't be saying he was a bullet. And you wouldn't be getting down on him, saying he look like a boat. You'd be saying that the Brother could swim like crazy. Or that the Brother could swim real fast. You understand what we're trying to say?

Now dig this:

The whale say, "I'm king of the ocean. I'm king of the sea." Now, if you was to say you was "king of the ocean," what would you be saying? Now, you wouldn't be saying you was the main man of some country. And you wouldn't be saying there was a ruler just for the ocean. You'd be saying you was the strongest and baddest thing that live in the ocean.

Let's put this stuff to work for you: Dig on the words that's underline. Pick out what the underlined words really say, then circle the letter in front of the words. One is already done to show you how.

Now check these:

Shine was a stone swimmer. a. Shine was a very poor swimmer (b.) Shine was a very good swimmer c. Shine was a stone swimmer.

Winds, storms, icebergs--nothing could get next to it.

a. Nothing could go alongside it b. Nothing could get behind it c. Nothing could harm it.

The ship was the meanest thing on the water. a. No other ship could match it b. It was hard to get along with c. It had a bad understanding.

The ship was out of sight. a. It was off in the distance and you couldn't see it b. It was hidden in the fog c. It was the best ship ever built.

The ship could move like four Bloods in tennis shoes.

a. It was a real fast ship b. It was a real slow ship c. It was a black ship.

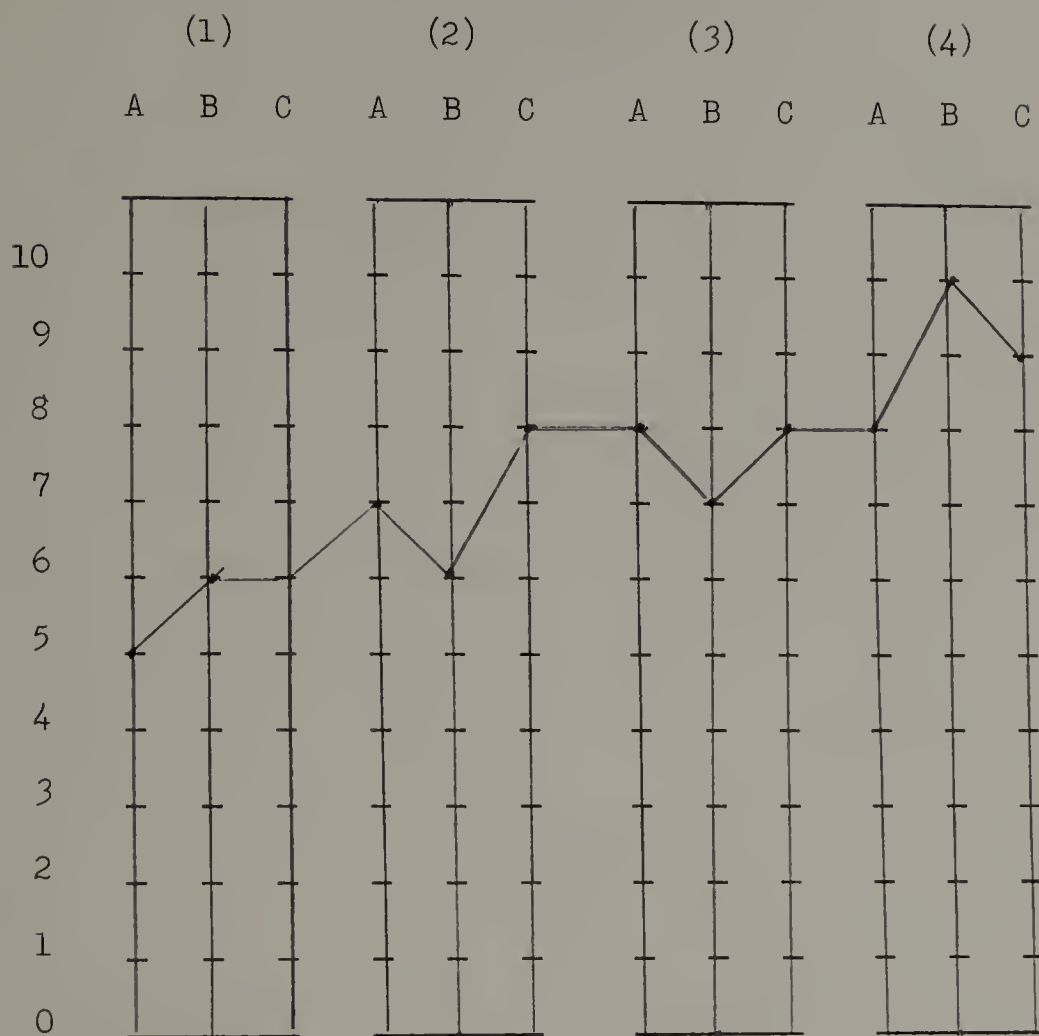
Student Feedback Record

The Student Feedback Record is designed to provide students with knowledge of results or feedback on progress. When used in conjunction with the Story Questions and Skill Exercises, it provides the students with an on-going visual record of their progress. At any point, the students may, by referring to their Feedback Records, ascertain whether they are improving, staying the same, or declining in their scores.

The Feedback Record allows each student to compete against himself/herself rather than classmates. Each student's score becomes meaningful in terms of his/her previous progress rather than a set of normative scores. The following Student Feedback Record sheet serves to illustrate this concept. (Table 1).

Table 1

STUDENT FEEDBACK RECORD



Story Questions

The story questions are basically general comprehension questions. The items on the story questions are designed to tap the students' understanding of specific details and basic ideas presented in the stories. When there is more than one version of a story (Some stories may be written in two or three versions; i.e., Black Vernacular, Transition, and Standard English.), some of the questions are designed to check whether the student has read each version carefully. Although the questions remain constant from one version to another, they may require different answers. For example, "How much money did John receive?" In one version, the answer might be "a whole lot of money"; in another, "seven hundred fifty dollars"; and in still another version, "five hundred dollars" (See Appendix F for an example of Story Questions.).

Dictionary Lesson

There is a Dictionary Lesson to accompany each story used in the Cross-Cultural Approach. These lessons are designed to help the students build their vocabulary by assembling sets of synonyms for both Black Vernacular and mainstream English words which appear in the stories. These lessons help the students to translate back and forth between Black Vernacular and mainstream English. The following is an example of a Dictionary Lesson designed to accompany the story, Shine.

Dictionary Lesson: Shine

Word	Black Vernacular	Standard English
bad	very good, boss, together	not good, unsatisfactory
mean		
piece		
sucker		
strong		
split		
superbad		
check		

Audio Materials

Since Black culture and language are the product of an oral tradition, and Black Vernacular, when codified into a written system, may initially appear strange to Black students, the Cross-Cultural Approach makes extensive use of recordings. An additional reason for using audio materials is that most teachers are not familiar enough with Black Vernacular to speak the dialect correctly.

There are three different kinds of audio recordings in the Cross-Cultural Approach: (a) Student Introduction, (b) Introduction to Reading Stories, and (c) Introduction to Skill Lessons. Examples in the form of transcripts of these recordings can be found in Appendix G.

Student Introduction to the Cross-Cultural Approach

The Student Introduction to the Cross-Cultural Approach should be recorded by a fluent native speaker of Black dialect. It should explain the approach, its objectives, and what is expected of the students. It is intended to motivate the students to want to use the program. The recommended procedure for making this recording is to (a) find a fluent native speaker of Black dialect, (b) acquaint him/her with the approach, materials, objectives and what is expected of the students, and (c) allow the person to make the recording in his/her own words, following some general guidelines or script.

Introduction to Reading Stories

Stories written in the Black Vernacular are introduced to the students by way of a recording made by a fluent native speaker of Black dialect. Each recording should provide background information and some of the essential elements of the story. The recording is not a verbatim statement of the story, but rather an abstract version which gives a summary of the story without giving the students the conclusion of the story. The recording also introduces words in the story that are likely to be unfamiliar or difficult for the students to read.

Introduction to Skill Lessons

The first time the Skill Lessons are presented in Black Vernacular, they are introduced to the students by a recording made by a fluent native speaker of Black dialect. Through the recordings, the students are helped to read and understand the objectives, explanations, and application of the skills. After a brief introduction to the task, the recordings are verbatim readings of the lessons.

Associative Bridging Sequence

The materials employed in the Cross-Cultural Approach are sequenced according to the Associative Bridging Strategy: Start with the familiar (Black dialect) and proceed to the less familiar (Standard English) in a series of steps. Materials are written in three dialects: Black Vernacular, Transition, and Standard English.

Black Vernacular

As used in the Cross-Cultural Approach, Black Vernacular is defined as the dialect customarily spoken by the majority of Black people in this country. The materials written in Black Vernacular utilize the syntax, lexicon, morphology, and metaphors indigenous to speakers of Black Vernacular and reflect Black non-mainstream culture.

Transition

The transition dialect used in the Cross-Cultural Approach is a mixture or blend of Black Vernacular and Standard English. There are two optional ways of arranging the transition dialect. In Option 1, the transition dialect is approximately equally weighted between Black Vernacular and Standard English; i.e., the mixture or blend is approximately 50 percent Black Vernacular and 50 percent Standard English. In Option 2, the transition dialect is divided into three subcategories, T_1 , T_2 , and T_3 . Materials written in T_1 are weighted towards Black Vernacular; i.e., they have proportionately more Black Vernacular than English. Materials written in T_2 are weighted equally between Black Vernacular and Standard English; i.e., the blend or mixture is approximately 50 percent Black Vernacular and 50 percent Standard English. Materials written in T_3 are weighted towards Standard English; i.e., they have proportionately more Standard English than Black Vernacular.

Standard English

The Standard English dialect, as used in the Cross-Cultural Approach, is defined as the standard dialect of this country and the dialect customarily used in public schools.

(The Associative Bridging Sequence can be represented in a chart as follows:

<u>Step 1</u>	<u>One Dialect</u> Black Vernacular
<u>Step 2</u>	<u>Two Dialects</u> Black Vernacular Transition or T ₁
<u>Step 3</u>	<u>Three Dialects</u> Black Vernacular Transition or T ₂ Standard English
<u>Step 4</u>	<u>Two Dialects</u> Transition or T ₂ Standard English
<u>Step 5</u>	<u>One Dialect</u> Standard English

As indicated above, the Cross-Cultural Approach instructional materials are sequenced so that the students start with Step 1, Black Vernacular, and proceed through several intermediate steps (Steps 2, 3, and 4) and finish with Step 5, Standard English. Included in Steps 2, 3, and 4 are the transition dialects. In Option 1--labeled Transition in the chart--the transition dialect is an approximate equal

mixture or blend of Black Vernacular and mainstream English. In Option 2--labeled T_1 , T_2 , and T_3 in the chart--the transition dialect is sequenced so that T_1 is closest to Black Vernacular, T_2 is an approximate equal mixture or blend of Black Vernacular and Standard English, and T_3 is closest to Standard English.

Some of the Reading Stories may be written in several versions; i.e., one story may be written in two or three dialects. When this occurs, the stories are translated into several dialects. The translation is not a literal, word-for-word translation. Although the basic plot may remain unchanged, changes do occur in the names of characters and certain details and events, and in the manner in which the characters react to certain situations. See Appendix H for examples.)

CHAPTER VI

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CROSS-CULTURAL APPROACH

The implementation of the Cross-Cultural Approach can be divided into three components. These three components or aspects of the implementation of the Cross-Cultural Approach are labeled (a) Structured Sequence and Flow of Materials, (b) The Role of the Teacher, and (c) Management of the Peer Control Procedure.

Structured Sequence and Flow of Materials

Students using the Cross-Cultural Approach follow a basic four-step sequence that repeats itself as they move through the various materials. This sequence allows the students to proceed at their own individual pace without reference to the other students in the classroom. The basic four-step sequence is described below.

Step One - Tapes

The student selects the tape which corresponds to the story that he/she is to read and a tape recorder from its designated location. The student returns to his/her desk and listens to the taped abstract of the story as many times as he/she wishes. If there are things that the student does not understand on the tape, the student raises his/her hand for assistance from the teacher. When the student finishes listening to the tape, he/she rewinds it and returns the tape and the recorder to their designated locations.

Step Two - Individual Reading

Upon returning the tape and the recorder to their designated location, the student takes the reading selection which corresponds to the tape, returns to his/her desk, and reads the selection as many times as he/she wishes. If there are things the student does not understand in the selection or things that present difficulty for him/her, the student raises his/her hand for assistance from the teacher. When the student finishes reading the selection, he/she returns it to its designated location.

Step Three - Story Questions

Upon returning the reading selection to its designated location, the student selects a worksheet and the story questions which correspond to the reading selection he/she has just finished. The student then returns to his/her desk and proceeds to answer the story questions, indicating his/her answers on the worksheet. After answering all the questions, the student checks his/her answers with the correct answers provided on the back of the Story Question Sheet. The student records the number of correct answers on his/her Student Feedback Record.

Step Four - Skills

Upon recording the score in the Student Feedback Record, the student returns the Story Question Sheet to its designated location and takes the Skill Exercise corresponding to the reading selection. The student returns to his/her desk and proceeds to work the skill exercise.

The first time the skills are taught, the student listens to a recording of the skill lesson and silently reads along with the recording. In the succeeding lessons, the student does the lessons without the aid of the recording.

When the student has completed the skill lesson, he/she takes it to the teacher to be corrected and to have his/her work individually reviewed. The student then records the number of correct answers on his/her Feedback Record.

The student then completes a Dictionary Lesson corresponding to the reading selection. The Dictionary Lesson may be done as homework and returned to the teacher later for corrections.

Upon completion of Step Four, the student recycles to Step One and repeats the sequence with another reading selection. The sequence is interrupted two days a week for Peer Control Reading Lessons.

This sequence, as outlined, varies only according to the availability of materials and recording equipment, the packaging of materials, and the physical dimensions of the classroom.

The Role of the Teacher

The teacher assumes three roles in the Cross-Cultural Approach: (a) manager of classroom behavior, (2) manager of materials, and (c) individual learning consultant. It is important the teacher always remember her/his three roles. In this approach, these three roles are not intended to supplement the traditional roles of the teacher; they are intended to replace them.

The old English schoolmaster is generally pictured as a stern disciplinarian. The schoolmaster would not tolerate any misbehavior from his students. He would punish those who dared to misbehave (exhibit off-task behavior), or inadvertently misbehaved, in order to set an example for the rest of the class. The other students would behave in the proper manner (stay on task) in order to avoid punishment. The schoolmaster was forever on the alert to catch the students misbehaving (off task) or being "bad." Whenever the schoolmaster caught one of them in the act, he would immediately punish that student. The schoolmaster's emphasis was focused on the negative (off task behavior) in order to achieve the positive (on task behavior). He generally ignored positive behavior or good behavior because it was expected of all students. The reward for positive behavior was avoidance of punishment.

A contrast can be drawn between the role of the English schoolmaster and the role of the teacher in the Cross-Cultural Approach. While the English schoolmaster focused on the negative (off task behavior) and ignored the positive (on task behavior), the teacher in this approach does the exact opposite. The teacher focuses on the positive (on task behavior) and ignores, whenever possible, the negative (off task behavior). The teacher using the Cross-Cultural Approach must be constantly on the alert for on task behavior in order to immediately praise or reinforce it. In this approach, the teacher must work hard at catching the student being "good," in order to dispense positive reinforcement.

In the role of manager of materials, the teacher supervises the distribution, use, and flow of materials. It is the teacher's job to insure that the materials are used properly, in the manner in which they were designed to be used, and in the correct sequence.

As an individual learning consultant, the teacher works with one student at a time. As the term "individual learning consultant" indicates, the teacher consults with individual students on any learning problem or difficulty they might experience pertaining to materials used in the Cross-Cultural Approach.

Manager of Classroom Behavior

The best reading program cannot be effective if there is a high frequency of disruptive behavior in the classroom. The best of teachers cannot be effective if a high proportion of the available time is spent disciplining instead of teaching. When teachers are forced to assume the role of a police officer, learning in the classroom is severely inhibited.

The Cross-Cultural Approach attempts to establish a success arena for Black students, a positive environment for learning. As Black students experience success, they begin to believe in themselves and in their ability to learn to read well, thereby enhancing their self-image. Most teachers are concerned about building a positive self-image in students, but they are also unsure of how to go about it. Generally, a poor self-image is the result of a preceived history of failure and

unsatisfying experiences. Positive self-images result when a person perceives his experiences as successful and satisfying.

The following procedures (Hammond, Simpkins, 1973; Simpkins, 1974; Simpkins, Holt, Simpkins, 1974) were designed to help students achieve experiences of success. For these procedures to be effective, the teacher must use and practice all of them consistently and exclusively. They fall into two general categories: (a) collaborative rule setting, and (b) reinforcement of on task behavior.

Collaborative Rule Setting. When students have a consistent, familiar pattern to follow, they can operate more efficiently. The teacher's first task is to see that a set of rules is established to govern the behavior of the class. When students are involved in establishing rules, they become more meaningful to them. When not involved, there is danger of the rules' being viewed as oppressive or as the establishment's impinging upon the students. For rules to be established collaboratively, the teacher and the students must make joint inputs. The class cannot establish any rule which the teacher does not agree with, nor can the teacher establish a rule which the class does not agree with. Agreement on the rules is reached through dialog or discussion. Past experience has shown that a dialog on "why do we need rules anyway" is an excellent starting point.

When engaged in collaborative rule setting or changing existing rules, the teacher should keep the following points in mind:

1. Keep the rules simple, short and to the point.
2. Phrase the rules in positive behavioral terms: "Sit quietly

while working" instead of "Don't talk to your neighbor."

3. Make sure the students understand the purpose of the rules and their relationship to the goals of the classroom.

Once the rules are established, the teacher should post them in a highly visible location and review them regularly with the class.

Reinforcement. Research has demonstrated that when behavior is closely followed by attention, praise, or any other satisfying state for the learner, the behavior is strengthened, i.e., reinforced (Skinner, 1938, 1953; Bijou and Baer, 1961, 1966). When the reinforcement comes from something outside the intrinsic pleasure of the behavior, it is called extrinsic reinforcement. Extrinsic reinforcement, sometimes called extrinsic incentives, is reinforcement from an observable source external to the learner (Garry and Kingsley, 1970).

In the Cross-Cultural Approach, the teacher is constantly on the alert for desirable and on task behavior in order to immediately reinforce it. The following guide to extrinsic reinforcement (Simpkins, 1972) was designed to be carefully and consistently followed by the teacher:

- (1) Praise: Reward each student who is on task (following the rules and working on assigned tasks) with praise. Do not reward students who are not on task, since attention, even for misbehavior, is rewarding. Praise can be a highly effective reinforcer. Praise following on task behavior tends to keep the student working on assigned tasks. Be constantly alert for opportunities to reinforce students for being on task. A smile, a nod, or some special remark can serve as a reinforcer. Make

statements of praise personal. Praise can lose its effectiveness as a reinforcer if it becomes mechanical and impersonal.

(2) Extinction: When behavior is not followed by reinforcement, the frequency of the behavior tends to decrease. This process is called extinction (Skinner, 1961). Whenever possible, inappropriate behavior should be ignored. When a student intentionally breaks a rule or is not working on the assigned task, ignore the student if possible. Continue to praise those students in the class who are on task.

Remember, reinforcement for inappropriate behavior can and often does come from a student's classmates. Therefore, the teacher must have the aid of the entire class in ignoring inappropriate behavior. If the teacher is consistent, the class will also ignore inappropriate behavior. At first, the teacher will probably experience a temporary increase in the student's misbehavior. This is a test to see whether the teacher "really means it"--will consistently ignore inappropriate behavior and praise only appropriate or on task behavior.

(3) Negative Reinforcement: Negative reinforcement, according to Skinner, is the removal of an aversive or noxious (unpleasant) stimulus, thereby creating a rewarding state of affairs for the learner. If there are unpleasant conditions in the classroom, their removal can act as a reinforcer, having the same approximate effect as positive reinforcement, the strengthening of behavior.

A negative reinforcer is defined as a stimulus, the removal or avoidance of which increases a response (Travers, 1967; Skinner, 1953). The example cited earlier in this section, of the old English schoolmaster's method of controlling behavior, is an example of negative reinforcement. The students behaved in the proper manner in order to avoid an aversive stimulus (punishment).

(4) Disapproval: Sometimes it will be necessary to show disapproval in order to stop extreme inappropriate behavior. Disapproval, called punishment in Skinnerian learning theory terminology, is not recommended except in extreme circumstances. Although punishment can suppress unwanted behavior, it does not eliminate it from the repertoire of the person engaging in the unwanted behavior and it may produce side effects such as anxiety and aggression, or withdrawal (Skinner, 1953; Ulrich, Hutchinson, and Azrin, 1965).

The teacher will have to use his/her own judgment as to when and what kinds of inappropriate behavior can no longer be ignored. This might occur when the possibility exists of a student's being injured, furnishings or materials being destroyed, or the learning situation being totally disrupted.

If punishment is resorted to, it should be swift and fair and convey serious disapproval. Mild reprimands may serve only to reward the student for getting attention. When the teacher deems it necessary to employ punishment, he/she should be on the alert to restore praise at the earliest possible opportunity.

(5) Intrinsic Reinforcement: When the behavior or activity a person engages in is done for its own sake rather than for an external reward; i.e., the activity in itself creates a satisfying state of affairs for the learner, this is called intrinsic reinforcement (Garry and Kingsley, 1970; Hilgard, 1962; Woodworth and Schlosberg, 1958). Intrinsic reinforcement, or learning for the pleasure of learning is a goal that the teacher should seek to have students obtain. If the use of extrinsic reinforcement is successful, the teacher will notice that fewer and fewer external rewards are necessary to encourage the students to engage in learning behavior.

What the Teacher Should Remember. Errors on the part of the teacher will be serious setbacks. They occur if the teacher breaks the rules. Another serious problem is making exceptions to the rules. This encourages the students to gamble on when the rules will not be applied. The teacher must always be consistent in applying the rules.

A primary source of extrinsic reinforcement for the misbehaving student is attention from peers, in the form of smiles, laughter, and verbal encouragement, for example. The effect of such reinforcement is to increase frequency of behavior. Praise those who refuse to react to such behavior. Immediately praise the student when he/she gets back on task. The cooperation of the class is one of the teacher's greatest assets in maintaining the learning situation.

Manager of Materials

The teacher's role as manager of materials can be a relatively simple task or it can be an overwhelmingly frustrating chore. To be successful, he/she must immediately get the students accustomed to the structured sequence. This must be the teacher's first objective in the program. In order for the students to work independently, they must first learn the structural sequence until they automatically adhere to it. If the suggested approach is followed, the teacher can accomplish this task with relative ease. He/she will need to apply the techniques in the previous section--Manager of Classroom Behavior. Again, as there, the key word is consistency.

The arrangement of materials is crucially important to the success of the Cross-Cultural Approach. There are several key procedures the teacher must follow:

1. Consistently place the materials in the same location every day.
2. Make the students aware of the designated location of the materials. Review the location often.
3. Make each student aware of where to obtain the materials, what to do with them, and where to return them, before actually starting the program. The students must know the sequence for using the materials.
4. Generously praise students for using materials correctly and following the sequence.
5. Always have the materials in their designated place when the students arrive so that they can immediately begin to work.

Individual Learning Consultant

Most teachers are accustomed to working with groups of students rather than individual students. Usually this has been the case in their training and in their placement in schools. Teachers usually agree that individualized instruction is more effective than group instruction, but the kinds of materials generally available to them and the large numbers of students in their classes often make individual instruction almost impossible.

In the Cross-Cultural Approach, the bulk of the teacher's time is devoted to the individual student rather than the group. In the role of individual learning consultant, the teacher consults with students on an individual basis when they are encountering learning problems. When answering a student's question, the teacher, rather than giving the student the correct answer, consults with the student on how to develop strategies for independently deriving the answer. The teacher assists the student in understanding why certain answers are correct and others are not. For example, students will frequently need help to decipher words they do not know. When the teacher is asked for assistance, he/she helps the student use the context or other decoding techniques in the Skill Exercises. The teacher does not simply tell a student what the word is.

Management of Peer Control Procedure

Peer Control is an oral reading procedure designed for small groups of students (see p. 57). Students engaging in the Peer Control Procedure use Peer Control Reading Selections. The reading materials used for Peer Control follow the same format as the reading materials used in the structural sequence; i.e., three dialects and five steps. Each sentence of the Peer Control reading selection is numbered in order to facilitate assignment of reading passages (See Appendix for examples.). The Peer Control content is not restricted to the Peer Control Reading Selections. Once students complete the Associative Bridging sequence, the Peer Control activity should be continued by using newspapers, magazines, and books.

General Peer Control Procedures

Grouping. Students are divided into small groups of four to six for the Peer Control Reading activities. The groups are matched as closely as possible in terms of reading level in order to increase the probability of success for each student in a group. The groups should remain flexible so that students can be reassigned to more appropriate groups if their reading ability changes.

Reading. Once the students are divided into groups, the activities proceed with the students conducting their own groups. The teacher designates the number of sentences each student will read and shows each group how to get started. The teacher then acts only as a consultant to the group.

While one student (the Reader) reads aloud, the other students (the Correctors) follow the Reader silently. If the Correctors hear the Reader make an error, they stop the Reader by saying "STOP!" The Reader should be given the first chance to recognize and correct the error. If the Reader cannot do so, the Correctors should point out the error and explain how to correct it. The Reader must then start reading again from where he/she began. When the Reader reads the assigned sentences without being stopped for an error, another student becomes the Reader and the first Reader becomes a Corrector. This procedure is repeated as the students take turns during the Peer Control Reading period.

Selecting the Readers. Occasionally problems may arise concerning who should read next. How such problems are resolved is up to the judgment of the teacher. Sometimes it is useful to use some method of random selection. One such method uses a set of numbered discs or slips of paper and a box, cup, or other container. Students each choose a disc before the group begins the day's activity. They make a note of their own numbers and return the discs to the container. The student with the lowest number becomes the first Reader. When the first Reader finishes, he or she selects the next reader by choosing one disc from the container. The student with the number of that disc becomes the next Reader. In this way, each Reader chooses the next Reader.

Peer Control Reading Skills Objectives

Peer Control allows students to practice and demonstrate knowledge of reading skills by (a) stopping the Reader whenever reading errors are made, (b) indicating where and what kind of errors are made, and (c) assisting the Reader to correct errors, if necessary. Students are taught how to spot specific kinds of reading errors. Once introduced, identification and correction of each error is reviewed and practiced in every succeeding reading selection.

The errors to be identified are explained below. The teacher may choose to add additional errors to the list.

Non-Recognition of Words. This problem occurs when the student does not recognize or know a word. The student cannot attack the word at all.

Incorrect Recognition of Words. This error usually occurs when there is not a visual relationship between the written word and the student's response. The student may misread part of the word or the whole word. For example:

"dig" read as "gig"

"was" read as "saw"

"summertime" read as "sometime"

"what" read as "want"

"strain" read as "string"

Incorrect recognition of words does not include mispronunciation due to dialect differences. If a student pronounces "door" as "doe" or "store" as "stoe," it should be considered correct. If the teacher is uncertain of the Black dialect pronunciation of a word, he/she should call upon the students in the peer control group as authorities on the correct

dialect pronunciation. It is very important that Black dialect pronunciations not be mistaken for reading errors.

Punctuation Errors. It is considered an error when the student does not read with the inflection appropriate to the punctuation. Punctuation in this case includes periods, commas, question marks, and exclamation marks.

Omission Errors. This problem occurs when the student omits complete words from the reading passage.

Example: She had to split 'cause it was getting late.
Read as: She had to split it was getting late.
The word 'cause was omitted.

Insertion Errors. This occurs when the student adds words to the reading passage.

Example: Shine was a strong Brother.
Read as: Shine was a big strong Brother.
The word big was inserted.

Substitution Errors. A substitution occurs when the student reads one word for another.

Example: I'm going to my pad.
Read as: I' going to my house.
The word house was substituted for pad.

If a Corrector spots legitimate reading errors other than the six types described above, they should be treated in the same way. The Reader should try to identify and correct the error first. If the Reader is unsuccessful, then the Corrector identifies and corrects the error and the group proceeds as before.

The Teacher's Role in Peer Control

The teacher is manager of the peer control groups, procedure, and materials. As manager, the teacher assigns students to groups, introduces oral reading skills, assigns reading passages, serves as a model for peer control, acts as consultant to the groups, and dispenses reinforcement.

CHAPTER VII

EVALUATION OF THE CROSS-CULTURAL APPROACH

The program model for the Cross-Cultural Approach to Reading was evaluated three times. After each evaluation, the program was modified. The three evaluations--Los Angeles Study, Boston Study, Houghton Mifflin Field Test--are described in the following sections.

Los Angeles Study

The study performed in Los Angeles (Simpkins, 1969) was an exploratory preliminary evaluation. The purpose of the evaluation was to gain some idea of the integrations and effectiveness of various components of the reading package under simulated classroom conditions in order that the package might be modified, if necessary.

The evaluation was designed as a one-group, pretest, posttest, experiment. Knowledge of reading was assessed before and after exposure to the reading package.

Location

The study was conducted at California State University at Los Angeles under the auspices of the Secondary Education Department and the Associate Reading Clinic.

Subjects

Twelve Black inner-city high school dropouts who were enrolled in the Neighborhood Youth Corps (Out of School) Program participated in the evaluation.

Instruments

Reading measures were obtained before and after exposure to the reading package, using the California Reading Achievement Test, Form W (pretest) and Form X (posttest), grades 4, 5, and 6.

Staff

The staff consisted of one teacher, one aide, and an observer (located outside the classroom observing through a one-way mirror). The staff was composed of Black undergraduates with no previous teaching experience. The staff underwent a four-hour training session conducted by the author.

Procedure

The reading package was administered to the subjects four days a week, two hours a day, for six weeks. The class was taught by a teacher and an aide. An observer watched through the one-way mirror. The aide and the observer exchanged roles every week. The author also observed through the one-way mirror.

Results

Table 2 presents the attrition rate of subjects in the study, broken down by time in weeks and by sex. As Table 2 indicates, five subjects dropped out of the experiment during the first three weeks. Table 3 presents the age, sex, pretest, posttest, and gain scores of

Table 2

Attrition Rate

Week Number	Number of Students	Sex	
		Male	Female
1	2	1	1
2	2	1	1
3	1	1	0
4	0	0	0
5	0	0	0
6	0	0	0

Table 3

Age, Sex, Pretest and Posttest Scores
(Expressed in grade equivalencies)

Age	Sex	Pretest	Posttest	Gain
17	F	1.6	2.9	1.3
17	M	2.2	5.4	3.2
18	F	2.1	3.4	1.3
17	M	2.8	5.6	2.8
18	M	3.5	7.0	3.5
17	M	3.7	7.0	3.3
17	F	5.2	7.2	2.0

Pretest range 1.6 to 5.2

Mean = 3.0

Posttest range 2.9 to 7.2

Mean = 5.5

the subjects remaining in the experiment. The subjects had a mean gain of 2.5 years in grade equivalency scores.

The changes observed in the attitudes of the subjects as reported by the staff were dramatic. The subjects said that "for the first time they felt that they were learning something." Those remaining in the study (7) expressed a strong interest in continuing beyond the six weeks. It was reported that the subjects were reading other fiction and non-fiction books outside the class for the first time in their lives.

Discussion

The study was preliminary and exploratory. It provided the author an opportunity to observe students of the target population interacting with the reading package. Valid conclusions pertaining to the effectiveness of the reading package could not be drawn from the study. The number of students participating in the study was too small for any generalizations to be made. In addition, there was not a comparison group, nor a systematic means of observation employed. From an experimental point of view, the study was extremely weak.

There were three factors which contributed to the limitations of the study:

1. The controversial contents of the reading package; i.e., Black dialect and offensive vernacular, which made it difficult to obtain subjects.
2. The evaluation took place on the spur of the moment in order to obtain subjects supplied by the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

This occurred after all other possible sources of obtaining subjects were exhausted.

3. The subjects participating in the study were being paid by the Neighborhood Youth Corps Program prior to entering the study. Time was taken off from various jobs on which they were working in order to allow them to attend the study. They were told that attendance would in no way affect the money that they were earning prior to the study; i.e., they would in no way be penalized monetarily for being in the study. Because of administrative difficulties, their pay was temporarily affected. It was less, throughout the study, than the subjects felt it would have been if they had not participated. Judging from the frequent complaints of the subjects on this point, it was an important factor contributing to the attrition rate (12 to 7).

The three principal recommendations which came from the study were: (a) offensive vernacular should be eliminated from the reading package; (b) additional materials should be developed to extend the program; and (c) further research should be conducted with greater controls, a larger number of subjects, and sophisticated analyses of the data.

Boston Study

Based on insight gained from the Los Angeles Study and additional knowledge from research on reading, Black dialect, and learning theory,

the reading package was modified and then evaluated in the Boston area.

The objectives of the Boston Study (Simpkins, 1973) were as follows:

(a) "To ascertain the feasibility of the reading package becoming an effective tool for teaching Black inner-city youths to improve their reading skills"; and (b) "To establish a basis for future development and refinement of the package and its concepts by examining the classroom interactions between the teachers, students, and reading package."

Design of Evaluation

The evaluation was designed as a pretest, posttest, treatment (experimental) group, nontreatment (control) group experiment. Knowledge of reading was assessed before and after exposure or nonexposure to the reading program.

Location

The study was conducted at the Roxbury Boys' Club in the Black inner-city area of Boston.

Subjects

Thirty Black urban students in the high school and junior high school age range, who had resided in an urban inner-city area a minimum of one year, participated in the study. A minimum reading level of grade 2.0 and a maximum of 1.0 years behind grade level were established as a reading criterion for all subjects. Fifteen subjects were assigned to the treatment group and fifteen to the nontreatment group. The groups were matched on IQ, age, and grade level. Neither group received additional reading programs at their schools.

Instruments

The following measures were obtained before and after exposure or nonexposure to the reading program: (a) Nelson Reading Test and (b) Gray Oral Reading Test. The Slosson Intelligence Test was administered to all subjects for matching purposes.

Staff

The staff for the treatment group consisted of one teacher, one aide, and one observer. The teacher was a graduate student in education. The aide and the observer were staff members at the Boys' Club site. Both the aide and the observer had an undergraduate background in education. The staff underwent a four-hour training session conducted by the author.

Procedure

The reading program was administered to the treatment group three days a week, five hours a week (Monday, $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours; Tuesday, $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours; and Wednesday, 2 hours) for twelve weeks. The class was taught by a teacher and an aide. There was an observer in the classroom every day. The aide and the observer exchanged roles every two weeks.

Results

Four analyses of covariance were performed on posttest scores on the following measures: (a) the vocabulary subtest of the Nelson Reading Test; (b) the comprehension subtest of the Nelson Reading Test; (c) the total score for the Nelson Reading Test; i.e., vocabulary and comprehension subtest scores combined and adjusted for grade norms; and (d) the Gray Oral Test. The factors in each analysis were Sex and

Group (Experimental vs. Control). The covariants in each analysis were Age and Pretest Scores on the same measure.

Mean pretest scores for the four reading measures (expressed in grade equivalencies), ages in months, grades, and IQs are presented in Table 4. Scores are presented for the experimental and the control groups and each group is also broken down by sex. Mean posttest scores for the same four reading measures, adjusted for age and pretest level, are presented in Table 5. Again, scores are presented for the experimental and the control groups and each group is also broken down by sex.

The means for the subjects in each group indicate that the experimental group scored higher than the control group on all four reading measures. Males and females within each group did not differ markedly in terms of their posttest scores on any of the reading measures as indicated by the means of each sex.

The result of the analyses of covariance on adjusted posttest scores for the four reading measures are presented in Tables 6 through 9. These tables indicate that the main effect of Sex and the Group by Sex interactions were not significant on any of the four reading measures. A significant main effect for Groups was obtained on three of the four measures. When posttest scores were adjusted for age and pretest level, the experimental group scored significantly higher than the control group on the Nelson comprehension subtest, $F(1, 16) = 8.29, p < .01$; Nelson Total, $F(1, 16) = 5.49, p = .03$; and Gray Oral, $F(1, 16) = 24.26, p < .001$.

Table 4

Mean IQs and Mean Grade Equivalent Pretest
Scores on Four Reading Measures

Measure	Experimental			Control		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Nelson Vocabulary	5.16	3.22	4.35	6.35	5.10	6.10
Nelson Comprehension	4.14	1.56	3.07	4.55	3.15	4.27
Nelson Total	4.66	2.78	3.87	5.51	4.50	5.31
Gray Oral	4.67	3.10	4.61	4.05	5.51	3.98
Age in Months	171.29	153.60	163.91	177.00	177.00	175.00
Grade	8.00	6.40	7.33	7.57	7.57	7.66
IQ*	87.57	86.00	86.83	86.25	86.50	86.30
N	7	5	12	8	2	10

*Slosson Intelligence Test

Table 5

Mean Grade Equivalent Posttest Scores on Four
Reading Measures Adjusted for
Age and Pretest Level

Measure	Experimental			Control		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Nelson Vocabulary	5.89	5.89	5.88	5.02	5.25	5.06
Nelson Comprehension	4.21	4.91	4.50	3.82	3.16	3.69
Nelson Total	5.31	5.37	5.34	4.52	4.69	4.55
Gray Oral	5.24	5.09	5.18	4.10	4.25	4.06
N	7	5	12	8	2	10

Table 6

Unweighted Means Analysis of Variance Table
for Nelson Vocabulary Test Adjusted
for Covariates

Source	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F-Test	Significance
Groups	1.997	1,16	1.997	3.66	.07
Sex	0.057	1,16	0.057	0.11	> .50
Groups x Sex	0.046	1,16	0.046	0.08	> .50
Covariates	42.594	2	21.297	39.00	< .001

Table 7

Unweighted Means Analysis of Variance Table
for Nelson Comprehension Test Adjusted
for Covariates

Source	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F-Test	Significance
Groups	4.378	1,16	4.378	8.29	.01
Sex	0.002	1,16	0.002	0.00	> .50
Groups x Sex	1.838	1,16	1.838	3.48	.08
Covariates	36.121	2	18.061	34.20	< .001

Table 8

Unweighted Means Analysis of Variance Table
for Nelson Total Test Adjusted
for Covariates

Source	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F-Test	Significance
Groups	1.971	1,16	1.971	5.49	.03
Sex	0.050	1,16	0.050	0.14	> .50
Groups x Sex	0.011	1,16	0.011	0.03	> .50
Covariates	35.496	2	17.748	49.41	< .001

Table 9

Unweighted Means Analysis of Variance Table
for Gray Oral Test Adjusted
for Covariates

Source	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F-Test	Significance
Groups	4.265	1,16	4.265	24.26	< .001
Sex	0.008	1,16	0.008	0.05	> .50
Groups x Sex	0.148	1,16	0.148	0.84	.37
Covariates	69.541	2	34.771	197.72	< .001

Though the experimental group's score on the Nelson Vocabulary sub-test did not reach significance, the difference was in the predicted direction, $F(1, 16) = 3.66, p = .07$. The failure to reach significance on the Nelson Vocabulary measure could possibly be accounted for by the small number of subjects in the sample.

As indicated in Table 10, the experimental group had a mean gain score on the Nelson Reading Test of 1.04 years ($SD = 0.60$) as compared to a mean gain of 0.06 ($SD = 0.59$) for the control group. On the Gray Oral Reading Test, the experimental group had a mean gain score of 1.32 years ($SD = 0.53$) as compared to a mean gain score of 0.18 ($SD = 0.24$) for the control group. The mean attendance for the experimental group was 27.75 hours of instruction.

Discussion

Based on observations of the interactions between the teachers, students, and the reading package, the three main findings of this study appear to be as follows:

1. Black dialect alone does not appear to be sufficient to teach Black urban ghetto youths to read.
2. Structure is equally as important as Black dialect in the reading program. It might, perhaps, be even more important than dialect.

Table 10
Mean Gain Scores on Four Reading Measures

Variable	Group	Mean Gain Scores	SD	N	Variance
Nelson Vocabulary:	Experimental	1.05	0.97	12	0.94
	Control	-0.12	0.80	10	0.63
Nelson Comprehension:	Experimental	1.20	0.10	12	0.99
	Control	0.17	0.51	10	0.26
Nelson Total Test:	Experimental	1.04	0.60	12	0.36
	Control	0.06	0.59	10	0.34
Gray Oral:	Experimental	1.32	0.53	12	0.28
	Control	0.18	0.24	10	0.06

3. Though the reading program tends to de-emphasize the direct role of the teacher, the evaluation seems to indicate that the teacher is one of the most critical variables relating to success or failure in the program.

The results of the evaluation suggested that the reading package had the potential for becoming an effective tool for teaching Black inner-city youths to read. Although the data for the experimental group was encouraging, the author expressed reservations. The number of subjects participating in the study was small. Due to the problems encountered in recruiting, subjects were matched rather than randomly assigned to the experimental and control groups. The author felt that there was a great need for extended research and development. Future studies should incorporate larger N's and tighter controls.

Although this study provided valuable insights as to how the reading package works in simulated classroom situations, and a basis for future development, the study did not prove the superiority of the reading package or of the use of Black dialect in a reading program. Nor was it intended for that purpose. It was a developmental project which held the promise of a new tool for teaching Black urban ghetto youths to improve their reading skills.

Houghton Mifflin Field Test

In February, 1975, an experimental edition of Bridge: A Cross-Cultural Reading Program (Simpkins, Holt, and Simpkins, 1974) was field tested in school systems in various areas of the United States. The

field test was designed to test the Bridge reading program under actual day-to-day classroom conditions. At the time the school systems were approached and asked to participate in the field test, the schools had already planned their remedial reading programs for the upcoming semester. The schools were asked and agreed to use this previously planned remedial reading program as a control group for the Bridge program in order to compare Bridge with the normal remedial reading activities of the schools.

Design of Evaluation

The evaluation was designed as an experimental group, control group, pretest, posttest experiment. Knowledge of reading was assessed before and after exposure to the reading activities of both groups.

Location

The five field test centers were located in school systems in Chicago, Illinois; Phoenix, Arizona; Washington, D.C.; Memphis, Tennessee; and Macon County, Alabama.

Subjects

Five hundred and forty students who were enrolled in 27 classes at the high school and junior high school level participated in the study (see Table 11). Of the 540 students, 530 were Black.

Instruments

Reading measures were obtained before and after exposure to the Bridge program and to the control group students' previously planned reading programs, using the Iowa Test of Basic Skills in Reading

Table 11

Distribution of Students by Grade Level

Group	Grade Level			
	Total 7-12	7	8	9-12
Experimental (Bridge)	417	158	117	142
Control (Regular Class)	123	80	22	21

Comprehension, Level 12, Form S. A field test questionnaire developed by the author and the publishing company (see Appendix I) was used to assess the students' and teachers' responses to the various components of the Bridge program.

Staff

Fourteen teachers were selected by the schools to participate in the field test. The same teachers taught both experimental and control group classes.

Procedure

The Bridge program and the previously planned remedial reading activities were administered to the students for a period of time equivalent to one class hour (approximately 30 minutes), 5 days a week, for 4 months.

Results

Table 12 (Houghton Mifflin, 1975) presents the grade equivalency and gain scores by grade levels for the experimental group (students given the Bridge program) and the control group (students given previously planned remedial reading activities). As Table 12 indicates, the experimental group displayed a mean gain in grade equivalency scores of 6.2 months for 4.0 months of instruction. The control group displayed a mean gain of 1.6 months for 4.0 months of instruction. At the seventh grade level, the experimental group had a mean gain of 4.9 months for 4.0 months of instruction, as compared to a mean gain of 2.8 months for the control group. At the eighth grade level, the experimental group had a mean gain of 9.3 months for 4.0 months of instruction, as compared to

Table 12

Pretest, Posttest Grade Equivalent

Scores by Grade Level

Grade	Group	Mean GE Scores		Mean Gain or Loss in GE Scores for Four Months of Instruction
		Pretest	Posttest	
Total	Experimental	40.5	46.7	6.2**
7-12	Control	48.6	50.2	1.6
7	Experimental	39.7	44.6	4.9
	Control	42.6	45.4	2.8
8	Experimental	45.6	54.9	9.3*
	Control	49.2	52.7	3.5
9-12	Experimental	37.1	42.3	5.2***
	Control	70.7	65.8	-4.9

* $p < .02$ ** $p < .005$ *** $p < .001$

a mean gain of 3.5 months for the control group. At the ninth through twelfth grade level, the experimental group had a mean gain of 5.2 months for 4.0 months of instruction, as compared to a mean loss of 4.9 months for the control group.

At each of the grade levels, the experimental group students had a mean gain score in excess of the normative level; namely, 4.0 months of instruction. The control group students had a mean gain score below the normative level at each of the grade levels.

A Z test performed on the data indicated that the difference between the experimental and control groups for the total sample (grades 7-12) was significant ($p < .005$). There were also significant differences between the experimental and control groups at the eighth grade level ($p < .02$) and at the ninth through twelfth grade level ($p < .001$).

These data (Houghton Mifflin, 1975) are of a preliminary nature; at the time of this writing, an extensive analysis of the data is being undertaken.

The results of the Teacher Questionnaire indicate that the students found the Bridge Program highly enjoyable and easy to follow and understand. Students were able to proceed independently through the structured sequence after approximately one to two weeks. The teachers consistently reported that the behavior management section was extremely effective in keeping the students on task, and that they experienced fewer discipline problems in the classrooms.

Students exhibited high motivational levels throughout the program. All teachers reported that students enjoyed working with the

program "and were motivated to do well." The following are representative teacher comments: "All students enjoy working with Bridge"; "Students have developed a positive attitude toward Bridge"; "Students never complain and are eager to read"; "Students are anxious to begin to work"; "Low achievers are interested in this program"; "Even my chronic trouble-makers are willing to listen to directions and remain on task"; "The test may or may not prove that a lot has been gained, but one thing is for certain: students' attitudes toward reading have changed."

All teachers reported that the content of the stories interested the students. Some of their comments were: "They like the stories because they are able to read them"; "The objective to create an interest in the reading material was accomplished"; "Students are enjoying the program"; "The stories reminded students of their families."

Reactions were mixed concerning the use of three versions of the same stories and their effect on student interest. Most teachers indicated that student interest was sustained while reading Black Vernacular, Transition, and Standard English versions of the same story. Other teachers felt that the three versions of the same story were unnecessary. Teachers reported that Story Questions scores went up while students were working on stories with extra versions.

Most teachers reported that students would not enjoy the program without Black Vernacular stories. However, students remained interested in the Unit V (Step 5) materials even though they were all Standard English.

Students' difficulties with words and phrases in the stories decreased as they progressed through the program. All the teachers reported that students had no more difficulty with Standard English material than with Black Vernacular.

All the teachers felt that the Story Introductions helped motivate students to read stories. Some of their comments were: "The introductions themselves are quite motivating"; "The introduction recordings helped with vocabulary words"; "They provide excellent motivation for this unit"; "After hearing the tapes, they were very eager to work with this new approach to reading." However, the majority of teachers reported that after listening to the Skills Recording, their students needed more explanation of the skills lesson.

Teachers reported that the students enjoyed and were able to understand and work the Skills Exercises. Data from the questionnaires indicate that the students' scores on the Skills Exercises increased as the students proceeded through the various units (Steps).

Most teachers reported that students followed the directions for the Dictionary Lesson. However, some teachers reported that students were not able to work the Dictionary Lesson without extensive teacher assistance.

According to the teachers, students could follow the directions given for answering the Story Questions. Data from the teachers indicated that the average of correct answers for the Story Questions was seven out of ten in Unit I (Step 1), but by Unit V (Step 5), the average of correct answers was nine out of ten.

Most teachers reported that students were able to carry out Peer Control procedures. Students had no difficulty in reading or understanding the stories. The reading groups were orderly, and the different methods of choosing the order of Readers did not present any problems in most classes. The students enjoyed Peer Control Reading. The teachers' data indicated that students remained interested while reading two and three versions of the same story.

Teachers wanted more Peer Control stories. They believed that students improved their reading most through Peer Control. The following are representative teacher comments on Peer Control: "Peer Control Reading makes students realize how much they need practice in reading"; "This activity made everyone read"; "The students became mistake-conscious and tried to pronounce the words better"; "Students look forward to Peer Control and often hate to stop when the bell rings." Most teachers reported that students enjoyed keeping records of their own scores but often needed teacher assistance.

The questionnaires indicate that teacher attitudes toward the program and Black dialect improved as the students proceeded through the materials. Several teachers, at the beginning of the program, reported what appeared to be negative perceptions of the program and Black dialect, but were writing glowing eulogies toward the end of the program.

From an experimental point of view, the field test, as is the case in most field tests performed by publishing companies, left much to be desired. The teachers and the students were assigned to experimental and control groups by the schools rather than on a random basis.

Students in the experimental group had lower pretest scores than the control group students. The schools tended to place the students whom they considered most in need of help in the experimental groups. This practice suggested the possibility of regression effects. There is also the possibility of the "Hawthorne effect" due to the novelty of the program and the use of Black dialect. However, it must be understood that this evaluation was a field test and not a scientific experiment.

The author's contract stipulated that the program would not be marketed unless the author and the publishers jointly agreed that there were clear indications from the field test that the program was effective in teaching Black students to improve their reading performance. This stipulation insured that the program would not be marketed for "cosmetic features" alone. The results of the field test were extremely encouraging to the author, coauthors, and the publishers.

At the time of this writing, a number of revisions suggested by the field test are being undertaken. The program is scheduled to be marketed nationally in November of 1976.

Directions for Future Research and Development

There is a need for further experimentation with the Cross-Cultural Approach to Reading. Future studies should be of both an experimental and field test nature. Measures should be taken of attitudinal variables such as sense of control of the environment, student motivational levels, and interest in reading. The Peer Control Procedure should be studied

in tightly controlled experiments, separate from the remainder of the Cross-Cultural Approach, to indicate the efficacy of the Peer Control Procedure. Black dialect, Associative Bridging, structured sequence, and the race of students should be treated as independent variables in future studies. Further studies should have an extended systematic training component. This should include preservice as well as in-service training.

The major need of the Cross-Cultural Approach is for the development of additional instructional materials. At the time of this writing, there exist materials for one class of students at high school and junior high school grade levels, for a one-semester program. Additional materials need to be developed for the high school and junior high school levels at the various reading levels. Similar material should be developed for the elementary levels. Materials need to be developed for other ethnic populations, such as Hispanic and Appalachian Whites.

The three studies previously described provided valuable insights as to how the Cross-Cultural Approach to Reading works with Black non-mainstream students in actual and simulated classroom situations. The marketing of the Bridge Program nationally will provide additional field test data, but there is a need for further experimentation as well.

APPENDIX A

Background

Technomics Research and Analysis Corporation, a Los-Angeles-based scientific corporation, undertook at its personal expense, after the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., to attack the problem of widespread reading failure among non-White youths in urban ghettos. The author was engaged by Technomics as a special consultant on the project.

Burton R. Wolin, Ph.D., Vice President of Research at Technomics, and this author designed a reading and writing instructional package tailored to the language and experience of Black urban ghetto youths of high school age "who had never experienced the benefits of reading" (Technomics, 1969). The design of the instructional package was based on available knowledge culled from research on reading, learning theory, Black dialect, and untested ideas of Dr. Wolin and the author.

Reading materials were designed to start the students in their familiar Black vernacular and take them to Standard English. Prior to the writing of the materials, a dialect survey was conducted in the Los Angeles area. The purpose of the survey was to update the author's familiarity with the verbal behavior and interests of the target population, Black ghetto youths (male and female) of junior and senior high school age. Speech samples were collected in the various inner-city areas of Los Angeles--at Teen Posts, settlement houses, playgrounds, and other locations where Black inner-city youths were known to congregate.

In addition, the author spent a number of weeks interacting with youths, watching the target population characteristics. This was done in a variety of settings: on basketball courts, in pool halls, at parties, and, on a number of occasions, sitting on the grass at neighborhood parks drinking wine. When engaged in these activities, the author dressed, walked, and spoke in the manner of the target population. Since the author is a native speaker of Black dialect, he was able to relate quite successfully to the youths on both a verbal and cultural level.

The speech samples collected were analyzed in terms of style, phonology, lexicon, and syntax. Particular attention was given to the speaker's subject matter (interests).

The materials developed in the Los Angeles area were in the form of short stories written in three versions: (a) Offensive Vernacular (OV); (b) Neutral Vernacular (NV); and (c) Standard English (SE). Each

version of the story consisted of approximately three pages. No formula was followed in writing the stories; i.e., they were not translated from Standard English or composed via a set of linguistic rules. The stories were written to reflect the experiential frame of reference of the target population in terms of objects and events in their environment. Most of the sets of stories carried a hidden theme of "why learn to read." This hidden or subliminal theme was congruent with the value system of the youth. For example, "Learn to read because it can keep you from losing your cool" was the hidden theme of one of the stories.

The stories were written in the following sequence. First a story line was sketched in Black dialect. This was then expanded into a rough draft of four or five pages, drawing freely on Offensive Vernacular words, terms and phrases. The story was then rewritten, edited and polished until the writer was satisfied with the outcome. Next, the second version was developed (NV). This was accomplished by stripping the story of all Offensive Vernacular. Appropriate euphemisms in Black dialect were then substituted. An example of this would be "motherfucker" changed to "sucker," or "shit" changed to "stuff." The substitutions were analogous to the changes in dialect terminology that Black youth often make when moving from a peer setting to a family or school setting. After completion of the Offensive Vernacular version and the Neutral Vernacular version, the story was then translated into Standard English in the following manner:

NV Version

Bill Smith, an old Brother from the South, had gotten some bread from an accident twenty years ago. With the dough he got himself an apartment building. The old Brother was out in front of his building watering his lawn. This fine little Sister, named Pat, came up and asks the old Brother if she could see the pad for rent. The Sister had dug on a "for rent" sign stuck in the lawn.

The old Brother say, "No, Sister, 'cause ain't nobody here." The Sister rapped back, "You're here, honey. Why can't you show me the pad?"

"'Cause I ain't the manager," the old Brother blew.

"If you ain't the manager," the Sister asked, "where can I find the dude? And who is you, baby?"

"I'm the owner. But I ain't the manager."

SE Version

Bill Smith was in front of his apartment watering his lawn. A prospective tenant, Pat Jones, came up to inquire about a vacancy. Bill Smith said that he couldn't help Pat Jones. He said that she would have to come back the next day if she wished to see the apartment. Pat asked where and when she could contact the owner.

Bill Smith informed her that he was the owner. This surprised Pat. She could not understand why she couldn't see the apartment. She asked, "Why can't I see the apartment now?"

Bill Smith told her that the manager would have to show her the apartment and that he wasn't around at the present time.

The instructional package was evaluated under the auspices of California State College at Los Angeles, with Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees as subjects. The evaluation was conducted at the author's expense, in collaboration with Technomics, because of a lack of funds for the project at Technomics.

The results of the initial evaluation seemed to indicate that certain sections of the materials and procedures were effective in teaching Black inner-city students to improve their reading. The results also indicated a need for extended research and development.

Based on findings from the initial evaluation, additional knowledge from current research in reading, Black dialect, and learning theory, the reading package was rewritten in the Boston area. Because of the unfavorable reactions received from the educational community (Black and White), the Offensive Vernacular version was eliminated from the package.

The new reading package consisted of short stories written in three versions: (a) Street Vernacular (SV); (b) Written Vernacular (WV); and (c) Standard English (SE). The Street Vernacular version (SV) was devoid of all Offensive Vernacular. The SV version was written as close to street spoken conversation as possible and was generally a page or two longer than the other two versions (WV and SE). The Written Vernacular version of the story had a tighter structure than the SV version in terms of syntax and paragraphs. It was closer to Standard English than the Street Vernacular version, but was essentially written in Black dialect. The Standard English version remained the same.

The reading materials were divided into four sections. The first section contained five stories in three versions (SV, WV, SE). These stories contained the hidden theme, "why learn to read." The second

section contained four stories in two versions (Black dialect--both SV and WV--and Standard English). The third section contained two stories in Black English. The last section contained two stories in Standard English.

Several of the stories used in the package were based on a body of Black folklore known as oral epic poetry or "toasts." This body of folklore was an outgrowth of African folklore coming in contact with the New World, the experience of slavery, and the aftermath of slavery, the urbanization of the Black man.

Prior to writing new materials and modifying existing materials in the Boston area, the author spent several months interacting with youths of the target population in the Roxbury and South End areas of Boston. This was accomplished in a manner similar to the Los Angeles survey, with similar results.

After the materials were modified and new materials developed, three groups of Black ghetto youngsters were selected from the Roxbury, Mattapan, and South End areas of Boston. Each group consisted of fifteen youngsters. The criteria used for selection were that they be Black, poor, between the ages of twelve and eighteen, and have lived in Boston for at least half their lives.

The youths were given a tape recording of four stories in the dialect, recorded by a fluent speaker of the dialect from Los Angeles who had recently moved to Boston in order to attend graduate school. Two of the stories were developed in Los Angeles and two were developed in Boston. After listening to the stories, the youths were asked three questions:

1. Who do you think wrote the stories and where do you think the writer lives?
2. Where do you think the characters the writer was writing about are from?
3. Do the characters in the story talk like you, your friends, or family?

The object of these procedures was to determine if the materials developed in Los Angeles and the new materials were compatible with the dialect of Boston youths and to assess whether regional differences in the dialect were substantial enough to render the material inappropriate for the Boston area. Based on responses to the questions, it was decided that regional differences were not substantial enough to justify conducting a formal dialect survey and excluding from the package materials developed in Los Angeles.

The new reading program was developed and evaluated under the auspices of the Research Institute for Education Problems in Cambridge. An evaluation of the package was conducted in the Roxbury area of Boston at a local boys' club. The results of the evaluation suggested that the reading package was effective in teaching Black inner-city youths to quickly improve their reading, but also indicated a need for further research and development.

In 1973, Houghton Mifflin Publishing Company formed an Urban Programs Department within their Educational Division. The charge of the Urban Programs was to publish innovative educational programs aimed at minority communities. The author was approached by the Director of the Urban Programs Department and told that his reading program was highly recommended by Black educators and researchers in various parts of the country. An appointment was arranged between the author and the Director to review the reading program and to discuss the possibilities of Houghton Mifflin's publishing the program.

The author agreed to develop a comprehensive reading program. The agreement was contingent upon Houghton Mifflin's allowing the author to choose his own writing team, and committing the company's resources to a field test of the program in the public schools. In addition, the author insisted that the publishing company agree not to market the program unless both the author and the publishing company agreed that the field test data indicated that the program was an effective tool for teaching Black inner-city students to improve their reading.

The reading program, which came to be known as Bridge: A Cross-Cultural Reading Program was field tested in various parts of the country in February of 1975. The results of the field test were extremely promising. Both the author and the publishing company agreed that the data clearly indicated that the program was an effective tool for teaching Black inner-city students to improve their reading. Based on the data from the field test, a final edition of the program was prepared. The program, at the time of this writing, is in press and is scheduled to be marketed around the country in November of 1976.

APPENDIX B

Diversity of Subject MatterThree Stories in Black Vernacular by Gary A. Simpkins

The Day Love Got Offed

"What's going on, my man? What it is? What happening, Brother?"

"Nothing, really. I'm kinda down today. I just got back from a funeral."

"You sure look down. It must of been somebody real close to you. It wasn't one of your people, was it?"

"No, man. It wasn't none of my family."

"Here, man. Why don't you take a hit of this wine? It make you feel a whole lot better. It a make you feel oh so good."

"No, man. I ain't in the mood for no wine."

"Who died? Do I know him? Was it a Brother?"

"Didn't you hear 'bout it? It happen last night on Forty-Second and Green."

"No, I ain't hear a thing. Hip me to it."

"Man, it was ugly. It was some bad business. Some really bad business. Love got offed! Yeah, man, he was murdered. Love got wasted right there on Forty-Second and Green."

"Come on, man. You jiving."

"No, man, for real. Do I look like I'm jiving?"

"You mean you caught your lady tipping with some dude on Forty-Second and Green. Don't you? And that killed your love for her?"

"No, I mean just what I said. Love got offed. I was right there when it happen. It was 'bout six in the morning, dark and cold. Love was standing on the corner all alone. He just minding his own business

when these two dudes walked up to him. You know them two, the twins, Hate and Hostility. They walked right up on Love. Hate had a knife call Evil. And Hostility, he had a piece, a forty-five call Ignorance. Then Hate say, 'Give it up, gotta have it. Give me everything you got that's worth something and maybe you won't get hurt too bad.' Then Hostility, he pushed Love and say, 'Yeah, and be quick about it.'

"Love just looked at the two of them and smiled. Man, I ain't never saw a smile like that. It would of got next to the meanest heart. But it ain't do nothing to the hearts of Hate and Hostility. They stood there pushing and hitting Love, saying, 'Give it up, dude. We ain't got no time to be playing.'

"All the time Love was smiling. He say, 'Gladly, Brothers, what I got is yours for the asking. You won't be needing Evil and Ignorance.' Then in a gesture of friendship and kindness, Love kinda reach out like he was gonna hug them. And you know, man, nobody, not even they momma, hugs them two dudes. That was when they let him have it. Hate stuck Evil in Love all the way up to the handle. Then, Hostility put Ignorance up to Love's head, and blew him away. Blasted him. Love fell and lay there bleeding on the cold ground. He was still smiling when he died. Hate and Hostility went through his pockets, then spaced.

"Today was Love's funeral. And man, you ain't never seen so many folks. A whole lot of them just came to see what Love looked like. Some of them came to see who was gonna cry. And man, folks was going through all kind of changes. Sister Kindness, she fainted. Brother Humility had to be carried out. And Brother Sympathy cried all through the services.

"Reverend Faith spoke for Love. I remember every word. I ain't never gon forget what he say. He say, 'My friends, we is gathered here today to mourn one who we ain't never gonna forget. One who we can't replace, one who we can't do without. There just ain't no hope for us now. My friends, this here old world is doomed. This here old world done had it. It can't go on without Love. Love kept things together. Hear me now, friends, Love kept things together.'

"'Without Love, there ain't gon be no peace. There ain't gon be no prosperity. There ain't gon be no births, and there ain't gon be no understanding among men. No understanding. This here is a black day. And friends, it ain't beautiful. We done gon and done it again. We done let Love get murdered. I don't think we is ever gon get another chance.'

"And that was it, man. So now you dig on why I'm so down."

"Hey, man, that was weird! You must be tripping. What kind of herb you been smoking? Can't nothing like that ever happen. Love gon be here forever."

"You wanna bet. Look out the window."

That was when the bomb fell.

Part II

There was this big explosion. The sound of it seemed like it last for days. Hate and Hostility had spaced after offing Love. They hid out in an old empty wine cellar that ain't nobody know about it but them. They heard the explosion and fell to the ground shaking from the blast.

"What was that, Hate?"

"I don't know, man. But whatever it was, it really shook me up good. It was probably them dudes from the city blowing up some of them old buildings around here."

"Yeah, you probably right. Let's stay down here until we sure they done finish, and split. I'm hungry. I ain't ate nothing but a candy bar for two days. I wants to get out of here."

"That's cool, we been down here long enough. It a be dark in a while. Then we can split."

"Hey, man, did you check that cat we offed? Man, that dude was something else. He was really weird. He was smiling all the time...."

"Don't let it get next to you. Whole lot of weird dudes in this town."

'Bout time it got dark, Hate and Hostility came on up out the cellar. And when they got outside, what they saw just blew they mind. There wasn't nothing. No people, no cars, no buildings, no streets, no nothing.

"Hey, Hostility, ain't nothing nowhere. What happen?"

"I don't know. And I ain't gon wait to find out. Let's get to stepping fast, man."

Just as they was fixing to run, they heard this big, loud voice call, "Hate, Hostility." They turned around and looked, but they didn't see nobody, nowhere. The voice called out again, "Hate, Hostility, hold tight. Stay right where you is. Ain't no place to run."

They didn't know what to do. They tried to run, but they couldn't move. They was frozen with fear. They looked up and there was this big

hole in the sky where the voice was coming from. Looking down on them from the big hole in the sky was the smiling face of Love.

The voice spoke again, "You chumps thought you had pulled off some slick shit. You thought you had got away clean. Didn't you, chumps? Look around you. The whole world done been destroyed. And you two chumps, the ones who is to blame, is the only ones left. I done let you skate for a long, long time. But you ain't never learned nothing from your mistakes. You ain't never changed--and you ain't never gonna change. There'll be another world, and soon, too. But the new world won't be needing you, Hate and Hostility. There ain't gon be no place for you in it. You can split now."

Hate and Hostility took off running as fast as they could. In back of them from the clouds, they could hear Love cracking up. But they didn't look back. They run about a block and a half when all of a sudden the ground in front of them open up. They couldn't stop. They was running too fast.

Down, down, down into the burning hole they fell.

The ground closed up and the birds began to sing a new song.

* * * * *

Tight Up Your Game

Ronald was a lover. Everybody knew that. He ran through big bunches of girls. I mean, he had more girls strung out behind him than a locomotive got box cars. All the little Sisters at school idolized him, and the Brothers looked up to him. But to Ronnie, it wasn't no big thing. It was all part of the game.

The little Brother was what they call precocious. That means that he got an early start and was better at it than he should be for his age. He had four sisters. And being the baby of the family, his sisters kinda spent a lot of time with him. They taught him a lot of stuff really young; like how to dance and how to talk to girls like they liked to be talked to.

And there was his Uncle Jerry who schooled him. Ronnie didn't have no real father. His father split when he was a baby, and hadn't made it back on the set yet. So his uncle Jerry was like a father to him. His Uncle Jerry was a Player. You know, like Iceberg Slim. And he had a custom made hog and all them good things.

As far back as Ronnie could remember his uncle would always tell him things about life, and what was really going down. His uncle would tell him things like, "Don't you ever be putting up with no stuff from no broad, 'cause then she got you in her pocketbook. And don't ever let a broad think that she's the only woman in you life. Let her know quick like that you doing her a favor to even be talking to her. 'Cause when God made one broad, he didn't stop there. He went on and made a whole lot of sweet foxy things. And if your game is tight, every one of them will be glad to take their place in line. And if a broad ain't got nothing but one thin dime to her name, don't feel bad about taking it. 'Cause she can always get another one. Can you dig it?"

Well, anyway, Ronnie was precocious. He knew a whole lot of things that young dudes don't learn until they get a lot older.

And he could dance his butt off. My man could put James Brown to shame. Make James Brown look like Lawrence Welk on Soul Train. Make him shame to get out on the floor. And he could rap. He could rap back. I mean like, Rev. Ike couldn't even touch him. The little Brother's rap was so strong that he could make Rev. Ike give back all his money to the poor. And feel good about it, too!

So, you see, the little Brother was bad. He was just about one down little dude. The little Brother's theme song was "Much too strong to be strung along." I mean, like, they just hadn't made the girl who could get a hurting on him.

But one day the little Brother's game fell apart. The Brother messed around and got a nose job. I mean like, he had a love jones that was something terrible. He saw this here sweet, foxy, little Sister with big pretty brown eyes and his jones came down on him. Like, this may sound corny, but it was one of them love a first sight things. You know, the kind you be reading about in books.

Ronnie went on up to the little Sister and put his best in. He ran down his strongest game. I mean, like he was programming back. And you know what? The little Sister politely shined him one. Can you get ready for that?

But that didn't stop Brother Ronnie. He just kept on gaming. He got her schedule down, and every time she would turn the corner, every time she got out of class, he was right there steadily running down his program. And when that didn't work, the little Brother would regroup and try something new.

Well, things went from bad to worst and from worst to worster. You see, no matter how hard Ronnie tried, he just couldn't get next to the little Sister.

The situation was getting to be really uncool. And every day Ronnie got more and more strung out. Every day his love jones got worst and worst.

The little Brother start going through some heavy changes. I mean, like he didn't wanta eat nothing, he didn't wanta go out, and he didn't wanta talk to no other girls, and all that. The little Brother just couldn't understand it. How could he let a lame little Sister make him go through all these changes, as bad as he was.

So Ronnie decided that he had better consult with a expert on females. It was about time he got the help of a specialist. So anyway, Ronnie ran down his situation to his Uncle Jerry.

His Uncle Jerry listen carefully to all that Ronnie had to say. Then he say, "Understand this, Ronnie. She ain't no lame little Sister. She's a mean, bad-ass, tough, heartless little bitch. I done seen a lot of them in my days. She use to having dudes go through all kinda changes behind her 'cause she knows she's tough. You got to look at this as a challenge to your game. You got to show her that you badder than she is. You got to wire her up; make her your puppy. You got to work on her mind. You got to create a need that only you can take care of."

Ronnie listen to every word. He say, "Yeah, right on, I can dig it, I hear you." Ronnie took in all the pearls of wisdom that his uncle was so generously dropping on him.

His uncle say, "Now you go on and show that bitch that she ain't no big thing, and that you the baddest little dude in this here whole city."

Ronnie say, "Look a here, Uncle Jerry, I really appreciate you helping me tighten up my game. You understand?"

His uncle say, "I know you do. Now you go on with your bad self and don't come back here until you wind her up as tight as a top."

Now Ronnie run down a whole new p rogram. He rapped heavy, he rapped long, and he rapped strong. And you know what happened, don't you? The little Sister blew his whole set. She called him immature and wouldn't even talk to him no more.

Well, Ronnie kept his cool. You know, you always gotta keep your front. He say, "Look a here, you slowed me down, but you ain't stop me. Now you have to come my way. 'Cause I ain't even gon talk to you no more until you get your head together."

Now Ronnie was cool. Oh, but he was cool. But he was hurting. The little Sister had put a powerful hurting on him. And he didn't know how to deal with it. And he couldn't get this here love jones off his back.

So he decided to have one of them heart to heart talks with his youngest sister. She was a girl and, quiet as it's kept, she was kinda lame, too. So maybe she could understand What was happening. And anyway, he was desperate.

So Ronnie ran down his situation to his sister. She say, "Sit down, Ronnie. You been talking to Uncle Jerry, ain't you?"

Ronnie say, "Yeah. What's that got to do with my problem?"

And his sister say, "Everything. That is your problem!"

Ronnie say, "Come again. I really don't understand what you trying to say."

His sister say, "Do you know why Uncle Jerry's a Player?"

Ronnie say, "Yeah, 'cause he digs it. He digs woman. And he likes to stay clean. And he don't dig working."

His sister say, "Uncle Jerry always liked to work. Even now. He works eighteen hours a day to keep from working. And his Cadillac, clothes, and the women he got, it's just a front. You never knew Aunt Carol, Uncle Jerry's wife."

"I didn't even know he was married," Ronnie say. "He never mentioned it."

"Well, he was. He don't like to talk about it. Aunt Carol cut him loose back when you were about seven years old. Well, Aunt Carol played around a lot. She took all his hard earn money and blew it. And she laughed at him and called him a chump for letting her mess him around. And then one day, she split and told him not to follow her 'cause she gotten herself a real man. Her real man was Player, just like Uncle Jerry is now. And all the time she was giving him Uncle Jerry's money."

Ronnie didn't say nothing. He just listened. His sister continued to run it down. "Well, at first Uncle Jerry drunk a lot, a whole lot. But he finally pulled himself together and he became the Uncle Jerry you know. But what Uncle Jerry never did understand was that he was a man, a real man who became a boy. He became a kid. A child who play games all the time. A child who's afraid of feeling or caring for somebody, 'cause he may get hurt again."

"Now dig it, Ronnie," his sister say, "If you really care about this girl; I mean, if you for real, I can tell you just what to do to get next to her."

Ronnie didn't say nothing. He just nodded his head yes. His sister say, "What you got to do is 'blow your soul.' I mean, you got to be for real. You can't be worrying about being cool, and if she gon take advantage of you and all of that. You can't be gaming and programming. You got to tell her how you feel about her, no matter how lame it may sound. And you know what? If you're for real, she'll dig it."

About a week later, his sister finally met the love of her little brother's life. Ronnie and his heartbeat were walking hand and hand, looking oh so much in love.

After Ronnie introduced her to his sister, he looked at his sister and say, "Thanks a lot." His sister walked away smiling. She thought to herself, "He's finally tightened up his game."

* * * * *

I Remember Good
(from Simpkins, et al., 1974)

"Billy, Billy. Billy, come here. Billy, come here. You hear, Billy? Come here!"

"Why don't you raise on all that noise. I hear you. You ain't gotta shout. What you want?"

"Go to the store for me, Billy."

"No, no. Ain't no way! I'm busy. Go yourself."

"Billy, please go to the store for me. Pretty please."

"Why don't you? I'm busy. Now leave me alone. 'Cause I ain't going to no store."

"Look, Billy, Mama and Daddy told you to mind me when they ain't here. Now shut up and get your butt to the store, before I slap you upside your head."

"Dig this, big sister. Check it, you ain't gonna slap me upside nothing. Don't let all that big sister, little brother stuff get you in trouble you can't handle. I may be little, but I hit hard. You

just ask anybody at Carver Junior High. They'll tell you. I hit, oh so hard. I been known to knock high school dudes to their knees."

"Would you please shut up and go to the store for me!"

"We gonna have to smoke this stuff out. Check it. I sho nuff ain't your grocery boy, dig it? And anytime you feel you got the power, big sister, go on and make your move. I mean, I can dig it if you can. But somebody gonna take the weight. And I don't think you can hold up."

"You finish clowning?"

"I ain't clowning. I'm for real. I'm serious as cancer."

"Now there you go getting all pushed out of shape. And I was gonna lay a quarter on you for going to the store for me."

"Aw, well, that puts a different shade of light on the whole thing. You know I was only funning. We ain't gotta be going through all these lightweight changes, sister dear. You know I'll go to the store for you, anytime. What you want?"

"I want a lot of stuff. You better write it down."

"I ain't gotta be writing nothing down. I remember good. Go on and tell me what you want. I got a memory like a elephant. I don't be forgetting nothing."

"You think you can handle this?"

"Come on, come on. What you want?"

"OK, check it. I want you to get me a loaf of wheat bread and some all-beef hot dogs. Don't be bringing me back no pig. Now, if you can remember this stuff, I want you to get me some pinto beans and long grain rice, too. You got all that?"

"Yeah, yeah, come on. What else you want?"

"I want you to get me some dinner napkins and a roll of toilet paper. Got that? Then I want you to step on over to the drugstore and get me some moth balls and foot powder and some Dr. Paul's skin cream. Now you gonna remember all that?"

"Yeah."

So Billy stepped on out trying to remember all the stuff his big sister wanted. Well, he just totally forgot about the bread. Pass

right over his head. But he did remember something about beans and rice. They had all kinds of beans and rice at the store. Billy figured as along as he got some beans and rice, it was all the same. So he got some kidney beans and some short grain rice. Then he got a box of tissues and some lunch napkins. Then he say to himself, "I think I forgot something. Yeah, hot dogs." He didn't remember what kind she wanted, so he got the cheapest kind.

He couldn't think of nothing else, so he paid for the stuff and fell on over to the drugstore. He started thinking about what he was gonna get with his quarter when he got it. "Something for the lips, yeah. I could dig on some good old-fashioned ice cream." He kind of got sidetracked behind tripping on the ice cream. He say to himself, "What did she want from the drugstore?" Some powder, yeah."

So he went on up to the cat at the counter and say, "Hey, Mister, you got any powder?"

"Do I got any powder? Is fat meat greasy?"

"Come on, Mister, I want some powder."

Well, little Brother, of course we got some powder. What kind you want?"

"What kind you got?"

Well, I'm gonna run them down for you, little Brother. A few of them, 'cause we got a whole lot of them. Now, check it. There's like bath powder, talcum powder, face powder, dusting powder, foot powder, baby powder, tooth powder, body powder, roach powder, flea powder...."

"Hold it, Mister, hold tight with what you got. I believe it started with "b." That bath powder sound like it. Why don't you go on and give me one of them. You got some fly spray?"

"Yeah."

"Give me a can of the stuff."

Billy paid the drugstore man for the bath powder and fly spray and went on to the pad. When Billy's sister checked out what he had got, she righteously pitched a natural fit. She say, "Billy, you sure done messed up everything. You ain't got nothing right. And you forgot all kind of stuff."

Billy messed it up so bad that his sister was gonna have to do it all over herself. And she didn't give him no money. So he couldn't buy no ice cream.

APPENDIX C

Elaborating the Benefits of Literacy
Through Subject Matter

Two Stories in Black Vernacular by Gary A. Simpkins

Words

(from Simpkins, et al., 1974)

This Brother, Jerry Porter was his name, had his jaws extremely tight. I mean, you suppose to have your jaws tight, you know. You got people messing with you all day long. You all the time putting up with stuff. You all the time trying to make it, and people trying to keep you from making it. People be making you dish out more bread for gas, for food, and for rent, when they should know your money's funny.

Well anyway, Jerry Porter's jaws was tight. There was this broad on his gig who made his jaws even tighter. She bugged the Brother no end. She had been to college and she thought she was big stuff. She ran her mouth all the time. I mean, like just being around her give him a headache.

And sometimes she'd be getting down on him. Like today, when he ask her real nice, for the third time, to give him the mail. He wanted to take it on down to the mailroom before twelve like he suppose to do. You know what she say? She say, "Please, Jerry, your redundancy is annoying." Can you dig on that? The Brother didn't know just what redundancy meant. But he knew she was trying to get down on him. And with a smile, too.

Now that was the Brother's problem. He wanted to tell her off, but he didn't know how to go 'bout it. You see, the Brother, he worked in this office and he was the only Blood. If he was to say, "Why don't you rest your jaws, you loudmouth broad," he'd probably get fired. They'd be saying he called her out of her name, and that he was an angry Black dude. They'd be calling him one of them militants. And you know how much White people don't like them militants. Even if he was to say it with a smile, that still wouldn't do.

So the Brother, he was going through some changes. When he got to the crib, he tried to relax. But that redundancy thing kept bugging him. He was feeling real bad about being sounded on and not saying nothing back. "Redundancy," he say. "I don't even like the way that sound. I know that broad was trying to get down on me."

He went and took him a little sip of wine. Strawberry, you understand. That was the only thing that could ease his mind. This broad was messing with his mind too much. So he say, "Wait a minute. I ain't going for it. I ain't no chump. I ain't gonna let this stuff go down."

The Brother made up his mind to do something about it. He decided to start by finding out just what "redundancy" mean. So he goes and looks through all these old books and everything, you understand. All right, the Brother, he didn't have too many books. And he didn't have no dictionary. So, the Brother jumps on the phone and calls a couple of partners.

"You got a dictionary?" he ask.

"A dictionary! What you talking about, man? We ain't got no dictionary. You must be tripping."

"All right, all right. Forget it." the Brother say.

He couldn't find no dictionary, so he split on down to the library. He told the lady at the library that he want the dictionary to check out the word "redundancy." She was really nice. So he ran his problem down to her. He ask her 'bout books to help him learn some big words like redundancy. She turned him on to the book call, Thirty Days to a More Powerful Vocabulary.

Jerry looked up the word "redundancy." What he saw was, "an act or instance of needless repetition." There was some other meanings, too, but this one sound like the right one. But he still wasn't altogether sure what it meant. So he went and looked up "repetition." What he saw was, "the act or instance of repeating."

"She was trying to get down on me," he says to himself. "And if that old dizzy broad would of gone on and give me the mail, there wouldn't be no redundancy."

Jerry checked out the book, Thirty Days to a More Powerful Vocabulary. That night, he decided what he was gonna do. He was gonna study that book. That book was gonna be his buddy. He was gonna take it wherever he went. He was gonna study on his lunch and coffee breaks. He was gonna learn some big words. Jerry figured he could get his vocabulary together in no time.

During lunch the next day, Jerry looked at what was in the book. There was some big words for insulting folks. "Hey, that's hip. I can get down on somebody without cussing them out." He checked out the book some more. There was words for saying good things 'bout people. "That's hip, too. But first I'm gonna learn some words for insulting somebody. The very next time that broad open her mouth, I'm gonna sound on her in a nice way."

Jerry studied words 'bout talking too much and 'bout doing a job. He came up with these words:

verbose: talkative, wordy.
 trifling: not important, worthless.
 eloquent: well spoken, smooth talking.
 caustic: cutting, bitter.
 proficient: able, skilled.

Now he knew how to get down on that old broad in the office. The next time she say he was redundant, he was gonna say: "If you was not so hung up on trifling matters, I wouldn't need to be so redundant. If you was more proficient and not so verbose, I wouldn't be redundant." Then he would smile a little taste.

Yeah, Jerry had got it together. His short speech was gonna be eloquent and caustic.

* * * * *

The Pad

This here old Brother was from the South, you know. He had come by a little bit of bread from an accident a few years ago. He was pretty cool about it; he didn't blow it. It was a lot of bread, but it wasn't a whole lot of bread. If he was to get carried away, he could just rip through it in no time at all. You know what I mean?

So anyway, the Brother, he didn't blow it. He even put it in the bank and started getting a little taste of interest on it. Then he say, "Well, I guess I'll make me a little investment." And you know what investment mean to a Brother. Yeah, you right, real estate. You know, apartments, houses, and all them good things.

So, he went on and copped himself a lightweight apartment building. Anyway, this here old Brother was really on his job 'bout his building. He was taking care of plenty business. He was out there every day, keeping it clean, watering the lawn, cutting the grass, and all them good things. Protecting his investment, you understand. Taking care of his place.

So anyway, he was getting on about the business of keeping his place in shape. One day some Sister, this fine little fox, came tipping on by. She was checking out the "Apartment for Rent" sign stuck on the front lawn. The old Brother was checking out her shape.

She came on over to the Brother and asked him, "Look a here, honey, what about this here pad for rent? How much is it? Let me see it, 'cause I gotta definitely be moving from where I'm at."

So the old Brother say, "Sorry 'bout that, baby, 'cause I can't show you the pad. And ain't nobody here to be showing you the pad anyway."

The Sister say, "You here, honey, and if ain't nobody else here, you show it to me."

The Brother say, "I can't do that, baby, 'cause I ain't the manager."

So she say, "Oh, you ain't the manager. OK, then, if you ain't the manager, who is you?"

The old Brother say, "I ain't the manager, I'm the owner."

"I think he just bullshitting," she say to herself. Then she say, "Look a here, honey, if you the owner, then why don't you show me the pad?"

The old Brother say, "I don't be handling business like that. I lets my manager take care of all that stuff. His place is right next door here. But like I done told you, he ain't in. So I recommend you come back when he in and talk with him 'bout it."

The Sister say, "Look a here, I think you putting me on. Let's talk about this, honey."

She went on and ran down a sweet, sweet, sweet rap to the old Brother. She told him about how she didn't have no man, and how it was really hard for a woman without a man. She told him about how much she would appreciate it, really appreciate it, if he was to do this little thing for her. And how she would feel so much safer and secure if she could be staying in a building with a strong sweet Brother like him around.

But the old Brother didn't go for it. The Brother didn't wanta hear it.

The Sister really got pushed out of shape. She say, "You know what I think? I think you just lying, half stepping, and running a game! I don't understand. You talk about you the owner. It don't make no kinda sense to me. I don't understand this at all."

The old Brother say, "Well, the only thing you got to understand is to come back and check with the manager, and he'll take care of you. Now that shouldn't be so hard to deal with, Sister."

So she say, "Yeah, well forget it." And started to step.

As she was about to split, the old Brother say, "Hold tight, wait a minute, hold on! Ain't no sense at all in your going away with an attitude. I'll show you the pad. I don't like to do things this way, but I'll show it to you."

So he took the Sister--Linda was her name--on up to see the pad. And man, like look a here, Linda dug it to no end. It was out of sight, a really groovy pad. It had large rooms, wall-to-wall carpet, drapes, a real fireplace, built-in oven, dishwasher, central heating, and all them good things.

Linda say, "Dig it, honey; I'm definitely interested."

The old Brother say, "Well, like I done told you, come back and check with the manager next door. That's the cat who does the renting."

So Linda started getting pushed out of shape all over again. Like, first it was the whole big hassle about getting to see the place. And now that she saw it and dug it, she couldn't get it. She say, "Look a here, I think you running a game. Matter of fact, I don't even think you the owner. You probably just a janitor or the damn gardener or something like that."

So the old Brother say, "Dig this," and whipped a contract on her. He say, "Would the gardener or damn janitor have a contract? Dig it, and check it out."

Linda look at it and say, "I'm sure sorry 'bout this. I guess you is telling the truth. I'm really sorry. I just didn't feel like waiting because I dug the pad so much. And I been looking so long for a pad like this."

She looked over the contract. She was checking out all the stuff about the apartment. First and last month rent had to be paid; a year's lease was involved, and all that. She noticed that the bottom line where the price of the apartment was suppose to be, was blank. She turned around a little and kind of eased her pen out and wrote, "\$70.00 a month." She figure, "Yeah, I'm gonna see if I can get away with this. And if I can't, ain't no big thing. All he can do is get mad. So what?"

Then she handed the contract back to the old Brother. The old Brother took out his glasses and started reading it real slow. He was reading it for days, checking out everything. Finally the Brother got through with it. And believe it or not, the Brother took out his pen and slowly signed it. Then he handed it to the Sister to sign.

The Sister said to herself, "The cat didn't notice it. He going for it. I'm getting over." The Sister signed it quick like. Then the Brother tore off the carbon and handed it to her. She say, "Thanks a lot, honey," and split before the cat could change his mind.

Linda fell on back to her pad and started running it on down to her roommate, Nancy. Nancy couldn't believe it. She say, "You got it for \$70 a month? What you do, girl, turn the cat on?"

Linda say, "No, no, wasn't no funny stuff. I don't play them games. It was all square business. You gotta see this place, girl. It's out of sight."

So the next day they went on over to the apartment. But they couldn't get in to see the place. Nobody was around, not even the old Brother. Linda left a note, "Please get in contact with me. I got the first and last month's rent for you or the manager, or whoever collects it. I'll even clean the apartment myself. I want to move in soon. My phone number is 312-6549."

So when the old Brother got back to the apartment, he saw this note on the door. He took the note and a copy of the contract and laid it on his manager. He say, "Smoke this over my man, and let me know what's happening."

The manager looked at it a while and say, "What's going on here? What kind of shit is this? I mean, it's your place and you do what you want to do, but this ain't no way to take care of business." Then he ran it on down to the Brother what he had rented the pad for.

The Brother jumped up and say, "What? What you say? Me and my stupid self."

The Brother was in a righteous trick bag. And quiet as it's kept, if the Brother could read a little taste, he would have gotten by.

APPENDIX D

Black FolkloreOne Story in Black Vernacular by Gary A. Simpkins

Shine
(from Simpkins, et al., 1974)

This story come from Black folklore, you understand. Black folklore is stories that Black folk have told and sung for a whole lot of years. This here story is all about Shine, a strong Black man! Maybe you heard other stories about Shine. Now come here and check out mine.

You ever hear of the Titanic? Yeah, that's right. It was one of them big ships. The kind they call an ocean liner. Now this here ship was the biggest and the baddest ship ever to sail the sea. You understand? It was supposed to be unsinkable. Wind, storm, iceberg--nothing could get next to it. It was a superbad ship, the meanest thing on the water. It could move like four Bloods in tennis shoes. It was out of sight!

But you know what? The very first time this here ship put out to sea, it got sunk. Can you get ready for that? On its first trip, this here bad, superbad ship got sunk. Now ain't that something?

Well, anyway, this here bad, superbad ship went under. Word was there was very few survivors. Just about everybody got drown. But quiet as it's kept, they say that the one dude who got away was a Blood. Yeah, can you get ready for that? He was a big, Black strong Brother by the name of Shine.

Shine was a stoker on the Titanic. The Brother, he shovel coal into the ship furnace to make the engines go. Now dig. Check what went down on the day the Titanic sunk. Shine kept on going up to the captain of the ship. He kept on telling the captain that the ship was leaking.

Shine run on up to the captain and say, "Captain, Captain, I was down in the hole looking for something to eat. And you know what? The water rose above my feet."

The captain say, "Shine, Shine, boy, have no doubt. We got ninety-nine pumps to pump the water out. Now, boy, get on back down in the hole and start shoveling some more coal."

Shine went on back down in the hole. He start to shoveling coal, singing, "Lord, Lord, please have mercy on my soul." As Shine was singing, "Lord, Lord, please," the water, it rose above his knees.

Shine split back up on deck and say, "Captain, Captain, I was down in the hole. I was shoveling coal and singing, 'Lord, Lord, please.' And you know what? The water, it rose above my knees."

The captain told Shine that all was cool. He say, "Shine, Shine, I done told you to have no doubt. Boy, we got ninety-nine pumps to pump that water out. Now get on back down in the hole and just keep shoveling coal."

Shine went on back down in the hole. He kept on shoveling coal. He stop to wipe the sweat off his face. That's when the water rose above his waist.

Shine run back up on deck. He say, "Captain, Captain, I was down in the hole just a shoveling coal. And when I stop to wipe the sweat off my face, the water, it rose above my waist!"

The captain say, "Shine, Shine, boy, now how many time do I have to tell you to have no doubt? If I done told you once, I done told you a hundred times. We got ninety-nine pumps to pump the water out. Now, boy, don't you trust your captain? I don't want to see you on deck again. You hear?"

Shine went on back down in the hole. He kept on shoveling coal. He start to eat a piece of bread. That's when the water rose above the Brother's head.

Shine split back up on deck. He say, "Captain, Captain, you speak well, and your words, they sound true. But this time, Captain, your words, they won't do. This here ship is sinking! Little fishes, big fishes, whales and sharks, too, get out of my way, 'cause I'm coming through."

Shine yanked off his clothes in a flash. He jumped on in the water and started to splash.

The captain saw the water rise out of the hole and he start thinking, "That boy is right. This here ship is sinking." He call out to Shine, "Shine, Mr. Shine, please save me! I'll make you master of the sea!"

Shine say, "Master on land, master on sea. If you want to live, Captain, you better jump in here and swim like me."

The captain's wife ran out on deck in her nightgown, with her fine, fine self. She call out to Shine, "Shine, Shine, please save poor me! I'll give you more loving than you ever did see."

Shine say, "Loving ain't nothing but hugging and squeezing. Sometime it be tiring. Sometime it be pleasing. I can swim, but I ain't no fish. I like loving, but not like this."

An old fat banker come up on deck carrying his money bags. He called out to Shine, "Shine, Shine, please save me! I'll make you richer than any man could be."

Shine say, "Money's good on land, but it's weight in the sea. If you want to live, Fatty, you better jump in here and swim like me."

Shine took one stroke and shot off through the water like a motorboat. He met up with this here shark. The shark say, "Shine, Shine, you swim so fine. But if you miss one stroke, your butt is mine."

Shine say, "I swims the ocean. I swims the sea. There just ain't no shark that can outswim me." Shine outswimmed the shark.

After a while, Shine met up with this here whale. The whale say, "I'm king of the ocean. I'm king of the sea."

Shine say, "You may be king of the ocean. And you just may be king of the sea, but you got to be about a swimming sucker to outswim me." Shine outswimmed the whale.

Now dig this. When the news reach land that the great Titanic had sunk, Shine was down on the corner, halfway drunk.

APPENDIX E

Skills Exercise in Standard English

Dreary Mae

A Story in Standard English

PART A Understanding the Meaning of Words by Checking Out
the Context

What you will learn: How to figure out the meaning
of words you don't know.

Study the explanation: When you are reading, you
often find words you don't know. Here are two
ways to decide what these words mean: (1)
Sometimes you can get the meaning of the word
from other words in the sentence. (2) Some-
times other sentences are needed to help you
figure out the meaning of the word. This way
of figuring out new words is called getting
the meaning from the context.

Study the examples: "Mae shook her head, trying to
wake up."

Suppose you don't know what shook means. Be-
cause the sentence says Mae was trying to wake
up, you can figure out that shook her head is
what she did to try to wake up.

Study the next example: "Mae looked at her peanut
butter sandwich. She took one bite and dropped
the rest into the garbage can."

Study the sentences that follow the underlined
word. The second sentence tells you Mae took
one bite. That should help you figure out that
sandwich means something to eat, or food.

Use what you have learned: Study the underlined words
in the sentences below. Figure out the meaning

by using the context. Then circle the letter of the meaning you figured out. One is done to show you how.

What is the capital of California, Mae? The people who hold state offices meet and make laws there. A capital is

(a) a very important city in a state.

b. a very important state in a country.

c. an unimportant city in a state.

1. Before Mae could finish what she was saying, she was back in her dream. Finish means to

a. start. b. complete. c. continue.

2. She dreamed that she was a beautiful princess with golden hair. Men came from miles around to admire her beauty. Admire means to

a. remove. b. hurry. c. like.

3. No matter how hard Mae tried to change these strange dreams, she couldn't. All day and all night she would dream the same dream. Change means

a. to make different. b. to start over again.
c. to end.

4. They were attracted to her like flies to honey. Attracted means

a. failed. b. decided. c. drawn to.

APPENDIX F

Story Questions

A Friend in Need

A Story in Black Vernacular

Directions:

Go for what you know about the story, "A Friend in Need." Check out each sentence down below. Pick out the right answers and write the letter a, b, c, or d on a separate piece of paper. There ain't but one right answer to each question, so don't be picking out two.

1. This story was all about a Brother name
 - a. Russell.
 - b. Roberts.
 - c. Johnson.
 - d. Jones.
2. What kind of wheels did the Brother have?
 - a. Hog.
 - b. Bicycle.
 - c. Ford.
 - d. Truck.
3. What kind of neighborhood did he stay in?
 - a. White neighborhood.
 - b. Middle class neighborhood.
 - c. Suburban neighborhood.
 - d. Soul neighborhood.
4. Why was it kind of hard for the Brother to be keeping his ride up mechanically?
 - a. He didn't know nothing about fixing cars.
 - b. He didn't have no bread.
 - c. He was kind of lazy.
 - d. He couldn't find no parts.
5. The cat who was the assistant manager of the filling station was name
 - a. Billy.
 - b. George.
 - c. Henry.
 - d. The story didn't say.

6. The assistant manager said, "You can use anything we got, but you gonna have to get your own
- a. tools." b. parts." c. oil." d. gas."
7. How did the Brother feel about his friend being late?
- a. Happy. b. Let down. c. Important. d. Indifferent
8. The Brother in the story got a friend to help him work on his car. He knew his friend was halfway together because
- a. he helped him stick on a radiator one time.
b. he always kept his own ride in good shape.
c. he worked at a service station.
d. he had a fine old lady.
9. Russell told Billy he was gonna pick him up at
- a. twenty minutes to seven. b. seven thirty.
c. a quarter to seven. d. seven o'clock.
10. What reason did the Brother's friend give for being late?
- a. He ain't give a reason. b. He got hung up.
c. He slept too long. d. He missed the bus.

APPENDIX G

Transcripts of RecordingsStudent Introduction (Black Vernacular):

What's happening, Brothers and Sisters? I want to tell you about this here program called Bridge: A Cross-Cultural Reading Program. Now I know you thinking that this just another one of them jive reading programs, and that I don't be needing no reading program. But dig it. This here reading program is really kinda different. It was done by a Brother and two Sisters, soul folk, you know. And they put something extra into it for you. They put a little taste of soul. As a matter of fact, a lotta soul. No jive, that's what they put in it. A little bit of soul, something you can relate to.

And check this out. Quiet as it's kept, you do need this here reading program. If you sitting in this class, you don't be reading any too cool. Now don't be looking around. I'm talkin' about you. Yeah, right over there. Right over there in the corner now. Unless you the teacher, I'm talking about you.

Now, I know what you gonna say: "I don't need to be reading no better. I get by. I don't dig no reading, and there ain't nothing I wanna be reading no how." But dig. I know where you been, and I know where you coming from, too. When you were just starting school, reading got on your case. Now didn't it? Got down on you. Hurt your feeling. Then in the second grade, reading just smack you all upside your head and dared you to do something about it. In the third grade, reading got into your chest, knock you down, drag you through the mud, sent you home crying to your mama. Now, by the time you got to the fourth grade, you just about had enough of messing around with this here reading thing. And you said to yourself, "I ain't gonna be messing with this old bad boy no more." You just hung it up. But, you had to keep your front. So you say, "I don't need no reading and there ain't nothing I wanta read no how." And it wasn't all front 'cause that stuff was just pretty boring. So anyway, you stop trying 'cause you were just sick and tired of getting done in, being bored all the time by that reading stuff.

But dig. Like I said now, this here program is kinda different. I wanta hip you to that. It can help you get it together. You know, keep you from being pushed around by reading. And it ain't boring, 'cause this is about really interesting people. Matter of fact, it's about some of the most interesting people in the world. Black people!

And you know how interesting Bloods can be. Especially Bloods who be, you know, getting down. Bloods who talk that talk, half-stepping Bloods, you know, rooty-poor Bloods, and all this. In this program, you be reading about little Bloods, big Bloods, Brother Bloods, Sister Bloods. And they all talk that talk and get on down. Now the reason we do this is so that when it come to what you don't know so good, you can use what you know to deal with what you don't know. You understand what I am talking about? Get you over the hump.

Well anyway, in this here program, you start off with what we call soul talk. You know, the way you hear a lot of Bloods talk. We call this talk Black Vernacular. You got that? Soul talk and Black Vernacular is the same thing. And you end up in Standard English. Now you know what Standard English is, don't you? That's what you see in the textbooks, or you hear on radio and TV, and the way you hear the teacher talk, and stuff like that. You know.

Now every program got some rules. You gotta get hip to that. There's rules for playing football, rules for playing basketball, rules for playing the dozens, you know, slipping and sliding, ducking and hiding. You know, when it come to you, one and one don't make two. You know, and all this old stuff. Everything is gotta have some rules. Now, and a whole lot of time if you don't be following these rules, you gonna mess the set up. And this here program ain't no different. It's got rules, but they ain't no big thing. Now just keep that in mind about the rules. 'Cause, you know, you ain't going be coming in here and doing just what you want to do. There's some things you have to follow. Right? Now your teacher is going to get down and get together with you about running down the rest of the program you going to be dealing with.

Now, I'm going to have to be checking out, but I will be getting back with you later. So now you hang in on there tight. All right?

* * * * *

Introduction to Reading Story: Shine, A Story in Black Vernacular

This recording is for the story called "Shine." You got that? "Shine." You ought to have your Reading Booklet open to this story now. The story "Shine" come from Black folklore. You understand? Black folklore is stories that folks use to tell and sing a long time ago.

This story is about a dynamic Brother who had his thing together so much, he just turned everything all around to his favor. You see, it started out like this. The Brother was nothing but a hard working

flunky. Shoveling coal with a whole lot of soul to these engines on this here great big out-of-sight ship, the Titanic. Then one day, while this ship was traveling along the ocean, it started leaking real bad and the only one who really knew what was happening was this Brother called Shine. He tried to hip the captain to the trouble, but the captain, he didn't wanta be hearing none of this. Wasn't going for it. He didn't wanta be listening to no Shine. He didn't think Shine had enough sense to know anything.

Now the ship was definitely sinking and Shine was the only one who knew this. And since nobody wanted to listen to him, he decided he wasn't going for this. You know, sho nuff, man, he wasn't going to be hanging around here and be going down with this boat. So he decided it was time for him to go on and make his move. You understand? He was gon do something. When it all came down, the Brother had everybody begging him to help them.

And what you think about that? What you think cause this big change-around? What you think the Brother did? And when you read the story, you will find out what went down. But before you read it, I'm gonna run down and see where it is that might hang you up.

Now look at the words on the first page of the story "Shine." When I say each word, what you got to do is just look at them and try to remember them. OK? This first word is Titanic. You got that? Titanic. The next is superbad. Yeah, superbade. Number three is iceberg. Iceberg. The fourth word is unsinkable. Unsinkable. The fifth word is shoveling. Shoveling. The next one is stoker. Stoker. The seventh one is survivors. Survivors. The eighth word is furnace. Furnace. The ninth word is mercy. Mercy. The last word is squeezing. Squeezing.

Now read this story by yourself. When you finish, do the Story Questions in your Study Book. Now remember now, you get any kind of hangups at all, don't be bashful. Go and raise your hand up. The teacher is going to be helping you.

* * * * *

Introduction to Skills Lesson: Shine, A Story in Black Vernacular

You ought to have your Study Book open to the Skills Lesson for the story "Shine." It's a story in Black Vernacular. Since you already read this story, you ready to do the Skills Lesson. Now listen close to what I tell you. I'm gonna read this whole Skills Lesson,

and you suppose to read it along with me. If you don't understand something, go back and listen to it again. If you still don't understand, ask the teacher. Understand?

(The Skills Lesson for "Shine" is read in full here. See pages 76-80.)

Now put this recording away and do the exercises in the Skills Lesson. After you finish, take your work to your teacher.

APPENDIX H

Associative Bridging SequenceA Story in Three Versions by Gary A. Simpkins and Charlesetta Simpkins

Dreamy Mae

A Story in Black Vernacular
(from Simpkins, et al., 1974)

This here little Sister name Mae was most definitely untogether. I mean, like, she didn't act together. She didn't look together. She was just an untogether Sister.

Her teacher always be sounding on her 'bout daydreaming in class. I mean, like, just 'bout every day the teacher be getting on her case. But it didn't seem to bother her none. She just kept on keeping on. Like, I guess daydreaming was her groove. And you know what they say: "Don't knock your Sister's groove." But a whole lotta people did knock it. But like I say, she just kept on keeping on.

One day Mae was talking to herself in the lunchroom. She was having this righteous old conversation with herself. She say, "I wanna be a princess with long golden hair." Now can you get ready for that? Long golden hair!

Well, anyway, Mae say, "If I can't be a princess, I'll settle for some long golden hair. If I could just have me some long golden hair, everything would be all right with me. Lord, if I could just have me some long golden hair."

Two other little Sisters nearby start cracking up. One say to the other, "Did you check that out, girl?" They both started in laughing again.

One of them say to Mae, "Dig it. The only way you ever gonna get long golden hair is to get you a wig."

The other one say, "Yeah, and cover up that nappy hair you got."

They walked on away laughing and singing, "Dreamy Mae! Dreamy Mae! Nappy head girl, just dream all day."

But Mae didn't pay them no mind. She just kept on keeping on. She was in her dreaming thing. I mean, like, she was tripping on her daydream.

Another little Sister come on up and sat behind Mae. She tap her on her shoulder and say, "Hey, my name Gloria. What your name?"

Mae looked around and say, "My name Mae."

"Can I sit down with you, Mae?"

"Yeah, sure, OK with me. You wanna share my lunch?"

"Yeah, OK."

Mae give Gloria half of her peanut butter and jelly sandwich.

"You want a apple?"

"Sure," say Mae. "Anything better than a peanut butter and jelly sandwich."

"I don't know," say Gloria. "Baloney sandwiches all the time can be a drag, too. Sometime I just chuck them on in the trash can."

Mae start checking Gloria out for the first time. Gloria was a good looking girl. There was something kind of different 'bout her.

"I don't remember seeing you here before."

"I been around 'bout two weeks. We just moved here. Ain't I seen you before?"

"Yeah, I guess I don't be paying too much attention to people," say Mae.

"Where you from?" ask Gloria.

"Chicago."

Mae checked Gloria out again. She knew why Gloria look so different. It was her hairdo. It was kind of curly, nappy and full.

"Hey, you got a nice do."

"Yeah. My mama, she take care of my natural."

"Natural. That's a funny name. Why you call it that?"

"'Cause it's wearing your hair the way it grows out your head naturally."

"Why?"

"'Cause it's what's happening. 'Cause it's together. 'Cause it's beautiful. A natural way you proud of yourself. It say I like the way my hair is. You know, nappy hair is good hair."

"Well, I ain't never heard of nothing like that before. But it don't matter none. I want me some long golden hair."

"What? What's wrong with you, girl? What you want yellow hair for?"

"'Cause I think it's beautiful."

"Yellow hair may look OK on people what's born with it. But yellow hair on you gonna make you look like a fool. Your hair is black. My hair is black. My hair is kinky, and so is yours. Why don't you bring out your own beauty? Get yourself together. Get a natural hairdo."

"That sound cool. But I don't know how to go 'bout it."

"I'll show you how to do it," say Gloria.

"When?" ask Mae.

"This weekend. How 'bout this Saturday morning?"

"OK. Where?"

"How 'bout your pad?"

"Yeah. That sound good."

"Get all the stuff you need to do your hair with before I get there."

"Like what do I need?"

"Like shampoo, vinegar, hairpins, Vaseline, comb, brush, comb-out spray, and natural comb."

"OK. Will do."

"Hey, Mae! Where you live at?"

"75 Park Street. See you tomorrow."

Mae couldn't hardly wait for the weekend. She was going to get her hair together. She couldn't hardly think of nothing else.

Finally school ended. Mae split on over to the local store. She bought some Vaseline, comb-out spray, shampoo, and a natural comb. Mae had the vinegar, hairpins, comb and the brush at home.

Saturday finally came, and Gloria came on by. She went on and help Mae get her hair together. Gloria scratch Mae's scalp. "My mama, she say we got to make sure we stimulate the scalp. So you don't be gettin' dry scalp, dandruff, or something."

"Sure do feel good," say Mae. "I like to get my head scratched."

"Now we wash your hair real good. And we rinse it with vinegar," Gloria say.

Mae followed Gloria's instructions. What the vinegar for?"

"It's a conditioner. And it's better and cheaper than them store-bought ones," Gloria say.

Gloria showed her how to braid her hair.

While it was drying, they listened to some sounds. After a while Gloria say, "Your hair should be 'bout dry now, Mae." She took one braid aloose in the center of Mae's head. It was dry. "OK. Now we gotta comb your hair out for you. Hey, it's starting to look good. And we ain't even shaped it yet!" Gloria say.

Mae couldn't hardly wait until Gloria got through. She just had to see how her new hairdo was gonna look. Gloria patted Mae's natural in shape. "I'm done!" she say.

"All done?" Mae got up to check it out in the mirror.

"You look out of sight, girl. You really look together."

"Do I?" ask Mae. "Well, it do look a whole lot better on me than I thought it would! Yeah. It ain't bad. Matter of fact, it's kind of nice! It look real nice!"

"It's beautiful, Mae. Girl, you a stone fox with your natural hairdo!" say Gloria.

Mae didn't say nothing. She just stood in front of the mirror digging on her do.

Dreamy Mae

A Story in Transition Form

Willie Mae sat talking to herself on the lunch bench. "I want to be a princess with long golden hair. If I can't be a princess, just let me have golden hair, Lord. Just let me have some golden hair!"

"Ha-ha" laughed two girls on the lunch bench. "Don't you know, girl, you ain't never gonna have no golden hair? No way, unless you get you a blond wig and cover up all that nappy hair."

But Mae didn't seem to notice them laughing at her. She continued to daydream about long golden hair. The two girls walked on away, still laughing.

A third girl came and sat on the bench behind Mae. She tapped Mae lightly on the shoulder. She said, "Hi, my name is Barbara. Can I join you? I don't like to eat by myself."

"OK," said Mae. "You want to share my lunch?"

"Yeah, that's OK with me," said Barbara, "if you share mine."

Mae gave Barbara half of her baloney and cheese sandwich. "You want some pear?" Barbara ask. Barbara gave Mae half of her pear and half of her peanut butter and jelly sandwich.

The two girls started to talk. "You know what I really want more than anything else?" Mae said to Barbara.

"No, what?"

"I want me some long golden hair."

"What you want that for?" asked Barbara.

"I read a story about a princess who had long golden hair. I saw her picture, and she was more beautiful than anything I ever seen."

"That's silly," said Barbara. "Golden hair wouldn't look right on you no way. You ever see a Black princess with long golden hair?"

"No, I ain't seen no Black princess at all."

Barbara had a small book about Africa with her. She opened it to a picture of a Black princess. Mae stared at the picture.

"That ain't no princess," said Mae. "She got nappy hair."

"She is, too, a princess," said Barbara. "Look at the book. It say so right here. Anyway, nappy hair is good hair. That's what my mama told me."

Mae was confused. She had never heard that nappy hair was good hair. It sure sounded strange, like "nappy" and "good" just didn't go together. She looked closely at the picture. She thought to herself, "She does look beautiful, as beautiful as the one with long golden hair." She looked up from the book and glanced at Barbara's hair. It was just like the Black princess in the book. Mae looked at Barbara carefully. She really liked the way her hair looked. It was black, kind of nappy, and very curly and full.

"Hey, that a nice hairdo you got," said Mae. "It just like what the princess got."

"Thanks. My mother, she fixed my natural for me."

"How come you call it a natural?" asked Willie Mae.

Because it wearing your hair the way it naturally is. You know, without hot combing it and all that stuff."

"Why is that good?"

"Because."

"Because what?"

"Because your hair is beautiful. Nappy hair is good hair. If you take care of it."

"Oh, I see," said Mae. Mae began to daydream about having beautiful black nappy hair just like the princess and Barbara.

"Mae, Willie Mae!" said Barbara. "What you doing?"

"I was just daydreaming 'bout having beautiful hair like the princess got."

"Which one," asked Barbara, "the one with golden hair?"

"No, the Black one," said Mae.

"You don't have to be dreaming about it. You can have your hair looking just like hers. Your hair is the same as mine. So it can be done just like my mama do mine. And you can look just like the princess, too."

"But I don't know how to fix it," said Mae.

"That's all right. My mama, she can do yours and show you how. Then we can do each other's hair. That'll be fun."

"Could she really?"

"Yeah, you come on home with me after school, and we'll fix your hair so you look like the princess, too."

* * * * *

Dreamy Mae

A Story in Standard English

"What is the capital of California, Mae?" asked Miss Carter.

Mae shook her head, trying to wake up. She was off in another world. She shook her head again and said, "I don't know."

"Dreaming again, Mae?" asked Miss Carter.

"Yes, I..." But before she could finish what she was saying, she was back in her dream. She dreamed that she was a beautiful princess with golden hair. Men came from miles around to admire her beauty.

Ring! It was time for recess. The boys and girls ran outside to eat their snacks and talk and play. Mae ran, too. She looked at her peanut butter sandwich. It was the fourth time she had had peanut butter this week. She took one bite and dropped the rest into the garbage can. "I don't need it anyway. I've got my dreams."

Two girls ran by chanting, "Dreamy Mae! Dreamy Mae!" Mae didn't hear them. She was dreaming that she was a princess with beautiful golden hair.

Mae dreamed so often that she didn't have time to watch television. She didn't even take time out from dreaming to take care of herself. She didn't comb her hair. She didn't brush her teeth. Mae was in bad shape.

Most of the other children didn't like Mae. But she didn't care. She had her dreams. One day Mae told her classmates, "I'm going to be a princess with long golden hair."

"Ha, ha! Ha, ha!" her classmates laughed. They didn't believe her. Mae didn't really believe she'd ever be a princess either. "Maybe I could still have golden hair," she thought.

The next week Mae had some strange dreams. On Monday, she dreamed she had purple hair that looked like bunny ears. Tuesday, she dreamed that her green hair was in the shape of wings. She could even fly with them. No matter how hard Mae tried to change these strange dreams, she couldn't. All day and all night she would dream the same dream.

All day Wednesday, Mae dreamed she had white hair. She looked like an old woman. On Thursday, Mae dreamed that she finally had golden hair. She had always wanted golden hair, but never the way she was dreaming it now. Her hair stuck straight out in all directions. It looked like porcupine spines. No matter what she did to her hair in the dream, it didn't help her look like a princess.

"Oh," she said, "if I just had my own hair back, I'd never dream of having any other kind again."

On Friday, Mae stopped dreaming. She listened to her classmates and she listened to her teacher. Miss Carter read a story called "The Beautiful Black Princess."

"I didn't know there were Black princesses!" Mae said.

"Yes," said Miss Carter, "and this Black princess had curly black hair. The story says it was as black as the ace of spades. Here's a picture of the Black princess."

Mae looked at the picture carefully. "She does have beautiful hair. Her style is soft and full. It's black and beautiful."

After school, Mae thought about the story Miss Carter had read to the class. She thought about the strange things she had been dreaming all week. She thought about the promise she had made in her dream. Again, she thought about the Black princess with the curly black hair. "Hey," said Mae, "my hair is black!"

She ran to a mirror and looked at herself. "I don't look like a princess, but I do have black hair." She looked at her hair carefully. She decided to do something about it. She brushed her hair thoroughly. She washed it and braided it into many small braids. When her hair dried, she undid the braids. Then she oiled her scalp. She combed out her hair and patted it lightly to shape it.

When Mae went to school on Monday, her classmates didn't recognize her. She looked beautiful. Her hair was clean and curly. Her teeth were brushed. Her dress was neat and clean. Mae was as dreamy as a Black princess.

"Look at Dreamy Mae," said the girls. "Wow!" said the boys. They were attracted to her like flies to honey.

Miss Carter looked at Mae. "Yes," she agreed, "Mae is dreamy looking."

"She looks like the Black princess with the beautiful hair!" said one boy.

Mae sat proudly that day. She listened to what the boys and girls had to say. She followed the teacher's directions. School wasn't so bad after all. From that day on, the boys and girls still called Mae, "Dreamy Mae." They didn't call her Dreamy Mae because she dreamed in class. They called her Dreamy Mae because she was beautiful and proud with her natural hair style. Mae still brought peanut butter sandwiches to school, but she didn't mind eating them as much as she had before.

APPENDIX I

BRIDGE
UNIT ONE
Field Test Questionnaire

SCHOOL _____

CITY _____

In the spaces provided please answer yes or no and give other information requested. Add comments and observations whenever you feel it would be helpful. If more space is needed, use the back of the page.

Grade Levels and Number of Students in Each Experimental Group:

Grades _____ Number _____

Story Introduction Recordings

1. Did students seem to want to read the stories after they listened to the Recording? _____ Comments? _____

2. For all students to hear recordings at the appropriate times, how many cassette players and how many sets of tapes do you feel are needed for a class of

10: players _____	tapes _____
15: players _____	tapes _____
20: players _____	tapes _____
30: players _____	tapes _____

3. Other Observations: _____

Reading Booklet

1. Did most students seem to like the stories? Check the appropriate response.

	<u>liked it</u>	<u>were neutral</u>	<u>disliked it</u>
Shine	_____	_____	_____
Stagolee	_____	_____	_____
The Organizer	_____	_____	_____
The Ghost	_____	_____	_____

Comments? _____

2. Did they have difficulty with any particular words in the stories?

_____ Which words?

Shine: _____

Stagolee: _____

The Organizer: _____

The Ghost: _____

3. Did they have any less difficulty with the vocabulary words listed at the beginning of the stories? _____

4. Did they have difficulty understanding any particular phrases or sentences? _____ Which ones? _____

5. Reactions to the illustrations:

Your Comments: Shine _____

Stagolee _____

The Organizer _____

The Ghost _____

Students' Comments: Shine _____

Stagolee _____

The Organizer _____

The Ghost _____

6. Other Observations: _____

Study Book Story Questions

1. Could students follow the directions? If not, explain: _____

2. Were there any questions that most of the students missed? _____
If so, which questions were they?

Shine: _____

Stagolee: _____

The Organizer: _____

The Ghost: _____

Comments? _____

3. About what was the average number of questions answered correctly?

4. Other Observations _____

Skills Recordings

1. Did students read along in their Study Books as they listened to the Recording? _____ Comments? _____

2. Did students ask you for further explanations of the skills lessons after they listened to the Recording? _____ Comments? _____

3. Other Observations: _____

Study Book Skills Lesson

1. Did students seem to understand the directions and explanations?
 _____ Did they ask questions about them? _____ Com-
 ments? _____

2. Do you think any of your students skipped the explanations and
 examples and went straight to the exercise? _____ Comments?

3. What, if any, questions were most often answered incorrectly?

Shine: _____

Stagolee: _____

The Organizer: _____

The Ghost: _____

Comments? _____

4. About what was the average number of correct answers?

	Average number of correct answers			
	meaning from context	figures of speech	key meaning words	word order
Shine:	_____	_____	_____	_____
Stagolee:	_____	_____	_____	_____
The Organizer:	_____	_____	_____	_____
The Ghost:	_____	_____	_____	_____

Comments? _____

5. Other Observations: _____

Dictionary Lesson

1. Did students follow the directions? _____ Comment? _____

2. What, if any, particular words gave the students trouble?

Shine: _____

Stagolee: _____

The Organizer: _____

The Ghost: _____

3. Do students confuse Black Vernacular and Standard English meanings of any words? _____ Which words? _____

4. Did students tend to take their dictionary lessons home and get help from their friends and families? _____ Comments? _____

5. Were the students able to do this activity without your help? _____

Comments? _____

6. Other Observations: _____

Feedback Cards

1. Did students have any difficulty recording their scores? _____
Comments? _____
2. Did they like the idea of keeping records of their own scores?

3. Other Observations: _____

General

1. Did you have any trouble understanding Black Vernacular terms?
_____ Comments? _____

2. Did your students have any trouble understanding Black Vernacular terms? _____ Comments? _____

3. About how long did students take to complete all the materials in the unit?
 Slowest _____
 Average _____
 Fastest _____
 Comments? _____

4. Did most of the students do their work regularly without your prodding? _____ Comments? _____

5. Did most of the students know what to do each day without asking you or without being told? _____ Comments? _____

6. Did most of the students seem to care about how well they performed?
_____ Comments? _____

7. Did most of the students seem to enjoy working with the materials?
_____ Comments? _____

8. Other Observations: _____

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