CANADIAN CHILDREN

JOURNAL OF
THE CANADIAN ASSOCIATION
FOR YOUNG CHILDREN

Winter/Spring 1985-86 Volume 10, Numbers 1 & 2

THE CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR YOUNG CHILDREN

What is the C.A.Y.C.?

The Canadian Association for Young Children (C.A.Y.C.) grew out of the Council for Childhood Education and became officially recognized in 1974 by the granting of a Federal Charter. It is the only national Association specifically concerned with the well-being of children of pre-school and elementary school age. Members of the Association are from Canada, the U.S.A. and elsewhere. They include teachers, administrators, parents, students and other interested persons from a variety of professional disciplines who wish to share ideas and participate in activities related to the education and welfare of young children.

THE AIMS OF THE CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR YOUNG CHILDREN

— To work for the development and well-being of children.
— To foster desirable conditions, programmes and practices to meet the needs of children.
— To encourage continuous professional growth in accordance with knowledge of child development.
— To bring into active co-operation all groups concerned with children and child development.
— To disseminate information on child development.
— To promote the co-ordination of all organizations in Canada concerned with the welfare of children.

Implementing the Aims of C.A.Y.C.

1. *The Annual Conference/Symposium*

   The Annual Conference/Symposium is a highlight of the C.A.Y.C. year. It is hosted in cities across Canada and usually lasts for three days. The program includes workshops, discussion groups, displays, demonstrations, school visits, tours, lectures by internationally renowned authorities on children as well as social events and opportunities to share common interests.

2. *Provincial and Local Meetings*

   Provincial and local meetings are organized by representatives of C.A.Y.C. and by affiliated groups. These meetings may take the form of workshops, lectures and discussion groups.

3. *The Journal/The Newsletter*

   Trends in early childhood education and child rearing practices are considered and articles are presented in *The Journal*. It is published twice yearly, in May and November. In *The Newsletter* topics of local and national interest are shared with members.

4. *Childfilm Festival*

   A Childfilm Festival is organized to coincide with the Annual Conference. Awards are made at the Conference.

JOURNAL OF THE CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR YOUNG CHILDREN

Winter-Spring 1985-86 — **Volume 10, Nos. 1 & 2**

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Submission of Materials: Send articles, news, annotations and materials for review to the Editors, Faculty of Social Welfare, University of Calgary, University Dr., N.W., Calgary, T2N 1N4. References and general style should conform to the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*,

Third Edition (1983). Each article should be preceeded by an Abstract of not more than 200 words. Canadian or American spelling is acceptable provided the style is internally consistent. Articles in French may also be submitted, and translation, if necessary, will be undertaken by the *Journal*.

CALL FOR PAPERS

A future issue of *Canadian Children* will be devoted to the development of intellect and cognition in children, learning disorders, factors which inhibit learning, and strategies for optimizing cognitive and intellectual development in young children (from birth until the end of the elementary school years).

Please send papers on this theme to the senior editor of *Canadian Children*:

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MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF C.A.Y.C.

Our focus on multicultural issues in this Journal reflects not only the multicultural nature of Canada but also the essence and strength of C.A.Y.C. memberships. We represent many cultures and ethnic groups and demonstrate the value of a multicultural association.

We are grateful to the Minister of State, Multicultural Division, for supporting this issue of *Canadian Children* and enabling us to direct our interests to multicultural topics which are relevant to our C.A.Y.C. aims. The care, education, and social well-being of young children in Canada necessarily address multicultural issues which are evident in our social interactions.

C.A.Y.C. activities and events enable us to share cultural values and traditions. London, Ontario, is the site of our next conference and gives yet another opportunity for meeting and sharing. The exciting program offers a wide range of interest areas and is planned to provide both substances and enjoyment. So mark the 9, 10, and 11 of November on your 1986 calendar. The Conference Chairperson, Linda Shaw, together with the Conference Committee, are ready with a warm welcome.

We are pleased that regional events, organized by provincial groups in cooperation with Provincial Directors, are providing exciting and valuable means by which C.A.Y.C. members can participate. If you would like to have more events in your area, contact your Provincial Director to discuss your interests.

Such meetings, seminars, or small conferences have occasionally resulted in the formation of a report or resolution which can be acted upon by C.A.Y.C. In this way we can continue to achieve C.A.Y.C. goals.

Doreen Cleave-Hogg
Retiring President,
Canadian Association for
Young Children

Editorial

MULTICULTURAL CHILDHOOD IN CANADA

"Multicultural childhood," in which children interact in schools and neighbourhoods with children of other cultural, ethnic and religious groups, and come to a degree of understanding of the culture and ethnicity of one another, exists in many countries of the world. But different countries approach the issues of multiculturalism in distinct ways (Bagley and Verma, 1983), and the Canadian approach to multiculturalism is both unique and refreshing in a world beset by ethnic tensions and intolerance (Bagley, 1985). Almost by default, Canada's multicultural policy has succeeded in meeting the needs of aspiring ethnic groups (including immigrants from former British Colonies) in a way which a number of European countries failed to do (Campfens, 1981).

Canadian policy-makers have concentrated on the idea of "visible minorities" rather than on the concept of "race," with which European, and particularly British politicians, seem obsessed (Bagley and Verma, 1983).

Race is a difficult concept, and classical anthropology has defined five traditional racial groups: caucasoid (including most people from the Indian subcontinent, regardless of skin colour); mongoloid; negroid; and aboriginal. However, these distinctions are both invidious and difficult to make in substantive terms. Groups of people (in North East Africa, and in Indonesia for example) represent ancient mixtures of two or more of these groupings. Furthermore, in modern times there has been considerable mixture of "races" through intermarriage (Bagley, 1979). We have no direct evidence for Canada, but it appears that the rate of racial intermarriage (black-white, Asian-white, and various other combinations) is high. Children of such marriages have special psychological needs and characteristics, and the currently available evidence on their adjustment is optimistic on this score (Bagley and Young, 1984). Nevertheless, colour *is* a factor in social interaction in Canadian schools; young children understand both the nature and implications of differences in colour, and may base interactions and evaluations upon implicit presumptions about the meanings of skin colour (Williams and Morland, 1976).

Consider the following conversation, reported to us by four-year-old Abigail of an experience in her Calgary daycare:

Sean and Tommy: You can't join our group
Abigail: Why not?
Boys: It's only for boys
Abigail: So I can't play?

Boys: Yes. You can't join our group because you're black.
Abigail: Is this for real?
Boys: Yes.

This was one of those conversations in daycare which staff rarely overhear. The staff we asked about this incident indignantly denied that there was any incipient racism or sexism amongst their children. "They're just children. We treat them all alike," we were told by staff at this University daycare centre.

Yet the general evidence clearly suggests that children learn to distinguish the salience and meaning of ethnic differences not long after they learn visual discrimination for various people and objects around them — by their third or fourth year (Young and Bagley, 1982). Young children, moreover, are very sensitive to subtle clues about how they should relate to and evaluate different ethnic groups, including their own. If their own ethnic group is widely devalued by peers and the wider society then black children, for example, may internalize those negative self-conceptions into their own identity. Thus, it is crucially important for parents to impart to children a sense of pride in being Black, or Ukrainian, or French, or Jewish.

In this sense, Canada's policy of multicultural support for different ethnic groups can be a valuable way of enabling different groups to support parents and children in this crucial task of identity formation. A cultural or ethnic group secure and proud in an ethnic identity is a group with strengths to add to Canada's multicultural mosaic. There is, of course, national self-interest in Canada's multiculturalism: ethnic groups who are proud, independent and often self-supporting contribute to both economic and social development, and may also make minimal social service demands. Successive Ministers of Multiculturalism of both major parties have supported the idea of separate cultural development in Canada within a Federal structure. The present minister (Murta, 1985) declared recently that, "Canada . . . is never going to be a melting pot." Paradoxically, support for cultural retention allows individuals to interact (in schools particularly) on an equal basis, both respecting and exploring one another's culture. This is not to say that racism in Canadian schools does not exist: there are enough examples to deny this thesis. But in comparison with, say, Britain, the average Canadian school seems to be an oasis of tolerant interaction (Verma and Bagley, 1982).

Multiculturalism in Canada does not seem to be a particularly controversial issue: herein lies the strength and success of Canadian multiculturalism. It seems to be accepted as part of the Canadian fabric; but implicit in this acceptance is the central value that immigrants become *Canadian*, and work together to contribute to an interesting new cultural framework which serves the mutual interests and needs of a variety of ethnic groups.

The term "ethnic groups" is probably the best one to describe different groups in society, both "minorities" and "majorities", "visible" and "invisible." An ethnic group is simply one with a particular group identity, based on some combinations of culture, language, religion and perhaps physical appearance. Membership in an ethnic group is voluntary, but it is hard to escape any classifica-tion based on race alone. Ethnicity comes from within a group; but race is a category imposed on a group from outside.

The major cultural divisions in Canada have, for the main, been those based on language rather than ethnicity and race. Studies of multiculturalism and young children in Canada in recent years are few but, in contrast, studies of language acquisition and maintenance are rather numerous. Retention of traditional languages while at the same time becoming fluent in Canada's two official languages should, in our judgement, be a major component of any policy of multiculturalism for young children. Retention of a traditional language is at the heart of cultural support. It is both distressing and tragic when children are unable to converse with their grandparents because they have not been taught their traditional language. Language maintenance programs are crucial for both identity development in children, and for family support, which is important for the welfare of the young child.

We need have little fear that multiple language learning is taxing for children. Consider, for example, Nairobi, Kenya's chief city: all of the country's forty-four languages can be heard in the capital. The young child will not learn the lingua franca, Swahili from his parents, for that is a language spoken locally in Mombasa, but not in Nairobi. The child's home language is most likely to be Kisii, Kamba, Luo, Kikuyu, Luhya, Masai, Menu, Embu, Turkana, Somali, Duruma, Giriama, Tesos, or perhaps Kalenji. In mixed playgroups the youngster may learn three or four of these languages as well as his own, and by the time of school he will be learning Swahili, and later English. Or consider a Bombay example: a young child in a Sindi family will simultaneously acquire the language of the local state, Maharashti, as well as his family language. At school he or she will learn Hindustani, India's lingua franca, and later on will study both Sanskrit and English. In the Netherlands, one-third of the school curriculum is devoted to learning foreign languages. By the time they leave school, the large majority of Dutch teenagers are fluent in English, French and German. Indeed, the facility for language-learning in young children is very great: in J. Young's phrase (1978), the limits of programming the brain are almost boundless. Children can be made monolingual, or dull, or conforming, or ethnocentric by a rigid and restricting socialization. Education can be of this nature, but it ought not to be in a multicultural society.

In this respect the growth of bilingual and immersion programes in French for students from mainly English-speaking families is a definite plus for multiculturalism. In Western Canada, demand for such education still outstrips supply, and long lines form overnight at the school door, in order to enroll children in the fall. When one reflects on the traditional attitudes to learning French in Anglophone Canada, this demand for French language education is a remarkable and pleasing development. In Manitoba for instance, nine percent of all students are enrolled in French immersion programs, a figure which increases each year. The ideal, of course, is for one hundred percent of all Canadian students who graduate from

...ently bilingual in English and French, with additional facility in their traditional language or a third language as well.

While we have painted a generally optomistic picture of multiculturalism in Canada, there are still some areas of concern. Some traditional groups such as native peoples (Morse, 1984), and blacks in parts of Nova Scotia still suffer the legacies of poverty and disadvantage brought about by two centuries of neglect and discriminiation (Beltrame, 1985). Anomalies such as these are all the more startling in an affluent and generally enlightened society like Canada.

Yet despite these areas of major concern, the multicultural experiment in Canada appears to have produced some of the most interesting and pleasing outcomes of any world society. This optimistic view is given lyrical expression by the Trinidadian novelist Samuel Selvon (currently writer in residence at the University of Calgary). Mr. Selvon spent twenty-eight years in England, and writes graphically about the strains and anxieties of being a black immigrant in England. In contrast to this gloomy writing about Britain, he depicts Canada in a matrix of glowing colours: "Canada's provinces are spread out like a chain of islands in the Caribbean . . . Canada's history of cultural diversity makes her more readily able (than England) to absorb different groups . . . that's part of the reason why I became Canadian." (Selvon, 1985)

Many of us have chosen to become Canadian. We are proud of our new country, its tolerance, its cultural mosaic, its pioneering history, it great potential for growth, and its ability to become the world leader in multiculturalism.

Christopher Bagley
Calgary, Alberta

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Annotations

MULTICULTURAL BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS

This review of recent books and documents of particular relevance to Canadian multiculturalism is not intended to be exhaustive, but should give a good understanding of the range of research and documentation available.

Stan Shapson and Vincent D'Oyley (editors)
Bilingual and Multicultural Education: Canadian Perspectives
Clevedan, UK: Multilingual Matters, 1984, 170 pp.

It is strange and rather pleasing that an important book on Canadian multiculturalism, edited by two Canadian scholars, should be published by an English group. This English publishing house (Multilingual Matters, Bank House, 8a Hill Road, Clevedon, Avon BS217H1H, England) has published some twenty monographs on language and multiculturalism, all of which are worth consulting by the serious scholar working in this area.

The volume edited by Shapson and D'Oyley contains eleven valuable papers which we will briefly summarize:

1. "Bilingual and multicultural education in Canada," by Stan Shapson, Simon Fraser University.

   The school's response to bilingualism is introduced with specific reference to the results of French immersion programs. The school's response to multiculturalism focuses on the offering of different models of minority language programs, and on the recognition of multiculturalism in the general school curriculum. Future directions for educational policy are provided.

2. "Second language teaching programs," by Gerald Halpern, Department of Secretary of State.

   Four categories of school-based second language programs are examined: core, extended, immersion, and submersion. Each is described in terms of use of time and teaching strategies. The chapter concludes with a brief review of the financial and social costs of providing and of not providing second language programs.

3. "French immersion programs," by Fred Genesee, McGill University.

   A number of alternative French immersion programs are described, with discussion focussing on early total immersion and late immersion options. The results of extensive evaluations of the effectiveness of immersion programs are summarized and discussed. It is concluded that early exposure to

French has the best results, and does not impair other types of learning, even in children with below average general ability.

4. "Bilingualism and cognitive functioning," by Jim Cummins, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

   The many seemingly contradictory findings regarding the effects of bilingualism on cognitive and academic functioning are reviewed. It is suggested that the "threshold" hypothesis may help resolve theseapparent contradictions. This hypothesis proposes that the levels of proficiency that bilingual children attain in their two languages may be important intervening variables in mediating the effects of bilingualism on cognitive and academic functioning. Specifically, bilingualism may have positive effects on cognitive and academic development if a certain minimum or threshold level of bilingual proficiency is attained; and negative effects if the individual develops low levels of proficiency in both languages.

5. "The minority language child," by Jim Cummins.

   It is concluded that the findings of recent research studies and evaluations run counter to many of the implicit assumptions of educators concerned with minority language children. Specifically, these findings suggest that intensive reading of the majority language is not necessarily the most appropriate form of educational treatment for groups of minority language children who tend to perform poorly in school.

6. "Implications of multiculturalism for curriculum," by June Wyatt, Simon Fraser University.

   The view presented in this chapter is that the main source of ethnic identity is the family and ethnic community; the school and the society at large must play a supporting role. Educators must provide minority students with opportunities to learn skills for survival in society without requiring abandonment of their cultural background.

7. "A multicultural curriculum as action for social justice," by Bryan Connors, University of Alberta.

   Recurring difficulties most often encountered in the development of multicultural curricula are highlighted. A case is developed for an alternative curriculum approach to multicultural education based on social action.

8. "Multiculturalism and morality," by Ian Wright and Carol LaBar, University of British Columbia.

   In order to understand the moral principles basic to multiculturalism, a distinction between cultural and ethical relativism is necessary — certain knowledge, competencies, and dispositions are entailed. These include knowledge of person, society, culture, prejudice and stereotyping; a sense of self-worth; and the ability to distinguish between factual and value claims, to identify points of view, to formulate valid arguments and to test moral principles. The claim is made that few programs in multicultural education have clearly delineated their moral stance, and they may therefore rest on unsound assumptions. It is concluded that multicultural education must take into account the moral point of view in order for people to make natural decisions regarding life in a multicultural society.

9. "Educational approaches for Combatting Prejudice and Racism," by John Kehoe and Frank Echols, University of British Columbia.

   Several theoretical perspectives about combatting prejudicial attitudes are reviewed within the context of what is possible in school. It is also argued that change must take place at various levels, and a particular strategy for this is presented.

10. "The future of language policy in education," by G. Richard Tucker, Center for Applied Linguistics.

    This chapter considers seven questions regarding educational policy with the aim of understanding the Canadian position in relation to other countries (particularly, Cameroons, Ecuador, Jordan, Nigeria, China and the U.S.A.) A series of predictions are made concerning directions for Canada's educational language policy. The Canadian situation is not at all unique, and educational planners should seek advice, consultation, and assistance from others, particularly those working in developing countries.

11. "Beyond the English and French realities in Canada: The politics of empowerment," by Vincent D'Oyley, University of British Columbia.

    Canada has entered the 1980's with more of its ethnic trends having "Social justice" profiles than would have been the case without recent multicultural dialogues and interethnic research programs. But Canadian society still needs a greater recognition of the five multicultural strands which make up the multicultural framework. These strands are (a) Aboriginal, (b) Anglophone, (c) Francophone, (d) the later European, and (e) the later visible minority of African/Asian.

The Bilingual Family Newsletter,
published by Multilingual Matters,
Bank House, 8a Hill Road, Clevedan, Avon, England, BS217HH.

This useful eight-page newsletter, published three times a year, gathers together research trends and new policy developments from multilingual countries. The newsletter is intended for teachers, researchers and parents, and includes an advice column for parents, and personal accounts by parents of the best ways to develop and maintain bilingualism.

Keith A. McLeod (Editor)
Multicultural Early Childhood Education
Toronto: Guidance Centre of the University of Toronto, 1984. 155 pp.

This attractively produced book is the only volume we can locate specifically devoted to multicultural education of young children.

The key articles are:

"Living and learning in a multicultural society," by Keith A. McLeod. "It is crucial to children that their socialization and education reflect the cultural diversity found in Canadian society. Children that grow up and are educated in a milieu where ethnic identification is respected, accepted, and valued, will have greater opportunities to interact positively with other children" (p. 5).

"Multicultural education in early childhood: a developmental rationale," by Karen R. Mock.

". . . for a child from a cultural background different from the teacher's a . . . curriculum content which builds on his or her experiences will be more easily incorporated into the existing cognitive structure and more readily learned and understood...because early experiences influence later development, if young children are exposed to various ethnic groups and multicultural material in early childhood as an integral part of their program, they will learn, at an early age, that multiculturalism is an integral part of life" (pp. 12-13).

"Multicultural learning activities," by Sally White, Bonnie Bythell, Eileen Elmy, Barbara Price, and Hildy Stollery.

This 112-page chapter contains a variety of practical guides to multicultural activities with young children, based on the practical experiences of the authors. Useful annotated bibliographies are added to three sections. Unit one is about "Me"; Unit two is about "Me and My Family"; and Unit three concerns, "Me, My School, and My Community."

"Stories and storytelling folktale: a universe within," by David W. Booth and Robert W. Barton.

The authors discuss the telling of folktales as a means of increasing multicultural understanding and sharing. Some fifty-five books containing folk-tales from around the world are annotated.

"Parenting and teaching young children for a multicultural society," by Keith Lowe.

"An example of cross-cultural conflict between parents and teachers may be found in the young child's development of independence or autonomy. This seems to be a prominent goal set by kindergarten teachers in Canada" (p 147).

"Implications for early childhood education in a multicultural society," by Hannah Polowy.

"The effects of diverse cultural child-rearing patterns upon the practice of early childhood education are not a problem but rather a unique, enriching possibility. The problem arises in providing good quality programs for all our Canadian children based upon sound pedagogical practice and the understanding of the reality of our composite heritage. The focus upon a good quality Canadian early childhood education program for all children must be based upon human relationships that are caring, accepting, understanding, and encouraging . . . . A

multicultural program for preschool children ought to move children to an appreciation of the human bonds of sympathy, understanding, and caring so that we can build a vision of a multicultural society in which these bonds can be a reality" (p. 155).

Canadian Parents for French National Newsletter Published several times a year by Canadian parents for French, 309 Cooper Street, Suite 400B, Ottawa, Ontario K2P OG5.

Canadian parents for French (CPF) is an active group of anglophone parents with children in French-language programs across Canada. — Canadian Parents for French issues a number of pamphlets and guides on teaching and learning French, and maintains active chapters in all provinces. The most recent national conference of Canadian Parents for French was in Whitehorse, with good attendance from the whole of Canada.

Multiculturalism, journal of the Canadian Council for Multicultural and Intercultural Education, 371 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario M5S 2R7.

This journal, published three times a year, is Canada's only national journal entirely devoted to muiticultural issues. The journal focuses on all age groups, but each issue usually contains valuable articles on children. For example, volume 8, no. 2, 1985 contains a very useful article by Richard Butt on "The Multicultural Education Materials Animation Project" in which seven teams of researchers across Canada are assembling multicultural classroom materials.

Developing Partnerships: Report on the second national conference on multicultural and intercultural education. Published by the Canadian Council for Multicultural Education, Toronto, 1985. 39 pp.

This document is a report of a conference held in November, 1984, in Toronto, bringing together 850 educators, community workers, academics, librarians and others working in multicultural fields in Canada, Europe and the United States. Presentations are listed by title and by address of presenter. Some keynote addresses are also included. For the observer familiar with British conferences on multicultural education, this Canadian conference was marked by earnest purposefulness, a large degree of agreement on basic issues and how to tackle them, and a general lack of conflict. In contrast, a similar British meeting in 1984 would be likely to be marked by prolonged and bitter debate about fundamentals, debate often falling along ethnic lines, and radical attacks on the established policy and educational systems.

There are various ways of interpreting these differences: it could be that real debate on fundamental issues in Canada is suppressed under the gloss of multiculturalism; or differences could reflect marked differences in the way in which ethnic minorities are treated in Britain. Certainly, black people complain in Britain of profound discrimination, while Canada seems closer to a model in which the aspirations of a variety of immigrant groups within a tolerant, multicultural framework are respected and encouraged.

Multiculturalizing: A series of resource guides for educators. Published by Multiculturalism Canada, Ottawa.

This series is available without cost to teachers and others. Volume I, number I is on "Play, physical education and reaction" and lists multicultural resource materials and photographs which will enable teachers to initiate cooperative sports and games with a multicultural theme.

Lilian Katz. :*Current Topics in Early Childhood.* Volumes I to V. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing, 1982.

This five volume series is a valuable source for all of those who work with young children. Three papers are of special interest for multiculturalism

"A cross-cultural analysis of the child care system," by Saranne Boocock, in Volume I, 71-105.

The author concludes that child care systems (particularly care which supports family functioning, including daycare) is inadequate in all of the countries surveyed, including the U.S.A., Israel, Sweden and a number of other advanced societies. The American and Canadian child care systems are especially, "out of balance, with a substantial gap between the needs of children and the ability or the willingness of the child care system to meet these needs."

"The development of bilingual and bicultural competence in young children," by Muriel Saville-Troike, in Volume IV, 1-16.

In this review, the author concludes that research on bilingual and bicultural competence is generally unsatisfactory, and fails to take account of the many complex factors which influence child development in such settings. She argues that ethnographic methods should be utilized in qualitative and in-depth descriptions of the dynamics of various language development situations under different conditions, as a necessary complement (a prerequisite in many cases) to quantitative or statistical studies. "Because of the paucity of data collected in the past, and the inadequacies of much previous data collection for answering the new generation of research questions which have arisen, the field to all intents and purposes, remains in its infancy. Research on a variety of languages and settings is urgently needed to contribute to our still very limited state of knowledge in this complex field."

"Development of children's racial awareness and intergroup attitudes," by Phyllis Katz, in Volume IV, 17-54.

This chapter represents a clearly written, but nevertheless highly technical, overview of children's racial awareness and attitudes. The evidence reviewed indicates that by three or four years of age, many children make differential responses to skin colour and other racial cues. The development of such attitudes is also infrequently related to the establishment of a child's self-identity. The child must necessarily learn about which groups he or she does and does not belong to, as part of the self-discovery process. At the same time, positive and

negative feelings come to be associated with various groups. Virtually all first-grade children will have absorbed a salient set of attitudes to ethnic characteristics, including attitudes towards his or her own ethnicity.

Ronald Samuda, John Berry and Michel Laferriere (Editors). *Multiculturalism in Canada: Social and educational perspectives.* Toronto: Allyn and Bacon, 1984.

This 446 page volume contains thirty-one chapters by different Canadian experts on all aspects of Canadian childhood and multiculturalism. The chapters are organized in five sections: Policies of Multiculturalism; Attitudes to Multiculturalism; Language in a Multicultural Society; Adaptation to a Multicultural Society; and Assessment and Counselling in a Multicultural Society.

While this excellent textbook can be warmly recommended, the reader should be advised that it contains rather little information, data or study which is relevant to those concerned with the multicultural education of :*young* children — none of the chapters is devoted to education in the pre-school and elementary school years. This bias reflects a general lack of research in this area in Canada.

Daniel Wagner and Harold Stevenson (Editors). *Cultural Perspectives on Child Development.* San Francisco: Freeman, 1982.

The twelve chapters in this valuable and interesting book provide illustrations of the growing new field of cross-cultural psychology, a discipline which has great potential in providing the psychological basis for multicultural policy.

The volume contains chapters on the development of affect in infancy and early childhood in five contrasted cultures; cross-cultural assessment of neonatal behaviour; culture and the language of socialization; children's picture perception in different cultures; nutrition and preschool development; cross-cultural issues in piagetian research; cognitive aspects of cognitive development and of personality; and comparative aspects of moral development in young children. Of particular interest for Canadian readers will be Raphael Nyiti's chapter reporting a comparison of piagetian cognitive development in two contrasted groups of ten-year-olds: white, English-speaking children, and Micmac Indian children. Both groups lived on Cape Breton Island. Nyiti found that, "both the European and Indian children develop along similar lines. Both groups gave similar types of responses and explanations, whether it was for nonconservation, transitional, or conservation stages . . . However, one fundamental difference between the European and Indian children appeared when the examiner was European and the language English. Compared to the European children, most Indian children gave very short verbal explanations or made incomplete statements that quite often kept the examiner guessing and waiting . . . . "

R. Diaz-Guerro (Editor) *Cross-Cultural and National Studies in Social Psychology.* Volume 2. Amsterdam and New York: North-Holland Publishing, 1985.

This volume contains thirty-three papers presented at the twenty-third International Congress of Psychology held in Mexico in 1984.

This volume too illustrates in important ways the depth and breadth of the important new discipline of cross-cultural psychology. The chapter by Manuel Ramises on ''Multiculturalism in the Americas: a cognitive style approach,'' should be particularly rewarding for Canadian readers.

Of substantive interest will be the chapter by Bagley, comparing results from the use of Witkin's measure of cognitive style with ten-year-olds in Canada (Jamaican, Japanese, Anglo, and Blackfoot); Jamaica; Britain (Anglo, Jamaican, Japanese and Gujerati); India (Gujerati); and Japan. Data on several hundred children have allowed the author to isolate specific cultural influences on cognitive development, and to isolate as well the effects of migration and modernization. The conclusion with respect to Jamaican children in Toronto, for example, is that they acquire cognitive processes very similar to those of their Canadian peers on average, about two years after migrating from rural Jamaica.

In another paper in this volume Deborah Best and her colleagues provide interesting comparative data on the acquisition of concepts of masculinity-femininity in relation to self-concept, in young people in Canada, England and the United States.

Multicultural Education Journal.

Published twice a year by the Multicultural Education Council of the Alberta Teachers Association. This lively journal is typical of a number of excellent local journals on multiculturalism published in different Canadian provinces. Volume 3, number 2 for example, contains articles on traditional Native thinking, feeling and learning: racism in the Prairies; education for intercultural understanding; and cross-cultural counselling.

Chris Bagley

CARING APPROPRIATELY FOR YOUNG CHILDREN

The 1984 and 1985 Canadian Association for Young Children Conferences held at York University have provided a ray of sunshine in the otherwise cloudy picture which exists for young children and early childhood education in this country. The message of these conferences, that we must present a unified effort on behalf of the young children of Canada if we are to appropriately meet their needs, was particularly welcome to this participant because of her personal teaching experiences over the past three years.

During this time, I have followed a group of children from a privately run co-op nursery school to a public school kindergarten and then on to grade one. I had considered this a unique opportunity and felt that the continuity and consistency that I would be able to provide for these children and their parents would maximize their early childhood education and result in obvious benefits.

Support for this position came from study and experience which verified the need and benefits for this type of early childhood experience. The results of Headstart follow-up in the United States indicated that programs which were continuous in philosophy and program, and which involved parents had a higher rate of success than programs which did not have these components of continuity and parent involvement (Shipman et al., 1976).

The necessity for this continuity and consistency had also been reinforced by recent guidelines and support documents in Ontario. *Education in the Primary and Junior Division* and *The Formative Years* (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1975) encouraged teachers to provide a continuous program of active learning throughout the early years. A document entitled *Early Childhood Education* published by the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario (1978) followed these documents with statements which suggest a continuous developmental and child-centred approach to learning:

> The early childhood years should be a time for learning, not for polished achievement. We adults are often impatient, expecting too much of young children. We should judge children's success by their steady growth, by the progress they make over a period of months, rather than by a particular achievement at a particular time . . . A flexible programme to meet the needs of all the children in the primary years cannot be overemphasized if each child is to have the best possible start in school (p. 43).

A further support document was the report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Education of the Young Child *To Herald A Child* (1981) in which play was considered an essential part of the educational program for all children in the primary division (p. 85); age expectations for reading were considered unreasonable and damaging to children; and teachers were encouraged to remain with a group of children for at least a two-year period (p. 86).

Recent books entitled *The Hurried Child* (Elkind, 1982) and *The Disappearance of Childhood* (Postman, 1982), which suggest that children are no longer being allowed to learn and grow at a rate appropriate for their developmental needs, further reinforced my belief that the teaching path I had chosen was destined to provide optimal benefits for the children in my care. It should also bring a sense of great satisfaction to me since I would be providing an educational environment in which I could feel confidence and fulfillment.

Why, then, have the last three years been extremely frustrating to me and, I believe, somewhat troublesome to the children and the parents to whom I have been responsible? Why had the transitions from Nursery Schools to Kindergarten to Grade One seemed so abrupt and traumatic in spite of the fact that I was the

same teacher, dealing with the same children? Why did my focus change so dramatically from the social and emotional needs of the child to the academic demands of the curriculum in just two short years? Why did I seem unable to involve parents quite so directly in their child's educational program? Why did we all — parents, children and myself — feel the overwhelming pressure for children to achieve a specific level of academic success? Why did there no longer seem to be time for children to choose preferred activities (such as creative and dramatic play, blocks, sand, water), to explore for the sake of discovery, to grow and develop at their own rate? Why did education now seem more appropriately quiet, academic, and less joyful?

As I began to reflect on this experience and listen to the input that was provided at the C.A.Y.C. Conference, I began to understand why implementation of the theory I espoused had not occurred in my classroom in spite of my strong commitment to it and the fact that I was teaching with a highly professional staff in a liberal school within a well respected board. The "system shock" I was experiencing had occurred because I had moved from a system (early childhood) where the focus has traditionally been on the developing needs of the child and family to a system (public school) where the focus shifts from the child to the educational needs of our society. We require a literate, educated population and the process for developing literacy begins traditionally in the grade one class-room, with a systematic organized curriculum designed to teach basic skills and knowledge. Although much has been said in educational circles about the need to develop a love of learning, individual strengths, self-confidence, and a sense of autonomy, these goals have been seen as secondary to the academic goals of the public school. It is quite acceptable to walk into a nursery school, or even kindergarten classroom, and find the noise level high and children actively involved in the process of learning through a variety of experiential methods. In the public school, there is the inevitable paper and pencil, textbook and workbook environment. Caretakers who willingly accept the responsibility of cleaning up sand, water, and paint in a kindergarten room seem to think it inappropriate when this occurs in a primary classroom. The educational experience tends to move from the child-centred concept of space (a child is comfortable in any position — standing on his head, laying on his tummy, rolling on his back) to the adult concept of sitting up straight and working at a desk. Classroom size is reduced considerably and what space is available becomes filled with children's and teacher's desks. Teacher-pupil ratios change dramatically from one teacher to eight to ten children to one to twenty-eight plus in just two years. Timetables now have to be organized to fit ministry regulations of so many minutes of language arts, math, science, physical education, art and music each day so children's learning activities stop being the focal point and teacher's lessons now determine what will be taught and how long it will take to learn. Bulletin boards are viewed primarily as a place to display successful products of learning, rather than expressions of the childlike enjoyment of the process of learning. Colleagues, concerned about their own role in this structured environment, seem to demonstrate concern about whether the children in your care will be adequately prepared for subsequent years of schooling for which they will be responsible. Parents are no longer seen as appropriately present in their own child's classroom (in spite of the fact that this may be the setting where inappropriate parent:child dependency can best be identified and corrected, and children's school difficulties can best be discussed), although they may be welcome to volunteer elsewhere in the school. Parents stop asking, "Is my child enjoying learning and getting along with others?" and begin asking the inevitable, "He doesn't know how to read." And, ultimately, the teacher stops sharing in the joy and excitement of learning and begins instead to share the anxiety and tension of parents, colleagues, administrators, and children, and he/she, too, succumbs to the pressures of the traditional system.

Although I had understood this process vaguely, it took the events of the C.A.Y.C. Conference to completely clarify the reason why my cloud seemed to be quite dismal rather than providing the silver lining for the children in my care that I had thought it might.

The conference helped me to understand that what had happened to me was shared by many — it had, in fact, been identified and documented by several previous Ministry reports: fragmentation and lack of co-ordination of the many jurisdictions responsible for three to eight year-olds was the focus of one Ontario Ministry of Education report entitled *Early Childhood Education: Perceptions of Programs and Children's Characteristics* (Wahlstrom et al., 1980, p. 163). Differences between years of experience, philosophy, and program emphases between Junior Kindergarten and Senior Kindergarten teachers were identified in another Ontario Ministry report entitled *Children's Characteristics on School Entry: Junior Kindergarten, Senior Kindergarten and Grade One* (Morgan et al., 1979, p. viii).

It was perhaps for these reasons that the Ontario Ministry of Education appointed a task force to investigate Junior Kindergarten, Kindergarten and Grade One classrooms across the province. In the report of this task force (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1983), which was also presented at the C.A.Y.C. Conference, the following concerns were identified:

> Within the schools, we found a marked discrepancy between the prevailing philosophies and practices for Junior Kindergarten, Kindergarten, and those for Grade One. Some educators seem to believe that children grow up and grow old over that magical summer between Kindergarten and Grade One. To borrow from George Bernard Shaw, "we do not cease to play because we grow old, we grow old because we cease to play." In many schools, kindergarteners are involved in open-ended, experiential, language-based programs. But down the hall in many of these same schools, a youngster who may be a year, a month, or only a day older, is confronted by programs that tend to revolve around far too much large-group instruction and teacher-directed, two-dimensional activity. In many Grade One classrooms, children are led through a pre-determined program . . . Cooperative planning among Junior Kindergarten, Kindergarten, Grade One teachers, and the principal, was considered essential. A strong need was expressed

for professional development activities, curriculum materials, and human resources to help principals and teachers develop the understanding and skills for creative positive and productive classroom programs for the youngest children in school (p. 12-15).

When I read these findings the heaviness of the cloud that had been surrounding me began to lift. I no longer had to accept full responsibility for the fact that I could not single-handedly change the structure that currently surrounds early childhood education in this province, in order to provide appropriately for the children in my care. The fact that I had experienced ''system shock'' right along with the parents and children in my care did not automatically give me the strength nor the mandate to dramatically alter a system which has obviously existed in Ontario for nearly as long as public education has been a reality. While the experience of the past three years has reinforced my belief in the need for continuity and appropriateness of programming for young children, it has also made me painfully aware that the current delivery of services for early childhood education in this province mitigates strongly against this becoming a reality.

Several events at the C.A.Y.C. Conference helped to renew the strength and enthusiasm I need to personally continue in this struggle. One of these was the speech by Andre Cote of the University of Ottawa, in which he spoke of ''the disenfranchised child,'' that is, of the child's lost right to discover the world in an autonomous manner and to be an independent thinker; in other words, to be allowed to share in the responsibility and the joy of his/her own learning. At the same time he acknowledged that this is a radical thesis, one that educators and the public find threatening, and one that will require cohesive efforts by all those concerned about young children in order to modify. No single teacher, no single school board can do it alone.

Fortunately, we won't be expected to do the impossible. The most optimistic note of the Conference was the public announcement of the Ontario Ministry of Education's Early Primary Education Project. This group was given the mandate to address the issues identified throughout this article and to provide direction for those of us who are currently struggling in early primary classrooms for children from the ages of four to eight. It included representatives from all those agencies involved directly or indirectly with the education of young children, of those who have been looking at the issues of continuity, program, personnel, public relations, and co-ordination of services. They have been holding regional meetings to involve local school boards, teachers and parents. They have made presentations to groups throughout the province to explain their concerns and plans. They welcomed input from educators and parents concerning their local concerns and priorities. Their plan was to provide specific program directions which follow logically from the theoretical documents previously cited in this report. A final report was released in February, 1986, for final reaction across the province. Implementation is scheduled to begin in September 1986.

Perhaps that provides a glimmer of hope, a silver lining, for you as it did for me. It is my hope that it will ultimately provide the educational opportunity that the young children of this country deserve and require if we are to realize our potential as a country dedicated to the concept of strength in diversity. In the meantime, consider what contribution you could make in helping to achieve this co-ordination and continuity of services for the young children in your care. If you are an early child-hood educator, why not get in touch with the Kindergarten teachers in those with whom you share responsibility for the children in your community? If you are an early primary educator, why not do the same in reverse? Why not make arrangements to visit your respective programs on your next professional development day? If you are an administrator, could you facilitate these activities? Why not set up an in-school committee to discuss the issue of providing continuity in the early primary division? If you are a parent, try to become as involved as possible in your child's early educational experiences. Encourage your child's educators to communicate with each other and co-ordinate their effort.

Remember, young children are entirely dependent upon our wisdom and courage in providing for their needs. The more we accept and share this responsibility, the more likely we are to create the appropriate environment for their developing needs.

Note: An earlier version of this article was published in the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario *Newsletter*, June 1985.

Patricia Dickinson

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DAYCARE AND MALE DOMINANCE: A COMMENTARY

In his article entitled, "Consumerism, Male Dominance and Daycare," (*Canadian Children*, Winter/Spring, 1984-85), Dr. Elliot Barker puts forward the theory that daycare settings, particularly when used during infancy, may be in some way responsible for creating a population of what he terms partial-psychopaths. He maintains that this condition arises from lack of mother-child attachment and that lack of attachment is caused by the type of separation that occurs when children are placed in surrogate care at a young age.

Dr. Barker, probably realizing that this particular position could be construed as anti-feminist, goes on to maintain that women have been sold a bill of goods, if they feel encouraged to desert the private domain of the home for the public sphere of the labour force. We are, he suggests, being induced to relinquish our duty as nurturers by the bauble of consumerism and a male-dominated society that oppresses us by enlisting our efforts in the rush for material goods and by forcing us to become just like them (presumably, un-nurturant).

The first contention (that daycare causes attachment problems resulting in "partial psychopathy") can be dealt with fairly briefly. As most readers of *Canadian Children* are probably aware, there are no consistent research findings that link lack of maternal-child attachment to attendance at daycare. Dr. Barker realizes this, as well, and has attempted to cover himself by presenting images of Jekyll/Hyde person-alities or individuals with internal time bombs ticking away, ready to explode without warning. In other words, the deleterious effects of daycare are not yet known to us and perhaps won't be . . . until it's too late.

There are two major problems with Dr. Barker's point of view. First, he fails to concede that we have, in any way, operationalized his concept of partial psychopathy. Second, with fifteen years of research encompassing literally thousands of studies under out belts, and if there were consistent pernicious effects

involved in attending daycare, even when very young, surely they would have surfaced by now.

Jerome Kagan is trotted out as support for Dr. Barker's position. He is briefly and selectively quoted as follows:

> We don't know how to measure attachment. We use superficial measures, although the best available . . . I wouldn't be surprised if in the next twenty years there are more sensitive measures of attachment — maybe daycare children are less attached.

Dr. Barker commits an error common to many opponents of daycare when they attempt to use the work of social scientists to bolster their arguments. The language of social science research is almost always cautious — "I wouldn't be surprised if" does not mean "I've been wrong all these years." Furthermore, did Dr. Kagan put a negative connotation on "less attached?" One of the strengths of Kagan's writing is that he scrutinizes and questions the advisability of basing all of one's child rearing ideology on a single aspect of child development. Ah, if only things were so simple!

At the risk of being accused of quoting selectively myself, I would nonetheless like to present an alternative citation as being more representative of the corpus of Dr. Kagan's work:

> Let us be clear about the implications of this discussion. We are not suggesting that parents should stop caring, interacting, or enjoying their young children. They should continue to do all those things. The evidence suggests, however, that reasonable variation in infant care by mothers or surrogate caretakers may not be associated with differences in future psychological functioning. It is suggested, moreover, that during the preschool and early school years the child's perception of his value in the eyes of his family takes precedence over the experiences of infancy. The child of school age detects the contrast between his qualities and resources and those of his peers; that recognition can lead him to judge himself as privileged or disenfranchised. These postinfancy events, we suggest, have a more formative influence on future profiles than many of the encounters of the first year or two. This restatement of the earlier conclusions by Caldwell and Orlansky implies that attendance at a daycare centre should not, in itself, affect the child's development in a serious way as long as the parents hold a positive attitude toward their children and the surrogate caretakers are nurturant, attentive and conscientious. [1]

Not many critics of daycare venture into the realm of feminism for support. Dr. Barker has attempted to do so and seems to feel that he has effected some kind of paradigm shift in feminist thought in the process.

He begins from the supposition that our male-dominated consumer-obsessed society needs women in the work force to constantly recreate the demand for goods that fuels our economy as well as the goods themselves. Since Dr. Barker is speaking in economic terms and since our economic direction is capitalistic, he

seems to be saying that male-dominated or patriarchal capitalism is driving women from their families and into the world of paid labour.

However, when one looks at the impact of the combination of patriarchy and capitalism on women, both historically and currently, a very different pattern emerges.

In modern, industrialized countries, the presumed ideological common denominator is the economy. Decisions affecting the entire state are taken in the name of "the economy." In addition, in our society, the notion of economy is inextricably linked with the interests of business. A loss of confidence in the economy on the part of the business community is seen as a loss of confidence in the nation, as a whole. Given this context, government is unlikely to make too many decisions that are perceived as being bad for business.

The next question is, has the entrance of women with families into the paid labour force ever been seen as an asset to the economy or "good for business?" With one exception, the answer is, no.

Women with families are the bottom layer of a huge pool of surplus labour. Other groups in this sector commonly include the poorly educated and inexperienced young and immigrants. The members of the surplus labour pool are treated as a commodity by our economy. They are employed when business activity warrants, and laid off during economic slumps.

The presence of a group of unemployed waiting in the wings is incalculably valuable to government and business as a tool for keeping a damper on the demands of the employed labour force. This need for what is often termed a reserve army of labour is one of the main reasons why capitalism, in normal times, is unlikely to generate full employment. When our economy's need for surplus labour is combined with patriarchal forces like the myth of maternal indispensability and the ideology of female inferiority, we can see that the state is unlikely to encourage women with families to seek employment, particularly at a time when the mass of unemployed is much larger than is actually necessary and has come to be seen as a drag on the economy.

The conditions that pertained during World War II represent the only exception to the pattern just described. The pool or surplus labour was utterly drained by a combination of recruitment into the armed forces and round-the-clock wartime industrial activity. The wartime economy needed every worker that it could find — even mothers. This situation resulted in the first, and really, the only major state initiative in the provision of daycare services.

At present, it is precisely because the economy does not need women with children as consistent members of the labour force that the state is reluctant to provide services such as daycare. Our economy and male-dominance combine to discourage women from leaving the home. Even though, as other authors in *Canadian Children* have pointed out, [2] mothers are working outside the home of necessity as well as by choice, neither government nor business are providing support through services like widely-accessible and consistently high-quality daycare, or policies like equal pay for work of equal value. We also see little enthusiasm for initiatives that would reduce the pressure on working parents — for example, time off without penalty to care for a sick child or extended maternity/paternity leave.

Finally, Dr. Barker expresses concern that women entering the work force will be compromised by "the rules of the masculine value system." [3] As feminists working towards equality for all regardless of race, class or sex, many of us share his concern. Rather than promote the ideal of separate but equal spheres for men and women (an ideal that by no means originates with Dr. Barker), we prefer to see a humanization of the world of work and a sharing of household tasks and child-rearing (both inside and outside the home) by both sexes. This scenario vastly increases the prognosis for liberation. There is a big difference between exforcing rather than acquiescing in the male power system. It is when we don't exercise options or are prevented from doing so that we are oppressed.

Dr. Barker's message contradicts his professed support for women's rights. Despite evidence to the contrary, he tells us that our children will quite likely be subtly but seriously damaged by surrogate care. He chastises parents who use daycare for putting material goods before their children's needs and implies that they have joined the ranks of "those who are least able to establish mutually satisfying, lasting, trusting, and affectionate relationships." [4] He rewrites history and economic theory and patronizes women by assuming that we don't have the insight to perceive the pitfalls of participating in the public sphere. In short, his theories are offensive to both men and women who are trying, with a great deal of thought and integrity, to create a society based on equal decisions about their children's care.

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Footnotes

[1] Kagan, Kearsley, Zelzao. *Infancy*. Cambridge, MA. and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1980, p. 165.

[2] See Pence, Alan R. Daycare in Canada and the restructured relationships of family, government and labour force, *Canadian Children*, Winter/Spring, 1984-85.

[3] Barker, Dr. Elliot, Consumerism, Arbitrary Male Dominance and Day Care, *Canadian Children*, Winter/Spring, 1984-85, p. 82.

[4] Ibid., p. 81.

IN SUPPORT OF ELLIOTT BARKER

The coverage in *Canadian Children* of "Daycare in Canada" (Winter/Spring, 1984-85) was excellent. I was especially interested in the article by Elliott T. Barker regarding group care of infants and toddlers.

That group care is not in the best interests of the developing human being used to be one of the "givens" in planning daycare services (at least in the province of Alberta). Non-profit, community-based centres were established by Alberta municipalities under the Preventive Social Services Act in the early 1970's. They were clearly intended to support the family in providing (in every sense) for the child. In such centres, children were seen as being able to benefit from the experience only if certain conditions were in place — one of the most important of which was that the child herself was aged a full thirty-six months.

Now that the provision of daycare services is seen less as a support to children and families and more as a service to the consuming, career-oriented adult, as Barker points out, we seem to have ignored what was once a corner-stone in planning such services.

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PRE-BIRTH EDUCATION: THE CALGARY PERINATAL PROJECT

If we look at Norway, Sweden, the United States, and parts of Canada such as Alberta, we find that the survival rates of infants of a given weight are virtually identical regardless of what corner of the developed world you are in because a very effective range of technologies aimed at the survival of those infants has been embraced. But if you look at the birth-weight picture in the developed world, you find considerable discrepancy from one part to the other.

For an infant of four-and-one-half pounds born in any of these countries, the survival rate is very similar, one to the other. But we find far more four-and-one-half pound infants in some parts of the developed world than in others. The

smaller the infants, the more the trouble that occurs in many respects. Low birth-weight, which is set at the international 2500 gram figure, or five-and-one-half pounds does correlate with more handicap, more infant death, more child abuse, more illness, and more educational difficulty.

If we look at the issue of prosperity and poverty, we invariably find a great deal of low birth-weight in lower income families and a consistently favourable birth outcome in high income areas. Some clinically-oriented people refer to "that socioeconomic thing out there," without asking the question, "what are the concomitants of poverty that cause this health problem?" I would like to consider some international comparisons. Low birth-weight (under 2500 grams) varies from 18.4% in Nigeria, to 4.7% in Shanghai, China, and to 8.7% in Cardiff, U.K. Calgary's figures aren't as good as Shanghai's, which run anywhere from between 6.5% to 8% city-wide in the last two or three years.

If we look at Calgary in 1981 we see that there was a prematurity rate of 6.9%; Calgary's figures in the first months of 1982 are gone up to a low birth-weight of 8%. If you look at Alberta, in 1980 the rate was 6.5% and in 1981 it was 7.1%. This is not an improving trend. Sweden runs just over 4%, Edmonton 4.6%. The lowest possible attainable levels of low birth-weight are believed to be around 2%. This statistic has been consistently obtained from a district of Helsinki, Finland, and is also evident in data from Oregon in the United States.

Basically, we are concerned about a statistic that is amenable to some kind of improvement. One of the things that is fundamental is that we cannot continue to improve birth-weight statistics through improvement of clinical services. What we can hope to do is to change the health status of women before and during pregnancy in order to achieve better outcomes. There have been a number of lifestyle interventions that have been successful. Most of them have been too small to be in themselves statistically valid. The accumulated results of all of these have however been remarkably positive — going back forty years in Canada to the Ebb study in Toronto in 1942. A project in Vancouver was also effective in reducing low birth-weight. There have been small outreach projects in British Columbia. Agnes Higgins of Montreal who is with the Montreal Diet Dispensary has actually, in a high-risk group, reduced low birth-weight to something like 3.3% over a six year period. The concomitants of low birth-weight, if they reflect the improving health of women before and during pregnancy, are invariably associated with better health of the mother and of the infant.

The statistics for Calgary in 1981 in terms of low birth-weight and teenagers show that for mothers who were sixteen years and younger, over one in five babies were born under 2500 grams (22%). The low birthweight ratio steadily diminishes as older teens approach prime child bearing years in the twenties age group. The interesting thing about the teenage pregnancies in the Montreal Diet Dispensary group is that their results have not been anything like 22%. In other words we are not dealing with the inevitability of this kind of statistic at all, we are dealing with regularly observed problems in teenagers that are reversible.

And when we say "better health of the mother" before and during pregnancy, we are really talking not about the screening and the treatment of manifest diseases, but about the overall health as indicated by the more lifestyle-oriented features. There has been a lot of evidence that women who go on very bad diets of choice and women who go on slimming diets have much more infertility, much more marginal fertility, and poorer birth outcomes. And there is also a multitude of evidence about the effect of smoking and alcohol consumption on the outcome of pregnancy. The ideal woman from all the scientific literature is probably about 10% overweight; she is not an athlete in training, as these women are often infertile, she is a non-smoker, a non-drinker and has an excellent nutritious diet. A model of health can be inferred from the scientific literature that is far from what we observe in the city of Calgary. A study of young teenagers at a school for pregnant teenagers revealed the most appalling dietary profiles I have ever seen.

In a special project in an area with a high ratio of low birth-weight babies, Calgary Health Services has developed a lifestyle oriented health-building program with two entry points. We enroll women either in early pregnancy or at the time that the first infant in the family is born; Entry A is at the time of the first pregnancy, and Entry B is at the arrival of the infant. The purpose of Entry A is to improve the prenatal health, and the purpose of Entry B is to establish good health prior to the next conception. This also means protecting the mother from a premature second pregnancy and making sure that there are opportunities to build health between the delivery of the first infant and the second conception.

What happens when people come into the program at Entry A is that they are assessed nutritionally. We have a computerized nutritional analysis program which gives us a profile of the intake that is reasonably reliable. A second or third assessment during the course of the pregnancy is followed with counselling and correction of nutritional problems. The embryonic period (the first eight weeks) is the most critical for the development of handicap. Improvement in late pregnancy improves the ability of the mother to breastfeed and improves the immune mechanisms of the infant subsequently born. The stage is also set for improved maternal health in the next period between pregnancies. We give due emphasis on smoking and alcohol avoidance. In Vancouver, it was interesting that we were able to identify heroin addicts who were not known to their physicians.

The intensity of the program makes it a costly one. We have a staff of eight. At this point we have about one in four pregnancies in the given area showing up for the program. About 65% of women who have delivered their first baby are committed to enrollment in Entry B (pre-conception). An additional concern that is attracting a great deal of interest is the "pill" and its capacity to reduce Vitamin B6 and folate. This has been demonstrated with bio-chemical tests. Deficiencies of these nutrients are known to have a great influence on the production of some forms of congenital defect.

When an infant is born the same person who relates to the woman during pregnancy provides the infant service (immunization and monitoring development).

This integrated approach intensifies the contact and probably contributes to more motivation towards compliance with the health program that we are offering.

In summary, this is a program based on a number of other very successful approaches. It is not experimental in that sense. It is the only one I know of with both a prenatal and pre-conception component. There is nothing exactly like this going on elsewhere, and it is certainly larger than anything that has been attempted in Canada before. It is not a project, not a time-limited service. The objective is to measurably improve the perinatal health of the population in one sector of Calgary that has been below average. Forest Lawn Health District in which the program is offered, has about a thousand births a year. In its first year the program is attempting to reach 500 of these births. Eventually, it is hoped that a complete saturation of the Forest Lawn population of newborns will be possible.

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THE ROLE OF A RURAL TEAM IN PREVENTING SEXUAL ABUSE OF CHILDREN

Historically, society has changed existing patterns of abnormal behaviour. Slavery, a form of abuse, existed as one group had power and authority over another, and changed when that authority was removed by society. Child work laws and legislation requiring basic education for all children have, in the last 150 years, given children power.

Children lack power or authority when they are exposed to potential sexual abuse. Prevention includes increasing children's awareness of their rights, and enacting legislation to guarantee these rights, obligating care givers to protect and educate them.

Physical abuse has been recognized as a major health problem. The "battered baby syndrome" is known to most health workers. Less is known about sexual

abuse and there is less support for those who attempt to identify it. This will change as public education is introduced into society.

In the last ten years, there has been an increasing awareness of sexual abuse of children. Child sexual abuse is the manifestation of a wide range of abnormal sexual behaviour involving a child and an older care giver. It includes exploiting a child for the gratification of the parent or care giver, sexual molestation, sexual assault, child pornography, and child prostitution; it is not restricted to incest. This behaviour occurs much more frequently than is generally reported. Steps taken to deal with sexual abuse include recognizing and documenting abusive behaviour as the beginning of a program of prevention.

Such steps have been taken by the Suspected Child Abuse and Neglect Team (SCAN) in Dauphin, Manitoba. The Team's formation and operation are discussed in an earlier article, which is available upon request.

The Dauphin SCAN Team intervened in twenty-two cases between July, 1980 and December, 1982. We have reviewed each case under the following headings: presentation, resolution and preventive steps taken. Space limitations prevent the publication of the details associated with the twenty-two cases.

These details are available from the authors.

However, some important findings were that family doctors and police are important sources of referral; vaginal intercourse accounted for half the cases; and the offender was a male "friend" in nearly half the cases.

The case distribution was fairly even across the district: 8 cases in towns, 10 in communities less than 500 people, 4 on reserves. Twelve of the 22 cases had serious complications, including gonorrhea, vaginal injuries, and pregnancy. In 7 cases, children were removed temporarily and in 3 cases permanently.

Community awareness was used to provide a protective response in 18 cases, 6 cases proceeded to criminal court, many others didn't for lack of corroborative evidence. Twenty-one girls and 1 boy were abused. The age range was 3 to 17 years. The average age was 9.16 years. Prevention was considered possible in 19 cases; 14 cases continue to be monitored.

All the offenders in our study were male. Common to them were some or all of the following: unemployment, alcoholism, sexual aggression, and a dependent personality. Often their wives, or common-law wives, were self-demeaning and lacked authority. The child was an innocent party in this relationship. The sexual abuse was a family secret.

Prevention is difficult but possible through early intervention with children. Prevention can be primary, secondary or tertiary, and preventive steps are based on the following observations.

Primary prevention discourages disease from developing or an injury from occurring. Educating adults and children about normal and abnormal sexual behaviour is a cornerstone in a program to prevent the sexual abuse of children. Healthy sexual behaviour should be recognized. Education and family life should

emphasize normal behaviour, and recognize and deal with abnormal sexual behaviour. This education certainly should begin before young people become parents. Prenatal classes are important to prepare both partners for the inevitable frustrations of child rearing.

Legislation can be an effective tool in the primary prevention of many conditions. A school curriculum that requires education about normal and abnormal sexual behaviour, will give children the knowledge and confidence to say, "NO" to potential abusers.

Secondary prevention means early detection and intervention, preferably before the condition is clinically apparent; it means to reverse, halt or, at least, slow a condition's progress. Children who have been abused are more likely to repeat the pattern of behaviour when they are parents. Recognizing this, establishing a high-risk registry, and offering an active treatment program are important steps to secondary prevention. It is also vital to listen carefully to children and be aware of the warning signs of sexual abuse. If sexual abuse is detected early, less damage is likely to occur.

Tertiary prevention means minimizing the effects of disease and disability, by surveillance and maintenance aimed at preventing complications and premature deterioration.

The offender, in cases of sexual abuse, is like an alcoholic; once the abuse has occurred, it may recur. The risk is always there. This life-long risk is an important factor in sexual abuse. Studies have shown that in cases of physical abuse, the offender often had a history of being abused as a child. This is likely true in cases of sexual abuse as well.

Therapy sessions with the victim and offender may help to prevent and ameliorate further psychological damage from sexual abuse. Unfortunately, there are limited resources for this important aspect of prevention, especially in a rural setting. The preventive steps taken in the twenty-two cases are mainly tertiary. The SCAN Team is now planning to emphasize primary and secondary prevention.

Our local experience suggests that a program of primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention is a viable way to prevent and treat sexual abuse. Society must begin to combat sexual abuse with these three types of prevention.

Prevention is the most difficult and most important aspect of ending sexual abuse. It is generally agreed that sexual abuse occurs far more frequently than is reported. A prevention program based on primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention is possible and highly desirable. Community awareness and education have been effective in stopping known sexual abuse and appear to have significant potential to prevent new episodes. An interdisciplinary team approach facilitates the development of this program.

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Copies of the full article, on which this summary is based, are available from the authors at 15 - 1st Avenue, S.W., Dauphin, Manitoba R7N 1R9.

CHILDREN IN WAR AND ARMED CONFLICT

Is it relevant that an organization concerned with the well-being of Canadian children show concern for children on other continents? The answer, we think is "Yes," for at least three reasons. First of all, any comparative analysis helps us put the problems of our own children in proper perspective. To understand how and why millions of young children in the world suffer injury, death, starvation, disease, disruption of their lives and separation from community and family is to understand the small magnitude of the problems of Canadian children. Apart from aboriginal children in Canada, Canadian children rank with four or five of the world's most developed nations in enjoying the best conditions (physical, educational, moral, legal and economic) for ensuring adequate child development. Understanding the needs of children on a worldwide basis helps us appreciate the gains we have already achieved in this society.

Secondly, I think the view that we have of children in our own community is impoverished if we fail to understand the needs of children at all times and in all places. A narrowly nationalist or ethnocentric view of childhood is likely to be linked to a view which sees children as subordinate to adult needs and purposes. A broader, more empathic and child-centred view of young children cannot confine itself to children of a particular national or cultural group. To look outward with compassion is to look inward with more depth, understanding and concern. A concern with the world's children will strengthen our view of Canadian children, and of childhood itself.

Thirdly, a broader view of children and childhood may help us understand in some measure the degree to which Canada's prosperity has been achieved at the expense of the lack of development in other countries and through the exploitation of cheap labour in developing countries. Moreover, there is, we have argued, a direct link between the economic shortage for which the developed nations bear a responsibility, and political instability (Bagley, 1972). When the cake is so small that cutting it in equal pieces means that each piece is too small, for any group, different groups and factions within a country will struggle bitterly for a larger share. Although political mobilization and attendant violence often have

an ethnic or religious basis, the fundamental cause of such conflict is usually economic. Prosperous countries can afford to accommodate a variety of minorities in ways which ensure both their economic prosperity and their political and cultural accommodation — Canada's successful multicultural policy is a prime example. Poor countries can rarely achieve the social and economic stability which will allow this.

The continued conflict in Ulster is a prime example of a failure to accommodate the cultural and economic aspirations of a long suppressed and economically disadvantaged religious minority. Indeed, conflict in Ulster has probably more to do with issues of economic deprivation than with religion as such.

Some of these issues are brought out clearly in Roger Rosenblatt's *Children and War* (1983). On the cover of this book a Belfast child stares out, lonely and afraid. Yet the chapter on Belfast gives account to the resilience of children in this theatre of war. Childhood survives, through the grace of children, despite the hatreds of adults. Slowly and inexorably however children are required to take sides and adopt the stereotyped vision of their parents.

On Israel, Rosenblatt writes: "There an Arab boy sits, half-hidden behind a faded pink curtain, peering out from a barred window that resembles a birdcage and staring at the Israeli children shouting in the playground. He dangles his legs through the bars and does not move. I watch him and watch the others, wondering what he sees. I assume that his view extends beyond Beit Hadassah to the Tomb of the Patriarch, of Abraham, the father of both the Arabs and the Jews, who was ready to sacrifice his son for the God he worshipped" (p. 84).

On Palestine, Rosenblatt draws out the central tragedy. The continued exile and warfare which afflicts the Palestinian people has robbed many children of their childhood — at such an early age children are recruited to the ideology and practice of guerrilla warfare. Childhood is stolen and filled with suffering and hatred. Hania, a fifteen-year-old Palestinian girl shot while demonstrating against Israeli troops on the West Bank tells Rosenblatt, "I would not bring children into the world." Children are massacred by the soldiers of either side, by phosphorous bombs, grenades and bullets. The many moving photographs in this book illustrate the themes: "A teenage Lebanese girl, lying in the hospital brain-damaged, after her house was shelled by Israelis in the summer of 1982," and again, "Ty Kim Seng, whose father was executed and whose mother starved to death under the Khumer Rouge." About half of Rosenblatt's book is devoted to the Vietnam War, its aftermath in Cambodia, and the many refugees it created.

Rosenblatt, a senior writer with *Time* magazine writes boldly with vivid description rather than analysis, concentrating on a series of case studies of child victims of war:

> For the moment, these children are in the hands of others. They are moved-from-place-to-place, the coaxed and hidden, the dragged-alone and swung-into-the-sky, the hugged, the tickled, the slapped, the taught, the scolded, teased, praised, and sometimes the shot-at, and sometimes the decapitated

and the killed-for-food. All that can be done to them is done, and they do what they are told. But not forever. One morning the streets through which they skitter now will be their's to command. They will not think what to do; they will already know (p. 212).

Rosenblatt offers no prescriptions for prevention and care. These, however, are addressed in a monograph of the International Union for Child Welfare edited by Jean Bremond (1980). This volume contains hopeful essays on the protection of children in armed conflicts and on the care and rehabilitation of war-ravaged and displaced children. Unfortunately, recent conflicts in Lebanon, Central America and in the Iran-Iraq war suggest that many lessons are still to be learned. Children are executed along with their parents, fired on or bombed indiscriminately, or pressed into service as boy soldiers.

A valuable series of accounts of "war through children's eyes" has been edited by Irena and Jan Gross (1981). The 120 accounts of children who experienced the Soviet occupation of Poland and the deportations which followed in 1939 to 1941, are drawn from school compositions written by many of the children after their return to Poland. Poland had been a free nation before 1939. The Nazi and then the Soviet invasions meant a gross disruption of family life, and deportations of civilian populations, purportedly for their own safety.

A story selected by Bruno Bettelheim who wrote the introduction to this book illustrates the events the children experienced and later wrote about. Czeslaw B. was twelve when he and his family were deported to Russia. He describes how his mother and one of his brothers went on a two-day trip, trying to exchange some of their last belongings — their own badly needed clothes — for some flour to bake a little bread to sustain the starving family for a few days. Day after day, those family members who remained behind waited and worried about what might have happened to their mother and brother. On the fifth day "one woman comes over and says that one woman with a boy froze to death. We all cried at once. Dad walks around the barracks like crazy." The father asks the camp authorities for a horse and wagon to bring back the corpses but is denied the use of a horse because it is needed for farm work, which is viewed as more important. After a day or two (the time span is unclear from the child's report), "Dad comes back . . . and says that Mama is frozen. We started crying even worse. Older sister fainted . . . two kilometers away from the village Mama was sitting on the sleighs and holding my brother in her arms." Both had frozen to death.

It is a tale of nightmarish quality that reminds one of the worst fantasies in fairy tales. Only these are not fantasies, but real events witnessed by children who will have to carry the memories of such outrage with them all their lives.

Children see their parents disappear; they do not know where they went, whether they are still alive, or already dead. They watch their mothers and fathers, their brothers and sisters, die of overwork, starvation, and mistreatment, helpless to prevent it. The objectivity and absence of emotional expression with which these events are related may seem astonishing to those not acquainted with such deprived conditions. But emotions require a great deal of energy; the greater

the demands made on one's resources for sheer survival, the less energy one has available to experience feelings. These children were exhausted by starvation and by the need to work long hours at unaccustomed and killing labor to earn completely inadequate food rations. Little wonder that Stanislaw J. writes: "On May 8 dad died of typhus . . . Mother's despair didn't help and the crying of the children didn't help, of my brothers and of my sisters. A man is born only once and only dies once. And so it happened."

This is not an expression of callous indifference. Despite the seemingly philosophical remark about man's destiny, this is a statement of utter desperation. In childish language, it says that things were so terrible that the boy resented the open expression of grief on the part of brothers and sisters because it was more than he could bear. All he could do was to try to restrain his own grief, so that he could go on working to receive the handful of grain that might keep all of them alive for another day. Under such conditions, the most natural emotions become a luxury one cannot afford, but must repress.

This, then, is the cruellest story these tales convey: that the children could not afford to feel because if they did, they, too, would perish. The stories do not tell of hope; they tell only of desperation, mistreatment, and death. Since they were written soon after the children had reached freedom and security, it would seem reasonable for them to have spoken of their hope for liberation, if they had any. The absence of such statements suggests that they had none. These children were robbed of the freedom to vent deep and normal feelings, forced to repress them in order to survive for barely another day. A child who has been deprived of any hope for the future is a child dwelling in hell. He can record what occurred after he regained liberty, but to be able to feel and hope again may take a lifetime — or may never be possible.

Accounts of children's experiences of war which convey the fullest amount of suffering involved would probably be unbearable to read. Jona Oberski's account (1984) of his earliest memories of life in a comfortable Jewish household in Holland, then of the family's arrest by the Nazis, their removal to Belsen, the death first of his father, and then of his mother, is written simply, objectively, even charmingly, but without great emotion.

In Belsen, a sub-culture of children survived, giving one another emotional and material support, accepting the death and suffering around them as just part of life:

> Some other children came in. Most were holding their noses. A girl said to me: 'Look, there's your father. He hasn't even got a sheet.' Then I saw the dead people. There were bundles of bodies. Some of the bundles had arms and legs sticking out. There were naked human bodies. Some still had trousers on. They were all mixed up, thrown in helter-skelter. One was lying on his back at the top of a pile with his head hanging down. I looked at his face. He had big dark eyes. His arms were dangling. He was very thin. Another was lying with one arm sticking out and his head on top of it. The other arm was missing. There were also separate arms and legs.

> Behind me I heard something click. I looked round and saw that the children had gone away or else they were hiding in the dark. The outside door was shut. I turned back to the bodies. I tried to find my father. I twisted my head in all directions, to the side, upside-down, so as to look straight at the faces which were tilted at every possible angle. But they all looked so terribly alike. And there was so little light. Straight in front of me there was a bundled sheet at the top of a pile. I could see there was a body in it. Could that be my father? A naked corpse was lying face down in front of me. The head was turned to one side. They were all bald. My father wasn't there. He was probably still in the infirmary. After a while they'd bury him. I took another good look at the bodies. They were grey. The dirty sheets looked white beside them. I went back and shut the wooden inside door. I went to the outside door. There was no handle to open it with. I banged, but it didn't do any good. I heard the children outside (pp. 77-78).

Lest we think that the cruelties imposed upon children by adults during war time happen on continents other than our own, we should consider Joy Kogawa's account of her childhood, the prize-winning *Obasan* (1981). Kogawa was a small child when she and her Japanese family, along with many others, were rounded up and forcibly detained by the R.C.M.P. for no other crime than being a Japanese Canadian. Kogawa, a small child, was among other humiliations, sexually assaulted by the white men who were instrumental in her forced removal. These assaults filled the child with nightmarish terror:

> We are in the movie theatre in a torrent of sound. I am transhalffixed by the horror. Old Man Gower lifts me onto his lap.
> 'Don't tell your mother,' he whispers into my ear. This is what he always says. Where in the darkness has my mother gone? I am clinging to my mother's leg, a flesh shaft that grows from the ground, a tree trunk of which I am an offshoot — a young branch attached by right of flesh and blood. Where she is rooted, I am rooted. If she walks, I will walk. Her blood is whispering through my veins. The shaft of her leg is the shaft of my body and I am her thoughts.
>
> But here in Mr. Gower's hands I become other — a parasite on her body, no longer of her mind. My arms are vines that strangle the limb to which I cling. I hold so tightly now that arms and leg become one through force. I am a growth that attaches and digs a furrow under the bark of her skin. If I tell my mother about Mr. Gower, the alarm will send a tremor through our bodies and I will be torn from her. But the secret has already separated us. The secret is this: I go to seek Old Man Gower in his hideaway. I clamber unbidden onto his lap. His hands are frightening and pleasurable. In the centre of my body is a rift.

In my childhood dreams, the mountain yawns apart as the chasm spreads. My mother is on one side of the rift. I am on the other. We cannot reach each other. My legs are being sawn in half (pp. 64-65).

In the detention camp, Kogawa and her brother contracted T.B. Still, the children in their little school house in the camp sing:

> O Canada, glorious and free
> O Canada, we stand on guard for thee!

Sadly, Canada was not so. The Canadian racism which led to the imprisonment of innocent Japanese Canadians was — and is — part of the ideology of insecure people clinging to semblances of power in order to preserve their own self-esteem and status. The domination and exploitation (social and sexual) of children by adults has the same motivation. In a non-exploitive world, children shall be the first citizens.

Chris Bagley

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Multicultural Articles

MULTICULTURAL EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION — THE BEST PLACE TO START

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the rationale for multicultural curriculum development at the early childhood level in order to be consistent with currently accepted notions of child development and learning as they apply to education. In order for every child to develop a positive identity and healthy self-concept, as well as an understanding of cultural diversity as a normal part of Canadian life, it is argued that multicultural education is important for *all* children, not just for those from "ethnic groups" or for members of "visible minorities." Recent research reveals that across the country we have a long way to go in effectively preparing early childhood educators to meet the needs of young children and their families in our multicultural society.

Introduction

Two brief stories will help illustrate why this author believes it is essential to write papers such as this one, and to conduct courses and in-service workshops on multiculturalism for teachers of young children — and why such activities continue to be such a challenge.

At a recent conference, I was seated across the table from a prominent Canadian early childhood educator when the topic of conversation turned to the development of multicultural curriculum materials for the preschool. My colleague commented that she thought the idea was "ridiculous," since she had "never met a child under the age of about six or seven who even knew the difference. To them, kids are kids, whatever the colour of their skin or sweaters." Further conversation revealed that this educator was feeling frustrated that teachers did not have enough time to attend some of her in-service sessions because they were scheduled to attend other workshops on multiculturalism and other seemingly "trendy" topics. She was also unaware of the extensive research evidence that many children have well-developed ideas about race, and even have somewhat racist attitudes by the time they enter school.

...conference at which I had been asked to give an address entitled "Multicultural Education: the Developmental Rationale," I met the supervisor of several nursery schools in Toronto. She apologized for not attending my presentation, saying that when she saw the title of the talk she realized that "the topic doesn't really apply to our children," so she had gone to hear the talk on Spelling instead! That someone responsible for many teachers and hundreds of children in a large Canadian city today would believe that multiculturalism is irrelevant, presumably because of the particular neighbourhood and class status represented in their nursery schools, was disheartening indeed. Since then the titles of my presentations on multiculturalism remain somewhat obscure unless I am speaking to a captive audience.

The purpose of this paper is to provide a rationale for multicultural early childhood education in the context of what we know about quality preschool education in general that is based on sound theories of child development and learning, and to demonstrate that multicultural education is appropriate and essential for all Canadian children and their teachers today.

Why Bother About Multicultural Education?

In writing a paper on Multicultural Early Childhood Education, an important distinction must be made between the learning needs of young children and the learning needs of their teachers. The rationale for multicultural education for very young children is to be found in what we know about how children develop and how they learn. That is, it is now generally accepted by early childhood educators in Canada that quality programming for young children requires a recognition of individual differences in order to design a program based on sound cognitive-developmental learning principles combined with humanistic strategies for fostering socialization. As such, a case can be made for infusing multicultural content throughout the curriculum in order to build on every child's background experiences and cognitive skills, to enhance learning, and to foster a positive self-concept. In other words, for young children multiculturalism must not be a separate topic or subject, but a natural part of all early learning as a reflection of the Canadian context and their own experience. Such an integration of multiculturalism in early childhood education is the logical implication of widely accepted theories of child development and learning if those theories were to be put into effective practice in early childhood classrooms.

However, the learning needs of teachers and student teachers are very different from the learning needs of the young children they teach. Practitioners want more information about the culture and practices of specific ethnocultural groups and need to know how and where to get that information. In addition, they must learn to understand their own cultural values and assumptions and how those assumptions about child rearing, discipline, parenting, education, communication, and other important cultural variables affect their interaction with children and families. They must become intimately aware of the effects of immigration, stereotyping, prejudice and racism on human behaviour and know something of the historical developments in these areas in Canada, and also how they impact on the education of young children. Early childhood educators must develop skills for detecting cultural biases in curriculum, media, and assessment tools, and they must also learn how to adapt them where appropriate and necessary. Unlike young children, teachers and student teachers must have specific instruction in multicultural education in order to address both theoretical and practical issues with enough depth to ensure effective implementation in their classrooms.

The theoretical rationale for multicultural early childhood education has been elaborated in more depth elsewhere (Mock, 1981, 1982), and in a course for teachers described at some length (Mock, 1983). The present paper will work from the theoretical rationale to practical strategies for multicultural curriculum development in the preschool, and then focus on the implications of multiculturalism for the preparation of early childhood educators at the college and university levels.

Multicultural Education for Young Children

A summary of the developmental literature on racism recently led the Urban Alliance on Race Relations (1983) to conclude that by the age of four, children have a well-developed conception of race and racial differences in terms of the consequences of those differences in our society (cf. Goodman, 1964; Milner, 1975). For example, many children are aware, by the time they enter school, that different roles are usually ascribed to people of different colours. They learn from seeing how groups are depicted in the first books they read, or even from an unconscious awareness that certain groups are not depicted at all in the primers, comics, or pictures and posters in their environment. Visible minorities are virtually invisible in much of the material available to young children in early childhood settings. Visual aides that accurately depict our multiracial and multicultural society are not readily available. It is clear that at a very early age, children are exposed to a wide variety of media that teach them that certain groups are more important than others in our society. Not only does this dramatically affect the identity and self-concept of the child who is made to feel less significant by not seeing him or herself reflected in the environment, but it results in many children having already developed well-defined racist attitudes by the time they get to school. Unless early childhood programs are modified to reflect the multicultural and multiracial population of Canada, they will continue to be a part of the problem, rather than instrumental in the solution.

Ramsey (1982), in making a case for multicultural education in early childhood, cites compelling evidence, that suggests that in order to influence children's basic racial and cultural attitudes, we must start with the very young. All early childhood educators are aware of the importance of the early years in shaping attitudes, values, and habits of social behaviour. Good preschool education has been shown to have a lasting influence on later social and emotional behaviour and even on the future life chances of children who participate in them (Schweinhart & Weikart, 1984).

Most early childhood educators today consider a "good" program to be one that recognizes individual differences in the children and builds on the child's experiences as the foundation for learning, while providing opportunities for physical, social, emotional and intellectual growth in a safe and secure environment. However, those same early childhood teachers rarely reflect upon the cultural biases that are inherent in our current notions of good programming for even the very youngest children. The overall goals of the programme itself may not be met for the child whose cultural back ground does not match the culturally shaped expectations of the teacher. But when one does examine the program closely, several sources of bias are evident, including the curriculum, methods and materials used, and assessment instruments and procedures. For example, one goal of a cognitively-oriented curriculum might be to help the children become independent learners. Another goal may be to encourage participation in discussion, planning, and "hands on" activities. How odd this must seem to parents who raise children to obey authority and wait to be told exactly what to do, to be seen and not heard, particularly in the presence of elders or teachers, and to learn from demonstration and didactic instruction rather than from active participation. Our current views on early childhood curriculum stem from modern western philosophy, psychology, and pedagogy. Human ethnocentrism dictates that we believe our theories and practices to be the "right" ones and even the "best" ones while others are deemed to be "wrong" or at least not as good, and therefore in need of change through education. However, such a conclusion runs contrary to a very important aspect of early childhood programming that is currently accepted, that is, adapting the program to the child, not the child to the program. Cultural background, ethnicity, and race are all aspects of individual difference that must be taken into consideration when designing an educational plan for any child. A teacher who with good intentions believes that all children should be treated the same, regardless of their cultural background, is one who is paying mere lip-service to the concept of individual differences. Teachers should attempt to meet children's individual needs, whatever they are, so that the children have an equal chance to learn and develop and succeed in the system. That is, an attempt to give children equal opportunity in education necessitates treating them differently. The recognition of cultural differences and building on that diversity is an essential component of quality early childhood education in Canada today.

Political Classroom Strategies

Multicultural education does not mean a set of activities tacked on to the curriculum. It is an attitude, an underlying ethic, a commitment to broaden the cultural base of curriculum, methods, materials, and assessment strategies. Simple examples include commemorating a wide variety of holidays, festivals, and celebrations, not just those with which the teacher is most familiar. In this way, every child feels that he or she belongs in the group and, in keeping with cognitive developmental theory, the teacher builds concepts from the child's existing experience.

Similarly, if every child is to have an opportunity for dramatic play, role-playing, and working through familiar or emotional social situations, then the doll or house centre that is intended for such activity must include props and costumes that reflect all the children's home experiences, not just some. Snacks should include a diversity of foods so that all children have an opportunity to try new things and all children have an equal chance of recognizing very familiar foods or treats. Different assessment tools must be used for different children and administered in the appropriate language, or at least by someone who is sensitive to the cultural biases inherent in most of our presently used instruments. One must be absolutely sure that the relevant developmental characteristic has been isolated and is being evaluated effectively, rather than the child's cultural background or language experience. Remembering the importance of context in learning new material, the early childhood teacher should select books, posters, music, and all other curriculum aides with a view to ensuring that all the children can identify with at least some of the material being used, and that all children will be exposed to the unfamiliar, rather than the minority group children always being the ones to have to adapt to the novel or strange and sometimes bewildering environment.

Multiculturalism also requires a commitment to develop and to use a wide variety of communication techniques, verbal and non-verbal, with parents and children so they feel genuinely accepted and have an equal chance of developing a healthy self-concept as those of the so-called dominant or majority culture. The early childhood teacher has the advantage of close contact with parents, grandparents and other caregivers who can participate in the program and share many cultural events and experiences with the children.

To design an effective multicultural program, the early childhood educator must learn about the racial, cultural, and socioeconomic back ground of the children in his or her care, including what experiences they have had with people from other groups and their attitudes towards their own and other groups. Then the teacher can respond to these variations, both by enhancing the multicultural climate in the classroom through appropriate multicultural materials, displays and teaching strategies, and also by striving to enhance co-operation and acceptance among the children. The teacher must take an active role, as these behaviours are too important to be left to chance or for the children to work out on their own. An example will illustrate this point.

I recently had occasion to test a seven-year-old girl of Chinese origin who explained that she had to go out for recess to help her friends fight against some children who were calling them names.

> They call us "chinky" and say nonsense sounds that they think sound like Chinese, and they say they don't like us because we're good in class. So I don't like them and we're trying to figure out how to fight back. It hurts our feelings. I wish we could be friends.

Discussion with the child reveals that nothing was being done to prevent this kind of behaviour in the schoolyard or in the classroom, and that "if we told the

teacher, she'd get mad, and then they would hate us more.'' Rather than ignoring the situation or blaming the children for it, the teacher should have been in tune with the attitudes of the children in the class and addressed them in a preventative manner with effective multicultural curriculum resources and intercultural communication techniques, both to increase awareness and sensitivity among the children and to foster more effective race relations within and outside the classroom.

In keeping with what we know about how young children learn, multicultural early childhood education must not consist of lessons of information about exotic places or ''other cultures'' remote from the child's experience. This approach emphasizes differences, and the children have no context into which to place the information. All currently trained early childhood teachers understand that this is not how children learn best. A far more effective approach is to emphasize the shared experience of all people through an examination of similarities and differences in the everyday, common experiences of the children themselves. This is the approach taken in the resource book entitled *Multicultural Early Childhood Education*, edited by Keith McLeod (1984), and such an integrated approach is consistent with the cognitive-developmental philosophy of early childhood programming.

Multiculturalism must be an integral and continuous part of the curriculum, just as it is a fundamental part of Canadian society today. However, there are some educators, such as my conference colleague, who belabour the misconception that multicultural education is only important in classes and neighbourhoods in which a variety of cultural and/or racial groups are represented, or where race or ethnicity is a ''problem'' or a source of concern to the teacher or administration. Multicultural education is relevant to *all* Canadian classrooms, regardless of the ethnic or racial composition of the pupils, because it builds on cultural diversity as a strength in Canadian society. We know that early experience influences later development. If young children are exposed to diverse ethnic groups and multicultural material as an integral part of their programs right from the beginning, they will learn, at an early age, that cultural diversity is an integral part of Canadian life. Regardless of their own race or ethnicity, this will facilitate their increased later participation as accepting, well-adjusted adults in Canada's multicultural society.

Multicultural Education for Early Childhood Teachers

Several strategies for providing multicultural education for young children have been described above; but what are the implications of multiculturalism for the programs in colleges and universities that are designed to prepare early childhood educators to teach and care for young children, and how can multiculturalism be integrated into these programs? While in the United States multicultural education has become part of the compulsory requirements for teacher certification in every state, and while several Canadian educators have emphasized the necessity of effective multicultural teacher education (Ray, 1980; Mallea and Young, 1980; Mock, 1981, 1982; Chud, 1983 among others), a recent survey of multiculturalism in early childhood education programs (Mock, 1984) reveals

that most provinces have a long way to go in ensuring that early childhood educators are effectively prepared to meet the demands of teaching in our multicultural Canadian society. There is, however, consensus among those currently involved in multicultural teacher education that there are certain key components that must be included in teacher preparation in Canada today. They may be summarized as follows:

1. Intercultural awareness

   This includes an examination of one's own ethno-cultural heritage and identity as well as the study of other communities, in order to increase awareness of the teacher's own values and assumptions and to develop an understanding of how these affect one's interactions and relationships with other people.

2. Cross-cultural child rearing practices

   An examination of how culture shapes and influences the development of the child, increasing awareness that universal values may be played out in very different parenting practices, and an understanding by the teacher that there is no one ''right'' way to raise or teach children.

3. Family and community resources

   An understanding of various family structures and dynamics from a cross-cultural perspective, and how immigration and resettlement affect the family; increasing awareness of what resources are available in the ethnic and minority communities to assist families and also teachers.

4. Language development

   Familiarity with developmental stages of language acquisition, including psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives; and understanding of the effects of second language learning, dialect differences, and an understanding of current issues and programmes (e.g., ESL/D, Heritage Languages, Bilingualism, etc.)

5. Multicultural curriculum development

   Programming suggestions to enhance the multicultural nature of the classroom environment and activities; introduction to diverse curriculum resources.

6. Historical aspects of immigration and multiculturalism

   Canada's immigration patterns and policies and their impact on schooling, various approaches to resettlement and integration (e.g., assimilation, absorption, acculturation, multiculturalism, etc.)

7. Stereotyping, prejudice, racism

   Definitions, theories and research; increased awareness of prejudice, racism and discrimination as it occurs in education and society; development of skills in dealing with problems and issues as they arise in the teacher's personal and professional life; increased understanding of the real effects of racism.

8. Interpersonal experience

   A practicum or other opportunity for direct contact and interaction with members of a variety of cultural, racial, or ethnic groups; ample opportunity for discussion and personal involvement without feeling threatened or inhibited; coming to terms with one's own feelings, values, attitudes, and personal growth and awareness.

The above list suggests that effective multicultural teacher education is interdisciplinary and multidimensional. Multicultural education must involve experiential learning and skill development or training, as well as material presented in a more traditional academic style. Teacher education faculties and colleges are particularly well suited for integrating the theoretical foundation with very practical strategies that have been found to be most successful in bicultural education. Having had the unique opportunity of developing and teaching a compulsory preservice course in multicultural education for early childhood students, I can recall many incidents that illustrate the importance of a flexible and eclectic approach to such material. For example, it was not unusual for some students to demonstrate a lack of understanding and lack of empathy (sometimes bordering on overt bigotry and hostility) at the beginning of the course; but many of those same students developed considerably more insight and apparent understanding as well as reduced stereotyping after completing a required practicum. Student teachers should be required to work in a multicultural setting, such as an inner city school, parent/child drop-in centre, ethnic community centre, an ESL or ESD programme, or an alternative or parochial school, in order to have first hand experience with young children from a cultural background different from their own. Such a practicum must be carefully planned, monitored and assessed so that the students become familiar with the needs and the values of the community served, with the political structure of the setting (e.g., funding, role in the community, supervisory differences, participation of the parents, etc.), and so that the students will have ample opportunity for feedback, as well as reflection of personal attitudes and personal growth over time. It is important to provide material on education as a social and cultural system, so that the students can develop an awareness of the context in which they find themselves in educational and social service agencies, and at least a beginning understanding of the mechanisms of change within such institutions in Canadian society.

Personal contact and interaction indeed appear to have had the most impact on student teachers in the author's preservice course on multiculturalism (Mock, 1983). Student evaluations consistently revealed that although all were valued, none of the strategies used in the course (readings, lectures, workshops, films, role-playing, simulations) was quite as effective as personal interaction with members of minority and/or ethnic groups, both with guest speakers and through the practicum experience. Chud (1983) also emphasizes the importance of involving many resource people in such a course for early childhood teachers, to ensure that the content is developed and presented by people with expertise and relevant personal experience related to the various topics. Willing volunteers, guest speakers, or resource personnel can often be found from the various communities, and the value of personal contact should not be underestimated. Support by the administration is important when attempting to integrate multiculturalism into the program, and support by policies of multicultural education and race relations even better. By becoming personally acquainted with individuals committed to this field, students recognize the value of the multidisciplinary and the multicultural approach. However, unless support goes beyond the committed individuals involved directly in the program, the program may disappear, when they leave or move on.

In order to achieve the goals of multicultural education for teachers, traditional methods of university and college teaching should be modified. For example, material on multiculturalism or race and ethnic relations is very value-laden and evokes many emotional reactions in students. As such, it should not be presented in the traditional linear fashion in which most university courses are presented. Successful teaching strategies include personal interaction with members of ethnic groups, self-awareness exercises, group problem solving, modifying curriculum to suit individual needs and backgrounds, simulations and other forms of experiential learning, as well as some traditional presentation of content through lectures, readings, and formal presentations. It is important for the teacher educator to model effective teaching strategies, that is, to put into practice the very content about which he or she is teaching. This would mean a more personal style of teaching would be most effective, taking style into consideration to a much greater extent than is customary in large post-secondary institutions. The instructor must display an active commitment to multiculturalism and anti-racist education, and be prepared to defend the content and the strategies constructively, demonstrating their efficacy, because it is not unusual for these and other successful multicultural teaching strategies to be considered suspect by superiors and colleagues who may be resistant to the material. Just as the student teachers must become aware of the context of education and the mechanisms of change, so must the multicultural teacher educator develop an understanding of the system, and be flexible in designing and implementing a program to meet the needs of the individuals, the group, and the institution.

This flexibility in teaching style and communication style is extremely important for the success of integrating multiculturalism into the curriculum of any education program, either with teachers or with children. It is possible, even at the college level, to teach in a way that meets individual needs and acknowledges the diverse backgrounds of students without compromising the standards of the program. With multicultural education, it is not only possible but essential to

"practise what you preach." When a student teacher has the emotional experience of being taught in a way that meets individual students where they are in their thinking and development in an accepting way, it becomes far easier to teach that way upon graduation. If there are students in the class who have had previous cultural or educational experiences which are interfering with their completing the requirements successfully, then they need a different or modified approach that will give them an equal chance with the majority of their classmates in meeting the requirements. Or if there is a student who displays hostility or bigotry, the instructor must utilize his or her skills in race relations to communicate effectively, diffuse the hostility, meet the student where he or she is on the issue, and work from there, providing the appropriate experiences for that student to move a little closer to where he or she would like that student to be. In other words, just as the design and implementation of multicultural education for young children rests primarily on the attitudes, skills and knowledge of the teacher (Ramsay, 1982), so the design and implementation of multicultural education for teachers rests on the attitudes, skills and knowledge of the teacher educator. The success of effective multicultural education for teachers depends upon the support and sensitivity of the college or university administration, indicating the necessity of multicultural awareness at every level of the system and the importance of the entrenchment of the ideals of multiculturalism as policy in all of our educational institutions.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was two-fold: to emphasize the importance of providing multicultural education for young children, and to provide some guidelines and additional resources for training teachers of young children in a multicultural society. We must provide young children with multicultural education as early as possible because of what we know about cognitive development, attitude formation, and the development of identity and self-concept. But we must work to modify teacher training programs and staff development also as soon as possible. It is inexcusable to continue to send teachers out into classrooms, preschools, and day care centres, ill-prepared for the multicultural realities of Canada. And it is inexcusable not to provide ongoing professional development and support for experienced teachers to increase their effectiveness in providing equitable service to all children in their care. It is unfair to the teachers, the children, and their parents alike.

The recent report of the Special Committee on Visible Minorities in Canadian Society (*Equality Now*, 1984) highlights Early Childhood Education as an area worthy of attention.

Specifically, the recommendations of the parliamentary committee regarding Early Childhood Education call for:

1. Minimum standards for working in early childhood education.
2. Multicultural teaching materials for use in training programs.

3. Curriculum materials that would positively influence attitudes and values during the period of early childhood education.

This kind of emphasis may provide the additional support that is necessary for integrating multiculturalism into our early childhood and teacher education programs across the country. It appears then that it is an opportune time to make some important strides in developing multiculturalism in early childhood education, that is, in putting sound theory into effective practice. The best place to start is in early childhood. The best time to start is now.

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THE YOUNG CHILD IN A MULTI-CULTURAL MOSAIC

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ABSTRACT

This article illustrates new developments in multicultural practice for young children in Canada through the use of a survey and descriptions of schools in Alberta which address the needs of children from particular language, ethnic and religious communities.

Introduction

With the adoption of the new constitution in Canada, new opportunities are becoming available for the young child growing up in the Canadian multicultural society. Unique early childhood (or preschool) programs have been designed and implemented which place emphasis on combining the application of child development principles with the principles of acquiring language skills effectively in order to learn about another culture. Descriptions of seven different linguistic and cultural examples of Early Childhood Services programs in the province of Alberta illustrate a variety of practices in either immersion or bilingual programs.

Cultural diversity in Canada reflects historic, religious, ethnic, and linguistic differences. One hundred and fifteen years after Confederation, the Constitution Act of 1982 established Canada as an independent country. Although considerable independence was enjoyed for fifty years prior to this, the incorporation of a Charter of Rights and Freedoms into the Act was a significant step.

Two of the rights in the Charter are of particular importance to teachers of young children. One of these rights is minority language education which concerns the two official languages of English and French. There are many examples of preschool English and French bilingual programs throughout the country, in addition to immersion programs in both languages. The second right is related to our multicultural heritage: ''Interpretation of the Charter must be made in a manner that will preserve and enhance Canada's multicultural heritage'' (Government of Canada, 1982). A specific example is ''reinforcing protection against discrimination and preserving the right to use languages other than English and French'' (Government of Canada, 1982).

Although there have been many studies done on bilingual education, of particular interest is the more recent concern with bilingual or multilingual development in young children. A few of the tentative, but most relevant findings, provide a modest background for some of the current practices:

1. Immersion programs are an educational success for young children if sustained long enough for them to acquire a reasonable degree of competency (Lambert and Tucker, 1972).
2. The developmental character of each language is similar to that of a native speaker in each language (Dulay and Burt, 1972, 1973).
3. The acquisition of two languages can occur simultaneously or successively (Garcia, 1982).
4. In the learning of French, early bilingual children rarely catch up to their peers in immersion programs and late immersion pupils rarely catch up to early immersion pupils (Cummins, 1983).
5. The acquisition of two languages may lead to the development of an interlanguage which may include lexical, morphological, or syntactical features in both languages (Garcia, 1982).
6. Children who achieve balance in proficiency of using two languages are advanced cognitively over monolingual children or children who do not achieve balance in a bilingual environment (Cummins, 1983).
7. Bilingual and, in particular, immersion training appear to foster cognitive flexibility. As children develop a sense of language, they begin comparing and contrasting it with their first language which brings into focus special features of both languages which the children might not have noticed otherwise (Price-Williams, 1975).
8. Other subjects taught in the second language, such as mathematics, are performed equally well when tested in the first language. The only exception is a possible lag for some children in spelling (Cummins, 1983). (In bilingual programs the same curriculum is not taught in two languages).

Alberta Practice

The Alberta Early Childhood Services program for preschool children is funded by the provincial government. Parents voluntarily enroll about 96 percent of all eligible children in this system of local, regional, and provincial programs designed to meet the developmental needs of young children and their families. Particular emphasis is placed upon early identification of problems children may have in their physical, social, emotional, intellectual, and/or creative development. A network of government departments shares responsibility for health, social, educational, and recreational services for young children and their families.

The Early Childhood Services program operates on the basis of several principles which include continuous development which differs from child to child, the importance of a positive self-concept, and play-oriented experiences which occur in all parts of a child's environment. One of the most significant principles is the recognition of parents as a primary influence upon children's development. The child's home provides environmental control, structure, and interpretation, and parents, through daily contact, help their children in the development of their ideas, language, and understanding of the world and their place in it.

Several program goals arise out of the principles. One of the most significant goals is the development of a positive self-concept which permits the child to know, accept, and appreciate himself as a worthwhile individual and to know, accept, and appreciate others as worthwhile individuals, too. A second important goal is the enhancement of a young child's intellectual development through the development of language skills.

All programs are planned to accommodate six dimensions. These are:

1. health and physical development;
2. social development which permits the child to be aware of the needs of others and to accept individual differences;
3. emotional development in a complex environment which the child accepts, respects, and relies upon as a source of security;
4. the development of self-respect which, through parents, staff, and community services, enables children to experience pride in their families, languages, and cultures;
5. intellectual development which finds its expression in experiential learning and related creativity; and
6. the involvement of parents, professional teaching staff, and community services in the provision of a coordinated developmental program for children.

In Alberta, parents initiate the request for a second language program. If the program is to be bilingual, instruction will be in two languages, one of which will be English. At least 50 percent of the instruction is to occur in the language other than English. In an immersion program, more than 75 percent of the instruction must occur in the language other than English. In bilingual programs, the proportion of instruction in each language generally shifts over time with a gradual increase in the second language; in immersion programs, the emphasis upon the second language is more pronounced much sooner.

The authors visited one of each of the following seven language and cultural programs for five-year-old children in Alberta: French, Cree, German, Hebrew, Arabic, Ukrainian, and Chinese. Information was gathered from observations and interviews with teachers and a variety of other involved adults such as parents, teacher aides, and principals.

The average amount of instructional time in the programs for these five-year-old children was 12.5 hours per week. The French and Arabic programs were immersion and the others were bilingual. For most children in the programs, English was generally their first language with the exception of the Cree program where the reverse was true.

In Alberta, opportunities for French language instruction are the greatest because students wishing to learn French may continue to do so through university. On a more limited scale, Ukrainian language instruction is also available through high school and university. Other language groups either have or are developing plans to extend the program one year at a time until at least grade six.

All the teachers were fluent in two or more languages and all but the Cree Indian teacher were born outside of Canada.

The greatest diversity of nationalities was found in the Arabic school where children who were born in Guyana, Trinidad, Kenya, Uganda, South Africa, Lebanon, Pakistan, India, Malaysia, Indonesia, and South America attended. The teacher herself was Egyptian. In the Chinese program, approximately one-third of the children were Canadian born and two-thirds were from Vietnam, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Indonesia. The children who were attending French, Indian, Jewish, and Ukrainian classes tended to be more homogeneous in their cultural origins.

The cultural activities are largely centred around religious and secular holidays. History, customs, religion, literature, songs, games, dances, food, and celebrations were common throughout the curriculum. While acknowledging a great variety of influences upon program development, all teachers expressed concern for implementing the program within the principles of child development. They all emphasized an oral approach and most included a lot of physical response through actions, songs, games, and dances.

The main form of parent involvement in these multicultural schools was through regular parent meetings, accompanying the children on field trips, planning and orientation meetings, participating in open houses and special cultural events. The Chinese and Ukrainian programs also included a lot of parent volunteers in daily program activities in the classroom.

Generally, there is less involvement between children and the community because children attend schools a great distance from their homes. Similarly, parents are not as involved in the community around the school because they, too, tend to live in many different neighbourhoods which are significantly far away from the school in which space has been found for the special program.

Reasons given by parents for enrolling children in the bilingual or immersion programs ranged from the obvious to the surprising. The obvious reasons were in order to learn the language and something about the culture. About half the teachers in our study said that parents wanted their children to be able to communicate with them and particularly with grandparents. However, in two specific programs parents would not be able to communicate with their children in a second language. The largely Cantonese-speaking parents in the Chinese school wanted their children to learn the Chinese language of the future: Mandarin. Parents whose children were in the French immersion program said that they wanted their children to be fluent in Canada's two official languages, (even though the parents, themselves, were not), so that the children would eventually

have a greater variety of career choices available to them. And, in one instance, enrollment of the child in a bilingual/bicultural program was found to strengthen the bond between spouses in a mixed marriage.

While the programs had certain basic principles in common, there were also some unique features in each one. For example, in the French immersion program, cultural aspects of the program included both the French Canadian culture and the culture of France. In the German bilingual program the field trip to the farm was hosted by a German-speaking farmer. Many festivals were celebrated in the Ukrainian bilingual program and the priest often joined the parents and children for religious activities. The native children all spoke the Cree language before entering the bilingual English program. It is also interesting to note that native parents rejected the idea of a traditional housekeeping centre, found so frequently in early childhood programs, in favour of the more culturally-appropriate teepee. A blend of direct instruction, group participation, and individual self-selected activities characterized the language instruction in the Chinese school. In the Jewish school, instruction was provided for half the day in English and the other half in Hebrew. Again, days of special significance in the Jewish faith receive much emphasis. Upon entering the Arabic immersion program, about half the children spoke Arabic and the other half did not. By the end of the first year in a fairly structured language program, there was little difference between the two groups as all children had a reasonable command of spoken Arabic.

The main principles on which the second language programs are based in Alberta are published in *Guidelines for Early Childhood Services Language Program*. They may be summarized as follows:

1. Bilingual programs are conducted in two languages, one of which is English.
2. Immersion programs are conducted almost entirely in a non-English language.
3. The non-English language is the ''target'' language.
4. Programs are to be consistent with current child development theory and practice.
5. Principles of second language acquisition are to be followed as they relate to early childhood development.
6. Parents, staff, and program administrators should share common goals and expectations for the children.
7. Staff are to be competent in child development and second language acquisition; fluent in writing and speaking the target language.
8. Individual differences in children's competency in the target language are to be accommodated.
9. Continuity in programming is to be arranged between preschool and elementary school placements.

Because Alberta parents play a significant role in the decision to organize, plan, develop, and evaluate a second language program for their preschool

children, family ties are often strengthened, the culturally-oriented community associated with the second language is enhanced, and the participating families develop a tolerance, understanding, and appreciation of cultures which make up the Canadian mosaic and promote Canadian unity.

As the Province of Alberta moves ahead in the promotion of culturally and linguistically oriented programs for young children, increasing pressure is brought to bear upon educators and parents to link linguistic aptitude with the large objective of creating a multilingual, multicultural interwoven Canadian social order. Intergenerational employment and a growing incidence of interracial marriage are nurtured by an anxious society which still treads the waters of multiculturalism with trepidation and uncertainty. Clearly, teachers will need increasing skill in the pedagogical art of multicultural and multilingual instruction as well as extraordinary capabilities in communicating with the parents of multi-racial children as well as the children themselves. As the world shrinks because of the efficiency of travel and communication, the problems which arise from intercultural proximity escalate. The Province of Alberta seems to have anticipated these emerging phenomena and has initiated a partial answer to tolerance and understanding by promoting vibrant opportunities for interculturally different preschoolers to encounter and support one another at a very early age.

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IDENTITY, SELF-ESTEEM AND EVALUATION OF COLOUR AND ETHNICITY IN YOUNG CHILDREN IN JAMAICA, GHANA, ENGLAND AND CANADA

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ABSTRACT

Research on identity development in young black children, particularly that focusing on the evaluation of colour and personal ethnicity has produced conflicting results. In part this has been due to differences in measures used to investigate ethnic evaluation, and in this respect development of a standardized measure of ethnicity. Using the Colour Meanings Test (CMT) and the Pre-school Attitudes Measure (PRAM) devised by these workers, we have measured levels of evaluation of colour and ethnic identification in 636 preschoolers in Britain, Jamaica, Canada and Ghana. In all groups, negative evaluation of the colour black was related to the devaluation of black people. Black children in rural Jamaica were particularly likely to devalue their ethnic identity and their skin colour, while black children in Ghana had much more positive perceptions of their personal ethnicity and skin colour. Children of Jamaican parents in Britain also had a somewhat more positive evaluation of colour and ethnicity, and children of Jamaican parents in Toronto had the most positive ethnic evaluation of all the West Indian groups studied. In a number of groups, evaluation of colour and ethnicity was linked to self-esteem levels, as indicated by Ziller's measure. It is concluded that Canadian multicultural policy is likely to have a positive effect on the development of ethnic identity in visible minority groups.

Introduction

The concept of identity is a crucial one, and is pivotal in education and the social sciences. How a person sees himself or herself, how he or she incorporates and synthesizes the various aspects of the social world, involve both psychological and sociological phenomena, concerning both the individual psyche, and the position an individual holds in social structure (Bagley, Mallick and Verma,

1979). In ethnic relations, it is frequently possible that a minority group, dominated in racist fashion, reacts to that domination in ways which have particular implications for global and ethnic identity.

Self-concept and self-esteem (what the individual sees about himself or herself as salient and important, and how such characteristics are evaluated) are important constituents of identity. Most writing about the concept of self in minority groups has concentrated on the notion of self-esteem and self-concept, rather than on identity, with a few exceptions (Erikson, 1965; Hauser, 1971; Milner, 1975 and 1983; Weinreich, 1979). The literature on self-esteem has produced controversial findings. Earlier American literature (reviewed by Pettigrew, 1964) tended to suggest that many black children had to a large degree internalized the negative stereotypes which the majority community held concerning them, and, in consequence, had poorer self-esteem than whites. More recent research with children and adolescents in America has challenged this view, however, indicating that blacks do not have a significantly poorer self-concept than whites (Feinman, 1979). Various explanations have been put forward, including a major paradigm shift in the way in which studies are carried out and interpreted (Adam, 1978); the effects of the "black pride" movement of the 1960's and 1970's (Brand, Ruiz and Padilla, 1974); and the effects of changing reference groups, in which black children evaluate themselves according to the standards of their black peers, and of black rather than white reference groups (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972). Other literature, however, suggests that black adolescents in North America may still suffer from institutional racism in terms of identity formation, which may be qualitatively different from that in white adolescents (Hunt and Hunt, 1977; Comer, 1985). Studies of black adults, who are more crucially exposed than children and adolescents to the forces of economic and social racism in America, suggest that such racism still takes a considerable psychological toll (Clements and Sauer, 1976).

Studies in Britain of self-concept and self-esteem amongst minority children and adolescents have produced findings which have been both diverse and contradictory, reflecting the contradictions of recent American work (see Bagley et al., 1979 for a review of British studies). Studies of young black children (e.g. Milner, 1973) suggested that they had considerable difficulty with the formation of an adequate ethnic identity and self-esteem. It appears, however, that as black children grow older or as social structure changes, they develop protective subcultures and new reference groups which encapsulate their identities from the grosser forces of racism (Davey, 1982; Milner, 1983).

An important structural variable seems to be the degree to which a black adolescent does have a black peer group which can give an adequate sense of ethnic identity. In practical terms, it seems that black children who are isolated in nearly all-white schools, especially in socially disadvantaged areas, are more likely to have poorer self-esteem (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972; Bagley et. al., 1979).

Measuring Ethnic Awareness and Identification in Young Children

There is a long tradition of doll studies in American (Clark and Clark, 1950; Porter, 1972; Fox and Jordan, 1973) in which attitudes to self and others are inferred, in both black and white children, from the ways in which the children evaluate dolls and puppets of various kinds. The American studies carried out in the 1970s show considerably more acceptance and positive evaluation of models which looked like them, in black children. However, in all studies, either a majority or a substantial minority of black children still devalued blackness and black people in favour of white. White children, in contrast, still evaluate their own colour overwhelmingly positively, and tended to see black figures in consistently negative terms.

An important British study in this field by Milner (1973) replicated and confirmed the gloomy American results of an earlier period. Milner studied 100 West Indian, 100 Indian and Pakistani, and 100 White English children aged between five and eight, attending infant and junior schools in London. All the children were attending multiracial schools. Milner used adaptations of the classic doll and picture techniques developed by Clark and Clark (1950) and Morland (1966). The main areas investigated were Identity (e.g., "Which doll looks most like you?"), Preferences (e.g., "Which one do you like the best?"), and Stereotypes (e.g., "Which one of these two children is the bad child?").

All of the white children chose the white doll in response to the question "Which doll looks most like you?", but only 52 percent of the black children and 76 percent of the Asian children made the correct choice, choosing the black or brown doll respectively. A similar pattern emerged in the family identification tests — 35 percent of the black children, and 20 percent of the Asian children, misidentified the black figures. All of the white children would "rather be" the white figure, but so would 82 percent of the black children, and 65 percent of the Asians. In response to questions about preferences for different ethnic group figures, 6 percent of English children made out-group choices, while 74 percent of Asian, and 72 percent of black children, made out-group choices. None of the white children had a negative stereotype of their own group; but 65 percent of Asian children, and 72 percent of black children, had negative stereotypes of their own group.

These results pose the problem of whether these young black and Asian children who failed to identify themselves properly gave such responses because they thought they were white: that is, whether the responses of the ethnic minority children were the basis of cognitiveconfusion which results from being in a minority group, rather than resulting from group and self-devaluation as such. Milner discounts this possibility, however, since the children did not show cognitive confusion in other areas. He suggests that the pattern of cause is the other way around: because many ethnic minority children evaluate their group in negative terms, they will in turn deny that they are black or brown and will say they are white. Thus group-evaluation and self-evaluation are intimately linked. Milner suggests that this identification of oneself as white is a measure of poor

self-esteem in his black subjects, and is at the same time a measure of a confused identity.

Not much relevant work in this area has been undertaken with black children in Canada (Gardner and Kalin, 1981; Berry, 1984). The most relevant work seems to be that of Aboud and her co-workers in Montreal (Aboud, 1980; Aboud and Skerry, 1983). Aboud's study of black and white seven-year-olds using stimulus material of ethnic groups selected from picture books found support for a sequential process in the development of own-group affiliation in black children. Black children began by expressing preference for their own group, followed by perceived similarity, and then by cognitive labelling. This sequence, in which affective chracteristics preceeded cognitive ones in ethnic self-preference, did not hold for white children. But Aboud found, as did Williams and Morland (1976), that in order to esteem himself or herself and his or her own group, the child has to develop a necessary "ethnocentrism" in own group preference. For minority children whose emotional and cognitive references are stongly influenced by the wider society, this may not be easy as the Canadian work by Crooks (1970), Humsberger (1978) and George and Hoppe (1979) indicates.

Ethnic Identity and Self-Evaluation in Jamaica and in West Africa

No studies have been carried out in Jamaica (nor indeed in any British speaking Caribbean country) which we can discover, on self-perception, self-regard, self-esteem, identity, or evaluation of personal ethnic characteristics which have used young children as subjects. A number of studies have, however, been carried out on older children, and in particular on adolescents and older students.

Vernon (1969) in his monograph *Intelligence and Cultural Environment*, which compared aspects of cognitive functioning in cultures in Africa, Europe, North America and the Caribbean, included in his test battery the Goodenough Draw a Man test, which has sometimes been used as a test of ethnic or personal identification. Vernon's fieldwork was carried out in 1963, and included samples (boys aged ten and a half to eleven years) from both rural and urban areas. Vernon noticed considerable differences in the ability to draw a man between urban and rural samples in Jamaica. Urban children had a much more sophisticated drawing ability than rural children, but both urban and rural children in Jamaica were similar in that, "not a single drawing attempted to portray skin colour or other local cultural features, apart from occasional palm trees" (Vernon, 1969, pp. 173-4). Vernon does not go into such detail about the Goodenough drawings of his Ugandan, Inuit and Canadian Native subjects, but it is clear that the figures drawn by both Ugandan and Inuit boys displayed considerably more sophistication than those drawn by Jamaican boys.

Lowenthal (1967), comparing a number of West Indian societies, indicates that the rigidity of the class/colour system in Jamaica meant that virtually the only way to achieve occupational and educational advancement was to emigrate. In consequence many black, rural people have left Jamaica for Britain, Canada and America. Nancy Foner (1977), reporting the adaptation of young Jamaicans

in Britain, also found that the majority of migrants to Britain came from rural areas, and came from lower-status families.

Foner (1977) suggests that:

> Black skin has long been devalued in Jamaica. This stems from Jamaica's history as a plantation colony based on African slavery . . . . White bias has permeated the entire society since the eighteenth century . . . . I would argue that it is mainly because being black stands for being poor in Jamaica that so many black Jamaicans place a negative value on black skin.

As she makes clear, this diagnosis held true until very recent times. We have argued that many of the self-perceptions and aspects of current social disadvantage in children of Jamaican origin reflect the deliberate attempts by white society to suppress and disorganize African culture through the institution of slavery (Bagley, 1979). In contrast, West African societies which escaped the inroads of slavery have survived culturally intact (Bagley, 1972). In such cultures, such as Ghana and Nigeria, blackness is a cause of celebration, not of denial or cultural denigration. But even in modern day Jamaica, the memory of slavery is a cause of deep and silent pain. Blackness is celebrated in the Caribbean with conscious pride and aggression by some, but is still neglected with secret shame by many. In contrast, blackness and black culture are experienced in countries such as Nigeria and Ghana as part of being. No one stops to consider that "black is beautiful" in West Africa; it simply *is* beautiful, a value so deeply accepted that it hardly needs emphasis. Scholars have not, so far as we can discover, previously attempted to measure ethnic self-perception in West Africa, perhaps because the subject has never been seen as a relevant one for investigation.

Black People in Canada

The first black settlers in Canada were refugees from slavery and racial oppression in the United States, both before and after the Civil War. These black people mainly settled on the Eastern Seaboard, but there was an additional settlement by black people on the Prairies in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Buchignani, 1983). Today, the majority of black people in Canada are post-war immigrants and their children, from the West Indies and Africa. Black people emigrated from the English-speaking Caribbean in large numbers in the post-war years to America, Canada and Britain. Their motivation in this emigration was to achieve the straight forward goals of occupational and educational advancement for themselves and their children, and to escape the grinding poverty which British colonial policy had imposed on these former slave societies. In an important comparative analysis the Jamaican social geographer, Elizabeth Thomas-Hope (1982), found that those who emigrated to Britain experienced significant blocks to their aspirations for educational and occupational advancement, blocks which were rooted in a racist social structure. Such blocks were largely absent in America and Canada, and black immigrants to these countries experienced, in Thomas-Hope's survey, high degrees of satisfaction with their levels of achievement in countries which have traditionally accommodated the aspirations of

immigrants. We have argued that the racist social structure which still pertains in Britain leads to a situation of alienation for many black people and their children, reflected in a significant amount of underachievement and identity confusion (Bagley, 1982).

Despite Canada's official policy of multiculturalism, it is an interesting paradox that most ethnic minority groups seem to be increasingly absorbed into the mainstream of Canadian society (Bagley, 1985). Perhaps because of comparatively low levels of racial discrimination in Canadian society, minority groups who find fulfillment of their aspirations appear to be less concerned with any kind of "struggle" for ethnic identity than are black people in England, where ethnic terror rather than ethnic harmony seems to be the order of the day.

Ethnic or multicultural issues in Canada seem to have a low salience, and there is surprisingly little published research on ethnic identity in minority children in Canada (Gardner and Kalin, 1981). We would hypothesize, however, that in a social structure such as Canada, in which people are "free to be themselves" and choose an ethnic identity, children have a less fragmented or ambiguous ethnic identity than do children in a society in multicultural turmoil, such as Britain.

We have hypothesized that, paradoxically in an all-back society like Jamaica in which the travails of slavery and its institutions still impose themselves on many sections of the black population, ethnic identity in terms of consciousness of and pride in being black has been less developed than in societies in which black people are forced to re-evaluate their ethnicity in a racist social structure such as Britain. Nevertheless, we have hypothesized that this racism itself is a significant factor blocking movement towards an elaborated, clear-cut and unambiguous black identity.

Only in African children, both in Africa itself, and in children of African immigrants to the metropolitan countries would we expect an unambiguous or more clear-cut acceptance of being black.

The Development of a Standardised Measure of Ethnic and Colour Evaluation

One problem in evaluating the doll preferences studies that have been carried out in America and Britain in the last two decades has been that of a lack of standardization of test material. Williams and Morland (1976) have, in consequence, developed two standardized tests, the Colour Meaning Test (CMT) in which children aged four to seven are required to evaluate black and white toys and animals, and the Pre-School Racial Attitudes Measure (PRAM) in which children of a similar age are asked to evaluate pairs of pictures of black and white people of various ages and sexes. Twenty-four different pairs of individuals are presented; one pair in each picture. One of the figures is "white" (i.e. has pinkish skin complexion) while the other is identical in every aspect except that his or her skin is medium brown, and the figure has dark hair and brown eyes. Interspersed with these twenty-four pictures are twelve further pairs of pictures measuring sex-role identification, showing two similar figures, half of whom are

black pairs, and the other white pairs, but in which a man is contrasted with a woman, or male child with a female child. The purpose of this aspect of the test is to assess sex-role evaluation and cognitive development, and also to act as a distractor from the racial evaluation items. Examples of stimulus items are: 'Here are two women. One of them is a nice woman. She does nice things for her husband and children. Which is the nice woman?'

The maximum score on the CMT and the PRAM is twenty-four in each case; the higher the score, the more the positive evaluation of white and the negative evaluation of black. In an ideal world we would expect very young black children to have a significant pro-black bias, and white children to have a definite pro-white bias, indicating appropriate levels of ethnic pride and self-esteem in both groups. Children of mixed ancestry, or with one parent white and one black, might be expected to have scores in the middle range.

The studies by Williams and Morland (1976) with these instruments using white and black American children as subjects indicate significant departures from these ideal patterns. While white children showed the expected white bias, which would be expected in young children with a properly situated sense of ethnic awareness and pride, black children also showed considerable pro-white bias and anti-black bias, both on the CMT (measuring colour evaluation) and the PRAM (measuring ethnic evaluation). In both groups of children, white and black, the CMT and the PRAM had strong and significant correlations. One implication of this finding is that negative evaluation of colour, which is built into language as part of Western institutional racism (with the implicit ideologies of "black looks," "blackmail," "black day" and so on) forms part of the cognitive and affective basis of negative evaluations of people of different colour, and is one of the ways in which white children learn to be prejudiced, and in which some black children acquire negative views of themselves.

Although the tests designed by Williams and his colleagues (the CMT and the PRAM) are not specifically designed to measure identity and self-esteem, there are, nevertheless, clear implications in this work for the study of identity development in young black children who hold negative views about their colour and their ethnic group.

We wished to test directly the hypothesis that negative colour evaluation in young black children in Canada, England, Jamaica and West Africa would be related to poor self-esteem. In reviewing the literature on self-esteem measurement, it became clear that there are few valid and reliable methods for measuring self-esteem in young children. We attempted to construct a workable measure of self-esteem in children aged four to seven by a slight adaptation of the Ziller technique (Ziller, 1972) which requires children to place models (figures or drawings of themselves and others) spatially in relation to other significant figures. The measure we used involved presenting the child with a series of five circles in a horizontal line, inside which the child had to place a very bad boy or girl, a very good boy or girl, and then himself or herself. The spatial proximity of the child to the good or bad child was then measured, and a score obtained. The

reliability of the measure has been established by its consistency over time when administered to the same subjects. Validity is more difficult to establish, but we have shown that children with high scores on this test (indicating the possibility of poor self-esteem) tend to be social isolates or to have few friends in the classroom (as measured by a standardised sociometric test) (Young and Bagley, 1982).

Subjects and Methods of Study

Our research had several purposes. We wanted to establish the reliability and validity of the CMT and PRAM in Britain, Canada, West Africa and Jamaica, and to examine these measures as bases of identity development in young children. In addition, we wanted to compare the responses of Jamaican children in Jamaica with children of Jamaican parents in London and Toronto and to examine the types of colour evaluation in Jamaican children at two different points in time. In addition, we have compared responses of African parents in London, U.K., and in Calgary, Canada.

In all, we tested 636 children attending kindergartens and day-cares in rural Jamaica, urban Ghana, Toronto, Calgary, and London, England. All children were tested individually, and completed the CMT and PRAM, and the Ziller self-esteem measure.

The tester in England, Jamaica, and Toronto was L. Y., a black Jamaican. The fact that the tester was black may have influenced the evaluations of colour produced by the young children, though in what direction we cannot be sure. There is no clear evidence in the literature what the effect of a black tester on black children's self-evaluation might be. In Accra and Calgary, the black children were also tested by a black woman.

Results

We found that in all groups of subjects the CMT and the PRAM had good internal reliability, as measured by split-half correlations, item-to-whole correlations, and principal components analysis. Calculation of mean scores on the CMT and PRAM (Young and Bagley, 1982) gave some indication of validity, in that the range of scores was rather similar to that found in the American studies of different ethnic groups. As in Milner's (1972) study using different methods, white subjects had the highest scores indicating the most pro-white bias, while black children displayed a considerable residue of pro-white (or anti-black) colour and ethnic evaluation. A comparison of the proportions in various groups giving responses which fall into the "bias" groups (pro-black or pro-white) according to the criteria established by Williams and Morland (1976) is presented in Table 1. It will be seen that although the large majority of responses of the white children fall in the pro-white range (consistent with adequate levels of self-esteem in this group), only a small proportion of the responses of the U.K. West Indian Group (which includes sixty-nine children with Jamaican parents) falls in the pro-black range. Similarly, only a small proportion of the responses

TABLE 1

PROPORTIONS IN CANADIAN, BRITISH, JAMAICAN, GHANAIAN AND AMERICAN GROUPS WITH WHITE AND BLACK 'BIASES' IN THE CMT AND PRAM

	CMT			PRAM		
	'Black Bias'	'No Bias'	'White Bias'	'Black Bias'	'No Bias'	'White Bias'
TEST SCORE:	0-9	10-14	15-24	0-9	10-14	15-24
United Kingdom						
White, English (N=100)	6.0	34.0	60.0	5.0	21.0	74.0
West Indian (N=113)	3.5	34.5	61.9	16.8	43.4	39.8
Jamaican (N=69)	2.9	33.3	63.8	13.0	42.0	44.9
African (N=23)	30.4	47.8	21.7	43.5	43.5	13.0
Jamaica						
Rural Jamaican Group 1977 (N=117)	7.7	59.8	32.5	3.4	42.7	53.0
Rural Jamaican Group 1983 (N=60)	15.0	36.7	48.3	15.0	50.0	35.0

TABLE 1 (Cont'd)

PROPORTIONS IN CANADIAN, BRITISH, JAMAICAN, GHANAIAN AND AMERICAN GROUPS WITH WHITE AND BLACK 'BIASES' IN THE CMT AND PRAM

	CMT			PRAM		
	'Black Bias'	'No Bias'	'White Bias'	'Black Bias'	'No Bias'	'White Bias'
TEST SCORE:	0-9	10-14	15-24	0-9	10-14	15-24
United States						
White (N=159)	1.2	24.5	74.2	10.1	28.9	61.0
Black (N=176)	6.8	42.0	51.1	12.5	34.1	53.4
Canada						
White children, Toronto (N=58)	7.0	32.7	60.3	6.9	24.1	69.0
Jamaican children, Toronto (N=44)	11.4	61.3	27.3	25.0	54.6	20.4
Ghanaian children, Calgary (N=26)	30.8	46.1	23.1	42.3	42.3	15.4
Africa						
Chanaian children in Accra, Ghana (N=95)	33.7	44.2	22.1	55.8	32.3	11.9

NOTE: Data on American children taken from Williams and Morland (1976).

of the children in rural Jamaica fall into this range. The only group to manifest more pro-black than pro-white preference are the African children in Accra, London (U.K.), and Calgary.

Analysis of the CMT and PRAM scores by sex and age in the British, Canadian and rural Jamaican samples showed the tests to be largely independent of sex. Age, however, was significantly correlated with CMT and PRAM scores in several groups. In the white English, West Indian, Canadian, rural Jamaican groups, there was a significant tendency for pro-white bias to increase with age. This could be related to the fact that as the children in both cultures are progressively exposed to cultural norms and pro-white curriculum methods as they get older, so they internalize these societal norms to a greater extent with age: thus both black and white groups show an increased degree of pro-white bias with age. There is, however, a statistically significant change in the ethnic and colour evaluations of the black Jamaican children attending the same schools in a rural area, at two different points in time, 1977 and 1983.

The children tested at a later date had significantly more positive attitudes to blackness, and figures who looked like themselves or members of their family. Jamaican children in Toronto tested in the same year (1983) had the most favourable ethnic perception of any Caribbean group that we have tested; but still, between one-quarter and one-fifth of the black children in Toronto rejected their own ethnic identity and colour in favour of whiteness. The children of Ghanaian parents in Calgary had a much more favourable ethnic identity than the Jamaican children in Toronto.

We have analyzed the variation in CMT and PRAM scores across the different ethnic groups in our study, using the technique of analysis of variance and the derived measure of relationship Eta, which measures both linear and non-linear trends. Sex and age were controlled in these calculations. The variation of both the CMT and the PRAM across ethnic groups is clearly significant, and for both the CMT and the PRAM, African children had the most variation below the grand mean (indicating *less* white bias), while white children in England had the most variation above the grand mean (indicating *more* white bias). The value of Eta, controlling for age and sex was 0.29 for the CMT (p less than .001), and 0.35 for the PRAM (p less than .001).

Table 2 presents the correlations between the Colour Meanings Test (evaluating colours, but not people) and the Pre-school Racial Attitudes Measure (evaluating people of different ethnic groups). The two kinds of evaluation are significantly limited in all ethnic groups: children who tend to devalue blackness and black objects also tend to devalue black people. This finding is supportive of the data presented by Williams and Morland (1976).

In Table 3, we present the correlations between the Ziller self-esteem measure and the Colour Meanings Test (CMT) and the Pre-school Racial Attitudes Measure (PRAM). For a number of groups, the direction and strength of these correlations point to the concurrent validity of the various measures used. Both white English children, and black English children and black Canadians show

TABLE 2

CORRELATIONS OF THE COLOUR MEANINGS TEST AND THE PRE-SCHOOL ATTITUDES MEASURE IN DIFFERENT ETHNIC AND NATIONAL GROUPS

ETHNIC GROUP	N	CORRELATION BETWEEN CMT AND PRAM
White English	100	.409
Black English (West Indian and African)	136	.301
Jamaican (1977)	117	.332
Jamaican (1983)	60	.269
Ghanaian	95	.241
Black Canadian (West Indian and African)	70	.277
White Canadian	58	.451
All Subjects	636	.304

NOTE: All correlations are significant at the 5 percent level or beyond

consistent correlations indicating significant links between colour and ethnic evaluation, and self-esteem. Still, in 1983, black children of West Indian origin in Toronto had somewhat poorer self-esteem than their white counterparts; this diminished self-esteem was largely explained by the degree to which the black children in Toronto devalued blackness and black ethnicity.

In contrast, African children sampled in both England and Canada had significantly better self-esteem than their white peers. But although they had largely positive evaluation of colour and ethnicity, colour evaluation and self-esteem were not related in these migrant African children. Additional evidence leads us to suppose that their self-esteem levels reflect both their social class position (higher than in other groups tested) and the strengths of the traditional African family system. The same may be true of our Ghanaian sample from Accra: in these children evaluation of colour and ethnicity was in addition an issue of low salience, and seemed to have little relevance in identity development.

Conclusions

One of the aims of this research was to establish the reliability and validity of the CMT and PRAM in use with English children, and with black children outside

TABLE 3

CORRELATIONS OF THE ZILLER MEASURE OF SELF-ESTEEM WITH CMT AND PRAM MEASURES

	White English (N=100)	U.K. West Indian (N=113)	Rural Jamaican 1977 (N=117)
CMT	.274**	-.237*	-.131
PRAM	.318**	-.202*	-.275**
	Rural Jamaican 1983 (N=60)	**African (U.K. and Canada) (N=49)**	**Ghanaian (N=95)**
CMT	-.109	-.077	-.023
PRAM	-.175	-.020	-.078
	Jamaican, in Toronto (N=44)	**White, in Toronto (N=58)**	
CMT	-.256	.042	
PRAM	-.368*	.080	

Note: A negative correlation between PRAM or CMT and the Ziller self-esteem score indicates an association between positive evaluation of white characteristics, and poor self-esteem. Conversely, a positive correlation indicates an association between good self-esteem and positive evaluation of white characteristics.

* indicates statistical significance at the 5 percent level.

** indicates significance at the 1 percent level or beyond.

the United States. The results which we have cited indicate that the CMT and the PRAM do, indeed, have some usefulness in the study of colour and self-perception in young children in Jamaica, Canada and Britain. An interesting pattern of results has occurred: children of Jamaican parents in our London sample have less pro-white bias than the children in rural Jamaica, despite the fact that these children rarely meet white people. We have implied that the colour concepts of these rural Jamaican children are based on the peculiarity of social structure and socialization in Jamaica, stemming from ethnic stratification with historical roots in the traditions of colonialism and slavery. It seems that the effects of migration and the exposure to the more explicit forces of racism and ethnic evaluation

which exist in Britain, and to a lesser extent in Canada, have been to give some black children a more critical conception of black identity.

What is most interesting in these results is the colour perception of the African children. All but one of these children in our English sample came from West Africa, and the trend of their responses was to show much less pro-white bias, and to have better self-esteem, than did the black West Indian children in the same classrooms. Since both the African and the West Indian children in Britain were exposed to largely the same curriculum, the same classroom balance in terms of ethnicity, and the same kinds of messages about ethnicity from the wider community, we would presume that socialization within the family, explicit or implicit, is an important influence on the way in which these young African children see themselves. By contrast, many West Indian families, even after migration, may transmit to their children negative feelings about colour and ethnicity derived from island traditions which have been largely absent in Nigeria and Ghana, where the subjective ethnic status of black people has been only marginally affected by colonial enterprises.

As hypothesized, Jamaican children in Canada had somewhat more favourable profiles or ethnicity and colour evaluation than did Jamaican children in London. It could be, however, that the different points in time at which the samples were studied (1977 in England and 1983 in Canada) could account for these differences. Certainly, the rural Jamaican samples studied in 1977 and 1983 showed a progressive shift to more pro-black attitudes, and somewhat enhanced self-esteem.

Black children in Ghana have the most favourable pro-black attitudes of any of the groups of black children we studied, supporting our thesis that a secure, deeply-rooted black culture fosters healthy identity development in black children. Finally, these results do give support for the movement towards multiculturalism in Canada. There is little doubt that support for a group's traditional culture indirectly fosters both the family stability of that group and the development of a healthy ethnic identity in children. This identity in turn serves the development of an adequate general self-esteem and global identity, which is a critical factor in successful participation in the wider cultural system.

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CROSS-CULTURAL DETECTIVE WORK IN CHILD CARE

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It is an understood fact in the field of child care that a worker's attitude to a child affects how he interacts with him. Attitude itself is affected by the worker's understanding of what the child is saying with his behaviour. The more clearly understood the behaviour, the higher the chance of a positive and helpful interaction.

The behaviours of immigrant or even first generation children, when viewed in the context of the predominant culture, are sometimes open either to out-right misinterpretation or, as is more often the case, to the failure to understand exactly what is happening with the child, that feeling we all get from time to time that we are just "missing the boat" somehow with a given child.

Similar behaviour can have quite different meanings for children generally, and this becomes more so when one must consider a different culture. Children are generally unaware of the impact of their culture and will therefore be unlikely to say to you: "The people in my culture have such and such a point of view and that's why I'm reacting to this problem in this way." It falls upon the child care worker or teacher to ferret out this cultural information as part of the detective work involved in understanding children.

I would like to provide three examples of how knowing or taking the trouble to learn something about a child's culture impacted on my understanding of the child's behaviour. I believe that this understanding improved my relationship with each of these children and accelerated his progress.

In the first case, I was called by a social worker to come and help translate with a female client of his from a small village in Yugoslavia, something I was equipped to do because I had spent a year in college in Yugoslavia. The social worker was considering the apprehension of the woman's eleven-year-old son because of what was clearly an unhealthy living situation. The behaviour he described in the boy was bizarre and alarming. His mother had been brought to this country by her husband and then abandoned. She had little education and almost no English. She was raising her son alone in a one bedroom apartment. She had developed a fear of leaving the apartment and of allowing her son to leave, and would only go out long enough to collect welfare and groceries. At eleven, he was almost full grown, and had turned his considerable energy to ordering his mother around, sometimes threatening her, and making constant demands. He also drank a litre of wine a day.

Later on, when I was discussing the case with the social worker, I noted that it was strange to see the manner and behaviour of some of the men I'd seen in Yugoslavia reflected in an eleven-year-old boy. As we talked, we came to understand how a woman, completely adrift in an alien society without the usual supports of the village community and her family, might create in her son someone to provide the male support she felt was lacking. Suddenly neither of them seemed as crazy, and indeed time has shown that the boy, when placed in a more normal environment with more appropriate adult and parenting models, adjusted well.

In another case, I was presented with a student from West Africa in the alternate high school where I work. He had been in Canada since he was eight and was now eighteen. In the previous year at school he had made little meaningful contact with the adults and indeed had almost been asked to leave because he was not progressing and was "hostile" when confronted about it. He appeared to have a very low self-esteem and often withdrew and became angry rather than deal with problems. He appeared to have cordial but distant relations with his peers, but otherwise he had managed to keep people away very successfully.

His teachers complained that he often refused to do work and could sit through an entire class without writing a word, or if he did write, would crumble it up and throw it away before he'd finished.

To understand something of the meaning of his behaviour I did a little independent research on the culture he came from. When I began to talk with him, he opened up a bit because I wasn't taking shots at trying to guess at what was happening to him. He saw that I knew something about his country. Between what I found out on my own and what he eventually told me, I learned this:

That he came here alone, away from a large extended family, with one older family member. Through a series of unhappy circumstances, he found himself in the permanent care of the superintendent of child welfare while the person who brought him here left the country for parts unknown. His own particular tribe are the warrior tribe of his country and are known throughout Africa for their great pride. In his country, I discovered, failure by a member of a family reflects negatively on the whole family and vice versa. Here, in fact, was an extremely proud young person completely alone in a foreign culture cut off from the support and guidance of his extended family. He could not apply to them since to do so would be to admit failure and he could not bring shame to his family. He had to manage however he could.

In the light of this information the behaviour took on new meaning. It was an attempt to cope with a difficult situation. The refusal to accept help or to work is more clearly seen as a fear of admitting or risking failure. His hostility and aloofness in dealing with confrontations with adults protected him from any threat to his great pride.

As he opened up and we began to talk about these matters he was more clearly able to see whether the cultural coping strategy he had adopted was working for

him, and to begin to change it. He eventually was able to join himself socially with members of the West African community and go on to graduate from high school.

Sometimes it is important, when one really doesn't know much about someone's culture, to just accept without judgement what one is beingtold. Another young man from India comes to mind. He had been hospitalized in a psychiatric hospital for an anxiety neurosis before he came to us, and was still on medication. His doctor had asked me to keep an eye on him. One of the things that he had said was that he talked to "Goddesses," and this had of course concerned the doctor. One afternoon over a coke he began to tell me about his Goddess. I became alarmed, but quite suddenly I remembered he was a Hindu. I certainly know how many Baptists have told me they talk to Jesus, so I decided to accept it and see what developed. There was indeed one particular Goddess he prayed to and my acceptance of his statement prompted him to tell me about Her and where She fit into the Hindu scheme of things, and this also marked a real turning point in our relationship. One of the things he did with my acceptance was to begin to trust himself more and to become stronger.

This cultural detective work does not necessarily require hours of heavy research. I look for information from members of other cultures who are personal friends, or speak with people who have lived abroad. Obviously, it is not possible to develop an in-depth picture of every cultural group from which you have clients, but it is important to have an open mind to the differences, and to accept their validity.

WEST INDIAN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

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The blue of the ocean, the white sands, and the green of the land combine with all the other rainbow colours, in flowers and fish and birds to show the beauty of the West Indian Islands. But it would be a mistake to think that the beauty ends there. For it is in the people and their ability to achieve against the background of their history that the true beauty lies.

This achievement has made itself felt in the literary world only in the last half century. During this time, the Caribbean man has emerged from being a rootless man in an alien land to being able to accept himself as uniquely Caribbean: man of the melting pot, a special blend of all the peoples that make him West Indian. This acceptance of himself along with improved educational opportunities, the development of national consciousness and the struggle for independence, have given the West Indian the awakening he needed to produce creatively the writings of his own people.

Let us look then at the make-up of these Islands whose literary beginnings are so recent but whose historical beginnings were so long ago. A look at the map will show their location between the two Americas. The rainbow shape so aptly described in *Ears and Tails and Common Sense* by Philip Sherlock is easily seen, as well as the fact that the chain of islands cuts off the North Atlantic Ocean from the Caribbean Sea.

The rainbow is also there in the magic of the names of such islands as Tobago which means island of tobacco, or Haiti which means mountainous land, or Jamaica which means land of wood and water. All these Islands have the original names that were given to them by their first inhabitants, the Arawak Indians.

Christopher Columbus was the first European to sight these islands 400 years ago and he too gave some of them names that have remained until today. Trinidad was so named because he saw three mountain peaks close together as his boat sailed towards the Island, and he thought of a trinity of mountains or land of the trinity, Trinidad. Dominica is named after the Spanish word for Sunday "Domingo" because the island was first sighted on that day.

When Columbus first reached the West Indies the islands were inhabited by Indians. There were two tribes, the Arawaks and the Caribs. The Arawaks were a docile tribe who were soon completely eradicated by the Spanish settlers through overwork and disease. The Caribs, on the other hand, were warlike and strong, and so were able to withstand the harsh treatment of the Spanish. Some of the descendants of the Caribs still live in Dominica today.

The introduction to *West Indian Folk-Tales* tells how these two tribes left the main land of South America and travelled in their dug-out canoes across the seas towards the mountains where they found Trinidad. As the generations passed, they continued to sail towards new islands until, by the time Columbus arrived, they had stretched themselves right across the whole Caribbean region.

In the years that followed the discoveries of Columbus, the English, French, Dutch and Spanish fought for possession of the islands. Each of these European powers colonized one or more of the islands, most of which have become independent countries in the last twenty years.

The beauty of the rainbow appears again when we think of the combination of the peoples of different race, colour and language. The majority of the people are black and have their origins in the Ashanti and Ibo tribes of West Africa. There are also white people from Europe, mostly Spain, France, Holland and the British Isles. Some people who have skin the colour of pale ivory have forefathers who came from China. There also are brown-skinned people from India as well as olive skinned people from the Middle East, and many people of mixed race.

The language and lifestyles of the people reflect in many ways the styles of the European countries that colonized these islands. For example, in the Islands of the Netherlands Antilles such as Curacao and Aruba, Dutch is spoken, and the older buildings have high gables as they do in Holland. On the French Islands of Guadeloupe and Martinque French is the main language, and most of the people are Roman Catholic. There are also many buildings which reflect the French style, while in Barbados, which is English, there is a Trafalgar Square in the capital city of Bridgetown. In Jamaica, the old capital Spanish Town, and the name of the Anglican Cathedral, St. Jago de la Vega, are all that remain of the Spanish influence after the English captured the Island in 1655.

Although there is much that is different among the islands, there are also many similarities. Climate is one of these. All the islands have sun and warmth with year round temperatures of between 70 and 85 degrees and a gentle cooling breeze. There is also a rainy season. This makes the plant life much the same, and most of the islands grow sugarcane, bananas and coconuts. Some have natural resources such a petroleum in Trinidad, and bauxite, from which aluminum is made, in Jamaica. Other crops include cocoa, coffee, spices, citrus and cotton. On all the islands there is some tourist trade which includes Carnival in Trinidad and the quiet white sand beaches and luxurious hotels of Jamaica and Barbados.

These are the Caribbean Islands that have begun in recent years to fulfill their potential in many walks of life, despite the harshness of a history that has included armed conflict, slavery, political and economic dependence and insecurity.

Before looking at some of the stories and folktales that have emerged from the Caribbean in the last fifty years, let us look at folktales in general. One of the first characteristics is that folktales have an oral tradition. They were stories that

were told, and passed down from one generation to another, changing and smoothing out as they were repeated over and over. Folktales began as answers to many of the questions that troubled primitive man, and continued down through the ages to become the folktales and histories of the people. They did not begin as stories for children but gradually they became more and more a part of the child's world and were kept alive by nursemaids and grandmothers. Because they are usually short and have fast-moving plots, as well as humorous and happy endings, they appeal to children. The fact that good usually triumphs over evil, and the smaller usually wins out over the bigger person or animal, are other reasons why these stories have a strong appeal for children. Folktales also encourage the child's imagination, especially in the animal stories when the animals take on human characteristics.

It is this type of folktale that is most prominent in the West Indies, the kind of story in which the animals act, talk and take on the characteristics of human beings.

The West Indian folktale has its origin in West Africa and came to the islands with the thousands of men and women who were brought as slaves to work on the sugar plantations. They brought with them the stories they loved about Anansi, the spiderman and his friends tiger, cow, mouse, rat and others. Storytelling in Africa is very well-developed and has a rhythm found in no other part of the world. The stories really sound as if they are being told. There is a lot of dialogue with short sentences and much repetition.

Anansi originally lived in the forests and villages of West Africa, and he is one of the chief characters in the folktales of the Ashanti people. He often takes on human form and only reverts to being an animal when his safety is threatened. He walks with a limp and there is a story in the *West Indian Folk-Tale* book that explains how Anansi got his limp when he was outsmarted by the cat while he was trying to outsmart others; in the end, his plans backfired. He talks with a lisp and lives by his wits, getting the better of others, though occasionally as I have just mentioned, others get the better of him. He is lazy, greedy, and selfish but there is some satisfaction in someone of his size getting the better of the bigger animals.

Although the West Indian folktale has its origin in West Africa, it has changed in character somewhat over the years and has taken on some of the flavour of the Caribbean region, as well as some qualities of the folktales of European origin. On all the islands there is the strong common factor that there are people of African descent whose folktales are based on what was brought from West Africa and flavoured with the bits and pieces derived from the colonial masters.

Just as there are differences in language and lifestyle on the islands, there are also differences in the way the stories are told and in the names given the characters, even though the characters themselves are very much alike. In Jamaica, there are Anansi stories, while in Haiti these stories are about Ti-Jean, and in St. Lucia the character is called Compe Czien, brother spider. Some of the stories are well-known on one island but not familiar on another, and some are similar in

some parts of the story but changed in others. One story's plot seemed quite familiar but the characters were different, which only goes to emphasize the scope of the oral tradition which allows for any reasonable changes the storyteller may want to make.

Not all the folktales are Anansi stories, though they are usually about animals who take on human shape. They are called ''Crick Crack'' tales because of the way they begin, though the origin of this custom is unknown. Every story begins with the storyteller saying, ''Crick, Crack,'' to which the audience must respond ''Break my back,'' and when the tale is finished the narrator says ''Wire bend,'' and his listeners reply, ''Story end.'' Two books of this type are *Ears and Tails and Common Sense* and the *Iguana's Tail* by Philip Sherlock who also wrote *Anansi the Spider-Man*. These ''crick crack'' tales tend to be longer than the Anansi stories and also more involved. Each book is made up of separate tales but there is a running theme which links each individual folktale. For instance, in the *Iguana's Tail*, the animals set out on a long journey to find a new home as there has been a bad drought where they are living. Each night, at the end of the day's travel, one of the animals is asked to tell a story to entertain his fellow travellers. Each animal must begin his story with ''crick, crack'' and end it with ''wire bend.'' The first animal to tell a story is Green Parrot who tells how the Brown Pelican got his long beak. Capuchin Monkey tells his story the next night and so on, until they finally reach their new home. There is also a second theme in this book which gives rise to the title. The tiger tries every imaginable way of capturing the Iguana, but it is not until the end of the book that he is in any way successful. Just at the end of the last story, the tiger grabs the Iguana's tail thinking that he has finally caught her, but the Iguana climbs the nearest tree leaving the tiger with her tail in his claw. She knows that as a lizard she will grow another tail, so all the other animals have a good laugh at tiger.

Ears and Tails and Common Sense which appears almost as a sequal to *Iguana's Tail* has a similar format. This time the animals have a party to celebrate their journey, and they decide that the party must last a week and a day, that having been the length of time they had taken for the journey. Again each animal must tell a ''crick, crack'' tale to entertain his friends. This time the monkey tells the first story; it is all about how animals were given their ears, tails, and common sense at the beginning of time. The tiger is also in this book but this time the Iguana is protected by the firefly who keeps lighting up the dark night so that Iguana can see where tiger is. By the end of this book, the two have made peace, at least temporarily, as Man has come to the forest and all the animals must unite to watch his movements and to see that Man stays away from their part of the forest. Strangely enough, the tiger is the only animal in West Indian folktales that is not indigenous to the islands.

The Anansi stories are best known in Jamaica, and Louise Bennett, who has spent many years studying the folklore of the island, has written several books on the subject. The most popular of these is called *Anancy and Miss Lou* and consists of quite a number of short folktales in which Anansi is the main character.

The stories are written in patois, the name given to the local dialect, which is a combination of English and African. It is a spoken rather than a written language, and is widely used especially among the less educated people. As the folktale is the literature of the people, it is only fitting that it be told in the language of the people. The problem comes when the dialect is to be put into print. Much is lost in the flavour of the stories and each time they are printed there are variations made in spellings and grammar which up until recently were frowned upon by more orthodox writers, but which are now becoming recognized as a distinctive version of English — the West Indian dialect.

An example of an Anansi story is ''Anancy an de Plantain'' in which Anansi outwits his own children and wife. He has them feeling so sorry for him that they share their food with him and he ends up with more than twice what any of them have. This is made worse by the fact that the listener knows that Anansi did not work for the food in the first place but begged it from Brother Rat. This story shows Anansi in the worse possible light, but his appeal remains as strong as ever.

As an example of some of the patois used in this story, here is the opening paragraph in which Anansi's wife sends him out for food. After looking around all day and finding nothing, he meets Brother Rat:

> Once upon a time it was hungry time an Anancy has a hard time fi fine bittle every day fi him an him wife and de four pickney dem. Moresoever Anancy wa a man dat like sleep late a mawning time an him wife had was fi wake him up and shub him outa door a daytime fi go look livin. One day Bredda Nancy walk bout all day an couldn fine nutten in him neighbour dem grung fi beg or tief, and him was jusa wonder how him was gwine manage if him go home empty-handed wen him see Bredda Rat a stagger under a heavy bunch a plantain.

Each of the Anansi stories in Miss Bennett's book ends with the sentence, ''Jack Mandora, me noh choose none.'' This is similar to the ''Crick, crack'' of the other tales. It has no known origin either and refers to Jack Mandora, the keeper of heaven's door, and says that the story is not of the storyteller's choosing, and that she will take no responsibility for its choice.

As a contrast to the Anansi story which makes so much use of the patois, even in the written form, let us look at an Anansi story in *Listen to this Story* by Grace Hallworth. It tries to keep to the dialect and speech patterns of the told story, but to my mind, at least, looses a lot of the feel and rhythm. It will be much more easily understood, though, by the non-West Indian reader.

This is the story of ''How Agouti lost his tail.'' An Agouti is a wild rabbit. In this story, Agouti and Dog try to disguise themselves so that they can go to Cow's party. They each make horns as only animals with horns are invited, but at the last moment Dog gets Agouti to fix his horns and then goes off without helping Agouti. To pay him back Agouti shouts to Cow that someone on his boat has false horns. Rather than be discovered, Dog jumps overboard and chases

Agouti, catching his tail and biting it off just as Agouti disappears into his hole. Therefore Agouti has no tail. Here is an excerpt from this story which will illustrate how much more easily it can be read than the "Anancy an de Plantain" story:

> That week they searched the forests for smooth wood which they carefully shaped and polished until the horns shone bright in the sun. On Sunday morning early they arose and packed their picnic basket with roasted wild pig, breadfruit and sweet potatoes cooked in wood ash, and filled their flasks with pineapple juice laced with rum.

Although folktales are the most prominent item in the children's books in the West Indies, I would like to comment briefly on one or two others that I feel would be enjoyed by children of varying ages.

Ti-Jacques is a Haitian story about a little boy who is always getting into trouble because he is too curious, until one day his curiosity pays off and helps his family. Children will not only enjoy this story, but they will also learn something of the customs and life in Haiti.

The Kite and the Petchary is a picture book for children. It is the story of a boy and his kite, which he calls Kate, and the Petchary bird that wants to destroy the kite. The Petchary bird is indigenous to Jamaica and Haiti. The pictures in this book are quite beautiful.

Andrew Salkey is a Jamaican author who has written a number of books for children dealing with both national and natural disasters. They are strongly Jamaican in character and give some good insights into the way of life. *Riot*, which tells of the beginnings of the Trade Union Movement, is particularly exciting.

And finally there is *The Young Warriors* which is really an historical novel but is also a beautiful adventure story about five boys and their lives as Maroons. Maroons were Africans who escaped from the British and lived in the mountains of Jamaica. Some of their descendants are still there today. The story tells how the boys save their village from one of the attacks made by the British soldiers.

In the relatively short time that West Indian literature of all kinds has made itself felt in the literary capitals of the world, many good books have been written. I have only given a sample of the children's books that are available. Unfortunately, most of them are only found in the West Indies. Let us hope that the trend toward a uniquely West Indian literary style will be continued and that more books will be available outside the West Indies. In this way, children of West Indian background in Canada will be able to have access to the books about their own heritage, and children of other cultures will be able to share in the stories which are, to quote Sherlock (1974), "a part of the rainbow beauty of mankind."

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ETHNIC CONSCIOUSNESS AND AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR CULTURALLY SENSITIVE MATERIALS (1)

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the relationship between the adult provider of culturally sensitive materials, the analysis and presentation of such materials, and knowing about the cultures. The purpose of the paper is to raise the consciousness of the adult for the need to be more sensitive about the culture while sharing culturally sensitive materials with young children. The views expressed here do not attempt to place value judgments on the merit of the story book, or its place in children's literature.

Young Children and Culture

In Canada, ethnic sensitivity is compounded by two official languages and cultural streams, in addition to the multitude of ethnic, religious, and racial backgrounds (Schwartz and Isser, 1978). For the United States as well as Canada, there is a need to address the problem of ethnic sensitivity so that the ethnic cultures presented in both countries can be recognized for their contributions to society. In this writer's opinion, the multitude of cultures need not discourage efforts to bring about sensitivities concerning divergent lifestyles, values, customs, and beliefs. These features can be respected and appreciated. With respect to the concept of ethnic cultures, we need to keep in mind the distinction between the ethnic individual who was born and raised in the country represented in the tale, and the ethnic individual born and raised in North America, e.g., the distinction between a Japanese person born and raised in Japan, and a person of Japanese ancestry born and raised in North America (Kitano, 1983). There are the children of the non-dominant culture who are born and raised in North America and the children of today's immigrant parents, born and raised in another country. Frequently, these children are viewed as the same. One needs to be sensitive to this difference while discussing an ethnic culture and issues related to it.

Educational objectives stress every child's right to achieve, to reach their capacity to learn, and to live fully. To realize this, the child must feel good about himself or herself and develop a respectable self-image. One of the ways of accomplishing this for the average child is by presenting literature from the dominant culture, which demonstrates its roots and importance for the child. But what of the child from a non-dominant culture who was born and raised in North America? And what about the child of today's immigrant parents?

Educators and psychologists have acknowledged the importance of literature in the lives of young children (Huck, 1979, Bettelheim, 1976). However, since it is the teacher or adult who establishes the tone, the climate, the norms of experiences, and encourages personal acceptance in the classrooms, it is not enough just to present stories of other cultures. A greater impact is made known if the teacher understands the culture and shares the relevance of the cultural characteristic in the story when the opportunity arises. If the teacher values the cultural message in the story, the experience will be richer for all children.

The questions this paper asks are "Why is it so important for the teacher to be sensitive about different cultures?" "What relevance does the knowledge of cultures have in the interpretation of culturally sensitive literature?" and "How does this relate to providing good literature in the classroom?" The common elements in all of these questions appear to be: (1) the adult as a provider, (2) the process for sharing literary materials, and (3) the effect on attitudes of young children.

A Perspective for Children's Literature

In order to resolve some of the questions above, stories of other cultures must be viewed from two perspectives: (1) story elements and (2) the core values of the ethnic culture. I would argue that the adult who selects a story from another culture will be better prepared to share the story if the adult is informed about the customs, beliefs, and values of the culture which preserved the story for centuries. The subtle meanings, inflections, and emphasis (i.e., the relevant context) can be communicated, and simultaneously juxtaposed to current lifestyles of our children. It is important that very young children be given reasonably realistic interpretations and understandings of stories about other ethnic cultures.

Ethnic literature for children received minimal attention prior to the nineteen-sixties (Nation Council for the Social Studies, 1976, p. 5). With the civil rights movement in the sixties and early seventies, literature about ethnic cultures increased with the awareness of the need to provide literature which focused on the concept of "new pluralism." This also encouraged the review of school textbooks and curriculum materials to recognize the importance of ethnic cultures.

School curriculum guides and other resources for instruction have gone through massive revisions in order to enrich classrooms with multi-ethnic materials. Much criticism has been applied to schools for not provisioning multiethnic materials for use in the classrooms in spite of the fact that classroom pupils represented many diverse ethnic groups. While school districts made efforts to fill this void in resources, much has to be done in terms of training teachers to move from the assimilationist ideology that was pervasive in the early part of the twentieth century to the position of cultural pluralism which argues that each ethnic culture should play a unique role in a multiethnic society (Banks, 1981).

Children's Attitudes and the Visually Different

For influencing attitudinal qualities, children at very young ages can be taught to appreciate the value of ethnic characteristics and group differences. In a developmental study of racial awareness in young children (Stevenson and Stewart, 1958), it was found that the ability to discriminate the physical differences between Blacks and Whites developed rapidly during the preschool years. In fact by age seven, items related to attitudes toward self and toward race revealed higher frequency of negative attitudes among Black children. This study implicates self-image and the nurturing context which creates this type of developmental attitude.

Studies relating to the effects of children's books on the attitudes of children indicate that storybooks, when consistently exposed to children in a relevant and meaningful way, do influence their attitudes. In a study on racial attitudes of preschool children, evaluative dimensions of connotative meanings were investigated (Edwards and Williams, 1970). The results demonstrated that five-year-old Caucasian children tend to associate light-skinned persons with positive evaluative adjectives and dark-skinned persons with negative evaluate adjectives. Subsequently, reinforcement procedures using picture-stories were employed to weaken the customary associations. It was found that reinforced subjects showed fewer customary responses than did the control subjects. Although the picture-stories were created for the purpose of this investigation, nonetheless their impact, i.e., that of the picture stories on the children's attitude, made a significant difference.

Attitudinal change has become a concern in other areas in the field of education. In the United States, Public Law 94-142 recognizes the importance of the early childhood years for both the handicapped and non-handicapped. Public Law 94-142 means, to the extent appropriate, handicapped children are to be placed with non-handicapped children (Lerner, Mardzell-Czudnowski, Goldenberg, 1981). As an outcome of Public Law 94-142, a study investigated whether the attitude of the non-handicapped child (ages five-to twelve-years-old) can be altered positively toward a child with a physical handicap by the presentation and discussion of two films (Monson and Shurtleff, 1979). Results revealed that the use of non-print media can influence children's attitudes positively and the children who exhibited the greatest positive change had read or listened to books about the handicapped during the treatment period. It appears in this study, that the content and the processes of the print and non-print media about the handicapped person affected attitudinal changes. In addition, both studies above looked at the child who may have had a negative attitude towards the child who appears visually different.

The process of sharing children's literature must recognize the significance of the receptivity in very young children to culturally sensitive materials which affect their attitudes. Moreover, it may well be in the teacher's ability to communicate the true cultural essence of the story that will bring about the optimal appreciation to affect positive attitudes. The argument in this article contends

that one cannot truly relate the appreciation of a story of an ethnic culture until the teacher becomes reasonably informed and interested about the values, lifestyles, and beliefs within the culture.

An African Folktale

In the picture book *A Story, A Story* an analysis describes how cultural characteristics should be part and parcel of the adult's knowledge and thinking, not so much to impart this knowledge to young children, but that the consciousness of these characteristics may provide the basis upon which to create the appropriate image as intended by the ethnic culture presented.

Annually, an award is given to the finest picture book known as the Caldecott Medal Book and, in 1971, *A Story, A Story* received this honour. [1] It is an old African animal trickster story, and the following provides brief annotated version taken from Haley's picture book:

> Ananse, a spider man wishes to buy stories from the Sky God so that he could spread the stories all over the world. But Ananse must first seek permission from Nyame, the Sky God. The Sky God agrees to grant Ananse wish but only on the condition that Ananse bring to him Osebo, a leopard with the terrible teeth, Mmboro, the stinging hornets, and Mmoatia, a fairy no man sees. Ananse, with his cunning, tricks Osebo into a game of tying each other, fools Mmboro into a gourd-container, and completely deceives the hungry fairy with a sticky doll. Ananse, a trickster, accomplishes his three tasks and receives the stories from the Sky God, Nyame. Thus explaining why Ananse tales are found all over the world, including *A Story, A Story*.

The beautiful woodcut illustrations depict the scenes of the African community life many, many years ago. The village describes huts with grass on the rooftops which are surrounded by natural vegetation. Warm and bright pastel colours reflect the spirit within the story, and the image of the people is equally vivid and colourful. Ananse the spider man appears as an older man of the village which is consistent with the ethnic cultural values, respecting the elders for their wisdom and experience in life. Ananse is dressed in a loin cloth, as are the children, and is portrayed as a lean man with spindly limbs, just as a spider might appear. People are dressed simply, draped in colourful clothing appropriate for the warmer climate. The brilliant dark skin of the African brings out the luster and vibrant characteristics of the people, the tale, and the ethnic culture.

In a picture book, the illustrations must capture the feeling and the mood of the story. It must also capture the spirit of the ethnic cultural characteristics of the people. The storyline and the theme together with the illustrations provide the basis for the successful retelling of a picture book.

Surface Quality of Story Elements

This analytical framework conceptualizes the *surface structure* as the story elements, and the *deep structure* as the core values of the culture from where the folktale is

taken. The surface structure and deep structure, metaphors from Chomsky's linguistic theory [2] will be described in relation to a selected picture book, *A Story, A Story*.

Surface structure is defined as the common story elements which distinguish one story from another and give each its identity. Therefore, the surface structure as a concept suggests that each of the children's stories can be viewed as interesting, dull, or exciting from the perspective of the common story elements, or what we call the basic design of the literary piece.

Most stories have a basic framework upon which the story is developed. Some of the elements in children's stories as suggested by Huck (1979, p. 706) include a theme, form and setting, and a character delineation. Most stories are built around these elements to provide integration and continuity to the story. A picture book does not differ in this respect. Although there are fewer words and the story depends more on the illustrations, picture books usually have design elements in the story. This design provides the surface structure for interpreting and understanding literature.

In the African tale briefly annotated above, there is a clear pattern using the story elements. The theme suggests to the reader that if you want something badly enough, you must pay the price to attain the desired object. The form represents a sequential, cumulative tale with a problem-solving situation and the setting is an African village many, many years ago. Character delineation includes the spider man, the sky god, the leopard, the hornets, and the fairy.

To share the tale about Ananse using the surface structure can be delightful for the children and for the adult too. There is a universal appeal to the tale which can be enjoyed by children all over the world. Most children experience needs and wants for things which are difficult to attain. But though determination, perseverance, and careful thought, the children may acquire their desired objects. Therefore, surface structure has a quality and life of its own in children's literature.

Cultural Insights and Deep Structure

Today, many children's books include stories about the beliefs, values, customs, and lifestyles of other cultures, old and new. The understanding and appreciation of a culture through children's literature depends largely on how attitudes are formed early in children's lives. In a recent *Sports Illustrated Magazine* (Kirkpatrick, 1983), Akeem Abdul Olajuwon, basketball star from Nigeria who plays for the University of Houston, said in an interview, ''One thing bothers me in America. You people have wrong ideas about Nigeria. You think we live in huts.'' Books can develop an insight into human behaviour within children, provide themwith vicarious experiences about divergent groups of people, and develop new perspectives about children's own lifestyles (Huck, 1979, p. 701-701). True understandings about ethnicity become critical for both the adult and the child who share and view literature about other cultures.

In addition to surface structure, this analysis suggests that the concept of deep structure, which ... the ''cultural insight'' is a critical and integral part of

the total literary construct. The beliefs, values, customs, and lifestyles must be understood and appreciated in order to allow the colour and vibrant characteristics to emerge from deep structure; then the surface structure (basic elements) of the tale and the deep structure (cultural insights) become mutually interdependent. This interdependence of structures facilitates the achievement of providing quality ethnic literature.

When viewing the African tale from the perspective of deep structure, the beautiful illustrations create a sense of curiosity about the customs, i.e., dress, houses, food, and appearance of the people. Equally intriguing is the meaning of the spider man who is able to spin webs and accomplish tasks. What significance and role did the folktales assume in the lives of the African many, many years past?

Folktales and proverbs were very important aspects in the lives of the African. It was the foundation for the young child's education (Kaula, 1968; Courlander, 1975). Instead of it being the schools responsibility, the elders of the family told tales to the young. The children learned the process of communication through the retelling of the stories. Proverbs were also the basis for their socialization and moral upbringing. Most of these tales had a moral precept attached to the conclusion of the story. The tales also were constantly being used to influence the behaviour of others or as instruments of self-control. Ananse's determination and his cunning may have been symbolic of what one needed to do in order to survive many years ago.

As the spider man, Ananse relates to the importance of the trickster animals in the beliefs of the African culture. In years past, certain animals were regarded as primary tricksters and secondary tricksters. For example, the spider was the primary trickster in the West Africa of the Ashanti (Courlander, 1975, p. 135). On the other hand, the tortoise was the primary trickster amongst the Yoruba, Edo and Ibo of Nigeria. In regards to the spider, the web symbolizes social trappings warning the young child to be wary because the ways of some people are cunning.

Folklore and proverbs were the chronicles of the culture. A similar process of retelling history through sharing folktales also occurred among the Native people in Canada (Desbarats, 1969). The impression made upon the child is frequently so forceful that the conditions under which a particular tale was first heard can be remembered in adulthood. The importance of folklore in African life, and of proverbs in particular, is perhaps best summarized in the words of one of the native informants: "the Chagga have four big possessions: land, cattle, water and proverbs."

The beliefs, values, and customs (i.e., deep structure) does in fact provide rich substantive meaning to the tale. Colour and vibrant characteristics are added to the basic story elements. This provides an interesting rationale for why these stories persisted so long in the culture of the African. The Ananse stories are directly related to the trickster tales of "Uncle Remus and Bre'r Rabbit." In the

New World, the Ananse folktales are known as Aunt Nancy, Nancy, or Sis' Nancy (Courlander, 1975, p. 135-136)

Toward a New Version

In this paper, an attempt has been made to look at sensitivities to other ethnic cultures, at the interpretation of culturally sensitive literature, and at providing good literature experiences in the classroom. An African folktale was described which demonstrates this process for inculcating an appreciation of ethnic cultures through children's books.

In North America, many sub-cultures are still confronted by misunderstanding and non-acceptance, evidenced in the stirring image about life provided in the poem by Langston Hughes, *Mother to Son*: (1926):

> So, boy, don't you turn back.
> Don't you set down on the steps'
> cause you find it kinder hard.
> Don't you fall now —
> For I'se still going', honey,
> I'se still climbin',
> And life for me ain't been no
> crystal stair.

Despite the struggles to live experienced by many different people in this world, there is a sense of beauty and universality in human determination and hope. The concept of cultural diversity is an expression of honesty, creativity and the pursuit of a good life. Teaching diversity as a fundamental concept can help teachers bring understanding, appreciation and respect for ethnic cultures.

The interpretive quality of a tale from another culture depends largely on how much the person who is sharing the story knows about the culture from where the story originates. Reflection on Ananse the spider man who spins a ladder up to the sky in order to see the sky god embraces some of the core values represented in ethnic cultures, i.e., man's relationship to god, man's relationship to man, man's relationship to nature, and man's relationship to time. In *A Story, A Story*, these relationships may be recognized by a teacher who is "aware," so that the story can be retold with sensitivity.

Finally, the analysis of children's stories through the concepts of surface and deep structure attempts to provide a vision, a vision for compassion to enhance the quality of children's stories for what it truly offers. Deep structure is not meant to impart the abstractions about culture to very young children. But rather, to enrich the adult who shares so that the story reflects its full integrity and beauty for young children.

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Notes

[1] The selection and application of *A Story, a Story* was deliberate. The writer's lack of knowledge about African culture led to the use of this picture book. The analysis provided cultural insight into an unfamiliar ethnic culture.

[2] The conceptual framework using surface structure and deep structure for children's ethnic literature was first conceived and presented at the 8th Annual International Bilingual/Bicultural Education Conference, May 7, 1979. Seattle, Washington.

General Articles

EMPLOYER-SUPPORTED CHILD CARE FROM THE BRITISH COLUMBIA EMPLOYERS' PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate British Columbian employers' perceptions of their need for, attitudes toward, interest in, and current or future plans for employer-supported child care. Analysis of a questionnaire sent to the chief executive officers of 170 B.C.-based corporations and health care organizations showed that employers seem willing to consider a variety of options for meeting employees' child care needs. Current ways of facilitating child care are the well-established ones (e.g., maternity leaves and part-time work); however, there is interest in information and referral services. British Columbia employers perceived positive effects of employer-supported child care on absenteeism, employee morale, corporate image, employee-management relations, and recruitment.

Introduction

The increasing need for child care due to the number of working mothers (National Day Care Information centre, 1980) has created an interest in employer-supported child care as one possible way of meeting this need. Employer-supported child care in Canada is a recent development with the first centre being established at Riverdale Hospital in Toronto in 1964. To date, the relatively little research done on employer-supported child care in Canada (e.g., Grant, Sai-Chew, and Natarelli, 1982; Mayfield, 1985) has been a general descriptive survey which was "state of the art" in nature. A gap in the literature concerns information on employer-supported child care from the employers' perspective. Such information is an essential part of the total picture of employer-supported child care.

Employer-supported child care seems to be mentioned more frequently among government and early childhood education groups during times of budgetary restraint or status quo funding. Hewes (1982) has indicated that "we are now painfully aware of recent cutbacks at all levels of government subsidy. Is employer sponsored day care the emerging model that will provide family support services?"

(p. 9). Because of the current economic situation in British Columbia and elsewhere, it seems timely to investigate what employers think about employer-supported child care.

The purpose of this study was to investigate British Columbia employers' perceptions of the effects of employer-supported child care, their current policies and practices and future plans related to child care, their preferred options for employer-supported child care and the economic feasibility of these options as well as their awareness of possible tax implications and employee interest. In this study, employer-supported child care is defined as the participation of an employer in the provision of child care for the children of employees. This child care can vary in type (e.g., on-site centre, maternity leave, or information services) as well as degree of employer participation (e.g., capital costs of a child care centre, partial support of other services, or provision of specific employee benefits).

There are an increasing number of employer-supported child care programs across Canada (Mayfield, in press); however, there are few such programs in British Columbia. British Columbia is in an early developmental phase in this area, unlike other regions in the more heavily industrialized provinces of Ontario and Quebec where these programs are most frequently located. Although Canadian health care organizations have been a leading group in establishing these programs, there has been a wide diversity of sponsorship (e.g., heavy industry, retail businesses, hospitals, government agencies, etc.).

The possible and actual effects of employer-supported child care is an area of active debate among employers, employees, researchers, unions and professional organizations. Positive effects of employer-supported child care have been reported:

1. Lowered employee absentee and lateness rates (Bureau of National Affairs, 1984; Burud, Aschbacher and McCroskey, 1984; Milkovich and Gomez, 1976; Perry, 1982; Phoenix Institute, 1982; Toys 'N Things Training and Resource Center, 1981; University Research Corporation, 1982),
2. Easier recruitment of new employees (Bureau of National Affairs, 1984; Burud et al., 1984; Jamieson, 1981; Perry, 1982; Phoenix Institute, 1982; Toyd 'N Things Training and Resource Center, 1981),
3. Reduced employee turnover rate (Burud et al., 1984; Friedman, 1983; Nellum and Assoicates, 1970; Perry, 1982; Phoenix Institute, 1982; Rowe, 1973; Toys 'N Things and Resource Center, 1981),
4. Increased productivity (Burud et al., 1984; Catalyst, 1983; Coolsen, 1983; Nellum and Associates, 1970; Purnell, 1977; Toys 'N Things Training and Resource Center, 1981),
5. Improved employee morale/attitude (Bureau of National Affairs, 1984; Burud et al., 1984; Nellum and Assoicates, 1970; Perry, 1982; Phoenix Institute, 1982; Toys 'N Things Training and Resource Center, 1981; University Research Corporation, 1982), and
6. Improved corporate image and community relations (Bureau of National Affairs, 1984; Burud, et al., 1984; Catalyst, 1983; Coolsen, 1983; Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1980; Perry, 1982; Phoenix Institute, 1982; Rowe, 1973).

On the other hand, other researchers have found no effects in the above area (Ogilvie, 1972) or have been critical of the lack of experimental data (Friedman, 1983; Hewes, Warner and Carpenter, 1981).

Methods

Subjects

The sample for this study included all corporations and health care organizations that (a) were B.C.-based (i.e., had their corporate or administrative headquarters located in British Columbia); and (b) employed more than 300 employees. The number 300 was selected as the cut-off point because of its use in a previous study (Hewes, Warner and Carpenter, 1981) and because it has been this researchers' experience that the majority of Canadian employer-supported child care programs have been associated with corporations or health care organizations of over 300 employees. There seems to be a tendency for larger corporations to be more aware of and interested in employer-supported child care than smaller ones (Friedman, 1983).

A list of corporations and health care organizations meeting the above criteria was established based on published information in reference directories (*Canadian Key Business Directory*, 1984; *Scott's Directories: Western Manufacturers*, 1984; and *Canadian Hospital Directory*, 1983) and business journals (*The Financial Post 500*, 1984; *Canadian Business: The Top 500 Companies Annual*, 1984). This list of subjects to be surveyed consisted of 170 corporations and health care organizations. (The types of corporations and organizations and the number of each category are included in Table 1. These categories are based on the classification used in *Canadian Key Business Directory*, 1984.

Procedure

A questionnaire was developed to assess the following areas: (a) current policies and practices and future plans related to employees' child care needs, (b) sources of information about employer-supported child care, (c) level of employees' interest, (d) preferred options for employer-supported child care and the economic feasibility of these options, (e) opinions on the effects of employer-supported child care on productivity, absenteeism, recruitment, retention, profits, employee morale, employee-management relations, corporate image, and (f) awareness of the tax implications of employer-supported child care. Information about the type of corporation or health care organization, number of employees, percentage of female employees and employees under the age of thirty-five, and the hours of operation was obtained.

The questionnaire was piloted and then revised. This revised questionnaire was mailed with a cover letter to the chief executive officer or to the presidents of the corporations and the chief administrators of the health care organizations. Three weeks later, a follow-up letter and another copy of the questionnaire were sent to the non-respondents.

One hundred and twenty eight of 170 questionnaires were returned resulting in an overall return-rate of 75 percent. The typical return rate for other mail surveys about child care practices sent to corporations has averaged 37 percent (University Research Corporation, 1982). The return rates by sub-groups are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1

RETURN RATES FOR QUESTIONNAIRE

Type of Corporation/ Organization	Number of Mailed Questionnaires	Number of Returned Questionnaires	% of Returned Questionnaires
Forestry, Agriculture, Fishing	20	15	75
Mining	10	7	70
Construction	11	9	82
Manufacturing	30	19	63
Transportation, Communication, Utility	20	17	85
Wholesaler, Retailer	24	15	63
Finance, Insurance Real Estate	9	8	89
Health Care	23	22	96
Services	23	16	70
TOTAL	170	128	75

Analysis

The data from the questionnaires were coded and analyzed for all respondents as a whole. Where appropriate, cross-tabulations were done on the data by type of corporation/organization, hours of operation, number of employees, percentage of female employees, and percentage of employees under age thirty-five. Due to the small numbers in some of the types of corporations/organizations, the original nine categories were collapsed into seven for analysis: (a) natural resources (i.e., forestry, agriculture, fishing, and mining), (b) construction, (c) manufacturing, (d) transportation, communication, and utilities, (e) wholesale and retail, (f) health care, and (g) services, including finance, insurance, real estate. These group sizes ranged from 11 to 32.

For the cross-tabulations, the X^2 test of probability was used. In this study, the level of significance was set at .05.

Results and Discussion

Based on the demographic information provided by the respondents on the questionnaire, the median number of employees in the corporations/ organizations is 850 (X = 1567). Of these employees, an average of 40 percent are female (Median = 33 percent) and 48 percent are under thirty-five years of age (Median = 50 percent). The corporations/organizations are in operation an average of fifteen hours per day (Median = 11 hours); however, the modal number of hours is twenty-four. Of the 38 percent of the respondents who operate twenty-four hours a day, most are hospitals and foresty companies.

What have British Columbia employers done already about employer-supported child care?

The first questions asked employers to identify if their corporation/ orgnaization had tried any of six options commonly used in the preliminary or discussion stages of developing employer-supported child care.

Nearly a third of the respondents indicated that their corporation/ organization had had management discussions about child care. This is the same result reported in the Minnesota Business Survey of 5,000 employers (Copeland, 1982). The majority of respondents had not had management discussions, met with other employers to consider child care related problems, appointed someone to handle child care problems, conducted an employee needs survey, examined local child care opportunities nor requested proposals from a child care centre. Cross-tabulations of the six options listed in Table 2 showed the following statistically significant effects: health care organizations were the most likely group to have had management discussions about child care, met with other employers to discuss child care, conducted a survey of employees' child care needs, or appointed someone to handle child care concerns.

When the number of employees was cross-tabulated with the six options, there was a statistically significant effect: the larger the corporation/organization, the more likely it was to have had management discussions, met with other employers to discuss child care, surveyed their employees, or examined local opportunities for the provision of child care. The same statistically significant results were found for corporations/organizations in terms of the percentage of female employees, with the addition of appointing someone to handle child care concerns.

When the number of hours of operation was cross-tabulated with the six options, there was a statistically significant effect for (a) corporations or health care organizations with the longest working day were more likely to have had

TABLE 2

B.C. EMPLOYERS' PRELIMINARY PLANNING OPTIONS FOR CHILD CARE

OPTION	% of respondents who have considered each option		
	IMPLEMENTED	STILL CONSIDERING	NOT IMPLEMENTED
Management discussions about child care issues (N=125)	32	2	66
Meeting with other employers to consider child care related problems (n=123)	12	2	85
Appointing someone within the company to handle child care problmes (n=123)	10	1	89
Conducting an employee survey about child care needs (n=124)	12	4	84
Examining local opportunities for providing child care (n=124)	18	3	79
Requesting proposals from a child care centre (n=122)	2	2	96

Note: Percentages calculated horizontally.

management discussions about child care, met with other employers about child care and surveyed their employees; (b) corporations/organizations who operated nine to twenty-three hours a day were most likely to have appointed someone to handle child care concerns.

In British Columbia, health care organizations were most likely to have investigated options for planning employer-supported child care. The finding that the longer the hours of operation and the higher the percentage of female employees, the more likely these activities may be due, in part, to the fact that all health care organizations in this study were twenty-four hour operations with a 75 percent female work force. The percentage of employees under age thirty-five was not a statistically significant factor.

What personnel policies and child care options are British Columbia employees doing or considering?

The respondents were asked to indicate if their corporation or health care organization was currently doing or considering each of fourteen personnel policies or

TABLE 3

CHILD CARE POLICIES AND OPTIONS B.C. EMPLOYERS WOULD CONSIDER IMPLEMENTING

Policies and Options	% of respondents		
	DOING NOW	WOULD CONSIDER	WOULD NOT CONSIDER
GENERAL PERSONNEL POLICIES			
Flexible scheduling of employees' work hours (n=116)	45	33	22
Two people sharing one job (n=118)	19	36	45
Opportunity for part-time work (n=119)	61	33	6
Maternity/Paternity leave (n=121)	82	11	7
Leave to care for sick children (n=119)	51	35	14
Benefit package which allows employees to choose which benefits they want (n=111)	10	51	39
FACILITIES & SERVICE OPTIONS			
Child care centre at worksite (n=117)	2	20	78
Child care centre away from worksite (n=116)	4	29	67
Child care information referral service (n=116)	8	58	34

child care options. They were also asked to indicate which, if any, they would not consider.

In terms of general personnel policies related to facilitating child care, the majority of respondents reported having maternity leave, part-time work opportunities and leave to care for sick children. The Minnesota Business Survey (Copeland, 1982) found the same responses with the addition of flexible scheduling of employees' work hours. Other U.S. surveys have reported that only maternity leave was a consistent benefit (University Research Corporation, 1982). As both British Columbia and Minnesota have traditionally had strong labour/union groups, this may account for the similarity in employee benefits.

Although very few of the respondents indicated that their corporation/organization was currently implementing policies related to child care (except for maternity leave, part-time work, and leave for care of sick child), the majority indicated they would consider a cafeteria-type benefit plan and a child care information and referral service. Similar studies in the United States have reported that approximately two-thirds of the employers surveyed would consider an information and referral service (Copeland, 1982; Hewes, 1981; University Research Corporation, 1982).

A majority of respondents would *not* consider subsidies to parents, an on-site child care centre, subscription to an outside agency to provide child care, off-site child care centre, corporate contributions to existing programs, cooperation with another business to provide child care, or worksite parent education seminars.

The fourteen policies and options listed in Table 3 were cross-tabulated by the type of corporation/organization, the hours of operation, the number of employees, the percentage of women employees and the percentage of employees under age thirty-five. Statistically significant effects were found for nine of the fourteen policies and options.

Job-sharing and part-time work opportunities were not likely in health care organizations, and in corporations/organizations having 500—10,000 employees. The higher the percentage of women employees and the greater the number of hours of operation, the more likely the corporation or organization was to have job-sharing or part-time work opportunities.

The larger the percentage of female employees, the more likely a corporation/organization was to have a policy of leave for sick children. Worksite parent education seminars on child care topics were most likely in corporations/organizations with more than 75 percent women employees.

The greater the number of employees and the larger the percentage of women employees, the more likely a corporation/organization was to consider an information and referral service or a worksite child care centre. Cafeteria benefit plans were most likely to be found or considered in corporations/organizations with a higher percentage of employees under 35. Corporations with more than 10,000 employees were most likely to consider using an outside agency.

TABLE 3 (Cont'd)

CHILD CARE POLICIES AND OPTIONS B.C. EMPLOYERS WOULD CONSIDER IMPLEMENTING

Worksite parent education seminars on child care topics (n=115)	2	45	53
OTHER OPTIONS			
Subscribe to outside agency to provide child care services for employees (n=113)	1	30	69
Subsidy for parents to choose their own child care program (n=113)	1	9	90
Cooperate jointly with another business in providing child care (n=114)	1	36	63
Corporate contributions to existing community child care programs (n=112)	8	28	64

Of the 81 respondents who indicated a first choice for additional employer-supported child care, their most frequent first choices were information and referral service (27%), use of an outside agency (17%), and a worksite child care centre (14%). The majority of natural resources, construction, manufacturing, and service corporations favoured the information and referral service option. The majority of health care respondents favoured the worksite child care centre while wholesale/retail respondents favoured use of an outside agency. Respondents from transportation, communication, and utility corporations were equally divided between an information and referral service and the use of an outside agency. There was no statistically significant effect due to number of employees, percentage of female employees, percentage of employees under age thirty-five, or number of hours of operation.

Information and referral service may have been the first choice of many British Columbia employers because they consider it to be the only economically feasible option at this time. In their written comments at the end of the questionnaire, several respondents stated that most employer-supported child care options (e.g.,

on-site centre, subsidies, etc.) were too costly for their situation. A common concern of other employers considering these options has been cost (Empire State, 1980; University Research Corporation, 1982).

What do British Columbia employers think are the effects of employer-supported child care?

The respondents were given a list of 10 areas that are mentioned in the literature as being affected by employer-supported child care and asked to indicate whether, in their opinion, assisting with employee child care needs had a positive effect, negative effect or no effect.

TABLE 4

B.C. EMPLOYERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE EFFECTS OF EMPLOYER-SUPPORTED CHILD CARE

Possible Effects	% of respondents indicating POSITIVE EFFECT	NO EFFECT	NEGATIVE EFFECT
Employee productivity (n=111)	50	46	4
Absenteeism (n=112)	65	30	5
Recruitment of new employees (n=113)	56	42	2
Retention of current employees (n=112)	46	53	1
Company profits (n=109)	21	51	28
Employee morale (n=112)	47	51	2
Tardiness (n=113)	47	51	2
Employee training costs (n=110)	17	74	9
Employee-management relations (n=114)	58	39	3
Improvement of corporate image (n=109)	63	35	2

The majority of respondents indicated that assisting with employee child care needs had a positive effect on absenteeism, employee morale, corporate image, employee-management relations and recruitment. A similar pattern of results was reported in the Minnesota Business Survey (Copeland, 1982). There was no effect, according to the majority of respondents, for employee training costs, retention, tardiness and company profits. Very few of the respondents saw negative effects with the exception of the effect on company profits. The respondents were least likely to perceive possible positive effects from employer-supported child care in areas related to costs (i.e., company profits and employee training costs). However, positive cost benefits of employer-supported child care have been reported (e.g., Burud et al., 1984).

The majority of the respondents in the natural resources category did not think employer-supported child care had any positive effects. In all the other groups, a majority perceived positive effects for absenteeism and employee morale. A majority of the respondents in manufacturing, transporation/communication/utilities, wholesale retail, health care, and services thought there were positive effects for employee productivity and improvement of corporate image. Of these five groups, all but manufacturing also perceived positive effects for recruitment of new employees and employee-management relations.

What are employers' sources of information, perceptions of employee interest and awareness of tax implications?

The majority (52%) of respondents (n = 125) had not obtained any information about employer-supported child care. Of those who had, the source used most often were employees, then the popular media (i.e., television, magazines, newspapers, etc.), and then business or trade journals. Hewes et al., (1981) found the same pattern for San Diego employers; others (e.g., Employers say, 1982) have identified other corporations/organizations as the most frequent source of information. However, in this study, other corporations/organizations and unions were the least frequent sources of information on employer-supported child care. This discrepancy may be due to the early developmental stage of employer-supported child care in B.C. and San Diego; employers have not had much first-hand experience with employer-supported child care and therefore cannot really serve as resources for one another.

Although employees were the most frequently reported sources of information, only 28 percent of the respondents (n = 123) indicated their employees had expressed an interest in employer-supported child care; 62 percent reported no interest and 10 percent didn't know.

Other studies have reported the same situation (Anderson, 1983; Day Care, 1982). Several respondents included written comments that they had had no requests from employees to consider employer-supported child care. One respondent commented that although his/her corporation had not yet seriously considered employer-supported child care, they would be willing to if the union suggested it as a matter for negotiation. Another wrote that, as part of a union settlement, they had agreed to a study of the need for employer-supported child

care but that the union had never followed up on it. This seeming lack of interest in employer-supported child care by some union groups is supported by the finding that unions were seldom reported as a source of information to employers about employer-supported child care.

One frequently mentioned way of reducing the costs of some forms of employer-supported child care is by taking advantage of taxation regulations (Brooks, 1983; Burud et al., 1984; Empire State, 1980; University Research Corporation, 1982). However, in this study, 86 percent of the respondents (n = 121) reported that they were not aware of the tax implications of employer-supported child care. It seems that possible tax advantages may not necessarily be a major determinant in employers undertaking an employer-supported child care option (Brooks, 1983).

In addition to cost, other obstacles reported by the respondents in their written comments were the lack of interest by their employees and the need to meet British Columbia licensing regulations for some types of employer-supported child care (e.g., on-site or off-site child care centres). This latter obstacle was primarily a cost factor, if extensive renovations or building was required, or an administrative factor (e.g., the number of hours per day a centre can operate in British Columbia).

Conclusion

In summary, most British Columbia employers surveyed were aware of employer-supported child care in a general sense, and would consider various options if economic conditions permitted. The specific options favoured by employers varied with factors such as the type of company, the number of employees, the hours of operation, and the percentage of women employees. At this time, the health care organizations are the most active group investigating and implementing employer-supported child care in British Columbia.

Although British Columbia employers' perceive positive effects of employer-supported child care on absenteeism, employee morale, corporate image, employee-management relations, and recruitment, there are no empirical studies of Canadian employer-supported child care to support these perceptions. A current need in research on employer-supported child care in Canada is for empirical studies to evaluate more objectively and longitudinally the effects of employer-supported child care on absenteeism, tardiness, recruitment of new employees, retention of current employees, etc.

Employer-supported child care in British Columbia seems to be in between an awareness and an interest stage. Employers are aware of employer-supported child care, but do not seem to have a great deal of information nor are they actively seeking more information. However, they do have a generally open attitude toward employer-supported child care as it may relate to their corporation or organization. Given the diversity of British Columbia corporations and organizations and their diverse needs in terms of employer-supported services

and benefits, it will be interesting and instructive to monitor the developments in employer-supported child care in British Columbia in the next decade.

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APPLYING BRONFENBRENNER'S ECOLOGICAL MODEL TO A STUDY OF DAYCARE IN A CANADIAN CITY [1]

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ABSTRACT

Bronfenbrenner's ecological model of research on child development requires the examination of a wide range of interacting influences on children. This model has been applied to research on daycare in a study in Victoria, British Columbia. Samples of children attending community daycare centres, and both licensed and unlicensed family daycare homes have been identified, and are participating in a longitudinal research design which is investigating the trial of parents, children and caregivers.

Introduction

In 1979 Urie Bronfenbrenner published *The Ecology of Human Development*. The most memorable and often quoted line from the text was, "Much of developmental psychology, as it now exists, is the science of the strange behaviour of children in strange situations with strange adults for the briefest possible periods of time" (1979, p. 19). Heretical to many and prophetic to others, Bronfenbrenner's call was exciting in its conceptualization, yet challenging in its operationalization.

Within the field of daycare research, Bronfenbrenner's call for a broader ecology of research was coincidental with a movement towards an increase in "real world" settings in place of laboratory-based studies. Such university-based research had essentially resolved questions such as whether daycare was necessarily detrimental to a child's development. The answer, as we are aware, is no: high quality care like that found in university settings does not appear to have significant negative effects, and for some children and families it has considerable positive benefits. Belsky and Steinberg's landmark review of the literature

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in 1978 and 1985 not only helped to establish that position and other findings but also lent greater support to Bronfenbrenner's call for more ecologically-oriented studies.

The Victoria Day Care Research Project, conceived in 1981 and undertaken in 1983, is one Canadian response to Bronfenbrenner's call for ecologically-oriented studies of children, their families, communities and society.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological approach offered social scientists a conceptual framework for the investigation of individual development within a social context. The essence of Bronfenbrenner's ecological statement was that when studying social phenomena researchers should not restrict themselves to the immediate variables present within a laboratory or other socially restricted research sites. He argued that it is critically important to take into account the context of the environment in which a specific phenomenon occurs. It is only through seeking to include in, rather than to control out, these variables that we can hope to understand the interactive complexity of development and behaviour.

Bronfenbrenner suggested that the ecological context of a phenomenon can be conceptualized as a series of concentric circles ranging from the immediate physical setting and the variables relating to it, to the outermost circle of societal beliefs and attitudes about children and their care. These environmental layers he labelled the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem.

The microsystem of daycare includes all the variables and activities related to the immediate caregiving environment of the child including the physical setting, equipment, schedules, activities, materials and the caregiver-child(ren) as well as child-child interactions that take place during care.

The mesosystem extends the environment outwards to include the various micro-systems of which a child is a participating member. A major question or variable at the mesosystem level is the similarity or congruity that exists among the articulated microsystems.

Travelling further outward, the exosystem is constituted in part by the legislation, policies and enforcers who regulate and structure daycare on behalf of a culture or society. Within the exosystem is defined the availability of daycare, the range of daycare options sanctioned by the legislative system and how such care is regulated and financed.

The outermost circle, the macrosystem, includes the general cultural and societal beliefs regarding daycare such as the acceptability of women with young children entering the work force and the value society places on the task of rearing children.

The systemic levels are permeable and interactive. A change within one system is capable of impacting on elements within other systems. The following description of the Victoria Day Care Research Project will discuss how the various system levels of daycare were examined in that study and how Bronfenbrenner's model influenced the overall design of the project.

The Victoria Day Care Research Project

The Victoria Day Care Research Project (Pence and Goelman, 1982) is a two year study developed to examine the use and operation of daycare in a mid-size city located on the west coast of Canada. Victoria, British Columbia, was selected as a site for the Project for reasons of lack of research information on daycare in the city and the availability, given its governmental centre status, of a high population of employed mothers with young children. In addition, much of the previous Canadian daycare research has originated from other parts of Canada, primarily metropolitan areas of Ontario and Quebec, and the principal investigators felt there was a need to look at daycare in a wider range of geographical areas and under different political jurisdictions of the country.

Design Overview

The 126 children in the study were a sample of two to five-year-olds who were in care for thirty or more hours per week while their mothers worked outside the home. Although daycare exists in Victoria in many more variations than are included in the Project, children in three of the most common and most critical situation to policy makers were chosen: group (or centre) care, licensed family daycare, and unlicensed family daycare.

Within each of the three types of daycare arrangements, triads of child-caregiver-parent comprised the "subject grouping." It was necessary when recruiting the study sample that all three members of an individual daycare arrangement agree to participate in the study before data was collected. Table 1 shows the numerical composition of the subject groups by type of care, by sex of child, and by one or two parent family status.

TABLE 1

SUBJECT POOL OF THE VICTORIA DAY CARE RESEARCH PROJECT BY TYPE OF CARE, FAMILY STRUCTURE AND SEX OF TARGET CHILD

	One-Parent		Two-Parent		Totals
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
Community Day Care	15	13	13	13	54
Licenced Family Day Care	11	12	6	10	39
Unlicenced Family Day Care	6	8	11	8	33
Totals	32	33	30	31	125

The data were collected from each research triad by the following methods: an hour-long structured interview of the child's mother; a separate hour-long interview with the child's caregiver; and, with the child, a short interview as well as a series of three developmental outcome measures. Two of the outcome measures assessed language skills: the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test — Revised (Dunn and Dunn, 1981), and the Expressive One-Word Picture Vocabulary Test (Gardner, 1979). Problem-solving and interpersonal relationship skills were addressed with an adaptation of The Preschool Interpersonal Problems Solving Test (Shure and Spivak, 1974).

In addition, a team of observers made approximately four hours of observation of the child in his or her daycare site. These observations consisted of time-sampled recordings of behaviour during care and also an assessment of the daycare site using either the centre-oriented Early Childhood Environment Rating Scale or the Day Care Home Environment Rating Scale (Harms and Clifford, 1980; 1982).

Table 2 provides an overview of the research components designed to yield information about the developmental levels of the children, the physical and

TABLE 2

DATA GATHERING COMMENTS OF THE VICTORIA DAY CARE PROJECT SHOWING WHEN DATA COLLECTED

Parent Interviews	1-1½ hr. interview covering demographic information, opinions on working and daycare options, child's satisfactions/dissatisfactions with daycare	November
Caregiver Interviews	1-1½ hr. interview covering demographic information, caregiver's perception of parent and daycare child, caregiver's search for daycare children and demand for services	November
1st Child Development Measure	child questionnaire, preschool inventory of problem solving (PIPS) Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-Revised, (PPVT-R), Expressive One-word Picture Vocabulary Test (EOWPVT)	November, December
Observation of Day Care Site	Harms & Clifford Rating Scales, Child Observation Form, Caregiver Post-Impression Form, Child Post-Impression Form	January, February

social characteristics of the daycare environment, and the information on and from the families and caregivers. The time-frame over which data were collected is also presented.

Applying Bronfenbrenner's Model

There were several ways in which Bronfenbrenner's model guided the ecological approach of the Victoria Day Care Research Project. These included: (1) the number and kind of daycare options investigated, (2) the use of the research triad of parent-caregiver-child as the basic unit of data collection, and (3) the breadth and type of information collected from study participants.

(1) *Day Care Arrangements Investigated*

In order to understand the ecology of daycare as perceived and utilized by parents in Victoria, it was necessary to include for study a range of major caregiving options that are routinely available for parents in the city. From an ecological perspective it was also desirable to understand the interaction effect of exosystem regulations on the availability, utilization, and characteristics of regulated and unregulated care. In the province of British Columbia, there are both regulated and unregulated forms of daycare. The term "regulated" refers to the fact that the care is supervised to some extent and sanctioned by the governmental bodies. "Unregulated" care is, therefore, "unofficial" in that standards and regulations set out by government "exosystem" are not applied to this group.

To accurately represent the daycare options within Victoria, it was essential to sample both kinds of care. This the Project did by recruiting study participants from government-held lists of licensed daycare operators and by contacting unlicensed caregivers by many of the same means used by parents in locating care for their children. The steps used to contact unlicensed caregivers included: contacting caregivers advertising on bulletin boards in supermarkets, community recreation centres and other meeting places; answering advertisements placed by caregivers in major local and community newspapers; and, placing an advertisement to attract caregivers in these same newspapers.

Subject selection was successful in sampling broadly within major forms of "exosystem regulated and unregulated" daycare. In total, twenty-two daycare centres, twenty-four licensed and twenty-seven unlicensed family daycare homes were included in the original Project sample. These various daycare sites represented a wide variety of philosophies, quality, structures and other important dimensions of daycare. By including many different daycare sites and several different daycare options, sampling only a restricted section of daycare consumers (parents) and providers (caregivers) was avoided, and a more accurate representation of the ecology of daycare within the community could be drawn.

(2) *The Research Triad*

A central element of ecological research is the concept of system interaction. The research triad design created for this study included the three major participants in a daycare interaction: the child, the caregiver, and the parent.

The triad itself can be defined as a mesosystem, composed as it is of the two microsystems containing the child, the family, and the caregiver. Encompassing the triadic mesosystem are the exosystem and macrosystem.

The use of a triadic configuration (and appropriate instrumentation discussed below) allows for data analysis of continuity features within and practices between the two significant caregiving environments of the home and caregiver. The effects of relative continuity or discontinuity and its interaction with other variables are little understood at present and add an additional dimension to the question of what constitutes "quality care." This dimension of "continuity" has, for reasons of inherent limitations to most research designs, been notably absent from discussions of daycare research that have focussed more narrowly on only microsystem aspects of care.

Conceptually the triadic configuration allows the potential for an enhanced examination of systemic, interaction effects. The specific instruments selected and designed for this ecological purpose are briefly discussed in the following section.

(3) *Instrumentation*

The various instruments used in the VDCRP and their chronological relationship over the course of the study were presented earlier in Table 2. Features of these instruments that reflect the underlying ecological conceptualization guiding the Project include: (1) the exploration of exo- and meso-system issues through structured interview "probes," (2) partial and full mirroring of information across two perspectives (parent and caregiver dyads), and (3) partial and full mirroring across three, and at times four, perspectives (parent-caregiver-observer and parent-caregiver-observer-child). These different measures are discussed briefly below.

Parent Questionnaire

1. Day Care history and search
2. Options on working mothers
3. Demographic information
4. Parent satisfaction with arrangement
5. Parent's perception of the caregiver
6. Child management situation
7. Present daycare arrangement and your child

plus

Child Questionnaire and Outcome Measures

Caregiver Questionnaire

1. Caregivers history
2. Supply of and/or search for children
3. Demographic information
4. Caregiver satisfaction with arrangement
5. Caregiver's perception of the parent
6. Child management situation
7. Caregiver's perception of arrangement of child

plus

Observation Instruments

Examples of "probe" questions in the parent and caregiver questionnaire include measures of attitude toward working mothers and toward regulatory/government changes which would assist parents or caregivers in their daycare responsibilities. Fully and partially mirrored questions are those that asked, respectively, identical and complementary information of two or more respondent (parent and caregiver or parent, caregiver and child). An example of a fully mirrored, two perspectives question was a set providing descriptors of the child. Four-point mirrored questions sought identical information from parent, child, and caregiver and were also reported upon by the daycare site observer. An example of a four-point question area related to perception and observation of the child's daily activities.

By employing the variety of measures outlined above, an enhanced representation of the ecology of daycare as seen through the eyes of its participants can be constructed and perspectives of the major figures involved in the caregiving situation could be compared.

Summary

From the inception of the study when experimental variables were selected, the design was developed, and study participants were contacted, Bronfenbrenner's ecological model influenced Project decisions. By implementing this model, a more comprehensive representation of daycare use in a Canadian city has been constructed than has heretofore been the case.

One of the major benefits of Bronfenbrenner's model is that the researcher is able to take a wider view of the phenomena under investigation. Daycare, like most other types of child care, is not just an activity which takes place within the four walls of a caregiving site but is rather an interactive process that both "spills over" into the larger world and is, in turn, affected by actions removed from the immediate presence of the child or family.

With a wide data gathering net, the Project examined not only what went on during care in various types of settings but also gathered information ranging from family background to legislative regulations and broader social attitudes. Such a more encompassing base of data is necessary if we are to move beyond "the science of the strange behaviour of children in strange situations with strange adults."

Bronfenbrenner's model is a much-needed conceptual tool for use in contemporary, highly interdependent societies, yet its operationalization represents a significant challenge to researchers. It is hoped that information gained by the Victoria Day Care Research Project will not only enhance our understanding of the ecology of daycare in Canada, but also our understanding of how we can progress as researchers with the assistance of a rich conceptual model.

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THE VICTORIA DAYCARE RESEARCH PROJECT: INITIAL DESCRIPTIVE DATA ON PARENTS [1]

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ABSTRACT

The characteristics and preferences of the parents of the 126 children participating in a research study on daycare are described. Although respondents use a variety of caregiving forms, there is general satisfaction with their current arrangement. Although the majority of respondents have relatives in town, those relatives are not a major source of caregiving nor of information regarding caregiving: friends and government are a far more important source of information. Although one-third of respondents perceive no negative effects of the child being in daycare, the majority have concern regarding the child's behaviour or emotional well-being, or experience guilt themselves as parents. Mothers express strong opinions on the role fathers should play in helping care for children. Job satisfaction is quite high for these Victoria mothers, but, nevertheless, there is a strong indication that increased job flexibility and more part-time work is strongly desired by the respondents.

Introduction

The preceding article has described in overview the ecological design of the Victoria Day Care Research Project (VDCRP). Since the initiation of that project, during the spring and summer of 1983, the subject of daycare and the need for additional daycare research has been heightened in Canada, in part through the creation of several federal level task forces on child care. These task force initiatives include the May 1984 Liberal government formation of a Task Force on Child Care under the auspices of the Secretary of State, Status of Women Office; the May 1984 Ontario call for an inter-provincial Task Force Working Group on Child Care; and most recently, the formation of a Parliamentary Task

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Force on Child Care in December, 1985, by the Conservative Government. A major concern of each Task Force has been with the attempt to better understand the current state of Canadian daycare needs and preferences in order to make informed policy decisions.

Insofar as there exists a pressing need for additional research data on daycare in Canada at this time, and since *initial* frequency and descriptive data on parents is available for the VDCRP, the authors feel it may be useful to make available relevant parts of this initial data with accompanying brief commentaries. [1] What follows, then, are various tabulations taken from that initial VDCRP data which relate to current daycare policy discussions in Canada.

A. *Who Were the Responding Parents?*

It should first be pointed out that the study design incorporated only mothers as respondents. [2] Of the 126 mothers interviewed, 64 indicated that they were single parents, 62 that they had a partner or husband. The mean age of respondents was 29 years with an age range from 19 to 42 years. Ninety-eight of the respondents were employed, 18 were students, and 10 were classified as other (seeking employment, etc.). *Respondents'* income and educational levels are shown in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1

INCOME AND EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF RESPONDENTS

Income	*n*	%
less than $10,000/year	40	31.7%
$10,000 to $15,000/year	35	27.7%
$15,000 to $20,000/year	32	25.4%
$20,000 to $30,000/year	13	10.3%
$30,000 plus/year	4	3%
Education		
less than high school graduation	24	19%
high school graduate	34	26.9%
some college/technical school	34	26.9%
college graduate	13	10.3%
university graduate	19	15%

The mean number of hours worked per week was 34.7 with a mode of 40. Work schedules of respondents included 4 who worked evenings, 12 who worked on weekends, and 2 who worked shifts; 11 indicated all of the above, and 83 (65 percent) none of the above. Unlike some major Canadian daycare studies (Johnson, 1977, 1978) the great majority of respondents in the VDCRP, 77 percent, were Canadian born, 16 percent were European born, and 4 percent were United States born.

B. *What Were the Families Like?*

As has been noted above, the total number of responding mothers was almost equally divided between single and two-parent families. The mean number of children was 1.5 per family (68-one child; 54-two children; 3-three children; 1-four children). Sixty percent of the families rented their homes with the remaining 40 percent owning their homes. The respondents were in large part relatively long-term residents of Victoria: 75.3 percent have lived in Victoria for more than 5 years, 12 percent for 2-5 years, and 12 percent for less than 2 years. The majority, 78.5 percent of the respondents, have a relative living in town and 9 percent have a relative living in the same household. Only 5 percent do not have a relative living in the province.

Although virtually the entire sample of mothers of preschool children were involved in the labour force (or were students), only 22.5 percent of the respondents had mothers who had worked outside of the home when they (the respondents) were of preschool age. These figures for respondents' mothers are roughly those that held for Canada as a whole during the 1955-1965 period.

The Focal Children

The subject group of children was equally divided between boys and girls, 64 boys and 62 girls (boys and girls were also equally divided across single and two-parent families and across the three types of care studied). The mean age of the focal children was 44 months, with a standard deviation of 10.2 months. The mean number of months the children had been in care was 25.9 months. In 62.6 percent of the cases the focal child was the first born child in the family; in 66.6 percent of cases, the focal child was the first child in the family to be in daycare.

Types of care utilized by the children and families were:

Licenced family daycare home	(LFDCH)	39
Unlicenced family daycare home	(UFDCH)	33
Daycare centre (DCC)		54

C. *Characteristics of Caregiving Arrangements*

Creating the arrangement and alternative

As noted above, three types of caregiving arrangements were studied in the VDCRP: Licenced Family Day Care Home (LFDCH-39). Unlicenced Family Day Care Home (UFDCH-33), and Day Care Centres(DCC-54). In addition to each parent's current arrangement, the parents have also used the following other arrangements at various times in order of diminishing frequency.

Other Types of Care Ever Used by Respondents

Centre	28	(22.2%)
UFDCH	28	(22.2%)
LFDCH	27	(21.4%)

Relative	17	(13.5%)
Spouse	12	(9.5%)
Other	5	(3.9%)

Parental (maternal) opinions concerning the "best type of care" for preschool children vary by age group considered, and are as follows:

Type of Care Preferred by:	Age 1	Age 2	Age 3	Age 4
Family Day Care Home	107	100	38	17
Centre Care	11	19	76	104
Depends/ No Preference	7	7	12	6

When the mothers were presented with a list of methods for locating child care, they indicated that the following practices were used:

Practices Employed to Locate Child Care Arrangements

Discussed with friends	78%	Contacted Government	73%
Used Newspaper ads	47%	Called Day Care Centres	45%
Discussed with Relative	29%	Discussed with Neighbours	27%
Talked to previous caregiver	21%	Used Bulletin Boards	12%
Other	7%		

Respondents were asked if they had ever observed the child in care subsequent to making the arrangement? They responded as follows:

Yes, many times	30%
Yes, once or twice	29%
No	41%

Relationship of care utilized to work

The model period of time for a parent to drive the child to care is five minutes (33.3 percent). However, there is a range from 1 minute (n=4) to 1 hour (n=1) (mean = 10.43 minutes). Travel time to work from the caregiving site is somewhat longer: mean 15.7 minutes, mode 10 minutes, with a range of 2 minutes (n=8) to 1 hour (n=1). The number of times the daycare arrangement has broken down has a mean of 0.5 incidents, with 75 percent reporting never experiencing a breakdown, 14 percent experiencing only 1 breakdown, 13 percent experiencing 2 breakdowns, and 3 percent experiencing 3 breakdowns or

more. Twenty percent of the respondents report that their caregiving arrangements have required them to adjust their work hours, 30 percent indicated the arrangement has caused them to miss work, but only one percent indicated that the arrangement has caused them to change jobs.

Relationship of parent to caregiver, and respondents' perception of child satisfaction with care

The study inquired into how well parents knew their caregiver at the beginning of the arrangement and how well at present.

At beginning of arrangement, parent acquaintance with caretaker

Not at all	91 (72.2%)
Knew slightly	18 (14.3%)
More than slightly	12 (9.5%)
Extremely well	5 (4.0%)

At Present, parent acquaintance with caretaker

Not at all	2 (1.6%)
In a business way only	31 (24.6%)
Well enough to discuss matters apart from the arrangement	66 (52.4%)
Consider to be a good friend	27 (21.4%)

Seventy-three percent of the parents surveyed felt that their child's confidence, independence or initiative had benefitted from his or her being in care. When questioned regarding any negative effects of care the parents responded to the following as concerns:

Concerns regarding negative effects of child being in care

None	41 (32.5%)
Child's emotional well being	29 (23. %)
Bad influence of others in care	28 (22.2%)
Parental guilt	20 (15.8%)
Child's behaviour	19 (15. %)
Physical well being (colds, nutrition, fatigue)	14 (11.1%)
Negative effects on other family members	2 (1.5%)
Other	14 (11.1%)

Respondents, when asked if their child enjoyed going to daycare noted yes, most of the time in 92.8 percent of the cases, and some of the time in 6 percent of the cases. Parents believed that those things their child liked best about daycare were: activities (55.5 percent), peers (49.2 percent), and caregiver (26 percent). The children's least favourite aspects of care, in the eyes of their parents, were naptime (16.6 percent) and other children (11.1 percent); however, a greater number of parents opted for "likes everything" (30 percent). On a seven point scale, the mean response of parents when questioned, as to whether they believed

the caregivers "liked my child" was 6.61 (7 = strongly agrees). When asked if they would choose this same caregiver again, 90.4 percent of parents indicated general to strong agreement, while 7.8 percent indicated no, or no strong opinion.

D. *Opinions on Working Mothers*

A major factor influencing the increase in public and policy interest in child care is the changing relationship of women, and in particular mothers, to the labour force. Between 1971 and the present the percent-age of mothers of children under the age of six who participate in the out-of-home labour force has risen from approximately 25 percent to over 50 percent. That demographic shift carries with it shifts in values and beliefs concerning women's various roles and responsibilities in families and in society. For many women these shifts represent a no-win situation of blame/guilt if they do or does not stay at home. Aspects of women's relationship to in-home labour were queried using a seven point scale.

Opinions of respondents on working mothers

	Mean on 7-point scale with "7" indicating high agreement and "1" high disagreement
Fathers have not been involved enough in parenting in the past and ought to be	6.11
It is necessary for our family's economic survival that I work	5.95
It gives me a feeling of independence and self-satisfaction to work	5.81
I like the kind of work I am doing	5.79
It is important for me that I have contact with other adults and their ideas and work fulfills this need for me	5.61
It doesn't really do most children harm to spend the day away from their mother	5.12
I like the daily routine of working	5.09
On the whole I think that I can be a better mother if I work	4.45
My family seems to get along better at home when I am working	4.39
In order to get a little bit more than the basic necessities, I go to work	4.21
A mother who works misses the experience of seeing her children grow up	4.20

I prefer to work so that I can get out of the house and away from the children for a while	3.80
It is important for my child to have a mother who works outside the home as a role model	3.77
Mothers shouldn't work unless they absolutely have to	2.96
Mothers who work neglect their children as a result	2.12

E. *Services, Benefits and Work Schedules*

Respondents were queried on 11 existing or potential services or benefits related to work related child care and asked to rank their top three choices. The four services/benefits most often ranked in the top three were:

1. After school day care (68 times a top-3 choice)
2. Daycare in work place (48 times a top-3 choice)
3. Child Care Tax Credit (43 times a top-3 choice)
4. More part-time care (42 times a top-3 choice)

The next three most often identified as a top 3 choice were as follows:

5. Extended maternity leave (36)
6. Group care for infants (35)
7. FDCH networks for the benefit of the caregiver (34)

A major element in balancing work schedules and child care is the part-time or full-time nature of a parent's work schedule and in response to the question, "Ideally, what would you like your work schedule to be?" there was evidence of a strong preference for part-time employment.

Work schedule preferences most desired

Affirmative			%
1.	Having a part-time job outside home	90	77.5%
2.	Having a full-time job outside the home	18	15.5%
3.	Staying at home with my children	6	5.1%
4.	Other	2	1.7%

Discussion and Summary

The preceding presentation represents a preliminary and descriptive presentation of selected data from the VDCRP which addresses some of the questions currently under review by one or more national policy groups. Although this report represents a preliminary descriptive level of analysis of combined data from the VDCRP study, when viewed in conjunction with other studies from other parts of the country certain findings begin to resonate as perhaps being true for the country, as a whole, while other findings appear to have more limited generalizability.

The issue of generalizability is a critical one for Canadian daycare studies. Certain variables, such as an overall increase in the number of working mothers, a lowering of the fertility rate, and an increase in the number of children needing care, are national in scope with relatively minor variations from province to province. However, other variables, such as the ratios of licensed to unlicensed care, centre to home care, profit to non-profit sponsorship, and per capita expenditures for daycare services, and scope or regulations governing daycare services, vary widely from province to province. The interaction of relatively similar national population change characteristics with dissimilar jurisdictional responses in the form of regulations and funding, and dissimilar patterns of work and child care need found between urban and rural settings, creates a complex mosaic in need of further study. Even within the relative homogeneity of a single Canadian city such as Victoria there are differences in the availability and accessibility of various types of care. Income, educational status, and number of children in the family propel parents toward certain caregiving options and away from others.

In examining this early data from the VDCRP, one can see emerging patterns of commonality and diversity within a sample of working mothers in Victoria. Although the respondents use a variety of caregiving forms, there is general satisfaction with their current arrangement. Breakdowns in the arrangement are experienced rarely. As a group mothers share a common belief in preferred types of care for one-year-old and for four-year-olds; there is somewhat less agreement regarding two-year-olds and a very mixed opinion concerning three-year-olds. Although the majority of respondents have relatives in town, those relatives are not a major source of caregiving nor of information regarding caregiving; friends and government are a far more important source of information for these respondents. Although one-third of the respondents perceive no negative effects of the child being in care, the majority have concern regarding the child's behaviour or emotional well-being, or experience guilt themselves as parents. At the same time, over 90 percent note that their child enjoys going to daycare most of the time. There are strong opinions regarding the role fathers should play (and generally don't) in helping to care for children. Job satisfaction is quite high for these Victoria mothers, but, nevertheless, there is a strong indication that increased job flexibility and in particular an increase in the availability of part-time work is highly desired by the respondents.

This and other recent studies reinforce the need to see the child care needs of Canadian parents in more than daycare *services* perspectives. More and better daycare centres and more and better daycare homes are needed in Canada, but they alone do not address all parents' needs. A diversity of parental and child needs requires a diversity of options; options that embrace full or partial labour force participation by women and men; options that include maternity and paternity leave; options that allow full or partial parental involvement in the out-of-home caregiving environment; and options that allow a full range of good quality centre and home based caregiving arrangements; in short, options that empower parents by providing choices. The existence of a society where parents have viable choices and can exercise control in their own and their children's best

interests does not exist in Canada today. Hopefully the work of researchers, advocates, daycare workers, and legislators will help create it for tomorrow.

Reference Notes

[1] Additional analysis of the VDCRP data is currently underway. Descriptive and inferential data on parents, caregivers, and children by type of care, one and two-parent families, child's sex, and specific analysis of continuity factors as they relate to child develop-ment will be available later in 1985 and in 1986.

[2] A small sample (n = 15) of fathers from the two-parent families were interviewed as part of an exploratory sub-study using most of the same items from the maternal respondent questionnaire (Pence and Early, in progress).

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LATCHKEY CHILDREN: SELF-CARE

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ABSTRACT

Latchkey children are all too often overlooked when the need for daycare is considered. Some recent surveys in various parts of Canada, as well as in the U.S.A., suggest that it is a larger problem then generally realized. In many instances, the proportion of latchkey children significantly exceeds 20 percent of children of working parents. The problem, however, is by no means limited to the numerical dimension. Anecdotal information and studies reveal that the impact may well include a higher propensity for home accidents, a heightened level of fear, social isolation, and lowered levels of self-esteem and self-worth. There is even some suggestion that the effects may extend into adulthood.

A number of well-intentioned programs have emerged in recent years, designed to help young school-age children cope with their latchkey status. These telephone hot lines, books and courses instruct families and children in how to deal with the negative side effects. However well-intentioned, the programs function largely as a means of avoiding the real issues. Even the use of the euphemistic term, ''self-care,'' suggests that neglect is really a legitimate form of child care, when what is really required is for all sectors of society to recognize their share in the problem and to accept responsibility for part of the solution.

Introduction

The growth of preschool daycare programs over the past twenty years has been remarkable and is well-documented in the annual publication of National Health and Welfare entitled *Status of Day Care in Canada.* This growth in supply and demand has come largely as a result of the increasing participation by women in the labour force. While the growth in preschool programs may not have fully kept pace with the demand for care, there is another segment of young children whose needs for nurturing, care, supervision and recognition have gone substantially unnoticed. Once children reach school age, concern for the provision of suitable care arrangements during non-school hours seems to dissipate. In fact, while the full range of arguments for more and better care is regularly marshalled on behalf of pre-school children, the very same advocates remain substantially unaware of the very same needs for care by the young school-age child.

Preschool children grow up and become school-age children, and unless family circumstances change with respect to the work, educational or other routines

which take parents out of the home, the need for care does not change. The 1979 annual *Status of Day Care in Canada* report indicated that there were 2.3 million children of working mothers between the ages of six and sixteen in Canada; further, that only somewhat in excess of 7,000 child care spaces, sufficient for only a fraction of the potential demand, were available for this group of young children. The 1983 report indicates the availability of 17,708 daycare spaces for school-age children under the age of thirteen, representing 12.7 percent of spaces available for children of all ages. While the growth in absolute numbers in the intervening years is noteworthy, the demand remains substantially unmet (Day Care Information Centre, 1979 to 1984).

The purpose of this commentary is to describe in some greater detail the need for school-age child care in Canada on the basis of present patterns of self-care. Some of the programs which attempt to ameliorate this increasing problem may in fact tacitly sanction this group of "neglected" children, and inadvertently add to the difficulty in gaining the necessary support and recognition.

The 1984-85 Winter/Spring issue of *Canadian Children*, for instance, deals specifically with daycare and correctly notes that it is on the political agenda in our country (at least it was during the 1984 election campaign). The article, which sets the stage for this issue by its content and title, *Day Care in Canada: Major Issues and Problems*, omits the needs of the young school-age child in favour of the preschool child (Bagley, 1985). While the need for preschool children is legitimate and serious, the omission of the need for care for school-age children serves to further the perception that this group of children can at best be integrated into the preschool programs, and, at worst be left to the "latchkey" status in which all too many already find themselves.

As a result of the emphasis in formal child care programs on the developmental needs of preschool children, combined with both real and perceived long-term benefits, growing numbers of school-age children have, at best, frequently been unobtrusively integrated into various kinds of preschool daycare programs. As long as the numbers of school-age children were kept small, it was relatively easy to rationalize age-inappropriate programming.

Upon graduation from preschool daycare, however, the vast majority of young children are all too often left with the vagaries of "self-care" or else in the casual care of older siblings, neighbours, or nearby relatives. Recent surveys in places like Winnipeg and Calgary, as well as in the U.S.A., suggest that large numbers of school-age children of working parents under thirteen years of age, are left to their own means during some significant part of the non-school hours, and often on non-school days, while the parents are not at home. The evidence garnered by a variety of surveys suggests that the tacit approval given to latchkey child care by educators, social service agencies, employers, and society in general may well constitute an institutionalized form of "approved" child neglect.

The results of a 1984 study on the needs of single parents conducted by the City of Calgary Social Services Department indicate that approximately 32 percent of the single parents were using the services of formal school-age child care

programs. At the same time, 19 percent indicated that they had used these services at some time in the past. A further 41 percent indicated that they had never used formal school-age child care services at all. A total of 8 percent did not respond. In terms of the care of school-age children not using formal school-age child care programs, 22 percent of respondents indicated that their children care for themselves at least for part of the time. If the respondents without children and those who cared for their own children, i.e., those not working and at home, are excluded from the data, then 46 percent of the respondents' children spend some time in self-care arrangements. The remaining 54 percent of respondents' children are cared for primarily through informal arrangements including those provided by relatives, neighbours, babysitters and community programs (City of Calgary, 1985).

At the end of 1984, Calgary had approximately 40 percent, or 2200 spaces, of the formally licensed and approved school-age child care spaces in the Province of Alberta. A conservative estimate would suggest that there may possibly be upwards of an additional 7,000 children of working parents in Calgary who receive no formal care, that is, care without a responsible adult present during some part of the day during the non-school hours.

In a study by the Alberta Committee on Children and Youth, utilizing 1976 federal census data which was projected forward to 1980, it was estimated that as many as 150,000 children aged six to fourteen years were in need of some kind of school-age child care service in the Province of Alberta. While specific data for the actual number of latchkey children was not available, the study, nevertheless, pointed out that there were less than 1,000 licensed spaces available in Alberta at the time. (De Waal et. al. 1982).

The Winnipeg study, refered to earlier, is particularly instructive in pointing out the potential seriousness of the self-care problem, in that, "some 2,700 parents of 2,900 children were in violation of the Act" (Manitoba Provincial Child Welfare Act). In addition to a 22 percent rate of self-care, a further 21 percent were cared for by siblings and 12 percent were cared for by relatives, resulting in an overall non-market care rate of 60 percent of school-age children (Stevens, 1984).

Toward a Co-ordinated Child *Care Delivery System in North York* identified a conservative figure of 13,500 children in North York, aged six to nine who needed alternative child care arrangements because their mothers were at work. At the same time, this report indicated that only 570 spaces were available in thirty-one licensed day nursery programs. While some other before and after school programs are reportedly by available, concerns about the quality of supervision, programming, and staffing were indicated, in view of their use as child care programs. (Friendly and O'Neill, 1982).

In a study of school-age child care needs in Metropolitan Toronto, it was estimated that 66.8 percent of children in the age range of four to twelve were

probably in need of some kind of child care for at least some of the time. The study went on to conclude that a "very small proportion of all potentially eligible children are presently enrolled in the formal daycare system" (Toronto Children's Advisory Group, 1984).

The annual *Status of Day Care in Canada* reports published by Health and Welfare Canada have over the years consistently reported that licensed/approved spaces for the age group of six to sixteen are in serious short supply. For instance, in 1980, it was reported that there were 2,443,000 children of working parents in this age group. At the same time only 0.68 percent were enrolled in some kind of daycare service. While the reliability of the numbers has been challenged, the trend they have established reflects an urgency concerning the problem not generally appreciated (Day Care Information Branch, 1980).

The *1981 Child Care Arrangements Survey* published by Statistics Canada, indicates that on a national basis 16.1 percent of school age children (six to fourteen years of age) provided for their own care during the after school hours period. The Atlantic Region had the lowest rate, at 11.7 percent, while Quebec, at 18.5 percent, had the highest rate of self-care arrangements of all the Canadian provinces. If other siblings of the school-age child are excluded from the category of those who provide care for school-age children after school hours, the national rate of non-adult supervised school-age children increases to 20.7 percent(Statistics Canada, 1982). (Sibling care may or may not be appropriate care, depending on the age and competence of the older sibling).

In the United States, a variety of studies have been conducted in order to determine the extent and scope of the "latchkey" problem. A report by the National Child Care Consumers Study indicated that in 1975 there were 29 million children between the ages of six and fourteen in the United States of whom 18 million had their mothers in the work force. Only 9 percent of these children, or approximately 1.9 million were enrolled in school-age child care programs. The others were receiving some kind of informal care such as self-care or sibling-care, or else were generally under the supervision of neighbours (Nieting, 1983).

Lynette and Thomas Long in *The Handbook for Latchkey Children and their Parents* report on studies released in 1983, indicating that "latchkey care" is second only to the direct care offered by parents themselves. Children of working parents provide self-care in approximately one out of four cases. Estimates for the United States conservatively place the number of children in self-care arrangements at somewhere between 5 and 10 million (Long and Long, 1983). Other studies suggest that the figure may very well be growing. E.F. Zigler and E.W. Gordon (1982) report suggestions that as many as 18 million children, between the ages of six and thirteen in the United States, may require some form of school-age child care by 1990.

The scope of the problem is by no means only limited to the numerical dimension. School-age child care programs are frequently tied into pre-school daycare centres and are too often facility-oriented in their programming. Funding

is generally in short supply, even more so than in preschool programs. Age-appropriately trained staff are difficult to locate. Finding suitable indoor and outdoor facilities often requires consummate skills at negotiation and conflict-resolution. Good resource material, although improving rapidly, is still hard to obtain, and even when located is still largely non-Canadian in origin.

In the United States, both anecdotal information and some beginning research deal with the potential impact of self-care. The anecdotal information, at the very least, suggests that the area needs to be investigated further. To date, the information, as well as the early research, provided, for instance, by Long and Long, suggests that latchkey children may experience heightened levels of fears which are of longer duration. Children in self-care appear to be involved in a greater number of home accidents and suffer disproportionately from social isolation. Further, while parents purportedly choose self-care to lower stress levels induced for financial reasons, in point of fact, the guilt which may be associated with these arrangements is more likely to have the opposite effect by increasing the level of stress (Long, 1984).

Some of the more recently published research suggests that self-care may also be contributing unnecessarily to the pressure on children to act as of they are grown up, and such children, therefore, "may be suffering the results of premature life structuring; lowered achievement, increased social and emotional problems, and a general distrust that adults can be expected to respond to the needs of children. This latter perception can decrease the willingness of children to be givers" (Long and Long, 1983).

In his most recent publication entitled *So Who Cares If I'm Home?*, Thomas Long indicates that he has begun to identify a series of characteristics associated with the negative impacts of self-care and their effect on adult development. The term he uses to describe these characteristics is the "latchkey syndrome." The characteristics he associates with the tentatively identified syndrome includes the following: "an increased fear, a heightened sense of social isolation, a lowered sense of self-worth, resentment towards parents, and a drift toward occupations, that, while they might be creative, demand less social interaction, appear to be possible associated characteristics" (Long, 1984).

The development of programs designed to help young children cope with the vagaries of self-care is one of the public responses to this growing crisis in school-age child care. Telephone hot-line programs for young children at home alone, books instructing kids on how to be in charge, and courses designed to help families and children learn self-reliance are well-intentioned efforts. Unfortunately, however, they effectively serve to validate and legitimize a continuation of neglecting large numbers of young school-age children. Even the use of the term "self-care" can be misleading insofar as some kind of care is suggested, while, in point of fact, the absence of care is what it refers to! (Merrow, 1985)

Self-care generally requires that young children be prepared to cope with a variety of potentially adverse and negative experiences. The advice they receive therefore, generally includes such things as: keep the key out of sight, know your

route home, don't talk to strangers, don't tell anyone on the phone or at the door that you're home alone, know how to get out of the house in the event of a fire, know how to call an ambulance, know what to do if someone is trying to break in, and establish rules for siblings. As is readily evident, the purpose is to minimize negative experiences by introducing an element of control and competence. The programs do not address the real developmental needs of children, in fact, by legitimizing self-care, they prevent them from being addressed through re-enforcing social isolation as a viable alternative to child care.

If our knowledge about children's development and the early evidence on latch-key children, i.e., self-care, is correct, then concerted efforts need to be made by parents, professionals, and the political leadership to include the needs of young school-age children on the national, provincial and local community agendas, so they are at least given the same priority as preschool children. The care and development of young children has already long been accepted as part of our corporate social responsibility in areas such as education, and that same principle requires a more broadly-based adoption and implementation. It can no longer only be left largely to those who are perceived to be victims of the social-economic dimension, nor should it be permitted to develop into a new service industry for ambitious entrepreneurs. The presence of daycare on the political agenda requires amendment to include the care of all children.

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LATCHKEY CHILDREN: A GROWING PHENOMENON

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ABSTRACT

Estimates indicate that from 14 - 18 percent of working mothers' children between the ages of seven and thirteen of care for themselves. This figure is likely to be low because parents are reluctant to admit to leaving their children alone or in the care of another sibling. Mothers with younger children are now entering the labour market at a more rapid rate than mothers with older children, so the age of the latchkey child is probably dropping. Although concern is immediately expressed for children in self-care situations, opinions differ as to whether the latchkey experience is harmful or benefical. The more appropriate question is perhaps for which child at which age?

Definition

"Latchkey children" — or "8-hour orphans," as they are sometimes called — are the product of what has been described as a major demographic phenomenon which began some forty years ago: namely, "the increase in the labor force participation of women with children under eighteen years of age. Since the period immediately preceding World War II, the number of women workers has more than doubled but the number of working mothers has increased more than tenfold" (U.S. Department of Labor, 1977).

A social shift of such dimension was bound to bring about some far-reaching changes in family life patterns as well as in child rearing and child care practices. One of these changes was the appearance of "latchkey children," whom a Canadian study defined as the "school-age children of working parents (who) were carrying house keys to gain entrance to their home between the hours that school closed and their parents returned from work" (Howard, 1980). The Long study (1982) echoed and amplified this definition, identifying the latchkey group as those children "who are left to take care of themselves, to use group recreational programs, play in the street, stay home alone, join a gang, or in general, supervise themselves — or for whom care arrangements are so loosely made as to be ineffective." Included in this group are those children who are left in the care of an older but underage sibling or acquaintance; excluded from it are those who are infrequently left at home for brief periods of time while a parent attends to some errands. In order to better understand the scope of the latchkey children

phenomenon and before analyzing its various aspects, we shall situate it in its context.

Working Mothers

Discussing the implications of changing sex roles for the family, Munsen (1980) points out the complete reversal, between 1940 and 1970, of the single to married women ratio in employment. In thirty years, married women went from representing 30 percent of the female work force to constituting 60 percent of it, while the proportion of working mothers with children under six was going from 9 percent to 30 percent.

In its edition of August 9, 1982, *Newsweek Magazine* called attention to the consequences of this development in terms of the fabric of North American society, stating that "in 1980, 45 percent of mothers with preschool children were working at jobs away from home, up fourfold from three decades before. That affects about 7.5 million infants and toddlers."

A trend of such proportions cannot evolve without major readjustments in family roles and expectations. Nor, as Hoffman (1979) points out, are we faced with a transitory phenomenon. The change is here to stay, as maternal employment is a part of modern family life. It is not an aberrant aspect of it, but a response to other social changes, and as such meets the needs that the previous family ideal of a full-time mother and homemaker cannot.

In their 1982 study on *Day Care and the working poor*, McMurray and Kazanjian also refer to the "new realities" which have come to challenge our traditional image of father-at-work, mother-at-home. To this notion, they add another one, namely that this social trend does not just reflect a desire for equal opportunity and personal fulfillment on the part of the woman, but all too often derives from sheer necessity.

However unpalatable a truth it might be to many North American men bred to the notion of sole breadwinner, the fact remains that in a majority of cases one salary no longer suffices to ensure the financial well-being of the family unit. The problem is particularly acute for low-income groups, where "the availability of the low-income mother to enter the labor force is potentially important not only in controlling welfare costs but also in raising families out of poverty" (Ditmore & Prosser, 1983). Speaking in less bureaucratic language, McMurray and Kazanjian (1982) make the same point when they state that

> clearly having two incomes assures that the average American family will be better able to pay bills, including the rent, on time, buy the children shoes and clothes when they need them, and go out to a movie now and then. And for many, two incomes means the difference between having or not having enough to eat. *Only one fifth of all jobs in the United States pay enough to support a family of four satisfactorily.* In most homes, the second parent must work as well.

The necessity of the second income to keep the wolf from the door is stressed further in reports from the Department of Labor (1977) and in the Longs' research (1983), which considers the consequences on child-care arrangements:

> Parents in 1981 have to earn 2½ times the money they earned in 1967 in order to generate the same buying power. The economy, the scarcity of day care, the reduction of extracurricular school programs, changes in the work force, shifts in the constitution of the family, and geographic mobility form an interrelated web in which child care is engulfed.

If financial imperatives are such for two-parent low-income families, one can well imagine the plight of the single-parent household: survival here compels the mother to work, irrespective of the child-care arrangements she can secure or of the age of the children involved. A report of the U.S. Employment Standards Administration (1977) established that

> mothers with husbands absent (widowed, divorced, separated— were more likely to be in the labor force than those with husbands present, regardless of the age of their children. Even with very young children (under six years of age), mothers with absent husbands had a labor force participation rate of 56 percent.

To add to the problem of child-care and supervision, the number of single-parent households has increased dramatically. Quoting a study of Bronfenbrenner (1976) in *Changing Youth in a Changing Society* (1979), Rutter notes that rising divorce rates have created a growing pool of children who live in one-parent households, to the extent that in 1974, in the United States, one out of six children under eighteen belonged to a one-parent family. Long and Long (1983) put the ratio at one out of five, adding that for black families the total is more than 50 percent.

Consequences for ChildCare

Yet for all these changes, we tend to cling to established family patterns which may no longer reflect present needs. Long and Long (1982) report that "parents still rely on the same sources of child care that traditionally have been used in this country. Eighty percent of all parents report that they are the main caretakers of their children."

Given this type of situation, the obvious question is, what happens to those children when their caretakers are at work?

The nuclear family is the dominant unit in our culture, so that parents cannot turn to members of an extended family for support. Indeed, in his study on the state of day care in Canada, Howard (1980) comments that "the extended family has virtually disappeared in many segments of Canadian society and therefore relatives and close friends are not as available as a resource for child care placements." In the *Newsweek* article quoted above, we find the same observation when the reporter comments that "Census officials speculated that the increased reliance on outside child care reflected an erosion of the extended

family; grandma is now more likely to live hundreds of miles away." Thus, over a single generation, family units with a third or fourth adult have decreased from 10 percent to 4 percent (Long and Long, 1983).

In the absence of an extended family network, working parents must turn to daycare. In a period marked by budget cuts and general spending restraints in the public sector, low-income groups face particularly long odds. In their study, McMurray and Kazanjian (1982) noted that

> despite austere economic circumstances, most of the parents strove to maintain their families with a modicum of public support. . . However the cracks in their elaborate schemes for survival became glaringly apparent when reliable low-cost day care was unavailable. We learned that many parents were leaving children without adult supervision, stretching income to the breaking point to pay for private child care.

Nor is this an isolated comment: Howard (1980) and Vaughn, Grove and Egeland (1980) identify the same obstacles, the latter adding that "ironically, those families most in need of high-quality care are the least likely to find such care available."

Faced with the obligation to work and given the absence of child care options, working parents must leave their children unattended during working hours. Long and Long (in press) state that this is not a decision lightly taken by parents, and that the step is often taken with reluctance:

> it was evident (in the interviews conducted) that parents were reluctant to leave their children alone or to admit having to resort to this arrangement. Some parents interviewed said that while they routinely left their children unattended, they would never admit this to their own parents and actually tried to keep the reality of their child's self-care as little known as possible.

McMurray and Kazanjian (1982), in the same context, speak of parents experiencing trepidation, ambivalence and uncertainty. On the one hand, they are proud of the child(ren)'s independence, on the other, "they experience worry and guilt." The problems created by such ambivalence can have important repercussions on the child's attitude to self-care; they will be discussed in another section of this paper.

Latchkey Children: How many?

The caution expressed by McMurray and Kazanjian in relation to the reliability of the figures, given that parents may be loathe to speak openly of self-care arrangements, is echoed by Long and Long (1982). It is therefore assumed that we have only partial knowledge of the number of latchkey children. *Newsweek* (1981), in another article on the topic, estimates that there are between 2 and 4 million children between the ages of seven and thirteen in this situation. Using 1975 figures, the U.S. Department of Labor indicated that "there were over 16 million children three to thirteen years old of working mothers, but only 279,000 (1.7 percent) were enrolled in group day care centers." In its Current Population

Reports (1976), the U.S. Bureau of the Census states that "approximately 14 percent of children seven to thirteen years old care for themselves when the mother works; if she works full-time, 18 percent care for themselves." Whatever the exact number, it represents a substantial population; moreover, it seems to be on the rise if one compares the figures of Woods (1972) to those of Galambo and Garbarino (1982): according to these, the percentage of unsupervised children has gone from 8 percent to 13 percent for the seven to thirteen age group, the majority of these coming from lower socioeconomic homes.

Both Long and Long (1982) and McMurray and Kazanjian (1982) reported another difficulty in accurate reporting of the number of latchkey children: for many parents, a child left in the care of an older but underage sibling is not considered to have been left alone.

The age of the children left unsupervised is another point of interest. According to McMurray and Kazanjian (1982), 'the median age of the children when first left alone was 9.8 years; almost one-quarter had been left alone beginning at age seven or younger, and 10 percent at age three or younger. By the time they were twelve, 98 percent of the children stayed by themselves.' If there is an older sibling in attendance, this 9.8 median can go down to six years of age (Long and Long, 1983).

The safety of children of this age is obviously going to be a source of concern to the parent. This being so, the concern seems bound to grow if the age of latchkey children continues to drop. Howard (1980) sees the problem becoming "more critical as mothers with children under the age of three are now entering the labor market at a more rapid rate than are mothers with older children. The first wave of working mothers were mothers of children over three. This is now being replaced by the second wave of mothers with younger and therefore much more vulnerable children."

The Latchkey Experience: Harmful or Beneficial?

A survey of popular literature on the topic shows that specific concern over latchkey children as an issue is recent (*Redbook*, September 1980; *Newsweek*, February 16, 1981 and August 9, 1982; *Family Circle*, February 24, 1981; *Working Mother*, May 1981 and September 1983). In Montreal, *The Gazette* addressed the question in some depth on February 28, 1981 and on August 19, 1983. Generally speaking, the tone was one of concern for children in self-care; it seemed, however, that the greater the mass appeal of the article, the more polarized the opinion became. The same criticism could therefore be applied to this material that Etaugh (1980) levelled at articles and books dealing with non-maternal care and working mothers, namely that (they) "made global statements about the effects of such care without specifying its impact on a particular aspect of development." Dealing with similar material, Long and Long (1983) pointed out that the pros and cons of self-care are usually assessed by the working parents' observations, so that the conclusions are bound to show a certain bias towards the positive aspects of the latchkey experience. Typical of

this perspective is the statement made in the February 16, 1981 issue of *Newsweek*, to the effect that "a surprising number of experts, however, insist that latchkey life can be harmless or even helpful, spurring independence, resiliency and trust. 'We tend to be overprotective of our children,' says Berkley psychologist Sheldon Korchin. "This tends to bring out the best in them" (*Newsweek, 1981*).

The conclusions reached in research material also represent quite a diversity of opinions. If sociologists like Taveggia and Thomas (1974) can express the hope that their synthesis "will raise a serious question about the utility of further research on the effects of maternal employment on children," positive findings such as theirs are the exception rather than the norm. As a rule, the call is for more research (Galambos and Garbarino, 1982; Woods, 1972; McMurray and Kazanjian, 1982).

This is hardly surprising when one considers the diversity of feelings expressed by the parents of latchkey children and the children themselves. Stewart (1983), in her study on children in self-care, reports, for example, that "many mothers report positive consequences from self-care arrangements." This view would appear to contradict the findings of Harris (1981) who states that "on the negative side, however, majorities of family members and parents feel that" when both parents work, children are more likely to get into trouble." The children themselves are ambivalent about self-care. In the report quoted above, Harris finds that "overall, a majority of teenagers feel that when both parents work, children under twelve, and especially preschool children suffer." Stewart (1981), for her part, established that children "perceive their self-care arrangements as having both positive and negative aspects."

The diversity of opinion and findings makes it clear that the number of variables involved in self-care precludes a simple answer: latchkey children do face risks, but there are also opportunities for growth. In the following pages, we will consider specific aspects of the latchkey experience in this dual perspective, mindful of Garbarino's statement: "We know that some children will thrive on the opportunity of being a latchkey child. Others will just manage to cope. Still others will be at risk, and still others will be harmed."

Aspects of the Latchkey Experience

A. *Risks*

The elements of risk in the latchkey experience derive from the lack of supervision, a concern often voiced in the popular literature as well as by parents interviewed: "Adolescents left on their own often experiment with drugs and alcohol. The lack of adult supervision also contributes to juvenile crime" (*Gazette,* 1983). The reason most often cited for feeling that there has been a negative effect on families is that "children need stronger parental guidance, supervision and discipline" (Harris, 1981). "Predictably, many psychologists who deal with troubled children are against latchkey arrangements, arguing that lack of supervision can encourage experimentation with sex and drugs" (*Newsweek*, 1981).

The link between the lack of supervision and delinquent behaviour was investigated by Woods (1972). In her conclusions, she states that "the unsupervised children in the sample were not more delinquent . . . [and did] not exhibit more non-conforming behaviour or police contacts." In their research on criminal behaviour, Wilson and Herrstein (1983 and in press) also study this link: "It is easy to believe that the increase in the number of single parent families, working mothers, or unattended, latchkey children, lies at the root of the increase in disorder and delinquency. It may, though I am struck by how weak or contradictory the evidence is." Rather, they contend, delinquency could best be attributed "to parental coldness," adding that the welfare child without a father faces a double risk when the harmful effects of maternal coldness are experienced.

Among other risks faced by unsupervised children, Woods (1972) and Garbarino (1981) list accidents and medical emergencies; to these, the latter adds sexual victimization by siblings and non-parental adults, a concern echoed by Long and Long (1983), based upon the work of Finkelhor (1979) and Rogers (1982). In respect of emergencies, Long and Long report a figure of less than 5 percent of children having been involved in such a situation. Woods states for her part that "the unsupervised children in the sample (did not) report to the emergency ward at the local hospital more frequently for treatment than the supervised children." Finally, the incidence of sexual victimization is unclear, given the lack of data on the matter. Long and Long (1983) caution nonetheless that "growing concerns exist about the risk of physical and sexual abuse perpetrated by underage but still older caretakers."

However few the instances of emergencies or dangerous situations, the possibility of danger is a prime source of concern to parents of latchkey children. This is evident in the set of instructions given by most of them to their unsupervised children: door locking, no visitors, no cooking, etc. Long and Long (1983) point out, however, the "uneveness" of these instructions which are only communicated to the older sibling in charge and often not explained at all to the younger ones. Their findings also indicate that extremely few latchkey children receive training in emergency procedures. On the positive side, they note that their data "would lend some support to the argument that latchkey children more readily learn to master self-help skills and take on personal responsibility for survival and problem solving."

B. *Physical Environment*

This aspect of the latchkey experience is often ignored, yet it is of considerable importance in determining the quality of the latchkey experience. Furthermore, in considering the environmental factors, one is able to reconcile apparently contradictory research findings and recommendations. It is indeed a key concept, as noted by Galambos and Garbarino (1982): "Community and neighbourhood characteristics may affect the extent to which a mother feels comfortable in allowing her child self-supervision and may influence how well the child is able to adjust to the latchkey situation." In the light of this reasoning, a number of the negative features observed by the Longs become less rigid (housebound state,

restriction or disappearance of socializing play, loneliness, boredom, to name but a few). More than establishing a contrast between rural and urban latchkey experience, Galambos and Garbarino introduce environmental safety as an important modifier of the quality of the latchkey experience. Their findings show an absence of significant differences between latchkey and non-latchkey children in an environment that is characterized as relatively safe.

C. *Perceptions*

The Long and Long (1982) study found boredom a common complaint among children in self-care. The most obvious characteristic, however, was the high fear levels experienced. The authors of the study state that "fear development should constitute a major area of concern for the parents and guardians of latchkey children, especially of those children who find themselves at home without continuous companionship." Uppermost is the fear of a break-in, followed by fear of the dark, noises (thunder, rain, etc.). Among the ways of coping with those fears, Long and Long mentioned hiding, use of television, and presence of a pet.

D. *Time Structuring*

According to Long and Long (1983), latchkey children on their own spent an average of 2½ hours per weekday without supervision. In the case of siblings, the time spent without adults could vary from as little as half-an-hour to 5½ hours per weekday. Another finding concerned the routine followed by the child or children: the child alone had a much more predictable timetable than the child at home with siblings. Furthermore, the researchers noted that "children in both groups were given chores to do . . . Ninety percent of the children at home with siblings were assigned chores to do while 70 percent of the girls and 60 percent of the boys in the home alone group reported that they were expected to do some housework." The chores or housework consisted in making beds, cleaning, vacuuming, washing dishes, etc. Dellas, Gaier and Emithovich (1979) arrived at similar observations in their study of maternal employment and attitudes of adolescents and preadolescents.

For a lot of parents with latchkey children, the help supplied by the children around the house is both a necessity and a source of pride. It is part of the formative aspects of self-care, a feeling echoed by Woods (1972) when she states that "where there is a genuine need for the child's help around the house, as is almost certainly true in the lower-class families with working mothers, the 'chores' (the child) does may have the same meaning in terms of character building ascribed to the nineteenth century farm boys' chores." Further on, in the same study, Woods establishes a link between extensive responsibilities in the house and high achievement in cognitive tasks and intellectual maturity.

Interviewed by *Newsweek* (1981) as the head of a one-parent family with three latchkey daughters, Gerald Bradley first expresses pride in his children's house-keeping abilities, but then goes on to say that he "sometimes worries that they might be losing a little of their childhood too quickly, but they seem to enjoy the

responsibility." While it may represent a character-building experience, his loss of childhood or assumption of responsibilities has also attracted the attention of researchers as a potential negative factor in certain situations. Garbarino (1981) states that "an important point here is that it is the premature granting of responsibility, particularly when it occurs in a negative emotional climate, that seems to be damaging."

If this is true of household chores, it is doubly true when it comes to older children being entrusted with the safety of younger siblings. While there is much to be said for child care by siblings (Weisner and Gallimore, 1977), "too-early" demands can have negative effects, as Elkind (1981) points out: "In the one parent home of today, children have to assume parental responsibilities. Such responsibilities are a lot for young people to carry and forces them to call again and again upon adaptation energy reserves." In turn, he goes on, this drain of energy and constant tension can lead to chronic stress and a "free-floating anxiety."

E. *Cognitive Ability and Social Adjustment*

We have already noted the opinion that lack of parental supervision can encourage experimentation with sex and drugs or that it can stunt social or emotional growth. Woods (1972) also mentions the belief that "unsupervised children exhibit lower school achievement and lower intelligence scores than supervised children, (as well as exhibiting) poorer personal and social adjustment . . . than the supervised child." Woods' findings were that teachers see no difference between supervised and unsupervised children. The girls without supervision, however, did have problems in terms of both cognitive ability and personal adjustment which girls in the supervised group did not exhibit. Commenting on these and other results, Long and Long (1983) noted that unsupervised children fairly consistently displayed lower scores and performances than did supervised children. The results are not conclusive, they add, because the differences are not truly significant.

Dellas, Gaier and Emithovich (1979), in their study of the relationship between maternal employment and behaviours of pre-adolescents and adolescents, were able to state, on the other hand, that

> at the elementary school level, (results) indicate that generally, children's adjustment is not adversely affected by the mother's working, nor are there any clear findings for more frequent maladjustment or delinquency in adolescent children of working mothers. No convincing evidence has therefore emerged to buttress the conventionally held view that school age children are somehow victimized if their mothers are employed.

General Attitudes

Though it could be argued that the mother's attitude to employment and to the latchkey situation does not constitute a true part of the latchkey experience, it is nevertheless a factor which can contribute to making self-care less traumatic or

disturbing. The research of Hoffman (1979) and Dellas, Gaier & Emithovich (1979) raises this point — if only indirectly — by stating that there are numerous correlates to maternal employment (job satisfaction, father's attitude to mother's work, etc.). Etaugh (1980) is of the same opinion. Woods (1972) concluded that "the quality of the mother-child relationship has many ramifications. Those children who enjoy the best relationships with their mothers, have the highest achievement, best personality adjustment, highest verbal and language IQs and the best reading achievement."

Apart from the quality of the mother-child relationship, the necessity for the mother to hold a job as well as her attitude towards the job also influence the child's perception of the latchkey experience. Etaugh (1980) comments on the better adjustment of children whose mothers have a positive attitude towards their work, an opinion shared by Woods (1972). Woods makes a further distinction in stating that the necessity of employment (as opposed to employment for personal fulfillment) also matters. If the children appreciate the need for the mother's work and income, they may accept the lack of care with greater equanimity, and even desire to do their share towards the running of the household. This is a very different situation to the one where a middle-class mother chooses to work for reasons other than necessity, and where a child might feel rejected because of preference for other, more personal, pursuits.

Conclusion

Latchkey children are here to stay. They are the product of families struggling for economic survival in difficult circumstances. Money — or the lack thereof — is not the only cause of the latchkey phenomenon; the evolution of roles within the family, the rise in the divorce rate and the number of single-parent households, as well as the disappearance of the extended family are all elements of the problem.

Just as there are many elements to the latchkey experience, so there are no simple solutions. The variables are too numerous, as we have seen. Given that the problem will not go away, what steps can one envisage to alleviate it?

The vast majority of researchers feel a need to accumulate more data. An interesting direction was suggested by Garbarino (1981), who expressed the wish for a more global approach to the problem in preference to "partitioned" research on topics of limited scope.

While it is important that we should accumulate information on the risk element involved in self-care, it is obvious that research alone will not solve the difficulties. Extensive daycare programs will be increasingly needed, particularly in low-income areas where the absence of facilities creates both high-stress and high-risk environments. The situation will only improve through a joint effort of community groups, government authorities and school boards (for the provision of extra-curricular programs, for example). Nor do all the improvements necessarily imply the spending of huge sums of money: the involvement of older, retired adults in child-care arrangements could provide benefits for all interested parties.

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SIGNALS, SOUNDS, AND MAKING SENSE: MATERNAL INFLUENCE AND EARLY LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

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ABSTRACT

An investigation of maternal influences on language acquisition in 28 four-year-old children in Toronto suggests that the style of maternal communication, as mediated by social class, bears an important relationship to early language acquisition. The mother's expansion of language through explanations, and her ability to linguistically convey a coherent and understandable body of speech to her child are important in facilitating the child's awareness and understanding of the world.

Introduction

The family milieu offers the child an opportunity to acquire linguistic meanings, to conceptualize, and to communicate. Thus, the home environment provides for the availability of meaningful transactions and conceptual feedback necessary to abstract conceptualizations (Lucco, 1972). The extent and manner of a parent's response to a child's prelinguistic or linguistic utterances have been found to influence the quantity and quality of the infant's vocalizations and consequent language development (Beckwith, 1971). The interpersonal referents of parental communication with a child depend upon whether the parent focuses on himself, on the child, on other family members, or on other persons outside the extended family.

The mother, and to a more limited extent the father, through appropriate tension-reducing actions and then through precepts and representations, identify, interpret, and articulate the inner states and experiences of the child. Through feeding, the mother, in the preverbal period informs the child that the discomfort he has experienced was due to hunger. During the first and second year of the child's life, the mother may interpret information such as "you are hungry" to identify a state of tension or discomfort. The degree of accuracy with which the parent articulates such states may have profound development effects. Language development is dependent upon the child's identification with his mother, and the family patterns of verbal and perceptual interaction.

Mothers who have extended contact with their infants during the neonatal period have been found to have a greater awareness of the growing needs of their children, to have the ability to assess and interpret the children's widening

external environment as they become older, and to say more to them that is illustrative and complex (Ringler et al. 1975). The mother as the first language teacher furnishes examples of speech for the child to imitate. The alternating pattern of vocalizations between mother and infant constitutes a conversational pattern in an early dialogic system which includes the exchange of symbolic information (Stern, Jaffe, Beebe, and Bennett, 1975). The child's ability to comprehend and express language has been influenced by the amount of direct stimulation and the capacity for joint attention by both mothers and their children (Keenan and Klein, 1975; Stern, 1974 a,b).

Friedlander, Jacobs, Davis, and Wetstone (1972) have attempted to explicate this link between the infant's receptive language experience and productive language development. Children develop language and meaning from the environment they inhabit and consequently from concomitant family patterns. Mother-child interaction patterns provide a forum containing the characteristic use and content of the mothers' verbalizations (Holtzman, 1974). The mother's actual verbalization leaves the child with a potential cognitive problem of working out the implicit relationship and the segments of discourse implicitly related. The physical relationship can be solved if the necessary perceptions and actions are within the child's repertoire.

Adjustment in a mother's language patterns according to the age and the stage of linguistic development of her child involves another important aspect of mother-child communication. These patterns do not remain static but rather grow and develop in more complex and comprehensible ways. As children mature linguistically and become more capable of verbal communication the pattern of maternal speech changes. (Fraser and Roberts, 1975). Thus, the language addressed to children during early language acquisition may be specialized and not necessarily representative of the language spoken among adults (Phillips, 1970, 1973).

In describing maternal language style, Hess and Shipman (1965) assumed that the mother was the primary socializing agent in most instances. They postulated that the learning that took place in the context of the mother-child communication system could be hampered by deprivation, such that there would be a lack of cognitive meaning and linguistic elaboration.

The research findings of Bernstein (1971a, 1973), Hess and Shipman (1965) indicate parameters for social class differences in linguistic ability. Bernstein (1973) hoped that his research would indirectly illuminate the view that communicative competencies tend to be internally consistent given common social-psychological antecedents. Important consideration should also be given to the child's stage of development and the situational constituents of communicative interchanges (Turner, 1973).

In spite of research limitations, there has been compelling evidence that suggests that the amount and stage of maternal stimulation and communication to children bears an important relationship to early language acquisition.

A Canadian Study

The interest in this realm of theoretical and research literature led this author to investigate language patterns of four-year-old children in relationship to their mothers' concurrent and reciprocal linguistic patterns (Kobrick, 1977). The interpretation of expressive language measure, imitation, comprehension, and communication tasks were initially viewed with reference to the possible socioeconomic differences between the selected mother-child pairs representing low and middle socioeconomic groups. The mother-child pairs participated in picture identification and story-telling tasks in order to assess various aspects of communication style, comprehension of that style, and the usage of speech variants and form classes of words. The general theoretical model proposed by Bernstein (1971, 1973) of restricted and elaborated codes of communication style, which supposedly distinguished social class differences in linguistic variants, became a concern of the author's research. In addition, the research focused on the possible mother-child interaction patterns between middle and low socioeconomic groups when they were engaged together in a co-operative and reciprocal communication tasks of telling a story.

Twenty-eight four-year-old children and their mothers comprised two comparable groups that represented middle and lower socioeconomic classes in an urban setting in Ontario. These mother-child pairs were selected from those who indicated that the families first language was English and that the families were intact. In addition, all families were of European origin, and there was no detectable variation in dialect. Subjects' social class levels were assessed by the occupational status of the father on the Blishen Scale (1958) and by mothers' responses to a questionnaire based on that by White (1973) for obtaining information on educational, income and occupational levels of both parents. Each of the contrasted social class groups contained fourteen mother-child pairs, seven boys and seven girls.

The mother-child pairs participated together in picture identification and story-telling tasks which provided speech data in the exploration of various speech variants, aspects of communication style, comprehension of the style, and the usage of form classes of vocabulary.

The research focused on the examination of possibly different mother-child linguistic speech variants and interaction patterns between middle and low socioeconomic groups, based on speech data recorded from the story-telling task. This task provided an opportunity for mutual involvement and verbal interaction. The mother and children were presented with a small wooden stage, various background scenes, and magnetized wooden figures which they became familiar with and which could be easily manipulated. The children and mothers related different stories to each other, given specific instructions and context. Later they engaged in relating a story together. The results indicated some significant differences between middle and low socioeconomic groups of mothers and chidren. In some instances the differences found between groups in various aspects of children's

language could be attributed to differences in the mother's choice of speech variants and aspects of communication style.

The major concern was whether the influence of the mother's choice of speech variants was reflected in her child's choice of speech variants. If a mother's speech was an influence on the child's speech within a given context, one could begin to infer the influence and importance of maternal communication patterns. This would support the notion that the mother provides the transmission of a firm foundation of linguistic meanings which allows her child to conceptualize and interpret his environment, as well as communicate his needs.

In examining these social class differences in communication style, various aspects of Bernstein's (1971, 1973) categories were selected for investigation, which included aspects of elaborated style which were associated with middle class groups (abstract, explanations, rationalizations, contextual completeness, grammatical appropriateness and completeness); and aspects of restricted style which were associated with lower class groups (concrete, lack of explanations, contextual incompleteness, grammatical inappropriateness and incompleteness). Bernstein posited that these different speech forms or codes which symbolize the form of a social relationship, regulate the nature of speech encounters, and create for speakers the different order of relevance and relation.

The *story-telling task* provided an opportunity to record and observe mother's and chidren's communications to each other within a given narrative, imaginative, or interpersonal context. It was found that the low socioeconomic group related stories which were more dependent on the given *context* not apparent to the listener. According to Bernstein's model, such communication is implicit and particularistic in nature, and is illustrative of a restricted code or communication style. The context measure as a semantic category relied on whether the listener needed to be aware of the relevant perceptual features of the situation or story in order to achieve comprehension of the context. Therefore, the results indicated the mothers and children of the lower class group had more difficulty maintaining and organizing verbal material into a cohesive body of speech that could be communicated and understood by a listener irrespective of salient perceptual features.

The measures involving the *mazing of words* (backtracking, semantic confusion, and repetition) reflect the ability with which a mother or child gives fluent linguistic expression to the meaning intended. These measures provide additional information about the difficulties encountered in manipulating the context of a task. There were very few instances of backtracking for both socioeconomic groups and mothers and children, a variable which Lineker (1973) also found not significant when comparing different classes. The repetition category used by mothers and children from each group showed a trend toward greater use by the low socioeconomic group, but also failed to reach significance. This was also in accordance with Lineker's findings. The measure of semantic confusion taps a breakdown in semantic content and abandonment of a sequence, as well as possibly reflecting an uncertainty of a structuring of the information one might

want to convey to a listener. In general, there were more instances of semantic confusion for lower class groups of mothers and children; however, these differences only reached significance in the story related by mothers and children together.

Other aspects of communication style which have been proposed by Bernstein are *grammatical incompleteness* and *grammatical incorrectness* as indicators of a restricted style. Although these aspects occurred more frequently in the stories told by mothers and their chilren in the low socioeconomic group, these differences did not always prove to be significant. Significant findings for grammatical incompleteness were found in the stories told by mothers and children independently of each other, and for chldren in the story they told with their mothers. The category of the number of instances of incorrect grammer was significant, taking into account the lengths of the stories told by children in the low socioeconomic group to their mothers.

Another aspect of communication which was not discussed by Bernstein, but which may affect the fluency and comprehension of discourse is the *phonological clarity* or pronounciation of words. The mothers and children of the low socioeconomic group had significantly more instances of mispronounciation and immature speech than did the mothers and children from the middle socioeconomic group.

The *vocabulary measures* that were utilized were intended to give an indication of the verbosity and richness or breadth of word choice that may be attributed to communication patterns. The analysis of the vocabulary token and types indicated that children from the middle class group had significantly higher mean values for different words, different verbs, and different adjectives in the stories they told their mother; and their mothers had significantly more words, different words, different nouns, and different adjectives in the stories they told their children, as compared to the low socioeconomic group. The values obtained for the lower class group were less on all vocabulary measures (with the exception of adverbs on some of the stories). In the stories told by mothers and children together, children from the middle class group had significantly greater values of words, different words, different nouns, different verbs and different adjectives; and their mothers had greater values of words, different words, different nouns, different verbs and different adjectives, as compared with the low socioeconomic group.

The *descriptive referent measures* (abstract, concrete explanations and rationalizations) which involve other aspects of communication style that allow for the elaboration of meanings, indicated differences between the low and middle class groups of children and their mothers. The mothers and children from the middle socioeconomic group had significantly more instances of abstract and concrete references in all the stories. In addition, the mothers of the middle class group had significantly more instances of explanations and rationalizations than the mothers of the low class group.

A second major research question was whether the influence of the mother's choice of speech variants was reflected in her child's choice of speech variants when they interacted together in the story-telling task. In other words, can differences between middle and low socioeconomic groups of children be attributed to mother differences within the specified context of the story-telling task?

In the stories that mothers and children told to each other independently, the speech variants which could be attributed to the differences in mothers included semantic confusion (which would affect the fluency and comprehension of discourse); number of different words (which would be associated with the breadth of vocabulary) and different verbs. In the stories that mothers and children told together, there were more speech variants that could be attributed to differences found in mothers. These included grammatical incompleteness which could consequently affect syntax as well as semantic aspects of meaning; and type-token ratios of different nouns, pronouns, and adjectives. This would suggest that this context specifically involved the mutual co-operation between mothers and their children in relating a story together.

Conclusions

This research, which was primarily concerned with maternal language patterns as they related to children's language patterns, is limited both by sample size, and by the fact that there are other aspects of linguistic influences and variables which could be investigated. Another extension of this research could include a developmental approach which would be to examine mothers' and children's verbal repertoires as the child passes through various stages of maturation and development.

However, this research had indicated important social class differences with respect to a number of linguistic speech variants and aspects of restricted and elaborate communication styles. The communication patterns in the maternal environment assume importance in light of the findings that indicate that when a child and mother are engaged in a mutual dialogue or narrative, the child's language may be influenced by the mother's communication patterns.

The speaker-listener relationship between a mother and child in the story-telling task has several theoretical implications related to language acquisition. The speech between a mother and child is dependent upon the milieu or context, and the systematic difficulty the child may have in speaking and conveying an understanding to the listener. The mother may demarcate relevant and important dimensions of an expereince or task presented to her and her child. What the child assimilates and accommodates to, and how he interprets the stimuli to which he attends, and the linguistic responses he develops are in interaction with the maternal environment (Piaget, 1960). If a child is unable to sufficiently articulate the ideas he may be considering, then comprehension of those communication patterns becomes difficult for the listener or mother. The mother may have to identify, interpret, and articulate experiences to the child providing

examples of speech for her child to imitate, comprehend, and later elaborate upon.

Thus, the mother and child conversational patterns and exchange of symbolic information mediate a source of stimulations from the environment. The child is exposed to a great deal of potential information in the environment, and the form of the social relationship between mother and child may act selectively upon the meanings to be realized and activate grammatical and lexical choices. The concept of maternal language style has implied that the mother, as the primary socializing agent for the child, provides an opportunity for learning within the context of the mother-child communication system (Hess and Shipman, 1968; Bernstein, 1971; Koenig, Sulzer, and Hansche, 1971).

The crucial question remains unanswered of how a child goes beyond and elaborates the aspects of the language he hears in his environment. Language and characteristics of speech will vary depending on the situation and context of a given task. The language responsiveness of a child will depend upon very early experiences in which the child's mother may have played a decisive role, and which may also determine the response style and constraints he or she may perceive.

The author's research suggests that the style of maternal communication patterns and codes may bear an important relationship to the child's early language acquisition. The interpersonal exchanges between mother and child weave a pattern which may later be reflected in the child's learning and understanding of external reality. The child proceeds to communicate his or her symbolic representation of contemporaneous events and impulses, and progressively this differentiation allows the expansion and usage of words and syntactic classes. One would expect that as the child's view of the world changes and expands, the linguistic representation of that world changes, as well as communication patterns between mother and child.

This investigation, which has distinguished some social class differences with respect to various aspects of communication styles and patterns, provides a model for extending the scope of previous research which did not view mother-child verbal interchanges directly. The results of the present study suggest that the interaction between mother and child is an important factor to be considered in the child's acquisition and expansion of language ability.

The mother's expansion of language through explanations, and her ability to linguistically convey a coherent and understandable body of speech to her child are important in facilitating her child's awareness and understanding of the world. These communication patterns provide an important forum in attempting to explore and understand early language acquisition.

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PROJECT READY-SET-GO: AN INFANT-CHILD PARENT EDUCATION PROGRAM

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ABSTRACT

This paper describes an educational program developed in Montreal, for the parents of young children. It is based on a cognitive developmental model, and using the approach of preventitive psychotherapy. The aim of the program is to enable parents to realize their individual potential as teachers of their children, and to enhance infant cognitive competencies through parent awareness of developmental capabilities. The program is aimed at both "normal" and at "high risk" children.

Introduction

The year 1979 marked the International Year of the Child. This event only reconfirmed what psychologists, educators and parents had known for a decade. That child—as an individual, as a significant member of the family, as a member of society—has reemerged as a subject worthy of recognition and study. The study of Developmental Psychology and Early Childhood Education have risen and finally found a prominent and respectable place within their respective disciplines.

Since the early intervention programs were initiated in the United States through project Head Start (Office of Economic Opportunity, 1965), considerable attention and research has focused on the preschool child. Psychologists, educators, and parents have all found that children are capable of processing considerably more information than had previously been thought. This newly acquired knowledge (concomitant of the psychoanalytic viewpoint that early interactions may have a significant impact upon personality development, and of Piaget's notion that early cognitive structures can be enhanced though exposure and manipulation within the child's environment) prompted numerous psychologists and educators to provide parents with more sophisticated and "psychologically appropriate" techniques for child rearing. A plethora of books and journals have provided new evidence concerning the effectiveness of such early stimulation and intervention programs.

Still further, support and encouragement for the development of early intervention strategies has come from the growing research suggesting the remarkable plasticity of the central nervous system during the infancy and early childhood years (Isaacson, 1976; Lipton, 1976; Papura, 1976).

Recently, attention has been given to a growing body of research which has demonstrated the beneficial effects of early stimulation on the infant's capacity for learning and on facilitate a variety of developmental attributes. Work with both normal and "high risk" infants has often employed the primary caretaker as the vehicle by which effective instructional strategies are optimally employed. Methodologically sound evaluations of experimental intervention programs designed for children with developmental deficits and lags offered in the first three years of a child's life provide further support for the efficacy of such intervention approaches (cf Abidin,1980; Field, Goldberg, Stern, & Sostek, 1980; Fine, 1980; Tjossem, 1976).

As Fitzgerald and McGreal (1981) have most aptly noted, it was not until fairly recently that professionals began giving serious thought to the mental health of infants and their families. As a direct result of parental pressures and applied developmental research a relatively new enterprise has developed in the form of parent education and early preschool intervention programs. Here again, it is important to differentiate between those programs designed for the high risk family and/or child, and those for children with no apparent abnormality. This differentiation is important since program orientation often differs depending upon parental and/or child etiology.

Parent education programs, in general, appear to have certain commonalities. Most programs are based upon some conceptual, philosophical, psychological, and/or educational model and provide their participants with information, awareness, and skills related to parenting. They attempt to facilitate parents' understanding of the child's development, as well as to incorporate and to demonstrate a variety of techniques and methodologies thought to foster optimal development. The format of such programs can be either centre-based or home-based; can vary in duration and frequency; can utilize a workshop, didactic, or multimedia approach; and can be either designed exclusively for parents, or for both parent and child (Derevensky, 1981). Comprehensive reviews of parenting programs can be found in Abidin, 1980; Caldwell & Stedman, 1977; Fine, 1980; Tjossem, 1976.

While a significantly large number of parent education programs are presently in existence, several important considerations are necessary to note. Program orientation and intervention strategies are often less dependent upon the participants' need than upon the conceptual framework and theoretical orientation of the intervention staff, with marked differences in staff training, clinical experience, and orientation occurring between programs. Parent education staffs may range from one person to an entire team, and may incorporate a medical, psychological, educational, or occupational/physical therapy model. Within the team approach, each member often represents his or her own specialty area, and may or may not work in isolation from other members. Territorial borders within hospital settings, mental health clinics, and educational institutions often occur, and result in a lack of full and effective utilization of interdisciplinary staffing.

The second important issue is that, while there is growing professional recognition of the importance of parents in the child rearing process, few programs in the

tradition of primary preventative psychotherapy presently exist for parents of normal children for their child's first three years. Most programs tend to be compensatory in nature rather than preventative. As well, while several popular parent programs are presently in existence for individuals experiencing difficulty in effectively handling "normal developmental" problems (e.g., Berne, 1964; Ginott, 1969; Gordon, 1970), the target children for these programs are considerably older.

The Parent Program

Arising from a significant concern and the needs expressed by parents for help in understanding their young child; environmental effects upon development; ways to stimulate the young child; and effective strategies for handling normal developmental problems, the Ready-Set-Go Infant-Child-Parent Program was established within the Department of Educational Psychology and Counselling at McGill University in 1977.

Based strongly upon a cognitive developmental model and concomitant with a preventitive psychotherapeutic approach, the Ready-Set-Go Program was established to assist parents in realizing their individual potential as teachers of their children and to enhance infant cognitive competencies through parent awareness of developmental capabilities. By providing parents of young children with information regarding child development, the program attempts to facilitate parents' understanding of normal developmental processes and child rearing techniques in order that both parent and child may maximally benefit.

Using service, research, and training as its basic tenets, the goals of the Ready-Set-Go Infant-Child-Parent Program encompass a wide spectrum in the field of developmental psychology. Both "high risk" and "normal" groups are incorporated within the program. The intervention program consists primarily of three-hour weekly sessions between September and April, for a total of twenty sessions. All children (approximately 20 per group) are accompanied by their primary caretaker to weekly sessions in order that the staff can acquaint themselves with both parent and child, enabling staff to observe the application and implementation of specific suggestions, and affording parents the opportunity to observe other adults and children in social interaction. The first hour of the program is primarily devoted to infant stimulation, during which time mothers, through the aid of a stable interdisciplinary staff (psychologists, speech therapist, occupational therapist, child care workers acting as teachers, models, and resource personnel) provide their children (infants through three years) with exercises and activities designed to facilitate cognitive, language, motor, social and emotional development. Mother-child dyads are often placed into small groups, thereby allowing the staff to concentrate more closely on specific develop-mental stages. The parents questions are strongly encouraged, and discussion sessions often accompany each activity, providing mothers with the specific rationale for that particular activity. This process places heavy emphasis on the modelling techniques,

with parents receiving feedback, observations from staff members, and conceptual understanding of the underlying developmental principles and rationale for each activity.

The second hour of the program is devoted exclusively to parent education in a classroom-like seminar in which mothers (after leaving their children under the guidance of a child care worker and program volunteers) participate. Within this setting, parents experience the "educational" component of the intervention. A psychologist, an occupational therapist, a speech therapist, and a nutritionist provide lectures and lead discussions on topics in the areas of cognitive, motor, language, physical, social, and emotional development. Video-tapes, films, observations through one-way mirrors, other audio-visual techniques, team teaching, group discussions, and specific lectures are incorporated. Each parent receives an elaborate handbook of readings dealing with relevant areas of child development, an annotated bibliography of recently published child care books, and additional readings dependent upon the topic under discussion.

Specific topics in the curriculum include cognitive development (focusing on behavioural sequencing, the object concept, initiation, manipulation, quantitative thought, aspects of Piagetian development theory); motor development (stressing the relevance of toys, play materials, and equipment; age appropriateness for gross and fine motor development; and stages of gross and fine motor development); language development (outlining the mechanisms by which children learn to talk, the stages of language acquisition and second language learning); nutrition and its relevance to cognitive development; physical development (providing parents with knowledge of normal milestones, childhood illnesses, and typical pediatric examinations); social development (play behaviour, independence, sex role identification, the role of television, social learning theory, modelling, and separation anxiety); and child management techniques (help with sleep disturbance, feeding problems, setting limits). Additional topics are introduced dependent upon the developmental level of the child, staff assessments of parental needs, and parental requests.

The final half hour of the program is reserved for individual consultation, during which time mothers experiencing problems are engaged by the appropriate professional. An important element of the program is the opportunity for the mothers to share their experiences with others in similar situations. Problem solving methods are employed in an attempt to focus parents' attention on the generalizability of the numerous normal developmental problems they encounter daily. All team members are present throughout the entire session for professional input and parent consultations.

A fourth component of the program is the inclusion of several parent evenings in order to provide fathers (unable to attend the day program) with the opportunity to participate in this learning experience. The father's role as an agent in the socialization process, and in caretaking has recently become of significant concern (e.g., Lamb, 1976; McGreal, 1981; Parke, 1979, 1981; Yogman, 1981). Quite often fathers accompany mothers during individual consultations, this

being especially true when child rearing problems exist. The curriculum of parent evenings is similar to that previously outlined and incorporates a classroom discussion-workshop methodology.

Parents involved in the program provide a complete medical history and biographical data concerning pregnancy and childbirth. Child rearing practices are ascertained through interviews. Parents participate in all aspects of the research program. All children receive an age-appropriate developmental battery of tests examining cognitive, motor, and language development, and all undergo periodic videotaping sessions. Videotape procedures are incorporated to facilitate parents' acquisition of instructional strategies, to enhance their understanding of developmental processes, to reinforce basic concepts discussed in parent education programs, and to help parents focus on disturbing problems. Should any child and/or family require further intensive intervention or psychotherapy, appropriate referrals are made to a variety of agencies, and coordination of therapy is attempted wherever possible. Staff meetings are used to discuss curriculum decisions, the developmental progress of each child, and specific problems encountered.

Parental involvement and participation has steadily increased since the inception of the program. Parental responses indicate an overwhelming support for this centre-based program, with many parents participating for the entire three year period. While longitudinal data are presently unavailable, the results of a one year evaluation using traditional developmental tests clearly indicate that program children exhibit accelerated development in cognitive, motor, and language functioning when co-varied for age and when compared with a control group (Derevensky & Kastner, 1982).

The effectiveness of the intervention program clearly rests with the highly professional, motivated, and dedicated interdisciplinary staff. Clinical results appear to suggest, at least, preliminary support for the Ready-Set-Go Infant-Child-Parent Program as a viable preventative psychotherapeutic model, and for the effective positive influence of the intervention program upon parental knowledge, interactions, and environmental changes designed to enhance infant development. Preliminary data and clinical observations suggest that mothers became more effective change agents and competent teachers in their child's world. Children became more active explorers, imitators, and manipulators, seeking more social interactions with other children and adults. Parents reported increased knowledge of developmental processes, better understanding of parent-child interactions, enhanced enjoyment and lessened anxiety over childbearing. The strength of this model clearly rests in its parent education component. Questions as to the optimal age of entry into programs, duration of program, and curriculum modifications are presently being examined.

While alternative models may be implemented, the clinical results clearly indicate the need for additional parent-education programs. Longitudinal data presently being collected will enable us to evaluate the long term effectiveness of such a program. If researchers continue to provide new information which can

effectively enhance parent-child interactions and facilitate the optimal development of individuals, then society must provide the facilities, resources, and structures through which parent education programs can operate. The Ready-Set-Go Infant-Child-Parent Program presents one model for working with both parents of "normal" and "high risk" children. Other models may be equally effective in achieving the same results. The research data, clinical observations, parental inquiries, and requests for admission clearly suggest their need.

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(Huck, 1971). The ideas of several authors have been incorporated below into six guidelines for reading activities with young children.

1. *Make Reading Fun and Imaginative*

Children will be more likely to learn to read if they do not see it as something that is dull and boring (Durkin, 1974). In simple terms, the idea is to make reading fun for children, so they will be motivated and interested and develop a positive attitude toward reading and books. Many well-intentioned programs fail because they lack imagination and do not make reading interesting for the children (Durkin, 1971).

The teacher is key in presenting reading in such a positive way. Unless the reading activities are carried out with imagination and enthusiasm, they are unlikely to produce results. Nicholson (1973) claims than the personality of the teacher may be considered even more important that the teaching method itself.

2. *Provide a good reading environment*

The actual physical environment in which children are introduced to reading is important in developing their taste for reading (Clay, 1972). The room may be made a good reading environment for preschoolers by surrounding the children with attractive books, especially picture books. It is important that these books be readily accessible to the children, and that they be able to see them, touch them and feel them (Webber and Mason, 1976; Clay, 1972; Fitzpatrick, 1982).

3. *Read storybooks to the children frequently*

Storybook reading is perhaps the most important activity in developing reading in preschoolers. Children must be read to, and often. They should be encouraged to anticipate the ends of sentences or "what will happen next?" in the story. Such modelling gives the children the chance to come to understand the nature of books. In addition to the reading of the storybooks by the teacher, cassette tape read-a-long versions of books also may be used effectively. In both cases, it is important that there are available copies of the books being read, so that the children may practice reading what has been read to them on their own time (Webber and Mason, 1976; Farr and Roser, 1979; Clay, 1972).

4. *Make the children aware of the nature of books*

Through reading activities, make the children aware that books consist of words that have meaning. Show them that the directional flow is left to right, top to bottom and front to back (Pierce, 1972).

5. *Interweave reading with other activities*

Reading should become part of the child's everyday experiences, for it is not merely an isolated task (Page et al., 1978). Reading can be learned through daily use and in such meaningful experiences as reading labels and signs and following directions (Forester, 1977).

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READING ACTIVITIES FOR PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN: THE "BIG BOOK" APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

This article outlines the "Big Book" approach to the teaching of reading, and the six principles this involves: making reading fun and imaginative; providing a good reading environment; reading to children frequently; making children aware of the nature of books; interweaving reading with other activities; encouraging parents to model reading behaviour and to share a love of books with their children. The Big Book method is a way of integrating these principles in the teaching of reading.

Introduction

There is a great deal of professional interest in teaching reading to preschool children. Although it has been traditional to wait until children enter first grade to begin formal reading instruction, many educators suggest that reading activities can begin much earlier, with children as young as two and three years of age. These reading activities can provide the children with a groundwork for later, formal reading instruction. (See, for example, Downing and Thackray, 1971; Durkin, 1974-75; Farr and Roser, 1979; Glazer, 1980; Holdaway, 1979; Mason, 1980; Sakamoto, 1975, and 1980).

This paper is intended to review some guidelines about using reading activities with young children and to suggest one method for carrying out a reading activity, the "Big Book" method. It is written especially for teachers and staff in preschool settings, who must make day-to-day decisions about how to develop programs and whether to include reading activities or instruction in these programs.

Guidelines for Reading Activities with Young Children

The literature on the teaching of reading to young children is consistent in saying that the overall aim should be to develop a "taste" for reading in the children

6. *Encourage parents to model reading behavior and share a love of books with their children*

Positive attitudes and role modelling in the home are among the strongest influences on a child's attitude toward reading (Clay, 1972; Brzeinski and Elledge, 1972; Fitzpatrick, 1982). It is especially important that the reading experience not be limited to the school environment. Parents should be encouraged to be involved as reader models, not only in reading to their children, but also in reading in the same room as the children, so that the children can see others reading and enjoying reading outside school (Clay, 1972). This will help the children see that reading is not something done only in school, but something that is done for personal pleasure at home.

The Big Book as a Reading Activity

One method that can be used effectively with young children is the Shared Book Experience, or "Big Book" method, described by Holdaway in *The Foundations of Literacy* (1979). The "Big Book" method involves introducing a storybook to children in the form of an enlarged version of a text (Big Book), allowing children to easily see and follow the print on each page as the teacher reads to them. Over a period of days or weeks, the same story is reread to the children several times, with child participation encouraged. After several readings of the Big Book by the teacher, the children begin to "read" the book themselves. It is not unusual that some of these children will have memorized and be able to "read" the entire text aloud. The Big Books are available from publishers, but many teachers prefer to construct their own Big Books with bristol board, copying the text and illustrations from an original regular sized book.

The "Big Book" method utilizes the guidelines for reading activities with young children outlined above. The overall principle of making reading fun is the specific aim of this method. By having the option of making their own Big Book stories, teachers are free to choose books that are fun, repetitive and related to a particular classroom theme. Through the storytelling presentation, they can inject enthusiasm and imagination into the reading. Since the Big Book is meant to be the children's book, it is available in a book corner for individual children or for groups to use without having to get permission first, thereby allowing them to use it not only during storytime, but at almost any time of the day. As well, since the Big Book is usually an enlarged version of a regular-sized text, copies of the original may be made available for personal use in the classroom or at home where parents can be involved.

The idea that the children are not limited to using the Big Book during storytime means that it is interwoven with other activities. Art is one activity in which this occurs most naturally, for students may become participants in the creation of the Big Book. They may be asked to draw their version of the illustrations from the original book, or to colour in outlined illustrations that the teacher has already included. In this way, the children come to see books as more than things used only in storytelling activities.

One of the specific recommendations for reading activities is that children be encouraged to anticipate sentence endings and sentences. The illustrations that are a feature of Big Books provide clues for the preschool child to use in order to anticipate such endings. In addition, the text itself, through flow and rhyming schemes, may also aid the child in this task. Furthermore, the size of the Big Book print ensures that the children in the class are able to see the words, encouraging all children to participate. The teacher points with her finger (placed under the text) across each line of text, from left to right, down to the next line, etc., modelling the directional flow of words in books.

The "Big Book" method also follows the recommendation of reading to the children often, for the method itself suggests many readings of the same text. As well, taped versions of the story may be used for some readings. The children practice following along and turning the pages without adult supervision, individually or in groups. Thus, the Big Book method's flexibility enables it to be consistent with the guidelines discussed above for effective preschool reading activities, and may therefore be considered as an effective preschool activity for encouraging children to develop a "taste" for reading.

Children's Responses to the "Big Book" Method

The "Big Book" method was used with a class of three-year-olds attending McGill University's daycare. The storybook *Brown Bear, Brown Bear What Do You See?* by Bill Martin Jr. (1970) was recommended for preschoolers because of the simplistic, rhythmical, and highly repetitive text. The Big Book method was implemented in the class during "circle-time" in six consecutive daily sessions.

The first session consisted of reading the original version of the text, i.e., the "small" book, aloud to the children. The second session also used the small book, with a taped reading by the author. The teacher's involvement in this session was as page turner. In the third session, the children were introduced to the enlarged version of the original text — the Big Book, with pictures in outline form. This session was similar to the first, as the Big Book was read to the children. After the reading, the Big Book was used as part of an art activity, the children colouring in the outlined pictures. The final three sessions consisted of rereading the enlarged text with the children, and having them colour the outlined pictures. In all sessions, the children were encouraged to join in the reading.

The children began to respond to the Big Book during the first session. By halfway through the session, some of the children had picked up the rhythm, inflection and repetition in the text.

During the second session, the children "read" along with the taped reading, gathering clues from the illustrations and also (presumably) from recall of the first reading. Evidence that the reading experience extended beyond the direct teaching was displayed when the children were getting dressed to go outside. One child began to recite the text, inserting his friend's name where an animal's name belonged in the text. That friend picked up the cue and carried on the verse

without missing a beat and this continued until every child in the class had their turn at naming someone.

During the third session, one child memorized the whole text and became the class reader, with the other children joining in. The Big Book's influence again carried over into activities. In a regular lesson prior to the fourth session, the concept of stoplights was being taught to the children. They were asked what red light said. The children responded by reciting a portion of the *Brown Bear* text, substituting "red light" and "yellow light" for animal names:

Red light, red light
What do you see?
I see a yellow light
Looking at me!

After the fourth session, several children recited the text as they coloured the Big Book, saying the appropriate verse for the pictures they were working on. Some children were also heard reciting the text while doing other artwork that was unrelated to the Big Book.

During the reading of the Big Book in the fifth and sixth sessions, children joined in the reading enthusiastically, and for the most part, quite accurately.

Upon completion of the sixth instructional session, most children had memorized the text and took great pleasure in "reading" *Brown Bear* to visitors in the class. The children were not truly reading. However, they displayed an understanding of directional flow, top and bottom of page, front and back of book, using their index finger to follow the printed words (usually ending on the last word as they finished reading a sentence) and recognizing blocks of letters as words. These are basic skills for reading, components of what is sometimes called "reading readiness" (Glazer, 1980; Durkin, 1974). Not only were these children attempting to read, and doing a successful job of it, they were also enthusiastic about the reading process, as evidenced in their inclusion of the Big Book text into other daily experiences.

Thus, the Big Book proved to be one approach for developing a "taste" for reading in young children, before formal reading instruction had begun. This method is consistent with guidelines for early reading experiences suggested by numerous educators. As well, it can be easily implemented by the preschool or daycare teacher, providing enjoyment and success to children in their early preparation for reading.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Valerie Polakow Suransky.
The Erosion of Childhood.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982 (221 pp.).

"Childhood ia a natural state, a life phase of the human project, but the particular forms of childhood created through the social ideology of 'schooling' embedded in early childhood institutions have in many ways, eroded that life phase and imposed a false structure of meaning on the ontological development of the child." With this statement, Suransky summarizes the focus of her book.

The book begins with a comprehensive literature review examining the place of childhood in history and proceeds to look at the institutional landscape physical and social — of the preschool child. It concludes with a look at the reasons for, and the impact on society, of age-segregating young children and attempts to present solutions to protect the interest of children by citing cross-cultural material.

The anecdotal evidence Suransky presents, based on years of observation at five preschool centres with different philosophies, gives us a picture of the child in a world which has been carefully designed to fit the needs of adults. In this world "the process of play is converted into a false structure of work oriented to the productivity functions of the corporate society where the process of doing is subordinate to the process of producing artifacts." It is a world demarcated into time segments and space boundaries. The compartmentalization of activities into a specified time schedule (music time, block time, hungry time) leads to a well-controlled, predictable environment which gives children a sense of security. The question being asked, however, is to what extent does this well-planned environment represent the natural order of the world. What does a child learn about the validity of his or her own internal experience when told that even though he or she is hungry, it is not yet "hungry time"? Even play which is so essential for children to begin to master their world is, within some centres, relegated to a structured curriculum.

The examples often show the lack of continuity between the child's home world and the preschool centre world. When children had difficulty integrating the structure of the centre, they were considered deviant. A child in a Montessori preschool class was thought to have emotional problems because she had "trouble getting into work . . . and making decisions." While this aspect has been discussed often with school age children, it is disheartening to see it at the preschool level where the child rather than the structure is seen to be at fault. While most of the centres Suransky observed showed children trying to cope in a world arbitrarily and artificially structured, a contrast is presented in a community-based low-income centre where an attempt was made to link the home and the centre. Here there were no time or space bound activities, spontaneous field trips were common, and children landscaped their own space.

Grandmothers were an integral part of the program and were considered the link between the past and the present. Conflict was seen as a part of growing up and a part of the culture of the children rather than as something to be eradicated to maintain a status quo.

Suransky's vivid examples, combined with her analysis of the examples in terms of child development theory and educational practice, should provide substantial food for thought for policy makers and educators in the early childhood field.:

Irene Brannan
Calgary, Alberta

Evelyn Nerlove
A Story of an Adopted Adolescent and his Friends
New York: Child Welfare League of America Inc., 1985 (113 pp.)

. . . "Adopted . . . Yuck! You mean your REAL mother gave you away?"

. . . David's anger grew and grew, but he kept it inside. It frightened him to be so angry.

. . . The way I see it is this: my birth parents gave me the gift of being; Mom and Dad gave me the opportunity of becoming.

David is every adopted child who agonizes over who his birth parents were and why it was that they gave him up for adoption. He has nightmares; he feels rejected by his peers; he rebels against his adoptive parents because they took him away from his "real" parents. Finally, he attends a children's service bureau workshop, meets other adopted adolescents and manages to come to terms with his identity as an adopted child.

Evelyn Nerlove has placed over three hundred children in adoptive homes during her career as a social worker, and she has used her expertise in this novel to explore every facet of the adoption experience from the point of view of the most important actor — the adoptee. Perhaps her characters are a little too understanding, too tactful, too perfect, but she emphasizes the need for post-adoption services in a way that brings home vividly to the reader the problems which adoptive families face. Placing the child is only the beginning; ongoing support for the child, the adoptive parents, and the birth parents is essential. An ideal book for schools libraries and all those who are professionally involved with adopted children.

We need more books in this genre-books which will allow us to feel from the inside, see through the eyes of the people we serve, understand because we have been there, if only in imagination.

Margaret Stothers
Calgary, Alberta

H. David Kirk.
Shared Fate: A Theory and Method of Adoptive Relationships
(Second Edition).
Brentwood Bay, B.C.: Ben-Simon Publications, 1984.

H. David Kirk.
Adoptive Kinship: A Modern Institution in Need of Reform
Toronto: Butterworths, 1981 (1973 pp.)

It is only in comparatively recent years that the dilemmas of youngsters such as "David" have been recognized as legitimate. Much of the credit for improved understanding of adoptive relationships is due to Kirk and his pioneering work *Shared Fate* (first published in 1964). Some years passed before his theory of adoptive relationships received the attention it deserved, in part due to the climate, that prevailed in the 60's within agencies and communities. Within this climate, there was encouragement to believe that "the adopted child is no different from any other child." Kirk exploded this myth. While adoptive relationships seem to replicate normative family relationships in all respects except that of biological relatedness, they do have problematic features, features that stimulated him to develop the concept of "role handicap." He investigated how adoptive parents coped with that handicap and described for us the two coping patterns of "rejection of difference" and "acknowledgement of difference" (between adoptive and biological parenthood).

Shared Fate may have deprived us of a comfortable myth, but in return it provides a theory that enlightens and clarifies our understanding of the special nature of adoptive parenting roles. It encourages the "acknowledgement of difference" that is "conducive to good communciation and thus to order and dynamic stability in adoptive families" (p. 99). It suggests inventive approaches to the minimization of role handicap.

Adoptive Kinship advances the frontiers of knowledge in the adoption arena even further. While *Shared Fate* is primarily preoccupied with what happens within families, *Adoptive Kinship* encourages us to examine and to expose to critical analysis the larger institutional arrangements that both support and yet, paradoxically, render somewhat precarious this very special kinship arrangement. This work has been particularly timely given the growing social movement towards facilitating reunions between birth parents and their grown "children." (Is the reluctance of legislators to support this movement an indicator of the strength of "rejection of difference"?).

Adoption is changing its orientation from a service that was primarily concerned with meeting the needs of infertile couples to one that is becoming increasingly in demand to meet the need for "permanency planning" for children in care. It behoves us then to examine the theoretical underpinnings of our actions if our efforts on behalf of children are to achieve that stability and happiness for them and their new families that they deserve.

Kirk's studies are a good place for us to begin.

Kathleen Kufeldt
Calgary, Alberta

Fredelle Maynard
The Child Care Crisis: The Real Costs of Day Care for You and Your Child
Toronto: Penguin Books, 1985.

The author, drawing on a variety of kinds of evidence including some published studies, documents the case against early daycare, particularly group care for children under three. She is skeptical of evidence showing that quality care of younger children has no adverse outcomes in terms of social, emotional, and cognitive development in the relatively short term. She argues instead that since we have very little knowledge about the long term effects of such early care, we should be extemely cautious about putting very young children in alternative group care unless there are pressing social service reasons for doing so.

The author accepts, however, that daycare is here to stay and offers guidelines for choosing a suitable daycare, and for identifying signs of unsuitable or abusive behaviour on the part of the caretaker. Assuming that some readers will be weighing the benefits of outside work against those of staying home with children, the author also provides a section on relief child care and social supports for home-bound mothers of small children.

The point of view that Maynard offers is shared by a number of workers in the daycare field. Although we can have some confidence about the outcomes for children in quality daycare, we have to admit that the majority of daycare does not meet standards of quality. In Alberta, for example, 70 percent of daycares are run by private enterprises whose commitment is often to profit rather than to good child care. Since the large profit centres often specialize in infant care (which draws a large subsidy from a provincial government which fails to adequately enforce already weak regulations) we should, as Maynard urges, be concerned about the long-term effects of such care, and be much more careful in both scrutinizing daycares, and deciding whether alternative care really is in a child's best interest.

Chris Bagley
Calgary, Alberta

Donald H. Painting
Helping Children With Specific Learning Disabilities:
A practical guide for parents and teachers
Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1983.

In spite of some minor flaws, this book is useful reading for other helping professionals and for relatives as well as parents and children.

It presents:
— description of characteristics and symptoms of some of the behavioural aspects of learning disabilities
— basic principles of behaviour management in order to provide a therapeutic milieu for the learning disabled child
— the model behaviour management program used in the school
— where the author is clinical director resources and sources of help available

The earlier descriptive material provides useful insights into the inner world of the learning disabled child. This helps support the book's major theme of focussing on the child's need to develop self-confidence and self-control in a system that is supportive.

On occasion, however, the author includes potentially confusing passages. His recommended verbal interventions are overly complex for the learning disabled child. The brief section on physical intervention could be misinterpreted. Overall, however, his suggestions are sensible and useful.

Too often the child's system responds to behavioural manifestations of the underlying difficulties in ways that intensify problems and increase stress. The author provides practical suggestions for discipline and behaviour management that should reduce frustration for both children and adults.

Kathleen Kufeldt
Calgary

Brenda G. McGowan and William Meezan
Child Welfare: Current Dilemmas—Future Directions
Itasca: F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1983.

Having worked in various specializations of child welfare for the past seven years, I find *Child Welfare: Current Dilemmas—Future Directions* to be an excellent resource for guiding practice with children and their families. In my opinion, the most helpful chapter in the book is the first one as it provides a comprehensive overview of issues concerning child welfare and establishes seven principles which need to be upheld in providing effective social work planning and implementation. The principles emphasize the importance of maintaining children with their biological families, restoring children to their parents in a timely fashion, and finding permanent homes for those children who cannot return home. This lays the foundation for appropriate permanency planning for children who are involved in the child welfare system.

Beside McGowan and Meezan, there are another ten authors who contribute articles for this book. These authors expand on the seven principles by providing concrete examples of how to enhance biological family functioning; how to monitor and deal with at risk situations; how to make foster care a more positive

experience for children, their parents and foster parents; how to achieve permanence after placement; and how to plan adoption placements for children who were considered unadoptable in the past.

Child Welfare: Current Dilemmas—Future Directions is highly recommended as required reading for students who wish to pursue studies in child welfare and for practitioners in the field. The book is comprehensive, well written, well-organized and full of concrete practice innovations.

Anne Scully
Edmonton

Frank Maidstone (Editor)
Child Welfare: A Source Book of Knowledge and Practice
New York: Child Welfare League of America Inc., 1984.

In contrast to other books about child welfare which often discuss problems and shortcomings, this reference book focuses on the actual delivery of services within the current child welfare system. It is a practical "how to" book which was written for the purposes of:

1. A personal reference manual for practitioners
2. A resource tool for supervisors
3. A basic text for inservice training

The authors have summarized existing practice theory and knowledge and have organized it by using what they term "an ecological perspective." This is a general systems approach which recognizes the interaction between individuals and their environment. Using this type of framework such diverse aspects of child welfare as child protection, community work, residential child care and adoptions are covered. Also of particular assis-tance to the beginning social work practitioners are the appendices at the end of the book. Appendix A outlines a framework for problem-solving; Appendix B is a list of indicators of abuse and neglect with operational definitions; Appendix C a summary of staff practice activities.

Sponsored by the Children's Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto, the information is obtained from published literature including that which is theoretical in nature as well as practice information written by practi-tioners or research specialists.

Overall, this ambitious undertaking has successfully summarized and consolidated existing social work practice information. It has made many connections between theory and practice by outlining how theoretical knowledge directly applies to actual practice. However, by covering all aspects of child welfare, there is the necessary limitation of having to forego any in-depth analysis of or

rationale behind practice issues. Consequently, the reader is well-advised by the authors to refer to original sources outlined in the bibliography at the end of each chapter.

Pat Rosettes
Calgary, Alberta

Norman Polansky, Mary Ann Chalmers, Elizabeth Buttenwieser and David Williams.
Damaged Parents; An Anatomy of Child Neglect
Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Norman Polansky has studied the social problem of child neglect for fifteen years and this book is the product of the information he has collected during this time. He dissects the problem by examining and analyzing the components of neglect in terms of:

1. a working definition of neglect and indicators describing it;
2. its effect on the victims (children) with respect to their personalities;
3. a profile of neglectful parents; and
4. the cost of this serious social problem to our society.

In elaborating the costs to society, Polansky et al., cite the fact that a number of famous assassins such as Lee Harvey Oswald and James Earl Ray were maltreated as children. Physical abuse as well as neglect was part of the maltreatment; and the resulting behaviour of these victims was ultimately destructive to others and costly to society. It is also strongly suspected that there are connections between child neglect and mental illness, retardation, and delinquency. Thus, the seriousness of the problem and its impact on society according to the authors is "not an encapsulated symptom, but an expression of a pervasive style of life."

Existing knowledge about how to help neglectful parents and their children is inadequate. The problem is tremendously complex and to date the research undertaken has only been exploratory. Polansky et al., however, are beginning to organize their accumulated data and tentatively identify indicators which can eventually be used in the development of specific programs and services to help these people.

The authors do not minimize the complexity of the problems and have made an admirable effort to collect and consolidate their information about child neglect. This is done in a succinct as well as sensitive manner with the illustrative case examples of neglect situations portraying the composite profiles of "real people."

Pat Rosettes
Calgary

Cam Hubert
Dreamspeaker
Avon Books: New York, 1978. (122 pages)

Dreamspeaker is a tragic tale about intolerance and stupidity in society. This award-winning novel, written by Cam Hubert and published in 1978, was later made into a drama for public television.

The story is indeed a tale, in the sense that Hubert makes use of the style of oral storytelling. One can imagine a shortened version of *Dreamspeaker* being told at a campfire.

Hubert spent some time with the Nootka Indian people on the west coast of British Columbia and learned much about their stories, folklore and their way of life. He also knows a good deal about the child welfare system.

The first part of the book introduces us to Peter, a severely disturbed twelve-year-old who is on his way to a compulsory care facility. His background is described and we learn of early neglect and abuse from his parents, and then subsequent neglect and abuse in an extensive list of placements in care. Peter has survived this incredibly poor beginning in his life, but at considerable cost. He stutters, is enuretic, is compulsive and also withdrawn. Most significantly, he believes he is being stalked by a two-headed monster and early descriptions of encounters with this monster seem frighteningly real. The reader is led to believe that unless Peter gets help, the monster will indeed kill the boy.

Two brief excerpts illustrate the terror of his hallucinations:

> From the head, the closest head, a dark fog moving toward him, wrapping around his throat and face, smothering him, his hands trying to pry the stinking slime (p. 22).

> He remembered the thing coming out of the leaves and leaping for his throat. Remembered the stale, swampy odour, the jelly mass clogging his nostrils and both John and the doctor saying ''It's all right son, it's all right,'' but it wasn't, already it was in the hospital. It had escaped the machine that had sucked it off him, it was in the walls, slithering from room to room, following the electric wires, going from place to place. Looking. Looking for him (p. 23).

Peter's terror of the monster propels him to flee from the hospital in the institution. He hops on a train, then hides himself in the rigging of a transport truck and eventually arrives at a desolate, empty stretch of ocean beach, tired, bruised and hungry, with the monster still in hot pursuit.

We are introduced to the second main character in the story as Peter is struggling in vain, to smash open an oyster:

'''By the time you get her open, boy, she won't be fit to eat. The voice came from nowhere, and Peter jumped up terrified'' (p. 35).

The voice belonged to a very old Indian. Peter panics, and tries to run, but he is snatched up protectively by the third main character, a strong young man who is mute and who is called ''He Who Would Sing.''

Without too much effort the old man convinces Peter to go with them to their cabin to have a proper feed of oysters.

And so begins a beautiful, comparatively peaceful time in the boy's life. The two adults quickly comprehend how badly disturbed Peter is, but they treat him with a wise combination of respect, patience and love. Slowly, the old man counsels the boy about how to confront the monster. The advice accumulates gradually at the boy's pace, and it comes mostly from Indian legends and magic.

But it is the simplicity and fun of each day's activities that enable Peter to trust the two men. The relationship between the boy and the men grows quickly, and with that growth Peter begins to gather the strength necessary to face his illness.

This section of the book is truly captivating and heart-warming. There are a number of conversations and incidents that portray humor, compassion and wisdom. But there is also a menacing certainty that the good times will not last. And so, as the two men have feared, the R.C.M.P. eventually determine that Peter is the young boy who was missing from the institution, and they take him away.

The shocking end to the story is in sharp contrast to the fairytale quality of life among the three misfits at the cabin. We want to believe, like children, that this arrangement could have lasted, if not forever, at least for a long time. But of course, what child welfare official would have the courage to approve what was so obviously a perfect place for Peter; perhaps the only place where he had a chance to regain some mental health? A cabin in the bush with two strange, eccentric men, no school, no therapists . . . . Of course not.

J.H. Allison

Beatrice Culleton
In Search of April Raintree
Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1983 (228 pp)

Not long after I finished reading this book I was hurrying, at night and during a light rain shower, to get into the protective warmth of a fairly expensive restaurant. A few feet from the doorway a middle-aged Indian man came out of the shadows and lurched toward me, obviously drunk, and obviously wanting a handout. I ignored him fairly easily, but the incident reminded me of Beatrice Culleton's book. Until reading the book, I had given very little thought to how Indian people themselves react to these stereotyped situations. In the book, April Raintree views drunken Indians with embarrassment and contempt. She rejects her native heritage and for a time successfully ''passes'' as white. Her sister Cheryl, on the

other hand, is much more tolerant and compassionate. She is proud of her heritage and is optimistic that Indian people will ultimately regain a sense of dignity and self-worth.

Search of April Raintree is a disturbing and painful account, albeit fictionalized, of the lives of two Metis sisters. April, the eldest and narrator of the story, begins with her recollection of early days with her parents, and of events leading up to apprehension and placement in care. The description is from the perspective of a six-year-old, and it is a powerful account of the heart-wrenching grief of separation. The expected elements of poverty, drunkenness, sickness, and discrimination are all present.

But so are some beautiful moments of happiness in this troubled family, moments that make understanding of the reasons for placement impossible for the two little girls.

The book goes on to describe the placements each of the girls has while in care. For all but a short period of time they are separated in different foster homes. Cheryl fares better than April and has a reasonably long-term, stable placement with a good family. April however, is forced to endure a terrible foster home for several years. The description of events and of the people in this placement is so incredible that one believes the author must have experienced some of these things in her own childhood. The foster mother is abuse personified; she is truly a cruel, hateful woman.

The girls arrive at young adulthood with very different perspectives about themselves and about life generally. Cheryl, who has unmistakable Indian features has had her natural curiosity about her heritage encouraged by her foster parents, and is determined to become a social worker, and to help change things for Metis people.

April foolishly marries a wealthy aristocrat from Ontario but the marriage predictably fails and she returns to Winnipeg. However she receives enough alimony to allow her to buy a house, and at long last, the sisters are able to live together. One would think at this point that things might improve. But they do not, and new problems emerge that once again remind the reader of the terrible burden of being Indian in our society.

The book is in its third printing which probably indicates an unexpectedly high level of popularity. This is not surprising since one would have to be unfeeling, indeed, not to care about these two young women. Culleton's writing skill is very impressive, especially in her descriptions of the key dramatic events in the story. We in the helping professions, especially those of us who are educators need more books like this, because ultimately native people themselves are the only ones who can teach us about their experiences.

J.H. Allison

Conference Announcement

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR YOUNG CHILDREN

LONDON, ONTARIO

November 6, 7, 8, 1986

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS:

Dr. David Weihart, Ypsilanti, Michigan
Bill Mitchell, Ontario Ministry of Education
Fredelle Maynard, Toronto, Ontario
Rev. R. Maurice Boyd, London, Ontario

PRECONFERENCE INSTITUTES:

Dr. John McKim, London, Ontario
Gordon Wells, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
Dr. George Phills, London Board of Education
Otto Weinger, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
Jerry Harste, University of Indiana
Sharon Rich, London Board of Education
Dr. Daniel Ling, University of Western Ontario

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