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Democratic education as the basis for multicultural acceptance : a case study of a classroom of five-year olds.

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DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION AS THE BASIS FOR MULTICULTURAL ACCEPTANCE: A CASE STUDY OF A CLASSROOM OF FIVE-YEAR OLDS

A Dissertation Presented

By

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This dissertation is dedicated to my children,

Malcolm and Jody

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To all of the people mentioned above, I give very deep thanks.

ABSTRACT

DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION AS THE BASIS FOR MULTICULTURAL ACCEPTANCE:
A CASE STUDY OF A CLASSROOM OF FIVE-YEAR OLDS

(February, 1981)

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The study examines appropriate dimensions of multicultural education for young children ages four to six, through exploring the interrelationship between teacher behavior, curriculum and children's behavior. The research focuses on children's acceptance and exclusion of each other on racial and gender bases.

The method of study is participant observation research. The observer took running records of kindergarten children's and teachers' activities at a small private school, in an open classroom, three days per week for four months, and coded the data into behavioral categories. A once a day spot check was also done, counting children's location and gender affiliation.

The findings were: first, gender rather than race was the salient characteristic used for children's exclusion of each other, in this environment; second, gender segregation decreased during the four months of observation (September to December) rather than remaining stable or increasing, as is "normally" expected, according to the literature; third, the teacher used three types of intervention strategies to decrease gender segregation. They were environmental manipulation, verbal directives,

and giving cognitive information about gender to children; fourth, teacher presence was associated significantly with greater cross-sex play than would be randomly expected.

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PROLOGUE

This study seeks to understand some of the complex interrelationships between school program, teacher behavior and children's social behavior regarding their preferences for opposite-sex and cross-race playmates. I have sought to understand the dynamics of this relationship through an analysis of one four-month period in the life of one classroom of four- and five-year olds in western Massachusetts. It is hoped that the understanding generated will shed light on possible approaches teachers in other classrooms can use.

I became interested in this project for two reasons: first, many teachers have become interested in multicultural education in the last five years and many of them are implementing curricula in their classrooms which I am afraid are reinforcing stereotypic notions the children already have about "others." Most of the teachers' attempts involve activities such as multicultural calendars or "international days" which stress artifacts, clothing and the physical appearance of those who are racial or ethnic minorities in this country. I have been distressed by these approaches but often have not known how to respond when, knowing of my interest in multicultural education, teachers have proudly shown me such an activity. How was I to be supportive of their intent yet critical of their product? I wanted to observe a classroom with a more subtle and sophisticated approach in order to be able to have a model upon whose specific features I could comment to other teachers.

Additionally, I taught for seven years in classrooms similar in tone and conception to the classroom being observed. In them, I sought

to reduce gender exclusion and to be multiculturally aware, but I never developed an overall plan embedded in a framework such as was exhibited in this classroom. An educational theory supporting the kind of work I wanted to do had not yet been developed. The work I have done in this study is one effort toward building that theory.

I first made contact with the classroom used for observation in this project when I was supervising a master's degree intern in it during the year prior to my dissertation work. The classroom struck me as having an atmosphere which was unusually respectful of children and unusually cooperative in tone. I was interested in seeing whether this extremely democratic and cooperative atmosphere provided a basis for children's acceptance of each other across gender and race lines. My idea was that, rather than introducing exotica as the basis for understanding difference, this classroom which stressed acceptance of self and others in the room, might in fact be laying the groundwork for genuine understanding of difference, as well as similarity.

I began to meet with the teacher of the classroom to discuss this thesis. We spent several months exploring it together: speculating, discussing our experiences teaching in extremely similar classrooms, and planning how to test our ideas in an organized fashion. The study which resulted is in good part a result of those discussions, which will be further elaborated upon in the body of the report.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

Multicultural education is a new field of study which has developed within the field of education within the last ten years. Because it is so new, and because it has had its origin in a number of different developments occurring within the United States during this last decade, it has been applied to curriculum in a variety of ways. These range from students in elementary schools spending a half-day per year zipping through a specially constructed regional center with rooms representing African tribal villages, German artifacts, etc., to classrooms where much study is devoted to "other" and "own" cultures.

The development of an appropriate multicultural curriculum for children four, five and six has been retarded by three different types of problems. There has been a slow development of a coherent theory underlying multicultural education in general; there have been questions by developmentalists about whether any multicultural education is appropriate for young children; and there has been a slap-dash approach arising from a desire to use "multicultural education" as a cure-all for any discordances arising from the conflicts generated by cultural or class integration in schools (Arnove and Strout, 1978).

The conception of what constitutes multicultural education in general ranges from statements emphasizing the diversity of customs to those with more pervasive and subtle goals, where the emphasis is on providing everyone with a knowledge of various groups' contribution to

world history and providing genuine equality of access to education for everyone. This latter goal implies a general restructuring of education and thus has implications for more far-reaching social change.

One of the reasons there is so much range of opinion in this field is that it is clearly linked to wider struggles of Third World people and women for access to not only education but other institutions. Implementation of multicultural education programs is often either an accommodation to demands for equality, or a creation by the groups which have been alienated from educational institutions. The nature of the program will be significantly different, depending on which type of group is implementing it and what its part has been in the historical process which has led up to the creation of the program.

History of Multicultural Education

The bases of the creation of multicultural education are diverse and are located both in developments in world political history and in United States pedagogy. Since World War II we have been living in an historical period characterized by movements for national liberation throughout the world. Within the United States there have been the general movements of the past twenty years for social, political and educational democracy. These movements have come up against walls blocking their progress toward equality; they have revealed practices in many institutions, including schools, which perpetuate inequality (Bowles and Gintis, 1976). At the same time that these institutional mechanisms for reproducing inequality have been exposed, there has been an acknowledgement that "equal access" to education (a demand made first by blacks,

then other Third World groups and women) means more than equal physical access and that something more than desegregation is called for to create equal education (Butts, 1977).

Developments in pedagogical theory in England and the United States since World War II have been another strand in the theory of multicultural education and have provided a philosophical basis for multicultural education. In the 1960's in the United States, there had been a swing back to Deweyian ideas of learner-centered education, deriving primarily from the British Open School Movement following World War II. While this is presently being tempered by behavioral and other teacher-centered approaches, with regard to multicultural education the Deweyian trend has been more influential.

Relation of Dewey's Theories and Multicultural Education

There are three basic ideas which form the cornerstones of Dewey's broad conception of education and which relate directly to multicultural education. The first is that the focus of attention is shifted from "facts" back to the child (Cremin, 1961). The second is the assertion that educational institutions are key elements of social reform. The third is a commitment to relating the daily life of the school to the community around it. The validation of the prior and present experience of each person in the classroom, where learning is seen as an active process of construction by the students, is the individual psychological counterpart of multicultural educational theory, which puts these individuals into a socio-historical context. Where Dewey (1902) says:

> To possess all the world of knowledge and lose one's own self is as awful a fate in education as in religion. Moreover, subject-matter never can be got into the child from without. Learning is active. It involves reaching out of the mind. It involves organic assimilation starting from within. (p. 9)

A sophisticated document on multicultural education says:

> ...multiculturalism is good pedagogy in which the child and his/her experiences are accepted and utilized for the purpose of further learning. (Board of Education for the Borough of York, 1977, p. 31)

> The teachers' aim in multicultural education should be to utilize the background and varying experiences of their students as valuable resources in adding new teaching and learning strategies to those that already exist. (Ibid, p. 15)

As Dewey shifted the center of gravity back to the child, he found that the child's natural impulses to conversation, inquiry, construction, and expression were natural resources to be built upon in learning.

Thus, the strands of thought deriving from Dewey and from Open Education (the Free School Movement of the 1960's in the United States), where the child is placed at the center of her learning experiences, provide a philosophical basis for multicultural education, which also says that schools must accommodate to children rather than children to schools. The difference between Open Education and multicultural education is that the latter has extended the concept of different learning styles children might have beyond a purely individual matter to a social one. Educators have long recognized that there are different learning styles in different cultures, but whereas those differences were once regarded as problems or deficiencies, they are now regarded by multiculturally aware educators as something to be taken account of in matching teacher and learner. In fact they may be valuable resources upon which

to build (Board of Education of York, 1977; Rosen, 1977; Butts, 1977; McDermott, 1977; Silverstein and Krate, 1975).

Beyond having the child as the central feature of her own education, another key element of Dewey's thought which relates to multicultural education is the notion that education is the fundamental method of social reform.

Dewey (1909) states this over and over:

> When the school introduces and trains each child of society into membership within such a little community, saturating him with the spirit of service, and providing him with the instruments of effective self-direction, we shall have the deepest and best guarantee of a larger society which is worthy, lovely and harmonious. (pp. 43-44)

Just prior to his death Dewey (1962) wrote:

> For the creation of a democratic society we need an educational system where the process of moral-intellectual development is in practice as well as in theory a cooperative transaction of inquiry engaged in by free, independent human beings who treat ideas and the heritage of the past as means and methods for the further enrichment of life. (p. XIX)

Multicultural educators also regard the school as a key social institution. Perhaps there is not such optimism today about the role of education in opening up the society to equal access, but education is seen as at least a necessary, if not sufficient condition for individuals and groups to "make it." It is clear that if people in this society cannot read and cannot critically think, then they will automatically be excluded from economic equity. Most multicultural educators assume a greater role for education than simply learning skills (Suzuki, 1979; Gibson, 1975). Banks (1975), for instance, says that the main goal of ethnic studies is to give students a global view, in order to become effective change agents in contemporary society (italics added).

The third point of relation between Dewey and multicultural education is the insistence both have that the school be related to the broader community, and that in fact it is a community in microcosm. Dewey's starting point for developing a curriculum was his analysis of industrial society and the skills which would be necessary for people to function in it. Multicultural education's starting point is an analysis of social/cultural realities existing outside of the classroom, and an attempt to bring the classroom into line with them.

A problem that both Dewey and multicultural education face, in this relation to the broader community, is that all groups and all individuals are not equal in the larger society; thus, egalitarian classrooms exist in contradiction to the larger society. Neither Dewey nor many multicultural theorists address this contradictory situation. Dewey (1962) said that he was now in the "process of building a new education which shall really give an equal chance to everyone, because it will base itself on the world in which the child lives" (p. 124). And multicultural education is often based on the false notion of cultural parity in society; e.g.,

> Multiculturalism in Canada is and must continue to be based on the philosophical premise that all cultures possess equal intrinsic value and status within the Canadian context. Such a premise denies the dominance of any one culture over another. To be a "real" Canadian does not mean belonging to any specific culture..." (Board of Education of York, 1977, p. 10)

The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education statement, No One Model American (1973), echoes this sentiment.

> Multicultural education is education which values cultural pluralism...multicultural education recognizes cultural diversity as a fact of life in American society,

> and it affirms that this cultural diversity is a valuable resource that should be preserved and extended. It affirms that major educational institutions should strive to preserve and enhance cultural pluralism. (p. 264)

Striving to create an ideal democratic setting within an economically undemocratic society is not necessarily wrong; in fact, it does provide an opening wedge to breaking up the power of concentrated capital by giving people an experience of equality on which they can base critiques of the society. But the fact that this contradiction is not addressed head-on does weaken multicultural educational theory, and therefore curriculum. There is often a fuzziness at the center of multicultural educational conceptions, and this is attributable in great part to the lack of grappling with this issue, the larger socio-political and economic context of formal education (Gibson, 1975).

Given this contradiction, what can be the role of multicultural education and how can it best be applied to schooling for young children?

Some Definitions of Multicultural Education

The most sophisticated proponents of multicultural education give it the broadest definition. Rather than being a "tack-on" unit of curriculum, they see it as an overall process of education which provides for the needs of all children (Suzuki, 1979; Baker, 1978; Banks, 1975, 1977; Gibson, 1975). A conception of education based upon the realities of present and future social diversity is basic to multicultural education. The Work Group of the Board of Education of York, Canada, which has put out a report (1977) on multicultural education gives a definition which emphasizes its overall nature:

> Multicultural education is...to be interpreted by the Work Group to be a humanistic concept based on the strength of diversity, human rights, social justice, and alternative life choices for all people...To be truly multicultural this education must include curricular, instructional, administrative and environmental efforts to help students avail themselves of as many models, alternatives, and opportunities as possible from the full spread of our cultures. It should also include assistance for students in the development of positive attitudes to prepare them for living in a multicultural society.
>
> Multicultural education is a continuous process that will broaden and diversify as it adapts to changing conditions in society. It is not a single program or course of study, but rather an interdisciplinary educational process. (p. 15)

Multicultural education, in this conception, is education based upon a variety of referents--the children, in their diversity--indicating that it is a continually changing process of adaptation to changing conditions.

This conception also contains the realization that multicultural education is necessary for everyone, rather than being a special compensatory program for "them." Nor is it merely an additive curriculum unit, showing exotic foreign customs, which may serve only to highlight differences without any context. The notion of multicultural education consisting of ghettoized units of instruction has been explicitly attacked by some educators (Grant 1977a, 1977b; Gibson, 1975). Grant (1977a), for example, makes the important point that "...a teacher setting aside a week for Black History can be implicitly telling the students that Black History is something 'special' that is not or should not ordinarily be given daily attention, or that Blacks' contribution to history is so small that it can be covered in one week. This so-called history lesson can, in effect, become a lesson on ethnocentrism." (p. 109).

Another definition of multicultural education is that it is education which seeks to develop competencies in multiple cultures, given the reality of our living in a culturally pluralistic society. This emphasis has been sharply criticized, however, on the grounds that this could tend to deepen the boundaries between groups, since culture and ethnic groups are not necessarily equated and new stereotypes may be built up through this method (Suzuki, 1979; Gibson, 1975).

Educators need to get to a point of depolarization after they deepen ethnic identity. Members of any given ethnic group represent a range of cultures; e.g., related to work, class, or religion. The way out of this difficulty seems to be simply to be aware that individuals have multiple identities as well as social identity in a particular ethnic group, and to present the range of identities wherever possible. If, for instance, one is planning to invite an Hispanic community resident into the classroom, it would be important to consider having both a working class person and a professional visit, in order to convey both the unifying features of culture and their breakdown across classes.

Cross-Gender Play Preferences

One of the component topics of multicultural education is gender. Generally the literature on gender-bonding, sex-type affiliation and play preferences has not been included as part of multicultural education, but thematically it is similar, It deal with elements of "otherness" in the same way that issues of race and ethnicity come up in multicultural education, and implies that schools need to do something to overcome segregation and exclusion along gender lines, as they do along race lines.

Since gender turned out to be the basis on which children in this study were segregated, rather than race, a review of the literature on this topic was done in order to have a baseline for comparison.

The literature on young children's play patterns in school (nursery and kindergarten) consistently documents that boys play predominantly with boys and that girls play with girls and that during the course of the typical nursery or kindergarten year that affiliation does not decrease (Rubin, 1980; Bee, 1978; Rothenberg, 1977; Jacklin and Maccoby, 1974; Omark, Omark and Edelman, 1973; McCandless and Hoyt, 1961; Dawe, 1934; Parten, 1933). In fact, Parten found that the percentage of unisexual groupings tends to rise over the two years of nursery school. Additionally, the deliberate exclusion of opposite-sex peers from play groups at nursery school has been reported as a commonly observed phenomenon at preschools (Rubin, 1980; Serbin, 1977; McCandless and Hoyt, 1961).

The literature unanimously states that not only are boys and girls most often stratified, remaining with the same sex peers, but that after age three they are environmentally located in different places and engaged in different activities (Rubin, 1980; Rothenberg, 1977; Sanders, 1977; Fagot and Patterson, 1969; Parten, 1933). Three to five-year old boys, for instance, have been observed in a preschool setting over a two year period to use outdoor space significantly more of the time than girls, while girls are indoors more. The boys also covered more territory while they were outside, using more different play areas (Harper and Sanders, 1975).

At this age, the style of play is consistently observed to be different among boys and girls (Rubin, 1980; Stone and Church, 1979; Harper and Sanders, 1975). By the age of three, stereotypes about the "gender appropriate" use of tools and toys are developed (Thompson, 1975) and they are developed about sex-role behavior by the age of five (Tryon, 1959). Interestingly, the knowledge of sex-trait stereotypes among five-year olds was found to be greater for male traits than female (and this was true at each age level studied, in this study of five- to eleven-year olds) (Williams, et al, 1975). Boys have been more often observed playing with blocks and transportation toys, girls with paints or dolls (Rothenberg, 1977; Fagot and Patterson, 1969).

Much work has been done on sex differences themselves (Bee, 1978; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974; Hartup and Zook, 1968). The findings are inconsistent. In a recent review of the literature, Bee states, "The only large and consistent finding is that males are more aggressive than females" (1978). Other researchers and reviewers have found that there are other observable sex differences in abilities (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974) and interests (Pitcher, 1974). Pitcher found what she interpreted to be different modes of thought and interest between boys and girls by the age of two, with girls more interested in people and relationships and boys more interested in things. In one of her experiments with two- to four-year olds' drawings, her analysis showed that girls said that what they drew was people over fifty percent of the time, boys only fifteen percent. Of course it is difficult to do research on gender differences, since we ourselves are so conditioned to expect them.

Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) state, "If a generalization about a group of people is believed, whenever a member of that group behaves in the expected way, the observer notes it and his belief is confirmed and strengthened. When a member of the group behaves in a way that is not consistent with the observer's expectations, the instance is likely to pass unnoticed" (p. 355).

The findings of the researchers indicate, however, that whatever differences in behaviors there may be between boys and girls, they are more pronounced among preschool children than older ones (Bee, 1978; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974; Hartup and Zook, 1960). Preschool girls possess the most feminine sex-role preferences of any group of girls aged three to ten (Hartup and Zook, 1960), and the preschool years are the only childhood period when girls have been found to be more influenced by adults' requests than boys (Bee, 1978). Boys' style of play between the ages of two and five is said to be more different from girls than later, with boys showing more angry or frustrated outbursts, crying more than girls, being more active physically when with other boys (Bee, 1978), quarreling more than girls (Dawe, 1934). Preference for masculine and feminine roles has been found to be greater at four years old (Hartup and Zook, 1960).

It is difficult to assess these findings, since much of this work was done through clinical experiments rather than from naturalistic observation of children at work and play, and these are findings often determined by the expectations of the researcher. We do know, however, that young children frequently behave in a sex-typed manner in their play, so these findings of difference are not at variance with the empirical

evidence. Whether or not young children are more sex-typed in behavior than older children remains to be discovered conclusively, but it is not surprising that some young children in their first chance at trying out their roles in the world should act in a highly rigid manner. This behavior would be explicable by reference to a Piagetian theoretical framework, wherein young children, who cannot hold more than one aspect of a situation in mind at once, would have a unidimensional notion of sex-role behavior.

The significance of these behavioral differences for this study is that they indicate the need for an active intervention program on the part of schools if gender segregation is to be reduced. Children by preschool ages do already have stereotypic notions of "gender appropriateness" for the use of tools, for behaviors, interests, friendships and playmates. But, if the pattern of sex segregation is largely learned, then it should be possible for non-segregation patterns also to be learned. Most researchers suggest that the differences are probably more culturally than biologically imposed (Rubin, 1980; Stone and Church, 1979).

And, in fact, several experiments have been tried where schools have consciously set out to minimize sex typing. The results indicate that cross-sex play patterns can and do change when school environments promote such change.

One of the most relevant reports is by Joffe (1974), who was involved in participant observation study at a parent-nursery in California with preschool children three and one-half and four years of age, where she observed two different classes at the same school for two months each.

The school contained no structural indications of gender segregation; i.e., bathrooms and all activities of the school were equally open to both sexes and the participation of all children in the traditional sex-typed activities was sought. Joffe describes finding the common male and female subcultures, but she observed that slightly less than half of the children participated in them. This means that the pattern of preference for same-sex playmates and the pattern of different styles of play for boys and girls were diminished in this classroom and differed from what would typically be expected according to the literature (Rubin, 1980; Stone and Church, 1979; Rothenberg, 1977; Dawe, 1942; Parten, 1933). Joffe also states that the method by which this change was effected is unclear and that the means for the transmission of values is an area for which there is a gap in the research. That area is addressed in the present study.

Another relevant study is reported by Bianchi and Bakerman (1978), who observed free play time in two kindergartens for six days. One of the kindergartens was traditional, one open. The children in the traditional school were found to play typically in same-sex groups, while at the open school children typically played in mixed-sex groups. The authors conclude:

> Quite counter to the usual finding, boys and girls at the open school often played together; children at the traditional school followed the literature, boys usually playing with boys and girls with girls. Thus it appears that this aspect of sex-typed behavior in preschools can be influenced by different school environments. (p. 912)

They also state, however, in a comment similar to Joffe's,

> Although our data support the hypothesis that type of school can affect the degree of sex typing, they

> contribute very little toward understanding the specific causes for the differences we observed. (p. 912)

It is clear that this is indeed a gap in the literature,

Serbin, et al (1977), report on another research project which they state is the first direct experimental investigation of an intervention technique designed to increase cross-sex play. Teachers in two classrooms attempted to increase cooperative cross-sex play among the children by commenting approvingly whenever they saw a mixed-sex group playing together. They were instructed to comment approvingly so that the whole class would hear, saying the children's names and what they were doing. The comments were made every five minutes for two weeks during the free play period. The rate of cross-sex cooperative play increased from 5 - 6 percent during the baseline period before the intervention to 10 - 12 percent during the experimental period. When the teachers' comments were discontinued, however, the amount of cross-sex cooperative play immediately declined to the same low level at which it had been before the experiment began.

These findings indicate the powerful impact of environment on behavior.

While the literature on gender segregation in nursery and kindergarten is consistent in describing patterns of segregation, the three relevant studies describing conscious school policies encouraging non-sex-typed behaviors have shown that cross-sex play increases in such environments. Research has not, however, directly addressed the problem of how values with regard to gender are transmitted, especially with regard to changing those values. It is hoped that this study will begin to fill that gap.

Summary Definition of Multicultural Education

Multicultural education has several aspects: (a) it is education which values and is based on the differing experiences of all children, with particular awareness of the importance of gender, race, ethnicity and class in forming culture and thereby experience; (b) it seeks to prepare students for life in a multicultural society, recognizing the complexities and inequalities of gender, class and culture; and (c) it is explicitly tied to the pursuit of a more democratic society in which there would be greater equality in all spheres of life. Multicultural education thereby implies more egalitarian and genuinely integrated classrooms, giving students an experiential basis for later pursuit of a more just social order. In these goals it is closely related to Deweyian notions of education, with the additional inclusion of ethnicity, race, class and gender as important determinants of social identity, learning style and behavioral interaction. It differs from Dewey's thought by recognizing the possible contradiction between goals (b) and (c), where students are being prepared for life in this society and also being prepared to change this society. But many of us face this contradictory situation in our lives; and in one sense, preparing students for life in this society encompasses learning to live with that contradiction.

Multicultural education, in this view, is of relevance to all students. The benefits of multicultural education for all children are similar to the benefits of boys and girls playing more together, outlined by Serbin, et al. Add race, ethnicity and class to the word "sex" whenever it appears in the quotation below. Serbin, et al (1977), say that the benefits of cross-sex play are:

1) Children might view the opposite sex as well as the same sex as playmates, friends and co-workers. It might have far-reaching effects on adults' ability to perceive one another as equals.

2) It would expose boys and girls to the styles and cognitive skills "typical" of the opposite sex, broadening developmental possibilities.

3) It might broaden the type of play activities children engage in since many are sex-stereotyped. (p. 925)

In addition to denying equal educational opportunity to some children, ethnocentric bias victimizes all students by not giving them a realistic picture of the world, thereby denying them the ability to participate in the real world with genuine understanding of what is happening. A great part of that ability derives from understanding that there <u>are</u> alternative solutions for world problems to those presented by the dominant educational institutions.

CHAPTER II

PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

The Problem

The primary problem of this study is to examine the appropriate dimensions of multicultural education for young children, ages four, five and six.

Since multicultural education has been widely introduced in United States schools during the last five years, there have been a number of books written recommending multicultural curriculum units for young children (Grant, 1978; Schmidt and McNeill, 1978). These primarily focus on activities designed to stimulate the young child's understanding of "others." They suggest activities such as introducing the variety of ways of greeting people that exist in different cultures, the variety of dialects existing within this country, various family modes, and so on. Primarily multicultural units are developed to sensitize the children to difference. But developmental literature indicates that young children of four, five and six years probably cannot assimilate this knowledge unless it is based on concrete present situations.

This study seeks to understand what notions of difference children already have, through intensive naturalistic observation of children in one classroom. It also seeks to identify effective strategies for overcoming prejudice and encouraging integration across race and sex lines. How do young children treat those in their classroom who are visibly different, by race or gender, given the social message that exclusion based on these differences is not acceptable?

Theoretical Approach

The theoretical approach underlying this study is a combination of the developmental perspective and a group process or environmental orientation.

Developmental Perspective

It is now widely believed by many, and probably most child-care professionals that development proceeds in orderly stages and that these prescribe the kinds of input from which the child can most profit. Without understanding these, it is held, a teacher may be introducing material either irrelevant to a child, or interpretable by the child only in ways antithetical to the teacher's goals.

Since one basis of multicultural education is an understanding that there are different valid approaches and viewpoints in life, it seems from this developmental perspective that a precondition for multicultural education is an ability to take another's point of view -- a role-taking or empathetic ability (Siegel and Johnson, 1977). It is generally believed (Shantz, 1975) that until approximately age seven children cannot take multiple perspectives in any systematic or consistent way or, in other words, understand that there are other centers of perception (existing in other people) which therefore see or interpret differently from what one sees or interprets oneself. This view, asserted by Piaget (1962), has recently been questioned by researchers who have found that children as young as four and five can indeed take the viewpoint of another when the experimental situation is changed, making it more familiar and concrete (Donaldson, 1979). But whatever

the critical age at which children can decenter, be it four, five, six or seven, the basis of this cognitive developmental viewpoint is the same. It holds that the ability to appreciate another's position is based on a cognitive developmental process and that this cognitive process is a necessary precondition for multicultural education. Those who hold this viewpoint strictly say that the basis for multicultural education for young children is stimulating role-taking ability. Therefore competencies in multiple classification should be developed via such things as classification games. These games will serve as the impetus for conceptual development, improved social understanding and subsequently greater ability to empathize with and respect others from different groups (Siegel and Johnson, 1977).

What this cognitive developmental approach really assumes then, if one draws the logic out, is that immature cognitive schemes are the reason that inter-group hatred exists. The remedy is more sophisticated conceptualization. But while role-taking ability may be a necessary condition for democratic understanding, it is not sufficient; for the child interacts with a society which demonstrates much inter-group hatred as well as much inter-group cooperation.

However, one need not follow this logical path so far in order to have some of the insights offered by developmentalists still available. Clearly children of four and five are bound to the world of the concrete ("a somewhat narrow world of personal contacts," as Dewey (1902) says or are "perceptually bound," as Piaget (1962) puts it). They generally cannot abstract principles from concrete situations, as I found when I began to teach five-year olds and tried to reason by analogy. The

children get caught up in the specifics of the analogies and cannot make a correlation of the abstractions which the analogies are merely meant to illustrate.

Given that children image a series of fragmentary, discrete and anecdotal facts instead of a global view of any given situation, what is appropriate multicultural curriculum? To this basic question one must answer that we have to observe children's actual behavior regarding "otherness" in naturalistic settings to see what, in fact, they are already doing about this issue. While there has been much work done on pro-social behavior and prejudice among young children (Moore, 1978; Siegel and Johnson, 1977; Shantz, 1975), there have been no naturalistic observational studies seeking to relate classroom environment to behavior relevant to multicultural issues other than the two discussed in the review of literature on cross-sex play (Bianchi and Bakerman, 1978; Joffe, 1974).

Environmental Perspective

The importance of environment in behavior has been examined by persons in numerous disciplines in the last twenty years. Of most relevance here are the work of psychologists and educational historians. Environmental psychologists began in the 1950's to do naturalistic observations of children in different settings to see how their behavior changed from setting to setting (Barker and Gump, 1964; Wright, 1960).

More recently, some educational historians have illuminated the "hidden curriculum" or those features of schools which they have called the unplanned, or at least unannounced aspects which contribute as much or more as the commonly recognized overt content of instruction. Those

who have this perspective on institutions highlight school organization as a social system, continually communicating behavior directives to children. Settings, according to this view, generate regularities in behavior (Scrupski, 1975; Dreeban, 1968). The best question to ask regarding multicultural education for young children, according to this perspective, would be, do the school's social relations embody multicultural realities? As defined in the introduction to this paper, this would mean education based on the reality of this society's cultural/ethnic/racial/class and gender diversity, education which acknowledges the validity of differing viewpoints and education which supports increased social justice.

This view isn't necessarily completely at odds with a developmental perspective, but whereas the one looks at individual cognitive maturation as its starting point for curriculum development, this second perspective starts with the social institution and the classroom group as the primary agent of developmental change in individuals (Dreeban, 1968). This view in an extreme form -- structuralism, in philosophical terminology -- contends that what exists are structures: the individual is not the bearer of meaning, but is himself determined by the meaning of the structure; finally, the individual as subject disappears (Ricour, 1978). We need not follow this path of logic to that conclusion either to absorb some of the insights offered into the significant effects social structures have on attitudes and behavior.

Summary of Rationale for the Theoretical Framework

The viewpoint of this research uses a combination of developmental and environmental perspectives resulting in a dialectical approach to understanding individual and group functioning.

I take at least a limited developmental perspective as a given. Children of four and five certainly cannot understand either complex geopolitical structures, or time, sufficiently well to have a grasp of themselves and each other as historical creatures. Thus, any multicultural education which introduces geopolitical structures or historical explanations as basic to curriculum would be considered inappropriate. Given a general developmental framework which recognizes that young children do indeed have different cognitive and perceptual mechanisms than adults do, the approach in the research emphasizes the dimensions of group process. I seek to relate that process to individual and group behavior around issues that will be defined as central to multicultural education. Group process is defined here to mean authority relations in the classroom, how decision-making is done, and teacher and child methods of handling interpersonal and intergroup conflict and cooperation (Tourney and Tesconi, Jr., 1977).

Summary of Purpose of the Study

This research project sets out to explore the relation between tolerance and acceptance of others defined as different (by race or sex) and the group process of the classroom, taking as given the age-related limitations imposed by the natural developmental process of cognitive

maturation; the social limitations existing outside the classroom imposed by racism, sexism and class oppression; and the positive aspects of the larger environment which support the tolerance of difference and egalitarian behavior. Within these parameters, I have sought to understand some possible dimensions of multicultural education for young children by directly observing their behavior in a naturalistic setting, in one very particular type of classroom which is supportive of the goals of multicultural education, as defined in this paper. I have sought also to understand what notions about "others" the children bring to the school, and how these affect and are affected by the classroom functioning.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN

Anthropological Perspective

The approach most suited to exploring the dialectical relation of children who come into a classroom with existing selves and notions, and a specific group process, is derived from anthropological practice. Field studies tend to examine complex social systems such as schools as unified wholes, recognizing the limitation that, of course, in order really to see the whole, one would have to see every aspect of the society and the world. If we are going to study group process in the classroom, we have to consider as many aspects of the situation as possible, taking into account the institution as a whole (its goals, practice and social function as an institution in the larger society), the particular classroom with its own style and materials, and individual and group behavior. The ethnographic technique is most suited to this task since it was developed to deal with relationships and to illuminate changing situations.

Field studies using naturalistic observation techniques with the classroom as the unit of analysis have been recommended by numerous researchers as a valuable method, though a practical drawback of the method is generally acknowledged to be that it requires too much observation time (Wilson, 1977; Gellert, 1955). A more severe limitation of the method is that no matter how deeply one looks into one case, it is still only one case and may either be atypical or, even if

typical of its type, difficult to change causally because of the deprivation of comparative data. I have sought to offset this deficiency by studying one classroom intensively for four months. Time here is the variable which organizes events, giving us a good view of a system in process, and providing, through a longitudinal analysis, our own comparative data base.

There have been two ethnographies which focus directly on the manner in which multicultural education is actualized in schools (Rosen, 1977; Leacock, 1969). While neither of them focus on children's behavior in the way that this study will, they provide some important guidelines in procedure. Rosen's study is especially relevant. It relates the conception of multicultural education at one preschool to the particular political tradition from which the school's philosophy emerged. Rosen analyzes the way the conception of multicultural education at this school was translated into action at three levels: (a) general policy; (b) the distribution of power and authority in the classroom; and (c) the organization of the child's classroom experience. Through the use of "key incidents" selected from the observations which epitomize underlying relationships, he analyzes the ways in which the practice contradicts the school's stated goals. Finally, he makes an analysis of the overall conception, including its inherent weaknesses.

Leacock's study (1969) does a similar job, although with a less specific focus, examining more generally how and what children are learning at several big city schools. She also examines the social setting in which these schools are located and tries similarly to overcome one difficulty of case studies; namely, the tendency to isolate the

teaching/learning process. She sees them as part of a broad cultural process, and tries to deal with the complexity of individual growth within a social context.

Both the Rosen and Leacock studies are good examples of case studies, although the latter could have been more probing if there were more observations at each school (There were three of one and one-half hours each.) Leacock cites three studies demonstrating the high reliability for analysis of teacher performance from short classroom observations as the basis for the accuracy of the study, but in fact teacher performance was not the sole feature in which she was interested; at any rate, while her interviews and observations probe deeply, the study lacks the depth possible from the familiarity shown by Rosen with the school of which he writes. The strength of the study, however, is in the comparative dimensions deriving from data accumulated from a number of schools.

Selection of the Classroom

A classroom was selected in which the relation between group process and individual behavior toward others who are in some way "different" could be studied. It is a four- and five-year old class at the Children's School, a private school in western Massachusetts.[1]

This classroom was selected for study because it is an excellent example of one type of pedagogical institution: a progressive open-classroom model. It was designed as an "alternative" to public schooling, based on a philosophy of "love and care for each of our children, which

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[1] A pseudonym is used here, as it is for the teachers' and children's names later, to protect the identities of the people involved and to maintain confidentiality.

we communicate both verbally and non-verbally...We also help the children learn to care for each other" (Parent Handbook, 1979-80). The school has a prominently stated anti-sexist, anti-racist philosophy, and classrooms are run in an extremely democratic manner (using the definition of democratic classrooms on page 11). The Children's School views itself, according to a teacher interview, as an "independent school which can really have goals for children first, not goals for the system. This is possible because the dictates of public policy do not run the school. Educators (the school director and teachers) make educational policy." Thus, this private school is seen as filling a need to provide a type of education basically Deweyian, which the public schools do not provide. A warm community of children and adults, working purposefully and cooperatively, is the goal of the school.

The four- and five-year old classroom has a population diverse in a number of respects: (a) there is an age spread of almost two years; (b) of the 15 children, 12 are white, 3 black; (c) 9 are boys, 6 girls; (d) 2 of the children wear glasses and both have fairly severe perceptual problems. One has been medically diagnosed as having extremely little depth perception and poor kinesthetic awareness. He does daily exercises for this and he wears glasses. The other also wears glasses and on certain regular days wears an eye patch. (e) one of the children is four years old and reads on an adult level; (f) the SES of the children is somewhat diverse, ranging from several welfare recipient parents to professionals. The majority of parents are teachers.

The teacher of this class is particularly sensitive to group process and has a strong belief that multicultural goals for children can

best be met by living in a diverse group; that the process of teaching is the most important component of teaching, and that the emphasis for children should be on helping them to see their own diversity rather than on emphasizing "others" who are not in the class.

The teacher's goals are consistent with the goals of multicultural education outlined early in this proposal: to base education on the real diversity existing in the classroom, to prepare children to live in an ever changing pluralistic society, and to "use their senses and thinking capacities to protect the interests of humanity."

The teacher's response to several questions expands this:

Q: How would you define multicultural education and how would you implement it?

A: For fives, you want children to develop awareness and understandings -- capability to understand diversity. With younger children, it's more important to have the setting. For older children can symbolically recreate a diverse environment and begin to understand the issues in multicultural education symbolically. But younger children have to be living it to understand.

There are also neat games -- there are concrete ways -- if you broaden the term multicultural -- to use diversity in any given group and highlight it and use it as a teaching tool.

Q: How can the school meet its responsibility to give the best education to different children?

A: Find the essence of what excites children and explore that and other stuff finds its natural order. All children have a certain common language.

I'm looking for the essence of five-year old children and there are universal mediums -- sand, water, clay and wood. When you strip away problems, every child can enter at their own level, using an expressive medium that unites everyone. Young children dramatize.

> There are just things that good schools do with children a lot because that's what children are all about. The arts, creative arts -- dance, drama, art. Math. Science. Everyone wants to express themselves.
>
> When you sit down with that as a focal point those things become the language you use to get to know each other, then the other things become what they are -- not important.
>
> But providing this is hard...It hasn't come clear, how to use these essences.

This teacher has a sophisticated idea of multicultural education, using a sharp constant awareness of the many types of diversity which need to be highlighted in any group of children with a commitment to reaching the essential commonality of their beings. She says further:

> It's difficult for a lot of parents and others to understand that if you live in a school where this is going on, children aren't always happy and growth isn't always even. Sometimes children come home in conflict or are in conflict with each other, and that's part of growing.

These areas regarding multicultural education flow out of a humanist tradition, which presumes that the human essence is common and that if people are treated "equally," they will respond "equally." This tradition is related to an integrationist philosophy regarding race/culture differences, where the differences are seen as superficial compared to the deep common "essences."

The questions this study addresses which relate to the assumptions and practices of these traditions, are: Can a class be considered to be multicultural which has children of different races and both genders, but only comes in contact with staff of one race -- white -- and where all of the teachers of the young children in the school are of one gender -- female -- while the director is male? Will the awareness of diversity and egalitarian ideas in fact occur?

Data Gathering

The methods of gathering data to see how multicultural education is put into practice in this classroom and to make inferences about what helpful multicultural education can be for young children in this type of setting consist of:

1) written data from the school: newsletters, parent handbook;

2) interviews with the teacher and student teacher in the classroom, the school director, and parents of children in the class;

3) informal discussions with parents and staff at school functions such as pot-luck suppers, picnics and class meetings;

4) participation in weekly classroom staff meeting discussing individual children;

5) direct naturalistic observation of the classroom, three days per week for four months.

Behavioral Questions

The general question of this study is, what are the appropriate dimensions of multicultural education in a classroom based on democratic group process and on the idea that appreciation of "others" can best be nourished by living in a diverse group? The specific behaviors which illuminate these dimensions are:

1) exclusionary/accepting behavior by children

-Who is included/excluded from which activities?

-Do children choose to play primarily in groups segregated by gender and/or race?

-Does this change over the course of the observation?

-Does this change in different settings (inside/outside, different areas of the classroom)?

-Does this change during different activities (free play/ meeting/lunch)?

2) discussions the children have about gender and race or ethnic diversity

-What attitudes do children reveal toward various aspects of their own diversity in this group?

-What attitudes do children reveal toward various aspects of diversity not represented in their own group?

3) teacher behaviors regarding children's including/excluding based on race or gender

-How does the teacher react to exclusions on these bases?

-What strategies does she use to counteract them?

-What is her view of the reasons for exclusions?

-How successful are her interventions?

Observations

In fifteen hours of pilot observations spread over the first two weeks of school, the method of observation which was determined to be most useful is a form of observational technique called variously the running record (Cohen and Stern, 1974), specimen observation (Isaacs, 1966, 1972) or systematic observation (Gellert, 1955). This technique was developed as a research method for the study of preschool age children in the late 1920's and early 1930's by Olson, Thomas and Arrington. It records systematically, in as objective terms as

possible, behavior as it is in the process of occurring. It can yield quantitative scores if behaviors are coded, or it can remain in narrative form. Its main features are that it records overt behavior in sequential, plain, descriptive terms, attempting to do it exactly as it occurs, in a naturalistic rather than experimental setting. The advantages of the method are: (a) it avoids a high level of inference in recording behavior; (b) it minimizes omissions and distortions from later recall, which can be an enormous factor when one tries to record even directly after the event; (c) it can be carried on in situations not permitting experimental manipulation; (d) it is appropriate to the study of the very young whose introspective and verbal capacities are limited (Gellert, 1955); and (e) it casts a wide net in terms of incidents and interactions that are recorded, from which later selection can be made for analysis.

While the method of direct systematic observation is respected and encouraged as a method of obtaining valuable information, it is acknowledged that it is so time-consuming that it is often not practicable. One of its disadvantages is also predictably related to its advantages. It is a method of such wide scope that it generates a huge mass of information which can quickly become cumbersome. Thus some method for organizing the field records into systematic categories becomes necessary. If the observations themselves are systematized during the process of collection, the analysis is facilitated.

There are two possible major recording schemes, of which there could be numerous variations. One can note the complete protocols of behavior and then break them into relevant classifications subsequent to doing

the observing, or one can do observations restricted to specific behaviors. A good example of the first method is Isaacs' classic work done in the 1930's (1966, 1972). She took intensive sequential specimen records for several years at a school she directed, and then searched among the specimens for behaviors which would give insight into basic psychological processes. Using a psychoanalytic framework, she analyzed the behaviors after she had sorted them into categories, and from this analysis developed theoretical formulations about intellectual and social functioning in young children.

Another classic study done in the 1930's is Dawe's study (1934) of the quarrels of preschool children. She concentrated on recording only this one type of event. Dawe stood in a central part of the classroom; whenever a quarrel arose, she moved to the scene, devoted her attention to it, and then recorded the entire event immediately afterward (in which respect it differs from most specimen observation).

One problem with event sampling is that by the time one is aware there is something pertinent to one's study occurring, one has missed the often crucial beginning of the sequence of events and therefore may easily miss the key to the event. This was one weakness of Dawe's study, as it is with all event sampling methods. "The watching of events through their natural courses must generally be good policy for most research purposes" (Wright, 1960, p. 100). Another weakness was that Dawe did not record the events as they were actually occurring.

For this study, which is seeking to elucidate some very subtle group and individual processes, the "natural course" of an event includes the time <u>before</u> the event, in many cases. I found the best method for

this project was to station myself in one area of the room or yard, where there were children, and simply take a running record of everything which occurred in that area. I noted the number of children, their sex, race, whether a teacher was in the area, and what area of the space was being used. Then I recorded conversations and other interactive behavior, either until the activity period was over or until there was little possibility of useful material being generated. I rotated areas of the room, so that each one was covered equally. The advantages of this technique are: (a) I usually understood what was going on because I saw the antecedents; (b) much of the behavior which is pertinent to the study occurred very briefly and/or consisted of quiet conversations or movements, so it was necessary to have oneself already stationed in the area to pick it up; and (c) I was wary of unconsciously following some "charismatic" children and generalizing behavior from those particular children. The rotation of areas overcame this.

I discussed many of the observations, after they were recorded, with the classroom teacher. She often had knowledge of things which provided explanations for some of the behavior, such as happenings on a day when I was not observing, or family background, or simultaneous happenings in other parts of the room.

Interviews

Another source of data for the study was interviews of the classroom teachers, school director and parents. The importance of the interviews is that they provided some concrete embedding material within which

to understand the children's behavior; e.g., what are the expectations for the children and what is being provided to them, at home and at school, to facilitate their operating in a certain expected fashion? The interviews also provided sources for gathering more data about the types of behaviors in which I am interested, and the analysis relied on some of the anecdotes provided by parents.

Other Sources of Information

Other sources of data collection include the school newsletter, the school handbook, class newsletters, meetings and social functions.

Analysis of Data

The framework for the analysis of the data refers back to the opening description of multicultural education and to the school's goals for the children, as well as to the questions raised throughout this study. The central question of the paper, what are appropriate dimensions of multicultural education for young children, and how are they related to democratic aspects of group process, will be discussed in terms of the initial framework. The general level of the children's and teacher's awareness and methods of dealing with "difference" will be illuminated through anecdote and analysis.

The process of analysis of the data consisted of the following steps which occurred during the entire span of the research:

1) Initially I minimized my hypotheses in order to allow the children's actual behavior to form more specific hypotheses. As I observed, more specific questions emerged and these questions served to focus the

observations. For example, while the research was initially conceived of as focusing on race/ethnic differences at least as much as gender differences, the observations made clear that gender exclusion/acceptance issues were much more relevant to children of four and five at this school than racial ones. This was one of the biggest issues being talked about and was used as a criterion for certain types of play. Thus my focus shifted to that area.

2) The questions then were defined more in terms of that focus. I recorded teacher interventions on this issue as she sought to break down the exclusionary play. And, I added a quantitative data gathering method to see whether the way boys and girls interacted changed over time. I counted boys and girls playing/working together at one specific time of day during each day of observation.

Validity

Since validity in a study of this type cannot be stated in absolute terms, some of the ways to estimate validity were:

1) Checking what I was seeing with the two teachers in the room. Are they perceiving the behaviors similarly?

2) Becoming aware of my own belief system, and attempting to detach myself from it as much as possible.

3) Seeing whether the conclusions of the study were consistent with our general knowledge about children this age (Gellert, 1955). There will be disagreement about the meaning of behaviors, since a strict Piagetian, for instance, will interpret the behaviors differently

than a structuralist; but the general behaviors seen should be consistent with what a teacher of five-year olds in this type of setting has grown to expect.

My conclusions are speculative. I was looking for hypotheses, not conclusive answers. However, based on the information I collected I can demonstrate that in this one school the children and teachers behaved a certain way regarding "differences," their behavior changed over time, and there is no reason to think similar behaviors and changes would not be exhibited in a similar setting.

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA

Introduction

Just prior to the opening day of school, during the first week of September, 1979, I attended a picnic supper at the Children's School, organized for the school families and staff. I met some of the children in the classroom I would be observing and explained the research project to the parents. They all had a positive response to the study, feeling that my discussions with the teacher would be valuable input to the classroom, and that my findings would be interesting to themselves. One black parent who had had some disagreements with the school during the previous year regarding the lack of a more black-oriented curriculum was particularly enthusiastic about my work.

During the first week of school I spent several days in the classroom, familiarizing myself with the children, the school and the daily routine, and letting the children become familiar with me. I introduced myself to the parents I had not met at the picnic and had each one sign a release form giving me permission to conduct the research in their child's classroom.

On September 9, I began the classroom observations which were to form a major part of my data, and I continued them three days per week until December 18, when the Christmas vacation started.

This chapter describes the data which were gathered during those months; the discussions of the meaning of the various findings will be

presented in the following two chapters. The data to be described in this chapter are outlined below.

Outline of the Data

1) Running records of classroom observations

2) Coded data from running records

3) A 9 a.m. daily count of boys, girls, and teacher by location

4) Tables and graphs from the running record coded data and 9 a.m. count

    a) Physical location of children and teacher in segregated and non-segregated groups

    b) Teacher presence or absence in segregated and non-segregated groups

    c) Change of segregated groups over time

    d) Relative segregation and non-segregation of groups inside and outside, over time

5) Structured parent interviews -- one with each parent

6) Teacher interviews -- a series of 13 interviews

7) Student-Intern interviews -- a series of three interviews

8) School Director interview -- one interview

9) School records: Parent Handbook, newsletters

10) School functions

Description of Running Record Observations

The observations were made three times per week, from September 9, 1979 to December 18, 1979, for a total of thirty-six observation days. They are in the form of running records, in which the observer recorded every verbal and non-verbal behavior possible in the area under scrutiny

as it was occurring. The children present at the beginning and end of the observation were counted. Areas to be observed were rotated in order to get information from each area.

The observer stayed in one area until there were no children in it or until it was felt that the behaviors were becoming repetitive enough that little of interest could be gained by staying. The length of time each area was observed ranged from one or two minutes to half an hour. Most of the observations, however, fell in neither of these extremes, but are roughly comparable at about ten to fifteen minutes.

The running records were used for two purposes:

1) They are a direct source of anecdotal and explanatory material, describing conversations and actions between persons in the classroom.

2) They are the basis for the statistical analysis which indicated trends in behavior.

Coding from Running Records

For purposes of analysis, the observations have been broken down into events. Each event is defined by the actions taking place within an area. Thus, when the observer began and terminated an observation in an area, an event was considered to have begun and terminated. When the observer switched to another physical location, a new event was coded.

Two hundred and twenty-eight events were recorded in this study. Each of these events has been coded. The categories selected for coding were the areas of interest in the study. Thus most of them focus on various facets of the children's behavior regarding gender, race and teacher participation. The categories coded are:

day of week

inside/outside play

physical location (area)

number of girls involved over total event

number of boys involved over total event

who is cross-over child if single child w/ group of other gender

teacher involvement

percentage of boys at beginning of each event

percentage of boys at end of each event

discussion about race

discussion about gender

discussion about other differences

exclusion of child by other(s)

inclusion of child(ren) by other(s)

who excludes/includes

who is excluded/included

asks for help and is refused

helps

shares

displays affection

hits/pushes

shows verbal aggression

shows object aggression

teacher value statements re gender

teacher value statements re other issues

The detailed procedures for coding are contained in the Coding Manual, Appendix A. An example of the coding procedure is given in Appendix B, where I provide a sample of my field notes and explain the procedure by which the notes were transformed into codes.

The coding was done by the observer. A test of reliability was done, using an independent coder, with a random sample of 87 of the 228 events. The reliability found ranged from 92-100 percent.

Daily 9 A.M. Count of Boys, Girls, Teacher, by Location

This count was made at 9 a.m., during a free choice activity time, on 25 of the 36 observation days. These spot observations are fewer than the total number of dates of observation (running records) because they began three weeks after the running records began. During this count, the observer went from area to area, counting who was in each area. If a person was in motion between areas, s/he was not included in the count.

Description of Tables and Graphs

There are two sources of the data represented in the tables and graphs to be presented on the following pages: (a) the observations made throughout the 36 observation days, recorded in the form of running records, broken into 228 events, and coded; and (b) the 9 a.m. spot observations of children, recorded on 25 days.

There are four areas of analysis that will be represented in statistical form:

1) Physical location of children and teacher in segregated and non-segregated groups

2) Teacher absence or presence in segregated and non-segregated groups

3) Change of segregated groups over time

4) Relative segregation and non-segregation of groups inside and outside, over time

Two other areas of analysis, which provide background to the study but are not discussed directly in the following chapters, are contained in Appendices. They are: Daily Percentage of Boys in Areas with Groups, Appendix C, and Pro-social and Anti-social Behavior of Children: The Change Over Time, Appendix D.

Physical Location of Children and Teacher in Segregated and Non-segregated Groups

This analysis is based on the twenty-five 9 a.m. spot observations. The definition of segregation used throughout this study, except where explicitly noted, is more than 75 percent one gender. The meaning of this cut-off figure is that in a group of two to four children, only if all of them were of one sex is that group called segregated. If five children were in a group, the group would be considered segregated only if four or five of the children were of the same gender. This cut-off was selected to provide a rigorous definition of segregation. A comparative analysis was done using a cut-off figure of more than 74 percent one gender. These data are presented later in this chapter in Figure 1.

Table 1 shows the areas inside the classroom where groups of children were observed (Individuals have been dropped from this count.), the total number of times groups were observed in this area, the total number of times groups were observed in this area, the total number of times they were segregated, the number of times the teacher was present when the group was segregated, the total number of times the groups were non-segregated in each area, the number of times the teacher was present in the area when the group was non-segregated, and the percentage of times the groups were non-segregated as a proportion of the total number of times the group was observed in the area.

TABLE 1

Analysis of Segregated and Non-segregated Groups by Area

	Total Obs.	Total Seg.	Teacher Present	Total Non-S.	Teacher Present	Non-Seg. % of Tot.
Art	18	7	4	11	11	61%
Blocks	16	11	4	5	3	31
Math	11	2	0	9	8	82
Round Table	11	4	0	7	6	64
Games	9	7	2	2	0	22
Water (sand) Table	7	4	2	3	1	43
Woodwork	6	0	0	6	6	100
Library	3	2	0	1	0	33
Offices	3	3	0	0	0	0
Cubbies	1	1	0	0	0	0
		41	12	44	35	

Teacher Absence or Presence in Non-Segregated and Segregated Groups

The information from Table 1 was then analyzed to see the relation of teacher presence to non-segregated groupings of children. This was done by looking at the times the teacher was present and absent in each area, as a proportion of the total non-segregated grouping times. This analysis is represented in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Teacher Presence and Absence Related to Non-segregated Groupings

	Teacher Present With Non-Seg. Group		% Teacher Absent With Non-Seg. Group
Art	73	>	0
Blocks	71	>	22
Math	100	>	33
Round Table	100	>	20
Woodwork	100	>	0
Games	0	<	29
Water (sand) Table	33	<	50
Library	0	<	33
Offices	0		0
Cubbies	0		0

In the first five areas, 86 percent of all non-segregated groupings took place; i.e., 38 groupings out of 44 non-segregated groups observed. In those five areas, the percentage of groups with the teacher present was much higher in each case than the percentage with the teacher absent.

A chi-square analysis was done, which showed a significant association between the presence or absence of the teacher and child grouping behavior. Specifically, when the teacher was present, the children were more likely to be found in non-segregated groups (χ^2 (1) = 16.57, $p < .001$).

The Change of Segregated and Non-Segregated Groups Over Time

There are two sources used to indicate this change: the 9 a.m. spot observations and the 228 events coded from the running records. Figures 1, 2 and 3 are a line graph and two bar graphs based on the 9 a.m. spot observations. The line graph (Figure 1) shows on a daily basis what percentage of the activities of groups at 9 a.m. were segregated, based on the definition of segregation used throughout the study. The additional (dotted) line is based on a less rigorous definition of segregation (more than 74 percent of one gender in the group.)

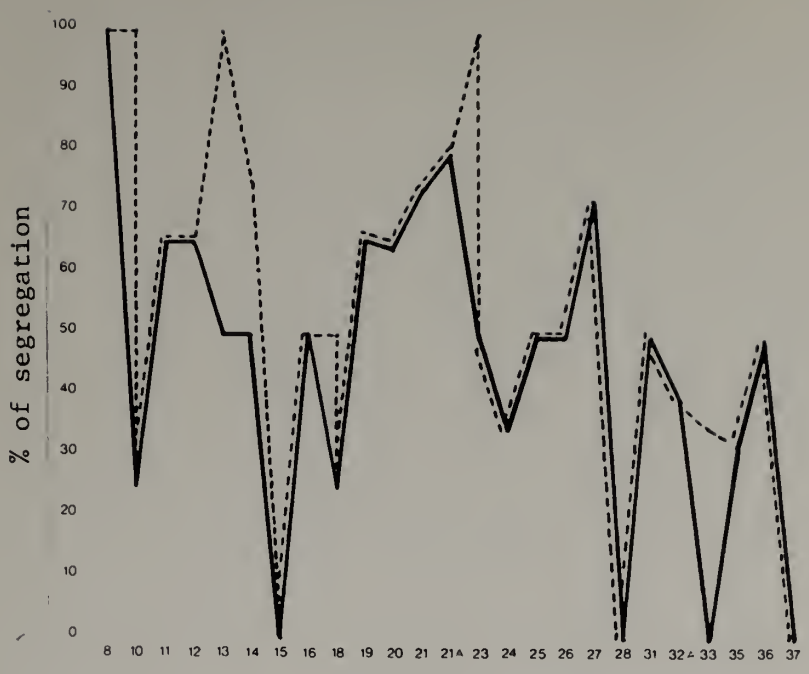
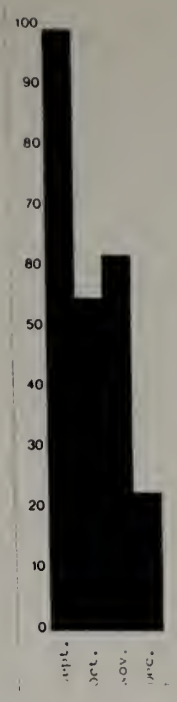


Fig. 1. 9 a.m. Change of Segregated Groups (Dotted lines indicate a different computation of segregation; i.e., 26-74 percent instead of 25-75 percent.)

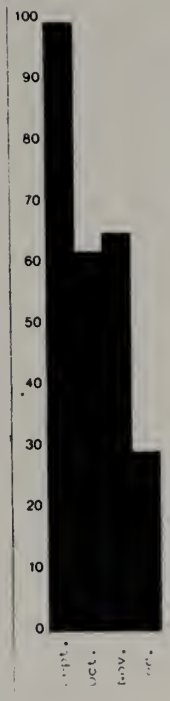
The data for both forms of computation of segregation are similar, with different percentages for only six days. The trend in both cases is similar, indicating a decline.

Figure 2 is a bar graph showing the monthly average of the percentage of segregated groups at 9 a.m., based on the definition of segregation generally used throughout the study (more than 75 percent of one gender in a group). Figure 3 is a bar graph representing the percentage of segregated groupings, based on the less restrictive definition of segregation (more than 74 percent of one gender in a group). The two graphs are presented to show that the segregation clearly declined whether or not a more or less rigorous definition of segregation was used.

*Sept. - 100%
Oct. - 54%
Nov. - 61%
Dec. - 25%



*Sept. - 100.0%
Oct. - 62.1%
Nov. - 66.3%
Dec. - 29.4%



*September is based on only one observation.

Figures 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 represent the gender segregation of groups over the four months of the observation, based on the 228 event observations. The trend they show, toward decreasing segregation over time, is the same as that shown by the 9 a.m. spot observations.

Figure 4 is a line graph representing the percentage of segregated groups observed throughout the day, based on the number of boys and girls counted at the beginning of each event.

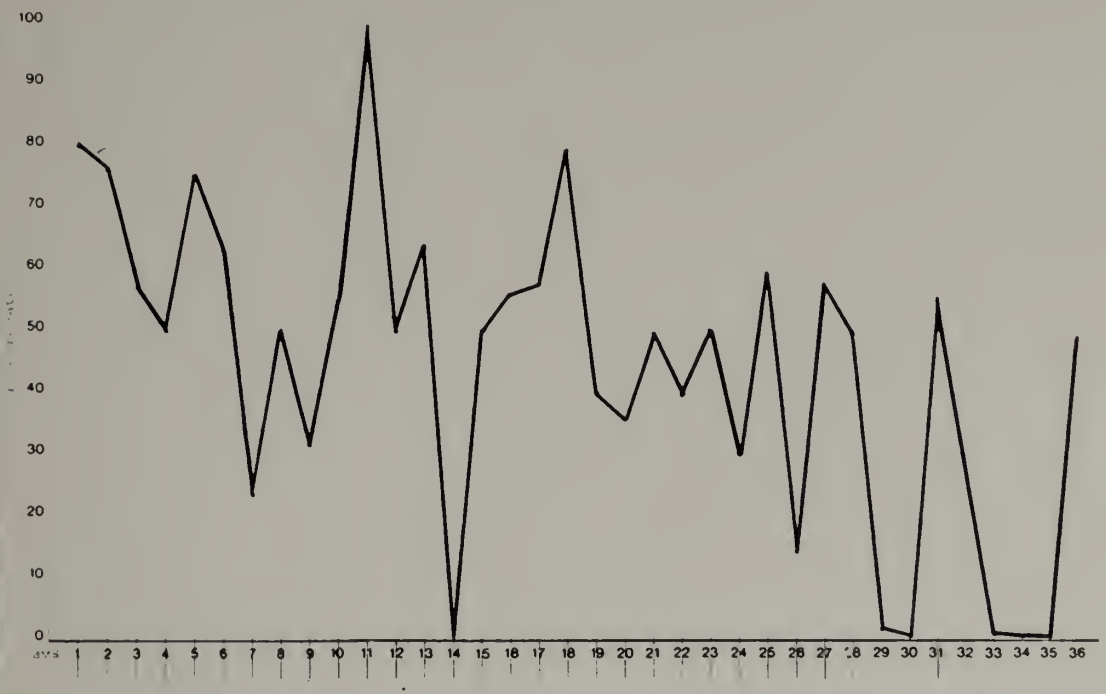


Fig. 4. Percentage of Groups Segregated, Daily, Counted At Beginning of Event

Figure 5 is a line graph representing the percentage of segregated groups observed throughout the day, based on the number of boys and girls counted at the end of each event.

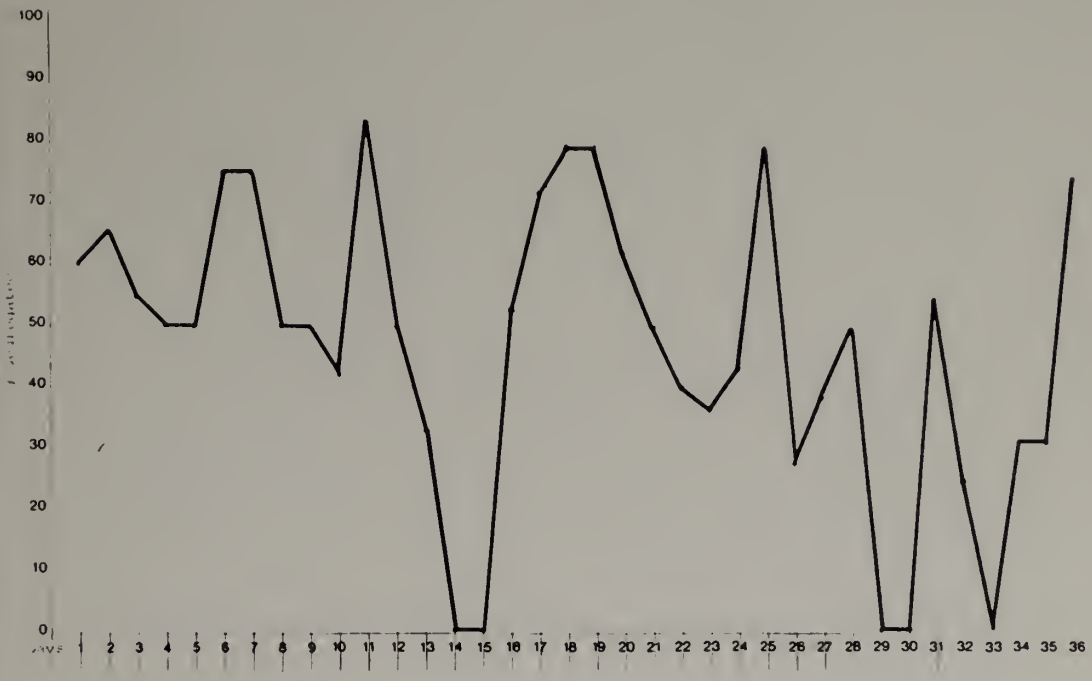


Fig. 5. Percentage of Groups Segregated, Daily, Counted At End of Event

Figure 6 is a bar graph representing the monthly averages of the segregation of groups at the beginnings and ends of events, separately.

Beginnings
of Events

59.7 - Sept. - 60.4%
54.8 - Oct. - 46.2%
42.2 - Nov. - 53.4%
20.2 - Dec. - 30.3%

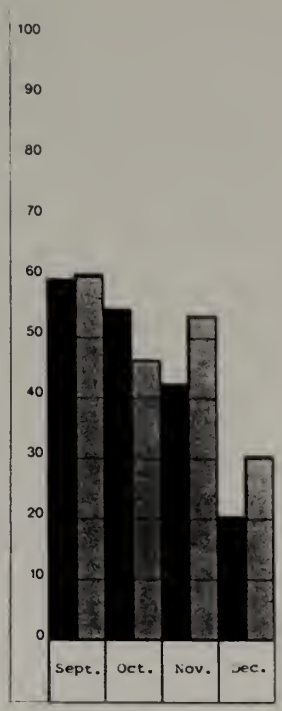


Fig. 6. Monthly Averages of Beginnings (Black) and Ends (Gray) of Events, Percentage of Segregation of Groups, Daily.

Figure averages the percentage of segregation at both the beginning and the end of events, to give one monthly figure, represented in a bar graph.

Sept. - 60.5%
Oct. - 50.5%
Nov. - 47.8%
Dec. - 25.3%

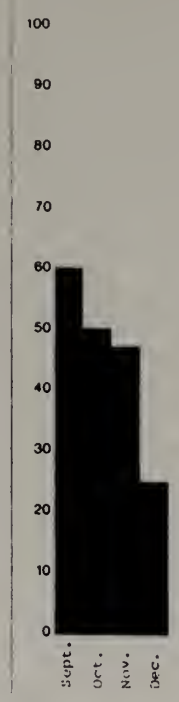


Fig. 7. Average Monthly Percentage of Group Segregation, Beginning and End of Events Combined.

All of these graphs representing various ways of calculating the relative gender segregation of groups, both at the 9 a.m. spot observation and throughout the morning, indicate that the segregation declined substantially over the four-month period of observations.

Relative Segregation of Groups, Outside and Inside, Over Time

Figures 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 represent the gender segregation of groups, based on the 228 event observations, separated into indoor and outdoor observations.

Figures 8 and 9 are line graphs showing the daily segregation of groups at the beginning and end of events, inside the school only.

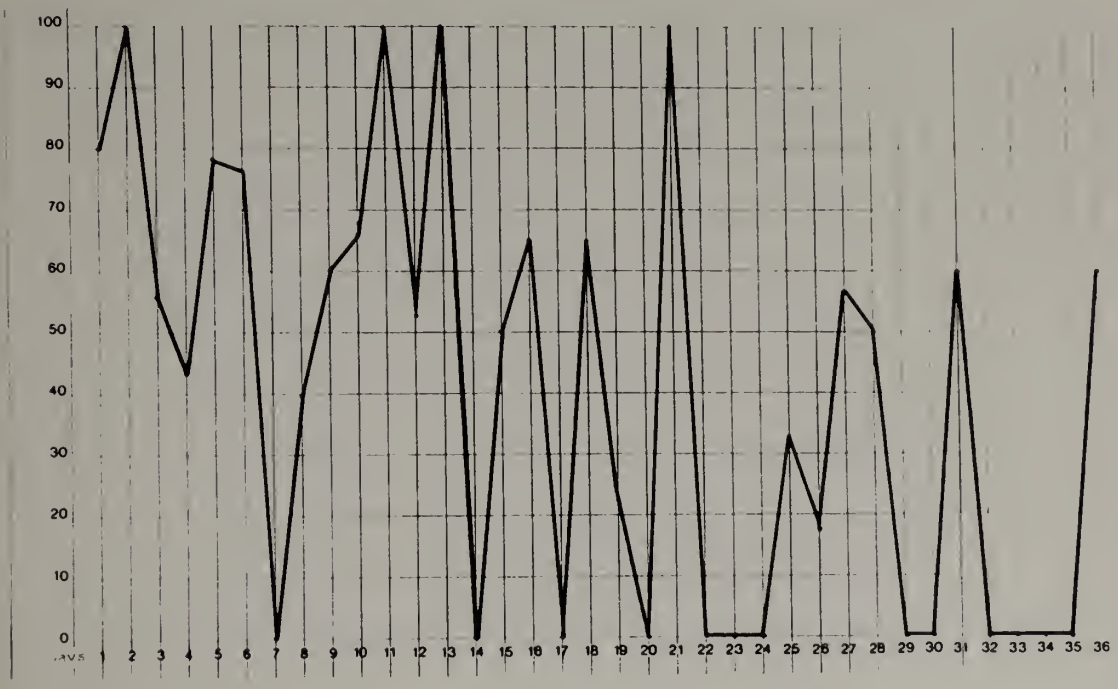


Fig. 8. Percentage of Segregation at Beginning of Events, Inside Only.

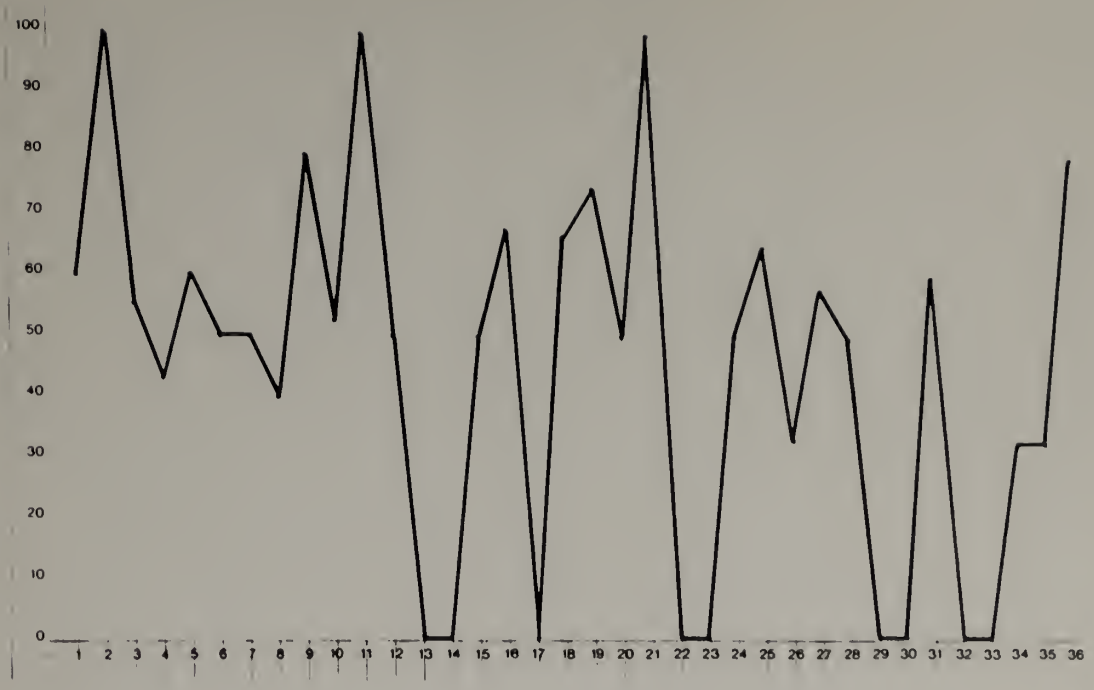


Fig. 9. Percentage of Segregation at End of Events, Inside Only.

Figures 10 and 11 are line graphs showing the daily percentage of segregated groups at the beginning and end of events taking place outdoors in the school yards.

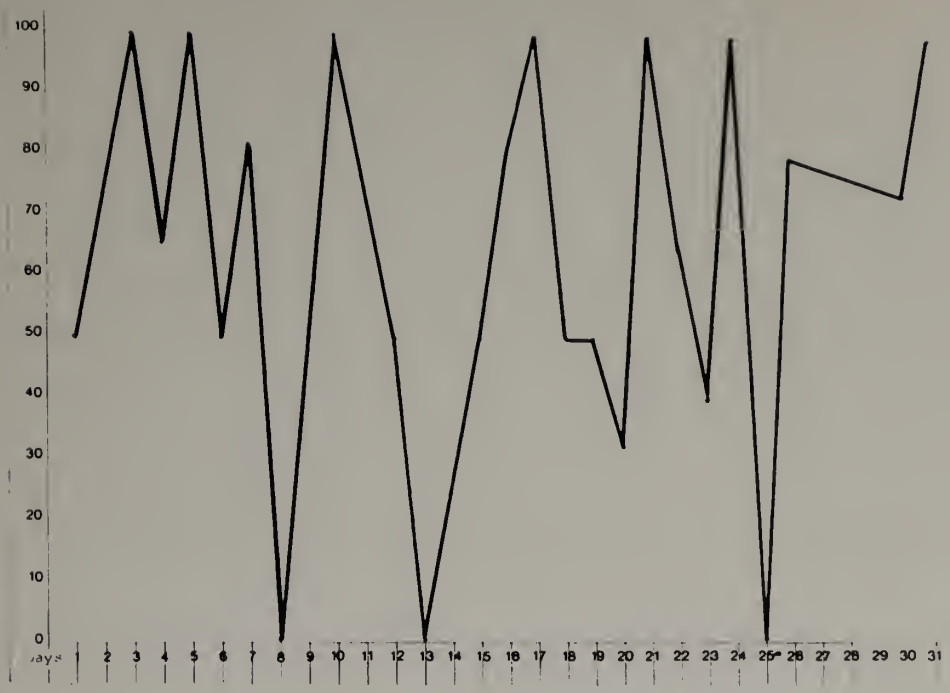


Fig. 10. Percentage of Segregation at Beginning of Events, Outside Only

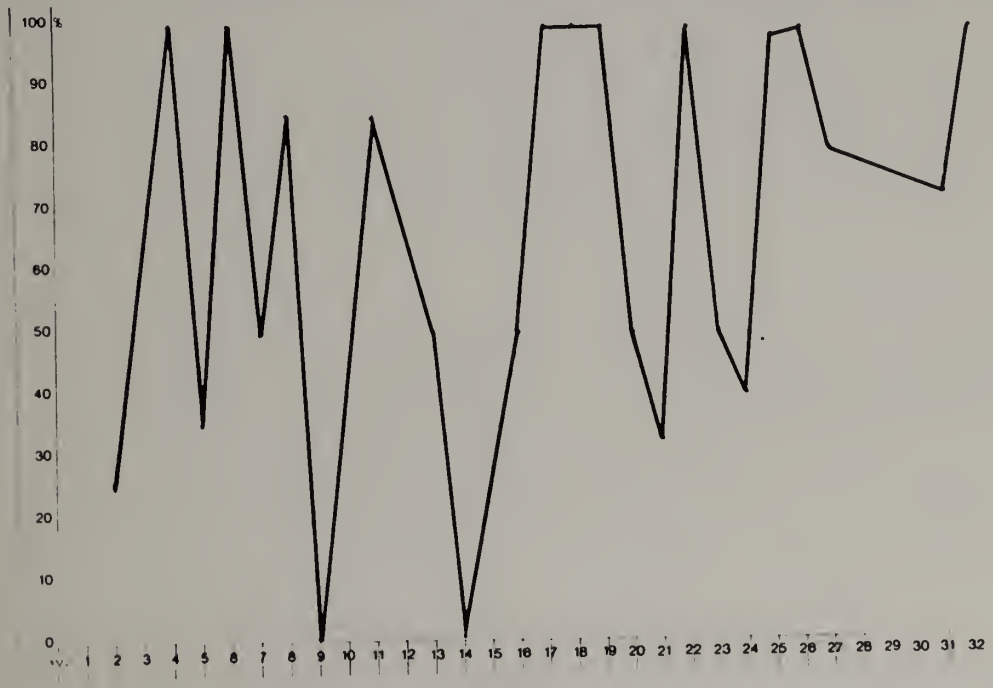


Fig. 11. Percentage of Segregation at End of Events, Outside Only

	INSIDE			OUTSIDE		
	Beginning	End	Average	Beginning	End	Average
Sept.	59.5	57.6	58.6	74.8	65.2	70.0
Oct.	56.5	46.6	51.6	54.3	52.3	53.3
Nov.	25.9	48.0	37.0	57.3	72.6	65.0
*Dec.	18.9	28.4	23.7	87.5	87.5	87.5

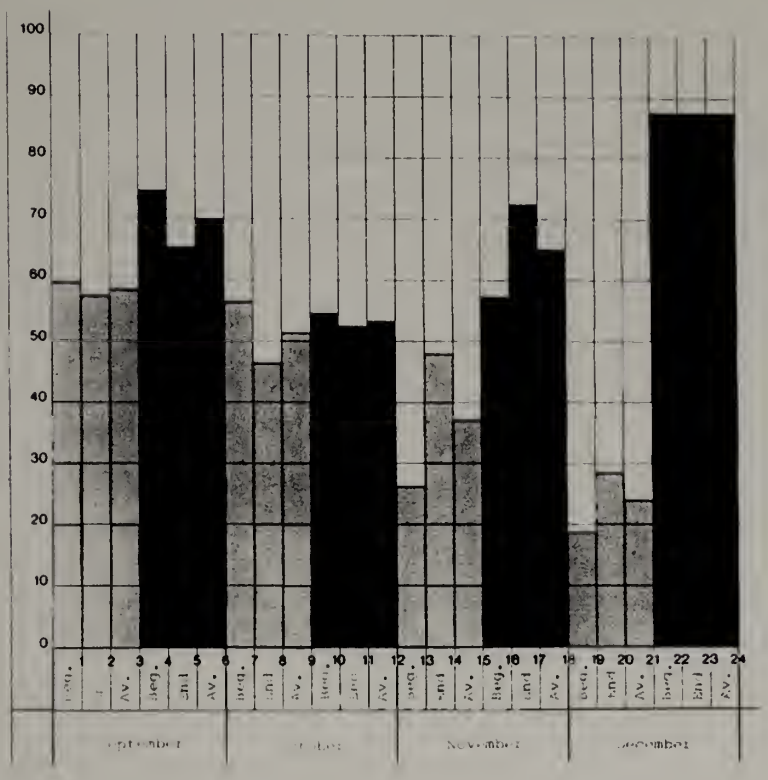


Fig. 12. Percentage of Groups Segregated Daily, Inside and Outside, at Beginning and End of Events, and Average of Beginning and End.

Indoor groups showed a substantial decline in segregation over the observation period, as did the previously described data representing indoor and outdoor groups together. Outdoor groups, however, did not display this decline, but rather showed, if anything, an increase of segregation.

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*December figures based on only two observations

Structured Interviews With Parents of the Children in the Class

Interviews were conducted with fourteen of the fifteen families in the class, in December, 1979. Most of them were held with one parent; several were conducted with two parents. These interviews lasted from twenty-five minutes to one hour. They were held at parents' homes, at my home, in the teachers' room at the school, and at local restaurants.

The interviews were structured around a series of questions listed below. Invariably, the parents were eager to talk about their children, so the interviews became open-ended, and little probing was required.

I recorded the interviews in the form of extensive notes taken during the interviews. The questions used to generate discussion were:

1) What type of racial awareness do you think your child has? Awareness of others? of self?

2) What experience has your child had with people of other races/ethnic groups? Religions?

3) What type of gender awareness do you think your child has?

4) Does s/he prefer to play with children of the same gender?

5) What types of awareness does your child have of people with physical handicaps?

6) Are your values similar to the Children's School's values?

The interviews provided rich data about the children's awareness of race and gender, their comments about their experiences with these issues at school, their play preferences and patterns at home, and the parents' attitudes towards race and gender issues.

Analysis of the interviews shows that most of the white children have little racial awareness. Most of them recognize race as a literal

physical characteristic, but only two of them have indicated awareness of race as a social category of significant division. The black children have a much higher awareness of race as both a physical attribute and a social category, more experience in multiracial situations, and more curiosity about race-related issues.

Several of the white parents have made extensive efforts to have their children experience contacts with Third World people, and to have toys (books, dolls) reflective of black life. Some of these children were more aware of race than the other white children, but still minimally, and then only as a physical characterisic. None of the children, white or black, were reported to have stereotypic notions of black, white or other ethnic group roles, although one white child roots for white athletes in racially mixed televised sporting events, and one white child imitates his older brother imitating Asian-Americans by pulling up the corners of his eyes.

All but one of the parents reported a high level of gender awareness in their children, indicated by explicit preferences for same-sex playmates, articulation of the different ways boys and girls play, and awareness of sex-stereotypes. Seven discussed the different types of play they observed when their children played with same-sex or opposite-sex children. They stated that the play was generally stereotypically male ("rough") when one or more males were participating.

Several of the parents mentioned that the teacher's strategies in promoting non-segregated play had been effective in the classroom. They noticed more mixed sex groupings by December, when the interviews were conducted. These comments were spontaneously volunteered.

All of the children were reported to play at least occasionally with children of the opposite sex, but eleven reported a preference for same-sex playmates, especially with new children. The nature of the same-sex play was reported to be different and compelling in all but three cases. The girls were reported to prefer imaginative play with dolls and crafts, the boys to prefer superhero and "rough" play. Three parents reported that their children were equally happy to play with either sex children, and that they observed no play differences according to gender.

Four of the boys' parents said that their sons had made statements implying female inferiority: "Boys are stronger than girls," "Girls can't whistle," "Women can't be airplane pilots," "Girls can't run as fast as boys." None of the girls' parents reported comparable remarks.

Four of the girls' parents reported that their daughters say that sometimes they don't want boys to come to play at their houses because "Boys are too rough," or that they don't want to play with boys at school. One of the parents reported that her daughter said sometimes that the boys at school were being "bad."

Discrimination on the basis of physical handicap turned out to be non-existent, according to parent reporting. Many of the children had been exposed to children with handicaps at a local preschool program and at the Children's School's summer program several years ago. While the children evidenced curiosity about artificial devices, they were not afraid or repelled. The wearing of glasses by two children in the class, and an eye-patch by one, was not an issue for any of the children.

Regarding the similarity of values between themselves and the school, all but one of the parents reported a close similarity on race and gender issues, although several parents felt they were more concerned than the school.

Series of Thirteen Interviews and Meetings with the Head Teacher of the Classroom

These interviews and meetings cover the period of one year, June, 1979 to June, 1980. They took place at the teacher's home, my home, at school and at local restaurants. They were recorded in the form of notes taken during the interview/meetings which ranged from one-half hour to four hours, averaging two to three hours each. These meetings were supplemented by more informal conversations which I also recorded.

The teacher, Sarah, has been such an integral part of the process of the research throughout all of its phases that it is difficult now to try to untangle her role to see what have been her contributions and insights, and what are mine. She has been a participant in the conceptualization, the implementation and the analysis of the work. Thus the interview/meetings with her have been crucial to the progress of the entire study.

During the meetings together, the teacher has elaborated her goals, explained contexts, and provided background and speculation about observed behaviors. During the early meetings prior to the observations, we discussed multicultural education generally, and brainstormed about the curriculum for the class in the year to come. Together we planned the basis

of the study: looking at excluding and including behavior in the context of a democratic community of children and adults.

The specific information revealed in the interview/meetings falls into the categories of belief systems which imply teacher principles and practices, and background/speculation about children's behavior. Two of our meetings were more formal interviews during which I interviewed the teacher with a prepared set of questions about her beliefs about the function of schooling, in order better to understand the philosophical basis of the classroom. The questions were:

1) What do you think the purpose of school is?

2) What is the role of a private school?

3) What is the role of the Children's School?

4) How can children best be prepared for life as adults?

5) Do you agree with Dewey that one function of education is to better society?

6) How would you define multicultural education? And implement it?

7) How can school meet its responsibility to give the best education to different children?

8) What is relevant to a five-year old?

The interviews revealed that the classroom is fundamentally Deweyian in structure and goals. The teacher's explanations about the origins and meanings of children's behavior are primarily psychodynamic and cognitively oriented rather than being based on a social learning perspective. Thus, her explanation for boys excluding girls from play are based on individual identity formation and family dynamics, and on theories of cognitive development; e.g., seeing gender divisions as part of a

social sorting task. She tended not to see boys excluding girls, for instance, as a childish version of adult male exclusion of women from most economic, political and cultural institutions, but as part of a psychological and cognitive growth process.

The teacher's methods for dealing with this behavior draw upon many philosophical traditions. She uses psychoanalytic theory, for instance, to explain the need to incorporate magical symbols in stories, in order to "create the deep identification bond necessary to touch the young child in the fundamental way necessary to create change." She uses the insights of Piaget and Kohlberg into children's cognitive development to explain much of the children's social behavior, and chooses books and activities on that basis as well. At the same time, she draws upon Deweyian theory to structure her classroom. She is extremely aware of her classroom as a functioning community, and this aspect was highlighted repeatedly through discussions with the children about group responsibility and through the practice of democratic group living. She also believes that both the physical environment and the curriculum have a strong determining influence in behavior, and uses both of these as variables she can control. Her views and practices will be discussed more extensively in the following chapter, where her role as teacher is examined as a critical component in the group segregation reversal.

Series of Three Interviews with the Student Intern in the Classroom

Three interviews were held in November and December, 1979, with the college student who interned in the classroom during the fall semester.

This student has a special interest in multicultural education and in gender discrimination. She became quite interested in the study and often informed me of incidents which happened on days when I was not in school observing. The interviews with her were held at school, at my home, and at a local restaurant. I recorded them in the form of notes taken during the interview.

The interviews were open-ended, focusing both on conversations she had heard among children which she wanted to relate to me, and on the curriculum she was implementing to assess and work with children's appreciation of differences. She described, throughout the course of the interviews, curriculum she designed related to race awareness and family composition differences.

She felt that the reason there was so little discussion about race in the classroom was because there was little emphasis on culture and ethnicity in the class, not because it was not an issue for some children. She believed that it was an important issue for at least one of the white children and for all of the black children. She described a classification task she designed for which she gave children hundreds of magazine cutouts of heads from National Geographic and asked them to put the heads into two groups, each with something in common. Most of the children only sorted one group, which she felt indicated "emotional paralysis" rather than cognitive inability. All of the boys chose males, and all the same color as themselves. One of the white boys stated that he did not like dark-skinned people. One of the black girls chose all blond girls even though those were the minority among those she had to choose among.

The intern felt that by December the outside play had changed. It was still segregated but not antagonistic, and the nature of the boys' play was changing to become less violent, while the girls' play was beginning to include some structured group games. The girls' play also continued to involve fantasy play with cooking and arguing about possessions. These observations were echoed in the teacher and parent interviews.

She reported on several instances of male supremacist statements she had heard boys make. Her explanation was based on her belief that there were social pressures to revert frequently to prejudice.

Interview with the Director of the Children's School

The Director of the school was pleased to have me doing research in the school and was unfailingly helpful during the time I was working there. I interviewed him in November, 1979, in his office. The interview took approximately forty-five minutes, and was documented by notes taken during the interview.

The interview was structured around a series of questions:

1) How do you see the role of a private school?

2) What is the central idea of the Children's School?

3) How do children appreciate diversity?

4) If there is gender exclusion by boys, why is that?

5) What is the approach to good multicultural education?

The emphases of the director are strongly Deweyian. As he articulated the philosophy of the school, he talked about children being people in their own right who are not just preparing for "real" life to be lived

later and are not simply preparing for someone else's agenda. Like the teacher of the classroom being observed, the director combined this Deweyian approach with a psychoanalytic model for explaining some individual behavior like gender exclusion. The director feels exclusion comes about as children are sorting out sexual confusion in their search for sexual identity, and that it is probably amplified in a culture like ours where gender roles are changing. Prejudice, he believes, starts with a need to simplify.

The director felt that direct confrontation or indoctrination regarding stereotypic roles would be threatening and thereby increase the children's need for division. He was supportive of the teacher's efforts to help children be more secure with what they are, believing that this would help them then accept "otherness." He wants young people "to have a good enriching environment so that if they are confronted by a racist, they would think he is crazy."

School Records: Parent Handbook, Newsletters

The school records consist of the Parent Handbook and The Children's School Newsletter, a monthly school publication which is the primary source of communication for the Children's School community. The Handbook provides a statement of school values and goals. The educational values statement, formulated by the Children's School faculty, stresses growth toward self-realization, emphasizing personal growth rather than group competition. Helping the children care for each other is also a goal. An active anti-sexist interventionist program is enunciated in a paragraph discussing the encouragement of children taking non-sex-determined

roles. It closes, "We also consciously mix boys and girls in groups if by free choice they separate" (p. 2). The teacher statement also emphasizes the desire to foster creativity, which "implies not only exploration of materials...but exploration of divergent ways of looking at things" (p. 2). The importance of educational philosophy in this school is indicated by the fact that the two teacher work days during the year, when school is not held for the children, are Philosophy Days, in contradistinction to the common educational term, Curriculum Days.

Sexism is again a topic in the Handbook under General School Policies, where it is stated, "The School constantly strives to avoid any form of sexism. Parents are invited to offer suggestions and feedback on this issue" (p. 9).

Neither multicultural education nor racism are mentioned as such in the Handbook, but there is a section entitled Non-Discrimination which gives a general non-discriminatory policy regarding admissions, educational policies, hiring and scholarships; and another entitled Religious Policy, which states, "The School introduces children to the diversity of other cultures and religions without undue emphasis on the beliefs or practices of any particular tradition" (p. 9). This multicultural approach is also expressed regarding Celebrations: "School-wide celebrations held at the onset of vacations are consciously not Christmas or Easter parties, but rather gatherings of the school community for singing, eating together, etc., before going our separate ways for awhile" (p. 9).

Regarding Special Needs Students, part of the relevant section in the Handbook states:

> Good special education is simply good education. The various program and staffing provisions mandated for public schools by Chapter 766 aim, for the most part, at extending to a minority of children the type of individualized attention and accountable programming that The Children's School offers as a matter of course to all its students, without making them feel exceptional or handicapped. We are a resource site in the true sense of the word. (p. 17)

The Newsletters are published monthly and contain columns by the school director, parents and teachers. The November 1979 Newsletter contained a parent column entitled, "Looking in on the Fives." In an article describing the serious and purposeful involvement of the children in their self-selected tasks, the parent comments on the gender segregation she observed during outdoor play.

> As the children left the structured space of the classroom for the outside, a whole new set of behaviors emerged immediately. They ran and laughed and jumped around. The kids I knew seemed more familiar. It was very interesting to see that when they hit the playground, they divided -- as if pulled apart by some magnetic force -- into same-sex groups. The play of the two groups appeared the same in energy and activity, but nonetheless they separated. In the classroom two girls or two boys had often stuck together, but frequently within mixed groups; outside, they were in larger same-sex groups...
>
> When I left school in the middle of outside time, the contrast between the adults and children was my last impression. Whereas the adults walked and talked in the same way both inside and outside, the children used totally different movements and voices in the two spaces. (p. 7)

School Functions

There were three Children's School functions in which I participated during the year: (a) a pre-opening school picnic held in early

September for families involved with the School; (b) a fall fund-raising Bazaar; and (c) a presentation in June, 1980, of my research data for a group of parents.

At the picnic prior to school's opening, I was introduced by the teacher to many of the parents, and I explained my plan for the research to each of them. This predated by a few days my letter to the parents asking for written permission to conduct the observations. At this picnic, I had one particularly interesting conversation with a black parent which I documented in the form of notes following the picnic. The parent described to me how alienated she felt from the school community, by class as well as race. She was particularly excited by my work and was hoping that I would have an impact on the school, making it more multiculturally aware.

I participated in the school's scholarship fund-raising Bazaar, making a dish of food for sale. This participation helped to establish my role as a participant-observer; i.e., someone who was not simply taking (information) from the school, but was involved in a reciprocal relationship.

The sharing of my preliminary findings with the parents of the classroom I was observing was important for the same reasons as the sharing with the teachers, and in fact continued the ongoing reciprocal relationship. I asked for feedback and speculation from the parents after I presented the data to them, and we engaged in a dialogue and discussion for much of the meeting.

At the meeting, I explained my methodology and presented the graphs showing a decrease of segregated groupings over time, and the difference

between inside and outside gender segregation. These data were consistent with the parents' perceptions, and they added that the change to decreased segregation was even more noticeable now.

Summary of Data

All of the forms of data described in this chapter were used in the analysis and discussion which follows. During the process of analysis I found that I used the quantitative data as the framework and used the interviews and anecdotal material I had collected through the observations to help explain these data.

The coding served the useful function of making possible the complete retrieval of children's conversations about the topics of gender and race. It also provided the data base for the types of tallies and trends presented early in this chapter.

The interviews with the teacher were of key importance in explaining motivations and filling me in on her actions and the children's when I was not there. Her continuous cooperation with the research was invaluable.

C H A P T E R V

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Introduction

The review of the literature has indicated that the "typical" classroom of nursery and kindergarten-aged children is predominantly segregated by gender, and that this segregation does not diminish during the school year, but in fact has been seen to increase (Rubin, 1980; Bee, 1978; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974; McCandless and Hoyt, 1961; Dawe, 1934; Parten, 1933). Yet, in this classroom, a number of indicators, both quantitative and clinical, showed that gender segregation decreased inside the classroom during the period of observation. This chapter will analyze what occurred over time with regard to gender segregation and exclusion, the nature of boys' and girls' play, the teacher strategies used to decrease segregation, and the issue of race as it appeared to be a factor in the lives of these young children, as well as its role in the classroom.

Children's Discussion of Gender

Gender was an issue to children in this class, as it is to four- and five-year old children generally (Rubin, 1980). On the very first day of the observations, the following coversation was recorded:

Cassie is in the sandbox with Allen.

Cassie: You look like a girl.

Allen: I'm not though (said in matter-of-fact voice).

Cassie: What's that? (looking at his ear, where his glasses frame is poking below his earlobe)

Allen: What? (looks at his own shoulder)

Cassie: There. (points to his ear, gets up, goes over to his ear) What's that? Oh, it's part of your glasses.

Allen: Yes.

Cassie: (speaks to me) Does she sleep with them? (I say: Ask him.)

Cassie: Do you sleep with them?

Allen: No, I take them off.

Cassie: Then why do you wear them? (He doesn't answer. She wanders off.)

Cassie was probing two aspects of Allen's appearance here: his gender and his wearing of glasses. She was confused because she thought he looked like a girl (as many people did). Even after he told her he wasn't, Cassie referred to Allen as "she," demonstrating that she believed the evidence of her own eyes more than his verbalization. She also demonstrated that knowledge of his gender was important for her knowledge of him. She was classifying people on the basis of gender, as adults do when they see a newborn baby and need to know, "Is it a boy or a girl?" before they can relate to the infant. Knowledge of gender gives them cues as to "appropriate" behavior.

Discussions by the children of gender occurred 31 times during the 228 classroom events observed, compared to discussions of race or ethnicity which occurred 9 times. These discussions did not include exclusionary incidents such as "You can't play because you're a girl (or a boy)," although they included boys saying, "No girls allowed," if those remarks were not directed toward anyone. Eight of the 31

discussions were discussions by boys of how to catch girls, kill girls, or other discriminatory discussions such as having clubs restricted to boys.

One boy, Paul, new to the school, initiated 5 of these 8 discussions and they all took place in September, his first month in school. An example of this type of discriminatory discussion occurred when he called to another boy:

> Hey, wanna play girl-catcher? We catch all the girls and they don't catch us.
>
> Allen: The boys catch all the girls and the girls catch all the boys.
>
> Paul: No, the girls don't catch the boys. The boys catch the girls.

Here gender is being used as the salient characteristic to divide children. Paul also initiated a game he called Amanda-snatcher, which went on for several days. Observations from the first day of the game follow:

> Three boys, one girl, one teacher sitting together in dirt, digging, having just come out.
>
> Paul runs to Willie and says: Hey Max, we have a girl, one girl's allowed on ship.
>
> Teacher: What's going on (she is calling them back as the two boys run off together)?
>
> Paul: One girl's allowed on the ship, lots of guys.
>
> Teacher: That's a place everyone can play. You can't tell people they can't play there. Barbara is enjoying climbing; you can go be with her.
>
> Paul gets a cup and goes over to water hole with Willie, Greg and another boy. He takes the water and drips it.

Barbara calls to Paul from climbing apparatus she is on: Hey, come here, I've been calling you. I called you and you won't come up. Well, I guess I'll just come down. (She slides down the slide.)

Paul doesn't respond. He runs back to the water, gets a cup of water and drips it on David's truck. David wails.

Paul: We don't care if we do that. Right, guys? (to Rick and Barbara)

Barbara: We're washing the dishes. (Barbara, Paul and Rick are in sandbox near climber.)

Paul: Right, no girls allowed, one girl allowed. (He is singing to himself.)

Barbara runs off to get water, comes back.

Barbara: My shoes are waterproof. (She runs off again.)

David: You know what you did to this cow, put dirty stuff all over. You're gonna get in trouble.

Paul and Rick are pouring mud. They don't respond to above statement.

Paul: (to Rick) Put it there.

Barbara runs back, goes up slide.

Paul is pouring water alone.

Barbara: (to Paul) You know I have a skirt that come with this shirt. It's a white skirt. It needs to be ironed. (She is back in sandpile.)

Paul: The dog poop (sings as he throws mud in the pan).

Barbara: (sings) Oh my darling, oh my darling (to the tune of Clementine).

Barbara, Greg and Rick talk of mud and bubblegum, and how hard it is to get bubblegum off things it is stuck on.

Barbara runs up slide where Paul is.

Paul: Pretend...girls... (I missed it, so walked over closer.)

Barbara: ...a man doll...are they girls?

Paul: And we wanted to buy one.

Barbara: You know I have a skirt that goes with this, but my mom wouldn't let me wear it (repeats same sentence) ...Besides it had to be ironed.

Paul: We have to get Amanda and eat her.

Barbara: You're gonna eat girls?

Paul: Yeah.

Barbara drops tennis ball from climber. Paul gets it.

Paul: (to me) Hey Joan, we're playing Amanda-snatcher, that's what we're playing. We're putting her in the oven.

Paul: (to Barbara) The oven is under the slide. After the oven gets hot, under the slide, after the oven gets hot...

Barbara drops tennis ball, slides down, says: Don't go to sleep; you gotta cook your Amanda.

Paul: She's not here yet.

Barbara walks off.

Paul calls to her: Hey, honey, what do you think you're doing, going to the grocery store?

Barbara: No I'm going in the house.

Paul: This is the house! (He names all the rooms of the house, including basement, living room, attic and the oven.)

Barbara names the rooms after him.

Paul: I'm going to sleep.

Barbara: I'll make sure your Amanda comes. You mean you're gonna eat her?

Paul: First I'm gonna let her die, then I'm gonna eat her.

Barbara: First we gotta cook her, then set the table.

Paul: We gotta get rat poison, then kill her, then cook her, and then eat her.

Barbara: Right. There's the dining room, right?

Paul: Yes.

Barbara: We have a spooky house. We use lanterns for lights, right? We use brooms for cars. We use porcupine quills for brooms. We use a bird cage for fishes and fishes' cages for birds and cats with shoes on and ghosts upside down in our fireplace. (laughs)

Paul: (to Joan) Did you hear that? (He is the only child who had asked me the day before what I was doing and wanted to know what I was writing. I told him I was interested in learning more about schools and I was writing down what people did in schools. He wanted to hear some, so I had read him a few sentences describing people, including himself, painting. At the meeting that day when I was introduced to the group, on my third day of observing, he had said he liked having me there.)

Barbara: And we use a tree for an oven, right?

Paul: Wrong. We use a slide for the oven.

Barbara: Now you go to sleep.

Paul: And you watch out for Amanda; if she comes, plop her down.

Barbara: She's here.

Paul: I don't see any sign of Amanda.

Barbara: I have to go down the roof of the oven.

Paul slides down and runs off, saying, Superman, Superman. He goes to the toddler yard (where Amanda might be, since she is in that class): She's not here, honey; she's not here, she's not here, honey.

Barbara: You said for me to watch for her so I did.

Paul: Go look in the toddlers' playground and see if she's there.

Barbara: You already looked there.

Paul: If she comes out, just take her by the arm and say, honey, honey, go to the moon; we will take you to the oven. Go, go.

Barbara: I already did. She's here.

Paul: She's not.

Barbara: I always say she's here and you say she's not.

They argue this, each stating, "she is," "she isn't," a few times.

Barbara: I'll go to sleep and you look out for her. She's here.

Paul: No she's not.

Barbara: Jim is here. Jim is here. (Jim is the director of the school.)

Paul: So, he's not a girl, he's a boy. We could take him, take him to the haunted house.

Barbara: How would you get him here?

Paul: Joan, what are you writing? (I don't answer.)

They run over to Jim at the toddlers' playground.

Paul: Jim, we have an announcement. Our house...and we're there now, and Amanda; so let's go... (They run back and walk up the slide.)

Paul: ...look for Amanda.

Barbara: Let's go to sleep. Wake up. She won't escape. Do you have any boards we can use? Lock her up.

Paul: Hey, Joan, will you write we're playing Amanda-snatcher? We're playing girl-snatcher. (They giggle. I say OK.)

Paul: Honey.

Barbara: I will. It's my ball. Give it to me.

Paul: How old are you, Barbara?

Barbara: Five and a half.

Paul: I am, too. Five and a half, six and a half (begins to singsong gibberish).

Barbara: Time to go to bed. Let's go night, night.

Paul: Night, night, Joan, going to bed.

Barbara: First make sure no one's around us. (She snores.)

Paul: Stop that noise!

Barbara: I am snoring.

Paul: I hear something.

Barbara: That's the lawnmower at the nature center.

Paul: That's a fire drill.

Barbara: That's the lawnmower. (They each repeat their positions a few times.)

Paul: That must be the alarm. OK, hawkeye.

Paul: (speaking to me) What does that say? Will you read the list? What did I say? (I say: you said, OK hawkeye.)

Barbara: Lawnmower.

Paul: Alarm. It was the alarm.

Barbara: Lawnmower.

Paul: Go to sleep. I'll be at the county fairgrounds. (He slides down, runs over to Greg and Rick in sandbox, dances like a floppy clown, hitting his head, making faces, sticking out tongue. Barbara runs over to Teacher in far corner of yard. Paul keeps dancing, flopping arms; falls down several times. Greg is laughing, watching Paul. Paul picks up one handful of sand and throws it, lightly, not near anyone.)

Paul: (speaking to self) Where's Barbara? (He climbs up slide, sits in house; says, Bong! He slides down, goes to sandbox, gets pitcher of dirt, flops around, falls, sticks tongue out in front of Greg.)

Barbara has gotten hammer from inside school and climbs up slide. Greg is telling Paul to do "silly things." (He is.)

Barbara is hammering a loose board (nail) on climber.

Paul: Barbara, will you tie my shoe, please?

Barbara: I can't. (Hammers)

Paul: What?

Barbara: I can't. I have to hammer these nails in; they're coming out. (Hammers)

Paul: Joan, will you read this to me? (Me: Not right now. I have to keep working.)

Paul: OK.

Paul goes to sand with stick, puts stick in dirt and makes lines in dirt.

Paul: (to Greg) Know what I wrote? Boys allowed, not girls.

Greg: You know what, we're making mud. Right now is not the time for mud to be... (I missed it.) I mean not right now. (Greg is talking to Rick about mud: You don't even make it good.)

Paul goes to another part of yard, to rope swing. Swings for a few seconds, runs back to sandbox. Barbara gets Jim to come to the jungle gym to look at loose nails. She has a hammer and shows him where two nails are loose. He hammers in new nails.

Paul: Jim, you can be...here...playing girl-catcher, girl snatcher.

Greg: He won't. He's just working on it.

Paul is pouring water into a muffin tin in sandbox. Speaks to Jim up on climber.

Paul: Jim, you can be our helper to catch, snatch girls.

Jim: What?

Paul: You can be our helper cause we like to play girl snatcher. Here's our oven.

Jim: I don't understand.

Paul: We'd like to introduce you to our haunted house for just boys and just one girl.

Jim: You know what, Paul, it sounds like a real interesting game, but I like playing games with boys and girls. I don't like playing games without girls. There are lots of girls here who are my friends, and I don't like to leave them out. I like to play with everyone. Know what I mean?

Paul: Yeah, like me. Rick's real silly.

Jim: I have to take the hammer inside now, Paul.

Paul: Come up here. It's friendly, spooky, make you laugh. And when Amanda comes, put her in the oven. OK?

Barbara: She's coming out. I'll check the main door.

Paul: I'll check out the room. I'll be right back and don't leave that jungle gym.

Greg: (to Barbara who is down in sandbox): It's magic; Barbara is away already. (laughs) I didn't see you for a minute.

Barbara and Greg talk about lifting mud on a large shovel. They each try one shovelful. It is large and heavy.

Greg: Why isn't it so heavy for you?

Barbara: I'm strong.

Greg: Not as strong as Superman.

Barbara: I know Superman isn't true.

Greg: None of the superfriends are real. It's just a game to play.

Barbara: On Scoobydoo none of it is real.

Greg: I don't know what Scoobydoo is.

Paul comes over, says to Barbara: Amanda's at meeting.

Barbara: How strong is she?

Paul: She peepees in her pants.

Greg: While we're washing our hands, they're having their story (referring to activities of the two classes in adjoining rooms, with wide open doorway between).

Barbara: They're eating old paper towels.

Greg: Just the girls are doing that.

Barbara: But not me. Not me.

Greg: Right.

Paul and Barbara go to slide. They talk of cupcakes, for their pretend lunch and snack.

Paul: Brunch is something that your neighbors come..your neighbors that live with you.

Barbara: No, lunch is...

Greg comes over and says, "there is a manure smell."

Paul: You know what I smell. Peepee and BM.

Greg: Let me get up. (I missed a scrap of conversation then.)

Barbara: I know, I had them on my sister's birthday. On my other birthday I had a whole cake. My mom could make any kind of cake, even the Children's School. First she cuts the shape with paper, then she makes the cake on paper, then she takes it off... (She explains more of the process. I can't write it all.) I mean the hot pad is something that it won't burn the table when you put something really hot on.

Paul: That's not it. The burner's on the stove. Where's Amanda (three times)?

Barbara: I see her. She has a chair over her head. Help, I'm gonna fall into the sea.

Paul goes off to the toddler yard, comes back.

Paul: It's Rick, it's Rick.

Greg, Barbara and Paul are on jungle gym.

Teacher calls out, "Time to start bringing the toys back."

Paul: Oh, there's Amanda. No, we're still playing girl-snatcher.

Greg: I don't want to be able to get her because, because...

Paul: Next time you bring...

Rick comes over.

Paul: It's hot, don't go in the oven. (He runs off.)

Greg: What are you doing down there?

Jesus: I'm in the oven.

Greg: You're going to be cooked.

Jesus: No I'm not. I'm coming up.

Greg: I see Amanda. See where she is, she's running.

Teacher calls: Time to go in. Everybody get something to bring in.

Barbara: I'm going to get something. (She picks up sand toy and goes in.)

Paul says to two little toddler girls just coming into sandbox: That's the hole the big boys made. I watched them. (He goes in.)

The social meaning of gender is clearly an issue for Paul, who is a young four-year old. Not only did he persist in this long game of girl-catcher, he wrote in the dirt, "Boys allowed, not girls," and he wants to make sure that both the director of the school and I knew exactly what he was doing. All of the events of this type which he initiated occurred during the first two months of observations, as did the other three discriminatory discussions by boys.

The remaining 23 discussions of gender by the children primarily took place during the second two months of observation. They were most often statements by children which labeled games, toys and clothing as sex-typed (for example, earrings must belong to a woman); talk about sex organs (for example, drawing "boobies" and giggling about it, girls seeing a boy's penis in the bathroom); or discussions of the boy/girl snack-time seating pattern which was initiated in late September.

The most discriminatory comments ("No girls allowed here, right?") were primarily initiated by one boy who ceased these as the fall wore on. But many more discussions of gender took place later in the fall and involved the children figuring out "appropriate" gender behavior

and other aspects of an increasing consciousness of gender which was not necessarily discriminatory.

Cross-Sex Exclusion

The foregoing analysis refers to those comments about gender which were not made directly to people in order to either exclude or include on the basis of gender. This discussion focuses on direct, explicit exclusions and inclusions.

Cross-sex exclusions and inclusions were the minority of total exclusions (32%) and inclusions (33%), and they were equally initiated by boys and girls. The boys' exclusion of girls were, however, more hostile and more overtly connected to gender. For example, two boys playing around a clump of bushes on a little climber, talking to each other.

Allen: Only boys in this club.

Davis: Girls aren't good, right?

Allen: Aren't you glad it's only boys?

David: Yeah, we hate girls.

Allen: They're yucky.

David: And girls have vaginas! And tooshies!

Allen: And that's the reason we hate girls. (They giggle.)

David: Yeah, why we hate girls.

Allen: They're dum dum. (They run in the bushes.)

Allen: Hey, there's a girl in there. Girl! (He growls.)

David: Go...it's for boys! (He yells.)

Susan crouches by the bushes, goes in a little, comes out, stands by me, and walks around the edge of the bushes. Allen and David run to her.

Allen: No girls allowed!

Susan: Not true! Anybody can go in there.

Allen: Not true.

Susan: (to David) How old are you?

David: Four.

Susan: I'm four and a half, so I'm bigger than you.

Barbara comes. She and Susan bang heads accidentally.

Susan: Sorry.

Barbara: I'm here, too.

Allen: I'll get them out; I'm the boss. Come on, girls!

Barbara: I can be here, too.

Allen: No girls allowed.

Barbara: I can be here. It's not yours.

David: No girls.

Barbara: I can be here.

Allen: Well, we'll pinch you.

Susan: (to me): Can girls go in there? (Me: Yes.)

Susan: Guess what, ask the teacher. She says we can go in there.

David: Get out right now! (He's mad.)

Barbara: I can be in these bushes. They're not your bushes. They're the Children's School's bushes, so anybody who wants can be in there.

Susan dashes in and out of bushes, saying Ha! ha! ha!

Allen: I bet you can't balance on this branch... (I missed something here.)

Barbara: I don't care what you do. I' going to be here.

Allen: We're going to break your... (I can't hear it.)

Barbara: I'm staying here.

Allen says something about the strongest man in the world.

Susan: I'm four and a half and she's five, so we're bigger than you.

David beats the bushes with a stick.

Barbara: I don't care what you do. I'm still here.

Allen pushes her back. David hits her hard. She stands there, then advances, pushing.

Barbara: That should take care of you. I'll just tell the teacher, and you'll get in big trouble.

Barbara and Susan go off and talk to the assistant teacher who is shared among several classes. They go off then to another part of the yard. David and Allen remain in the bushes. Six-year old boys from the older class walk along saying, "We're hunting girls."

This is clearly a case of exclusion specifically on the basis of gender, and not a casual situation of exclusion where gender was used after the fact as a justification. Several of the major arguments of power which young children can use -- gender, age, and hierarchical structure ("I'm the boss.") -- were brandished here in attempts to control the play space.

There were no exclusions by girls, of boys, comparable in intensity of hostility. The one instance observed that was a deliberate gender exclusion by girls was the following, which ended amicably, unlike the event described above.

Lovey: (to Cassie) ...a board...and no boys can get on it. (She is mad. They get boards and make a seesaw.

James: Sam, girls can go on the seesaw.

Sam: No.

Cassie: No boys on this one.

Sam: Girls go on that one, boys on this one.

Cassie: No boys allowed. They'd mess it up. Whoever's a nice boy can go on, like Ali (a three-year old boy in the younger class, and Lovey's younger brother).

Sam: This slide is ours and that slide's yours. (They discuss which are boys' and girls' seesaws.)

Sam: We could share the seesaws and walk off this and onto that.

Cassie: Anyway Lovey's not coming back, so I'll let you guys get on. If Lovey doesn't come back, I'm gonna share it.

Thus they worked out a way to use both boards jointly. This event occurred in November, whereas the one described above occurred in September, indicating that the children had learned some skills in resolving cross-gender conflict. It is also important to note that this incident was initiated by girls and did not exhibit the emotional force of several of the boy-excluding-girl events which were observed.

Decrease in Segregated Play

The data presented in Chapter Four, in Figures 4-11, show a decrease in segregated groupings over time. The results were consistent for all of the different forms of data collected: the 9 a.m. spot observations, the running records, and the perceptions of all of us who were observing the children; namely, teachers, parents and myself.

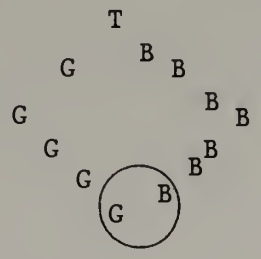
The 9 a.m. observations (Figures 2 and 3) show a dramatic decline in segregated groupings in the classroom: 100% in September (based on

only one observation), 54% in October, 61% in November and 25% in December. Figures 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8, representing the group segregation during the entire class day, show a similar decline: 60.5% in September, 50.5% in October, 47.8% in November and 25.3% in December. These averages come from the entire 228 events observed.

These numerical data are consistent with what the parents, the teachers and I saw happening throughout the fall. At a meeting that I had with the parents in June, sharing my data and preliminary analysis, they were unanimous in feeling that there had been changes in the boy/girl play. One parent said, "The lines were drawn at the beginning. But the tension has relaxed now." Another said she felt the children had learned "appreciation for each other."

In mid-September the teacher reported that there was lots of "clique play" and that the organizing basis of exclusion was gender. By late November, the segregation inside had declined in general, and in particular there were a number of cross-sex friendships. One boy/girl pair (which was also interracial) began to sit together in the cubbies after snack, during reading-to-oneself time, reading together and talking about the books. Their pattern of relating to each other at the group time, after their daily reading together in the cubbies, is instructive in showing the strong pull that existed to separate along gender lines during group situations and the simultaneous pull of emergent friendship. The group meeting time remained for the entire four months the most rigidly segregated time during the day, and their friendship could not initially override that powerful social scene.

During the first two days, I observed Cassie and Rick reading together at the cubbies. I noticed that when they went to group meeting directly from the cubbies, each went and sat with same-sex peers. Then in early December, two weeks after they had begun reading together on a daily basis, they began sitting next to each other in the meeting circle, but placing themselves so that they formed the bridge between the sexes, thusly:



By the end of the first week in December they sat next to each other still and were placing themselves with the boy next to a teacher and the girl next to an empty space in the circle, thus leaving their gender peer groups.

The fact that this seating pattern evolved the way it did indicated both the strong social pressure to remain with same-sex peers during group time, and the changing classroom atmosphere, which, by December, provided the space for this cross-sex friendship to emerge and grow.

How did the change in segregated play, described above, come about? It is so at variance with what the literature leads one to expect that this particular setting must have provided specific directives to counteract the "traditional" segregation.

One of the parents of a boy in the class stated in her interview that she had been concerned in the fall about gender exclusion of girls

by boys and about her son's new "tough" talk. He was looking for physical rather than verbal solutions to problems, she said, fighting and pushing, and identifying himself as a male through that behavior. She thought that the teacher's strategies counteracting this behavior, which she saw as a group phenomenon, were "surprisingly successful and that the problem was quickly resolved." This opinion regarding the teacher's awareness and actions was shared by other parents who commented similarly, as well as the parent who wrote in the newsletter described in Chapter Four. One parent told me that she also felt that my doing this study was increasing teacher awareness around issues of sexism and racism, and thus contributing positively to deliberate teacher input counteracting exclusionary behavior.

Teacher Strategies

Introduction

What were the teacher strategies changing this dynamic of segregated play? The answer to this is really the key to the whole process of changing relationships which I observed in this classroom.

The teacher, Sarah's, overall philosophy and principles formed the necessary framework for her specific interventional techniques. Primarily her overriding principle is that the classroom exists for each child's full development, rather than the children existing for the smooth functioning of the classroom. This steadfast principle, which informed most of the teacher's actions is also a fundamental and key principle of all multicultural education. The classroom cannot be a rigidly defined space but must bend and adapt to the needs of the specific children in it. Part

of their needs are created and defined by their gender, race and culture. And part of their needs are to become separated from whatever monocultural and restrictive cultural notions they come to school with: notions of "sex-appropriate" behavior which restrict, notions of male supremacy, race supremacy and class supremacy.

The teacher made real her commitment to each child's successful work on his/her growth tasks by modeling her own acceptance of all kinds of diversity in needs and behavior, by providing a democratic atmosphere in which she gave responsibility to children for themselves and the group, and by providing tools for problem-solving to children. These will be discussed, demonstrating the framework within which the teacher acted to disallow gender segregation and to encourage cooperative cross-sex play. This same framework will be applicable to our discussion of race and ethnicity later in this chapter.

The particular intervention strategies related to gender which I observed and catalogued come under the headings of: (a) manipulating the environment (including curriculum, physical plant and clothing); (b) giving verbal directives to behave differently; and (c) providing information about gender. These three specific strategies will be detailed in this chapter after a brief discussion of the teacher's philosophical framework for multicultural education. That framework includes modeling an acceptance of diversity and providing a situation where children were expected to assume much responsibility for themselves once they had been given guidelines for socially responsible behavior. It was Sarah's firm belief that the overall atmosphere of democratic

acceptance was crucial to the success of the more specific strategies designed to encourage non-stereotypic play.

Philosophical Framework

The teacher accepted diversity in a number of areas of the children's lives, and she believed that this attitude would be generalizable by children to situations involving race, gender and ethnicity. She explicitly communicated this to children in many different situations. On one of the first days of school, for instance, the teacher told the class during meeting time, "Two people felt they needed a nap, so they can't get in the circle right away." Here, the teacher explained to the class why exceptions were made to the general rule of class participation at circle time, thus modeling an acceptance of diverse needs.

The teacher also looked at individual children and asked, as she did about one boy, David, who was having a hard time at the beginning of the school year, "How do we legitimize this child in this room?" She wondered how to promote activities which integrated him into a structure with other children. David was on a restricted grains and dairy diet, so one activity Sarah planned was having the class cook couscous, a staple of David's diet.

In addition to communicating respect for diversity of need and custom to the children, the teacher provided a democratic atmosphere within which the children were expected to assume responsibilities for themselves individually and as a group. This was evident at many times throughout the school day.

At a meeting ten days after school had begun, for instance, Sarah gave a powerful demonstration of how to empower children or how any leader can empower people in her group. The teacher first asked the class

> "Who can you ask to help you with things?" (The children named all of the teachers in their classroom, and, as she continued to ask, they started naming teachers in other classrooms of the school.)
>
> "Who knows how to cut?" she asked. (Most raised their hands.)
>
> "Look around and see how many people you can ask to help you," Sarah said.
>
> "Who knows how to find the bathroom?" (Most raised their hands.)
>
> "See how many people you can ask to help you."
>
> "Who knows how to read?" (Some children raised their hands.)
>
> "Look at all the people you can ask about reading." (And the teacher continued this process, listing several other skills.)

Sarah gave the children a number of messages with this exercise. She showed them that they were indeed capable of doing much necessary work, that they were good sources of information, that they could and that they should help each other whenever possible, and that they could rely on each other rather than always going to the "boss" (teacher). At other times during the months of observation, the teacher continued making the same point, saying, "Consult each other for help with problems."

Sarah had a similar attitude toward what is often referred to as "discipline." She treated it as a group problem rather than the result of individual "badness," and she provided the children with specific alternative ways of acting when their behavior was destructive to each other or themselves. At the beginning of the school year, she often

made these values explicit. On September 11, for instance, when four girls were fighting and punching inside the room, the teacher said, "You all have words to say in yourself. You can talk about it in words. Punching is not a good idea. Stand up. We all need some exercise."

At snack time, in the beginning of the year, the teacher helped the children see snack as a group resource to be used by everyone, with planning for its just distribution therefore necessary. One day two weeks after school began, when the children had made applesauce and were serving it for snack, Sarah said,

> "One bowl is for everyone. You have to plan it so there is enough for everyone. You have to be in control of how much you can take and leave enough for other people."

When they came to have seconds, one of the children, Estelle, said:

> "Jesus gets to have a little more because he didn't have so much before."

They all discussed this then as the serving bowl went around. This type of discussion became standard procedure and was part of the generally extremely amiable snack-time discussions.

Six weeks later the whole class discussed at snack-time whether or not they should have seconds of celery with peanut butter. The problem, according to several children, was that it wouldn't be fair to those who don't like celery for the others to have seconds, since those who don't like it wouldn't be having seconds. The teacher said that the class should decide this. They talked about it and decided to have seconds. Even Willie, the child who was most vocal about the unfairness (not liking celery himself) said that it was "OK." Sarah then told him that this happens with apples a lot, that there are often seconds and those

who don't like apples don't have seconds. The precedent was reassuring; but he and the other children had come to the decision themselves.

This incident demonstrated how thorough is this teacher's belief in the democratic process[2] and how much work had gone on in the classroom prior to this incident on November 30, for the children to be able to initiate the discussion, handle it and successfully resolve this knotty problem.

The teacher gave them similar tools of control for handling themselves at the daily meetings, which were extraordinary in a class of four- and five-year old children. Meeting time, a common routine in early childhood classes, is often a time when the children are either rigidly quiet, having been trained to be so, or are unbearably boisterous and getting scolded for that. In this class the meetings were extraordinary in that they were a pleasant and interesting time, when both the children and the teacher participated in genuine discussion. They lasted approximately twenty minutes.

During the first week of school, the teacher made the rules of meeting clear. "Meeting is a time when only one person talks at a time. That's the special thing about meeting. All the other times in the day we all talk a lot. At meeting only one person talks." She gave them methods of dealing with their bodies, as well as their speech. At a later meeting when many of the children were saying, "I can't see," Sarah told them to move their own bodies so they could see; or to tap the person

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[2]It also gives a fascinating insight into children's cognitive and moral development. The boy who thought it wouldn't be "fair" gave a perfect example of concrete operational thinking; he was unable to have any abstract notion of equality. Fair could only be what was literally equal; i.e., when each person had obtained two pieces of celery. If someone didn't have them, even through his own choice, then it wasn't fair.

blocking the view and whisper "excuse me" and that person would move. This went smoothly while they worked on a group chart of family membership, until James complained, "I can't see." Another child, Greg, immediately told him, "Remember what Sarah said"; and James did it.

The teacher presented these rules in a manner which showed the children she was trying to facilitate their play and work, not to deny or hinder them, which is probably one reason she was so successful in having them follow the rules. And in fact, the rules were reasonable and designed to promote the easy flowing of a curriculum which, in turn, was created for the children's growth, not the institution's smooth functioning.

My final example of the teacher's provision of an atmosphere of democracy within which the children were expected to carry responsibility successfully is contained in an episode on a walk through the woods on a glorious October day. When they were outside planning for the walk and were choosing partners (all but one of whom were same-sex), Sarah said: "Make sure you know where these people are. They're your special friends. You have to keep track of them and make sure they don't get lost in the woods. Also you need to see where the other teacher and I are."

Here she does not keep for herself the entire responsibility of knowing where each person is, but charges the children to be aware of their own positions in space relative to each other. She did this in a completely non-punitive, straightforward manner. Later, when they were deep in the woods and some children had been falling down along the way, Sarah called the children together for a meeting. She first asked who

had gotten hurt and what had happened. After several of the children told their stories of falling and getting separated from the group, which was a powerful recitation and more effective than would have been the teacher's relating of these events, Sarah said, "It's okay to explore in the woods, but the people leading need to think of the rest of us and not run ahead. We're all together in the woods."

Helping children to be aware of the impact of their actions on others and on themselves was a constant theme of this teacher. She was teaching them how to live in a democratic group.

Interventions About Gender

The teacher's first type of intervention strategy was based on her belief that the environment is a powerful stimulus in calling forth certain behaviors, and that the environment is manipulable. Those aspects of the environment which can be controlled by the teacher are the curriculum and the physical placement of materials and creation of spaces in the room. Curriculum planning, Sarah felt, is one of the "unmoralizing ways" to change behavior. "Certain materials," she said, "elicit certain behavior." Thus, in looking at excluding behavior, this teacher's response is to ask, among other questions: what in the environment is calling forth this behavior? She then sought to remove the stimulus or to manipulate it in such a way that excluding would not fit easily into the pattern of behavior.

Early in the year, for instance, the teacher reported to me that when I was not observing, she had noticed that all of the boys were playing Star Wars. She stopped this play, since she thought it was

calling forth a stereotyped type of play, and created a situation in which only boys were comfortable. After she stopped the game, the whole class began to build a river together and had a wonderful time. She felt then that games like Star Wars would drop away during the fall as she created an atmosphere where "the elemental symbols of mud, water and sand, which have a deeper hold on children," began to take over.

Later, during the winter, a "summer place" with a beach scene was set up in the classroom for several weeks. This environment, because of its lack of sex-stereotyped behavioral connotations, invited everyone to play; and there was good boy/girl play there.

During the spring, after the study was completed, the teacher reported to me on another environment that had been in the room, a rocketship play space. In this case, a rocketship was set up. It seemed to invite the boys to work out media fantasies, and to disinvite the girls' participation entirely. When the girls did finally go there, they got inside and created a house; at which point the boys took over again, saying, "We're the bosses." Sarah then removed the rocketship, feeling "there was no way to change this cultural symbol with its one dominant meaning into an activity which would invite mixed-sex play." She explained to the class her reasons for removing the rocketship, thus giving them an idea about environmental stimulus and control also.

In addition to manipulating the environment through the activities which comprised curriculum, the teacher restructured the physical space several times during the four months of observation, in order to change male/female play patterns. On November 5, she made the

first major change of the environment, altering the limit for the number of children allowed at any one time in the block area from four to five. She did this in an attempt to lessen the predominance of boys in the block area. Her reasoning was that the boys came to school first, went to the space, and thereby intimidated the girls so that one girl wouldn't go in there alone. However if there were more spaces allowed, the chances would be greater that there would be two open slots by the time the girls arrived, and more girls would use the block area. In an interview two weeks after that change, Sarah felt that it had in fact helped to integrate the block area.

My 9 a.m. observations of that area showed that whereas during the month, October 4 - November 4, the daily percent of boys there averaged 75 percent of total users of the space, during the rest of November it averaged 52 percent boy users. On two of those days in November, there were only girls in the area, which had not happened during any 9 a.m. observation prior to November. Those two days occurred during the second week after the change in limit.

However, at the end of November, the teacher found that groups of boys were again congregating in the block area and dominating it, so she once again changed the limit of persons allowed, both in blocks and in the adjacent water/sand table. This time she reduced the limit to two children each (from five in blocks and four at the sand/water table) and simultaneously made the block area much smaller by moving the shelves holding the blocks closer together. In the block area, this changed the nature of the play significantly, although not the gender of the players. The one or two children allowed in the area began to use it to play

house. Two boys, in particular, David and James, began to play baby with a teddy bear, and became the regular occupants of the area. These were both boys who had been extremely aggressive in class and the teacher felt that playing "baby," with its dramatic playing out of family life, was helpful to them. It appeared that enclosing the space in the way she had, and limiting the block area to two facilitated this type of play.

The environmental changes just described, regarding curriculum and physical setting, were all successful in creating noticeable change. A third environmental type of intervention, regarding the clothing in which children were dressed, was less conclusive in altering behavior. The teacher sent a note home to the parents asking that girls be dressed in a manner appropriate for a variety of types of play, and suggesting that dresses, as regular wear, did not meet these requirements.

One of the parents reported to me during our interview that her daughter took this very seriously, as we might expect of four- or five-year olds, with their often strict respect for rules. Nonetheless, a number of girls continued to come to school in dresses. Whether or not these girls engaged in a different type of play than those who more regularly wore pants was not investigated during this study, but would be an interesting topic for future research.

In addition to these environmental changes, the teacher verbally directed the children to change their behavior in a number of ways which relate to the study. She told them that she did not accept gender segregation and that she did not like it,

First, she told them at snack, two weeks after school had started and after it became apparent that the children were sitting with same-sex

peers, "I don't like to sit just with boys or just with girls." She then made place cards for the children to use at snack, and she instructed the tablesetter (a different child each day) to set the table in a boy/girl/boy/girl pattern. This led to discussion on a number of occasions during the following months.

Once when Jesus was setting the table during late November, he said, "I don't think it should have to be boy/girl because I don't think it works right." As he rearranged the names, trying to accommodate the boy/girl pattern, it became clear that what didn't work right was the fact that he wanted to sit next to his best friend, Willie, and he kept placing them together while he tried to set the others in a boy/girl pattern. Mostly, however, the children took this instruction seriously and followed it carefully as they set the tables. Sometimes they discussed the pattern and would point to each child around the table, chanting boy/girl/boy/girl.

On one occasion in December, after they had been sitting in that pattern for several months, they chanted boy/girl/boy/girl at snack, although the setter that day (Willie) had not set one of the tables in that pattern. The teacher then used the occasion to ask the children if they could think of what system Willie had used. It turned out he had used a boy/boy/girl/girl pattern at the larger table.

When the children were at play, the teacher several times gave them the explicit verbal direction that they couldn't control or exclude others on the basis of gender. On September 18, when one boy said, "One girl's allowed on the ship, lots of guys," Sarah said, "That's a place everyone

can play. You can't tell people they can't play there." This directive made her position clear and the prohibition explicit against exclusion from what was common space. When Barbara and Susan were being told by Allen and David to leave the bushes, "no girls allowed," the girls used this rule of general access to space which the teacher had stated. Barbara held her position with the argument, "I can be in these bushes. They're not your bushes; they're the Children's School's bushes, so anybody who wants can be in there."

A third type of verbal directive Sarah gave the children, throughout the year, was the directive to make new friends, and specifically across gender lines. The first time this came up was one week after school started, on September 14. The teacher reported the incident to me in detail at an interview that evening, and Lovey's mother also described it during her interview. Lovey was experiencing bitter exclusion during outside play time, first by a group of boys, then by everyone, and was expressing this with great screams. Sarah said, as she reported this incident to me, that Lovey was expressing the pain of the clique play and exclusion by gender which the teachers had been seeing. The teacher held a meeting, told the children she was distressed, and asked if anyone else was feeling left out. Some of the children said they were also; and she questioned them, getting them to explain how they were left out, and probing gently for their feelings about it.

Paul said he was pushed and Sam said he was feeling left out. She suggested they make "new friends" and then, after asking them who was someone new to play with that they hadn't been with before, directed them to some specific cross-sex combinations for the next activity.

She sent the children to tables to "think of a time when you play with other children and draw it." Because of the discussion of exclusion, many of them drew situations in which they experienced isolation. Sam drew one picture of somebody throwing mud at him, and one of himself crying because "I'm all by myself and eating lunch outside by myself." James drew one picture he described as "somebody is sad because there is no one to play with," and one picture of "somebody (who) is happy because he has someone to play with." Paul drew himself on the slide being pushed by Willie; and Lovey, whose screams had started the discussion, drew herself with Estelle and Cassie.

The next day Sarah assigned new pairs of friends for specific activities, and a number of children told their parents about their "new friends." This directive continued intermittently throughout the year. By spring, the teacher reported to me that the girls were saying to the boys, "You always find a boy to be your partner for a game." Once again she talked to them about playing with new friends, and assigned partners for activities throughout that day and following days. She felt this made a big impression on many of the children who again mentioned it to their parents; and she believed that this strategy was, by spring, the most effective in continuing to break down rigid same-sex groupings.

The fourth type of verbal directive the teacher gave the children, designed to change their relations to the opposite sex, was the assignment to work areas during free-choice activity periods. She began this on September 24, with verbal assignments to areas after the mid-morning meeting. The purpose of this was to mix the children by gender and other characteristics such as old/new to the school. The following week

she put "messages" on the choice board early in the morning, directing children to activities. These had the same goal of mixing hitherto separate children and generally implied opposite sex groupings for them, since they had bonded early with same-sex peers. This strategy also continued intermittently throughout the year, and was successful in that it was followed by the children, who then got an opportunity to talk with and play with "new" people.

All of the four types of verbal directives were effective in that the children did as they were told. It is impossible within the context of this type of research project, which casts a wide net, to evaluate each strategy separately. Since gender segregation did decrease, the total strategic input of the teacher worked.

In addition to environmental change and verbal directives, the teacher used another overall type of technique to foster cross-sex play: she offered information to the children regarding gender. The assumption underlying this strategy is that knowledge of gender is a cognitive as well as a social development and that children's sex-role concepts are limited by the level of cognitive skills, as are the rest of their concepts.

In early October, the teacher decided to read a book to the children, What Is a Boy, What Is a Girl? by stephanie Waxman. This book provided two messages: first, sex is a biological category which is defined by the having of certain reproductive organs; second, this is a permanent irreversible category, though biological categories do not determine much behavior, habits, or dress. Boys cry, girls often have

short hair and wear pants. These are some of the non-stereotypic behaviors that are shown through photographs and text.

Sarah sent a letter to the parents explaining the book and letting them know that she planned to read it to the children, since she thought it might arouse deep feelings in the children. It contains photographs of nude adults and children, and is the kind of book teachers generally stay away from, since it might be "explosive." None of the parents objected to the reading, so it proceeded one week later.

The book, read at meeting time, elicited some loud giggles when the teacher first said "penis" and "vagina"; but when she then told the children this was serious and to stop giggling, they did. After the reading the teacher gave the class outline drawings of bodies which they were to fill in with body parts (hair, faces, genitals). The drawings provoked much discussion, all of it matter-of-fact. "How many lips do vaginas have?" "Men have nipples but not big boobies." Given the fact that there is a lot of scatalogical talk in this class (as is typical of many four- and five-year olds in this culture), the lack of giggles during the drawing period showed that the children were interested and were able to handle the information being given to them.

There was little follow-up on this book. Sarah felt it was perhaps too provocative to leave out for children to read alone. I only observed one comment or action later which I could directly relate to the reading: Willie, the following day, pulled up his shirt to show Greg his nipple. He did it in a matter-of-fact way. However, again, the impact of this book cannot really be assessed as a discrete experience. It was part of all that the children were experiencing in this classroom.

Summary

The statistical and observational data, as well as the parent and teacher interviews, show that gender segregation in this classroom declined during the four months of observation, September to December. The teacher made a conscious effort to promote cross-sex cooperative play. Her specific interventional techniques were implemented in an atmosphere of democratic acceptance of children's diversity and respect for their abilities to handle problems arising in many situations, once they were given the tools to do so. The specific strategies she used were environmental changes, which included curriculum, physical environment and clothing; verbal directives to alter behavior; and information regarding biological and social aspects of gender.

Something in this classroom worked to turn around the expected pattern of either stable or increasing gender segregation throughout the school year. It is impossible in a study of this type to isolate the strategies which the teacher used and say that one or another was the key to the turn-around. And in fact it may well be that they all formed necessary parts of an effective whole. Further studies of this type, focusing on discrete teacher behaviors, will be needed to determine which were the more effective strategies, or if, indeed, it was the entire context which was critical.

Some Explanations of Gender Segregation

Some understanding as to why children in this culture are often self-segregated by gender in their play is useful in helping determine

how to approach the problem, or even in determining whether it is a problem. The teacher's analysis of gender segregation includes a cognitive, cultural and psychological explanation. First, Sarah looks at the business of social play as a sorting task. "Fives," she says, "love to sort buttons and beads, so why not people? Gender is an obvious characteristic in sorting friends. Age is another sorter. What we need to help them develop are other ways of sorting. That is what curriculum could do. If we or the parents give them something else in common, we can give them a way of sorting differently." She cited the case of one boy who was in a play group last year with three girls and who now plays with them a lot. Her interpretation of this is at least partially cognitive.

This view implies that children are taking the socially defined categories of age and gender as being the important differentiating ones for social relations, and suggests providing new categories for sorting, through conscious curriculum reforms and through such direct interventions in play as "enforced pairing" with new friends. That pairing provides new bases of friendship: shared experiences.

Sarah also has a psychological explanation which attributes the difficulties boys and girls have together to interior processes working themselves out. "Five," she says, "is a time of transition to seeing oneself as a separate entity." This arouses anxiety. "Children who used to exclude others have struggles to define themselves. Girls don't need to understand themselves this way. What are children trying to define in their play? Children have a problem -- boys do -- and it is being

defined in their play." According to this view, boys excluding girls is problem-solving. Children are using language to sort things out. If adults intervened, children couldn'thave solved problems of conflict with each other.

This viewpoint, which is shared and perhaps inspired by the director of the school, implies that non-intervention is the best policy; for, as the director said, "Direct confrontation or indoctrination regarding stereotypic roles would be threatening and thereby increase the children's need for division." The teacher had an interesting blend of views; for while she felt the environment should be manipulated to foster certain pro-social behaviors, as we saw above, she avoided direct confrontation in some cases. For example, she would not intervene in the "girl-catcher game" initiated by Paul, cited at the beginning of this chapter, because she believed it had to be "played out." The fact that this issue was "close to the surface in him is good."

Sarah thus saw gender exclusion as the result both of immature cognitive schemata and as the result of personal interior turmoil which some of the boys were experiencing. They then used a culturally available category -- gender -- to play out what was really another task or conflict. She did not view games like "girl-catcher" as infantile versions of adult real world male violence against women, nor did she see these types of "games" and exclusions as being particularly related to general social exclusions of women in this society.

Joffe, who did the only other naturalistic study of a classroom which is at all similar to this one, had a similar view. She believed the children she observed used sex differences as a category of control,

but that they had "no serious belief in the essential 'male' or 'female' aspect of disputed structures" (Joffe, 1974). The children, for instance, might be saying about a toy, "This is for boys (or girls) only," but the sex-typing was simply a convenient ideology which they took as a means of control.

Sarah also believed that the children had no abiding commitment to their words of male supremacy; or to their exclusions based on gender, since she saw the same children at other times playing with opposite-sex children. She also frequently explained the games such as "girl-catcher" by saying that the next-oldest group of children, the six- and seven-year olds, engaged in this type of play frequently, as did the other older groups. She said that the boy most often originating that game, Paul, "was the most cognitively aware child in the class, and that he was the first to figure out that system of control."

Because she did not believe that the children had deeply imbibed an ideology of sexism, she did not directly disallow such games as "girl-catcher," but she worked to make the children more comfortable across sex lines, in the ways which have been described above. She did disallow particular exclusions when she observed them, although she did not bring that up to the class directly as a major issue.

Whether or not the children had a "serious belief" in the "essential 'male' or 'female' aspect of things" seems to me to be begging the question. They imbibed the cultural stereotypes and they acted upon them.

This study has demonstrated the power of the environment in helping to form behavior. Thus, I believe that it is the responsibility of educators to create environments which call forth the most egalitarian and

non-stereotypic behavior possible. In a non-authoritarian environment where power relations are not the overriding issue, children should not need to hold tightly onto categories of control such as age, race and bender.

I do not believe that the successful working out of any growth task necessitates the oppression of other persons, since oppression involves restriction rather than growth or health. Thus, if boys, for instance, have issues of concern about identity, I cannot accept the explanation that they "must" exclude or torment girls in order to resolve these ambiguities. While indeed they may simply be seizing convenient social categories of discrimination to perpetuate the hierarchical division of the society in which they find themselves, it cannot be genuinely helpful to their growth to allow them to do so , but can only serve to rigidify their own options for human behavior, as well as those of the persons who serve as objects of their discrimination.

Sex-Typed Stereotypes Held by Children

Both male-supremacist and sex-stereotyped remarks were reported to me by parents and teachers. The parents of four of the nine boys in the class reported in the interviews that their sons made male-supremacist remarks. They were: boys are stronger than girls (two reports); clubs are just for boys; girls can't whistle (this from a boy whose mother whistles); women can't be airplane pilots; girls can't run as fast as boys. Several girls were reported to say that boys are "rough" and "bad," and one girl commented that her mother was "acting ladylike" when she sat on the couch.

In terms of beliefs, about half of the children seemed to hold stereotyped notions of sex-roles, which was undoubtedly one reason for the segregation which did occur during play. These stereotyped beliefs about sex-roles are not unduly surprising, in spite of a decade of agitation to reduce them; for the mass media continually portray persons in tremendously restricted roles (Lester, 1979).

The Nature of Boys' and Girls' Play

Both from parents' reports and from observation, it was clear that in the absence of teacher intervention, the nature of the two sexes' play was different, particularly in self-created activities. Many of the children requested same-sex playmates at home, according to parents' reports, articulating that the other sex "doesn't want to play what I want to play." One girl was afraid of getting hit by boys and several were reported to be afraid of boys. Some girls were reported to want to play at home with dolls and make-believe games. No boys had these preferences. Some boys were reported to engage heavily in superhero play, and no girls played in this way. Several parents, however, reported no difference in play patterns between girls and boys, and said that their children were equally happy to play with children of either sex.

Outside at school the girls most often dug in the dirt, stirring and "cooking," while the boys ran through the bushes playing some variation of superhero play. The girls talked of mud, who could use which stick and cup; while the boys talked of superheroes, killing and who was the bad guy. "Girls," said the teacher, "are caught up in materials. They negotiate relationships and their need to be accepted through materials. Boys are working out their needs through superhero play and bathroom

language. Boys trade words the way girls trade things." Yet the restricted language generated by television characters matches the restricted range of play these same superheroes stimulate (Lester, 1979; Aronowitz, 1973). Word play was more common among the girls than the boys, and one girl particularly loved to spin amusing yarns, something none of the boys in this class did.

The following is an example of one of Barbara's tales, told to a group of girls who all went "hmmm...." after each delicious item.:

> Last night I had a grinder for myself. (Estelle: What's that?) A big long sandwich. And I gobbled it up and it had ham and lettuce and tomatoes and mayonnaise and hot sauce ; and it had mustard and baloney and cheese, and it had cookie crumbs and it had tuna (ooh), egg salad, egg parmesan (all laugh), parmesan cheese and it had spaghetti and it had sticks (all laugh). No, it didn't have sticks; it had meatballs and macaroni and cheese and it had broccoli (Cassie says cauliflower) and it had peppermint leaves. Not peppermint leaves; and it had mushrooms, pepperonis and it had nuts. It had peanuts and it had bread and that's all.
>
> And you know how high it was? It was from the ground up to here (shoulder high). And I couldn't eat it, so I had to get up on a chair and bite it. (She demonstrates.) And it had pumpkin seeds and sunflower seeds and sesame seeds, and it had striped peppermint leaves. And it had little pieces of chopped liver. (Cassie: Who likes liver? All say: I hate it.) And it had chopped pieces of chocolate. (Annie: Is this true, Barbara? Barbara: Yes.)

At the end of this delightful tale, which all of the children thoroughly enjoyed, they all talked about what foods they liked and what they hated.

The style of play, behavior and belief about differences between the two sexes is already distinct by ages four and five. Yet the fact that the segregation pattern changed in this classroom (as it did for a shorter time period in the classroom where the teachers commented positively on each cross-sex cooperative play incident (Serbin, et al,1977),

indicated that the behaviors are indeed created by cultural prejudices and are therefore reversible. The fact that they seem to be relatively quickly and easily reversible suggests that they are culturally induced rather than being "necessary" and deep parts of the personality.

Inside/Outside Play

The difference in boy/girl play was seen most clearly outside, and there was a difference in degree of gender segregation between inside and outside. While the gender segregation inside steadily decreased, outside groups displayed an increase in segregation (Figure 12, p. 59). The inside/outside difference revealed statistically was borne out by parent interviews, by the parent article in the school newsletter described in Chapter Four, and by teacher comments made throughout the fall.

Two factors, which are significant in suggesting what routes can be taken to reduce cross-sex segregation, seem to account for this difference. Those factors are the relative degree of structure provided in the two environments, and the related difference in teacher presence.

Whereas inside the classroom the basic form of activities was planned for the children, outside the children created their own games and play activities. They were free to roam in an enormous yard with many areas of deep bushes and woods and were frequently not under adult surveillance, as they generally were inside the school. Often the teacher would spend part of the ourdoor play time working with one child inside setting up snack, leaving the student intern outside with the children. She generally stayed in one area of the yard, acting as a resource person for children to come to when they needed help.

The fact that the teacher presence was an important factor in helping mixed-sex groups exist was demonstrated inside the classroom. A chi-square analysis showed that when the teacher was present, the children were significantly more likely to be in non-segregated groups. This finding is consistent with the findings of one other study which looked at similar data. In Rothenberg's (1977) study of kindergarten and elementary classrooms, looking at the relationship of environments to sex segregation, she found that teacher presence had the potential for modifying the sex-segregated quality of the area in non-traditional classrooms.

The lack of teacher presence outside was likely one strong reason the segregation continued. The related lack of activies structured by the teacher was another. On the occasions when the teacher did organize group games, there was more mixed-sex participation than when the children organized their own games. Sometimes, for instance, the teachers would have a rope for the children to jump over, one at a time. This was something all of the children in the class liked to do, and did.

Sarah explained it this way: "A featured activity mostly gets both sexes, then one or the other dribbles off." The cargo net, a heavy rope net hung up between trees for climbing, was "featured" just after the beginning of the year, and both boys and girls were eager to practice the skill of climbing on it.

Sometimes, however, even structured games outside were segregated. During the second week of school, the student intern organized a game of Red Rover. All but one of the boys in the class played, and all of them stayed for the whole game; the three girls who began the game quickly dropped out. This is a game with a stereotypically "male" quality. It

is a bit like football in that players crashing into each other is a great part of the game, and there is a test of strength in not allowing one child to break through locked arms. Unfortunately, the girls in this class chose either not to play this organized game, or to leave it almost immediately.

This suggests that teacher-chosen games should be those not requiring this "tough" attribute, or that the teacher should be aware enough of the girls' reluctance to play that she works directly with that. In a school my children attended in New York City a number of years ago, the "yard teacher" worked separately with a group of young girls to develop their skill in games like this, so that they would then feel comfortable playing with the boys. The situation at the Children's School, where the three girls left the game shortly after it had begun, indicated that something like that conscious work is needed.

Another factor which may have affected the degree of outdoor segregation, causing it to remain high, was the gender of the teachers: female. This factor comes into question more readily outdoors than indoors. When a male substitute teacher was at the school, in this classroom, a difference in outdoor, but not indoor, play was observed. During late November and December, one male substitute teacher came to the school several times. On each occasion, most of the children played together on the large climber with boards. Several of the school's other teachers and I noticed this, and commented both on how much more integrated the play was, and on how different it was in quality. The children were engaged together in building ramps, in seesawing and climbing and creating imaginative play around those structures, rather

than being engaged in the more "typical" type of boys' and girls' play described above.

Sarah thought that this was because of the energy of the substitute teacher, who had not been daily at school for months. He kept up a constant chatter with the children, organizing them, exhorting them, joking and chiding them. We can only speculate about whether it was his energy level or his gender, which perhaps legitimized boys playing at the climber rather than having to act the part of "toughies," which changed the character of the play. We do know, however, that it did change, and thus can conclude that this teacher had an important role in the gender composition of play, and in its quality.

Race Awareness, Inclusion and Exclusion

This study had planned to investigate children's inclusion and exclusion of each other on the basis of race as well as gender, and to identify teacher strategies which were effective in helping children adopt a broad multicultural perspective. This includes awareness and acceptance of those of different races and ethnic groups from oneself as well as of different gender.

The fact that gender rather than race was the salient characteristic used for inclusion/exclusion is not surprising, according to the literature on this topic. In one study (Abel and Sakinkaya, 1962) on the emergence of sex and race friendship patterns, where four- and five-year old boys and girls were shown pictures of other children and asked which child they would choose for a friend, both sexes preferred their own sex for friends, with four-year olds showing no significant preference for their own race.

However, the findings in this study must be viewed in the context of this particular research and cannot necessarily be generalized to all situations. In fact, the knowledge we have of young children and race suggests that these findings are often not typical (Derman-Sparks, Higa and Sparks, 1980).

Of the 15 children in this classroom, 12 were white, 3 were black, and there were no children from other minority groups. One of the three black children was not visibly black and identifies himself as white, according to his father.

The parents universally reported no instances of exclusions based on race in their children's behavior, nor did they report any discriminatory remarks being made directly to persons of another race or ethnic group. This, we recall, was not the case regarding gender, where children both included and excluded on that basis and did make discriminatory remarks based on gender ("No girls allowed!"). Never were any comparable statements made by the children about race or ethnicity. I do not know why this is the case, but suspect it may reflect the "color-blind" philosophy of the school and perhaps of many of the homes, rather than a true lack of prejudice.

There were several instances reported, however, having to do with race which were disturbing. One white child, Willie, was reported by his father to root often for white athletes in televised sports when players of other races were participating; and another white child, Sam, according to his mother, imitates his older brother "going around saying I'm Chinese and holding his eyes up." In the former case, Willie's

father felt that his son's action was not rooted in racism. "It wasn't that he didn't like them; it wasn't racist in the sense of dominant/subordinate, but it was identity."

The question that occurs is, why is this boy's identity based on a racial attribute? He is also a child who, his father reported, plays and talks "tough" in order to be accepted by his peers. It could be speculated that children with difficulties in dealing with issues of identity build more on racial categories and stereotypic gender qualities than those without these concerns. The teacher put forward this hypothesis with regard to very "masculine" boy play, and perhaps it could be extended to race consciousness.

The fact that race is seen as an important definer of self was indicated further by another parent's reporting of a comment of her daughter's where she identified her own white skin as a significant attribute. Lovey said to her mother, "That doll (a blonde) has dark eyes like mine and it really looks like me, and that other doll's skin is brown like Cassie's. Cassie has brown hair like me, and brown eyes, but she has brown skin." This child realized that skin color was a more important social categorizer than hair color; for she, a dark-eyed brunette, thought the blond doll with dark eyes was more like herself than the dark-haired, dark-eyed, dark-skinned doll.

That the physical characteristics of race are seen as socially significant is also revealed when they are subject to caricature, in which the part signifies the whole. This was done by Sam, who indicated a Chinese person merely by altering his eyes.

Most of the white children have had extremely limited experience with other races or ethnic groups, although many of those who lived elsewhere before coming to this town have had more exposure to racially mixed groups than those who have always lived here. One white child's only experience with persons of other races outside of school was with a black woman who worked for her grandmother.

The white children who do ask their parents about racial differences -- and some of them never have -- are generally also asking about other differences, such as religious ones. The Christian/Jewish distinction is a pressing one for several of the white children, who either have religiously mixed households or close friends who have a different religion than themselves.

The black children, not surprisingly, were more race-aware than the white children. David's father said, "David sees people in two categories: black and white." He comments on the race of passersby. "There goes a black person." Jesus, another black child, had been at a school California which was much more racially mixed than the Children's School, and where race was a big issue among the children. The staff at that school had also been racially mixed and there had been more discussion about race in the classroom. Jesus, however, regarded himself as white.

In school, there appeared to be no discrimination, exclusion, or negative references to race during my observations. The three black children in this predominantly white class were one girl and two boys. Whether or not the black children were not frequent playmates, as has been reported in other studies (Derman-Sparks, Higa and Sparks, 1980;

Joffe, 1974), because they were not of the same gender, or for other reasons, is not known. The three of them were very different types of children, who pursued dissimilar activities and friendships, although one of them was aware of a kinship amongst them based on race, as will be related shortly.

The children discussed race or ethnicity 9 times during the 228 events I observed, compared to their 31 discussions of gender. Two of the 9 were teacher-initiated discussions taking place during the reading, to the entire class, of a book about a Chinese boy. Three of the discussions concerned Native Americans. One of these was a question by Cassie to the teacher regarding an ear of colored corn (uncooked). Noticing that the corn was so hard, she wondered how it could be eaten. Evidently she had heard that Native Americans eat corn. "Was it possible for Indians to eat this corn?" she asked.

Barbara one day made a remark which connotes a more exotic view of Native Americans:

> Oh you guys, I forgot to tell you this, but I danced with a real Indian before.
>
> Who?
>
> My babysitter's Indian.

Native Americans were mentioned one other time by Willie, during a class discussion about men who wear earrings. "Indians are men," said Willie, "and they wear earrings."

Most of the other discussions involved David, who several times identified himself and Cassie as black. Once he said to Cassie when she was sitting in the cubbies reading with Rick, "I'm coming to your house. We're both black." Cassis responded, "That doesn't mean you're coming

to my house. That doesn't mean he has to come to my house, does it, cause we're both black?" (She asked the question of Rick.)

The fact that race came up so seldom in this classroom is unusual, according to a just-published two-year study in Southern California which indicates that young children "are very much aware of racial differences. Many are also aware of racism" (Derman-Sparks, Higa and Sparks, 1980). It is not, however, surprising in an overwhelmingly white community where race is not a topic many of the children have heard discussed much. It undoubtedly also did not arise among the children for discussion because the teacher did not raise it as an issue, as she did gender. This is also not surprising, since the dominant ideology is, as Derman-Sparks, Higa and Sparks point out, that children are "color-blind," and that if adults do not talk with children about "it," children will not grow up to be prejudiced adults. "Denial and avoidance, then, appear to be the main techniques for dealing with one of the most pervasive and crucial problems of U.S. society."

The teacher in this class was open about feeling less comfortable with race-related issues than with gender, but she also believed a teacher should not raise issues before the children did. She stated in the fall that she would not bring up language before the children did; e.g., if they were excluding girls but not saying, "We're excluding you because you're a girl," she would not point out that aspect of their exclusion to them.

Yet, she was aware of her lack of having black-oriented materials around the room, and she did bring up some ethnic customs for class discussion which had not been queried by the children. The two ethnic

groups whose customs she introduced to the class were Jews and Chinese. She did this through bringing up Jewish holidays and reading a story about a Chinese boy, Little Pear. Being Jewish herself, she had a level of comfort introducing Jewish customs she undoubtedly did not feel with other groups. The Little Pear book she introduced as a contrasting culture, primarily for the purpose of pointing out features of the children's own.

When the teacher introduced the Little Pear book, she said, "I have a story about a little boy who lives in a country called China and this is a long, long time ago. You can compare Little Pear's family in your mind to your family and see how it's the same and how it is different. You can see Little Pear's clothing is a little different and his hair is different and he's looking at a river." At this point, three of the boys commented about ponds and rivers they had seen.

When Sarah read on about Little Pear's hair, "his head was shaved except for one spot over his forehead where hair was allowed to grow and he had a ribbon," there was discussion.

Rick: Only a little spike just like Alfalfa's.

Cassie: He has different eyes, not like us, like apple seeds.

Teacher: I guess other people have eyes like apple seeds, too.

Then, after more discussion about clothing and about men and women wearing earrings ("Pirates wear earrings," "cowboy earrings," "Indians are men, and they wear earrings"), the book was resumed to describe Little Pear's house. It is brick, one room, with paper windows. When Sarah read, "There is a fireplace under the bed," everyone gasped.

Sarah: They stay nice and warm in the wintertime. They have a heater right under the floor.

Barbara: They have to be careful not to get roasted.

Cassie: What would they do if Little Pear fell in the fire?

Sarah: What could they do? He had a family there to help him. This fire is under the floor, though. It's a pretty safe place.

Rick: My dad's wires inside his truck went on fire.

Sarah: No matter where you live, you have to be careful.

Barbara: I had ten fires in my house.

Sarah: Did you call the fire department?

Barbara: We don't need the fire department. We have fire detectors and my next-door neighbor is a fireman.

David: Two times my mother was cooking, we had fires.

The powerful notion of fire was the big point of interest here, and it seemed terrifying to the children that Little Pear had a fire under his bed.

The problem with a book like this is that by focusing on contrasting qualities rather than similar ones, stereotypes may be either reinforced or generated. The teacher stated later that she felt this danger would generally be counteracted through discussion where the children focused on their issues of concern, as they did on fire, rather than on Chinese customs. The book, then, was a device for getting at the children's most potent topics, rather than learning about another culture. The other way stereotypes could be counteracted, she felt, would be by having Chinese individuals come in, to give the children direct contact. This was probably true, but it was not done; and it is difficult to know what impressions the children were left with from hearing this book, which

was read, chapter by chapter, for a number of days. After one of the Little Pear readings, in which he and his friend Big Head were skating on a pond (a topic which produced lively class discussion), the intern asked several of the children, "What did you think of the Little Pear story?"

James: I hate Little Pear.

Jesus: I was born right near summer. (The class had discussed birthday months just prior to the reading.)

Probably the story would have been most successful in not reinforcing stereotypes if it had been read in conjunction with other books about China, modern as well as ancient; about Chinese-Americans; and, as the teacher suggested, if some Chinese or Chinese-American persons had been visitors to the class. As it was, read in isolation, it had the potential for reinforcing existing stereotypes.

The lack of Third World personnel in the school is revealed at this juncture as a critical one. When multicultural social relations are absent, any piece of literature about differences cannot be fitted into a concrete daily reality, examined, assessed and then used appropriately as part of the child's broad knowledge about another culture. Thus, the book remains exotica, a discrete bit of information unrelated to the rest of life.

When the teacher had read to the children earlier about gender differences, they were able to test the information in the book against their empirical knowledge. When Nathan was drawing large "boobies" on his father, Sarah could ask him to reflect on the type of breasts and nipples his father actually had. Particularly at this age, the

perceptually bound child living in the world of the concrete, as both Piaget and Dewey pointed out, cannot make abstract conclusions without tying them to specific remembered or observed events.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Summary of the Problem

Multicultural education is education based on children's own experiences, with a special awareness of the significant role that gender, race and ethnicity play in determining children's life experience. It is essentially Deweyian in conception, with the added focus of a cultural framework within which the child is seen, and to which the school must adapt.

The central question of this research was to determine appropriate multicultural education for children of four, five and six in an open classroom based on democratic values. The relationships and behaviors selected to illuminate that central question were children's exclusions of each other, their statements regarding gender and race, and teacher behavior. The specific questions the study posed were: What type of excluding/accepting behavior do children display towards those who are different, by race or gender? What notions of differences are displayed by discussions the children have about gender and race or ethnic diversity? What are effective teacher strategies for helping create non-segregated play?

Findings of the Study

I found that gender rather than race was the salient characteristic used for exclusion or segregation in play, in this school. This was a

finding consistent with the literature regarding four- and five-year olds' play patterns.

What was unusual and surprising in this classroom, according to the literature about gender segregation in early childhood school settings, was that here segregation declined during the course of the four months of observation, rather than remaining stable or increasing. This finding is similar to that found in the few other open classrooms which have been studied, where more cross-sex cooperative play has been seen than in traditional classrooms. The problem with those few studies has been that they have not sought to identify the process wherein the "typical" traditional pattern was reversed. This study has begun to fill that gap in the literature, investigating some of the dynamics in one classroom which allowed an opening up of rigid gender segregation.

The in-depth observations of this classroom, coupled with the extensive series of staff and parent interviews, showed that there were several interventions consciously used by the teacher to decrease segregation by gender. These interventions were grouped into three broad categories, of which the first was <u>environmental</u>. The teacher manipulated the environment in terms of physical plant, curricular changes, and clothing. For example, the block area was twice changed, both in terms of its physical size and the numbers of children allowed in it; and both changes were designed either to discourage gangs of boys from congregating there, or to encourage girls to work in the area. The teacher also attempted to change the girls' environment through influencing the type of clothing they wore, making it possible for girls to

engage in all activities. She did this by notifying parents that it would be best if girls not wear dresses as a general rule.

The second broad category was that of verbal directives. The teacher verbally directed children to act differently when she saw that they were sitting in a segregated pattern or that they were explicitly excluding each other on the basis of sex. She directed them to make new friends across the traditional demarcation lines, and she gave them "messages" on the choice board, directing them to work in new areas. She also directed the children to sit in a boy/girl pattern at snack time, and made name tags for the children to use in facilitating a seating pattern.

The third category was cognitive. The teacher provided the children with information about the irreversible and permanent nature of gender affiliation. This was done primarily through reading to the children the photo book, What Is a Boy, What Is a Girl? and through follow-up discussion and drawings of body parts.

The teacher provided a model of acceptance of a variety of behaviors and needs from the very beginning of the year, when she explicitly told the children that some children had different needs than others. This attitude continued to be a consistent base of teacher behavior. The second critical aspect of the overall classroom atmosphere which was consistent was its genuinely democratic character. The teacher set standards for the children's behavior in terms of clear pro-social boundaries, and then gave the children responsibility for implementation of these values. For example, at snack time she expected the children to carry out the task of seeing that food was justly shared among all the children.

Or, during a hike in the woods, she gave all the children the responsibility of noticing their own whereabouts and that of their fellows, and gave the children in the lead the particular responsibility of being aware of those who followed them.

The three specific intervention strategies were seen as successful within the context of democratic group relations, where diversity of need and acceptance of responsibility for self and others were stressed.

An additional finding of the study was that teacher presence at activities was associated significantly with greater cross-sex play than would randomly be expected. This suggests a clear and easily transportable strategy for intervention that teachers in any similar type of classroom setting may apply. The fact that the teachers did not participate in directing or playing with the children outside, as they did inside, was therefore given as one reason for the continued high level of gender segregation outside.

It is difficult to evaluate in isolation either any of the particular teacher intervention strategies or specific components of the philosophic orientation which provided the classroom tone. The strategies and overall atmospheric conditions may have all been necessary in creating the setting within which gender segregation could diminish, contrary to the "rules" of the greater society. An example of the way the overriding atmosphere and the specific interventions worked in tandem can be seen in the directives by the teacher to the children to make "new friends." These instructions were taking place in a context of great freedom, and thus acquired a particular weight and seriousness which would have been lacking in a more authoritarian classroom environment.

Regarding race, the findings of the study were that the children did not observably discriminate or exclude on the basis of race. One black child included on the basis of race. A stereotypic notion of ethnicity was reported to be held by only one of the white children, but several of the children, black and white, had a strong awareness of race and skin color as a basis for social identity.

The teacher did not consciously manipulate the environment, nor give directives regarding race the way she did gender, partially because there was no observable problem with race segregation, as there was with gender, and partially because she herself was not as comfortable or as aware of what might comprise racial issues as she was about gender. She also did not feel she should bring up potentially powerful emotional topics until the children showed the need; and in this case, they provided few direct cues for intervention.

The social relations in the school did not embody the multicultural realities of our society. All of the school's staff were white, and all of the teachers of the early grades were female, whereas the director of the school was male. This is a power relation the children well understood, as they demonstrated during an outdoor argument over control of the bushes, when it was finally decided that the highest authority at the school was Jim, the director, for "he's the boss of the Children's School." The fact that the school's very staffing is a continual reinforcer of cultural stereotypic notions of sex and race inequality is a limitation of the school, and the teacher provided few other experiences which could have created a reality contradictory to those stereotypes.

Thus, although the teacher was committed and ingenious in continually being aware of gender segregation patterns in the classroom and in creating an environment which would discourage those patterns, she may ultimately be defeated by the broader system of which her classroom was a part, unless the entire school makes a radical commitment to changing its own structures in a more egalitarian direction.

Directions for Future Research

The success of this study illuminating some of the dimensions of the relationship between teacher behavior, classroom atmosphere and children's behavior regarding gender and racial issues, demonstrates the need for further direct observational studies of young children regarding these topics. This need was particularly perceived several times in the course of the research. One of the largest topics which this research suggests is that of teacher strategies. What is effective and what is not? What is most effective? Can the strategies identified in this study be applied in isolation from each other and/or from the context of this type of open classroom? Was it the philosophy of the classroom more than the particular intervention tactics which caused the decrease in segregated play? Numerous studies of classrooms, including various permutations of the variables identified in this study, will have to be done in order to answer these questions successfully.

Other topics to be addressed in future research deal with finding out why the children's behavior is so often sex-typed in the first place. One small but interesting project would be to investigate the relationship between girls' behavior and their clothing. Do girls who wear pants

to school behave differently? What is the role of the clothing here, and what is the role of other factors which have determined the choice of clothing?

Another project could deal with the speculation made in this study that children with uncertain identities rely more heavily upon racial categories and stereotypic gender qualities than those with a more solid sense of self. For example, a boy who played and talked "tough" in order to be accepted by his peers also identifies strongly as a white male. Another four-year old boy, who was different from his peers in being able to read at almost an adult level, was the one who initiated "girl-catcher" and "all boys' clubs." Is there a relation? Was he simply more cognitively aware of these misogynic structures existing in the wider world than his young peers and therefore adapting them to his play earlier than the other children, just as he learned to read earlier? This study did not focus on individuals as much as on group behavior, but it would be interesting to follow individual children and relate their behavior to their individual circumstances: for if insecurity is significantly related to sexist and racist behavior, then the work that teachers do in helping children feel comfortable and good about themselves is as critical to changing their sexist and racist behavior as are the types of intervention strategies employed specifically to that end.

Another area to investigate is the fostering of democratic relations in a classroom. What sorts of measures could be used to determine what, in fact, are democratic relations? In this study, I used the teacher's giving of responsibility for various tasks to the children as a criterion for democracy; but a research project more focused on this aspect of the

classroom could identify more precisely both what constitutes democratic relations, and what teacher strategies help produce such relations. This final direction for future study was really the starting point for this dissertation. We believed, the teacher and I, that the specific non-segregation tactics any teacher invents can only be effective in an atmosphere where everyone is looked at, cared about, and is part of a living community, responsive to and reflective of each individual. Only in such a setting will diversity have positive value. In an authoritarian environment diversity quickly becomes deviance. A truly multicultural approach, therefore, can only be said to exist in an educational setting which is truly democratic. This study is one more bit of evidence demonstrating that this is so.

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APPENDICES

A P P E N D I X A

CODING MANUAL

Columns 1-3:	Number each Event, beginning with 001. Event defined as whatever takes place in one area, and ends when observer finishes observing that area.
Columns 4-5:	Number each observation, beginning with 01. Each day of observing has one observation number.
Column 9:	Date
Column 10:	Day of week, Monday-Friday
Column 11:	Inside = I. Outside = O.
Columns 12-13:	Location. Each area inside room and each area in large outdoor yard has a code, as follows:

Locations

Inside

50 - Block area split in half

50A - Part close to work bench

51 - Block area

52 - Water/sand table

53 - Cubbies by water/sand table

54 - Cubbies by woodwork

55 - Woodwork

56 - Large round table (cooking/art/special projects)

57 - Art

58 - Library corner

59 - Math/game corner table

60 - Table/science/games

61 - Games/science corner/easel sometimes

62 - Office

63 - Small office

64 - Snack tables

65 - Whole inner room during reading to self time and meeting time

66 - Center space in inner room

67 - Singing space in 3's room

68 - Choice Board

99 - Unknown

Outside

01 - Rope swing

02 - Sandbox

03 - Larger climber by sandbox

04 - Open field area next to rope swing

05 - Little roped-in yard (3's space)

06 - Digging area - dirt near rope swing

07 - Large climber to side of building by five-year old class

08 - Cargo net

09 - Pump and water trough

10 - Large climber by bushes up hill from pump

11 - Well-like hole near sandbox

12 - Large bushes way in back of yard

13 - Smaller bushes up by little climber

14 - Rope/wire area stretched between two trees in woods

15 - In far woods (off school grounds)

16 - Slide/climber by cargo net

17 - Grassy area between slide/climber and bushes

18 - Woods next to cargo net

19 - Wall of building

Columns 14-15: Number of girls involved. This includes the total number of girls present in the area at any time during the event.
Code for unknown total = 00
Code for whole class = AL
When # girls and # boys = AL, % of boys at beginning and end of event = 60 (since boys = 60% of class)

Columns 16-17: Number of boys involved. This includes the total number of boys present in the area at any time during the event.
Code for unknown total = 00
Code for the whole class = AL
When # girls and # boys = AL, % of boys at beginning and end of event = 60 (since boys = 60% of class.)

Columns 18-19: Cross-over child. If one child is with a group of other sex, this child's code will be entered here. See child code at end of manual.

Column 20: Teacher involved. Code when a teacher indicates involvement by directly speaking to children, touching or playing with them. Enter 1. Focused attention on participants. Teacher merely present is not included.

Columns 22-24: Percent of boys at beginning of event. This is calculated by taking percent that boys make of all children at the beginning of recording each event.

Columns 25-27: Percent of boys at end of event. This is calculated by taking percent that boys make of all children at the conclusion of the event being recorded.

Column 28: Discuss race. If children discuss race, code 1. This includes reference to ethnicity, race or nationality.

Column 29: Discuss gender. If children dsicuss gender, code 1. This includes boys saying "no girls allowed" if girls are not present (If present, it is an exclusion.)

Column 30: Discuss other differences. If children discuss other differences, code 1. This includes differences about peopls' characterisitics, food, religion, clothing and differences in family composition.

Column 31: Seating segregation. This only applies to time when entire group seated together, at snack, lunch or meeting time. Code U if unknown, 1 if segregated. Definition of segregated: More than 2/3 of children sitting next to same-sex child on at least one side.

Columns 40-41: Excludes. Code the number indicating gender of excluder. Definition of excluding: actively excluding another, verbally or physically; e.g., "You can't play with us," or "You can't sit here, this seat's taken," or pushing away physically.
Code 01 - Male(s) excludes male(s)
02 - Male(s) excludes female(s)
03 - Female(s) excludes female(s)
04 - Female(s) excludes male(s)

Columns 42-43: Includes Code # indicating gender of includer and includee. Verbally invites to play, to future activity, or a seat. Includes statement, "Are you my friend?"

Columns 44-51: Codes the child or children who were the actors in excluding or including (See child code at end of manual.)

Columns 52-59: Codes the child or children who were the targets in being excluded or included (See child code at end of manual.)

Column 68: Asks help/is refused. Code number of instances per event. This only includes verbal requests for help, from one child to another, when child is refused or ignored.

Column 69: Helps. Code # of instances per event. Child assists another child physically or verbally. Includes giving information, nurturance, warning of danger. This does not include clean-up time which is a class obligation.

Column 70: Shares. Code # of instances per event. Child shares objects or food or space with another child. When toy requires sharing for use (e.g., seesaw), it is not included unless sharing is made explicit. Two children reading a book together is sharing.

Column 72: Affection. Code # of instances per event. Child demonstrates affection for another child, physically (walking with arm around another child, kissing) or verbally: "I like you," "I love you."

Column 73: Hits/pushes. Code # of instances per event. Child demonstrates physical body aggression against another child, with body contact, pinching, or aggression against another child with an object.

Column 74: Verbal aggression. Code # of instances per event. Child demonstrates verbal aggression against another through direct negative statement. Does not include teasing or random swearing. Does include facial expressions of aggression (making faces at each other).

Column 75: Object aggression. Code # of instances per event. Child is aggressive to another through the medium of an object, or over disputed possession of an object, or displays aggression to an object. Includes grabbing, taking, fighting over possession. Includes pouring water purposefully over another's toy, or holding a hammer up to a glass door in striking position.

Column 76: Teacher non-gender value statements. Code # of instances per event. Includes any direct statement teacher makes to children regarding values having to do with other than gender. Does not include directions to children clearly based on values unless they are part of an explicit value statement (e.g., Directing children to share an object is not included, but a statement about sharing as a value is, and the statement might include the direction.)

Column 77: Teacher gender value statements. Code # of instances per event. Include any statement teacher makes to children regarding value related to gender. Does not include directions to children based on gender-values unless they are part of an explicit value statement.

Coding Children

(arranged from oldest to youngest)

Girls	Boys
01	10
02	11
03	12
04	13
06	14
06	15
	16
09 - unknown girl	17
	18
	19 - unknown boy

(names withheld to assure confidentiality)

A P P E N D I X B

SAMPLE OF FIELD NOTES AND CODING PROCEDURE

The coding, as outlined in the Coding Manual, Appendix A, was done from running records. A sample of one of these records follows, with a description of how it was coded.

Sample 1, Event 66

Henry is doing a puzzle (a hard one!) near Barbara and Louise, who are at the easel). He begins talking to them.

Henry: You see the Pope on TV yesterday? I saw the Pope yesterday. I saw buses at the Newman Center. They went to see the Pope.

Barbara: Last night I went to the bus stop. I couldn't count even all there was so much. You know how many? 23. I couldn't count even but my mother did and she said 23.

Louise: What colors? Black?

Barbara: Black?

(One of the girls): A black sky cause it's gonna be raining.

Henry: You know what? In the sky is fire.

Barbara: I know. You know what is the fastest in the world! Light.

Louise: I know.

Barbara: There's plenty yellows for everybody. (They are both using yellow magic markers on one picutre they're drawing together at the easel.)

Louise: I'll make yellow rain.

Barbara: Wouldn't it be neat if there was two suns in the sky?

Louise: And two moons?

Barbara: And just two clouds in the sky.

Louise: No, no clouds.

Barbara: I'll make a little cloud. He's gonna be saying Hi. H. I. Hey, I'm still making a rainbow. Maybe shall I use black?

Louise: No, I hate black.

Barbara: Only shiny black and shiny brown, right?

Louise: First I use green. (She enumerated many colors.)

Barbara: Louise, look at this house (giggles).

Louise: Barbara, I need to sit over there. Could you move?

Barbara: I don't need to sit there. (She moves. They're on their knees in front of the easel.)

Barbara: Louise, today are you going to the pet store to find a new goldfish? Did you sign up? Oh yeah, you did. Louise, this bird has a hat on. (Repeats three times).

Louise: Yes, and look at my rainbow.

Barbara: Rainbows aren't the biggest things in the world... (They discuss the bigness of rainbows.)

Henry: Birds...you gotta make lots of birds.

Barbara: We don't have to. This is where the bird's nest is.

Henry: Is the bird moving?

Barbara: Yes, the bird is flying to her nest. Louise, she's flying to her nest, because there are two eggs. Louise, the eggs are hatching (repeats two times). Louise, isn't this a tall tree, Louise? It reaches to the sunset.

Louise: Ooh that's a tall tree...the sunset...ooh I have to make the rain.

Henry: What is that thing you're making?

Louise: The sunset.

Henry looks at the picture and then works on the puzzle more. It is about a 100-piece jigsaw puzzle of a horse.

Henry: I can't get...

Barbara: Louise, look at my bird.

Louise: That's a funny funny bird. (Barbara's birds are drawn better than most adults could do.)

Barbara: Louise, see how tiny I could make them. (They talk colors in the rainbow that Louise is working on.)

Barbara: She's going to have a skirt (She is drawing a girl.) It's not a bird, it's a girl. But that bird in the sky has a hat on.

Louise: Birds don't wear hats.

Barbara: I know, but the bird stole it from a person. Louise, it's falling on this lady's best hat. She doesn't even notice it.

Louise: The egg is?

Barbara: (giggles) Yes. Louise, she has put this hat in the freezer and the flowers are hard now, so when the egg falls on her the egg will hatch. Now I'm going to make a basket falling with eggs in it. I'll make a person walking in the sky.

Louise: I'm going to have to go over your house, Barbara.

Barbara: I don't care. Louise, look this is a statue in the air (repeats three times).

Louise: Ah! A statue.

Barbara: It's God's statue. Look at his nose. It's a person who got born in a freezer (laughs)..belly button... big fat booby (repeats three times)...she's gonna be wearing a grass skirt that you can see through. See her penis. (They laugh.)

Louise: She's don't have penises. (The woman in the picture has large breasts.)

Barbara: I know. She's going to the bathroom. Oh Louise, look at her big fat boobies (repeats three times). (They laugh.)

Louise: Be quiet (laughing).

Barbara: Look at her hat (laughing). That's her hat with crinkles on it. Louise, do you always do this on your pictures? How come you said you hated black? (Louise is making a huge black part on the picture.)

Louise: I don't. I love black (They laugh). (They discuss black and yellow. Sarah comes and looks at the picture.)

Barbara: Now this statue...this lady is going to be carrying a basket.

Louise: Of what?

Barbara: Of eggs. I never said this was a statue. Louise, Louise, Louise, there's (sic) I want to tell you a secret I don't want Sarah to hear. There's gonna be boobies floating through the air. (They laugh.) There's gonna be milk coming out of the boobies. Look. (They laugh.) Now Sarah can come back. Ask her if she wants to see some boobies. (Barbara has made a picture of breasts with milk coming out, in the sky of her picture.) You're a wrinkled Pierre...boobies floating through the air. (Barbara says it over and over. They are both laughing all the time now.)

Sarah: What is happening here?

Barbara: I can't tell you one of the parts. Can you guess? (Sarah sees the sun and says it. She goes to get a paper to write down what they say about the picture.)

Barbara: You tell her.

Louise: You tell her. We have to do that first. (They laugh.) O

Sarah: You're so silly.

Both: We'll point to it.

Louise: They're boobies. They're boobies.

Sarah: You mean the breasts.

Louise: Boobies.

Barbara: There's milk coming from them.

Sarah: There's no body.

Barbara: They fell off of a body. They weren't glued on well.

Sarah: It's getting too crowded in this room for two to be drawing...unless you want to tell me more.

Barbara: Someone stole one of the markers. (They move away from the area. A few minutes later Barbara is drawing alone.)

This event was coded as follows:

It was given an event number, 66, and an observation number, 09, because it was the sixty-sixth discrete event recorded and it was heard on the ninth observing day. It was dated, 10/02, and the day of the week, Tuesday, recorded as a 2. It occurred inside, code I, and took place in location 61 (games/science, easel sometimes). Then the number of girls and boys appearing during the total duration of the event was coded, 2 girls, 1 boy. The code number for Henry, #16, was entered, since he was the "cross-over child," or one person of a different gender than the majority of the group. This was done to see whether the same child was always or usually integrating the group (which turned out not to be the case). Then the teacher was coded as being involved, since she was interacting with the children during part of the event. The percentage of boys at the beginning (33%) and end (0%) of the event was recorded, and a discussion of gender was coded as occurring. This was coded because of the girls' talk about "She's don't have penises." Discussion of race and discussion of other differences were both coded 0, since they did not occur; and all other possible behaviors included on the coding form were coded 0, meaning not occurring, except sharing, which was coded as a 1, signifying the sharing of the easel and paper.

A P P E N D I X C

DAILY PERCENTAGE OF BOYS IN AREAS WITH GROUPS

A count of areas was made, using the 9 a.m. spot observations, showing the daily percentage of boys in each area which had groups in it.

Table 3, based on the 9 a.m. observations, shows the daily percentage of boys in each area which had groups in it. Its function is to demonstrate that boys in this classroom used all areas of the room, and did not exclusively use any particular area, as sometimes happens in early childhood rooms where one area becomes "male-dominated." It also was used to see how the block area's use changed as the teacher made conscious environmental and rule changes in that area designed to change its gender use pattern.

TABLE 3

Daily Percentage of Boys in Areas with Groups

	9/28	10/02	10/05	10/09	10/15	10/16	10/18	10/25	10/30	11/02	11/05	11/06	1/07	11/12	11/16	11/26	11/28	11/30	12/3	12/7	12/12	12/13	12/17	12/18	12/19
Art		75	40					50		60			100	67		40		100	50	100	50		33	50	50
Blocks	100	33				100	67		100	80	50	100					100	67	67	100	100		100		
Math		50			33	75						100			75		50		67	33	100	75			67
R-Table		100		100					75					50				100		33	67	50		50	33
Games	100			67				100								33								100	
Water Table (Sand)	100											33	33			100							67		
Woodwork						67									75		50		67		67	50			
Library																	100		50					100	
Offices 1) 2)		100 0									100														
Cubbies																									

This table only includes groups (2 or more children) in areas.

Blank spaces indicate no groups.

APPENDIX D

PRO-SOCIAL AND ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOR OF CHILDREN: THE CHANGE OVER TIME

The coding of each event included three behaviors described as pro-social: helps, shares, shows affection. Three behaviors are defined as anti-social: hits/pushes, verbal aggression, object aggression. Additionally, categories of exclusion and inclusion of children by each other were included in the coding. All of these behaviors are defined in the Coding Manual, Appendix A.

The frequency of these behaviors was analyzed with chi-square tests to determine whether there was any significant change over time. For purposes of testing, each of these behaviors was limited to one per event; e.g., if both hitting and verbal aggression occurred in one event, only one was recorded when the behaviors were both being considered in one table.

The following behaviors were analyzed for change over time:

1) Monthly, September to December, the three anti-social behaviors plus exclusion. p = Nonsignificant.

2) Monthly, September to December, exclusions only. p = Nonsignificant.

3) Bimonthly, September/October and November/December, the three anti-social behaviors. p = Nonsignificant.

4) Bimonthly, September/October and November/December, the three anti-social behaviors, including more than one behavior per event. p = Nonsignificant.

5) Monthly, September to December, hits/pushes. χ^2 (3) = 5.06, $p < .20$. This level of significance was not at a level to draw conclusive statements about change.

6) Bimonthly, September/October and November/December, hits/pushes. χ^2 (1) = 3.00, $p < .10$. This level of significance was not at a level to draw conclusive statements about change.

7) September and December, hits/pushes. p = Nonsignificant.

8) Monthly, September to December, verbal aggression. p = Nonsignificant.

9) Monthly, September to December, the three pro-social behaviors plus inclusion. p = Nonsignificant.

10) Bimonthly, September/October and November/December, inclusions only. χ^2 (1) = 3.38, $p < .10$.

11) Monthly, September to December, inclusions only. χ^2 (3) = 5.74, $p < .20$.

None of these levels of significance were great enough to draw conclusive statements about change. These behaviors were examined to see whether there was a relation between changed pro-social and anti-social behavior and the decrease in gender segregation. None could be ascertained.