A Study of Cultural Biases in the Youngstown City School's Language Arts

Programs of the First Graders in the "Contact Zone"

By

**Clyde Bert Williams** 

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## Dedication

This project is dedicated to our recently departed African elder, now joining the ranks of our great ancestors; Professor Reubin Ellis PhD. (June 12, 1932 to June 19, 2005).

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Clyde Bert Williams, Student

November 4, 2005

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### Abstract

The purpose of this study is two-fold: first, it openly discusses our national and local heritage of racism as potential impediments—as opposed to either genetics or cultural impositions, which are internal to the affected individual or group—to the pedagogy of the English language for students of African descent. Secondly, and most importantly, this thesis concerns the strategies utilized by the Youngstown City School system to overcome any obstacles—including traditional cultural biases of society—in its Language Arts programs for first graders.

One of the tools used by the district is the Houghton Mifflin language arts textbooks for the first grade, which were examined for any cultural or racial biases in their storylines and characterizations of human beings. The district's other tools are state and federal programs, which were reviewed for content and function. Fortunately, after several decades of deterioration in academic achievement and low standardized tests scores, YCS system seems to be at least headed in the right direction with its Language Arts program, which is the only scholastic area YCS students surpassed on mandatory federal and state standards.

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## Acknowledgements

I am a proud African from Youngstown, Ohio and a content product of the Youngstown City School systems (YCS), graduating from East High in 1979. Despite my partiality for my hometown, I noticed that there have always been racial problems in this city, particularly within our school system. The current condition of hopelessness and nihilism that is felt by many of Youngstown's African youths is caused by the deterioration of most of its neighborhoods and lack of gainful employment for Africans in Youngstown, which confirms my suspicions that Youngstown's political and business leaders, especially those in charge of the educational system, purposely perpetuated lies, myths and fallacies of White supremacy/ Black inferiority, simply to sustain the social caste hierarchy as it is now; with the Youngstown's African community politically powerless, economically victimized and on the bottom rung of the ladder.

First and foremost, I want to acknowledge and thank my ancestors, and all the inspirational, intellectual and dynamic leaders, authors and scholars who were instrumental in my cognitive development, which, by the way, led to my maturation through this extremely complex subject. They are the ones that truly sent me on my path to better understanding and enlightenment. My acknowledgement and appreciation also extends to Kenneth King (a.k.a. Brother K), who is the host of "Let's Talk About It," Alex Alexander (a.k.a. Martin Mangleman), "The Perfect Example of Black Rage," Greg Andrews (a.k.a. Sugarbear), the original host of "Let's Talk About It," and additional hosts of Youngstown's African Liberation Talk Radio: Wes Parker, Mike McNair, Herman Hill and Tom Pope, all of whom introduced me to my aforementioned ancestors, scholars, authors and leaders.

I would be remiss if I failed to mention and thank the owners of WGFT, 1330 A.M (Frankie Halfacker, Judge Robert Douglas and Attorney Percy Squires); together these Brothers have brought the only African owned, operated and orientated talk- radio station to the northeast region of Ohio, the Mahoning Valley and Youngstown. I praise them for their collective courage and determination to provide this area with African Liberation radio, because this genre is directly responsible for the cognitive development in academics, Black Liberation and African Nationalism for Brothers and Sisters and myself, who was stranded in a rudderless boat in the dangerous sea of ignorance. Without WGFT African talk radio, I would have considered myself, "just another nigger, getting by in a White man's world." I can honestly state that it was the books this radio station reviewed along with all the other valuable information it provided that lead me to re-enroll into Youngstown State University for my undergraduate and subsequent graduate degree. Brother K, specifically, has used his scholarly experience and knowledge as a "student of history" to help me with concepts, facts and ideas about our collective circumstances and conditions as Africans spread throughout the diaspora.

Secondly, I want to thank my Thesis committee, Drs. Salvatore Attardo, Steven Brown and Victor Wan Tatah for their forbearance, charity and tolerance that also helped me through this pedagogical process of educating Clyde. Additionally, I appreciate, Drs. Stephanie Tingley, Gail Okawa, and the various professors of the Youngstown State University English department, thank you. And thank you for also introducing me to authors like Edward Said, Paulo Freire, Piri Thomas and Noam Chomsky, the most egalitarian of the academic authors I have experienced to date. I want to extend my appreciation and thanks to members of the Youngstown City School Board; Jackie Taylor, President, Dr. Wendy Webb, Superintendent, and other members, and especially Dr. Martha Bruce, who has been so kind and generous with her time and counsel, allowing me the opportunity to gain some insight into the progression of Youngstown's language arts programs for the first grade. I also appreciate the loan of the first grade textbooks and the listing of supplemental and support materials, acquired by Cathy Dorbish, the Principal of North Elementary, which further aided my investigation of the YCS language arts program.

Lastly, but no where in the least, I shall acknowledge my loving wife, Alberta, and my children, for they are the reason I persevered through this whole thing as an example to them of what is expected from them in the future, in terms of their continuing education. My hope is that they complete their academic pursuits earlier in life than I did, because education and youth offers so much more opportunity than it does when one is elderly. So, David, Eillan and Alliyah thanks for your patience and understanding of my diversion of family resources (time, energy and finances) for my education. And Alberta thanks for understanding why I had to hog the computer all the time.

### Introduction

1

In <u>The Souls of Black Folk</u> (1903), W. E. B. Dubois admonishes Americans, " . . . for the problem in the twentieth century is the problem of the color line"(v). This warning extends likewise into the twenty-first century society, particularly the educational system, because Africans still do not have their citizenship recognized nor accepted by the hegemony, which is manifested in the inequity of opportunity Africans receive from this society. The dichotomy of the "color line" is that Africans struggle for the rights<sup>1</sup> of citizenship, meanwhile Europeans (and Asians) enjoy the privileges of their citizenship. This disparity of opportunity or citizenship is often based upon theories of cognitive achievement or intellectual performance gaps between the various races or cultures—with Africans rating lower than both Europeans and Asians—thus deserving less rights and privileges.

Thus far, the standard argument for this phenomenon has been "nature versus nurture," which places the responsibility for the disparity upon the individual or the collective group of students. In other words, the fault for not achieving or keeping up with prescribed standards is either placed upon the students' genetic dispositions or of their home environments. Of course, the problem with this nature versus nurture debate is that it excludes any other possible or reasonable causes for the academic disparities between the races.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Whether it is called "Civil Rights" used in the mass rebellion of the 1960s or "Rights of a Human Being" from Malik Shabazz during that same time period, or "Economic and Equal Rights" that is currently being debated in public by Claud Anderson, James Clingman, Honorable Minister Louis Farrakhan or many others, the main goal is obtaining the rights and privileges of citizenship for the masses of Africans, whose ancestors were enslaved for centuries within this country, yet thus far have been ignored.

Areas that may directly or indirectly affect language development of the student, like the content of teaching materials, distribution of educational materials and the heritage or genesis of our educational system may be just as responsible for substandard test scores of students (either individually or collectively) than both nature and nurture combined.

Although it is believed that there is a natural relationship between language and culture, that relationship has not been firmly linked to the cognitive abilities or intellectual development of either individuals or group cultural affiliation. The purpose of this study is to examine how the language arts program of the Youngstown City School system—which instructs pupils in a more unified standard for the usage of the English language-impacts those students, and to review any other possible influences (other than "nature versus nurture") that may affect the standardized test results of these students. The first grade language arts textbooks, language arts augmentation programs and standardized test scores were chosen because first graders have been socialized into classroom etiquette and are starting their collective efforts in the skills of reading and writing. Kindergartners<sup>2</sup> in public school systems like Youngtown are not necessarily taught the structure or process of sentence building-they are still working out their phonics and word association. Additionally, the Ohio Board of Education's annual Report Card provides a unique opportunity to observe how the district's language arts program extends

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Kindergarten is a unification indoctrination process, where students are first exposed to a social function, without their parents present. These students must learn and comply with established codes of conduct accordingly. Although children belong to one identified group or another (and often their home life is also different)), they all must learn to adhere to the many social norms and mores of society.

to older children/students. Despite the students' various home cultures and languages, the classroom imposes one unified standard that all students must comply with.

The curriculum of the YCS district's language arts program is reviewed for two reasons; first for its use of stereotypical characters, to include language variations, like African America Vernacular English (AAVE), and second, how these materials relate to the standards of the Ohio Board of Education and the new paradigm of "Process over Product" exposed by writing pedagogues. The test scores of the children will be also presented. The distribution and history of our educational system shall be investigated and reviewed for their part, if any, in the results pertaining to the standards of achievement by our pupils. Because this study deals with racial and cross-cultural subject matters, particularly in areas that Mary Louis Pratt called the "contact zone<sup>3</sup>"—utilized here in connection with the classroom—understanding cultures is instrumental to this study. It is the conflict which occurs when cultures and races intermingle with one another that create the contact zone of the classroom.

## **Definitions of Terms and Assumptions**

Before this discussion proceeds, definitions of terms and assumptions are presented for clarification. I have chosen to designate racial groups by their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>According to Marcyliena Morgan, "Contact zones" are social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today. Morgan says, "The fact is, when two or more languages come together, two or more peoples have come together and the result is always about power and identity" (Morgan 12).

traditionally recognized continent<sup>4</sup> of origin (e. g. African, Asian or European), rather than by color adjectives (Black, White, Yellow, Red or Brown), which may be offensive. In the occurrence where I am quoting a source and they do use color adjectives, I have capitalized<sup>5</sup> the first letter as one would for a proper noun. Each of the three recognized continental racial groups could be further divided into ethnic variations or subcultures of the overall named group.

Africans, throughout the diaspora, with genetic ancestral roots to Africa, have had a difficult time in owning or embracing their racial identity because of their collective powerlessness in society as a result from colonization, forced exile and banishment from their traditional homelands, and finally being enslaved. Many Africans have accepted any name ascribed to them by their oppressors. Asa Hilliard in "What Do We Need to Know Now?: Race, Identity, Hegemony and Education" (2001) says, "We did not understand how and why we were coerced by Europeans to change our ethnic names to names that caused us to become preoccupied with aspects of our phenotype, mainly our skin color, hair texture and facial features" (Hilliard 3). Hilliard continues, "The Europeans were looking for names that dehumanized and subordinated us, that contained us in our physical being, separating us from our minds, souls and spirits" (Hilliard

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> American and Australia, the other two of five continents, were populated early in antiquity through migration by segments of the other continents: the Indians of North and South American through from the Asians crossing the Bering Straight and the Aborigines migrating from the southern tip of Africa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> This practice directly comes from the argument DuBois had with the media of his day, for the term used most often in reference to Africans of the European adjective for Blacks of "Negro." The newspapers did not capitalize the /N/ which DuBois criticized until they stopped the practice. Likewise I feel that references to human beings, by color adjective, should be considered a pronoun, and therefore should be distinguished in written form by capitalizing the first letter.

3). Michael Eric Dyson, in <u>Is Bill Cosby Right?</u> (2005), also describes the variations of African identity. He suggests, "The stages of Black identity refer to how Blacks dynamically negotiate offensive, misleading or troubling information about Black life" (31). Dyson discusses the stereotypes, archetypes and antitypes of societal demarcations that Africans have to contend with as a part of a national (and world wide) identity (Dyson 32).

The next two items are assumptions that are related to one another: The first assumption is the personification of inanimate objects or placing human behavior on non-human things. So that there is no confusion, when terms of generality are used in this paper like, "big business, government or academia" along with other terms like, "the south" or the naming of a particular region or specific places in this country, it should be understood that places and things (such as systems, organizations, institutions or agencies) do not discriminate, only people discriminate. And it is only the decision-makers and power brokers, who control those designated "places or things" that continually perpetuate cultural oppression or distribute privileges and rights of citizenship in this society. The next assumption is the anonymity of individuals, who exercise significant power that allows them the ability to actually perform acts of worldwide discrimination upon entire groups of people. Anonymity is another distinguishing trait of racists that Neely Fuller identifies in The United Independent Compensatory Code/System/Concept: (1972)<sup>6</sup>. He argues that there are three

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Although Neely Fuller is without the standard "academic credentials" of most acknowledged scholars, and his work is self-published, various professionals and academics have used his <u>The</u> <u>United Independent Compensatory Code/System/Concept:</u> (1972) because of the interest in his theory of racisms. For instance, Dr. Frances Cress Welsing, a psychiatrist and college professor,

stratified classifications of people: 1) White supremists, 2) Whites and 3) Non-Whites. Although there are more Whites than there are White supremists, and even more Non-Whites than the White population worldwide, the concentration of power, primarily though economic and military strength has made control over the planet universally held in the hands of White supremists. This was done with the development of Europe as a global power, which started with the spread of European imperialism and capitalism; Europeans increased their dominance over the world from exploitation of resources from other lands and people and the slave trade.

It is understood that all human beings have discriminatory tastes and can, and do, liberally discriminate; it is a matter of personal choice. However, cultural oppression, or more specifically, "racism" occurs when individuals within a group have the power to affect the rights and privileges of citizenship along with the economic condition of another group, thereby effectively marginalizing that group out of society and its power structure. And contrary to the deceptive campaign<sup>7</sup> concerning cultural oppression, from conservative elements within the hegemony, racism only thrives through the exercise of one group's unfettered power over other groups. In their article "Towards a Theory of Minority Discourse," Abdul JanMohamed and David Lloyd state:

praises Fuller for his insight and specifically acknowledges his work, in her <u>Isis Papers: The Keys</u> to <u>Colors</u> (1991). Khari Enaharo, an administrator for the city of Columbus, Ohio, has built his book <u>Race Code War</u> (2003) on the principles formulated in Fuller's work. Haki Madhubuti, Poet and professor for the Chicago State University, mentions Fuller's works in his <u>Enemies: The</u> <u>Clash of Races</u> (2001) and Raymond Winbush from Fisk University uses Fuller's materials in <u>The</u> <u>Warrior Method</u> (2001). In time, with this material destruction, the cultural formations, languages and diverse modes of identity of the "minoritized peoples" are irreversibly affected, if not eradicated, by the effects of their material *deracination* from the historically developed social and economic structures in terms of which alone they "made sense." With a certain savage consistency, this very truncation of development becomes the mark and the legitimation of marginalization (JanMohamed & Lloyd 4 emphasis mine).

Therefore, Africans<sup>8</sup> cannot practice racism because they do not have the means, power or control over any resource, capital or industry to marginalize or deracinate any other group.

Finally, and despite not being the focus of attention for this project—while being closely related to it—there is the assumption that Africans are either academically lazy or genetically deficient in regards to their speech patterns identified as Black speech, Black English, African American Vernacular English, Ebonics. Conversely, as Michael Dyson states, "Black English grows out of the fierce linguisticality of Black existence . . . for [African] communication and survival" (Dyson 72). According to Dyson, "complex linguistic rules emerged from the existential and political exigencies that shaped Black destiny" that would not result in punishment or death (Dyson 73).

Europeans have demonstrated, during the course of history, an unreasonable jealous wrath towards Africans, who display their educational accomplishments through command of the Queen's English. Such intellectual and articulate Africans, with a vast vocabulary, were considered "uppity niggers," and a threat to the well-established social order, thereby making them worthy of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Africans as a majority are still in the same condition because of the cultural and physical oppression done by colonization and enslavement of its continent and people.

the cowardly collective<sup>9</sup> act of lynching. In Without Sanctuary (2000), by Leon

Litwack states:

The criminal justice system (the law, the courts, and the legal profession) operated with ruthless efficiency in upholding the absolute power of Whites to command the subordination and labor of Blacks. But even this overwhelmingly display of superiority did not afford White southerners the internal security they sought or relieve their fears of "uppity," "troublesome," ambitious, and independent-minded Black men and women who had not yet learned the rituals of deference and submission (Allen 12).

This "rituals of deference and submission" refers to public displays of inferiority and subjugation. For example, regardless of social or religious status within the African community or independent accomplishments, Africans still had to step into the gutter while bowing their heads and tipping their hats when Europeans cross their paths. Dyson says, "... African Americans were required to dress, walk, comport themselves, and direct their gaze in a manner that registered uncomplaining subservience" (Dyson 108). Any defiance or resistance to the status quo and a large number of the hegemony would react violently. Litwack explains, "In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, two or three Black southerners were hanged, burned at the stake or quietly murdered every week" (Allen 12 emphasis mine). According to Litwack, "Even the accurate body count of Black lynching victims could not possibly reveal how hate and fear transformed ordinary White men and women into mindless murderers and sadistic torturers . . . "(Allen 12). The lynch mob was made up of people from all walks of life within the hegemony. Litwack says:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Members of the hegemony only become bold enough to gather in a lynch mob when they have vastly superior numbers against the victim[s]. When it is one on one or equal numbers amongst the combatants, reason then prevails and conversation instead of violence takes place.

Drawn from all classes in southern White society, from the "redneck" to the "best people," lynchers came together in an impressive show of racial and community solidarity. ... Ordinary and respectable people, few of whom had any difficulty justifying their atrocities in the name of maintaining the social and racial order and the purity of the Anglo-Saxon race (Allen 19).

One of the primary reasons for such brutal terroristic attacks on Africans was "White emotional and recreational starvation" (Allen 26). Another reason for lynching, according to Litwack, was "periodically it became necessary to remind a new generation of Blacks of their place . . ." (Allen 27). He goes on to state, "Some lynching took place for no other apparent reason than to bring down a Black person who had managed to achieve a measure of economic success" (Allen 27).

It was not unusual for the hegemony to get stirred up in a violent mode, especially when they vastly outnumber their potential victim[s]. Africans understood the circumstances they were faced with and adopted mannerisms that would make them less venerable to the threats of being an unintended target. Thus, the development of non-challenging, non-threatening and socially entertaining<sup>10</sup> characters, who knew his or her place, expressed in AAVE gave them more chances of survival than any other behavior at that time. This collective survival skill of AAVE lasted for many generations of Africans and it has become internalized and embraced within the psyche of African culture here in the United States. Dyson says, "Black English captures the beautiful cadences, sensuous tones, kinetic rhythms, forensic articulations, and idiosyncrasies of expression that form the Black vernacular voice" (Dyson 72).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Entertainment spoken here was one that made a fool of him or her self: a buffoon.

Having reviewed the definitions and assumptions, this report will now proceed with formation of its structure. This report has two halves; the first will concentrate directly on Youngstown. Chapter one reviews the geographic and socio-economic development of this area. Chapter two presents a snapshot of the current condition of the pupils in the district from Ohio Board of Education's (OBE) Proficiency Report Card. Chapter three examines the language arts program of the district, which includes a study of the textbooks, for biases and compliance with OBE's goals, supportive programs and their results from standardized test.

The second half of this report discusses the potential indirect influences of the cultural disparities in academic achievement that affect the district's students. Chapter four discusses America's heritage in education along with the various theories of genetic deficiencies in African intelligence quotients (IQ). Chapter five concentrates on the participants of the "Contact Zone" of the classroom.

## Chapter One

This chapter discusses the history of Youngstown, as it relates to its economic development and population growth, along with the xenophobia, which created a heritage of bigotry. There is a direct correlation between the poor socio-economic condition of this community and the nihilism, felt by Africans, who are often the most affected by those debilitating conditions.

## The Service Area of Youngstown City Schools

The history, development and racial influences of the Mahoning Valley in general and, Youngstown in particular, is chronicled by both Howard Aley's <u>A</u> <u>Heritage to Share</u> (1975) and William Jenkins's <u>Steel Valley Klan</u> (1990). Howard Aley asserts that Mahoning County got its name from the indigenous inhabitants, who called it "Mahonik," which means, "at the salt lick." This name also identifies this valley's first industry; salt production that was started by the indigenous people then taken over by the migrant European settlers (Aley 1). In 1797, John Young purchased the plot of land, next to the Mahoning River, from the Connecticut Land Company that later became "Young's town." Nestled half way between two mid-sized cities (Cleveland and Pittsburgh) and the larger metropolises (Chicago and New York), William Jenkins says, "Youngstown served as a way station and trade center for migrants crossing the Alleghanies via Pittsburgh" (16). The canal opened up a valuable trade route through Warren, Youngstown and Pittsburgh, which in turn opened up commerce for the Mahoning Valley by 1830 (Jenkins 16). The first iron ore blast furnace began operations in Youngstown by 1846, and with the growth of the iron industry the population likewise grew an extra 5,000 inhabitants by 1867.

At that time, According to Aley, the primary immigrants into this area were English, Welsh, German and Scottish/Irish,<sup>11</sup> like John Young, who migrated from the New England area. The first African resident in Mahoning County was John White, the servant of Edmund Stanley in 1811. Ms. Melinda Knight moved into a West Boardman street home in 1831, making her the first African resident of the city of Youngstown (Aley 46). Canfield was the Mahoning County seat, while Youngstown was simply a small village. However, according to Jenkins, the city changed course in 1892, when two local businessmen, Henry Wick and Joseph G. Butler Jr., decided to switch from iron to steel production. And with assistance from Youngstown's council, in the form of tax abatements and grants, the steel industry came to Youngstown, making it the largest metropolitan center in the valley. Youngstown's population and status exploded-from 45,000 in 1900, into a city of 130,000 people by 1920, and over 177,000 residents by the 1930sforcing the transfer of the county seat from Canfield to Youngstown (Jenkins 16). Youngstown's public school system expanded to a high of over 30,000 students. Africans, like other cultures, migrated into the Mahoning Valley and Youngstown as well. Jenkins describes this African migration as, "the flood of southern Blacks into Youngstown," which, "in the late 1910s had doubled the Black population." The growth of the African community, as Jenkins contends, "did not frighten the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> There are actually two distinct groups of Irish people, the Protestants and the Catholics. This religious divide would be instrumental later on in the socio-political arena in the valley.

White community as much as the appearance of the Klan did the Black community" (Jenkins 159). It was reasonable for Africans to fear the Klan, as Jenkins says:

The granting of political rights to freed Blacks posed a threat to White supremacy and might lead, the Klan feared, to social equality. The beatings, whippings, tar and featherings, and lynchings used to intimidate Blacks politically and socially eventually caused the federal government to outlaw the Klan in 1871 (Jenkins 2).

Hatred, fear and xenophobia did not start in this area with the appearance of the Ku Klux Klan; those traits were already here and helped foster the acceptance of that racist's organization in the valley. Jenkins states, "... the Klan was most successful in cities that were changing the fastest" (Jenkins 160). And fastchanging communities made the older inhabitants of those communities nervous and fearful of what the future would be. It should be remembered that this nation was recovering from a civil war; a westward population expansion and the industrial age began in earnest. Such rapid shifts and increases in population usually create stress throughout various communities. And with the recent migration of Italians and Irish Catholics, the already established Welsh and Germans, who viewed themselves as "100% American," felt that their customs and mores were in jeopardy by their new neighbors, who they considered "strange and immoral." Nevertheless, as Jenkins points out, "In fact, at the first rumors of the Klan's appearance in September 1921, the city council had angrily passed a resolution denouncing the Klan as "un-American, lawless, and a menace to the peace and security of the United States" (Jenkins 1), which was probably a knee-jerk reaction of the council from the reputation the Klan had

created. Although northern cities (like Youngstown) developed an egalitarianism reputation that they gained from their victory in the civil war, over the slaveowning south, racial prejudices and ethnic bigotry was/ is just as prevalent here as it was/is anywhere in the south.

Aley says, "The Klan of the 1920s harassed Jews, Catholics, foreign born citizens and all whom it chose to designate as less than "100% American" (Aley 257). Northern racism followed the societal norm inherited from the same culture as southern racism, which reflects cultural feelings of western superiority and European manifest destiny<sup>12</sup> that allowed acceptance of the Klan from the hegemony in the valley. This acceptance was part of a greater unifying effort by the north to reconcile the differences between their southern brethren after the civil war and reconstruction. Jenkins suggests, "By the 1890s the North had grown weary of intervention, thereby permitting southern states to pass laws disfranchising Blacks and segregating them from White society" (Jenkins 2). Thus the Ku Klux Klan was now accepted in the north in the 1920s after being outlawed throughout the country in 1871.

"The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s" as Jenkins says, "was an intolerant fraternal society composed of White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants" (Jenkins vii). Klan members, as Jenkins study reveals, were not "predominantly lower middle-class WASPs" who "joined the Klan because of economic competition with immigrants." Jenkins state "the Klan drew from all social strata in Youngtown, Ohio in the 1920s, and suggests instead that members admired the Klan

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The feeling that God has entitled Europeans/Caucasians the world and everything in it for their own pleasure and profits, despite many of those lands being occupied by other races and cultures.

commitment to a conservative Protestant moral code." Additionally, Jenkins says, "... members of the pietistic churches flocked to Klan meetings as an indication of their support for reform" (Jenkins cover). In the article "May Hold Ku Klux Klan Rally in District" from the Youngstown Vindicator on September 20, 1965, the anonymous author notes the brief history of the Ku Klux Klan in the Mahoning Valley. The report states that the Klan was led by Col. Evan Aneiren Watkins (who created his own fictitious personal history as intelligence officer from the British army) and Rev. Dr. A. C. Archibald, the charismatic patron of the First Baptist Temple, and drew its membership from the local Protestant community. At one point the Klan was so popular that it held a march with as much as 50,000 hooded members to welcome Imperial Wizard H. W. Evans. Religion and the church were pivotal to the growth of the Klan as well as the women of the church. "The first indication of a link between pietistic Protestantism and the Ku Klux Klan" as Jenkins states, "occurred in November 1922, when Archibald presented a sermon in response to the appearance of the Klan in Youngstown" (Jenkins 31). Female Klan members were called "Kamelias" and shared the same xenophobia as their men. According to Jenkins, "Newly enfranchised women<sup>13</sup> who supported a politics of moralism played a major role in assisting Klan growth and making Ohio one of the more successful Klan realms in the North" (Jenkins cover).

To demonstrate the hypocrisy of some of Youngstown's leading citizens in regard to their racial honesty; Youngstown's mayor Fred Warnock promised the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The Suffrage movement of women won the passage of the Twenty-second Amendment to the United States Constitution that gave women the right to vote and control their own property.

African citizens of Youngstown that he and the city council would resist efforts by the Klan to affect the community. However, he reneged on that promise and became very supportive of the new social and political movement the Klan offered and he built his congressional campaign as part of the Klan moral reforms. Jenkins says, "By November 1923, however, the Klan had changed Warnock's mind. He became not only a member but eventually a grand titan<sup>14</sup>" (Jenkins 1). Fortunately, Warnock lost his congressional bid. Nevertheless, there was more cooperation and collaboration between the city's politicians and the Klan resulting from the elections of 1923 and the Klan's morality reform. Charles E. Scheible was elected mayor of Youngstown. Of course, the relationship of the mayor and the Klan impacts the city, simply because the mayor picks the chief of police. Consequently, as Jenkins states, "The Klan had finally succeeded in blurring the line between itself and the municipal police forces" (Jenkins 133). The Klan also supported a majority of the Youngstown Board of Education, and even the former Youngtown City School's superintendent Dr. Novetus H. Chanev<sup>15</sup> (1856-1925), a prominent and influential citizen of Youngtown. He was elected as the Clerk of Courts for Mahoning County under the Klan's ticket, and he held that office until his death (Jenkins 112).

Accordingly, as Jenkins suggests, "There were many factors that affected the decline of the Klan in the Mahoning Valley, but the riot and the embarrassing disappearance of Watkins were pivotal points" (Jenkins 153). The start of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The name for a district official in the Klan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Despite his involvement with the Klan, Youngstown City Schools dedicated their newest high school in 1926 to honor Chaney. After his service as schools superintendent, Chaney was elected to the Mahoning County Clerk of Courts with overwhelming Klan support (Jenkins 112).

demise of the Klan in this area occurred from two separate scandals involving prominent Klan leaders nationally and locally. "Ironically," as Jenkins says, "It was the moral corruption of its leaders that damaged the Klan the most" (Jenkins 165). Nationally, Grand Goblin D. C. Stephenson, from the largest Klan organization in the country, raped Madge Oberholtzer, a young maiden who committed suicide after the incident, in the spring of 1925. The trial was sensational and "confirmed [national] suspicions about the Klan leadership" (Jenkins 153). And locally, Col. Watson's lie about his military service, along with his mistress, was discovered, which exposed Watkins as a charlatan (Jenkins 145).

Despite the Klan's waning popularity, the political power, through the elected offices its members accumulated, continued to administer public policy and influence the community. Jenkins suggestions that, "the Klan did not take direct action against Black residents, nor did it try to bring southern racial mores to Youngstown" (Jenkins 160), contradicts the premise of why the Klan gained so much popular support in the valley in the first place. For example, Jenkins repeats the remarks of Alexander Gerlach, who says in his study of the Klan, "The majority of Klansmen were motivated by the sincere desire to defend and to disseminate traditional middle class WASP religious and political values" (Jenkins 162). Consequently, it is difficult to know the true extent of the Klan's influence over policy making. Members of the hegemony, in very influential governmental and corporate positions, were motivated by the typical Klan xenophobic behavior. And despite Jenkins's claim "no laws came before the

council or the school board that directly concerned racial issues" (Jenkins 160), he can only speculate about the motivations and actions of these political leaders. Just because a piece of legislation or organizational policy may not seem overtly racist, does not mean that it not, nor does it mean that the results of that legislation or policy does not adversely impact the area's African community. For instance, discriminatory practices in hiring or the dispersement of resources (tax revenue and governmental services) reflect a political choice that followed the status guo of race relations in Youngstown for years.

Discriminatory decisions of the hegemony demonstrated, in <u>All Deliberate</u> <u>Speed</u> (2004) by Charles Ogletree, who contends that the reason Brown vs. Board of Education (1954) came about was because of the universally systemic violation of the "separate but equal" clause in the 1891 Plessy vs. Ferguson case (1). Those states<sup>16</sup> that openly practiced segregation failed to follow the "equal" part of the Supreme Court order and equally disperse the funding for all schools, which resulted in greater spending of the state budget on European schools, while states spent very little for its African schools. European schools were great edifices of current technology, creating a proper educational environment. The students were supplied with modern conveniences<sup>17</sup> and current textbooks.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> The distinction here is that although southern states overtly practiced segregation, northern states practiced it covertly, often disguising their segregation as simply a matter of family income. The resources schools received was a direct result of their location, through local property taxes; more expensive properties paid more taxes, which was issued to the schools of that community.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Modern conveniences mean not only having access and instruction to the latest technology that gives the students a competitive edge, but also utilizing these convinces in the classrooms; like air conditioning, furnaces, electric lighting, in-door plumbing facilities (like drinking water facets and toilets), cafeterias, etc.

summer months and too cold in the winter), with no inside running water, with only the use of outhouses for students and teachers alike. The schools were also supplied with an insufficient number of outdated and antiquated textbooks. And lastly, there was testimony that these school shacks were miles across town from the African community, and African students had to walk to school on unpaved roads, while their European counterparts would past by them daily in school buses. Of course, the point of discussing the "separate but equal" clause of Plessy was simply to show how legislators, administrators and elected officials, no matter how altruistic and concerned for the well being of entire community they claim to be, still followed policies that were acceptable to the ideology and social standards of the hegemony.

It is difficult to divorce belief from behavior or actions or ideology. The motivating factor that caused an individual to join the Klan, still affects that person despite the circumstance of that organization. "The response of the northern European population" as Jenkins says, "was to join the Ku Klux Klan to defend its values, a response best typified as religious nativism" (Jenkins 160). "Klan leaders within Youngstown, such as Charles Scheible, Colonel Evan Watkins, and Clyde Osborne<sup>18</sup>, downplayed the Klan's religious and ethnic biases" (Jenkins 160).

Currently, Youngstown and the Mahoning valley is a deindustrialized small urban city that is primarily made up of Africans, while the suburbs are heavily

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Clyde Osborne, later a Mahoning County judge, was appointed in 1924 as a grand dragon of the Klan for Ohio (Jenkins 114).

populated with Europeans: a condition produced by "White flight<sup>19</sup>." which Attardo and Brown identify in their study. The effects of Youngstown's past racism can still be felt today as it has declined as a manufacturing powerhouse, into a wasteland of joblessness and despair. Despite the decreased population and the relatively small size of the city, Youngstown is a microcosm of the country, in regards to deindustrialization, exacerbated by a history of racism. Youngstown has become a transitory<sup>20</sup> city, losing its most valuable human assets when the large manufacturing jobs, the steel mills provided, were gone; while retaining its useless ones, due to their inability to relocate primarily because of a lack of resources. The loss of revenue and resources, which translates into the loss of good academically inclined students from the public schools to other school systems, affects the student body of the public system in two ways; first it causes a "brain drain" where these students could be held as examples and leaders of other students and second; these student often come from successful and middle-class homes, which pay their share of taxes and often donate money. time and energy to scholastic events. This has drastically affected the general population of the area, the Youngstown school district and its student body. To better understand the students, teachers and people who are served by the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> "White Flight" occurred nationally to virtually every city. It is the large scale abandonment of the urban or city areas by Europeans, who—due to the side of racism that is often ignored—often possess the best access to the highest yielding economic recourses the country offers, and their tax revenue, leaving the city and its school district in plight.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Transitory means rapid transition of an area's population, which affects it's characteristic traits like trust, loyalty and commitment due to the movement of long-held personal relationships of neighbors and friends.

Youngstown City Schools, both the area's economic and its employment history must be recognized and understood.

Correspondingly, Tim Wise's Affirmative Action (2005) draws a direct correlation between the access to resources and higher achievement in GPA or standardized test scores, and the disparities between the "Whiter and wealthier districts" and their African counterparts (45). Wise states, "On average, schools in wealthy districts receive about twenty-five percent (25%) more funding, per pupil, than typical schools in poor districts" (Wise 47). This is a general point of contention that is the new argument for conservatives. They claim that the government actually spends more money per pupil in school districts like Youngstown. However, they fail to mention that older declining school districts, like Youngstown, have to keep regular maintenance of their buildings, which is very expensive. The district's has to financially and physically maintain their property, whether or not students occupy them. Additionally, as in virtually every business, the highest cost is labor. Older large school districts, like Youngstown, have a large number of tenured schoolteachers and other support staff with expensive employment packages, negotiated through their union by the collective-bargaining process. Youngstown has lost a great deal of the industry, manufacturing and businesses, which produced jobs that kept the tax revenue in place. However, there is a new threat to the YCS: neighboring school districts, which are likewise financially strapped, have opened their enrollment policies to include students from the city. This provides these school districts with more

students, thus more state revenues. Charter schools are also threatening the YCS district, which again takes away more tax revenue from Youngstown.

This last chapter not only presented the history of Youngstown's socioeconomic growth and decline, but also its history of or connection to ethnic bigotry and racism. It then made the correlation between individual's and individual group's socioeconomic conditions and their academic results. The next chapter presents the results of Youngstown City School's pupils Proficiency Tests Scores for analysis and understanding of the students' achievements and the district's demographics.

However, and expanding the focus for a moment, it is interesting to note that although Africans are only twelve percent of the national population, they are often the highest percentage of students in urban school districts, primarily due to "White Flight." Yet, nationally the concern (or outrage) is against public schooling. Schools that, again due to White Flight, have been resegregated with the European homogeny are equally under public scrutiny for the students' academic performance. Therefore the national argument for or against public schooling does not necessarily fault African students for this dilemma. Nevertheless, African students and their academic achievements are often publicly broadcasted as the culprit of, what is wrong with America's public school system.

## **Chapter Two**

## Annual State Proficiency Test Scores for the Youngstown City Schools

The most important tests for the state of Ohio are its Proficiency tests, which are administered to the third, fourth, sixth, ninth and tenth grades throughout the 608 school districts, with more than 3,218 schools, in the eightyeight counties of Ohio. These tests give not only the state Board of Education an annual report on the progress of all the school districts and students in the state, but also allow the federal government and the public a better understanding of what's going on in schools. Additionally, the report cards give more exact information through their demographic breakdown of race, ethnicity, physical disabilities or financial disadvantages of the student body by their group scores. Lastly, there is three-year comparison (Appendix III) attached to the report that records the progress, or lack thereof, of a particular district, which can be analyzed more closely for better enhancement measures and the development of more strategies for that particular school district.

According to the Ohio Board of Education yearly report, the Youngstown City Schools (YCS) has 9177 students enrolled in its 2003-2004 year (1). At one time, when the steel mills were booming and the local economy was very healthy, the YCS district enjoyed over 30,000 students enrolled in its system (Alex 229). Nevertheless, currently there are an overwhelming number of students in the YCS district who are economically disadvantaged; eighty-six point two percent (86.2%) or 7912 of the 9177 students come from financially strapped families (OBE 3). Due to the vast racial and ethnic make up of the YSC, the district is a minority-majority district, which means that there are far more minorities (principally Africans) enrolled in the district than there are of the hegemony (or Europeans). Africans are sixty-six percent (66%) or 6094 of the 9177 students, while Europeans are twenty-four percent (24%) or 2212 students within the YCS. Hispanics make up six percent (6%) or 578 students and Asians are point two percent (0.2%) or just eighteen students in the YCS. The category "Multi-racial," by the Ohio Board of Education statistical report, make up two point nine percent (2.9%) or 266 of the pupils in the YCS, and is another group being monitored and reported upon (OBE 2).

It should be noted that these scores represent the percentage of a given group that either achieved or surpassed the testing standards, and not necessarily describes the intelligence and aptitude of individuals in that group; although group results do have the implied potential. Nevertheless, the totals of a group may be misleading. For instance, if a group has ten members and another has over a hundred, the percentage of that small group may look superior to that of the larger group, although many more members of that larger group scored better than that of the smaller one. In the YCS, Africans are three times as large than the Europeans; and over ten times as large as the Hispanics; and twenty times as large as the Multi-racial. Therefore, to earn a ninety percent achievement score on the proficiency test, the Multi-racial needs 239 of its 266 members, Hispanics need 520 or its 578 members and the Europeans only need to have 1,990 of its 2,212 members to pass, while the Africans need, 5,484 of its 6,094 members to pass. Clearly, the African students must have more of its members pass to keep statistical parity with the other groups in the YCS.

The OBE report card for the Youngstown City Schools district, show that YCS is officially under "Academic Watch" because it was only able to fulfill three out of the eighteen prescribed standards. Similar school districts did only slightly better than YCS, by achieving five out of the eighteen standards, while the average within the state is only eight out of eighteen of the prescribed standards. There are five designations for Ohio school districts and schools: "Excellent," which there are 117 districts in this designation, "Effective," has 229 districts, "Continuous Improvement," has 224, "Academic Watch," has 52 and lastly, "Academic Emergency," which is the lowest rating and districts and schools of this designation jeopardize the loss of their federal and state funding.

Regarding the students' portion of the annual OBE report card for Youngstown, the district passed the ninth grade's Citizenship, Reading and Writing proficiencies tests, with an eighty-eight point one (88.1%), ninety-two point five (92.5%) and ninety-five point eight percent (95.8%) respectively. The local district failed the third grade Reading proficiency, all the categories in the fourth and sixth grades, which likewise includes: *Citizenship*, *Reading* and *Writing* but also included *Math* and *Science* as well. YCS also failed in the Attendance and Graduation Rates with ninety-two point nine (92.9%) and an abysmal fifty-four point one percent (54.1%) respectively. Although similar sized districts and even the state failed the Graduation rate, they obtained a seventy point five (70.5%) and eighty-four point three percent (84.3%) rate, which does not place them too far from the goal of ninety percent (90%) for the year (OBE 1).

The above scores reflect the overall aggregate scores of the YCS district, however the OBE has also broken the aggregate scores down into group categories: African American, American Indian or National Alaskan, Asian or Pacific Islander, Hispanic, Multi-racial, White, Non-disabled student, Student with disabilities, Non-economically disadvantaged, Economically disadvantaged, Limited English Proficient, Female and Male. For the YCS district, the categories of American Indian or National Alaskan and Asian or Pacific Islander either have no percentage rate or "NC" not calculated because of the very small number of students of that category in the district (OBE 3).

There are a number of cross racial or cross ethnic classifications such as; female and male, non-disabled and disabled students and students that come from wealthy or poor families, that are reported as one group and not divided into racial or ethnic subdivisions (OBE 3). Consequently, when scores are reviewed, such as the third grade Reading score, the Non-economically disadvantage group scores eighty percent (80%) while the highest score of any other group in that category are the multi-racial group with sixty-three point 2 (63.2%) followed by the female group with fifty-nine point seven percent (59.7%); however, it is still unclear as to who these non-economically disadvantaged pupils are. Moreover, what are the parameters that separate "non-economically disadvantaged" students from "economically disadvantage" ones or normally economically advantaged or disadvantaged students? Is it the poverty level or the theoretical

lines of economic demarcation of the classes? Mainly, the question is, who are the pupils that are considered advantaged and who are the disadvantaged ones? More importantly, why is there such a problem with funding the nation's public school systems so that each and every child can become not only more advanced, but also competitive throughout the world?

Before starting, it is interesting to note that the "Multi-racial" classification falls under the "NC" or not calculated status after the sixth grade. Although there could be many logical explanations for this occurrence—such as members of this group deciding which parent closely resembles their physical features the best, then classifying themselves accordingly—it most definitely was not because interracial children cease to exist. Regardless of their absence, after the sixth grade, the Multi-racial group held the highest percentage of achievement in the third grade Reading at (63.2%) or 168 students, and the forth grade Writing at (76%) or 202 students out of 266 Multi-racial students (OBE 3).

Both Africans and Europeans Reading percentage went up from the third grade levels in the fourth grade, from 48.4% and 58% to 50.2% and 58.1% respectively, while the Hispanics and Multi-racial students fell during those grades, from 52.4% and 63.2% to 44.9% and 48% respectively. All group percentages fell from the fourth grade levels even further down in the sixth grade. Yet, the group percentages rebounded—except for Multi-racial students, who stopped being counted—jumped to over ninety percent in the ninth grade; however, all of them fell once again during the tenth grade graduation tests (OBE 3). Africans went from 91.3% to 54%, Hispanics went from 100% to 42.1% and

Europeans went from 95% to 74%. It should be noted that these ninth and tenth graders would not have had the benefits the Houghton Mifflin fourth, fifth and sixth grade series because they would not have been distributed to the YCS district during their time in those grades.

In the Writing scores, all groups, except the Multi-racial group, progressively improved from the fourth grade: Africans started out as 61.9%, Hispanics had 55.1% and Europeans had 68.4%. The Multi-racial group had 76% as a group. The latter went down to 47.6%, while the former groups went to 69.7%, 72.5% and 77.8% in the sixth grade, then 95.8%, 94.7% and 95.9% in the ninth grade respectively (OBE 3). In YCS, the Reading scores for the fourth, sixth and ninth grades, in 2002, were 31.1%, 20.5% then 81%. In 2003 these scores improved to 41.7%, 36.3% and 85.8%. And in 2004, the scores slightly improved for the Africans and Europeans up to 51.6% and 92.5% respectively, however the Hispanics dropped to 35.6%. In the sixth grade scores, there is a decline from 2003 to 2004, which was the only blemish that occurred on the three-year progression report.

Writing percentages were much better than their Reading counterpart. In fact, Writing proficiency percentages were the best of all the categories, during all three years. In 2002 the fourth grade score was 49.3%, while the sixth grade was 60.1% and ninth grade was 80.5%. In 2003, the scores improved with fourth grade being 54.7%, sixth grade 71% and in the ninth grade the scores was 88.1%. During the 2004 year, the percentage again elevated for the fourth grade of 63.3% and the ninth grade of 95.8%. The sixth grade stayed constant with

71%. It is interesting that Reading percentages are lower than Writing percentages, particularly when it is understood that while both of these language art skills are academic, reading is more of a passive skill, while writing is more active. Students have to manipulate their physical action or imagination into words and place those words on paper, not necessarily an easy project. Yet, not only were the writing percentages higher than the other categories, they were the only ones that met or exceeded state standards.

This last chapter presented the current state of the proficiency test results and also the demographics of the Youngstown City School system for a better understanding of where these students are academically. The next chapter presents the standards set by the Ohio Board of Education, which are examined through standardized tests, like the proficiency test. It will also examine the language arts textbook used by YCS, along with language arts augmentation programs that are meant to enhance the communication skills of the students by teaching the individual students to adhere to standardized English.

#### **Chapter Three**

### State Standards of Writing in Language Arts

The Ohio Board of Education (OBE), the National Council of Teachers of English, the International Reading Association Standards for English Language Arts, and finally the Youngstown City School system have set standards and benchmarks for not only direct participants of the contact zone (the students and teachers) but also other stakeholders to education, such as: textbook authors, publishers, unions, school administrations, local, state and federal governmental agencies. Susan Zelman, superintendent of the OBE, et al have codified these standards in Academic Content Standards: K-12 English Language Arts (2000). School districts and individual students—a remarkable number of parents are now choosing to "homeschool" their children because of either their fear or distrust of public, private or parochial schools-are required to teach students with these standards in mind. The OBE utilizes the Proficiency test scores as well as other standardized testing to observe compliance of these standards in the education of the students (1). The state can sanction districts, individual schools and parents of home-schooled children for not complying with its standards. Although a child is home schooled, the state does have the authority and can take action against parents of home-schooled students as well as schools, if its standards are not being met. These sanctions hold the potential of removing the

child from the home. The state has rights over each individual within its jurisdiction, particularly the elderly, disabled and children.

According to Zelman et al, "The writing process includes the phases of prewriting, drafting, revising and editing and publishing" (Zelman et al 11). Although the OBE does mandate curriculum, particularly of the language arts studies for students, it does not choose the materials (textbooks or other augmentation programs) used by the various districts and schools. Language arts are very important to the development of the student in all fields of study. Zelman et al says, "Writing serves many purposes across the curriculum and takes various forms" (Zelman et al 12). The materials used by students have to confirm to OBE standards, because it monitors the progress of the students by the test scores. "Writing conventions include spelling, punctuation, grammar and other conventions associated with forms of written text" Zelman explains (Zelman et al 12). The goals and standards of the OBE's language arts program are also aligned with the principles endorsed by Writing Pedagogues, like Peter Elbow and others. Elbow's Writing With Power: Techniques for Mastering the Writing Process (1998) and the OBE's standards seem to be complementary to one another. For instance, OBE exalts the new "Process over Product" writing pedagogy that is discussed in Elbow's works, and in Understanding Language Structure, Interaction, And Variation (2000) by Salvatore Attardo and Steven Brown. Attardo and Brown describe the new paradigm in the standardized writing pedagogy as the "process approach," which is characterized by brainstorming and other heuristics as part of the preliminary steps that include prewriting to

generate ideas, drafting, conferencing, and peer reviews, and editing (172). Albeit, this new paradigm is mainly utilized in the written form of communications, this process approach can be easily applied to oral communications of students as well. Another area closely related to writing development, in language arts is the oral progression of students, particularly in their ability to present narratives or story telling. Of course, the ability to tell stories is directly related to the cognitive development of the pupil and the "process approach" helps the student to follow the conventions of communication standards.

In addition the National Council of Teachers of English and International Reading Association Standards for English Language Arts have set up "Process", "Applications" and "Convention" standards, which are meant to aid school officials in determining the progression of the individual students taking the course. These three items are also related to the themes Elbow recommends. His first theme recognizes the two conflicting skills, creativity and criticism, and how they relate to good writing, which is in concert with OBE's "Process." Elbow suggests that the closer a writer gets to her or his audience the more restrictive their language becomes (Elbow 191). The OBE process benchmarks are:

- A. Generate ideals for written compositions.
- B. Develop audience and purpose for self-selected and assigned writing tasks.
- C. Use organizers to clarify ideas for writing assignments.
- D. Use revision strategies and resources to improve ideas and content, organization, word choice and detail.
- E. Edit to improve sentence fluency, grammar and usage.
- F. Apply tools to judge the quality of writing.
  - G. Publish writing samples for display or sharing with others, using techniques such as electronic resources and graphics (Zelman et al 14).

Elbow's second theme, "Learning to write is like learning a new language" (Elbow 7), concerns aspects of OBE's "Application." The "audience-oriented writing" or "get-the-results" writing is simply the writer "writing to a particular audience, . . . to produce a particular effect." At the other end of the spectrum is "get-it-right" writing, which means that the author is unconcerned about the effects of her or his writing (Elbow 192). OBE Application benchmarks are:

- A. Compose writings that convey a clear message and include well-chosen details.
- B. Write responses to literature that demonstrate an understanding of a literary work.
- C. Writing friendly letters and invitations complete with date, salutation, body, closing and signature (Zelman et al 14).

Lastly, Elbow's "Create many ways or recipes to write, like creating a cookbook of writing" (Elbow 7), fundamentally runs parallel to OBE's "Convention." Elbow advises various strategies to help the writer focus her or his message to their audience. For example, he says that the writer should "picture your audience in your mind's eye" to be able to produce effective writing (Elbow 193). Of course, Elbow also puts forward, if that strategy fails, or makes the author/writer nervous, then simply ignore the audience while writing (Elbow 194). OBE Convention benchmarks are:

- A. Print legibly using appropriate spacing.
  - B. Spell grade-appropriate words correctly.
  - C. Use conventions of punctuation and capitalization in written work.
  - D. Use grammatical structures in written work (Zelman et al 14).

Elbow's contention is that audience, style, word usage and revision are all apart of modern-day writing pedagogy (Elbow 8). These points are likewise contentions echoed as standards for OBE. The first standard is that students' writing develops when they regularly engage in the major phases of the writing process. They learn to plan their writing for different purposes and audiences. They learn to apply their writing skills in increasingly sophisticated ways to create and produce compositions that reflect effective word and grammatical choices. Students develop revision strategies to improve the content, organization and language of their writing. Students also develop editing skills to improve writing conventions (Zelman et al 11).

The second standard is that students need to understand that various types of writing require different language, formatting and special vocabulary. Beginning writers learn about the various purposes of writing; they attempt and use a small range of familiar forms (e. g., letters). Developing writers are able to select text forms to suit purpose and audience. They can explain why some text forms are more suited to a purpose than others and begin to use content-specific vocabulary to achieve their communication goals. Proficient writers control effectively the language and structural features of a large repertoire of text forms (Zelman et al 12).

The third standard is where students learn to master writing conventions through exposure to good models and opportunities for practice. They learn the purpose of punctuation; to clarify sentence meaning and help readers know how writing might sound aloud. They develop and extend their understanding of the spelling system; using a range of strategies for spelling words correctly and using newly learned vocabulary in their writing (Zelman et al 12).

Finally, Elbow shares the process he believes is quite workable for wouldbe writers. The first step of the process is "Uncriticizied brainstorming," where the author places on paper anything and everything she or he can think of about their subject. The next phase is a "Free writing" exercise meant to stimulate the cognitive process and hopefully bring out new ideas or concepts that the writer may explore further. Sharing is the part of the process that invites others to view the work in progress. It is there to solicit remarks, criticisms or point out other avenues of interest about the subject. Then, as Elbow states, "Read out loud," so that the author her or himself may find any discrepancies within the formulation or foundation of the work. Elbow suggests that the author divides her or his writing time into two halves: the first is writing "without worry for organization, language, correctness or precision," and the second half will be for revision (Elbow 22).

After presenting the state standards for language arts curricula, and how it correlates to the modern pedagogy of writing, suggested by Peter Elbow, the next section will deal with the language arts textbooks of Houghton Mifflin that YCS utilizes. The purpose of this examination is simply to investigate the cultural perspective these textbooks reflect. By cultural perspectives, I mean if it passes on stereotypical characters and or how does it treat non-standard English, such as African American Vernacular English (AAVE).

## Study of the Textbooks Published by Houghton Mifflin

Youngstown City Schools Language Arts textbooks consist of; <u>Here We</u> <u>Go! 1.1</u> (2001), <u>Let's Be Friends 1.2</u> (2001), <u>Surprises 1.3</u> (2001), <u>Treasures 1.4</u>

(2001), <u>Wonders 1.5</u> (2001), and the <u>Practice Book 1.3-1.5</u> (2001), which were all published by Houghton Mifflin Company. The books are closely observed for the racial and ethnic characterization of and by the authors and other contributors and illustrators. The tradition of western society values one's ability to be literate, —to both read and write effectively—which defines not only one's station in life, but also his or her potential survivability within this highly competitive world.

### Methodology of Houghton Mifflin Study

The storylines and poems of these books are closely examined for racial or cultural stereotyping. The ways the characters orally express themselves are investigated for cultural idioms and expressions; like the type language usage historically associated with either African vernacular (AAVE) or Standard English (SE). According to Lisa Green, "Characterizing the lexicon in AAVE presents an interesting problem" (Green 13). She also recognizes that the style and usage of the lexicon and semantics of AAVE are familiar to most Africans in this country. despite the various regions or their various socioeconomic circumstances (Green 165). Green also suggests that language in literature achieves "a number of goals: (1) to connect the character with a particular region . . . , (2) to identify the character as a particular type ..., (3) to make the character more authentic ... and (4) to evoke some feelings within the reader" (Green 165). Often goals (2) "to identify" and (3) "to make ... more authentic" were used to create stereotypes. Negative stereotypes, particularly transmitted through the media-like literature-often designate certain groups of people as out of the mainstream and thus open for ridicule and mistreatment.

There has been a marriage between language and culture, which is often exploited through stereotypes for political goals. In the present case, it has been AAVE that has been subjugated as a tradition for national entertainment, starting in the early antebellum periods with the advent of the minstrel shows<sup>21</sup>. However, when Africans began to fight collectively for their rights, scientist and linguists began to take another look into the African culture. "In the late 1960s, when linguists began to analyze what had been highly subjective depictions of Black speech," Marcyliena Morgan writes in her Language, Discourse and Power in African American Culture (2002), " . . . they recognized the social importance of their work within a political charged climate" (5). Linguists understood the importance of their work in analyzing and interpreting the various uses of language and its relationship to culture.

## **Results of Houghton Mifflin Study**

A statistical breakdown of images (both illustrations and pictorials) within this series of language arts textbooks, pertaining to the racial makeup of the authors and contributors (illustrators and Photographers) and racial and ethnic characters revealed the following results:

Authors:40 total30 European7 African3 AsianContributors:21 total17 European2 African2 AsianImages:1463 total965 European319 African179 Asian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Racially degrading theater that lampooned the intelligence, language adaptation and circumstance of Africans, particularly the freeman into grotesque characterizations of buffoons.

	European	African	Asian
Practice:	168	48	18
HWG 1.1:	150	61	40
LBF 1.2:	193	45	45
Surprise:	152	26	21
Treasures:	192	39	30
Wonders:	110	100	25
Totals:	965	319	179

Results from the individual books pertaining to images of characters:

# **Discussion of Houghton Mifflin Study**

In virtually all of the narratives (except two; the fox in "Hot Fox Soup" and the bears in "Two Greedy Bears") the characters displayed positive highly moral and honorable characteristics that should be generally promoted to youngsters of this age group. The fox and bears were extreme examples of adverse characters. The only other example of bad behavior was from the story, "That Toad is Mine." In it two very good friends became envious and jealous of each other because they found a frog and each wanted to possess it.

The literary program employed by the Youngstown City School system, from Houghton Mifflin publishing, is remarkably diverse, surprisingly uplifting with absolutely no contribution to the perpetuation of stereotypical figures, which may exist in other academic works of the Youngstown City School system. There was no use of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) or any other culturally linguistic characterization within the body of these textbooks by Houghton Mifflin. Although these particular textbooks, from the first grade language arts program, apparently have nothing to do with creating, perpetuating and sustaining negative cultural stereotypes to students, they do not represent the other subjects or textbooks used by the first grade. It should be noted that this study did not investigate history and social studies textbooks. They could very easily harbor potential biases and stereotypes that the language arts textbooks left out. In searching for the "smoking gun" of academic bigotry, within Youngstown school system and indeed nationally, it would be conducive for scholars to review those textbooks, if anything, just to remove them from suspicion of spreading stereotypes and images. Nevertheless, the textbooks of this study are found to be free of cultural biases and stereotypes, which eliminates them from the list of culprits of this educational pitfall. This study was limited to the literary program of the Youngstown City School System; however, it should be expanded to other school districts and the text materials used by those schools, particularly the social studies, history and other sociopolitical subjects.

Another valuable point within the Houghton Mifflin series is the step-bystep incorporation of the writing process, utilized in the Responding and Writing sections, which accompanied every narrative in the textbooks. These sections ask the students to respond to a series of questions directed at both Writing and Response prompts that set literary standards as examples for students to follow. Indirectly, the Response section presents questions readers should come accustomed to asking, while writers become accustomed to answering in their narratives. As the storylines, within the books, became increasingly more complicated, the Writing and Response prompts likewise became more complicated. For example: <u>Here We Gol 1.1</u>, the first Writing prompt asks students simply to "Draw and label a picture of the cat." In contrast, the last two

writing assignments in <u>Wonders 1.5</u> ask the students for a highly detailed book report, and to write their own personal narrative.

### **Conclusion of Houghton Mifflin Study**

Besides clearing the Houghton Mifflin language arts textbooks of transmitting negative stereotypes to youngsters, it was interesting to see that their books did follow the new paradigm of the Writing Pedagogy, which is currently being taught in advanced English classes at the university level. Equally interesting, the Ohio Board of Education has set standards and benchmarks in the language arts curricula for the state that closely follows Peter Elbow's Writing With Power (1998). These principles are put to practical use in public schools, even, as noted earlier, starting in the textbooks and work assignments of first In addition, there is an interesting longitudinal graders in the YCS system. opportunity to further study the success or failure of YCS's language arts program in the advanced grades as well. Houghton Mifflin language arts series have been employed by YCS for the past ten years for the K-6 grades; and two years ago YCS extended Houghton Mifflin textbooks in the seventh and eighth grades as well. Therefore this provides an opportunity to track the success of their product in school systems like Youngstown. This next section presents the other programs used by the Youngstown City Schools to enhance and improve the language arts program for Youngstown City students.

## YCS Language Arts Augmentation Strategies

The Houghton Mifflin series of work and textbooks for language arts development are not the only techniques used by YCS. The district is aggressively working in every facet to enhance the language skills in Youngstown's youngsters. They have increased their efforts to accumulate more financing, through grant writing programs, and adding to human resources with volunteer teachers from the community, and lastly, improving the total quality from their supplemental resources of teaching materials.

Of course, in a capitalistic society nothing can occur or be successful without proper financial backing. And in that regard, the district has developed relationships with federal, state, public and private institutions to gain access to financial resources and programs that underwrite the district's language arts programs. Reading First Ohio ® program is a statewide program used by YCS to collect financial support for programs through grants. The Bush administration's "No Child Left Behind" (NCLB) distributes revenues to school districts in the form of grants for traditional academic courses, like reading, writing and arithmetic.

The district has two programs that provide specialized instruction to language arts teachers. These programs increase the "foundational knowledge" and enhance specific skills, which are techniques and skills to identify potential problems YCS pupils may develop. Gail Saunders-Smith, PhD. returns regularly, to the district, to train teachers in strategies that help students become more proficient in reading. Correspondingly, the State Initiative for Reading Intervention (SIRI) is a training program for teachers that emphasizes techniques

and skills to recognize reading difficulties in students and correct them more effectively than in previous years.

The Youngstown City School district has also developed a volunteer teaching corps, which augments its professional teaching staff. These programs are valuable because it helps bring more attentiveness to the students, by all the teachers in the classroom. The additional help provides free time for the professional teachers to focus on problem readers. STARS ® is one of the oldest programs the district has used, and it allows the community's seniors and retired persons to volunteer and help students. This program is funded by one of the Read First Ohio ® grants. The other voluntary program is the Governor's Ohio Reads project, which encourages volunteers from all walks of life and professions to help teach schools in their area.

Besides extra training for teachers and volunteer teachers to assist them, the district uses comprehensive assessment tools to help identify the reading levels of pupils. The Rigby PM Benchmarking ®, the Texas Principle Reading Inventory ® and the Class Dibels ® systems are screening tools that stratify students according to reading proficiencies. These programs not only initially place a student in a certain level, but also track the progress of that child in proportion to her or his ability. These tools also take into account the pupils' use of phonics, nonsense words and oral fluency.

Once a problem with a child's reading has been identified, YCS has utilized an intervention program that is quite literally a safety net for the district. Reading Recovery ® is a program that is administered by highly trained teachers, with individual or small group instruction. The district also has incorporated technology in its pedagogy. The Waterford Early Reading Programs ®, Read 180 ® and Scantron Computer Assessment Tutorial ® programs assist students with their reading proficiency and allow them to become familiar with interactive computers. Of course, the only true measure of these various programs, strategies and techniques employed by the YCS, is how successful their students do on the Ohio Proficiency Tests and standardized Achievement Tests. The next chapter will break down the data of the test results from the Stanford 10 Achievement Test and the Ohio Proficiency Tests, which will hopefully bring clarity as to the progress made by YCS. This next section will discuss the results in more detail for their progress.

#### The Stanford 10 Achievement Test

The Youngstown School District does administer diagnostic, proficiency and assessment standardized tests to its students that are nationalized and statewide, starting from the first grade. Up until 2003, two years ago, the standard test utilized by the YCS was the Stanford 9 Achievement Test, however after 2003 they used the Stanford 10 Achievement Test. This national test covers from the first grade through the ninth grade, in multiple-choice questions that cover the previous year's Reading, Math, Science and Social Studies. According to OLSAT marketing:

OLSAT assesses verbal and nonverbal reasoning abilities that are related to success in school. Although the Total score is the best overall indicator of school-learning ability, a student's ability to learn in school is dependent on both types of skills. The Verbal processes measured are Verbal Comprehension and Verbal Reasoning. Nonverbal processes are Pictorial Reasoning, Figural Reasoning, and Quantitative Reasoning (OLSAT, 1996 Edition).

The Otis-Lennon School Ability Test (OLSAT) is given out to test the cognitive development of the students and their ability to think logically. The YCS gives the test as soon as the students return to school in the fall. OLSAT officials' state:

OLSAT consists of seven levels that collectively assess the range of ability of students in Kindergarten through Grade 12. A separate test level is available for each grade from K through Grade 3, allowing for the rapid cognitive growth that occurs during this period (OLSAT, 1996 Edition).

The only reported differences between the Stanford #9 tests and Stanford #10 tests, by Ms. Cathy Dorbish, the Principal of North Elementary, is the aesthetic quality, without any change to the degree of difficulty of the tests. These changes seem to keep the interests of the students, and with better attention and better focus.

The YCS 2003 ranking is 33 with NCE scores of 40.5. In 2004 the ranking went down to 30 with the NCE scores of 39. In the Otis-Lennon School Abilities Test (OLSAT), for the first grade, had the School Abilities Index (SAI) for Verbal in 2003 of 90, and the Nonverbal SAI of 88. The scores are calculated into categories described by its officials:

A variety of scores is available to describe the student's Total, Verbal, and Nonverbal performance, including School Ability Indexes (SAIs), percentile ranks and stanines based on age and grade, scaled scores, and normal curve equivalents (NCEs). The SAI, with a mean of 100 and standard deviation of 16, is a relatively easy-to-understand indicator of a student's standing relative to his or her age peers (OLSAT, 1996 Edition).

In 2004 the OLSAT scores again when down: Verbal SAI went to 88, down two points, while Nonverbal SAI fell only one point to 87.

### Stanford 10 results

200	3PR/NCE	2004PR/NCE	gain/loss	OLSAT 2003 V/N	2004 V/N	gain/loss
YCS District	33/ 40.5	30/ 39	-3/ -1.5	90/ 88	88/ 87	-2/ -1
Bennett	26/ 36.8	closed	N.A.	91/86	closed	N.A.
M. L. King	19/ 31.8	closed	N.A.	88/ 84	closed	N.A.
P. C. Bunn	39/ 44.2	48/ 49.2	+9/ +5	88/ 91	89/93	+1/ +2
Sheridan	25/ 35.9	26/ 36.3	+1/ +. 4	89/86	88/ 86	-1/ =
Cleveland	36/ 42.7	37/ 43	+1/+.3	88/ 86	92/88	+4/ +2
North	33/ 40.7	37/ 43.3	+4/ +2.6	92/91	88/ 87	-4/ -4
Haddow	40/ 44.5	29/ 38.6	-11/ -5.9	89/89	85/ 85	-4/ -4
Harding	45/ 47.3	32/ 40.1	-13/ -7.2	98/ 93	88/ 88	-10/ -5
Jackson	23/ 34.2	21/ 33.4	-2/ -1.8	88/ 84	85/ 86	-3/ -2
Kirkmere	50/ 50.3	41/ 45.5	-9/ -4.8	92/ 89	90/ 90	-2/ +1
Taft	30/ 39.3	22/ 34	-8/ -5.3	89/91	86/ 85	-3/ -6
West	29/ 38.1	26/ 36.7	-3/ -1.4	92/ 88	88/ 86	-4/ -2
Williamson	30/ 38.7	20/ 32	-10/ -6.7	84/ 87	85/ 85	+1/ -2

The Otis-Lennon Ability Test (OLSAT) scores are the last two columns. The scores are counted as; the average (mean) SAI score is 100, with 90-110 representing a broad average band. Approximately 68 percent of students' SAI scores fall between 84 and 116. It should be noted that during these two years, there is an ongoing change happening in the YCS district. The citizens of Youngstown voluntarily increased their school taxes to take advantage of the governor's offer to repair, rebuild or replace a number of old schools. Many of the elementary schools closed and therefore their students had to follow the district's temporary relocation plans, which used other buildings belonging to YCS. Since many of these moves were completed during the summer, when the students and teachers were on vacation, there was a lot of confusion upon their return as

to which schools or buildings (acting as schools) they had to attend in the fall, during the same time as the Stanford Tests were issued.

After having established the language arts standards for the State of Ohio and how those standards follow the conventions of Writing Pedagogues, which is monitored by standardized testing, this past chapter also examined the language arts series from Houghton Mifflin for cultural stereotypes. Although this chapter recognizes the collective scores, through the medium scores of cultural groups, and it search the textbooks for biases, it did not present a possible culprit for the dilemma that affects African students. This next chapter will expand the study, but not its original charge to investigate "any other possible influences (other than "nature versus nurture") that affect the standardized test results of these students."

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### **Chapter Four**

This next chapter explains how the contagious illness of cultural bias infects all the actors within the classroom contact zone from both the student and teacher halves of the educational paradigm. The two sides of racists' ideology are equally relevant to the study of urbanized first graders from the Youngstown school district, as is the arguments concerning any genetic predisposition in cognitive developmental differences that may subtly and adversely affect each and every student. For that philosophy is cemented in the "tertium quid<sup>22</sup>" of the pedagogy in classroom contact zone.

Correspondingly, the tradition of supremacy/inferiority sets up an interesting dichotomy between the pupils and teachers collectively, as well as internally within the teachers and students individually. On one hand, teachers developed low expectation of their cross-cultural students, and are both critical and dismissive of any scholastic achievements they may produce, which may be one of the reasons that teachers do not academically challenge their students too hard. On the other hand, the pedagogy of superiority/inferiority may create selfesteem problems for the students, which indirectly leads to feelings of inadequacy, nihilism and self-fulfilling prophecies. Often these students

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Tertium quid or literally translated from Latin as "the third something," which W.E.B. DuBois used to describe the "vale of racism" in his <u>Souls of Black Folks</u>.

experience frustrations over scholastic inadequacies induced unwittingly<sup>23</sup> by teachers, who were just following protocol.

## The Student Half of the Contact Zone

There is a paradox in the traditions of this country's pedagogical system between educating students and training them, especially African students. On one hand, educating students means developing their cognitive abilities (teaching the students to think critically, to use their imagination and learn how to research, analyze and examine the world). On the other hand, training is meant to severely limit the mental development of certain people, thus restricting their ability to maneuver and navigate successfully within this capitalistic society, which, by the way, stifles capacity to produce for her or his own family effectively.

Just like any other skill, to think critically requires learning, and not, as some would suggests, acquired through the accident or blessings of one's birth. Certainly, critical thinking expands one's cognitive development, but it is only through the command of her or his communicative skills and the understanding of language that he or she received from their educational background that allows the mind to creatively function and to blossom. Perversely, as Carter Woodson explains in his <u>Mis-education of the Negro</u> (1933), "When you control a man's thinking, you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his 'proper place' and will stay in it" (xix).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Woodson and Wesley suggest that the problem with the educational system of this country is that it relays on the false theories of racial stratification in intelligence or cognitive development and purposely created a history that perpetuates these fallacies.

In order to keep the profits from the "peculiar institution" the oppressor, through their draconian laws, ensured that Africans would not be educated. According to John Henrik Clarke, in his "Education and the Making of the Black Ghetto" (1972), "This is the basic dilemma in Black education. Black people were not brought to this country to be given education, citizenship, or democracy they were brought to this country to serve, to labor, and to obey" (17). Coincidently, slavemasters and other stakeholders of enslavement policies and discriminatory practices, in this state of ignorance, prohibited both African bondsmen and free men alike, from education by endorsing laws, like the "Slave and Black codes" that made it illegal to teach them reading and writing. As a result, many within the African community suffer from stagnate non-challenging schools that severely retard them, and then their circumstances are used again to divide African students into marginal tracked classrooms, while many in the hegemony are placed within the advanced or college tracked classes.

The dividing factor is the myth of genetic deficiencies of African intelligence, a fallacy that is promoted and perpetuated through this society and sustained by "standardized testing." For all practical purposes, a test may reveal pre-existing knowledge of the subject it covers. And pre-existing knowledge comes from having access to that materials; a factor more related to the family's wealth and its resources rather than their genetic makeup. By the same token, the continued testing and comparison of students only reinforce the pre-existing advantage students in higher privileged classrooms and schools have over those in less fortunate circumstances. In Thomas Sowell's book, <u>Black Education:</u> <u>Myths and Tragedies</u> (1972), he expounds on standardized testing as a mechanism for "specific purposes." Sowell offers, "It is crucial to keep in mind that tests are used for specific purposes, and that their validity must be judged by how well they serve those purposes" (172). However, as Sowell admonishes, "They cannot be judged as mysterious instruments producing some magic number that will indelibly "grade" an individual or a race" (Sowell 172). When referring to the myth that standardized test scores predict cognitive achievements and future accomplishments Asa Hilliard says, "As an old professional measurer, I can say categorically that it makes no sense to try to represent a multidimensional space with an array of numbers ranged along one line" (Assessment 2).

Although both Sowell and Hilliard are college professors, Sowell is an Economist by trade, while Hilliard is a Psychologist. Accordingly, Hilliard states that his colleagues feel less comfortable conveying semantic and pragmatic meaning through testing. Using one standard of interpretation to a response or answer for a stimulus or question, which can be vague, has been a problem with standardized tests. Hilliard warns, "We need to be cognizant that ability to use language to get things accomplished is difficult to measure, not very physical and virtually impossible to count. Naturally, it is seldom tested" (Assessment 6). Even proponents of standardized testing, like Herrnstein and Murray, authors of the infamous <u>the Bell Curve</u> (1994), readily admit, "People differ in their talents, their intellectual strengths and weakness, their preferred forms of imagery, their mental vigor" (Herrnstein 2).

In <u>Affirmative Action Racial Preference in Black and White</u> (2005), Tim Wise says that test makers—like the producers of the SAT—have a practice of throwing out test questions that Africans answer more correctly than their European counterparts, while keeping the questions that Africans answer least correctly (120). Wise says, "Perhaps most telling, racial gap on standardized tests are ultimately a function of the way that tests like the SAT are developed (Wise 120). Sadly, the rational for standardized testing stem from the misguided belief that there are genetic differences between the races, with Europeans being considered the brightest, while Africans are the dimmest.

This theory of intelligence stratification in human beings based on race is felt within the contact zone, particularly in learning activities that most reflect the personal experiences, culture and upbringing of students. This next section discusses the relationship between culture and the contact zone through storytelling.

### **Cultural Interpretations and Expectations of Storytelling**

Taylor and Matsuda studied the social aspects of the contact zone in storytelling. The ability to tell a story is a sign of maturity in youngsters. Consequently the authors express:

The development of narrative competence is closely linked to the cognitive and linguistic development. In other words, children's ability to organize the contents of their stories into hierarchical structures and into linear, casual structures appears to be determined by cognitive development. Their ability to incorporate lexical connectives and causal structures into their narratives appears to be directly related to their linguistic development (Taylor 216). Being one of the targets of the study, the teachers were also observed as they were performing their academic duties. The researchers realizes that most teachers brought their middle-class, European culture to class every day, and most damaging is that they interpret and evaluate the stories of their economically disadvantaged African students with the same culturally limited standards from their own cultural homes. The cognitive, linguistic and narrative competence of these students reflected their home culture and traditions of storytelling, and is often very different from their instructors. According to Taylor and Matsuda:

The failure of teachers to adapt their teaching methods and the failure of the school system to modify their programs to meet the needs of their minority children can be viewed as subtle but pervasive form of institutional discrimination and racism (Taylor 207).

This failure to "adapt" proper teaching methods also extends to the understanding of various cultural styles of storytelling, and quite frankly contradicts the argument of conservative elements within this country, that marginalize and denigrates the linguistic form and functions of African American Vernacular English (AAVE).

Morgan (2002) describes the intricate processes of African communication skills utilizing AAVE. The narrative she heard "were records of how African American communities survived, thrived and changed" (Morgan 11). She also describes the stories as "laden with layers of significance because it is not simply a contact language or variety" (Morgan 11). Morgan utilizes Pratt's "Contact zone" when describing the context of how Africans used language and discourse. She says, "Contact situations result in subjugation and marginalization often lead to diverse speech communities shared geographical space but represent different language ideologies" (Morgan 22). Similarly, there have been two culturally different styles of storytelling, identified by Taylor and Matsuda. One is a Topic-centered story and the other is a Topic-associated story. They describe the differences as:

The topic-centered story contains little shared knowledge between speaker and listener; therefore, it requires precise detail. In other words, it involves more telling than sharing." On the other hand, a topic-associated story is "a series of associated segments implicitly linked to a topic, event, or theme but with no explicit theme or point (Taylor 213).

In Michael and Cazden's pilot study of Topic-Centered and Topic-Associated stories, which involved a racially mixed group of Harvard graduate students, they found that European graduate students viewed Topic-Associated stories, which "are thought to be used by working-class Black children" as terrible, incoherent, hard to follow, mixed-up and unconnected (Taylor 217). They also suggest that children who use Topic-Association as a cultural technique when telling a story would not be successful with reading, writing and language in the classroom. Conversely, the African graduate students found that Topic-Associated stories very understandable and interesting. They even declared that those stories were better stories than the Topic-Centered style (Taylor 217). Their assessment is not too far off of what Lisa Green observes in her study of AAVE in African American English (2002). She notes that African children "have been consistently demonstrating communicative competence in the use of verbal strategies, but their skills have not been discussed in terms of competence" (Green 162). African graduate students enjoy hearing a story they recognize from their home

environment, much better than their European counterparts. However, as Green reminds her readers about the "Ebonics debacle<sup>24</sup> of the 90s, "No issue related to AAVE has ignited more discussion than its legitimacy and acceptance as a systematic form of communication"(Green 217).

This last section presented the two forms of cultural storytelling, one specific to Europeans and the other from an African perspective. What may be lost in this discussion, and is currently presented is the attitude or beliefs of the teachers, who come from another tradition or culture than their pupils. This next section discusses the conflict of the contact zone from the observations of the teacher.

## Introduction of Teachers: the Other Half of the Contact Zone

It becomes the teachers' responsibility to be culturally sensitive and to recognize the differences in storytelling style for what it is: a cultural difference and not an error or deficiency. If teachers fail to accept this responsibility, they could be rightfully accused of making minority children the object of discrimination by denying these children equal access to learning (Taylor 218).

In a related issue, over-diagnosing and mislabeling African youngsters as

communicatively impaired because of their cultural speaking habits, as Green

reveals, often occurs when teachers violate the standards of normalcy by

comparing those students with ones that are not only outside of their speech

community, but also their developmental range-age-as well (Green 227). In

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> In an effort to combat the frustrating results in the Standard English test their African students continued to accrue, the Oakland California Board of Education decided to treat AAVE as it does any other foreign language and provide its teachers with courses in AAVE. This program was to help teachers better understand the language of their students, communicate more effectively with them and thereby assist teachers in recognizing problems in their pupils reading and writing skills. Students were not being taught non-standard forms of English as the media portrayed. The board simply realized what linguists have understood for years; that AAVE is another language, different from Standard English, and not merely a dialect.

other words, some studies deviously compared students from different age groups and proceeded to make pronouncements about it. For example, comparing the communicative skills of a ten year old from the European culture with a five year old from the African culture. It is critically important that teachers, whom have to interpret and evaluate students' work product, understand the culture of those students as well.

"Presently, it appears that many scientists have begun to view the problem of academic failure among minority children as one of discontinuities" as Taylor and Matsuda suggest, "between the culture and language of the home environment and the culture and language of the school environment" (Taylor 206). Although this quotation concerns itself with minority children, as students, the premise "of discontinuities between the culture and language of the home environment," can also apply to the majority of teachers—which are virtually a homogeneous group of female from European ancestry—as well as minority students. As more advancement is being made in society, to bring down social barriers, it seems like the more barriers are erected.

One logical area to investigate, pertaining to the current level of the Youngstown City Schools academic circumstances, is the teacher. Although teachers are not responsible for the moral training, usually conducted at home by the parents, teachers are very much in the center of the societal indoctrination, training and education of norms and mores of those students. As indicated by Wise:

The awful truth is that academic futures and levels of exposure for kids of color are quite literally in the hands of teachers and counselors who, as all

available evidence indicates, are often guided by race and class stereotypes about ability (Wise 53).

Contrary to popular propaganda, teachers in America may teach about equality, democracy and justice, but they do not practice what they preach, nor, in most cases, do they believe their African charges have the ability to learn as well as their other students. Once again, Wise exposes the dilemma of our national education system, he says "... we might hate to acknowledge it, teachers often have low expectations of their students, especially students of color ..." (Wise 55). Correspondingly, as Wise continues:

It cannot be seen as unimportant that approximately eighty-six (86%) of all public school teachers in the United States are White, mostly middle class and above, and significantly separated in a cultural sense from large numbers of their students, nearly forty percent (40%) of whom are children of color (Wise 56).

In the YCS district there are 829 teachers, which teach 6094 students of African descent or sixty-six percent (66%) of YCS's pupils. And "cultural misinterpretations and cross-cultural incompetence," as Wise further explains, are both "predictable" and "highly disruptive to the mission of equal educational opportunity" (Wise 56). Additionally, there has been a suspicion that preferential treatment has been long established for the hegemony simply because they receive the best and brightest teachers, while the economically disadvantaged schools, which usually teach non-European students, receive poorly trained and unqualified teachers. However, this may not be the case for the YCS. Under federal mandate, the district must publish information about its teachers: their training and education, which the district must verify. Although the certifications, licenses and college degrees of the teachers are recorded, their skills, ability and

desire to teach students, especially students of other cultures are not as easily quantifiable or qualifiable and therefore cannot be recorded.

Nevertheless, YCS has met both the "Highly Qualified Teachers" and the "Properly Certified/Licensed Teachers" categories for Bachelor's and Master's Degrees: HQT is ninety-eight point three percent (98-3%) for Bachelor's Degrees and ninety-three point one (93.1%) for Master's Degrees and the PC/LT are ninety-eight point two percent (98.2%) and ninety-seven percent (97%) respectively. The last federally mandated designation of; "Temporary, Conditional or Long-term Substitute Certified/Licensure" teachers are at zero percent (0%) and one percent (1%) respectively (OBE 3).

The average salary for teachers in this district is \$43, 817.00, less than that of a similar sized district of \$46,119.00 or the state average of \$47,652.00. Considering Youngstown is an economically depressed area, teachers' average salary is excellent for this local area. The demographic breakdown of the teachers is as follows: there are 174 male teachers and 535 female teachers. There are none that classify themselves as "multi-racial" and there are no Alaskan/ Native Americans and only three Asian/Pacific Islanders. There are thirteen (13) Hispanic teachers and seventy-seven (77) African teachers. Disproportionately there are more European teachers, with 616 members within that category, than any other group. When placed into context, the student body is 66% African, while the teachers are 87% European.

This past section discussed the demographic disparities of the teaching corps and the potential biases of those teachers, as it relates to the city of

Youngstown's contact zone. This next section wants to explore one idea that may be used to combat the cultural ignorance of teachers.

#### Attardo and Brown Study

Teaching is a noble profession, and teachers can be instrumental in the lives and futures of their students, who are innately vulnerable to authority figures, especially teachers, and to the type of instruction distributed within the classroom. One of the purposes of school is to provide a well ordered and disciplined environment for this instruction to occur. I would think, however that it is important for schools and communities to understand the character and experiences of the teachers they hire and materials they use for any biases that would adversely effect their pupils.

Consistent with the above ideals, Youngstown State University linguists instruct their students—many of whom are studying to become teachers themselves—on the many variations of language usage and dialects of the English language, like African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and Spanish or Asian languages. However, Dr. Salvatore Attardo and Dr. Steven Brown observed that some of their students, who mainly come from the homogeneous European communities, had negative attitudes and beliefs about languages and cultures other than their own. The negative attitude troubled both Attardo and Brown, who feel "will not serve them [the students] well as teachers" (Attardo 92). In an ad hoc study of this phenomenon, Attardo and Brown examines not only the beliefs and attitude of their students, but also they test if those conditions can be changed through linguistics instruction, which also teaches tolerance and

appreciation of other languages and cultures. The professors identified a common problem with their students—who were required to take a linguistics course from the English department—as "folkloristic beliefs<sup>25</sup>." Although, they recognize the confusion between the terms "belief" and "attitude," they did not explicitly refer to the terms biases and prejudices, which is implicit in attitudes and beliefs. Everyone discriminates, and it is inherent in our human condition; that we like some things, while disliking others. Discrimination is only dangerous, especially to society, when another group practices it on a group level. And too often, the professors noticed, that these future teachers have brought their traditions from their sanitized homogeneous middle class communities with them, which can have a negative impact upon students from an alien culture they may be required to instruct.

The professors tested their hypothesis that linguistic classes can significantly change or modify students' beliefs about cultural differences with mere exposure to linguistic principles (Attardo and Brown 94). They studied this phenomenon by dividing their subjects (their students) into two separate groups. The selection was based upon whether or not the students had taken linguistic courses before. Students with no experience with linguistic classes were identified as pre-linguistics groups, while the students with one or more linguistic classes were placed in the post-linguistics groups. Each group was given a questionnaire—refined from an earlier prototype the professors used in their pilot study—concerned with racial biases intermixed with distracter questions, as not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Traditional beliefs that are passed on within one's home culture and not necessarily by study, fact or evidence.

to alarm, offend or make their subjects defensive in regards to answering questions about cultural perceptions that hopefully will counteract any "Hawthorne effect."

Attardo and Brown realize that "attitude modification does not correlate in an obvious way to learning," and accordingly, they state:

Specifically, while it is impossible to have attitude modification without learning, it is perfectly plausible to have learning without attitude modification (after all, a Democrat can probably describe the Republican platform without changing party affiliation) (Attardo and Brown 96).

Nonetheless, they did find that attitudes and beliefs of linguistic students were altered significantly. They said, "... we conclude that even a limited exposure to linguistics and sociolinguistics (only one semester/course) effects significant change in the reported attitudes of the students, as far as AAVE goes" (Attardo and Brown 97). They go on to report that this modification has a cumulative effect as well. The more classes taken by the teaching candidates, the more their attitudes are likely to change. Lastly, they report, "that mere exposure to factual data, without any particular critical reflection focused by the teachers, leads to belief and/or attitude change, in measurable quantities" (Attardo and Brown 98).

A contradiction to the promise of their study, came from an anecdote of one of their subjects, "who wrote a beautiful answer" about the legitimacy of AAVE, which "regurgitated the book and lecture," only to end it with a satirical "Ha!" From this experience, both Attardo and Brown believe that that student did not truly believe in the materials they presented to her and that she merely gave her instructors, as most students do, an answer she thought her instructors most wanted to hear (Attardo 99). Coincidently, her behavior is not new; people have often disguised their true attitudes from potential employers, educators and others who may hold some control over the item sought, particularly when they feel that if they reveal their beliefs or biases openly, they may be prevented in gaining their goal. Subsequently, the old saying, "you can lead a horse to water, but you can't make it drink" is very much the case with people; although you can lead them where they need to be, you cannot make them appreciate it. Moreover, the social influences of bigotry these teaching candidates learned while they were children may go on to affect their future classrooms. Correspondingly, I posit that access to and experience with either people from other cultures may create fundamental understanding of those other cultures and that may eliminate fear of those cultures and possibly foster tolerance for those instances of cross-cultural exchange. Put another way, it is the lack of access to other cultures that adversely affects candidates for the teaching profession and may result in inappropriate behavior towards their students.

The interactions of the subjects within the "contact zones" are important because of the premise expounded on, by Attardo and Brown, that access to and knowledge of a given matter may increase awareness and acceptance of that matter. It also examines, in a limited fashion, the effects of the media in developing the opinions and attitudes of these students towards other cultures. Attardo and Brown noticed that despite negative opinions or attitudes of AAVE their students had before their linguistics course, there was a change that occurred after the completion of the linguistics course. The belief modification that the professors witnessed presented a new area of study for them to investigate: ignorance of cultures other than one's own may be overcome by analytical and critical examination within the classroom.

Correspondingly, racism—refers to White supremacy and/or Black inferiority—is ingrained in western culture and is subtly indoctrinated into all the population, which is another form of social engineering that is experienced worldwide, especially within the United States. The task of the above chapter was to expose our acculturation process and racial pedagogy that affect the "contact zone" to the public. The vicious cycle here is that students who become teachers will of course incorporate their ignorance into the next generation of students, who will likewise become teachers and thereby perpetuate the cycle of ignorance.

This past chapter reflects the ignorance of cultural deficiencies in intelligence and cognitive abilities that is carried on through out American, but where did it come from? It was not created in a vacuum, nor is it factual. This next chapter discusses the nature and history of the human intelligence and how Africans began to be viewed as subhuman.

#### **Chapter Five**

#### The Theories of Genetic Deficiencies in African IQ.

A major justification for the educational disparity of antebellum and post bellum America has been the pseudo science of racial natural order, which promoted the theory of genetic deficiencies within the African race. Woodson and Wesley report the underline philosophy of racial discourse in this country, in their <u>Negro in Our History</u> (1910). During the years before the fall of slavery, proponents of that institution attempted to justify it by progressing an idea that slavery was indeed good for the Africans, because of their limited cognitive development. Woodson and Wesley divulge, "Men have invented all sorts of arguments based upon estimates of 'physiognomy, using signs and symbols to describe every part of the man—from the heel to the skull—to prove the mental and moral inferiority of the Negro" (1). As Woodson and Wesley indicate, the hegemony created, distributed and sustained fallacious theories based upon genetic deficiencies to justify this manufactured social order.

Meta Carstarphen said that this country has "a national schizophrenia about race" which was the cause of its behavior towards minorities. Through his study of etymology, he finds that the hegemony manipulated scientific investigations to justify the continued abuse of other cultures. In "News-Surfing the Race Question: of <u>Bell Curves</u>, Words, and Rhetorical Metaphors" Carstarphen also exposes the fallacy of racial identifiers, which he says was useful for the perpetuation of oppression. Additionally, he states, "The metaphor of race was needed by European and British enslavers to justify a practice that from its beginning had its detractors" (26). Racial identifiers were created to further oppress Africans in America and throughout the diaspora. However, as Carstarphen continues, this was "long before the pseudo-science of racial genetics (as reinvigorated by the <u>Bell Curve</u>) could be created by social scientists and intellectuals" (Carstarphen 26). "Although racism was contrived to secure positions of power by the stratification of people," Carstarphen believes "it is the rhetoric of racism, on both sides that creates the most danger to society" (Carstarphen 26).

The philosophy of racial intellectual differences goes hand in hand with the oppressive language that denigrates people within that group, along with the restrictions on their economic development and educational achievement. The promise of a proper education has not yet been fully realized by America's African citizens. And although America enjoys its self-proclaimed image of equality, egalitarianism and open opportunities for all, its reality suggests the contrary. Thus far in the history of America's educational system, there are elements within the hegemony that has deliberately, systematically and institutionally failed students of African origin. Individuals who control the educational process simply find it is more profitable and rewarding to keep the myth of genetic superiority, along with most of the world's resources, as they are now: in the possession of the hegemony. In other words, by restricting access to

education and the economic wealth of the world, White supremists can, and do, claim a "natural order" with placement at the top of the theoretical racial hierarchy, which conveniently allows them complete command and control over society.

Of course, the hegemony has to invent or manufacture reasons for their barbaric behavior, as it would seem contrary to their beneficent image they wish to promote worldwide. In <u>The Assassination of the Black Male Image</u> (1994), Earl Hutchinson describes how the African race became associated with subhuman and nefarious characteristics, through the images created by members of the hegemony. He states:

The image of the malevolent Black male is based on durable and timeresistant bedrock of myths, half-truths and lies. The image was created during the European conquest of Africa, nurtured during slavery, artfully refined during the nadir of segregation, and revived during the Ronald Reagan—George Bush—Newt Gingrich years (15).

Not only is the appearance of dysfunctional and illiterate Africans invaluable for the maintenance of power by and for the hegemony, it is also necessary for that myth to be perpetuated internally within Africans themselves. In <u>Race Matters</u> (1994) Cornell West discloses the results of oppressing America's African inhabitants:

Black people in the United States differ from all other modern people owing to the unprecedented levels of unregulated and unrestrained violence directed at them. No other people have been taught systematically to hate themselves—psychic violence—reinforced by the powers of state and civic coercion—physical violence—for the primary purpose of controlling their minds and exploiting their labor for nearly four hundred years (West XIII). More specifically West notes that Africans were purposely "taught systematically" by "civic coercion" and with the "power of the state" to think of themselves and their people as less than human. The hegemony attempted to instill both superiority about themselves and inferiority of others, particularly Africans living in America, as additional controls over society.

Sadly, Africans have internalized this image about their own people, their intellectual dysfunctions and being subhuman since the first Africans, in America, were emancipated. This adopted vision of Africans and Africa caused deep division amongst the African population, which Dyson describes in his criticism of Bill Cosby's much published remarks about poor Africans last year. Dyson states that this is just the old divisive argument between the Black elite (Black bourgeois or "Afristocracy") and the poor or "Ghettocracy" (Dyson xi). Nathan Hare refers to these elite as the Black Anglo-Saxon, in his book appropriately named The Black Anglo-Saxon (1970).

This social control or civic engineering occurs not only in politics and education but also in the religious industry as well as the judicial system. Grievingly, "Removing Masks: Confronting Graceful Evasions and Bad Habits in A Graduate English Class (1999), by Gail Okawa, shares the author's experiences when she was confronted with White supremacy and the total control of power that was concentrated in the European community and the resentment by Hawaii's indigenous inhabitants and migrant workers from parts of Asia, during her youth. She says, "The tension lurked beneath those surfaces, the legacy of economic, racial, and linguistic oppression—colonialism on sugar and pineapple plantations—an economy controlled by a White, English-speaking oligarchy" (125).

Although scholars have disputed the racial fabrications of genetically deficient Africans and their cognitive abilities, many times over, this issue still continues to be raised, in a deceptive effort, to keep the focus away from other potential variables, particularly with the current critical condition that face African students in the contact zone. Abigail and Stephen Thernstroms' admit, in <u>America in Black and White</u> (1997), "The recipe for African Americans was the reverse. They [Africans] were "excluded from assimilation" (532). And to be clear, "the recipe" the Thernstroms talks about is the recipe for success and enrichment within this society that education is thought to provide along with social acceptance by the hegemony.

Even when Africans are included in the fabric of American life, as David Walker reveals, it is usually limited with an expensive price tag. This fiery abolitionist of the antebellum period describes the disparity Africans had to endure under the hypocrisy of Massachusetts's educational policy. In <u>David</u> Walker's Appeal (1830), the author says:

Here is a fact, which I this very minute take from the mouth of a young Coloured man, who has been to school in this state (Massachusetts) nearly nine years, and who knows grammar this day, nearly as well as he did the day he first entered the schoolhouse, under a White master. This young man says: "My master would never allow me to study grammar." I asked him, why? "The school committee," said he "forbid the Coloured children learning grammar—they would not allow any but the White children to study grammar" (54 capitalization emphasis mine). During the antebellum period, Massachusetts was the most liberal of the independent states, within the newly formed United States. And it was the first state to ban slavery, yet despite its progressive and egalitarian ideals, especially with its open enrollment for all of its children. Massachusetts still abided by the national social norm and disguised its racism behind the ideals of liberty and justice. Walker, however, exposes its unofficial policy of classroom segregation. Walker reasons, "It is a notorious fact, that the major part of the White Americans, have ever since we have been among them, tried to keep us ignorant, and make us believe that God made us and our children to be slaves to them and theirs" (Walker 54). The development of such communications skills as, grammar, punctuation, spelling and syntax were denied to African students purposely, because it is understood that when properly developed, the ability to command one's language demonstrates potential cognitive development within that individual. The importance of developing one's communicative skills is instrumental to the development of cognitive ability. Herrnstein and Murray state, "... to be an educated person meant being able to write competently and argue logically. Therefore children were taught the inner logic of grammar and syntax because that kind of attention to detail was believed to carry over to greater precision of thinking" (Herrnstein 443).

The prohibition school administers placed on their African students, during Walker's time, was an early form of "tracking," and later used as a model in the pedagogical traditions of this country. Tracking was/is a deceptive form of segregation, because from outside looking in the system or individual school, it

appears that all students have an equal opportunity of learning, while the reality is, that for one set of students education was challenging and stimulating their cerebral development, which is quite the contrary for the other set of students. Education for them is stifling and retarding their mental capabilities. Isaiah Robinson reveals, "Discrimination is incorporated into the classroom by numerous methods such as "tracking," "ability grouping," or "incentive promotions," all of which serve to separate White and Black students" (Robinson 12). The low academic performance by African youngsters as Joel Spring suggests, in <u>Education and the Rise of the Corporate State</u> (1972), is a socialization process that was a direct result of segregated schools, which was, as he further contends, "designed to perpetuate a caste system and assure the domination of one racial group over another" (150). And these observations are not too distant from that of David Walker.

Despite the tremendous efforts of the hegemony to limit educational pursuits of Africans, there are those Africans, who broke through the societal barriers and confusion to achieve their academic goals. There has been and still are many well educated Africans throughout the diaspora, even during the antebellum period. Notwithstanding, the limited success of Africans to achieve academically, as Carter G. Woodson and Charles Wesley explain, the overall progress of education is severely restricted because it was flawed with misinformation, especially concerning the history of African people. They state:

In view of the large number of Negroes engaged in education, persons have expressed their surprise that they have not influenced the course of things differently, but such is impossible when the Negroes thus employed are products of the system which they serve and they are not permitted to

develop the power to think for themselves . . . The education acquired by Negroes, therefore, has little bearing on their uplift because what they are taught is intended for persons who are otherwise circumstanced (572).

Simply put, the education Africans received was not meant for them, primarily because Africans do not fit into the circumstances of the hegemony. Implicate in their suspicion, of the education distributed to Africans, is the support that the educational system has for the theories of White supremacy and Black inferiority.

Literature has an important impact on literate societies and its perceived power effects society because of the overriding trust bestowed to books as the authoritative last word. Ellsworth Janifer's "The Role of Black Studies in Music Education" (1973) suggests, that this phenomenon of unquestioned loyalty and faith in literature is not only unique to the literary and sophisticated world, but is dangerous as well (151). "As is well known," Janifer says, "books, in the estimation of school children (and many adults), are infallible and do not lie" (Janifer 151). If it is in a book, it must be true, is the common belief of society, especially the young. Janifer reminds us that certain books have added to the "glorification of White western culture," and he contends that they portray the Europeans as the most morally civilized and culturally superior of all the peoples on earth. He also states that these literary works are "just another put down of the Negro" (Janifer 155). In agreement with Janifer's remarks, John Clarke says, "Ideas of racial superiority were intensified and a whole body of "scientific" literature was produced to support this attitude" (Clarke 32 emphasis mine). Which reflects the view stated earlier about the relationship academia has with proponents of White supremacy.

Human beings have a unique ability to communicate with one another, unlike any other creature on the planet. "Language is quintessentially human," as said by Eve Clark, in her <u>First Language Acquisition</u> (2003). She suggests that literature is only a component of communication and language, and she says "We use spoken language every day, face-to-face, as a means of communication, and written language allows us to record and hold on to our history across generations" (1). Through the evolution of our brains, human beings have developed complex languages and ways to transmit them great distances simultaneously. Accordingly, not only did human beings advance their communicative skills tremendously, they created machines (tools or weapons) that understand language and operate exactly as commanded.

As JanMohamed and Lloyd describes in, <u>Toward a Theory of Minority</u> <u>Discourse</u> (1987), "To date, integration and assimilation have never taken place on equal terms, but always as assimilation by the dominant culture" (JanMohamed & Lloyd 7). And Thomas Sowell says, "Assimilation is not the answer to racial problems. A society whose racial animosities had been reduced to the point where assimilation was possible would be a society in which it would be unnecessary" (Sowell 295). It is difficult to juxtapose these two positions mainly because JanMohamed's position is factual, while Sowell's idea is hypothetical and the reality is both statements need the hegemony to concede even a little of its power in order for integration and assimilation to work, which is not likely to happen.

Nonetheless, the rhetoric of the conservative elements within the education system, studies have found, presents a correlation between cultural images in literature and the reaction of youngsters to them. This leads to the nihilism of self-hate or despair that African students often develop. For instance, in All Deliberate Speed: Reflections on the First Half Century of Brown v. Board of Education (2004), Charles Ogletree discusses the use of Dr. Kenneth Clark infamous "baby doll test" experiment-referenced during the Brown v. Board of Education trial in 1954—that demonstrated the sense of self-deprivation and low self-esteem African children developed, due in large part because of racial segregation and social ostracizing by the hegemony, which Africans endured all of their life. The rejection, by the children, of a "Black" baby doll for a "White" suggests that these children incorporated hatred for their race and consequently self-hatred (54). Negative images can be highly damaging to youngsters, particularly when they have nothing else to compare those images against. Cornel West suggests, "This vicious ideology and practice of White supremacy has left its indelible mark on all spheres of American life—from the prevailing crimes of Amerindian reservations to the discriminatory realities against Spanishspeaking Latinos to racial stereotypes against Asians" (West XIV).

In <u>State of Emergency: We Must Save African American Males</u> (2001), Jawanza Kunjufu describes the challenges of being non-productive and marginalized, particularly in this capitalistic society, when young African men have feelings of worthlessness or "nihilism," and how they react to their circumstances of being poor, Black and unable to fulfill the duties of manhood (58). He also talks about the attitudes and behaviors of African children, especially the young boys, who view the images of themselves as non-human. Kunjufu says, "People without a future are dangerous. Humans without goals have nothing to lose" (Kunjufu 57).

A myth is a lie manifested through the ages into gigantic proportions, correspondingly, it is said that if a lie is repeated often and loud enough, it will be believed as "truth," which is the philosophy surrounding stereotyping. And it is the images incorporated by Houghton Mifflin for the Youngstown City School's Language Arts program that are important to this study. Gail Okawa understands the important of paying close attention to the images transmitted through the media. In her, "Removing Masks: Confronting Graceful Evasions and Bad Habits in A Graduate English Class" (1999), she warns, "... contortions and distortions of minority images created by pervasive dominant cultural discourse: in children's books, advertising, broadcast journalism, film (including animation), print journalism, art, textbooks, and educational theories" (134). The contortions and distortions of images are stereotyping the characteristics of an individual or group in a negative, often ridiculous, light. In her, "Racing (Erasing) White Privilege in Teaching/Research Writing About Race," Amy Goodburn says "Of course, this attention to race is certainly not news to English Studies, where pedagogical and curricular issues have long been theorized with respect to issues of race, class and gender" (68).

This last chapter presented the exaggerated anthropological findings of specialized group observations aided the pseudo-science of certain members

within the hegemony to perpetuating stereotypes. The results lead to both the students and teachers developing "self-fulfilled prophecies" that negatively impacts the contact zone, especially the African students of that classroom.

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## Conclusion

Here again is a little anecdotal information concerning my interest in this subject, which was inspired by children as I observed them matriculating through their public education experiences. Both my son and niece went to YCS's West Elementary School, enrolled in kindergarten and the first grade respectively. Eillan seemed to never like school, which both my wife and I thought was natural. His report cards were average and we had confidence in the school. It was by happenstance that I decided to walk up to the school and surprise the children with an escort back home. I arrived too early and therefore I observed Eillan's class. I was surprised at the brutal treatment his kindergarten teacher subjected him to. She placed him in positions to be ridiculed by his classmates and was verbally abusive towards him. I made my complaints known to the principal and the school board, but this was at the very end of the school year, and his verbal communication skills were suppressed to the extent that he could not articulate what she had done to him.

The other instance came from the scholarly neglect that my niece Mary received. I noticed, when taking the children to school, that Mary's teacher would always give her a big smile and a big hug. Yet, despite her year in first grade was almost over, Mary could not write or spell her name. The smiles and hugs did not teach Mary how to read and write. Mary suffered from it because she had to be placed back into first grade the following year, which had a negative effect on her for quite some time.

Education offers an opportunity to market one's self and accrue a prosperous life or suffer in a long struggle for survival. The stakes are high when it comes to education in a capitalistic world; who gets educated and who remains ignorant is guite literally in the hands of the education's front-line troops, the teachers. The restriction on access to proper education in America is well documented. Conservative elements, within this society, also defend the practice of racially excluding Africans from more prominent institutions on the grounds that "urban" or "inner-city" students (code word for African and/or Hispanic people) are improperly prepared for the highly competitive scholarly atmosphere. They promote the attendance to more inferior schools for these students than elite institutions. As an example, on the Tavis Smiley Show, on National Public Radio (90.3FM), former aide of both the Ronald Reagan and George Bush administration, Linda Chavez, praised the sharp reduction of African students from the University of California at Berkley, the flagship university of that state. Before proposition #209 in 1996, African students had 563 enrollees attend Berkley, this past year, 2004; the African student body was drastically reduced to less than one hundred members.

Chavez, who is of Mexican descent, states, "... this may in fact be good news." Likewise, while defending his study on the effects of Affirmative Action, Richard Sanders claims, on National Public Radio News with Tony Cox, that a racial preferences program, like Affirmative Action, actually hinders the recipient groups because of the stigma associated with it. In his "A Systematic Analysis on Affirmative Action in American Law Schools" (2004) he suggests that students who take advantage of Affirmative Actions often feel that they cannot compete with the high qualifications and standards of "normal" students, and this program is needed to give them an edge.

Although explicitly addressing the legal profession and law schools, Sanders remarks implicitly refer to all elite institutions of higher learning and all professional occupations as well. Succinctly put, Affirmative Action meant to "level" the theoretical playing field, which have traditionally excluded African people, are now hindering their progression in the academic and professional fields. However, Sanders claim is not extended to European females, who, by the way, make up the vast majority of all Affirmative Action recipients. Apparently they do not suffer from the same low self-esteem and are not stymied from their participation with preference programs as Africans are said to be suffering from. Additionally, Sanders does not suggest that preferential treatment known, as "legacy" placements have not hindered those recipient students. Sander exposes his hypocrisy of the double-standard when he states, "... if one is going to choose a single group to highlight, Blacks are the obvious choice; the data on Blacks is the most extensive; and law school admissions offices treat Blacks as a group uniformly-something that is not generally true for Hispanics and Asians" (Sanders 370). This disparity in the treatment of groups is indeed of interest to society, especially Africans who wish to be lawyers.

Whether the academic world wants a dialog about the historical disparities in our educational system, based upon racism, or not, a pedagogy of supremacy is relevant to this topic of educational analysis. Although this study began with a discussion about the "color line," it focused rather quickly on the first grade language arts program of the Youngstown City School system for any biases in the curriculum or supplemental programs used to augment the communication enhancement skills of the students.

The good news is that there seems to be no openly blatant inferences to stereotypes or crass characterizations of people based on racial or ethnic features inside the covers of the Houghton Mifflin Language Arts series of textbooks. In addition the Youngstown City School district is aggressively pursuing various strategies and programs to enhance their students' communicative skills, and in some instances they are succeeding. However, there is still a huge gap in the achievement scores between the various cultural groups. Yet, despite efforts by conservatives, like Hernstein and Murray—to interject theories of racial "natural selection" or genetics intellectual differences, for which there is no empirical evidence or facts—the explanation for this gap is largely socioeconomic and the ability of those groups to access valuable resources. According to Thomas Sowell, "Students from middle-class, upper-income families are usually programmed for college from early childhood, while students from low socioeconomic backgrounds usually are not" (Sowell 274).

Another interesting explanation of the cultural educational disparities, with particular influences upon African youngsters, may as yet been fully investigated,

but was referenced above. This explanation actually condemns the public

educational system as the chief culprit of the problem. The importance of

education for many Africans here in America is evident in their group faith and

reverence for "education" as a means of escape from their socioeconomic

bondage they have been subjected to since emancipation. Yet, the essence of

education has been corrupted by racism as well as its dispersement. Carter

Woodson reflects upon the essence of education on African students. He says,

"The thought of the inferiority of the Negro is drilled into him in almost every class

he enters and in almost every book he studies" (Woodson 4). This inferiority

complex is completed through education as Woodson suggests:

The "educated Negroes" have the attitude of contempt towards their own people because in their own as well as in their mixed schools Negroes are taught to admire the Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin and the Teuton and to despise the African (Woodson 1).

W. E. B. DuBois likewise suggests:

After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world—a world that yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelations of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity (Du Bois 2).

Invariably, education has a great deal of correlation to both group identity and

individual self-esteem. Although there are now new discoveries within history-

lead in large part by historians and anthropologists of African descent, that have

corrected or added a new perspective to the myths of the past-this information

has yet reached the curriculum of many school systems and therefore the

massive numbers of African students. Both Woodson and Wesley acknowledge, "The inevitable result, then, is that the Negro himself has had difficulty in escaping from the conviction that he is an inferior and should be content with an underprivileged status" (Woodson and Wesley 573). In concert with Woodson and Wesley, Isaiah Robinson says, "Vast numbers of Black children live in environments that teach them they are inferior and that for generations their families have held an inferior position in society" (Robinson 6). Robinson also says:

Black children are increasingly articulate in expressing their skepticism about their schools and what is taught in them. They take for granted that "The Big Lie" is shoved down their throats not only by their teachers, but also by politicians, the government, and even their parents (Robinson 6).

These children, according to Robinson, "sense what is happening" to them, and accordingly, "Their subconscious awareness of this tactic evokes burning anger and hostility that divert their energies from learning into ways of striking back" (Robinson 14). The collective mental defense mechanisms developed by the children were for self-protection. Because they are compelled to attend school, . . . . " (Robinson 14). One way African students reacted to their educational dilemma

was simply to withdraw. Woodson and Wesley says:

Struggling under the supposedly heavy load of their inferiority, some have lost their ambition to fight against their odds. They cannot be inspired from within because their teachers themselves are not informed as to the background in the achievement of African, and few boards of education or colleges permit the use of books presenting such achievements of Negroes in art, literature and philosophy (Woodson and Wesley 574).

Of course, the underlinings message that Woodson and Wesley present cross

into the area of distribution or dispersement of education that went to the

hegemony and masses of Africans. In "Issues in Urban Education" by Kenneth

Clark, the author states:

Study after study has shown that those schools attended by predominantly Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, and low-income White students are criminally inefficient in providing these students with the type, quality, and effectiveness of education that will make them able to compete with more privileged youngsters at any public, parochial, or private school in this country (Clark 76).

According to Clark, public schools are used to maintain stratifications and distinctions between dark-skinned minorities and upwardly mobile White groups, by being the chief instrument of powerlessness for lower status groups (Clark 78). "Public schools" as Clark suggests, are quite effective at keeping groups permanently powerless (Clark 79).

Conversely, the upper levels of the language arts program by Houghton Mifflin showed progress, albeit not as quickly as many have hoped, yet there was progress. The two elements that must be examined closer, in order to correct the disparities in future learning, is the internal element of the student: his or her selfesteem or self-awareness and motivation, and the external elements that students must contend with at any given time. These include the socio-economic condition of her or his family; the pedagogy or ideology of her or his teachers; and social mores and norms, which may place a student from a different cultural background at a disadvantage.

Finally and sadly, it is unfortunate that our national educational system has for the most part sustained its racial caste system, as a normal function of everyday life or "status quo," for the teacher as well as the student. The fallacious assumption that there was an era of greater educational enlightenment or golden age of education in the history of the United States—like that of the "school marm" period, Martin Gross nostalgically mentions-has never fully occurred in this country nor throughout the diaspora. When education was introduced to the masses of Americans, through an affordable publicly tax-based school system, Africans were excluded from it. Africans were nationally permitted an education<sup>26</sup> after the civil war, and when the education of Africans was finally acceptable, it came with severe restrictions: the first being Plessy v. Ferguson (1892), which marshaled in "Jim Crow" segregation laws in the country, and later the vast abandonment of White students and their parents' tax revenue, which supported most urban public school districts, due to "White flight," or another form of social and racial segregation. Yet, despite their abandonment of these urban school districts. European control over these districts remained in tact, as they continued to employ their own people, while simultaneously keeping Africans and others at a social, educational and economic disadvantage. All too often the most important issue, in the discussion of personal human development within this capitalistic society, regardless of any academic achievements, pertains to one's ability to provide some economic value, either in physical or mental service, to the market place and get paid for it. Simply put, an education is a stepping-stone for future economic opportunities to earn money, thus provide the resources to live by.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Under the "Slave Codes" Africans were forbidden by law to learn to read or write, and under the "Black Codes" of segregation (Jim Crow) the access to proper or equal education was a myth. The primary reason that Plessy v Ferguson (1892) was overturned by Brown v Board (1954) was precisely because of the inequity of the "separate but equal" application to the decision.

Nevertheless, the true test of whether or not the Youngstown City Schools students' language skills are enhanced through district's language arts programs is reflected in the scores of the Ohio Graduation Test<sup>27</sup>, as reported in the August 14, 2005 Vindicator on the front page. The article, "District Again Finds Itself in Academic Emergency," by an unnamed staff writer, reveals that the YCS is once again in academic emergency, having failed in all but one academic category; Reading. Despite not meeting its goals for Writing<sup>28</sup>, it was the second highest aggregate score behind Reading, which signifies that there is progress being made, at least, in the district's language arts program. In 2004 the Reading scores were 59 and increased to 89 in 2005, while the Writing scores registered for the first time at 65. No other subject scored higher than 59 (Vindicator A1). Although not necessarily reflecting directly on the first grade language arts programs, these results do reflect the indirect foundation made by the lower grades' programs, including the first grade.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> This test has taken the place of the Ohio Proficiency Test and not only is instrumental in rating the students but also the districts and schools throughout Ohio.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> The Writing category was "Not Applicable" in the last year's tested results.

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