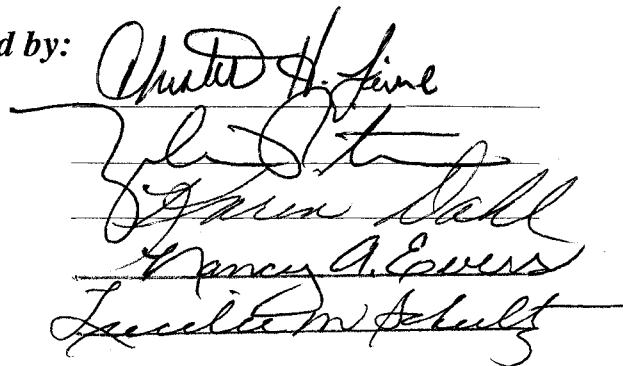


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*I hereby recommend that the thesis prepared under
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entitled Walking the Edges: Reading and Writing in the
Lives of Low SES, Urban High School Student/Parents,
Their Parents, and Their Children
*be accepted as fulfilling this part of the requirements for
the degree of* Doctor of Education

Approved by:


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Walking the Edges:
Reading and Writing in the Lives of Low SES, Urban
High School Student/Parents, Their Parents, and Their Children

A dissertation submitted to the
Division of Graduate Studies and Research
of the University of Cincinnati

in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction
of the College of Education

May 25, 1990

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Abstract

Walking the Edges:

Reading and Writing in the Lives of Low SES, Urban High School Student/Parents, Their Parents, and Their Children

This research is an ethnographic study of literacy as a socially constructed process, literacy viewed as a part of the acquisition and transmission of culture. The focal population was a group of low SES high school students, most of whom were African American, and their children (ages 7 weeks to 4 years), several of whom were enrolled in a day care center housed within the large, urban high school their parents attended in a midwestern U.S. city. The research was an attempt to understand the kinds of literacy, specifically the types and amounts of reading and writing, that were a part of the home and school lives of the student/parents, and their parents, and a part of the home and day care lives of their children.

The rationale for the study focused on literacy as a socially constructed process, an important part of the acquisition of culture, that should be framed by examination and understanding of children's total environments (Perl, 1987; Dyson, 1985). This research stressed the importance of emic perspectives and specifically attempted to frame

reading and writing from the informants' points of view (Gilmore, 1987).

The organizing frameworks guiding this study were: Teale's (1986) domains of activity mediated by literacy; Heath (1983), Taylor (1983) and Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines (1988) categories for types and uses of reading and writing in urban home settings; and Pitman, Eisikovits, and Dobbert's (1989) description and use of categories for structuring observations.

The ethnographically evolved intent of this research was to answer, through thick description, the question:

In what forms and under what circumstances is literacy (reading and writing) a part of the school and home lives of these student/parents, their parents, and their children?

Data collection included participant observation, field notes, structured observations, photography, formal and informal interviews, and the collection of documents and other artifacts. Findings are presented in both narrative form (in composite profiles intended to show the reading and writing in the student/parents' lives in their full social context while also protecting the identities of individual consultants) and through detailed explanations of the kinds of reading and writing observed in the research settings. Essentially, the kinds of writing tasks engaged in at home differ from the writing done at school.

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I am very grateful to the members of my dissertation committee: Chester Laine (Chairperson); Mary Anne Pitman; Karin Dahl; Lucille Schultz; and Nancy Evers. All of them contributed to both the process of my thinking about this research and to the product of that research, this document. In addition, I thank those who assisted me in the coding of data: Patrick Analewechi; Ellen Macintyre; and Mary Anne Pitman. Without the computer advice and assistance of Richard Beck, the management of my data would have been impossible; I am very appreciative of his help. I am also indebted to Frances Weaver, who encouraged my return to graduate school and cheered each succeeding step of my work through the completion of this document. Finally, I thank all those who were consultants or participants in this research: the student/parents and their family members; the day care staff; and the administrators, teachers, and other staff members of the high school.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Methodology

This research is an ethnographic study of literacy as a socially constructed process, literacy viewed as a part of the acquisition and transmission of culture. The focal population is a group of low socio-economic status female and male high school students, most of whom are African American, and their children (ages 7 weeks to 4 years), several of whom are enrolled in a day care center housed within the large, urban high school their student/parents attend in a midwestern U.S. city. The research is an attempt to understand the kinds of literacy, specifically, the types and amounts of reading and writing, that are a part of the home and school lives of the student/parents and their parents, and a part of the home and day care lives of their children.

The rationale for the study focuses on literacy as a

social activity, not as a sequential set of skills learned by children either before or during formal schooling (Heath, 1983; Teale, 1987). In this study, literacy is regarded as a socially constructed process, an important part of the acquisition of culture, that should be framed by examination and understanding of children's total environments (Perl, 1987; Dyson, 1985). From birth, the high school students who are the primary informants for this research, and the infants and toddlers who are their children, are immersed in particular language communities, surrounded by the language and views of language of those around them. The reasons for, the contexts in, and the persons with whom they use language are not separate and isolated phenomena; they are all embedded in everyday activities and interactions (Florio-Ruane, 1988; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988; Teale, 1987; Schultz, Florio, & Erickson, 1982).

This research stresses the importance of emic perspectives and specifically attempts to frame reading and writing from the informants' points of view (Gilmore, 1987), endeavoring to recognize and understand: (1) in what specific ways reading and writing are a part of the everyday activities of the student/parents, their parents, and their children; (2) in what specific ways the kinds of reading and writing activities that take place outside of school are like and/or different from the reading and writing

activities that are a part of the school and day care lives of the student/parents and their children.

This research, throughout the two years of data collection and the simultaneous and subsequent data management and analysis, involved some of the informants in several stages of the research process (Heath, 1983; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988), primarily through regular review of and comment on field notes, interview transcripts, still photographs, slides, and video tapes, collected documents, and drafts of narrative descriptions. The three primary data collection sites for the research were: (1) the high school classes and activities of the student/parents; (2) the home lives of the student/parents; and (2) the day care center attended by the children of the student parents.

The organizing frameworks that evolved from a combination of one year's experience in collecting data in the first research site, the day care center, and readings done in the areas of language & literacy and ethnography were: Teale's (1986) domains of activity mediated by literacy; Heath (1983), Taylor (1983), and Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines (1988) categories for types and uses of reading and writing in urban home settings; and Pitman, Eisikovits, & Dobbert's (1989) description and use of categories for structuring observations. During the recursive course of

data collection and management, Teale's domains of activity were dropped, because their use did not add categories or direction substantially different from the Heath categories, as reformulated by Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines.

My eventual intent, an intent which evolved from a series of questions posed then probed throughout the full length of the research process, was to answer, in a thickly descriptive way, the question: In what forms and under what circumstances is literacy (reading and writing) a part of the school and home lives of these student/parents, their parents, and their children? The result, this document, is an attempt to conceptualize and communicate to others the roles that reading and writing play in the lives of those whose points-of-view toward reading and writing I attempted to understand and describe, the student/parents and their family members.

Rationale

The framework for anthropological studies of education, Bogdan & Biklen (1982) advise, is the concept of culture. Culture is defined by Goetz & LeCompte (1984, p. 3) as "everything having to do with human behavior and belief" and by Spradley (1980, p. 3) as the "acquired knowledge people use to interpret experience and generate behavior." Geertz (1973), Bogdan & Biklen report, saw culture as a context

within which behaviors, institutions, or processes can be described. I have chosen to define culture as an interactive system consisting of beliefs and behaviors constructed and experienced within particular physical settings, with the resources and within the interactional processes of the individuals within the culture.

The composite profiles, combined with detailed categorical analysis of the kinds of reading and writing observed in this study, provide a detailed description of the cultural system of single, urban, high school age parents and their preschool children, and in particular an ethnographic description of the kind(s) and place(s) of reading and writing in their lives, in and outside school and day care settings.

Perl (1987) noted that ethnography and the study of literacy are both evolving, emerging processes and that ethnography is particularly well suited to the study of literacy, since the ethnographic process is richly detailed/highly descriptive and emergent literacy, as a fairly new field, must begin to build theory by first accumulating a thickly descriptive account of the early stages of both reading and writing. Ethnography is both a process and a product; in this study, my writing is both the circulatory system of the research process (from the review of the literature to initial fieldnotes describing formative

decisions and entree procedures and dilemmas through coding, memos, journal keeping, theory framing, the virtual necessity of additional literature reviews, the formation, testing, and attempted falsification of hypotheses, the writing of drafts and their subsequent revisions) and the heart of what was studied -- literacy in a variety of settings in the day to day lives of a group of young parents and their family members.

The purpose, scope, depth, and focus of this study went through many changes in the course of the two years of research. This document is as much a study of those changes as of the high school students who are the consultants/focal learners in the study. Sherwood Anderson is reported to have remarked that writing forces us out of ourselves and into the lives of others; I think that observation could be applied to ethnography as well. I view ethnography as more deliberately cyclical and less linear than most other genres, as it forces researchers, through the lives of others, to reexamine their own lives, their assumptions, values, attitudes, etc. It is in that spirit, I think, that Turnbull (1986, p. 17) commented that when engaged in ethnographic research we are "likely to discover more about ourselves than about others, and in so doing discover unknown riches in our own lives."

At some point during this study, I discovered, during

the recursive nature of the process and the reflection that is a part of that recursiveness, that my study "walked the edges" in many ways, not the least of which is the organization and writing style. Some of this document is on the stylistic edge of published ethnographic research; to some, it will be too far over the edge of what is currently accepted. I hope that it will suggest ways that subsequent research can come even closer to capturing the real, day to day events and interactions that together constitute the lives of real persons, at least partially from the points of view of those persons.

As a novice ethnographer at the beginning of this research effort, I walked an edge, learning ethnography as I concurrently learned about the lives of infants, toddlers, and adult staff members in a high school's day care program. As an employee of that high school, I walked another edge, monitoring myself to make sure that my role as an administrator of a school-within-a-school alternative program did not intrude on my research, first in the day care center, and then in the school and home lives of the high school students who are the parents of the children I initially studied in day care. Throughout the process of data collection, and particularly in its third phase, the portion of the research that examines the out-of-school lives of the student parents, I walked the edges of my own

literacy "baggage," learning to recognize my own lifelong, literacy-connected biases and struggling to keep them from obscuring or misinterpreting the views of literacy of those I was studying, views that were, in most cases, radically different from my own. In attempts to understand what I was experiencing in the course of this research, I walked the edges of theory, borrowing points of view from anthropology, from writing process theory, from theories of the social construction of literacy, from theories related to minority students' performance in American schools, and other current theories in educational research.

There were other edges in this two year study. The student/parents and I skirted each others' edges for some time, our many differences -- in age, race, socio-economic background, experiential background, education, roles within the high school, life style -- making it initially difficult to communicate with one another. As we spent more time together, with me a participant observer in their lives and the lives of their parents and their children, I learned about the many edges they were walking as they attempted to fight the odds and finish high school. I saw them walk the edge of childhood/adulthood: a 15 year old dressing up to go trick-or-treating herself, after making a Ghostbusters costume for her baby; a 17 year old staying up all night to finish a paper for a class, then leaving the paper on the

bus as she struggled to carry baby, diaper bag, purse, gym suit, and book bag to school the next morning; a 16 year old head-of-household crying over the loss of a position on the cheerleading squad and, the same day, fighting for her rights with a visibly and audibly hostile clerk in a subsidized housing office; an 18 year old promising to bring a box of diapers to his girlfriend, for their baby, then after his school day and 7 hours of work in a fast food restaurant, forgetting all about the diapers.

The student parents walked other edges as well. Being a high school student and maintaining one's friendships and activities sometimes seem incompatible with the responsibilities of parenthood. Many friendships changed, then ended, perhaps because student/parents were unable to attend parties, football games and other activities that their friends took for granted as a normal part of high school life, perhaps because the interests and activities of the student/parents changed, and in some cases, all their time and energy went into child care and household maintenance. As their out-of-school activities and obligations changed drastically in the months after their babies' births, the female student/parents were on the edges of their high school classes, physically withdrawing to the back rows and the far sides of their classrooms, and mentally and emotionally withdrawing, spending more time

with other students who were also parents and less time with students who did not have children of their own, seeing few connections between the content of their high school classes and the content of their daily lives outside the classroom. The male student parents did not live with their offspring, all of them walking the edges of parenting, some of them also walking the edges of classroom and athletic participation at school. Some of the female student/parents became heads of households after the births of their children, making them feel at times that they were on the edge of their families, rather than in the middle, as they had been when they were part of a larger household.

Being the head of a household is not what was expected of most teenagers in the United States during the late 1980s; most of their age group was characterized in the popular media as carefree or irresponsible, even when their responsibilities were as simple as washing their own hair or making their bed. The young people in this research struggled with far more difficult tasks, yet at times they displayed the unmistakable signs of American adolescent irresponsibility. Some of them held part-time jobs, working as many as 30 hours a week, while carrying a full high school subject load, caring for their child/children, and maintaining an apartment. They walked an edge between handling serious responsibilities and being totally

irresponsible.

The staff members of the high school's day care center walked several edges themselves. Seeing the lives of the student/parents from the perspectives of their own experiences, they vacillated in their decisions to give advice or to stay out of the out-of-school lives of the student/ parents. Seeing a young mother struggle to take care of herself and one child, the day care staff members fought internal battles with themselves, wondering what they should and shouldn't say about birth control and family planning. The day care staff members were on the edges of the high school staff, too, their jobs so different from any other staff members, their clientele so totally unlike those in the rooms of their colleagues. Yet, they were required to submit lesson plans for 2 year olds on the same forms as those who were teaching science to 17 year olds, and required to be appraised according to the same system as those teaching driver education or social studies to high school students.

There were other edges to this research. As a participant observer, I walked the edges of the lives of all those whose homes, jobs, and classrooms I visited. I got to know the day care staff and the infants and toddlers by spending so much time in the day care center that I became a familiar and almost unnoticed person. Knowing the children

before I knew their parents turned out to be fortuitous in my efforts to involve the student/parents in the study; as explained later in this document, it was the toddlers who welcomed me first into their home lives, and their acceptance paved the way for acceptance by older family members.

As a novice scholar, I walked the edges of research methods and techniques and the edges of understanding -- understanding methodology, understanding the glimpses I got into the lives of the student/parents, their parents, and their children, and gradually understanding the ethical responsibility I had to protect the identities of my consultants.

Richard Wright (1945), in his autobiographical novel Black Boy, writes of when, as a teenager, he began to read the novels of H.L. Mencken. Wright observed that the plots of Mencken's work did not interest him

. . . so much as the point of view revealed. I gave myself over to each novel without reserve, without trying to criticize it; it was enough for me to see and feel something different. And for me, everything was something different. (p. 210)

For me as a researcher, almost everything about the lives of the student/parents was different from my own life and the lives of others I had known well. I had much to learn, to see and feel events and interactions outside my own experiences without trying to judge or to criticize what I saw. To some extent, I learned to see the points-of-view of others, and, through that new knowledge, through that new lens, to see my own point-of-view in new ways. What my participant observation revealed for me was (in addition to confirmation of what Anderson pointed out about writing forcing one out of oneself and into the lives of those one writes about) the importance of point-of-view, the need for me to learn about the lives of each of the student/parents in ways that were as free as possible of pre-conceived ideas, judgments, conservative or liberal rhetoric, pity, excessive optimism or pessimism.

The point-of-view I strove for, throughout the day care, high school, and home life portions of the research, was to see reading and writing in the full context of the student/parents' lives, to see in what ways, in what forms, and for what purposes reading and writing were a part of their lives. That point-of-view forced me to examine my own attitudes and experiences as they related specifically to reading and writing, and as they related, in a larger sense, to the ways of life of all those I was studying.

Brief Description of the Chapters that Follow

Chapter II is a review of the literature, focused on the social construction of reading and writing. The chapter sketches the process of the literature review, the research questions that led to different kinds of literature, and the content of the specific literature read.

Chapter III is an explanation of method, detailing the timeline of the research, the kinds and amounts of data collected, the organization and management of the data, and an explanation of how the final analysis was accomplished, i.e., a discussion of such things as coding, data displays, and theories utilized from literacy and anthropology. This chapter also contains a description of the use of computer technology in the collection, management, and manipulation of the data. It includes a discussion of validity and reliability as I perceive them in this research, a discussion of ethnography as a writing genre, and an explanation of how the following chapter, Chapter IV, evolved during the process of data collection and data analysis.

Chapter IV is a series of stories called composite profiles, my attempt to present, in narrative form, a thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the day-to-day lives of the

student/parents and their family members. It is divided into four parallel sections. The first three sections describe: (1) a female student/parent who lives with her two children in a subsidized housing project; (2) a female student/parent who lives in an apartment with her baby, her mother, and her younger siblings; and (3) a male student/parent who lives in a single-family house with his parents and younger siblings. The fourth and final composite profile describes a toddler and an infant who attend the high school's day care center.

The crafting of these stories, from the data collected about a total of 14 student parents and their preschool-age children, is further detailed in Chapter V, where the study's findings, presented in narrative form in the preceding chapter, are made explicit, with details from the data collected and analyzed. Chapter V includes discussion of the findings and of the scope and the limitations of this study. It concludes with suggestions for subsequent research studies that, together with this and other ethnographic studies providing detailed glimpses of real persons, might assist educators in: (1) learning to recognize and understand points-of-view toward reading and writing that differ from their own; and (2) incorporating aspects of students' home experiences with reading and writing into the curriculum at all grade levels.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The review of the literature that appears here and in other portions of this document walks the edges of several research areas, and the edges of three major aspects of my research: the research question, as it evolved through the length of the study; the methods used to collect, manage and display data; and the theories I pursued in order to answer questions raised by and during process of data collection. The organization of this field-edging review reflects the order in which I began work in the three primary data collections sites and, thus, the order of the questions raised through subsequent, cyclical data analysis. The first year of participant observation was spent in the day care program; consequently, the first questions generated from the data collected dealt with issues generally consigned to early childhood research. Since much of what I saw in day care was play, the questions raised in my own mind as I reread my fieldnotes were play related. The play

literature, largely anthropological in nature and significantly connected to primate research, I reviewed in course-work related assignments concurrent with my day care participant observation. Continual rereading of fieldnotes and question-generating resulting from the rereading led me to data-based research questions that, instead of being addressed in early childhood journals and edited collections were instead labeled emergent literacy. Reading research in the area of emergent literacy led to other studies in reading and writing and their development across age groups, which, in turn, began to merge with the questions raised in organizing data from the second data collection site - the high school classes of the student/parents. The questions generated from a combination of day care and high school fieldnotes raised new questions about literacy in social contexts, and led to research detours into reading and writing processes literature, approximately ten years of journal articles, books, and scholarly papers, generally enthusiastic about a "paradigm shift" in the field of composition (Applebee, 1981, 1984). I began to see the parallels and the contradictions in my fieldnotes, interview transcripts, photographs, and collected documents, between and among the activities and social interactions in day care and high school classes. Much of the research on the social context of literacy rang true, reassuring me that the things

I was seeing were small examples, confirmations of studies conducted and position papers argued on the importance of context.

Social context questions were an important part of my thinking about my own research at that time, and after a year and a half in day care and almost a full year studying the high school lives of the student/parents, I gained entree into the third major data collection site, the homes of the student/parents and their children. The early weeks of data collection in the homes brought a resurgence of questions and a different point of view on the social context literature and on culture acquisition. Meanwhile, in the educational research literature, ideas from anthropologists (i.e., ethnographic methods, researcher/informant collaboration, culture theory) were being incorporated in research into early childhood, in emergent literacy, in the connections between the development of reading skills and the development of writing skills, and in attitudes about reading and writing (Dyson, 1984; Ferriero, 1986). Journals in diverse subject areas, such as home economics and mathematics, began to exhibit a new willingness to publish reports of qualitative research.

My own dilemmas in the course of the collection and analysis of data led me to read extensively in the area of qualitative methodology (Spindler, 1982; Goetz & LeCompte,

1984; Stack, 1989; Liebow, 1989; Myerhoff, 1989). At times, this literature and the research techniques gleaned from it, dominated both my research questions and subsequent data collection. The methodological literature impacting on this research is reviewed in Chapter III of this document, so that its impact on the study's process and product can be better understood.

The Social Construction of Literacy

This chapter contains the portion of my review of the literature on the social construction of literacy. It begins, as my literacy-related, participant-observer questions began in a day care center, with emergent literacy, and is focused on literacy as a social activity, not as a sequential set of skills learned by children either before or during their formal schooling years. An underlying conviction of this review is that literacy is a socially constructed process, an important part of children's acquisition of culture, that must be framed by examination and understanding of children's total environments from birth through at least their first five or six years of growth and development. Acceptance of that conviction leads to the necessity of educators examining the similarities and differences in family and community

cultures that children bring to formal schooling, since the school, as a secondary socialization agent, is unlikely to overturn the views of and purposes for language that children have been consistently exposed to since birth.

A second underlying conviction of this literature review is that the acquisition of literacy skills is but one portion of the acquisition and transmission of culture, and that by employing the research methods, techniques, and frameworks of educators who have extensively studied culture acquisition and transmission, much can be learned about literacy skills and the family, work, and school contexts in which those skills are employed. Culture theory is reviewed in Chapter III of this document, in the course of explaining the methodological decisions that were a part of the research.

Rather than a study of what occurs in classroom settings or overt teaching situations, this chapter is a review of the literature related to the continuous, sometimes unconscious process of children learning to become a part of the particular language communities in which they live. In those disparate language communities -- tiny and rural, urban and crowded, bilingual, largely nonverbal, and countless other variations -- children grow up and acquire language and views of language from the adults and other children in the community with whom they interact. The

reasons for using language, the contexts in which it is used, and the persons with whom it is used are all learned with or without formal, direct instruction, before the child begins formal schooling. This review focuses, for the most part, on descriptive, naturalistic, and ethnographic studies that have employed the child's home and community as their context for examining emergent literacy. Some other kinds of studies are included in this review, when their particular focus is related to issues, theories, or concerns that involve the social nature of literacy or the complex relationship between literacy and culture acquisition/transmission.

Reviews of the literature on emerging literacy by Teale (1987) and by Hall (1987) summarized several years of burgeoning interest in the topic of emergent literacy, illustrated recent thinking in the field, and indicated areas of differing and related viewpoints and definitions. Teale (1987) began by defining the term itself:

Emergent literacy centers on young children and their reading and writing. More specifically, the period of emergent literacy can be defined as that between birth and the time when children write and read in conventional ways, ways that adults would define as actually being reading and writing. Thus, emergent literacy represents the beginnings of reading and

writing for the child. (p. 45)

Teale explored the terms literacy and emergent, claiming that: (1) literacy discussions must include both reading and writing; (2) that reading should not be considered in isolation from writing; and (3) that reading and writing influence each other in the course of literacy development. He asserts that it is not reasonable to pinpoint a time in a child's life, a particular age, when literacy begins; instead, he views the literacy behaviors and knowledge of one to five year olds as important parts of the literacy learning process, during which there is not a necessity for "an overriding emphasis on formal teaching. Instead, the young child develops literacy in the everyday contexts of home and community." (p. 47) Teale attempts to limit his discussion of emergent literacy to children's developing knowledge about written language and points out that the field of emergent literacy is itself emergent and that, in keeping with its relatively short history, much of the existing research is descriptive. He sees that as an understandable phenomenon:

Description is a sensible activity to engage in at this point in the development of the area itself. In many respects, emergent literacy researchers are still defining the nature of the area of inquiry, a useful beginning step in researching anything. (p. 47)

Teale also points out that the descriptive nature of the overall body of emergent literacy research can be traced to the intellectual traditions and theory bases of the researchers themselves; he uses examples such as child development theorists, anthropologists, and educators involved in studying oral language acquisition to illustrate his point that much emergent literacy research comes from descriptive traditions.

Teale stresses in his review that literacy is deeply imbedded in the culture of the family and community, and operates essentially as an aspect of human activity, rather than as skills in isolation. He asserts that the task for researchers in emergent literacy is to "understand cognition in terms of the social systems for utilizing literacy." (p. 49) Teale believes that the research field is so new that it is not reasonable to talk in terms of presenting a model of emergent literacy. Instead, he describes his effort to survey the field as "painting a picture" (p. 48) of emergent literacy. From studies by Ferreiro & Teberosky (1983), Sulzby (1981, 1983, 1985, 1986), Barnhart & Sulzby (1986) and Dyson (1985), Teale draws two general conclusions. First, he characterizes the child as "an active constructor of knowledge and strategies" (p. 58) rather than a passive recipient of direct instruction. Teale stresses the importance of an emic perspective, seeing reading and

writing from the child's point of view, recognizing and understanding the working hypotheses about writing that children formulate, utilize, and modify as they learn to speak, to read, and to write. Teale's second conclusion relates to the nature of development; he warns that Sulzby's and Dyson's research show that concepts of developmental stages are insufficient for describing and understanding emergent literacy and that consideration of individual differences in growth is a necessity for future research.

Hall (1987), like Teale, surveyed emergent literacy research. While Teale's review was an article, Hall's work was a book surveying, classifying, and describing in some detail much emergent literacy research. Like Teale, Hall focused his review and discussion on young children becoming literate before they enter formal schooling. His concern was: "with all children growing up in a Western, print-ordered society and the ways in which they make sense of that print experience." (p. vii) Largely agreeing with Teale, Hall insisted that a view of literacy that sees instruction as necessary before anything is learned about literacy as far from the reality of emergent literacy as it is described in current research. He showed, instead, that before formal instruction in reading or writing begins, children are making sense of literacy as it surrounds them in the course of their everyday lives. Hall's goal in his

book-length literature review was to look at research evidence from the prior fifteen years and show how children are making sense of the way literacy works in their culture. His claim was: "that we should be more concerned with valuing the knowledge children have than with replacing it by highly dubious and narrow models of what literacy is and how it functions." (p. viii)

Hall (1987) delineated conventional assumptions that he believed the literacy skills curriculums in the United States and Britain have been based on during the 20th century:

- * reading and writing are primarily visual-perception processes involving printed unit/sound relationships;
- * children are not ready to learn to read and write until they are five or six years old;
- * children have to be taught to be literate;
- * the teaching of literacy must be systematic and sequential in operation;
- * proficiency in the "basic" skills has to be acquired before one can act in a literate way;
- * teaching the "basic" skills of literacy is a neutral, value-free activity. (p. 2)

It is clear in these assumptions that there is no consideration of reading and writing as closely related processes, that becoming literate is viewed as a skill

process rather than as a social process, and that there is little or no consideration of the idea that children younger than school age might already have some literacy knowledge that begins very early in their lives, knowledge that comes from those with whom they spend most of their time -- family members, day care workers, etc. Also contained in these assumptions is the idea that literacy instruction is a matter for trained professionals, that there is no clearly defined role for parents or others in children's emergent literacy.

Both Teale's and Hall's reviews note that the study of literacy development is increasingly seen as the investigation of one area of culture acquisition. Hall (1987) insists that researchers must recognize that:

Children are neither "empty vessels" waiting to be filled with literacy once they have arrived at school, nor "passive recipients" being stuffed with literacy by parents and teachers . . . children create their literacy in contexts where literacy is a meaningful event for them; where they see people participating in literacy for real purposes and with enjoyment; where people are prepared to discuss their literacy activities; where there are opportunities for children to participate in literacy; where child-initiated literacy behavior is welcomed by adults; and where

children's literate efforts are treated seriously. (p. 73)

Teale's emphasis on context and some of Hall's assertions about children's emergent literacy will be confirmed in the other literature reviewed herein; some of Hall's descriptions of children's opportunities and exposures will be supported and others contradicted by the reviewed research.

The first individual pieces of literacy research to be examined here are ethnographies, in an effort to examine studies that in purpose, design, and/or population are related to the research reported in this document. Erickson (1984) describes ethnography as a method not of objectivity, but of "disciplined subjectivity" (p. 62), an inquiry process that can enable researchers to ask open-ended questions that will: "result in new insights about schooling in American society. . . . By presenting our conclusions as **possible** rather than **certain**, I think we can achieve credibility without mystification." (p. 65-66)

It was in this spirit that Heath (1983) conducted her ten year study of 3 communities in the Piedmont Carolinas, Ward (1971) her two year study of 7 families in the Rosepoint, Louisiana community west of New Orleans on the Mississippi River, and Gilmore (1979, 1983) his fifteen month study of an American 5-6 year old and a Kenyan 6-7

year old forming a private language community for two. These studies contribute important information and mutual corroboration to a consideration of emergent literacy and provide findings which can be compared to Teale's and Hall's definitions of and boundaries for emergent literacy.

Heath's study has additional importance for this review, because of its liminality, its deliberate walking of the edges of scholarly fields; the fact that an anthropologist conducted a longitudinal study of literacy acquisition, using ethnographic methodology, led the way for large numbers of follow-up studies and graduate classes across disciplines using her book as a text. Many of the studies that followed and a number of the classes that employed Ways with Words were in fields other than literacy, such as anthropology, sociology, culture studies, teacher education, etc. (White, 1989).

The Heath, Ward, and Gilmore studies had related goals. Heath (1983) described the central question of her Carolina research as: "What were the effects of preschool home and community environments on the learning of those language structures and uses which were needed in classrooms and job settings?" (p.7)

She examined the family and community environments of a Carolina mill town's middle-class townspeople and the people of two tiny neighboring communities, one European American

and one African American. Through participant observation, fieldnotes, tape recording, interviewing, and collecting artifacts, Heath recorded, analyzed, and interpreted the language-learning of children in the communities she studied and compared that language-learning with the formal language learning and behaviors expected of those same children when they reached school age and attended the community's schools, where teachers were largely the products of the middle-class, predominantly white town culture. Heath believes that language is a part of the social life of each cultural group and that an understanding of that language cannot be reached without an understanding of the context of habits and values of the community members. She argues that: "the different ways children learned to use language were dependant on the ways in which each community structured their families, defined the roles that community members could assume, and played out their concepts of childhood that guided child socialization." (p. 11)

Since Heath's study of the social context of language took place in an essentially rural, Southern area of the United States, it would seem that studies of families that are similar to some of Heath's informants economically and racially, but who live in urban settings in other regions of the country, would add to the developing mosaic picture of the social constructions of reading and writing.

Ward's (1971) investigation was basically a descriptive study of one small, African American, rural Louisiana community. Her goal was to describe the communication habits and family interactions in that community. Like Heath, she used participant observation, fieldnotes, audio taping, and interviews of adults and children in the community. Ward examined ordinary, everyday interactions in the homes of Rosepoint children:

For example, in the speech act we call "disciplining" attention is paid to the participants, the witnesses, the content of the messages, the method used for transmitting them, the frequency of the activity, and through subsequent interviews, the meanings attached to these activities. (p. 1-2)

Ward found that in Rosepoint, unlike European American, middle-class, mainstream communities, parents play little part in direct language instruction. Language is picked up by children from silent observation of adult language interactions (houses are small and families large; child-watching and discipline responsibilities are shared by all the adults in the community; older children have child-watching and discipline responsibilities for younger children) and from language interaction with peers. Much communication is outside the medium of language.

In Heath and Ward's studies, the language use and the

views of reading, writing, and speaking in the home communities of the children studied was markedly different from the language of the schools the children eventually attended. Both studies' findings stress the importance of peers and of the adult language surrounding but not necessarily directed to children in the children's developing language acquisition (and, simultaneously, other aspects of culture acquisition). Both the Heath and Ward ethnographies emphasize the fact that children in the communities studied became competent in reading and writing as those activities were defined, utilized, and rewarded in their home communities, while many of them failed to meet their school's definitions of competence in either reading or writing. This emphasis was of great interest to me as I read and reread my accumulating fieldnotes and began to have more and more questions about the home lives of the infants and toddlers I was studying, and the school lives of their high school student/parents. I felt it would be interesting to use Heath and Ward's techniques, and to examine a community potentially very different from the rural and small town communities in which they had conducted research -- urban young people and their infant and toddler children, who possibly had more cultural dissonance in their lives than those whose lives Ward and Heath had documented.

Like Heath and Ward, Gilmore (1979, 1983) was

interested in the ethnography of communication and conducted a longitudinal study of children's language acquisition before formal schooling. Unlike Heath and Ward, Gilmore studied a dyad, an unusual duo of an American boy and his age mate, same-sex Kenyan friend, who spent virtually every waking moment together for 15 months. When they met, the American boy spoke only English and the Kenyan the four African tribal languages of his Samburu tribe. Swahili was the official language of Kenya, where the American child's parents were conducting baboon research. The language the two boys spoke together was a language of their own invention, a combination of English and Swahili and invented words understood by neither English nor Swahili speakers. Despite both boys learning the other's major language over a period of months and using that other language with members of one another's families and others, to one another they spoke only the language they invented, thus creating and maintaining a speech community of two.

Gilmore made tape recordings of the children's oral discourse and kept a journal of their interactions and the community events during the fifteen months of their friendship. The comments of the two children on their language, its translations into English and Swahili, and, in some cases, etymologies were also recorded and studied by the researcher. Thus, like Heath and Ward, Gilmore was

studying the language acquisition of children in their natural surroundings, without formal instruction, prior to institutional schooling. Obviously, Gilmore studied a much smaller language community than those described by Heath or Ward, but he used many of the same techniques for his study. The goal of Gilmore's study was to arrive at answers to the questions: "What were they speaking? How did it happen? Why did they do it?" (1983, p.33)

Gilmore concluded that the boys were speaking a true pidgin language which shared characteristics of other pidgin languages (for a full discussion of pidgin languages, I would recommend Hymes, 1971). Basically, it will suffice here to say that pidgin language develops when two or more cultures come into contact and very little linguistic competence is shared by individuals from the different cultures. In order to communicate, the speakers reduce or simplify the linguistic make up of their own languages. Gilmore felt that his data also revealed evidence of the creolization of language; that is, the original pidgin language the boys created changed in response to their growing need to communicate more complex ideas and included increased grammatical complexity and a richer lexicon (Hymes, 1971). Thus, Gilmore (1983) asserted that the boy's language contained the "constant interplay of the process of reduction and simplification and that of expansion and

complication." (p.33) Without formal instruction, the boy's language included Swahili words, modified Swahili words, English words, modified English words, and words of their own invention. Metaphor and imagery were apparent in the development of their private language, which also contained original articles and devices for expressing tense. Their knowledge of the language and its rule system was mutual and exclusively theirs.

Gilmore's partial answer to the "How did it happen?" question he raised during data collection was that, to invent words, the children began with a sound, assigned the sound a semantic value, and adapted it to their language. The American child provided the researcher with an oral explanation, in effect an etymology of one of their words:

Colin explained that on one occasion, he and Sadiki were playing soccer near the cliff. . . , Sadiki's back was facing the cliff. He could not see that the baboon troop, known for its predator behavior, had climbed the cliff and was headed in their direction. Colin wanted to tell Sadiki to hurry. The sound, modified phonologically, was diding, and became a word for fast in their language. (1983, p. 34)

Gilmore's answer to "Why did they do it?" illustrates the importance of context and culture in language development, as stressed by both Teale and Hall. The boys

lived in a compartmentalized, multilingual community where linguistic borders were sharply defined and all intimates communicated in special languages. The children's language served this function for them and furthermore, their language enabled them to escape the "status" aspects of Swahili and English that are a part of Kenya's language and racial division history, thus escaping the categorization of white and black languages and corresponding ascribed status in the Kenyan community. Their language confirmed their view of each other as equals.

Unlike Heath and Ward, Gilmore does not discuss the school experience of his study's subjects and their ease or difficulty in adjusting to the ideas of literacy and communication espoused by the school culture. His study does call into question the ideas that: (1) language is imparted from adults to children and; (2) children are empty vessels waiting to be filled with literacy. Clearly, the members of this small speech community created their literacy in contexts which were meaningful for them, illustrating that language acquisition is a social process. Certainly these children fit Teale's characterization as active constructors of knowledge and strategies. The complexity of their invented language indicated that, with time, the boys would have written and read their language as well as they created, spoke, and understood it. As I began

work in the day care center, and tape recorded the conversations of toddlers as they interacted with one another and as they interacted with day care program staff members and other adults, I returned to Gilmore for data collection and analysis techniques, watching the African American and European American toddlers develop their language, conventional and invented, and how that language compared to the language the toddlers used with adults, also European American and African American.

Ethnographic studies of groups with cultures at variance with the school culture have produced related findings. The two groups that were the focus of the studies described next were Italian Americans living in a suburb of Boston and groups of Hawaiian school children in classrooms of teachers with and without prior experience in working with Hawaiian students.

Shultz, Florio & Erickson (1982) examined an Italian American ethnic group in a Boston suburb, with the belief that culture often plays a role in the problems of face-to-face interaction that children and their teachers often have in school. They were interested in recognizing cultural differences between home and school. In their study, race was not a factor, as it was in the three studies previously described. The research technique of participant observation was supplemented by periodic videotaping during

two years of data collection. Children were studied in a kindergarten/first grade and two target children were studied at home with their families. The goal of the researchers was to compare ways of interacting that included both speech and action, looking for patterns in the home and the school settings. They found that in seemingly disparate events (dinner at home and a mathematics lesson at school, for example), there were similarities in overall sequential organization that could be labeled as:

Prior Scene or Event	"Set-up" preparation	"Focused activity"	"Wrap-up" (including "Clean-up")	Subsequent Scene or Event
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Figure 1. Invariant Order of Constituent Phases (p. 98)

This research focuses on how conversational and interactional activities children are accustomed to at home (simultaneous conversations, no rigid turn-taking rules, full participation of children with adults) can be perceived as breaches of interactional etiquette by teachers and result in children being punished or negatively labeled at school for language-related behaviors that are modeled and encouraged at home. Like the studies of the Kamehameha Early Childhood Program in Hawaii, focused on the local phenomena of "talk-story" (Au, 1979; Au & Mason, 1981; Au & Jordan, 1981), this study suggests that:

minimal adaptations by teachers in the direction of

participant structures that are culturally congruent with the communicative traditions governing children's interactions at home may not only not interfere with the children's learning in the classroom, but may facilitate such learning. (p. 118)

All of the research reviewed in this area fits the two descriptions of children given by Teale (see the first pages of this section of the review). In each research effort detailed herein, from the Mississippi riverbank community of Rosepoint to the Hawaiian islands, the Italian-American suburbs of Boston and the Carolina Piedmonts, the thick description that is the product of the research begins to fill in Teale's painting of emergent literacy with evidence that the child is indeed an active constructor of knowledge and strategies about language and that individual differences are indeed a factor in the consideration of any community's language practices and precepts.

From the point of view of a teacher wanting to incorporate prior learning and utilize language and language-related behaviors and settings congruent with children's experiential backgrounds, there are several reminders to take from the research. First, the conventional assumptions about literacy discussed by Hall are simply not useful and, if rigidly held, may indeed be harmful to children's literacy development. Professionals

do not initiate literacy teaching for children; that instruction begins at birth (if not before) and has been active, albeit different from direct school-based instruction, for five or six years before the children reach school age. Second, taken together, the research reviewed supports Hall's contention that children are neither "passive vessels" waiting to be filled with literacy nor are they passive recipients being "stuffed with literacy by parents and teachers." One lesson for educators seems to be that language situations in the classroom can be more effective if they reflect or are related to the meaningful literacy events in the children's experience, if they compliment the child's experience in participating in real, not contrived, literacy events. With the exception of Heath, the researchers discussed do not provide specific techniques for teachers to utilize in literacy instruction, but they do make consistent suggestions for teachers to modify conventional practices when those practices conflict with children's experiences. All the studies reviewed are reminders that:

Education is a cultural process. Each new member of a society or a group must learn to act appropriately as a member and contribute to its maintenance and, occasionally, to its improvement. Education, in every cultural setting, is an instrument for survival. It is

also an instrument for adaptation and change.

To understand education we must study it as it is -- imbedded in the culture of which it is an integral part and which it serves. (Spindler, in Ward, 1971, p. v)

Imbedded in the reviewed studies, individually and collectively, are lessons for teachers of and researchers into the study of reading, writing, listening, and speaking, reminders that children bring to the classroom complex concepts of what language is and how and when it is used, concepts that may or may not be compatible with the complex concepts of language brought into the same classrooms by the teachers. Knowledge of the differences could possibly lead to ideas for bridging the differences in the concepts between home and school with teacher/researcher designed activities and materials.

Two book-length ethnographies of preschools by Lubeck (1985) and Corsaro (1985) focus on the use of time and space and the roles and relationships of persons in the programs studied. While excellent sources of information on the context of language learning in a preschool, their exploration of emergent literacy in preschool settings is peripheral, the edge, not the center, of their studies. More studies with the full contextual detail Lubeck and Corsaro include and a focus on emergent literacy would

contribute valuable information to the field as it existed when this study began.

As increasing numbers of American children from both ends of the economic spectrum spend their preschool years in day care centers and nursery schools, the need for studies of emergent literacy in those settings increases. "Day care has emerged as the U.S.'s major social crisis point" (Freund, 1988, p. 6) as increasing numbers of both two-working-parent families and single teenage parents seek day care for their infants and toddlers. Emergent literacy studies similar to Ward's (1971), but conducted in settings like those of Lubeck's (1985) and Corsaro's (1985) studies are needed, in order to explore the social construction of literacy in the environments where millions of American infants and toddlers are spending much of their time, years before they begin kindergarten. Can day care settings be meaningful bridges between home and school for the children of the poor, as preschools are viewed as bridges to successful school experiences for the children of the more affluent?

Emergent literacy and ethnography are both concerned with how things evolve. As Perl (1987) points out, ethnographers recognize the multiplicity of views inherent in human experience. The researcher's perspective is seen as one among many - not as the one representing the truth. In fact, ethnographers

understand that no single ethnographic account is the truth. Rather, ethnographers present a version of reality. (p. 77)

The purpose of ethnographic studies is to explore and describe the real lives of real people; in the homes and high school classrooms of students who are also parents there is much to learn about the views of reading and writing to which students are exposed and the similarities and differences in the ways reading and writing are viewed and actually used at home and at school. Previous studies of preschoolers, such as those discussed above by Lubeck and Corsaro, suggest that day care or preschool experiences may serve as a bridge between the views of literacy in the home and at school. As increasing numbers of preschoolers from low income families become involved in preschool settings, they are spending large portions of their early years experiencing language in different settings, constructing their own views of what language is and how it is used. How those views differ from the views their parents hold, consciously and unconsciously, was one of the questions explored in the three major data collections sites in this study -- day care, high school, and home -- cyclical experiences investigated roughly in that order and reported here in a far more linear way than they actually occurred.

The chapter that follows details the research questions

in this study, as they existed when the study began, and as they were altered in the actual course of the research. In the evolving research questions, excursions were made into the edges of research literature in anthropology; thus, that literature is reviewed there. Changes in the research focus necessitated additional reading in the area of ethnographic methodology, including ethics, validity, and reliability questions and issues, and that reading is summarized within Chapter III. Then, in the Chapter IV, the lives of the 14 student/parents who were consultants in this study through all of its phases and data collection sites are presented in narrative form, in what I have called composite profile descriptions, designed to give readers a sense of the places of reading and writing in the school and home portions of the consultants' lives and the day care and home portions of their children's lives. Chapter V pulls the reading and writing observed in the study, at home, at school, and in day care, out of the Chapter IV composite profiles, and presents them in the form of the Heath (1983) and Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines (1988) categories for reading and writing in social contexts.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

I began this study as a short-term graduate-coursework-related-exercise in qualitative research methodology and concluded it, at least temporarily, with the writing of an ethnography, a richly descriptive, contextualized account of the kinds and amounts of reading and writing that are a part of the school and home lives of a particular group of persons. The persons I studied were a group of urban high school students in the midwestern United States, most of them African American, who were attempting to finish high school and were the parents of one or more children. Several of the children of the student/parents I studied were enrolled in a day care center housed in the high school attended by their parents. It was in that day care program that my research began.

The story of that research, the steps I took between the first visit to the day care center and the writing, two and a half years later, of Chapter IV of this document, a

narrative description of the everyday lives of the student/parents and their children, is the subject matter of this chapter. Like the research itself, the explanation of its methodology is not linear and sequential, but recursive and circuitous.

This chapter begins with some clarification of what ethnography is, at least from my point of view, then moves to a detailing of some of the criteria for ethnography as defined in the literature, then proceeds to a consideration of theory's place in ethnographic research, then continues with an explanation of the specific theories that formed the undergirding of this research, namely culture acquisition/transmission theory and two theories related to the social construction of literacy. The chapter then continues with an explanation of my interpretation of the role of an ethnographer, with specific references to my shifting roles in the two year course of research.

With all the preceding information as context, the chapter then becomes a rather detailed explanation of the specific methodology utilized in the data collection stages of this research. This section of the chapter is organized in three strands, corresponding to the three major data collection sites for the research: the day care center in an urban, midwestern high school; the high school activities of the student/parents of the children in the day care

center; and the homes of the student/parents and their infant and toddler children.

The final portion of this chapter discusses the similarities and the distinctions between ethnographies and other forms of written narrative, particularly the novel, then briefly summarizes the trail of decisions that led to both the content and the style of Chapter IV, the "story" portion of this research.

Ethnography

Yates (1987) defined ethnography as ". . . the study of the world of a people" (p. 62) and pointed out that "The ethnographic perspective is difficult to reduce to a formula" (p. 62). George and Louise Spindler (1987) explain that, from their perspective as educational anthropologists, "A true ethnography is an orderly compilation of observations and native cultural knowledge" (p. 22). John Van Maanen (1988) describes ethnography as "the peculiar practice of representing the social reality of others through the analysis of one's own experience in the world of these others." (p. ix) and goes on to explain his view that an ethnography is:

written representation of a culture (or selected aspects of a culture). It carries quite serious intellectual and moral responsibilities, for the images of others inscribed in writing are most assuredly not

neutral. Ethnographic writings can and do inform human conduct and judgment in innumerable ways by pointing to the choices and restrictions that reside at the very heart of social life. (p. 1)

The product of my research is an ethnography, that is, my written representation of the cultural system of a group of single, urban, high school age parents and their preschool children, and, in particular, a description of the kind(s) and places(s) of reading and writing in their lives, in and outside school and day care settings. In deciding whether this product is "good" ethnography, it could be useful to consult criteria for ethnographies developed by experienced ethnographers whose training is in anthropology, the discipline in which ethnography began. The Spindlers (1987) summarize their criteria for good ethnography as research in which:

Criterion I. Observations are contextualized, both in the immediate setting in which behavior is observed and in further contexts beyond that context, as relevant.

Criterion II. Hypotheses emerge in situ, as the study goes on in the setting selected for observation.

Judgment on what may be significant to study in depth is deferred until the orienting phase of the field study has been completed.

Criterion III. Observation is prolonged and

repetitive. Chains of events are observed more than once to establish the reliability of observations.

Criterion IV. The native view of reality is attended through inferences from observations and through the various forms of ethnographic inquiry (including interviews and other eliciting procedures).

Criterion V. Sociocultural knowledge held by social participants makes social behavior and communication sensible. Therefore, a major part of the ethnographic task is to elicit that knowledge from informant-participants in as systematic a fashion as possible.

Criterion VI. Instruments, codes, schedules, questionnaires, agenda for interviews, and so forth, should be generated in situ as a result of observation and ethnographic inquiry.

Criterion VII. A transcultural, comparative perspective is present though frequently as an unstated assumption. That is, cultural variation over time and space is considered a natural human condition. All cultures are seen as adaptations to the exigencies of human life and exhibit common as well as distinguishing features.

Criterion VIII. Some of the sociocultural knowledge affecting behavior and communication in any particular setting being studied is implicit or tacit, not known

to some natives and known only ambiguously to others. A significant task of ethnography is therefore to make what is implicit and tacit to informants explicit.

Criterion IX. Since the informant (any person being interviewed) is one who knows and who has the emic, native cultural knowledge the ethnographic interviewer must not predetermine responses by the kinds of questions asked. The management of the interview must be carried out so as to promote the unfolding of emic cultural knowledge in its most heuristic, natural form. This form will often be influenced by emotionally laden preoccupations that must be allowed expression.

Criterion X. Any form of technical device that will enable the ethnographer to collect more live data - immediate, natural, detailed, behavior - will be used, such as cameras, audiotapes, videotapes, and field-based instruments. (pp. 18-20)

Ethnography involves more than "being ther" or "hanging out" with those whom one wishes to study. Interpretive ethnography, the Spindlers (1987) note, "requires inference, even speculation, but these inferences and speculations must be grounded in observation and inquiry, in depth, in situations, such as school and classrooms, where we have become familiar figures and can be treated casually by our informants." (p. xii)

In ethnography, data collection and the interpretation of data are not separate and distinct stages; instead, field work and the interpretation of data collected during field work "evolve together, each informing the other" (Wolcott, in Spindler & Spindler, 1987, p. 40).

The above criteria and cautions may be useful, after reading this chapter, in determining whether or not the study described herein meets the requirements for an ethnography.

Theory

The discussion that follows begins with a consideration of the term "culture," then moves to a discussion of the three specific theories used as a foundation for the research study described herein. Culture is the starting point of this aspect of the methodological explanation, because of its close relationship to ethnography and because culture acquisition/transmission theory is one of three theoretical areas investigated throughout the course of this research.

The term culture is used in educational research in a number of disciplines, is defined in a variety of ways, and, even after extensive reading, can appear to be a slippery, difficult-to-define concept. Wolcott (1987), in attempting to define culture, quotes Goodenough (1976):

The culture of any society is made up of the concepts, beliefs, and principles of action and organization that an ethnographer has found could be attributed successfully to the members of that society in the context of his dealings with them. (p. 5)

To this explanation of culture, Wolcott, in Spindler and Spindler (1987) adds:

The idea that culture is "attributed" has proven helpful to me in understanding as well as in explaining ethnography. Culture is not lying about, waiting patiently to be discovered; rather, it must be inferred from the words and actions of members of the group under study and then literally assigned to that group by the anthropologist. "Culture" as such, as an explicit statement of how the members of a particular social group act and believe they should act, does not exist until someone acting in the role of ethnographer puts it there. (p. 41)

The idea that culture is unconscious, usually unexpressed until someone outside a particular culture attempts to articulate it, is found throughout current research literature. In the opinion of Van Mannen (1988), a culture is expressed or constituted only by the words and actions of those within the culture and must be interpreted

by a field worker, who hears, sees, and writes of what he or she witnesses in the field setting. "Culture is not itself visible, but is made visible only through its representation." (p. 3)

For purposes of this research, and to avoid confusion for readers who may define it differently, culture has been defined in this research as an interactive system consisting of beliefs and behaviors constructed and experienced within particular physical settings, with their resources and within particular social settings, with their interactional processes.

Defining the role of theory in ethnographic research can be as slippery as defining what is meant by the word culture. Simon argues that the choice of theory has a great deal to do with the course of fieldwork, impacting on the ethnographer's methods and on the final product of the ethnographic research. In Simon's opinion, it is explicit theory that determines the problems ethnographers address, how they address those problems, and what their product, or ethnography eventually looks like. In short, Simon (1986) believes that theory used by the ethnographer is an important influence on both the research process and the product of the research. (p. 60)

Dobbert (1982), an anthropologist, is a strong believer in the importance of theory's place in ethnographic research

efforts. She explains that because ethnography evolved from the natural history method, which requires that well-formed questions guide research, theory is critically important. Lest a reader conclude that her insistence on theory is related strictly to her own anthropological training, Dobbert emphasizes that theory choices may, in some ways, be a field-crossing, eclectic choice of the ethnographer, resulting in part from factors such as his or her own training, experiential background, and current field sites:

It is the job of all social and psychological sciences to seek knowledge about humans To build a true social science, we must build upon the best work of all our colleagues. Consequently, while I strongly insist that the use of theory plays a key role in good ethnographic research and I build guidelines for its use into the process I lay out, I do not insist that the theory utilized be strictly anthropological. . . .

What is important is that the theory speak to relevant issues at the interpersonal, intergroup, institutional, subcultural, and cultural levels. Whether that theory has its origin in social psychology, economics, or political science seems quite irrelevant. What theory needs to do is shed light on the problems, issues, or structures being examined. From my perspective, then, any tested generalizations

about humans at the levels relevant to sociocultural study constitutes potentially useful theory. (1982, p. 4)

Dobbert argues that theories taken from a number of disciplines can, in the course of specific research efforts, inform one another and increase our understanding of the ways of life of humans in situations different from our own experiences.

In accordance with Dobbert's views, I utilized theory from both anthropology and literacy research, to frame or give some perspective to the reading and writing activities that I saw in the day care center, in the high school classes of the student/parents, and in the home lives of the student/parents and their preschool children. The theories I began the study with were of assistance: (1) in formulating my initial questions and later in refining those questions and others that came from the data in the course of the research; (2) in organizing the massive amounts of data collected over a two year period; and (3) in comparing what I was seeing and hearing with the work of other researchers attempting to understand the place of literacy in the lives of young persons, in and outside school.

The major theoretical frameworks I employed during the 2 year course of this research were: (1) Pitman, Eisikovits, & Dobbert's (1989) description and use of categories for

structuring observations, a part of their theory of culture acquisition and transmission; (2) Teale's (1986) domains of activity mediated by literacy; and (3) Heath (1983), Taylor (1983) and Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines' (1988) categories for types and uses of reading and writing in home settings. They are discussed in that order, below.

In looking closely at reading and writing, as they are a part of the everyday lives, in and outside of school, of a particular group of persons, it was necessary to look at learning in general, since reading and writing are clearly parts of a larger, more encompassing entity called learning. In the introduction to their book on culture acquisition and transmission, Pitman, Eisikovits, & Dobbert (1989) look extensively at research in the biological and social sciences and note that:

Throughout our evolutionary past, human adaptation has depended upon our ability to sense, process, store, and transmit information; in other words, to learn. Homo sapiens sapiens is genetically adapted for educability, as are all primates. Monkeys, apes, and humans evolved in complex environments and developed strategies for survival that depended on an ability to learn.

Learning, in other words, was "selected-for" in an evolutionary sense. (p. 1)

In other words, the student/parents I studied, and

their children and their parents, like all other currently living humans, are learners who have in a sense been pre-selected for; they have descended from humans who learned to live in their environments. Those who did not learn, did not survive. Pitman, et. al. (1989) conceptualize learning by humans as "an interactive process dependent on the human primate's ability to sense, store, and manipulate information." (p.1) As I saw evidence of that interactive process in the toddlers' activities in the day care setting, my interest in observing the toddlers interactions, the context of their learning, grew.

As the research progressed, and my questions, derived from the data collected to date, began to increase in number and scope, I considered the idea that, to understand the learning I was seeing in the day care center, I needed to observe the context of the learning that went on in the homes of the infants and toddlers I saw in the day care center. I was curious about which activities in day care, if any, were also a part of the toddlers' home lives. Looking through research literature in a variety of disciplines, I realized that studies of learning were increasingly comparative, that is cross-cultural, and that to ever be able to enlarge my own study, and compare the learners I was observing to other learners, elsewhere, it was important to find a data collection method that would

enable me to make comparisons across sites. Thus, for the multiple sites of my own research, and to collect data that might later be used in cross-cultural studies of learning, I began to record my observations using the structured observation format devised and used by Pitman, et. al. (1989). Further, I began to see that what I was calling learning was much broader than what went on in the day care center, or the assignments and activities in the high school classrooms of the student parents. I started to see what I was calling learning as a part of what was being described as culture acquisition:

for humans, as for other primates, instructive and formative activity constitutes a very minute part of the learning process. Instead, the major forces "shaping" children and young people in the process of culture acquisition are the same as those that shape or direct all learners, namely, the structures and processes of the entire sociocultural life going on around them. In addition, the process of culture acquisition by which children and young people learn to be fully functioning adults is a holistic one. One does not become a mature adult by sequentially learning the separate elements of adult life and then putting them together to form a whole, nor does one survive as a competent old person through that process. Rather,

the junior members of a society or a social group learn whole cultural patterns within the context of everyday life and then in personal action they individualize and adapt these patterns by varying some of the elements or creating new ones. (Pitman, et. al. 1989, p. 3)

I began to see the importance of recognizing and recording the contextual details of the learning scenes I was observing. In the day care setting, in the high school classrooms, and later, in the homes of the student/parents and their children, it was clear that learning is fully emeshed in the everyday activities in which one engages and that what is learned is not always determined by a teacher or an assignment, but is often influenced by the location, the surrounding activities, the other persons present, in addition to a number of other factors. Thus, I adapted the field-based research method outlined in detail by Pitman, et. al. (1989) in order to systematically gather data on learning situations in a variety of settings, with learners across a range of ages, hoping that the recording of well-contextualized data would enable me to make comparisons of learning situations not only across the three kinds of sites in this particular research study, but later on, to make comparisons with other learners in other settings, both similar and dissimilar.

I began work in the high school classes (and later in

the home settings) with the culture acquisition/transmission framework discussed above, and with theoretical frames developed by literacy researchers. One was the comparative theoretical frame derived from Heath's study of three neighboring communities (1983) and Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines work with both white middle-class suburban families (Taylor, 1983) and urban minority families (Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988). Taylor distilled 6 reading types and 6 writing types from Heath's primary categories of kinds of reading and writing. I started with Taylor's types, and altered them to reflect what I identified in bottom-up fashion from the data in my research, first in classrooms and then in the homes of the student/parents. The categories I took from Heath, as adapted by Taylor, to begin organizing my collected data were, specifically:

Reading

1. Instrumental

reading to gain information for the practical needs of daily life (examples include price tags, checks, bills, labels, street signs, food coupons, telephone buttons/dials, housing assistance forms)

2. Social Interactional

reading to gain information pertinent to social relationships or planned activities (examples include greeting cards, church newsletters, telephone messages,

books shared with preschoolers)

3. News-related

reading to gain information about distant events or 3rd parties, or local state, and national events (examples include newspaper items, news magazines, political literature, union newsletters, missing children notices on milk cartons, or advertising flyers)

4. Recreational

reading during leisure time or in planning for recreational activities (examples include the comic or sports sections of newspapers, sports magazines, novels, movie ads, party invitations, ball game line-up cards, bedtime stories)

5. Confirmational

reading to check facts or confirm beliefs, to gain support for attitudes or beliefs already held.

Frequently, this is what Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines call archival material stored and retrieved (examples include wills, income tax forms, birth certificates, passports, the Bible, appliance warranties, loan notes, brochures on schools or colleges, children's letters and drawings)

6. Critical/educational*

reading to build or maintain a career, reading to fulfill educational requirements or increase abilities;

reading to consider or discuss political, social, or religious knowledge (examples include novels, news magazines, denominational newsletters, the Bible, play or book reviews, journal articles, textbooks, office paperwork, computer printouts)

* This category is Taylor's collapsing of two of Heath's categories into one.

Writing

1. Reinforcement or Substitute for Oral Messages

Writing used when direct oral communication is not possible, when a written message is needed for legal purposes or to follow up on an oral exchange, or when oral communication would be embarrassing (examples include notes for tardiness or school absence, letters asking for copies of school records or birth certificates, grade transcripts, greeting cards, children's messages left for parents and vice versa, letters related to consumer goods)

2. Social-Interactional

Writing to give information pertaining to social relationships or parent role responsibilities, to extend greetings/courtesies, to establish or to build and maintain social relationships, or to negotiate

family responsibilities (examples include thank-you notes, letters, parent-child negotiations of written homework assignments, notes on purchased greeting cards)

3. Memory-aids

Writing to serve as a memory aid for both the writer and others (examples are grocery lists, notes in photo albums, lists of things to do, to buy, or to remember, recipes, reminder notes for dues or meetings, lists of telephone numbers or addresses, menus, study notes for a test)

4. Financial

Writing to record amounts and purposes for expenditures, signatures (examples are signing forms or checks, filling out forms, ordering from catalogues, filling out church envelopes, figures and notes for income tax preparation)

5. Public Records

Writing to announce the order of church services or other forthcoming events and to record financial and policy decisions (examples would be church bulletins, reports of a church building fund committee, minutes of a public meeting of a neighborhood association)

6. Expository Writing

Occasional tasks brought home from work, church, or

civic duties; tasks brought home from school (examples could include quarterly or annual reports of business operations, school or college papers, writing that is autobiographical)

Definitions of culture from the research literature, and considerations of the place of theory in research in general and in this study in particular raise questions about the person whose job it is to observe those within the culture being studied, the outsider who studies the insiders in an attempt to understand them and to aid their understanding of themselves. In ethnographic research, the ethnographer must define what it is that is being examined, recognizing that whatever definition is utilized will have a continuing effect upon the research itself. The Spindlers (1987) point out that culture is not fixed or static, but instead is ever-changing. It is only through the filter of the ethnographer(s) that readers of the product of ethnographic research get to examine the culture that was studied. The accuracy of that description, the trust a reader puts in that description, depends in large part on how that reader perceives the role of the ethnographer in the collection of data, the analysis of that data, and the writing of the ethnographic report. Hence, this discussion moves next to a consideration of the role of the ethnographer.

Role of the Ethnographer

Coming from an anthropological tradition, the ethnographer was, just a few years ago, expected to travel great distances in order to 'go to the field,' to study the culture of persons very different from her or himself, to learn the culture of another, in part by recognizing the differences between her or his own culture and the culture being studied. Immersion in the new culture was generally thought to be the most effective means of learning the way of life of those who were a part of it, and traditionally, that immersion lasted a year or more. Usually, novice ethnographers conducted their first field studies far from home, making it necessary to learn the language and customs of those they were going to study prior to or in the course of their research. Consequently, in the literature on the role of ethnographers, those being studied are often referred to as natives, whether they are residents of tiny islands in the Pacific or large cities in the United States. As more and more formerly remote locations and peoples were studied and those studies published, it became increasingly difficult to find and study persons who had never been studied before. Currently, much ethnography in the United States is made up of studies of immigrant or minority groups, or a variety of kinds of "sub" groups of the general

population, i.e. persons with AIDS, the homeless, persons in drug or alcohol treatment, or members of a specific religion. The Spindlers (1987) partially explain the role of an ethnographer by saying that ethnographers try to carefully record ". . . how natives behave and how they explain their behavior." (p. 18)

One generally agreed-upon characteristic of ethnography is that the ethnographer is the instrument of research (Spradley, 1980; Dobbert, 1982). The Spindlers (1987) attempt to explain the ethnographer's role by detailing specific tasks an ethnographer undertakes in the field:

There is a constant interaction between observation and interview. One observes, begins to formulate questions, asks questions and gets some answers, observes some more with perceptions sharpened by new cultural knowledge - refines questions, focusing them on relationships that appear to be particularly critical, observes some more, looking for repetitions of behavioral patterns with more focus than initially, and so on, and on. (p. 20)

The process of ethnographic investigation described by the Spindlers can be visualized as a continuing dialogue with those being studied or learned from; an ethnographer observes those who are a part of the culture, begins to shape some initial questions, asks those questions and gets

answers to them -- answers that sometimes confirm one another, and sometimes conflict with one another -- then continues to observe with those answers in mind, probing for confirmation or contradiction, then observes some more; repetition that is a built-in part of the work done by the ethnographer becomes obvious.

In addition to learning to ask questions about the culture being observed, and learning what to do with those answers and the further questions they almost inevitably bring about, another aspect of the role of the ethnographer has to do with field relationships. How does the ethnographer relate to those he or she is studying, particularly to those who are being depended upon for answers to almost endless questions that arise from the field work? Yates (1987) speaks of a gap or distance between the ethnographer and those in the social setting being studied, and emphasizes that ethnographers are responsible for monitoring the effect they have on those they are studying:

Decisions taken in the field close, as well as open, options. The biography and theoretical orientation of the ethnographer will influence decisions and determine what is to be recognized as data, and this in turn constrains the possibilities of any resultant account.

(p. 68)

Both Yates (1987) and Peshkin (1988) feel that one of the ethnographer's tasks is the constant monitoring of self, in order to make sure that one is not spending weeks, months, or even years studying one's self or one's effect on a cultural scene. This kind of self-monitoring I chose to do primarily in the form of a journal, in which I kept a record of methodological and other decisions made in the course of the research, the dilemma that brought on the need for a decision, what the decision was, and the reasons for the decision. In addition to the journal, I wrote memos about some of the decisions, in which I noted suspicions of my own views of literacy, for example, encroaching upon the amounts and kinds of literacy I was observing in the field and the amounts of kinds of literacy discussed by the consultants in the study, the student/parents, the day care staff members, the high school teachers of the student/parents, and the family members of the student/parents and their children. Such memos were sometimes directed to other, more experienced researchers, and, as the research continued, were also addressed to myself, as a form of monitoring the decisions made in the course of the research.

In my study, as in many others, there were additional complexities brought about by or related to the fact that I was a staff member in the school attended by most of the

student/parents. Therefore, I had to be continually aware of possible role conflicts, of how the student/parents and their family members were relating to me, and what effects, if any, my role as a high school faculty member had upon the on-going research. Similarly, the day care staff members and I were colleagues on the same faculty, and this aspect of our relationship had to be monitored, to make sure what effects, if any, our faculty relationship was having on the research. This continuous monitoring took several forms, including: journal entries; memo writing; research to discover techniques employed by other, more experienced ethnographers; having other researchers visit one or more of the field sites, all of which will be discussed in greater detail in the section of this chapter that details data collection and analysis techniques incorporated into this particular research study.

As the research progressed, I became increasingly aware of the literacy "baggage" I carried with me into all of the field sites; my lifelong obsession with print could not be imposed upon those I was studying and it was necessary to constantly cull my expectations from my actual observations and carefully detail the print material I did find, rather than a description or litany of the print I did not find in the research settings. For someone who cannot tolerate the absence of print, who reads ketchup bottle labels and the

ingredient list on sugar substitutes if no other print is available, this was a demanding task, requiring constant monitoring.

Tracing This Study's Methodology

The recursive steps in this research effort roughly followed the ethnographic research cycle described by Spradley (1980). Those steps include:

- Selecting an ethnographic project
- Asking ethnographic questions
- Collecting ethnographic data
- Making an ethnographic record
- Analyzing ethnographic data
- Writing an ethnography (p. 29)

Spradley emphasizes that the parts of the cycle are not linear and distinct, by depicting the above steps in a circle, and by contrasting his ethnographic research cycle with the linear sequence of steps in social science research, i.e.,

- Step 1: Define a research problem.
- Step 2: Formulate hypotheses
- Step 3: Make operational definitions
- Step 4: Design a research instrument
- Step 5: Gather the data
- Step 6: Analyze the data

Step 7: Draw conclusions

Step 8: report the results (p. 27)

In order to further contrast these steps with the activities undertaken in qualitative research, Spradley depicts the linear sequence in flow chart form.

The discussion that follows uses Spradley's stages in the ethnographic research cycle to describe the activities undertaken during my particular research effort. Again, the reader is cautioned that the presentation of the research may appear far more linear and organized than it actually was. Spradley's first three tasks of the ethnographer are covered sequentially, below, then his last three are covered in three strands, corresponding to the three major data collection sites in my research.

1. Selecting an ethnographic project

There was no moment, before this study began, when I decided to study the home, school, and day care lives of a group of high school student/parents and their children, looking at literacy. That focus was not a beginning, not an intention, but was instead the result of a series of questions I posed in the midst of data collection, the explorations that resulted from those questions, and additional questions generated in the process of looking for answers.

Ethnographers' research occurs with foci that range from complex societies to whole towns or villages, to multiple institutions within a community, to single institutions such as a school or company, to groups of persons, to dyads or individuals. The largest number of ethnographic studies in the past have focused on single communities (Spradley, 1980) but ethnographic studies have focused on units as small as single social situations (Gilmore, 1979) to those as large and intricate as complex society's economic, educational, recreational, and other institutions. My research began as the study of a day care program housed within an urban high school and expanded to involve the high school itself and the parents and other family members of the infants and toddlers within the day care setting.

I began visits to the day care center by trying to ask what I understood at the time to be broad, ethnographic questions (Spradley, 1980; Dobbert, 1983) such as: What is it like to work in a day care center located in an urban high school? and What is a single day like for a toddler in the day care center? In an attempt to answer those broad questions, I did census, map, and calendar activities, including: drawing maps of the program space; doing inventories of the furniture, toys, and books in the setting; taking field notes as a participant observer,

conducting "grand tour" interviews (Spradley, 1980) with all three of the day care program staff members, developing, from observations, a daily calendar of the program's activities, taking pictures of the activities during all phases of the program day, and talking informally with staff members.

2. Asking ethnographic questions

Spradley (1980) claims that "In doing participant observation for ethnographic purposes, as far as possible, both questions and answers must be discovered in the social situation being studied." (p. 32) Spradley advocates a descriptive question matrix (pp. 80 -83) that assists an ethnographer in collecting material that will assist in writing a detailed description of the social situation being studied. The categories in his matrix are: space, object, act, activity, event, time, actor, goal, and feeling. I used Spradley's advice as a guide for reading my first participant observation field notes from the day care center, then generated lists of questions for myself, making decisions about which of those questions I could or should pursue in my next visit to the day care center. For instance, some of my earliest, observation questions had to do with the category Spradley calls actor. I wanted to know: Who are the people who work in this setting? What

actions do they perform here? What objects are a part of their work? What are the major events in their work day? In attempts to answer those broad questions, as a novice ethnographer, I would experiment with data collection techniques such as participant observation field notes, photography, tape recording of formal and informal interviews, and the collection of artifacts.

From the time of my first, broad questions to the moments of drafting and rewriting these lines, my primary mechanism for generating questions, then attempting to answer them, then formulating hypotheses and generating additional questions to pursue in order to confirm or discount the hypotheses, has been to do what I think of as categorical shuffling, a process that must be explained in some detail, because it dominates my data collection decisions, initial analysis activities, and the process of making a narrative out of collected data. My categorical shuffling usually begins with visual data, though for others who are not as visually oriented, it can begin with field notes, interview transcripts, artifacts, or any other collected data. What follows is a specific, step-by-step description of my use of categorical shuffling and the multiple ways it impacts on this research.

Early in the study, when I began to take pictures in the day care program, I had no idea what to photograph, and

decided to begin by taking pictures of the same things I had taken initial field notes on: census, map, and calendar activities. Thus, I photographed, over a period of two weeks, every part of the toddlers' day, from morning arrival in the program, through breakfast and morning activities, through lunch and nap time, to afternoon activities, snack, and departure. The pictures were black and white and color prints. After the initial rolls of pictures had been developed and sets of prints made, I spread the prints (over 100 of them) out on the floor and began to group them into categories representative of the daily calendar: arrival pictures, first activity pictures, departure of student/parents pictures, breakfast pictures, etc. This first grouping showed me what activities I had several pictures of and what activities were not covered in multiple shots. I then labeled the pictures with numbers corresponding to the daily calendar of activities (i.e. A for a series of morning arrival pictures, A-1 a student/parent and child coming in the door, A-2 a student/parent signing in, A-3 a toddler taking off his jacket, with the assistance of a staff member; A-4, the toddler hanging his jacket in his cubby, without anyone's assistance). Then, I reviewed my fieldnotes, and in the margins of the various descriptions of arrival activities, put the number of the picture that corresponded to the written descriptions of arrival

activities. Then, I reviewed the transcripts of initial interviews with the day care staff members, and found the "grand tour" interview questions that covered morning arrival. Those portions of the transcripts dealing with arrival were marked with the location of fieldnotes on that same topic and with the code numbers of the pictures depicting arrival. At some point, I realized that I had artifacts related to morning arrival, specifically, a copy of one of the student/parent sign-in sheets which the student/parents signed each morning when they brought their child(ren) into the program and each afternoon when they left at the end of the school day. On the cover sheet that accompanied my copy of the sign-in sheet and every other artifact I collected (Appendix 3-1 is a sample), I noted the code numbers of the pictures that showed student/parents signing in and out, the dates of the field notes describing arrival, and the page and line numbers of the interview transcripts where arrival was discussed. Eventually, I understood that this was a means of triangulating my data (defined and discussed later in this chapter), but at the time, it was to me merely a way of cross-referencing my data, having some definable basis for deciding what went with what.

After several weeks of this kind of picture, field note, transcript, and artifact cross-matching, I made the

personally momentous discovery that my pictures could be categorized in more than one way. To continue the earlier example, I realized that the pictures I had organized using the daily calendar could be categorized in different ways, leading to other questions. For example, the pictures I had taken to document the parts of a toddler's day in the program could be organized by the number of people shown in the picture, so that all pictures of individuals were gathered together on the floor, all pictures of twosomes or dyads were gathered together, all pictures of three persons gathered together, etc. Or, the same pictures could be grouped by gender, or by the age of the toddlers shown, or by the toy or play equipment being used by the toddler, or by the section of the room occupied by those pictured, or by the level of activity depicted (lying down, sitting up on the floor, sitting up on a chair or other object, up on knees, crawling, standing, walking, etc.). Shuffling and reshuffling of the pictures generated an almost endless series of questions, which I eventually began to write down and think about, as a regular stimulation for memo writing and additional, focused observations. For example, grouping the pictures by age of the infant or toddler depicted led to questions like: Do adults spend more time with one age group of children than another in one-to-one activities? Are there differences in the activities of 2, 3 and 4 year

olds? Are some toys the play choices of more children than are other toys? Are there gender differences in the play activities of the toddlers? For answers to the questions raised, I went from pictures to field notes, to tape transcripts, and to artifacts. Then, I would attempt narrative, descriptive answers to the questions, noting the location of the evidence or supporting materials, in effect cross-referencing my data and creating "sets" of data in answer to specific questions. Categorical shuffling proved useful to me with all the kinds of data collected in the three major data collection sites, with the exception of video tape. Even though my primary orientation is visual, the difficulty of getting back to specific frames of video and the impossibility "spreading out" those frames and shuffling them, rearranging them, seeing them in different ways or in different order, made the video tapes almost useless to me, in terms of generating further research questions. The video tapes were useful in other ways, however, and will be discussed again later in this chapter, particularly in the section dealing with reciprocity.

3. Collecting ethnographic data

Generating ethnographic questions and collecting ethnographic data were not separate and distinct portions of this research. As Spradley (1980) had cautioned in his

explanation of the cycle of ethnographic research, the process of generating and answering questions continued through the entire two year period of data collection. Thus, I did not begin the study with the idea of examining the school and home lives of student/parents, but came to that through a circuitous period of generating questions in the day care site, attempting to answer those questions by collecting additional data, formulating additional questions and answers, and repeating the process of generating still more questions and finding ways to collect answers to those questions.

Clifford (1988) says that participant observation: "serves as a shorthand for a continuous tacking between the 'inside' and 'outside' of events: on the one hand grasping the sense of specific occurrences and gestures empathetically, on the other stepping back to situate these meanings in wider contexts." (p. 34) Through this cycle of generating questions, attempting to answer those questions, then reading and rereading the materials gathered in the question-answering attempts, my initial, broad general questions became somewhat more focused as I moved or tacked between observations and readings, finding answers for those questions and reading both theory and other ethnographies.

I began to look at literacy, at reading and writing activities, because of a combination of: (1) the reading

activities that were a regular part of the day care program's daily schedule of activities; (2) the research literature on day care centers and preschools, which was largely focused on either play, literacy, or both; (3) the concern of day care staff members, as expressed in formal interviews, written lesson plans, and informal talks, to do more to prepare the day care toddlers for reading activities in preschool and kindergarten. From reading and writing related questions and the pursuit of answers to those questions, through additional participant observation, formal and informal interviews, artifact collection, and picture taking, I began to develop narrative descriptions of literacy-related activities, such as adults reading books to one or more children, and structured group activities possibly related to the development of skills important for learning to read, such as turn-taking, listening, and the recognition of two dimensional representations of three dimensional objects that dominate many books targeted for preschool children.

Still, the focus of my research remained fairly broad, because the questions about reading and writing that sustained my interest the longest tended to deal with social context. Questions raised about reading and writing in the day care setting led me eventually to a broader social context, to questions that could not be answered within the

day care setting, such as: Are the parents of the toddlers aware of the reading activities in the day care program? Do the parents ever participate? How do the reading materials in day care compare to the reading materials in the rest of the high school? How much and what kind of reading do the toddlers see adults do in day care? How much and what kinds of reading do the student/parents see adults do in the high school? How do the reading materials in day care compare to the reading materials in the toddlers' homes? Do the parents of the toddlers read to them at home? Do other people at home read to the toddlers? Do the toddlers see other reading activities at home? Who is involved? In day care, particular times of the day are designated for reading; is that true at home? Do the toddlers experience any one-to-one story reading at home, like the one-to-one reading that goes on regularly in day care? Do adults at home talk to the toddlers as they are changing their diapers, like the adults in the day care setting? Why do the toddlers choose these toys to play with more than they choose other toys? Do they have toys at home? In what ways are those toys like or different from the day care program's toys? This particular child never plays in a group in day care; does he/she usually play alone at home? Thus, it was the continuing cycle of my own questions, questions largely generated through what I call categorical shuffling, that

led eventually to the research question this document attempts to answer descriptively, contextually:

In what forms and under what circumstances is literacy (reading and writing) a part of the lives of this group of student/parents, their parents, and their children?

4. Making an Ethnographic Record

5. Analyzing Ethnographic Data

6. Writing an ethnography

Spradley's ethnographic research cycle shows the overlapping stages of collecting ethnographic data, making an ethnographic record, and the actual writing of an ethnography. Having explained how the use of category generation activities dominated the decisions I made regarding what I would collect data about, it's necessary to describe the activities that accompanied, augmented, or followed those category-generating activities and the cross-referenced organization of data collected. Those methodological activities and decisions were the heart of making an ethnographic record. What follows is additional description of steps taken during the research process to establish an ethnographic record of all aspects of this research effort. All of this is an effort to show that what

Spradley refers to as making an ethnographic record, analyzing ethnographic data, and turning that data into a written ethnography are complexly intertwined.

Beginning with visits to a day care center housed in an urban high school, with only the broadest of investigative questions in mind, this research grew from a study of adults and children in a day care setting to a social-context-of-literacy study that involved three generations and a variety of settings. Eventually, the collection of data for the full study took place in three kinds of sites: (1) the day care program, housed within the vocational building of the high school attended by the student/parents; (2) the high school (classrooms, lunchrooms, auditoriums, and extra-curricular activities of the student/parents); and (3) the homes of the student/parents and their children.

The timeline and description of data collected, below, shows the overlapping dates of data collection and the types and amounts of data collected in each of the three sites. Following the timeline, the process of data collection is discussed in some detail, in three sections, corresponding to the three site-based sections of the timeline. Readers are again cautioned that the description of data collection that follows may appear linear and therefore somehow orderly, but in fact was extremely recursive, filled with changes in purpose, direction, style, and scope, and

consistently dominated by more questions and dilemmas than answers or solutions.

Timeline and Description of Data Collected

Site #1, the Infant/Toddler Day Care Program

Dates

October, 1987 - March, 1989

Activities

Entree to and data collection in the day care program setting:

- a. field notes collected during participant observation - 1,106 pages from 274 visits (over 450 hours) to the site and 106 thirty minute time-sampling records of toddlers during free play activities
- b. photographs
100 black and white prints, 324 color prints, 416 color slides, 8 thirty minute video tapes
- c. 47 charts, diagrams, and lists
(including domain lists, 2 toy inventories [10/88 & 2/89], maps of the program space, a furniture/equipment inventory, and a role-by-time matrix)

- d. 7 formal, tape-recorded interviews, resulting in 168 pages of interview transcripts
- e. 12 5 to 35 minute tape recordings of program activities - mealtime, diaper changing, arrival and departure, etc., resulting in 106 pages of transcripts
- f. 126 artifacts collected, including program evaluations, information packets given to student/parents, lesson plans, enrollment lists, grade and attendance records of the student/parents
- g. 17 journal entries and/or memoranda, totaling 73 pages

Site #2, the high school attended by the student/parents

Dates

January, 1989 - June, 1989

Activities

Entree to and data collection in the high school:

- a. field notes collected during participant observation - 362 pages from 97 visits to classrooms, offices, lunchrooms, auditoriums, etc. and 48 structured observations of student/parents

in classes, offices, assemblies, etc.

- b. photography, including
34 black and white prints; 102 color prints, and 4
video tapes, ranging in length from 12 - 55
minutes
- c. 66 charts, diagrams, and lists, including diagrams
of the interior and exterior of the high school,
maps or diagrams of individual classrooms and
offices, lists of the print materials in
classrooms, charts of the times and types of
reading and writing activities observed at school
- d. 23 formal, tape-recorded interviews of:
16 consultants (student/parents) and
7 school staff members (including teachers,
administrator, security guard, secretary,
instructor assistants), for a total of 336 pages
of interview transcripts
- e. 8 other tape recordings of classroom and other
activities - classroom and office interactions,
assemblies, public address announcements, pep
rally
- f. 189 artifacts collected, including curriculum
guides, student writing, in the form of test and
quiz papers, drafts of student writing
assignments, grade reports, attendance records,

daily bulletins, notes written by students, mid-term failure reports, school newsletters and annual reports

- g. 34 journal entries/memoranda, totaling 91 pages

Site #3, the homes of the student/parents and their children

Dates

February, 1989 - August, 1989

Activities

Entree to and data collection in the outside-of-school lives of the student/parents:

- a. field notes collected during participant observation - 760 pages from 116 visits to homes, workplaces, clinics, laundromats, etc.; 68 structured observations of student/parents and/or other family members, and 28 thirty minute time-sampling records of toddlers during free play activity at home
- b. photographs
280 color prints, 5 thirty minute video tapes
- c. 53 charts, diagrams, and lists, including domain lists, toy and print inventories, and charts showing reading and writing activities of individual family members
- d. 28 formal, tape-recorded interviews, resulting in

314 pages of interview transcripts and a 9 page index

- e. 16 other tape recordings of activities at home, including meal time, afternoon arrival from school, homework activities, and family events (birthday party, graduation party, Easter egg hunt) - resulting in 152 pages of transcripts
- f. 202 artifacts collected, including originals or photocopies of telephone messages, TV magazines, mail-order catalogue forms, church service programs, wedding reception napkins, game instructions, tricycle assembly instructions, occupant mailings, samples of children's writing and drawing, school form letters and newsletters, greeting cards
- g. 41 journal entries or memoranda, totaling 95 pages

The descriptions that follow detail the process of data collection in each of the three sites, in the same order presented in the above timeline. That is, entree and data collection are described first for the day care portion of the study, then for the high school portion, then for the home or outside-school lives of the study's student/parent consultants and their children. Though presented in a linear fashion, to minimize confusion for the reader, actual

data collection in the three sites took place in a recursive, interconnected time frame, rather than in linear order by site. Thus, while my participant observation visits were being made and interviews were being conducted in both the day care center and the high school classes, offices, and activities of the student/parents in the spring of 1989, participant observation visits were also being made, often on the same days, to the homes of the student/parent consultants.

Site #1 The Infant/Toddler Day Care Program

Entree to the day care program was obtained through the administrators of the high school in which the day care program is housed. The first step toward obtaining entree was a conversation in early October, 1987 with the Vocational Assistant Principal of the high school. After hearing my request to visit the Infant/Toddler Day Care Program on a daily basis as a participant observer, he gave his permission and agreed to contact the program's director that day so that she would be expecting my first visit, to get acquainted, within the week. Told that I was visiting the program for work on the pre-dissertation research requirement of my doctoral program, he asked no questions about what I would be doing with my observations or about what, if any, products I would be producing, and he imposed

no conditions or restrictions on my visits. I repeated this permission-obtaining conversation with the high school principal that same day; hearing that I had received the permission of his assistant, the principal said he could see no problem with such an arrangement and wished me luck with my research.

The following day, I called the Infant/Toddler Day Care Program director, Mrs. Hunter, at a time I thought would be prior to the arrival of the children, at 7:45 a.m. I told her my name and that I was calling to get her permission to visit her program on a regular basis. She told me that the vocational assistant principal, to whom she reports, had contacted her the day before and that she had been expecting a call from me and would welcome my visits at any time. I thanked her and told her that I would be down that day to observe. At that point, I anticipated spending 20-30 hours in observations of the day care program, in order to fulfill the requirements for a pre-dissertation research project. My notions of what I was looking for in the day care program were vague; I was initially interested in questions like: "What is it like to work in a day care program located in a high school?" and "What do children do in a day care setting?" I had no training or experience in early childhood education, and though I worked in the same school, my work site was an alternative program housed within the

larger high school, and my office was five floors and a full city block away from the day care program. I had seen but had never met the day care program staff members.

Upon my arrival in the day care program later that morning, Mrs. Hunter greeted me and introduced me to the program's two instructor assistants as "Lynne, a student at the university, who will be visiting us quite a bit." She took me on a tour of the program space, and then introduced me to the toddlers, who were at tables and in high chairs, having breakfast. I was introduced to the toddlers as Miss Smith, which most of them pronounced that day and every day for the next two years of our acquaintance as "Miff Smiff."

After daily visits to the program over a two week period, at different times of the day, for periods ranging from 20 minutes to 2 hours, I worked on the collection and rewriting of field notes, the creation of domain lists (Spradley, 1980), the writing of journal entries, and then culled from this information a list of structural questions for future visits. After reading and rereading my fieldnotes, summaries, journal, domain lists, and questions, I thought I recognized a central trend -- ideas and observations related to considerations of the affective climate for learning. I read some of the work of the Soviet psychologist Vygotsky and studies by language and literacy theorists and by educational anthropologists researching the

cultural context of reading and writing (Au & Jordan, 1981; Connolly & Doyle, 1984; Lubeck, 1984; Barnhart & Sulzby, 1986; Perl, 1987; Fernie 1988) and my field notes, as a result, showed a greater concern for context in the data I was recording. I added maps of children's interactions with others and maps of their movements around the program space.

I made additional participant observer visits to the program, several times each week for periods ranging from several minutes to more than two hours. During these visits, I sometimes sat at a table and took handwritten notes on the activities and interactions of the children and the adults, and at other times assisted the adults with tasks such as meal preparation and serving, infant and toddler feeding, toy clean-up, art activity preparation, and reading to individual toddlers. After reflecting on my accumulating fieldnotes and journal entries, I narrowed my focus (with both the camera and participant observation) to adult-child language interaction, audio taping adult-toddler conversation at mealtime, during diaper changing and bathroom visits, during free and organized play activities, and at the beginning and end of the program day.

I read several studies of language interaction between adults and toddlers and became more and more concerned about: (1) how much I did not know about this area of inquiry; and (2) how microscopic my view of the program had

become. I was disturbed about losing the larger picture of the real lives of real people, of what went on in the day-to-day activities and interactions of this setting. In retrospect, this was simply the first of many times that I was to be concerned about losing the people I was observing, losing their voices, in the accumulation of large amounts and several types of data (Smith, 1989b). Within a few weeks, I concluded that adult-child language interaction was too restrictive and specialized a study for me to continue comfortably, and I began widening the lens of my viewpoint, attempting to find a perspective that would enable me to capture more of the complexity of the activities and interactions I was observing.

What some may view as recursive design others would see as imitating the close-up to distant movement of a camera lens; as I spent more time in the day care program, my focus shifted from individual activities and dyadic interaction, to the context in which individual and dyadic interactions took place, and back again to the individuals. Reading research others had conducted in day care settings (Corsaro, 1985; Lubeck, 1985, 1988) raised new questions in my mind which, in turn, led to framing my visits with different questions. This movement between theory and collected data was highly recursive and highly influential for data collection later in the high school classrooms and the homes

of the student/parents. Recursiveness entered the study in another way when I decided that the toddlers and staff members were comfortable enough with my presence to allow me to take pictures in the program. The first set of pictures, as explained earlier in this chapter, led to my first experiences with categorical shuffling and thus had tremendous impact on the course of the research.

After much reflection on the data accumulated and on the questions I was generating from that data, which after two months included formal and informal interviews with the program staff, I visited three other day care centers (one operated for the children of school system employees, one housed in a church annex and funded by government agencies, and one privately operated in a middle-class suburban residential area). I reviewed accumulated field notes, artifacts, tape transcripts, slides and photographs, talked two experienced qualitative researchers, and concluded that much of what I was seeing was related to the idea of learning to do school, of things about the program that went beyond babysitting or traditional concepts of child care to the teaching of roles, rules, routines, and responsibilities related to formal schooling.

Within a few weeks, I had changed my central focus again, this time to a study of emergent literacy in the day care setting. To a large extent, that change was made

because of my belief that the time constraints of this study (still, in my view at that time, a few months of coursework-related research) would not allow me to develop, through visits to other preschools and day care centers, visits to kindergartens, and interviews with preschool and primary teachers, a clear concept of what learning-to-do-school meant.

The change in focus to emergent literacy, however, seemed to necessitate some definition, in my own mind, of what a learning incident was, so that I could make comparisons of the information I was collecting in the day care program. Eventually, I settled upon the definition formulated by Pitman, Eisikovits, & Dobbert (1989), then in draft form as they exchanged and rewrote chapters of their book. The definition appealed to me, because it fit what I had been observing; that is, the activities I had been witnessing often involved one or two children and an adult, but other children were observing or were peripherally involved. Or, a group activity would have the full attention of some toddlers, and the partial attention of others. Or, a toddler would appear to be fully focused on the interaction and activity of others, without those caught up in the activity being aware of that observation at all. The definition I found useful for recording field notes:

We thus define a learning incident or episode as any

bounded mini-event involving a learner. An incident might be defined as a "natural" bounded unit or a sequence of behavior. The definition of what constitutes a natural boundary will most likely be derived from the ethnographer's knowledge of the field setting. . . . A conversation, one child's turn in a game, an order issued by a parent, a small child's attempt to sweep - all these may be called learning incidents or episodes. (Pitman et. al. 1989, p. 74)

This definition proved to be useful not only in the day care care setting but also later on in the other major settings of this research.

Meanwhile, continued coding of my field notes in an effort to recognize patterns had made obvious the importance of play in this setting, in terms of both time (play occupied the largest portion of the toddlers' day) and relative importance -- all three staff members, in interviews, detailed the prominence of play in the overall design of the program, for the children's physical, cognitive, and social development. Thus, for a time my focus was on the toddlers' play and that portion of the research became both a course-requirement product and a paper presented at an ethnography conference (Smith, 1989a). The sojourn into the study of play, another area new to me but an extensive portion of anthropological and sociological

as well as early childhood research, was also related to my explorations of the social construction of literacy.

Over the first eight months of data collection, during the 1987-88 school year, I usually alternated visits of intense note taking with visits where I observed and participated in adult tasks and children's activities without note taking. Gradually, the adults and children became comfortable with my participation, and I began taking photographs, as mentioned earlier, first with a 35 mm camera, high speed film and no flash, moving gradually from black and white and color prints, to color slides, to prints and slides made with a flash and then to video taping. Another researcher might not have made as much use as I did of photography, but there were several reasons photography played an important role in my work in the day care center. First, before initiating this study, I had worked for 10 years in the research and development branch of an urban school district, and had developed skills in photography and in videography, so that looking at educational scenes through the lens of a camera had become as comfortable as, and often more comfortable, than looking through my own eyes, without the aid or protection of a camera. Second, categorical shuffling, my primary technique for generating research questions, was easiest for me in the visual mode, so I had become dependent on pictures. Third, the color

photographs had proven to be useful as reciprocity, as a means of thanking the day care staff for allowing me to participate so extensively in their work lives. I had double prints made of all still pictures and gave one set to the day care staff. They used some pictures in program bulletin board and scrapbook displays, and gave others to the student/parents. Twice, the staff members grouped the toddlers in the room's rear corner and we showed them slides of themselves at play.¹

Throughout the course of data collection, pictures were a method of data collection, a tool for data management and further data collection, a topic for conversation with those in the field sites, a form of reciprocity, and accumulating evidence of the ways in which I was framing my visits to and understanding of the day care program (English, 1988).

My fieldnotes were handwritten on a legal pad or in a small notebook and, immediately upon leaving the site, rewritten on a microcomputer, using a word processing program. During the first few months, I used PFS software and an Apple II computer; in the middle of the first year of day care data collection, I switched to a Macintosh Plus with a 40 mg hard disk, using Microsoft Word software, then learned to use the data base and spread sheet features of Microsoft Works and Excel as data analysis progressed, a process explained later in more detail. Journal entries,

memorandum writing, and tape transcriptions were also done at the computer. Monthly, my field notes, time sampling observations and maps of the toddlers' free play, artifacts collected, and photographs were shared and discussed with all three members of the day care program staff.

Throughout the course of data collection in the day care center, the director of the program pressed for suggestions from me on improving the daily activities. During the initial months of my visits, I pled ignorance and a total lack of experience in working with infants and toddlers; my statements were made believable early on by my inability to carry out simple tasks like the changing of a diaper without assistance from a program staff member; even a seven-week-old could sense my nervousness and responded with tears when I took so long to put on a new diaper that the sticky-tape intended to hold it was no longer sticky.

This lack of child-care related skills on my part, I believe, in retrospect, helped me in dealing with the potential problems presented by conflicting roles in this setting. During the entire period of data collection, as mentioned earlier, I was an employee of the school system in which I was collecting data, and it is possible that, to some extent, I was initially perceived as a school system administrator, someone not to be fully trusted. My continuing presence, my reliance on praise or neutral

comment, and my refusal to criticize the staff members, the schedule, or the program seemed to dispel the initial anxieties of the staff. Formal and informal interviews grew longer, and I learned to say less, to ask fewer questions, letting the staff members control the topics covered, and learned not to lead them to my immediate interests, but to follow their leads instead.

Listening to their voices on tape, and transcribing their words, my understanding of their feelings about their work increased; by paying careful attention to the tape, I learned to recognize hesitations, hedging, enthusiasm, doubts, resentments, and other nuances that went beyond the neatly printed words of the transcriptions. Once again, my years of audio-visual training and experience paid off, in the sense that I was able to breeze through the technical, mundane aspects of transcription and focus on the persons I was interviewing. As the staff members read the transcripts of their interviews, and made any changes they wished, they expressed repeatedly that they had never thought about some aspects of their jobs until they were asked to reflect on them. For instance, when I questioned the two instructor assistants about the division of labor in the program, their answers were almost identical; after I'd given them each their interview transcript and they had read their own and one another's (their decisions to share), we discussed at

length the fact that the division of responsibilities in the program, of specific work tasks, had never been formally negotiated or articulated, but had evolved over the four years of working closely together.

Confidentiality seemed to be another key to trust building. On many occasions, I interviewed or talked informally with one staff member, out of the hearing of the others. On other occasions, they would individually share things that had happened during the course of their work that had troubled, hurt, or angered them. I was scrupulously careful not to ever quote one staff member to another. If they saw one another's interview transcripts, or my fieldnotes dealing specifically with them, it was because they chose to share with one another; it was never through me.

The sheer volume of time I spent in this setting is, I believe, its greatest claim to accuracy of description. After several months, and especially in the second year of data collection, my presence was often forgotten or taken for granted by both the adults and the children, and I felt I was seeing more natural interactions and reactions to persons and events, and not the close self-monitoring of speech and actions that I was aware of in my first visits. In the second school year of observations, I was present 2-3 hours per day for the first week of the school year, so

that infants and toddlers new to the program were introduced to me just as they were to the staff members, the schedule, the space, and the routines of the program and so that I could record the details of how staff members introduced infants and toddlers to the program's schedule.

The data collected in the day care center provided the raw material for the description of: (1) the program and its staff; and (2) a typical day in day care for a toddler and for an infant that make up the final section of Chapter 4 of this document. By repeated observations of every portion of the program's schedule and space, I constructed, from field notes, interviews, documents, pictures, etc. a narrative description of the program and its activities that focuses on a composite infant and a composite toddler, but also details the work lives of the staff members and the rhythms of the program day. Rather than a description of what might be called literacy events, in isolation from all other aspects of who and what had been observed, I attempted to imbed the literacy-related activities in the full context of everyday life in the day care program. As in the other portions of Chapter 4, the composite profiles were an attempt to protect the identities of both the infants and toddlers and the student/parents.

Site #2 The High School Activities of the Student/Parents

Entree to the high school activities (and later, to the home lives) of the parents of the day care program's infants and toddlers was obtained with the active assistance of all three members of the day care program staff, and, in a sense, with the assistance of the toddlers and infants. Having been a regular visitor to day care for over a year, I was a familiar person in the program space to the student/parents, because their children knew me and would wave, hug my knees, or speak to me when we saw one another elsewhere in the high school building, or outside the school, in places like grocery stores and city parks.² In January of 1989, the day care staff allowed me to use one of the scheduled, two hour monthly meetings of the student/parents to explain my study and ask the student/parents to become consultants in it, by allowing me to: (1) visit their classrooms and other school activities; (2) interview them individually and record those interviews on tape; (3) talk with their teachers and others with whom they interacted; and (4) visit their homes, job sites, and the scenes of their other activities, outside their school lives. During that meeting and over the week that followed, 16 student/parents agreed to become my consultants, to participate in the research by returning informed consent forms for themselves (Appendix 3-2); all of them had, during the

previous school year, returned similar forms giving me permission to observe and take pictures of their children during the regular activities in the day care program (Appendix 3-3).

I explained my research to the student parents as a desire to produce a detailed description of what it is like to be a high school student who is a parent, so that others might begin to understand the difficulties and the complexities of their lives, and see in what ways schools could better serve their needs. I explained that since I was not a parent myself, I was ignorant about both the good and the difficult aspects of trying to combine school and parenting, and hoped to learn from them, the experts. I did not want to mention reading and writing as the focus of my study at that time, because I was afraid that, for a variety of reasons, I might be shown kinds and amounts of reading and writing that were not really reflective of the consultants' everyday lives.³ That day, the student/parents showed the most enthusiasm about the idea of pseudonyms; the word was new to them, but they loved the idea that they would be making up names for themselves and their children. Two of them volunteered that they had been talked out of the names they had really wanted to give their babies, and would give me those names to use as their children's pseudonyms. Others acknowledged that they had never liked their own

names and would love to rename themselves for this study.

I had, in fact, begun to visit the classrooms of the student/parents of all the children in the day care center at the beginning of the school year, but since my job at the high school involved visits to classrooms, and since I did not talk to or in any way cause the student/parents to feel that they, specifically, were being observed, only a few of them ever mentioned my earlier visits to their classrooms before they were told about my research project.

Throughout the remaining six months of the 1988-89 school year, I conducted observations in high school classrooms, offices, auditoriums, etc. My definition of a learning incident, and my usual format for collecting data, were those I had decided to use in the day care center, as described earlier. I used the Categories for Structuring Observation and Analysis (Pitman, et. al., 1989; Pitman & Smith; 1988 and forthcoming) for the collection of data in the high school classrooms. Those categories consist of specific kinds information to be observed and recorded in 12 areas, grouped into four clusters, as follows:

Framework for Structured Observations

Basic Setting and Activity

Setting	Institution	Activity
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Immediate Human Context

Group Size	Group Composition	Atmosphere
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Learner Role and Behavior

Ability	Act
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Response Factors

Responding Person	Response
Expressed Values	Implied Values

This framework was also used to collect data in the homes of the same consultant student/parents, enabling me to make comparisons of the reading and writing that were a part of learning incidents observed in the day care center, the high school, and the homes. In Chapter IV, the data collected using this framework appears in narrative form; in Chapter V it is explicated, category by category. Appendix 3-4 is an example of data collected and coded in one observation in a high school classroom; Appendix 3-5 is an example of data collected, using the same system, in the home of the same consultant observed in Appendix 3-4.

All of the data collected and organized in this way in the school setting was coded with the first author of Pitman, Eisikovits, & Dobbert's Culture Acquisition Revised Code List (1989). Thus, my understanding of the coding system emerged as I coded my fieldnotes. There were codes for the number of persons present, the sex and age of those present, the activities in which the observation's focal learner was engaged, the activities of those in the presence

of the focal learner, etc. I entered all of the codes into a data base constructed on a Macintosh computer, using the Microsoft Works data base, creating columns for each of the data categories listed above -- Setting, Institution, Activity, Responding Person, etc. A section of that data base, for the school-based observations, is included as Appendix 3-6. Entering the codes into a data base permitted repeated sortings of the data, so that patterns could be detected. For example, the data base could be sorted and printed to group all the observations of a single student/parent, or to group all the observations by the sex of the focal learner observed, or to group all the observations by location, i.e. classroom, school offices, auditoriums, field trips. The patterns discerned through this kind of sorting of the data base information are discussed in Chapter V, along with comparisons to the data collected using the same structured data-collection categories and the same coding system in the homes of the same student/parents observed in school settings.

Observations of the high school classes and other activities of my consultants, the student/parents, required that I obtain the permission of the principal to extend my day care study to the high school classrooms of the student/parents. Through informal conversations throughout the course of the preceding year, he was aware of the stages

of my research and raised no objections whatsoever to its extension into portions of the high school other than the day care program. With his permission obtained, my next step was to discuss with teachers and other staff members the nature of my research. I repeated to them the same purpose I had explained to the student/parents, that I was interested in learning and writing about what it was like to be a high school student and a parent. Staff members had varying amounts of interest in/curiosity about my research and some were willing to be interviewed about their experiences in having student who were parents in their classes. In those interviews, I asked very general questions about their views of teaching and learning, and about the places of reading and writing in their teaching and about working with students who are parents. The teachers and other staff members were given transcripts of their interviews to review and make corrections on or additions to, just as the student/parents were with their own interviews. Again, information given by one person was not shared with another. When teachers asked, I shared some field notes taken in their classrooms and made notes of their reactions to those field notes.

As in the day care center, I inventoried the furniture, equipment, print, and other material in the classrooms I observed, drew maps of the individual classrooms (Appendix

3-7), auditoriums, study halls, lunchrooms, gymnasiums, and offices, and gradually introduced a camera into the daily activities, with the permission of teachers. At first I merely carried the camera, then on succeeding observations took pictures, using high speed film so that I did not have to deal with the disruption I thought flash photography might cause. Toward the end of the school year, I video-taped some classroom, office, and auditorium activities, when video-taping would not be intrusive, in the views of the teacher and others in the setting; for example, when students were presenting a debate in a small auditorium, with an audience of other classes, or when the entire school population was involved in an assembly, I took pictures. I was careful to take pictures of all those present in the various settings, never focusing only on the student/parents with whom I was working. The video tapes and pictures also proved to be a form of reciprocity for the teachers who permitted my visits and participated in the research by agreeing to be interviewed. Some teachers used the still pictures for classroom bulletin boards while others used them for more formal, wider audience hall and library displays.

Exiting the day care and classroom field sites was made easier by what was regarded, for many other reasons, as a momentous event, the closing of the high school in which I

was working. Thus, my observations ended along with the ending of the school year, and the dismantling of programs and classrooms, as the day care staff and the high school teachers prepared to be moved to other school buildings within the school district.

Site #3 The Homes (and other out-of-school life activities) of the student/parents and their children

Entree to the homes was accomplished gradually, during the winter of 1988-89; by mid-February I was visiting the homes of 9 student/parents regularly; simultaneously, visits to high school classes and to day care continued during school hours. Entree involved explaining to the grandparents of the infants and toddlers and to other relatives my reasons for wanting to spend time in their homes. I repeated, again and again, to individuals and to family groups, the idea that I had been observing the babies in their family for over a year, and, as they knew through consent forms and human subject forms they had signed, that I was interested in knowing more about what it was like to be both a high school student and a parent. As I spent time in the homes, I began to discuss reading and writing, in the context of other things we talked about, such as daily schedules, responsibilities for child care, etc.

I began my visits to homes with a dinner invitation

from a student parent who lived independently with her son in a subsidized housing project. She had been living away from her mother for just two months and was eager to show off her new home and particularly her new living room set. I felt it was important for me to experience her usual trip home from school, and after accepting her invitation, met her at her locker after school, went to day care with her to pick up her son, and rode two city buses with them, arriving at their apartment an hour after the school day had ended. That visit lasted two hours and was followed by three more visits over the next two weeks. I then brought up the subject of reciprocity, and we agreed on an hour of babysitting for every two hours I spent visiting. The initial babysitting experience gave me the opportunity to map the rooms of the apartment and to inventory the print material there, without causing the student/parent any discomfort or embarrassment. Later babysitting stints gave me opportunities to rewrite fieldnotes, to reread and code fieldnotes, and to take phone messages, answer the door, and get to know a little about the student/parents' family, friends, and neighbors.

This set the pattern for my entree into other homes. In 2 of the 16 homes I began to visit, it was clear early on that my visits were making some family members extremely uncomfortable. After conversations with both the

student/parents involved, we agreed to continue school observations but stop having any observations at home. I did not take field notes in the presence of others while I was inside any of the homes, except in rare circumstances when others present were reading and writing and my writing would fit into the surrounding activities. Usually, I scrawled key words on index cards I kept in my pocket, writing on them in the bathroom, on an errand to the basement, or in other brief pockets of time when I was alone. I was grateful for the months of experience in day care, so that I had practice in lengthy observation followed by the recording of notes, either on paper or aloud into a tape recorder, after leaving the site.

Participant observation was in some ways easier in the homes that were occupied by three generations of family members; when it was clear that someone was uncomfortable with my presence in one situation or area, I could move to another, as when the poker club of one student/parent's father objected to my watching the game, joking that I was a "stranger and a white girl" and there could be some kind of signal system at work. I excused myself to go help with the clean-up of dinner dishes in the kitchen. On the other hand, there were more people to get to know in the extended family situations, more people to whom I had to give some explanation of why I was there, and that made entree a more

lengthy, extended, complex process than in the homes of the student/parents who lived independently and were already fairly comfortable with me before I began visiting them at home.

Two of the grandparents had been my junior high school English students early in my teaching career; entree to their homes was relatively easy and relationships of trust were re-established within a few weeks of regular visits; one of them introduced me to other grandparents of student/parents who were her neighbors, thus easing my entree. Several of the student/parents were clustered in two areas of the city where I had taught junior high school English earlier, and as we walked from bus stops to apartments or from apartments to stores, I was recognized by their friends and neighbors. The fact that we had mutual acquaintances seemed to help in the entree process. Reciprocity was another key to increasing the comfort of the family members with my presence in their homes. In extended families, my offer to do babysitting as payment for their allowing me to visit was immediately accepted, in almost all cases by the student/parent's mother, who was used to doing the bulk of child care. This was especially popular with the grandmothers who had young children of their own; thus, on several occasions, I baby sat for two or three preschool age children while the student/parent and her mother (or

other adult relative) were away from the house. In other families, babysitting time was rejected in favor of a carton of disposable diapers. Silencing myself on the topic of disposable diapers and the environment, I would provide boxes of disposable diapers in exchange for time spent in interviews or participant observation. This was the form of reciprocity chosen most by grandparents who had several family members who they felt were old enough to do babysitting. Eventually, I recognized that diapers and formula were chosen over babysitting twice as often during the last week of each month, when most of the family members were struggling financially, running out of or very low on both money and food stamps.

Members of the extended families were in several cases made more comfortable by another form of reciprocity that had also been successful in the day care program - pictures of the infants and toddlers in the family. By obtaining double sets of the pictures I took in day care, at school, and at home, I was able to give parents and grandparents copies of pictures of their children and grandchildren; in every case the family members expressed their appreciation repeatedly. In some cases, they immediately invited me to participate in up-coming family or neighborhood activities, specifically requesting that I take pictures at those events. In one family, my ability to write a business

letter was the most often requested form of reciprocity; over a period of months, I wrote several letters to a landlord and two to city government officials, all dictated to me at the kitchen table and all related to a sewer problem on the property of the grandparent with whom a male student/parent lived temporarily.

As the weeks passed and the family members were, in most cases, more comfortable with me, I began to ask the student/parents to keep logs of their activities at home, diaries of their activities. This met with varying degrees of success, some of the student/parents writing detailed, daily accounts, others a line or two every few days. At one point, in May of 1989, I asked the student/parents to take pictures of the reading and writing activities that took place in the their home, at any time during a specified week. I provided inexpensive, instamatic cameras for those who were willing, and four students took pictures at home, primarily of their siblings. Three students also made video-tapes of home reading and writing activities during that same month. Eleven students also made lists of the print materials they found in their homes. These lists were, in most cases, similar to my own, but in several instances added print materials that were not visible to me; i.e. family Bibles kept in drawers, and birth certificates, report cards, diplomas and other items kept in scrapbooks or

boxes not normally in my view.

After home visits, most of which lasted from 30 minutes to four hours, I would record the details of what I had observed using the Structured Observation Form that I was using concurrently in the high school classrooms. When the student/parents were at work, at the laundromat, or in other public places during my observations, I could sometimes record my observations in their presence. Starting in mid-May, I showed each of them these field notes and we discussed what I had observed.

Exiting most of the homes of the student/parents occurred over a period of three months, during the summer of 1989. In each family, I would announce the eminent end of my observations and suggest a picnic or a dinner. In two of the housing projects, we combined families for group picnics; in the other cases I had picnics or dinners with individual families. On those occasions, I would provide the meat and the beverages for the meal and give them the last of the copies of pictures I had taken of them, thanking them individually and collectively for their help with my work. I asked each family to keep in touch with me. Again, the closing of the high school made mid-June a natural ending point for my study, and I used the closing as the reason for stopping my work. As requested, some family members, student/parents and others continued to call me at

home and at work, sometimes just to talk and other times to ask my assistance with difficulties with housing offices, utility companies, or neighbors.

The data collected in the home lives of the student/parents and their children provided the raw material for much of the narrative descriptions that make up the first three sections of Chapter 4 of this document. By repeated observations of home activities and the persons involved or present during all portions of the day and evening, I constructed, from field notes, interviews, documents, pictures, etc. a narrative description of the outside-of-school portion of the student/parents' lives. The other portion of the research that is narratively detailed in these three sections is the school life of the student/parents. In the first three sections, as in the final section which describes the day care program, literacy is described in the full context of daily lives, embedded in all the other events and activities of ordinary days, rather than described or itemized in isolation.

Provisions for Credibility

Every research design must include considerations of both reliability (the replicability of the study) and validity (issues of accuracy). Goetz & LeCompte (1984)

discuss at some length the problems involved in replicability in ethnographic research design and suggest that the ethnographic process -- design of study, data collection and data analysis -- used by a researcher should be carefully and precisely described. Bogdan & Biklen (1982) essentially agree, saying that in qualitative research, reliability means a concern with accuracy and comprehensiveness.

Guba & Lincoln (1981) say that the ethnographic term for reliability or consistency is replicability and that the appropriate solution to reliability concerns is to make covert decisions into overt ones, that is, to lay out the decision-making process throughout the study, leaving a paper trail specifying the decision points, the decisions themselves, and the reasoning process used to make the decisions. In this study, I attempted to maintain that kind of a paper trail, primarily in the form of memos and journal entries. One of the strategies Guba suggests to bolster reliability is an auditing of the study's coding by other researchers, particularly important when a study is being conducted by a single researcher rather than a team. That strategy has been employed and reported in this research; others with experience in qualitative research methods and techniques were asked, throughout the data analysis and display stages, to (1) work with me during the process of

coding and/or (2) audit my coding of the collected data. Specific examples of that auditing were discussed in the description of methodology contained in this chapter.

Guba & Lincoln also advocate prolonged engagement in a research site, peer debriefing, and the establishment of structural corroboration, suggestions that were carefully followed during the full course of this two year ethnographic study and discussed within each of the three sections of this chapter.

The Spindlers (1978) write about the fact that:

A lot of ethnographic information is second hand, in the sense that one cannot observe directly what is happening but people talk about something that happened. Validity is affected. One compensates by trying to find a number of people who will talk about behavior hidden to the ethnographer, hoping to elicit recognizable explanatory elements from some or all of these respondents. (p. 20)

In this study, I attempted to follow that advice. For instance, I usually left the homes of the student/parents when they went to bed in the evening, so that I was not privy to the details of what happened between the time I left and the time they actually went to sleep. Yet, I have information about those times and others when I was not present from: logs kept by the student/parents; pictures

taken by the student/parents or other family members; events described by student/parents or other family members in either formal or informal interviews; artifacts, such as homework assignments or letters written in bedrooms or elsewhere and shown to me following day.

Dobbert (1982) defines validity as "the degree to which the research products reflect a clear, representative picture of a given situation." (p. 259) She argues that both reliability and validity are relative and cannot be obtained absolutely in any study; she thinks the researcher does in fact always interfere with the subject in order to study it and can't control all the circumstances that surround any study. Dobbert proposes that a study's methods be designed so that the researcher's interference in the setting is understood and dealt with from the beginning. She recommends that the angle or biases or points of view of informants must be studied carefully by the researcher as an important part of a study's validity and that any single piece of information must be examined in the context of the whole. In this study I attempted to follow that advice, monitoring the potential problems that things such as my role and my literacy "baggage" might cause. Dobbert's advocacy of multiple methods of data collection leads to a consideration of triangulation.

In ethnography, data collected in one way can be used

to check the accuracy of data collected in another way (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984). Mathison (1988) describes triangulation as a strategy for increasing the validity of research findings. Dezin (1988) explicated four types of triangulation:

data triangulation including time, space and persons;
investigator triangulation;
theory triangulation; and
methodological triangulation.

With the exception of the second type, all these recommended types of triangulation were utilized in this research. In a sense, investigator triangulation was partially achieved by utilizing the skills of other qualitative researchers in the coding decisions that were involved in the use of the Pitman et. al. (1989) categories for structuring observations, and by having other researchers audit my coding of data from all three field sites. Additionally, when presented with methodological dilemmas, memos to other, more experienced researchers were of assistance in making decisions during the course of the research. Mathison's argument about triangulation vis a vis the validity of research findings is that while triangulation of research methods may result in convergence of evidence, they can instead result in inconsistent and

even contradictory evidence that should not be ignored, evidence that must be sorted out by the researcher. Mathison believes that it is from inconsistencies and contradictions that the researcher can learn a great deal and can record and refine tentative explanations for disagreements within the data. I found that advice useful on several occasions in reconciling contradictions in the data obtained. For example, on one occasion, a student/parent and a teacher had very different explanations of an incident; on another occasion, there were inconsistencies between the amount of writing I was seeing and the amount of writing a family member described herself as doing. In these cases and others, the use of tentative explanations and additional data collection helped me to learn more about those I was studying.

Turning Data into Narrative

There is no rule book for turning a mass of descriptive data into a coherent narrative that conveys to others a sense of the lives of those who have been the focus of an ethnographic study. The decisions about how to write the narrative portion of this study's findings occupied my thoughts for months. In trying to decide how to make a coherent narrative out of a very large amount of data, I read many other ethnographies and qualitative research texts

containing advice and guidelines for an ethnographic narrative. Wolcott, in Spindler & Spindler (1987) was one of the first researchers I consulted: "Ethnography is not simply good description. . . . Good description can lead to good ethnography, but the good ethnographer is capable not only of good description but of recognizing what elements most warrant attention. . . . (p. 40)

Simon (1987) contends that, without any exceptions, ethnographies should aim for holism, for understanding what they have observed from as many points of view as possible, and should reflect a balance of data and explanation. She also advises ethnographers to make their point of view explicit in the writing of the narrative. The Spindlers (1987) deal very cautiously with the idea of inferential interpretation by ethnographers:

Inference, construction of explanations, and models of explanation that go far beyond the original observations and the elicitation of native cultural knowledge make interesting reading. In fact, this is what we find most interesting. We evaluate our great anthropologists such as Clifford Geertz, Anthony Wallace, Gregory Bateson, Margaret Mead, Clyde Kluckhohn, Evens-Pritchard, Malinowski, by the inferences they draw and how they present them to us. Nevertheless, they had a solid base of ethnographic

study from which to build their inferential structures of explanation.

The problem is that ethnography provides the raw material for inferencing but inferencing must be minimized while doing ethnography and writing an ethnographic report. (p. 22)

Clifford (1988) raises disquieting questions about decisions made in the course of a study and about the boundaries of a study's population and points out that ethnographies are written in different forms, some traditional and others innovative. He believes that there are serious difficulties to be overcome in translating a detailed, messy, recursive research experience into a written account that is both understandable and authoritative and cautions:

one must bear in mind the fact that ethnography is, from beginning to end, emeshed in writing. This writing includes, minimally, a translation of experience into textual form. The process is complicated by the action of multiple subjectivities and political constraints beyond the control of the writer. (p. 25)

Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, in explaining the style of writing she employed to create descriptions of the U.S. schools she visited, speaks in her introduction to The Good High School of what she means by "portraits." Her written

portraits of several American high schools, she says, "capture essence: the spirit, tempo, and movement" (p. 5) of the schools she visited. In explaining to readers her decision to write her narrative in the form of portraits, she explains that she wanted, as a social scientist, to write a narrative that would show persons and institutions fully, with many dimensions. Lightfoot (1986) says she wanted to write in a way that: "would combine science and art; that would be concerned with composition and design as well as description; that would depict motion and stopped time, history, and anticipated future. (p. 6)

Lightfoot's portraits of 6 high schools are descriptively detailed, but in my view do not meet the criteria for ethnography detailed earlier in this chapter. My primary objection to Lightfoot's portraits is not with her metaphor but with the very small amount of participant observation data. She spent but a few days at each of the schools and her descriptions of the data collected do not convince me that she had enough information to write a description of the schools from the points of view of those who populate them. Rather than the portraits of her extended metaphor, I would argue that she has written sketches and called them portraits.

For several months, I struggled with making distinctions for myself between ethnographies and other

forms of narrative writing. How, for instance, is an ethnography different from a novel or a play? Ultimately, I think that the difference is in the explanation. In addition to the "story," an ethnography supplies the reader with detailed information on what kinds of information was collected, from whom and under what circumstances it was collected, how that information was organized, what patterns were discovered in that information, etc. Dobbert (1982) attempts to deal with the distinctions between the writing of an ethnography and the writing of a novel by drawing attention to the fact that:

Although a good novel and a good ethnography may engage the sympathies of the reader in a similar way, the two are constructed on a different basis. A novel attempts to reveal some general truths about the human heart and spirit through a detailed examination of the thoughts and actions of a number of individual characters. An ethnography attempts to reveal some general facts about social, cultural, or institutional organization through observation of groups of individuals. (p. 8)

In employed theory and evolved focus, the narrative that constitutes Chapter IV walks the edges of what is called ethnography and the edges of several disciplines, including literacy research and anthropology. Clifford (1986) quotes Roland Barthes' "Jeunes Chercheurs" warning

that: To do something interdisciplinary it's not enough to choose a "subject" (a theme) and gather around it two or three sciences. Interdisciplinarity consists in creating a new object that belongs to no one. (p. xi)

Clifford (1986) says that Mead, Sapir, and Benedict viewed themselves not just as anthropologists who wrote up their field experiences but as literary artists. As I read his work and the opinions of others on how field work is translated or transformed into narrative, trying to decide how to produce a coherent, detailed, accurate account out of a morass of data, Clifford's (1988) opinion was somehow comforting:

I think that writing ethnography is an isolated and highly personal business and that those who discuss it in print are certain to discover that their best examples must be their own. Writers are the privileged readers of their own texts and are, within limits, the only ones who can speak with some advantage and special authority on their own intentions and textual assumptions." (p. xv)

Many descriptive accounts of peoples' lives begin with a disclaimer, a notice by the author that varies slightly in wording, but essentially expresses the idea that no specific person, living or dead, is being described in that work. Correspondingly, it seems appropriate to conclude this

chapter on methodology with a claimer:

The chapter that follows is specifically intended to reflect the circumstances, experiences, interactions, words, and activities of a group of 14 high school students, each of whom are the parents of one or more children. All references are to specific persons and events, actions, and interactions. Those described are very much alive.

NOTES

¹ The first time the toddlers watched slides of themselves, I projected them onto a wall in the back corner of the room. The pictures were very large, approximately 4' x 6', and the toddlers were seated on the floor, close to the projected pictures. From the moment the first slide appeared on the wall, the excitement was constant. Toddlers would clap, cheer, shout the names of, or crawl or walk to a pictured toddler and hug him or her. Those pictured sometimes covered their faces (which seemed to show a combination of embarrassment and pleasure) or would rush to the wall and attempt to hug the images of themselves on the screen, and, to my utter astonishment, recognized slides of themselves from the rear, when their faces were not visible. I still think of that occasion and muse about how they recognized themselves, usually concluding that it was their own

clothing they recognized. When it happened, I was too amazed to immediately think of ways of finding out what it was that told them they were the person pictured.

² On one occasion, I was in the aisle of my neighborhood grocery store when I passed one of the toddlers, 2 year old Andre, who was sitting in a grocery cart. He waved and said "Miff Smiff" and I greeted him by name, then realized that the woman pushing his grocery cart was giving me a searching look. I introduced myself and explained how I knew Andre and his mother. She laughed and said that she had been surprised by our greeting, because "I didn't know he knew nobody I don't know." That incident was my first introduction to one of the grandparents of the toddlers.

³ An earlier experience in the day care center had made me sensitive to the possibility that a study's consultants may, in some cases and for various reasons, try to "please" the researcher by presenting what they think the researcher wants to see. As a regular part of discussing my collected data with the day care program staff and obtaining their feedback, I shared with them a paper I was writing about the play activities of the toddlers (Smith 1989a). The title of the paper was their first glimpse that I had evolved into a focus on literacy, and from that point on, there was more

activity directly related to reading in the toddler's day. I dealt with that situation first by noting the changes in the daily activities and the increased emphasis on reading to toddlers, then stopped taking notes and spent time far on the participant side of the participant/observer scale, taking no notes in the day care center and participating fully in the program by assisting the staff members in their work. For a while, I spent more time in the nursery than in the toddler's room and, after a few weeks, the new reading activities gradually disappeared and the toddler's activities again reflected the variety of group activities I had observed before the program staff members tried to 'help' me by having more reading visible in the toddlers' day.

CHAPTER IV

COMPOSITE PROFILES

Introduction

This chapter is divided into four sections, which I've called composite profiles. Two factors led to the decision to divide this descriptive chapter in this way. The first factor was the desire to protect the confidentiality of the student/parents who participated in this study. Because only one of the high schools in the school district operated a day care program for the children of students, and because the group actually using the services of the day care program was so relatively small, I searched for ways to protect the individual identities of the student/parents. Much of the information they shared with me, in lengthy interviews, in allowing me to do participant observation in their high school classes and other activities, and in welcoming me into their homes, was highly personal. At times, the personal nature of information they shared or of events I witnessed was further complicated by illegal activities engaged in by someone in their family, peer group, or household. Thus, for a number of reasons, I

searched for a way to use the data I had collected without causing difficulties for my primary consultants in this study, the student/parents.

The second factor leading to my decision to divide this chapter into four composite profiles developed during data analysis, when the data collected on the home lives of the student/parents continually fell into three distinct groupings. Thus, to protect anonymity, and to illustrate the similarities and the differences I found between and among my student/parent consultants, I created three profiles, three composites, three descriptions, representing the 14 student/parents who participated in the research. The groupings of data that led to the decision to profile the student/parents in composites will be fully explored in the succeeding chapters. Here, a reader needs to know that the three composites are presented as the first three sections of this chapter. In each case, I attempted to describe a single school day in the life of a high school student/parent, attempting to give the reader a sense of the reading and writing that take place in the full context of their daily lives -- in their morning routines, their travel to and from school and work, all their high school classes and activities in a single school day, and their afternoon and evening activities.

In each of the first three composites, I have tried to

frame the student/parents' lives with descriptions of their physical environments, i.e. their neighborhoods, streets, homes, and household members. Each composite, then, represents not just one student/parent, but the lives of all who are within the groups described below.

The first composite in this chapter is intended to describe the lives of female high school student/parents who are heads of households; that is, they live with their child or children in a residence separate from any other members of their families or any other adults. In the city where this research was conducted, this group is known legally as emancipated minors.

The second composite describes the lives of female high school student/parents with a child or children, living with one or more of their parents. In other words, the student/parents represented by the second composite live in extended family situations, with three or more generations living in the same household.

The third group presented in a composite portrait is male high school student/parents. As will be described in more specific, data-driven detail in the following chapters, their lives differ from those of the female student/parents in many ways.

The fourth and final composite profile differs considerably from the first three. It is an attempt to

thickly describe the environment of the day care program attended by the infant and toddler children of the student/parents in this research. It begins with a detailed description of the day care program, its physical environment, and its staff, then continues with a detailed description of a toddler and an infant during one full day of ordinary program activities. To minimize confusion, the infant portrayed in this section is the son of the composite student/parent described in Profile #2, while the toddler described in this section is the second daughter of the composite student/parent described in Profile #1.

The intent of this narrative chapter is to give readers a sense of the texture of the daily lives of the high school student/parents, their children, and all those with whom they live and interact. It is intended to be thickly descriptive. All the quotations used are from fieldnotes; similarly, all events and relationships are taken from fieldnotes. Efforts have been made to obscure the identification of individuals; at the same time, efforts have been made to present the real lives of real people, within each of the four categories.

Composite Profile #1

This composite represents student/parents with one or more children, who live independently (not with their parent(s) or other adults).

Living in this household:

Consultant: Paulette, 18, a high school senior

Daughters: Shantay, 4; Latanya, 2 (27 mo.)

Home - the Neighborhood

Paulette and her two daughters live in a public housing project, six miles north and slightly west of Paulette's mother's home, and about the same distance north of Paulette's high school. From the late 1800s until the city bought the property, the land was cleared and farmed by Dutch and German immigrants who specialized in dairy farms and acres of greenhouses. For many years, the area was known as Wooden Shoe Hollow, and a street bordering the housing project still bears that name. Two descendants of the original farmers remain, operating wholesale greenhouse businesses. The housing project has been constructed in stages over a 20 years span, and the styles and floorplans of the various periods of the project differ slightly, in structures ranging from 1 story, L-shapes to 4 story

buildings. A majority of the units are two story townhouses, without basements. The housing project has over 1,700 units, a clinic, an elementary school, a housing office, a residents' meeting space, a laundromat, basketball courts, and a community center. Much of the project area is flat land, but the northern end contains several hills, some gently sloped, and others a short but rather steep climb. The project area is served by 2 city bus routes on its interior streets and another 2 routes accessible on streets that border the project, and the majority of those living in the project use public transportation. On the streets of the project that are main thoroughfares for bus and automobile traffic, the grass around the apartment buildings has worn away and dirt or mud dominates the remaining grass. The area has few trees or bushes; much of the project was built on already cleared farm land, and few trees or shrubs have been planted since the project began. In the summertime, the heat of the streets and sidewalks rises visibly; in the winter, wind whips down and through the almost treeless streets.

Paulette and her daughters moved here last summer before Paulette's senior year of high school began. Before moving, the three of them shared Paulette's childhood bedroom in her mother's home, in an area of the city dominated by a metropolitan university and several large

hospitals.

Paulette's two bedroom, one bath, two story frame with brick trim townhouse is an end unit in a row of eight, and faces a span of grass and dirt, across which an identical row of townhouses blocks Paulette's view of a project parking lot and, beyond, the closest street. The parking lot is the southern border of the row of townhouses Paulette's apartment faces; it contains several cars that are not drivable, some missing tires or wheels, others with mechanical problems, another with a totally smashed front end. A large metal dumpster occupies one corner of the parking lot, and a lot of paper, styrofoam, and broken glass is on the ground around the dumpster and elsewhere in the parking lot. Only a trickle of traffic comes in and out of the parking lot during the week after the early morning hours, but the traffic flow increases on weekends, with adults who don't live in the project unloading and loading groceries, laundry, children, and children's paraphernalia like infant seats, diaper bags, and boxes of disposable diapers.

During most daylight hours, one or more cars in the parking lot are being worked on by young adult males. Other males lean against cars during daylight and evening hours, drinking beer, wine, or Coca-Cola in tall bottles usually held inside a paper bag, talking, offering advice to the

would-be mechanic, and, in Paulette's opinion, dealing marijuana and crack. Parked on the street alongside the parking lot is a large post office truck, converted into a food store. It is parked here from 9 am until midnight every day of the week, selling hot dogs, candy, and pop. Most of the customers are children, some carrying notes from their mothers. The driver/owner of the truck is Korean and has been in this country for a little over two years. He does not live in this housing project.

All Paulette's neighbors are African American; there are European American, Asian, and mixed families in the housing project, but everyone within four blocks of Paulette, in every direction, is African American. The racial and economic segregation of the housing project is new to Paulette; she grew up in her mother's single family frame home in an economically and racially integrated neighborhood.

Though the wide expanse of grass and dirt outside her front door seems ideal for play, children are rarely seen playing there without adults; Paulette explains that there have been several criminal incidents involving children during the last few months, the worst incident the rape of a five year old by an adult friend of the family. Sixteen townhouse units overlook this rectangle of grass; four of them are vacant and in various stages of being boarded up.

Blackened bricks around upstairs window frames indicate that fires have occurred in at least two of the units.

Paulette says that her children are not allowed to go outside without her. Even when they are going to a neighbor's apartment to play, in the same row of 8 townhouses in which they live, Paulette calls ahead and then stands outside her door, watching her girls until they go inside the other apartment. During their play, she will also visit them at the other apartment, unannounced, to make sure the play arrangements are to her satisfaction, and that there are no "no-goods" present. Paulette defines "no-goods" as "folks who just be living off of welfare or sellin' drugs, or sellin' stuff they steal-- I don' want my chillren 'round folks like that."

Home - the Apartment

The front door of the townhouse opens into the living room, a 9 x 9 foot room with a green and black linoleum floor, a steep, narrow, staircase leading up to the bedrooms, and one 30 x 60 in. window on the same wall as the front door. The walls of the living room are painted a bright yellow; Paulette and her father and boyfriend painted this room and the kitchen just a month ago. The living room is furnished with a couch, two chairs, two end tables and a coffee table. One of the rectangular, wooden end tables is

used as a television stand and the other holds a small stereo with two speakers. Inside the single drawer of the walnut-stained, wooden coffee table, Paulette keeps scrap paper, crayons, pens, and pencils for the girls; the paper tends to be grocery, furniture, and other store handbills and Paulette's school papers. The girls use the backs of these papers for drawing and writing.

The couch and chairs are green nylon, and there is an orange, yellow, and green print sheet over the couch, which Paulette says she uses to hide the its worn spots. On the television set are two greeting cards, both birthday cards to Paulette from relatives; this is her usual spot for displaying cards of all types. Latanya, her younger daughter, likes to pick up the greeting cards and hand them to any visitor, male or female, adult or child. At the window are orange curtains, given to Paulette by her mother. Paulette's dream is a new living room suite; she has picked out the one she wants in a furniture store that has payment plans, but doesn't think she'll be able to buy it until she finishes high school this year and has worked full-time for awhile. In her purse, she has been carrying a paper from the furniture salesman that shows a down payment for the six piece furniture set she wants, and a three year payment schedule that would require her to pay \$17.00 per week.

Directly behind the living room is the kitchen, large

enough for a stove, refrigerator, washing machine, and a red formica topped metal table with four black plastic and metal chairs. On the wall above the sink are two 8 x 10 pencil drawings in black frames; one is of President John F. Kennedy and the other of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. They were drawn by a friend of Paulette's (a former classmate who dropped out of school in the 9th grade just before the birth of her daughter) and given to her as a Christmas gift this year. Paulette uses a dark green, corded cloth bedspread as a drapery to block two-thirds of the wide doorway between the living room and the kitchen. Still, the area is small enough that all areas and activities in the living room, including the front door, the table-model color television and the small stereo, are visible from the kitchen table. From the kitchen table, one has an eye-level view of art work done by Pauline's daughters; she tapes their finger painting, macaroni-on-construction-paper creations, and other art projects to the refrigerator door and on the front of the large, top-loading, avocado green washing machine in a corner of the kitchen.

The kitchen has a door that leads into a small back yard with a clothesline. Two large metal garbage cans are against the back wall of the townhouse, near Paulette's kitchen door; the unit number of her townhouse is spray painted in black on each can and its lid. The kitchen sink

is near the back door; looking through the window over the sink, the view is of the small yard and a clothesline and beyond that, the rear wall of another row of eight townhouses, their clotheslines, and their garbage cans, the scene interrupted only by one green plastic turtle-shaped sandbox and a purple bicycle, missing one wheel, leaning against the rear corner of an end unit.

Upstairs in Paulette's townhouse, her bedroom is above the living room, the bathroom is above the kitchen, and the girls' bedroom is in the middle of the upstairs space. In their room are a scarred wooden set of bunk beds moved here from Paulette's childhood room, a child-size white plastic table and two yellow and white plastic and mesh chairs, a red canvas with wooden frame toy-box, and a five-drawer wooden dresser, painted light green. The walls are painted blue and poster-size art work (from the day care center) by both girls is taped to the wall over their table, next to a picture of Santa Claus sitting in the day care program's rocking chair holding both girls. On the table, a metal coffee can holding pencils and crayons sits next to a stack of recycled paper in various colors. There is no window in the girls' bedroom; all light comes from the single light bulb ceiling fixture, turned on and off at a Mickey Mouse switch near the door. Paulette has a Mickey Mouse night light in the girls' room, opposite the bunk beds, and

another night light in the bathroom. She also leaves the hall light on upstairs all night. Under the small table in the girl's room is a stack of a dozen children's books, some hardback and others paperback books. Several of Ezra Jack Keats's books, two paperback Dr. Seuss books, and a book called Just Us Women are among them; Paulette describes her favorite as Maurice Sendak's In the Night Kitchen, which she remembers being read to her when she was a child, and purchased just this year for her girls. Paulette reads to the girls, once or twice a week, usually before bed at night; their maternal grandmother often reads to them, individually and together, when they visit her on weekends.

Paulette's bedroom is above the living room, with a window looking out the front of the townhouse at the row of townhouses across the grass and dirt expanse. There is a telephone downstairs in the living room, and another in Paulette's bedroom. A clock radio sits next to Paulette's bed and a small black and white television set sits atop a wooden fruit carton near the foot of her bed. Next to the television is the TV program guide that comes in the city's afternoon paper's Saturday edition. Paulette's bedroom walls are painted the same blue as the childrens' rooms; the upstairs hall and the bathroom are also the same color blue. Paulette painted the upstairs rooms, with the assistance of her boyfriend and father. Next to Paulette's double bed is

a small stack of magazines; most of them are issues of Essence, Self, and Ebony. Two of them are career magazines that were distributed in her homeroom this year. Paulette says that she got several magazine subscriptions when she was working full time as a waitress, but that her subscriptions are now running out and she reads magazines at her mother's house instead of buying her own. With the stack of magazines is a stack of 7 paperback books; all of them are romance novels. Next to the telephone is a greeting card and a manilla envelope containing a small stack of bills. Paulette has an address book that she keeps in her purse. She loves to send and receive greeting cards, usually keeping those she receives for several months. "I don't write letters much," she reports. "I send cards, or I call, but I hardly ever write letters." Last summer, Paulette worked full time as a waitress and banked much of the money she earned. During this last year of high school, she is working in the same restaurant, part time, usually on weekends, when others in her family can help with child care. This month, she has bills for her cap and gown pictures and for cap and gown rental, in addition to her usual gas & electricity bill, telephone bill, and furniture payment. She stopped getting cable television two months after moving in, thus eliminating a \$17.50 monthly bill. Moving into this housing project this year made her eligible

for rent subsidation as a single parent, through the city's welfare department; she pays \$67.50 each month for rent. She receives food stamps each month (usually having to stay out of school that day and stand in line at the food stamp office, with her younger daughter), and keeps her food stamps in the envelope with her bills. In the same envelope, she keeps grocery coupons (commonly for disposable diapers, coffee, and the girls' favorite cereals) and postage stamps. Her mother, who works full time at the salad bar in a large grocery store, advises her on her grocery shopping and helps her: (1) take advantage of store and manufacturer coupons and specials; (2) plan her dinner menus and meat purchases at the beginning of each month; (3) store meat and other items in her freezer, which is larger than Paulette's.

The bedroom window has off-white venetian blinds. This room, like the girls' bedroom, is lit only by a small ceiling fixture. Paulette's bed and dresser are a Mediterranean style wood veneer, paid for on an installment plan last year, before Paulette moved herself and her daughters out of her mother's house, where the three of them had shared Paulette's childhood bedroom. It will take her a little over a year to pay for the bedroom set and she is very proud of it, always pointing it out to visitors and talking about the day she "saw it in the store window and

want it for my very own, because it so beautiful, like somethin' on, you know, 'Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous.'" On the door of her bedroom closet, Paulette has color snapshots of herself with both of her daughters, and a 5 x 7 picture of her boyfriend, a cap and gown picture taken a year ago when he was a high school senior. He is the father of her younger daughter; the young man who is her older daughter's father is in jail, charged with possession and selling of cocaine and marijuana. She has known both young men and their families since she was a preschooler.

A School Day

Since she has lived on her own, Paulette's weekdays begin at 5:00 a.m., when she takes a bath, goes downstairs and irons something for herself and something for the girls to wear, gets dressed, awakens and dresses her two daughters, Shantay, 4 and Latanya, 2 and prepares breakfast for the three of them. By 6:15 a.m., breakfast (usually cold cereal, toast with jelly, milk for the girls, and coffee for Paulette), is over. This morning, Paulette is concerned about Latanya; last night she seemed to be getting a cold. Since all three of them must stay home when any one of them is sick, Paulette got up twice during the night to check Latanya's temperature and breathing, and this morning feels fairly sure that she caught Latanya's sniffles in time

to prevent full-scale sickness. Paulette has a test in English this morning, and is worried about missing school; she needs a passing grade in English this quarter and next, or she will not graduate with her class in June.

While Paulette rinses the yellow plastic dishes and the Sesame Street juice glasses, both girls have been watching cartoons on the color television set in the living room; Paulette listens to them singing along with the cartoon theme song as she rinses the dishes and puts away the cereal, bread, margarine, milk, and jelly.

On Saturdays, Paulette likes to sleep late and she is training Shantay to get milk and juice out of the refrigerator, put cereal in bowls and juice in glasses, and have breakfast with her sister while watching Saturday morning cartoons. Paulette puts the cereal box, sugar bowl, spoons, and juice and milk glasses out on the table on Friday night, shows Shantay where everything is, and tells her to fix breakfast for herself and her sister the next morning. Paulette says she has been doing it this way several Saturdays in a row, and it is going smoothly.

On weekday mornings, Paulette gets coats or sweaters on herself and the girls after the breakfast dishes are washed or rinsed, and they begin walking two and a half blocks to catch the first of three morning buses. Paulette says she usually doesn't bother with a big breakfast, because in the

day care center and at Head Start, both girls get another small breakfast each morning. This morning, before leaving the apartment, Paulette feels Latanya's forehead and cheek, decides that she does not have a fever, then holds a tissue around Latanya's nose and tells her to "blow real good." Both girls continue to sing the cartoon show's theme song as they walk toward the bus stop; when they pause, Paulette begins one of the day care morning songs and the girls chime in. One of the teacher assistants in the day care program used a school computer to type the words to all the songs sung with the toddlers and made copies for all the student/parents. Paulette's copy is in the drawer of her coffee table at home, but she doesn't look at it much now that she knows all the words to the songs the girls like best and sing the most. Shantay and Latanya often play "school" and Shantay likes to hold the song lyrics or other papers when she plays teacher.

At the bus stop this morning, three adult African American women are already waiting for the bus. Two of them, deep in conversation, are in white nylon uniforms, headed for the hospital area near Paulette's high school; the other is in a black city bus driver's uniform and is reading the city's morning newspaper. Paulette looks down the street for a high school classmate who usually catches this bus with her 3 year old son, but she is nowhere in

sight. She is pregnant and Paulette decides that she probably was feeling sick this morning and will be coming into school with her son later, after the nausea passes.

Shantay and Latanya begin to play near the bus stop's plexiglass advertising/shelter (the ads on this bus shelter are for cigarettes and lite beer), poking at the dirt with sticks and continuing to sing softly more songs from Latanya's day care center and from children's television programs. In the dirt, Latanya discovers a large piece of green glass and holds it up to the early morning light; her mother sees it and tells her to "put that down and don't pick up no more dirty things!"

For the first few weeks of school this year, Paulette was absent every Friday, because she had no babysitter for Shantay; the day care teacher discovered the problem and offered to ignore the program rules about the age of toddlers and keep Shantay in day care on Fridays, so that Paulette could be in school instead of at home. That plan has worked, and now Fridays in her old day care center are a familiar part of Shantay's weekly routine. She considers herself a teacher's helper on Fridays, and feels distant enough from her everyday attendance in day care to be able to make comparisons between the day care center and the head start program. "In Head Start, they teaches me," she explains, and "in day care they love me."

In the regular Monday to Thursday morning routine, older daughter Shantay is dropped off first, at the Head Start center that operates four days a week, from 7:00 a.m. until 1:30 p.m. No Head Start on Fridays caused serious problems for Paulette but solving the daily problem of picking up Shantay an hour and a half before the close of Paulette's high school day caused seemingly insurmountable problems when the 1988-89 school year began. It took the first month and a half of the school year for Paulette to work out with her counselor a schedule that allowed her to: (1) have sufficient credits to graduate with her class in June of 1989; (2) get Shantay to the Head Start program; (3) be on time to school herself, two bus rides and 45 minutes away; and (4) solve the complexities of afternoon dismissal times and travel from the high school to the Head Start program each afternoon to pick Shantay up. An additional complication was bus fare; because Paulette lives more than two miles from her high school, she is eligible for a pass that allows her to ride to and from school without additional payment, and children held in laps are free. Last year, the bus drivers began insisting on Paulette paying bus fare for Shantay. The day care teacher helped Paulette and other student/parents solve this financial problem by providing her with bus tokens for Shantay, using day care program funds. Despite the complexity of

Paulette's weekday schedule, she keeps no calendar; the Head Start schedule, her school day, bill due dates, even the times she is scheduled to work as a waitress are kept only in her head.

Paulette and Latanya leave Shantay at Head Start this morning, Shantay hugging and kissing each of them; they go back outside to catch another bus, transferring 15 minutes later to their third bus of the morning, the one that will eventually take them to Paulette's high school, where Latanya, like her older sister, has been enrolled in the school's day care center since she was 7 weeks old. Latanya loves the morning bus rides, and makes a daily ritual of pointing to and naming her favorite landmarks for her mother: the train that is almost always nearing the crossing as they pass each morning; the helicopter on its pad atop the large university hospital near the high school; the playground with children waiting for the opening of an elementary school; the 300 pound school crossing guard with the day glow orange vest; the bright neon signs in the windows of the restaurants and bars that line the streets near the high school; the clusters of baseball-capped, warm-up suited, high-topped basketball shoed, and gold neck chained African-American high school students; leather-clad skinheads and blue and green haired, booted and ear-pierced punkers walking toward the high school and the metropolitan

university it adjoins.

Paulette responds to the familiar sights and landmarks as Latanya points them out, and encourages her to notice other places and persons along the route, pointing out the bus window to a group of dogs trotting down the sidewalk single-file, a parked police car with its lights whirling on top, and a delivery man wheeling a cart of bread into a small store. Paulette says that she used to "shush" the girls' constant questions, but learned in her PREPARE class that children learn by asking questions, and she tries to answer the girls' questions now with more patience.

Paulette's favorite morning landmark is her old elementary school. She plans for Shantay to begin kindergarten there next year. In order to enroll Shantay there, instead of in her neighborhood school in the housing project, Paulette plans to use her mother's address. She has fond memories of her elementary school and many of her teachers are still there. Paulette believes that "Shantay can get a good start there. She like to learn and I want her to have teachers I know, teachers I think like little kids and be good teachers for them."

Latanya, who has been up on her knees on the bus seat nearest the window, now snuggles down in the seat and begins to sing softly to herself; Paulette leans nearer, recognizes "Have a Seat," a song sung each morning in the day care

center, and sings along with Latanya, who grins as she hears her mother's voice joining hers singing "Everybody have a seat, have a seat, have a seat" and hugs her mother fiercely as they sing the closing line of the song "Not on the ceiling, not on the floor, everybody have a seat on the floor!" together.

Getting off the now standing-room-only bus with a crowd of high school and university students, Paulette holds Latanya's hand as they wait on the crowded corner for the WALK light to cross the street in front of the high school. All around them, university and high school students, singly and in clusters, share the sidewalks with elementary school age students walking toward their nearby public and parochial schools, and employees of the fast-food restaurants and the stores that border the university walking to work. A skateboarder weaving down the crowded sidewalk adds to the cacophony of sounds produced primarily by the high school students and their blaring radios and tape players. The heavy bass beat of rap music, coming from boom boxes and car radios, joins the shouts and laughter of the high school students, filling the morning air. A policeman walks these sidewalks each morning, hired by the local store and restaurant managers to keep the boisterous high school students out of their doorways; the business persons believe that the presence of the high school

students frightens their customers, causing the small stores to lose adult business. Most of the nearby restaurants and shops have hand-written signs on their doors saying

NO H.S. STUDENTS

UNTIL AFTER 3 P.M.

Standing at the street corner, Latanya looks around for the policeman who often winks and waves to her in the morning. She sees him and grins at him shyly as the light changes and she crosses the street with her mother, looking back over her shoulder at the policeman who is now waving to her, as her mother dodges the running, shouting high school boys who are headed for a donut shop. Paulette and Latanya walk down a sidewalk that borders the south side of the school, passing a dark green sedan, rusted and chugging, that cruises this block every morning and is approached every few feet by young men who hand dollar bills into the car's darkened windows, receiving small clear plastic or brown paper bags in exchange. Paulette refers to this car as "the drug mens" and pulls Latanya a little faster down the sidewalk as the noisy dark green car draws closer to them. They walk into a driveway that borders the rear wall of the large, rectangular brick main building of the high school to a circular drive marking the entrance to the high school's vocational wing. Near the door of the more recently constructed six story brick vocational building,

through a tall wrought iron fence, the day care center's outdoor play area can be seen from the driveway, its green artificial grass surface bright in the morning sun. The fence wasn't enough to contain the diminutive Latanya one day last spring; she wiggled through the bars and was about to run toward the driveway when one of the day care staff lunged through the iron bars and caught Latanya by her clothing.

Inside the steel doors of the largely windowless vocational building, the first interior door is the entrance to the day care center, where Paulette and Latanya are greeted by Anita, an assistant teacher, in the doorway of the day care center. Paulette signs Latanya in on the day care parent sign-in-and-out sheet, located on a table just inside the doorway of the program. Paulette pauses to read two notices for the student/parents, taped to the table top, (one about a case of chicken pox - one of the nursery children; the other about a lunchtime picnic next month for the program mothers who are seniors this year). Her attention is also captured by a large banner above the tables, with pink balloons on either end, announcing the birth of a daughter to a junior who already has a 20 month old son in the day care program.

Latanya, after greeting Anita with a fierce, wordless hug and a kiss on the cheek, hops toward her cubby, pulling

her jacket off as she goes. Hanging her jacket on a hook in the cubby, Latanya then runs to the toy shelves that line one wall of the room in which the toddlers spend most of their day. (For a full description of the day care program, see Composite Profile #4, in this chapter.) The toddlers' room is a huge space, far larger than all the rooms in Latanya's home put together, carpeted, with a wall of windows facing west, overlooking the program's outdoor play area. Mirrored glass along one wall and overhead florescent lights make the room bright; alphabet signs featuring Sesame Street characters, bulletin board displays, color photos of toddlers' activities, mobiles, finger paintings, and other toddler-produced art, open toy shelves, banners, racks of large plastic blocks in a variety of colors, and orange cabinets make the room colorful.

Paulette goes into the kitchen and then into the nursery of the day care center, greeting all three staff members and the other student/parents of infants and toddlers who are arriving and signing in. She tells the program director, Mrs. Hunter, that Latanya was up last night with what she thinks is the beginning of a cold and leaves some medicine with Mrs. Hunter, asking that it be given to Latanya with each meal and the afternoon snack. Mrs. Hunter writes down the name of the over-the-counter childrens' medication and the schedule for giving it to

Latanya today, then puts the medicine on the top shelf of a cabinet in the kitchen.

She then leads Paulette into the narrow observation room that separates the toddlers' room from the nursery and points to piles of childrens' clothing, roughly divided by size, telling her to pick out anything she needs for either of her daughters. Two other student parents, one male and one female, are already sorting through the piles of children's clothing. Paulette sorts through two piles, selecting two pairs of corduroy pants, one bright red and one purple, and two matching pink sweatshirts with puppies on the front. As she is choosing, Mrs. Hunter explains that some of the clothing is new and other pieces are used, and that all the clothing was given to the program by a group of African-American physicians' wives who have been working with the day care center as one of their community service projects for over a year.

Back in the large room where the toddlers spend much of their day, Paulette stores the new clothing on the shelf in Latanya's cubby, then Latanya gives her mother a kiss goodbye and continues to play in the housekeeping area of the room, now carrying a naked blond doll under one arm and a cloth numbers/counting book in the other hand. Some of the toddlers cry each morning when their mothers or fathers leave the day care center, but Latanya seems oblivious to

her mother's departure this morning. Paulette notices and remarks to Anita that Latanya must be feeling better, because "she whine and cry and carry on when I leave if she not feelin' good."

Paulette walks up five flights of stairs and across the block-long high school building to her locker, located near her first bell 12th grade English class. She has a test on Macbeth this morning and sits down in the hallway leaning against her locker as she uses the 10 minutes remaining before the 8:20 homeroom tardy bell to review her notes in preparation for the test. She meant to study last night, but as she explained to Mrs. Hunter this morning, Latanya was up late "trying to catch a cold" and Paulette neither studied nor slept very much. Three high school students attempt to begin conversations with her in the hallway, but she is single-minded this morning and continues to review her three pages of notes for the test until the bell rings, signaling the beginning of the school day.

After the first bell Macbeth test, consisting of 10 fill-in questions, 10 true-false questions, and 10 vocabulary word-definition matches, Paulette uses the remaining time to look through the folder that contains the writing she has produced this quarter. Her favorite piece is a riddle-poem:

WHAT ARE THEY?

Some girls want them

Some boys hate them

Parents disapprove of them

Teenagers put out 'cause of them

Boyfriends can hurt them

Uncles may love them

Friends do envy them

Kidnappers ransom for them

Some don't want them.

Paulette

Along with her poem, she has kept a copy of a poem written the same day by the student who sits next to her in English, Melissa, who does not have children of her own.

THUMB SUCKER

It seems as if I always had

Someone prejudiced about

My thumb sucking.

Everyone who said it

Always used to tease and

Say next, your teeth

will be bucking.

I ask myself, would that

make me a lesser person

because of bucked teeth?
Then I'll forget about it
I wouldn't even care
because when me and my
bucked teeth make it big,
they'll just sit and stare.

Melissa

Paulette explains that she liked and kept this poem because "it remind me so much of my younger daughter, Latanya, 'cause she have smoked her thumb since she was borned."

After English class, Paulette goes to her other classes, physical education and PREPARE. In physical education she sees a 15 year old film on lifesaving; it occupies the entire class period and the students leave when the bell rings, the white faces of the movie actors showing on the faces and clothes of Paulette and her classmates as they rise and leave the room, the projector still running. During the movie, Paulette takes notes at first, but after a few minutes her head, propped on her folded arms, relaxes, and she dozes until the bell rings. Most of the time, reading and writing are not a part of this class; students who dress for gym (shorts, slacks, jeans, or sweat pants and any kind of shirt) are supposed to spend their time actively involved in the sport - softball, basketball, volleyball, swimming, or gym hockey the class is focusing on that

quarter. The school has no athletic fields on its grounds, so all physical education classes take place indoors, year round. Usually, the physical education mid-term and final exams are written tests; they concern the rules of the sport being studied or life-saving and other health material. The only other writing required in this class is for discipline -- "lines" are assigned ("I will not talk when the teacher is talking." or "I will participate in gym class.") and students are told to copy them on paper 100, 200, or 500 times. Occasionally, at faculty meetings, an English teacher will object to this practice, but it is a common practice in this school, in classes other than English.

During the third period, Paulette has her PREPARE class. This class is for high school students who are, or who are going to be parents. As soon as a counselor becomes aware of a student's pregnancy, the student is urged to take the PREPARE class, and his or her schedule is changed to make room for PREPARE. The classes are small -- 5 to 15 students -- and a part of the course is home visits from the instructor, during the months just before delivery and the weeks between delivery and the high school student's return to classes. PREPARE curriculum includes pre-natal care, first aid, nutrition, home safety, child development, and other topics related to parenting. The class is taught in a home economics classroom and several of the units studied

utilize the stoves, the washing machines and dryers, and the sewing machine. Paulette describes PREPARE as her "bestest class -- the only one that have to do with real life, like the things I do with my daughters and the kinds of foods I should feed 'em." Today, the topic is toilet training and Paulette appears to listen closely to the two guest speakers, both of whom are nurses. The discussion of toilet training is spirited and Paulette has a lot to say. She is convinced that there is no perfect age for toilet training, that her second child was much more difficult to train than the first and still uses diapers at night and at naptime. Teacher-student interaction in this PREPARE class is often personal and individual; the teacher drives some of the students to the grocery store or to a clinic on occasion, helps them with public housing, food stamp, and other applications and paperwork, and advises them on problems they're having with their child or children. Paulette glances at her watch and at the classroom clock (the two rarely match; the clocks in the main school building work only intermittently and at odds with one another; the clocks in the newer, vocational building are coordinated, but are all exactly 4 hours fast), and begins to gather up her belongings as the bell rings signaling lunch time. Before leaving, she describes Latanya's cold symptoms of the night before and tells the PREPARE teacher what medication and how

much she has been giving Latanya. The teacher praises her for taking fast action, and suggests that she check on Latanya during the lunch period. She also gives Paulette a small pamphlet titled FEVER and urges her to read it; it is one of many health and first-aid pamphlets on display in a magazine rack in the PREPARE classroom. The bulletin boards in this room feature color photographs of Paulette and the other students, holding their babies. Paulette remembers the day after Latanya was born, when the PREPARE teacher came to visit her in the hospital and gave her a book about post-partum depression. Paulette says "I didn't know what was wrong with me; it was my second child, but I didn't have that down, awful feelin' with Shantay. That day after Latanya born, I didn't want to see her, I didn't want to see anyone, I was so blue. She brought me that book and it was like I was readin' 'bout me. It really help me understand what was in my head and I felt better."

During the 30 minute lunch period, Paulette munches a bag of barbecue potato chips, drinks a Mountain Dew from a can, (both items purchased in the student store, near the cafeteria) and drops into Day Care for a few minutes, to see Latanya briefly and make sure she has no temperature. The toddlers are on their cots taking their daily after-lunch nap; Paulette finds Latanya's cot in its regular location, feels the sleeping Latanya's head and back, and goes into

the day care office, separated from the large room by glass walls, to talk for a few minutes with Mrs. Hunter, who is eating her school cafeteria lunch from a tray while she works on the day care program budget on a computer and looks through the glass at the sleeping toddlers. From the nursery, the sound of an infant crying, the low tones of radio music, and the murmuring voice of a day care instructor assistant can be heard. Outside the day care program, in the hallway of the vocational building, the sounds of high school students laughing and talking can be heard clearly through the walls and the closed steel door.

A bell rings to signal the end of the school-wide lunch period and Paulette leaves the day care center running, to climb the four flights of stairs to her last class of the day, American history. Just before the bell, the voice of one of the school's assistant principals can be heard on the public address system, warning students to get to class before the tardy bell. Paulette's history teacher lectures on the time period just after World War I and Paulette takes notes on paper inside a red duotang folder with HISTORY printed in large letters on the outside with a magic marker. In a pocket of the duotang are three test and quiz papers from this quarter, all in the purple ink of duplicating machines; one has a large red D and the other four have Cs, all in red ink near the top of the crowded pages. Except

for large X marks, there is no other teacher-writing on the papers. Most of Paulette's class notes are in pencil, on both sides of the page, and there are 11 pages of notes for the four completed weeks of this third quarter of the school year. During the 50 minute period, Paulette takes less than one half page of notes. The teacher's lectures cover the same years as the text, but the book itself is never used in class, so Paulette keeps hers at home. The teacher does not refer to the book at all today.

In this classroom, as in all of Paulette's classrooms except PREPARE, it is difficult to tell what subjects are being taught. There are no student papers on display, few bulletin board decorations, no posters or pictures on the walls, and the rooms are uniformly drab. The paint colors are institutional green, yellow, and blue and, in this part of the high school, the original and largest building, the classrooms have not been painted for 22 years. In this particular history classroom, on the 2nd floor of the school's main building, work has been going on to remove asbestos from around large pipes near the room's radiators. The work goes on during after school hours but all the room's chair-desks have been moved to one side, crowded together away from the area where the asbestos is being removed from the pipes. As the bell rings to end this class, the teacher stops lecturing and closes his notebook.

The students leave quickly without talking to him or to one another.

A large fight breaks out in the stairwell Paulette was planning on using; she peers down the stairs curiously for a moment to see who is involved in the fight, then turns and finds an alternate route, through surges of shouting students running to see the fight. Two teachers and a security guard shouting into his walkie-talkie for assistance are struggling to get through the crowd of students to stop the fight.

Paulette goes back down the four flights of stairs she climbed after lunch, then goes into the day care center and gets Latanya up from her cot. Mrs. Hunter helps her to put Latanya's shoes and coat on and to gather Latanya's two pieces of finger painting from her cubby to take home. Clutching the rolled pieces of poster paper that are her finger painting, Latanya holds her mother's hand as Paulette puts the new pants and sweatshirts into her book bag, and signs Latanya out on the clipboard sheet near the door. One of the instructor assistants in day care has printed Latanya's name on each of her fingerpaintings, and Latanya points out the name to her mother, who hugs her and tells her "You a great artist, Latanya. Mama so proud of you." Latanya beams and throws her arms around Mrs. Hunter's legs, whispering good-bye to her and to the other two day care

staff members. Mrs. Hunter hands Paulette Latanya's medicine and the two of them go to Paulette's locker to get her coat, in preparation for leaving the building.

Paulette is not supposed to take Latanya through the high school building during the school day, but she violates this rule almost daily, because the building is so large and her locker is on the side of the building nearest the bus stop, while day care is five flights of stairs and a block long walk away from the bus stop side of the building. Today no one questions them, and they get outside to the bus stop just moments before the bus that takes them the first leg of their journey to Shantay's Head Start program. Latanya, still sleepy, settles down in the bus seat beside her mother and closes her eyes; Paulette gazes out the window until they reach the bus stop where they will transfer to their second bus of the afternoon. An African American man with silver whisker stubble on his face, wearing a too-large brown overcoat and black, rubber galoshes, leans over the seat in front of them and tries to talk to Paulette. She ignores him, shushes Latanya when she responds sleepily to his questions, and he eventually turns back around in his seat and falls asleep.

It is just past 1:30 when they reach Head Start after the second leg of their bus ride and Shantay has her jacket on, waiting for them in a window near the entrance.

Paulette talks to the Head Start teacher briefly, while Latanya shows her older sister her fingerpaintings and Shantay shows Latanya the macaroni necklace she made this morning. All three of them go back to the bus stop and fifteen minutes later, at 1:50 p.m., they board the bus that will take them back to their apartment. While waiting for the bus, Paulette checks a city bus schedule in her purse, to see if she will have time this afternoon to go to the housing office downtown and pay her rent. She decides to wait for a day later this week, when her father may be able to give her a ride to the housing office.

After School

When they get home, Paulette helps the girls change into old clothes - gym shoes, jeans and cardigan sweaters that are almost outgrown and no longer worn to school. They ask to go outside and play and Paulette puts jackets over their sweaters before taking them out the kitchen door into the back yard, saying "Shantay, you got to watch Latanya. I don't want neither a ya'll to leave our back yard. You understand me?" Shantay and Latanya both nod vigorously and begin to play in the dirt and grass backyard; the sun has come out and the temperature is mild. Paulette decides that they do not need gloves, but does put small wool ski hats onto each girl's head. They grimace but do not remove the

hats for a few minutes, then fling them to the ground near their kitchen door.

Paulette has gone back into the house, where she strips her bed and the girls' bunk beds and carries the sheets downstairs to the washing machine located in a corner of her kitchen, a space under the stairway to the apartment's second floor. She starts a washer load of sheets and takes a cake tin of clothespins down from a shelf above the washer. She does not have a dryer, and uses the clothes line in back on days like this when she is washing only one load. Her father often drives her and her laundry to the laundromat on weekends, and she does much of her laundry then, taking one or two wet loads from her washer in plastic bags and washing other clothes and drying all the loads at the laundromat. There is no laundromat in walking distance of her apartment in which she feel safe, and she plans to buy a dryer, after she gets the five piece living room suite she has been dreaming of and planning for ever since she moved into this townhouse apartment. The laundromat in the project that is closest to her unit is a hangout for some of the community's young adult men, and Paulette feels it is a place where drugs are dealt and stolen items are sold. She tried doing her laundry there once, was harrassed by two men, and has never gone back.

Every few minutes, Paulette glances out the kitchen

window to make sure the girls are still in her back yard. At one point, she can't see them and goes out the kitchen door. Both girls have ventured down the row of townhouses and are talking to another child near the end of the row. Paulette walks toward them and, seeing her, the girls begin to run back toward their apartment. When Paulette reaches them, she swats each one on the rear end with her open right hand and tells them to go inside to their room and stay there, because they "did not mind Mama."

She decides what to fix for dinner, checking to see what is in the refrigerator, freezer, cabinet, and counter bread box. She decides on hot dogs, tater tots, applesauce with cinnamon, and milk. On most school days, she feeds the girls and herself dinner at about 4:30 or 5:00 p.m., then the girls play or watch television until about 8:00 p.m., when she gives them their baths and puts them to bed. Paulette does household tasks during these afternoon hours, like cleaning the bathroom and the kitchen, dusting, dry mopping the linoleum floors throughout the apartment, wet mopping the kitchen floor, and hanging a load of wash on the line outside. Today she has done one load of wash and, after hanging it on her clothesline, she sweeps then mops her kitchen floor. She goes to the foot of the stairs and listens to the girls, now upstairs playing school in their room, every few minutes. Both girls come down when she

calls them to help her get the sheets and pillow cases on the line to dry and, after Paulette finishes the kitchen floor, the three of them take a walk through the neighborhood.

As they start their walk, it is a little after 4 p.m. and school age children are returning to their homes on foot and on city buses and yellow school buses. Shantay and Latanya play, on their own and with other children, as Paulette stops on the sidewalks and in front yards, to talk to people she knows. Most of the women who speak to her, on the sidewalk and from doorways and windows, are carrying or are accompanied by infants and toddlers; most of these women are older than Paulette is, but a few are agemates. Except for those working on cars in the parking lots, few men are visible at this time of day. The girls appear to ignore her conversations and carry on their own running talk and singing, but occasionally they ask her a question about someone or something they pass. Shantay picks up a plastic syringe in the gutter, and Paulette stops a conversation she is having with two older women to slap Shantay's hand and tell her to NEVER pick up nasty things in the street, that she could get "a turrible drug folks disease and die." Shantay's eyes fill with tears, briefly, but her attention is distracted by her sister, who has found a mud-green plastic toy soldier in the dirt between the sidewalk and the

street. Their walk continues until they reach the playground of the elementary school located within the housing project; the girls play on the swings with three other children while Paulette talks to another 18 year old mother who dropped out of school two years ago, when her daughter was born.

Paulette and her daughters walk back to their apartment, using a different route than the one they followed on their way over, crossing behind some buildings and across two small parking lots to make their walk shorter. Leading the girls back in the house while they bicker over who should hold the toy soldier, Paulette turns on the TV set and tells the girls to watch TV while she finishes making their dinner. Paulette first washes the plastic toy soldier and puts him on the living room coffee table near the girls, who are now watching Judge Wopner on television, then takes 3 hot dogs from the freezer and puts them in a pan of water, putting the water on the stove to heat. Latanya comes in the kitchen briefly and pulls a chair over to the stove. She gets up on the chair and watches the hot dogs in the boiling water, then climbs down from the chair, goes back to the other room and tells her sister that they're having hot dogs for dinner. Paulette heats the oven and puts the tater tots on a baking sheet, opens the can of applesauce and dumps it into a battered

metal saucepan, sprinkles cinnamon into the applesauce and turns on the burner under the saucepan, then takes plates, cups, and spoons out of the plastic drying rack next to the sink. They eat together at the table in the kitchen, leaving the television on in the other room, along with the stereo, which is tuned to a local rap station.

The Evening

The girls chatter through dinner, Paulette joining in their talk, which centers around the TV cartoon characters called the Muppet Babies, and on an Easter song Shantay is learning in Head Start and teaching to Latanya. Both girls want ketchup on their hot dogs and tater tots and Paulette gets the ketchup bottle from the refrigerator, pouring a small mound of it on each of the girl's plates. Up on her knees watching the ketchup come out of the bottle, Latanya knocks over her glass of milk and Paulette mops up the milk from the table with a paper towel, then pours Latanya more milk and cautions her to be careful and sit down in her chair. Paulette says she used to spank the girls for spilling their food or drinks, but she learned in PREPARE class and from watching the day care staff that "little childrens can't help it when they little; they clumsy and they spill." Now Paulette imitates the day care staff, wiping spills up quickly and not talking much about the

spill, moving to other topics of conversation.

After dinner, the girls return to the living room to watch more TV (Wheel of Fortune) while Paulette does the dinner dishes. When she finishes, it is getting dark outside and she goes into the backyard and takes the sheets off the line. Since they are still damp, she brings them inside and drapes them over a square wooden drying rack in the middle of the kitchen. Latanya gets made at her sister and begins screaming; Paulette intervenes, saying "Girl, you sounding tired. Let's get your bath."

She takes the girls upstairs one at a time, to give them baths. The one not bathing has paper and crayons, which Paulette takes from a drawer in the living room coffee table, to play with in front of the TV set. During Shantay's bath, Latanya watches as Wheel of Fortune ends and Jeopardy begins, and draws or scribbles with three different crayons. In the corner of her scribbled picture, she puts the first letter of her name in red, a large L. When it's Latanya's turn for a bath, Shantay copies all the letters of her name, which her mother has printed across the top of a sheet of notebook paper. Shantay copies one letter at a time, making 14 Ss in a row down the left hand side of the paper, then 14 hs next to the Ss, then 14 As, then Ns, then Ts. She is working on the second set of As when Latanya reappears, washed, dried, and wearing her pajama bottoms and

T-shirt, ready for bed. Latanya sees what Shantay is working on, then demands that her mother put her name across a paper for her to copy.

Paulette used to give the girls a nightly bath at the same time, but Mrs. Hunter, the day care teacher, suggested to her that, now that they were a little older, and were in different places during the school day, that bath time might be a good time to talk to them individually about their day. For the last few months, Paulette has been giving them their baths separately and talking about the events of the day. She is convinced that this was a good idea and that she finds out a lot about the Head Start activities during bathtime. Tonight, for instance, she learns that Shantay has a part in the Head Start Easter program and needs to wear her Easter dress to school next week on Thursday for the program. This is a problem, because the dress is in layaway and Paulette will not have the money to get it until Friday evening, when she'll get a check from the local Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) office and a small paycheck from the restaurant. Shantay tells her mother that there is a paper explaining the Easter program in her backpack and after the bath, Paulette finds the paper and reads the explanation from the Head Start teacher. She is relieved to discover that the Thursday daytime activity is a rehearsal for the program, which will be held the following Monday

evening, and decides that for this practice, Shantay can wear her current best dress instead of her in layaway Easter dress.

After both girls have had their baths and are dressed for bed in t-shirts and pajama bottoms, Paulette comes back downstairs and sits for a while with them, watching part of 'The Wonder Years.' During a commercial, she announces that it's time for bed and takes both girls upstairs. They brush their hands at the bathroom sink and get into their bunk beds. As Shantay attempts to "read" one of her storybooks aloud, Paulette brushes and rebraids each girl's hair. Paulette then reads the story of the fox and the hen aloud, closes the book, and kisses each girl good-night. She tunes their radio to her favorite rap station, turns the volume down to a murmur, turns on the hall light and the bathroom light, turns out the overhead light in the girls' room, and leaves the girls' bedroom door ajar as she calls good-night. At the last moment, Latanya asks for another glass of water and Paulette brings her one, whispering that it is now time to get quiet and go to sleep. She checks Latanya one last time for fever, then Latanya hugs Paulette around the neck briefly, turns toward the wall and shuts her eyes tightly.

Paulette goes downstairs to the kitchen, checks the locks on the front and back doors and puts away the dinner dishes. She takes cereal, bowls, and spoons out of the

cupboards and puts them on the kitchen table, in preparation for tomorrow's breakfast. Then she turns out the ceiling lights in the kitchen and living room and turns off the television and the stereo before going upstairs for the last time this evening. The phone has not rung for several hours, but, since friends and family members know Paulette's weekday routine, it begins to ring about 8:45 p.m. First, Paulette's mother calls to ask how Latanya is feeling; then Paulette's boyfriend, Latanya's father, calls to discuss going to Paulette's prom. They decide to go if a tuxedo can be found for a reasonable rental; Paulette has a dress a friend said she could wear. Both Paulette and her boyfriend prefer to save their money for a graduation party in June, rather than spend a lot of money on the late April prom. "All our friends be rentin' limousines and gettin' hotel rooms where the prom be goin' on, but we don't wanta spend a lot of money on it 'cause it graduation we both care 'bout and we wanta have people over here after the graduation and have drinks and chicken and, you know, do it up nice. Then the girls and our families can be there, you know, and it be more fun than the prom be with just the two of us spendin' all that money." Several of Paulette's friends don't agree with this reasoning and the phone rings repeatedly tonight, with female friends trying to talk Paulette into fully participating in all the planned prom festivities, from

cutting school on prom Friday, to going to a beauty shop with friends, to attending a big pre-prom dinner downtown. Several of them are renting rooms at the hotel where the prom is being held, but Paulette resists all her friends attempts to talk her into participating in the planned activities. Paulette sticks to her plan and calls her boyfriend to tell him about all her friends' calls, just before going to bed about 10:00 pm. Her father called to tell her that his girlfriend has been diagnosed with cancer, and because of additional doctor's appointments this Saturday, he won't be able to take Paulette to the grocery. He suggests that she ask her mother for help in getting to the grocery this weekend.

Throughout the hour spent talking on the phone, Paulette has been dancing around her bedroom in time to the rap music coming from her bedside radio; at one point, Latanya came into her bedroom and complained of a stuffy nose. Paulette, holding the phone between her ear and shoulder, carried Latanya into the bathroom as she continued to dance to the radio music. Latanya laughed, squirmed down to the floor, and danced around her mother's legs, imitating her steps, while Paulette put water in a cup and gave Latanya half an aspirin and a spoonful of children's cold medicine. Paulette, pulling the long phone cord behind her, carried Latanya back to bed as she continued to talk on the

phone.

At 10:00 p.m., Paulette checked the alarm time on her bedside clock, then picked up her history book and began to read in bed, but fell asleep before she finished the first page of the chapter. Waking later, she turns out the light and goes to sleep until the alarm goes off at 5:00 a.m. and another school day begins. On weekends, Paulette tries to sleep as late as she can, but the girls often wake her and are disappointed to be told that it's a weekend and not a school day. Paulette says they would go to school every day if they could and expresses pleasure that they like school so well.

Weekends

On weekends, one or both of Paulette's parents often stop by, to take her to the laundromat, the grocery, or on other errands. Her father likes to come over early and have coffee in her kitchen before going anywhere. He sits and talks to Paulette while she makes breakfast and his granddaughters alternate between watching cartoons in the living room and crawling over his ample stomach and around his legs as he sits by the kitchen table drinking his coffee. He alternately teases and ignores the girls, continuing a running conversation with Paulette. On Sundays, Paulette usually takes the girls to her mother's

house (her parents have been divorced for several years) about 11 a.m., and they spend the day there, the girls playing in the basement and in the backyard when the weather permits, Paulette talking to her mother and her mother's friends, watching television, and looking at the Sunday paper. Paulette's mother works at the salad bar in a large grocery and today she has brought Paulette two large styrofoam containers of fruit to take home for the girls. She has also put together a stack of magazines and books for Paulette and Paulette looks through them quickly, pulling out two paperback romances to take home.

In the late afternoon, after Sunday dinner at her mother's, Paulette either gets a ride from someone visiting her mother, or takes the bus back home to the housing project. Her mother used to give them a ride home each Sunday evening, but her 12 year old car stopped running a few months ago and now sits uselessly in the driveway. Paulette does some ironing when she gets home tonight, setting up the ironing board in the kitchen and listening to the girls play in the living room, all three of them listening to both the stereo radio and the television set. She interrupts her ironing to give the girls baths and get them in bed, to be up for school the next morning at 5:00.

About twice a month, Paulette goes out with her boyfriend, Latanya's father, on a Friday or Saturday night.

Sometimes, she takes the girls to her mother's house to spend the night when she has a date; recently, her father has come over and acted as babysitter while she goes out. Her boyfriend usually spends the night after their evenings out, and the girls are instructed not to come into Paulette's bedroom when she has company. They usually come in anyway, and either Paulette or her boyfriend carry them back to bed, reminding them that they are not to visit Paulette's bedroom when she has company. This Sunday night, she is almost asleep when her mother calls to remind her that the next day is the last chance to pay her \$67.00 rent without having to pay the \$10.00 late fee. Paulette thanks her, hangs up, checks the girls one last time, and goes to sleep.

Composite Profile #2

This composite represents female student/parents who live in extended family households.

Living in this household:

Consultant: Gerri, 16

Son: Keith Jr., 11 months

Mother: Rhonda Johnson, 32

Sisters: Anita and Benita, 13 yr. old twins

Brother: Darnell, 6

Home - the Neighborhood

Gerri lives with her son, Keith, Jr., her mother, two younger sisters, and a younger brother in a 3 bedroom apartment in a racially segregated African American neighborhood 3 miles northeast of Gerri's high school and just over 2 miles north of the city's downtown area. On her street are a mix of single family homes, two-family homes, structures built as large, single-family homes and now divided into a number of apartments, and small and large apartment buildings. Most of the property is owned by individual absentee landlords, but two buildings on the block are city owned, low-income subsidized housing. In front of each of those buildings, large dumpsters are overflowing with garbage most of the week and the smell of that garbage permeates the block.

One house has boards over all the doors and windows, soot marks all over the exterior of the second floor, and has been empty and boarded since a fire occurred several months ago. Since the fire, there has been no maintenance of that house or its yard, and the weeds have now grown taller than Gerri's 5 ft. 7 in. Another building is a stone house with leaded glass and a turret; children in the neighborhood call it the Castle and say it is haunted. It has been empty ever since Gerri can remember. Some of the buildings on the

block have been carefully maintained, and boast well tended flower and vegetable gardens, chain link fences around their perimeters, enclosed rooms made from the original front porches, indoor-outdoor carpeting installed on entrance walks and steps, sets of porch furniture featuring gliders or porch swings, canvas or metal awnings over windows and doors, and aluminum siding encasing their original frame or shingle exteriors. Signs posted on some of the fences and front porches warn passersby NO TRESPASSING or to BEWARE OF THE DOG, and a number of large dogs of mixed Labrador, Shepherd, Huskie, and Doberman descent pace the fencelines and sit on front stoops. There are many children in the neighborhood, and on most afternoons in good weather, young children can be seen and heard on the sidewalks and in the yards of the block. A group of elementary school age boys with homemade and store bought skateboards meet each afternoon in the driveway of an abandoned house and, with scraps of roofing and plywood, set up ramps and jumps for their skateboards. Teenagers congregate at the north end of the block, outside a small grocery store on the corner of Gerri's street and a busy cross street, leaning against the building or sitting at the corner bus stop which is sheltered on three sides by panels of advertising, drinking soft drinks from glass bottles held inside paper bags and talking until well after dark. A group of older men sit on

the opposite corner outside the post office when weather permits; they also hold paper bags containing glass bottles, but (judging from the refuse left behind after they disperse) their bottles more often contain Thunderbird or Mogen David wine. All the older men, Gerri's mother reports, live within a few blocks and all have lived in this neighborhood most of their adult lives, moving here from an area just west of the downtown core when they were displaced by the razing of their homes and the building of large high and low rise public housing projects in the 1950s and early 1960s. This neighborhood, Jewish for several generations, features large brick and stone mansions, several of which have now been turned into nursing homes and small apartment buildings; many of the original mansions stood on large expanses of property that have now been cut into smaller lots, where two-family subsidized housing has been inserted between the mansions; the house Gerri and her neighbors call The Castle is one of these mansions. The men who sit on the corner have watched two and three generations grow up here and loudly share their opinions of the area young people in their daily, outdoor conversations. When the weather is bad, this group of men gathers a block and a half north, in a neighborhood barber shop or the pool hall next door to it.

On top and on the sides of the commercial buildings on this corner of Gerri's block are several large billboards;

these and most of the other billboards in the neighborhood are for cigarettes, alcoholic beverages, or a funeral home with branches in several predominantly African American parts of town. The same kinds of advertising are displayed on the bus stop shelters at either end of the block. The only large, chain grocery in the neighborhood closed four years ago after losing a law suit that accused the grocery chain of bringing old meat in from other stores in their chain and selling the meat as new in this neighborhood. When that chain grocery closed, Gerri's mother and the others in the neighborhood had to shop at more expensive mom and pop corner stores, or find transportation to larger grocery stores out of walking distance from their neighborhood.

Three years ago, a new strip shopping center was constructed just a mile east of Gerri's block, on the neighborhood's busiest street, on the site of businesses burned out in the city's late '60s riots. Newspaper records of the riots indicate that most of the businesses burned during the riots were owned by Jewish businessmen who were born in this neighborhood, but moved to northern suburbs of the city during the 1950s and continued to operate their businesses in this neighborhood. Most of them did not rebuild after the riots; their smoke and water damaged stores stood boarded up for twenty years before they were

torn down and replaced with other buildings. Two blocks of empty stores still line the busy street, and periodically there are publicized plans to refurbish the neighborhood, which continues to lose businesses and residents to the suburbs north of the city.

In the last few years, a synagogue, a chain fast-food restaurant, two new car dealers, a used car dealer, a pharmacy, a grocery, a delicatessen, a barber shop, and a tire dealer have all closed, moving to the city's northern suburbs. None of them have been repaired or replaced and their buildings stand empty, windows broken or boarded, walls covered with spray painted graffiti and large, commercial BUILDING FOR SALE OR LEASE signs. The new shopping center, built by a local minority construction firm and financed by the area's only minority bank, features a fast food restaurant, a branch of the state highway department that sells license plates and drivers licenses, a shoe store, a video store, a state liquor store, an appliance rental store, and a drugstore. Less than two years after its opening, the grocery store declared bankruptcy and the store was empty for several months; currently, another grocery chain is trying to make a go of the location. Gerri's mother claims that the new store is as dirty, understocked, and overpriced as the store it replaced. She says that and her neighbors buy only the

weekly specials at this store, preferring to do their grocery shopping elsewhere whenever possible.

On most afternoons, and sometimes in the early morning hours, people carry pots and pans of food, covered with lids or, more often, towels, down the sidewalk from one building to another on Gerri's block. Some of the mansions that have been cut up into small apartments have families living without kitchens, heating their food in nearby relatives' and friends' homes, then carrying it back to their own apartments. In some apartments, there are appliances, but the gas and electricity have been turned off for non-payment of bills and the residents are cooking their meals in the nearby homes of relatives or friends. It isn't unusual for the odors of pork chops, cooked greens, hot sauce, bacon, chicken, and chitterlings to mingle on the street, and children often pull homemade wooden and store-bought metal wagons of pots and pans from one apartment building to another, up and down the block. Every utility pole on the sidewalk is usually covered with a variety of notices -- kittens and puppies for sale, church bake and rummage sales, announcements of upcoming rap, talent, and body-builder contests, (held in neighborhood school buildings and the community center) and revival meetings to be held in neighborhood churches or in tents erected where some riot-burned buildings have been demolished, on the community's

busiest street.

Gerri's mother says she would like to move away from this block, but can't find an apartment as large as the one she has now that is also on a bus line and allows children. She also worries that another neighborhood, at least any that she can afford, might be worse for her children as far as drugs and other street crimes are concerned. She believes that drugs are sold primarily on the busy cross street in the largest business area of her current neighborhood, not on her block, and fears moving elsewhere because of stories that empty houses are "bein' used to sell that crack cocaine and to hide them prostitutes and other things I don't want my chillrens bein' 'round." She belongs to an organization called The Block Club, organized by the local police precinct and she attends their meetings each month, held in the homes of block residents, led by police officers, and featuring speakers, handouts, and films on topics like self-defense for women, reporting suspicious activity, and emergency first-aid. She believes that her landlord does a decent job of responding to complaints and making needed repairs and thinks that it would be very difficult to find a better place for the same amount of money she is paying now, \$475.50 per month, including heat. She and her family are eligible for subsidized public housing, but she does not want to move to a project -- "I

feels like that would be giving up, sayin' I can't make it, and I don't want my childrens livin in a project. My friend say there more drugs and more no-goods there than this neighborhood here. I don't want us to go from bad to badder."

Home - the Apartment

Gerri is a junior in high school. She became pregnant in the summer following her 9th grade year and her son was born in the spring of her sophomore year; her son, Keith Jr., is now almost a year old and his father, Keith, Sr. is also a junior who attends Gerri's school. He lives with his family in the apartment next door to Gerri. It's a 15 unit, three story blond brick building; there are no garages and the basement contains apartments. There are no laundry or storage facilities in the building. The sound of traffic from the street in front of the building and the busier cross street nearby can be heard in every room of the apartment all through the day and the night. The apartment walls are thin and most sounds can be heard through them. For instance, when Keith, Jr. is crying in his crib in Gerri's bedroom, his father's family can hear him, even though another bedroom, the living room, and the kitchen of Gerri's family's apartment separate them from the sounds of the crying baby. In the hallways of this building, the

sounds and smells of all the apartments blend, and there is seldom silence, even in the middle of the night; voices, shouts, children's cries, shrieks, and laughter, cable television programs and radio and recorded music can be heard almost 24 hours a day. Food odors permeate the walls of the apartments too; from the hallway one can identify the apartments that are the sources of the mingling odors of grease, hot sauce, onions, and other food smells.

From the second floor hallway of the building, the apartment entrance is directly into Gerri's family's 10 x 12 foot living room. Standing in the doorway, a floor model television is on the opposite wall and facing it are a couch with its back to the entrance door, a large square ottoman in the same mud green nubby fabric as the couch, a wooden arm chair on four legs with rollers, an upholstered reclining chair, a wood and glass coffee table and two end tables, one round, and one rectangular. Atop the rectangular end table is a portable stereo and on the open shelves of the round end table are small stacks of Ebony magazine, back issues of the Herald (a local, weekly African-American newspaper) and two paperback books -- one on baby care and the other on zodiac signs. The living room has one window which is covered with venetian blinds and tie-back ruffled curtains the same color as the couch and ottoman. The floor of this room is hardwood and there are

several cotton throw rugs in front of the pieces of furniture. Near the television set is a playpen; it is the last piece of furniture to be added to this room and there is now very little open floor space -- crossing the room means maneuvering between pieces of furniture. To the left of the living room is a kitchen big enough for a metal and plastic table and six metal chairs with plastic covered seats, a yellow gas stove, a yellow refrigerator with a small freezer, and a large, old fashioned sink. The apartment's one telephone is a wall phone near the kitchen table; it has a long, curling extension cord on the receiver that allows it to be carried as far as the living room couch or chairs. The telephone books, white and yellow pages, usually are kept under the couch. Two large, lidded, rubber garbage cans are stored under the sink and a molded plastic booster chair, still used sometimes by Gerri's brother, sits next to them on the floor. A round clock with a rooster on its face and a picture of Gerri's mother with all four of her children are on the wall above the sink and near the small, single window. There are no curtains or blinds on this window, and a mother-in-law's tongue and an African violet are on the painted window sill. This room and the living room are painted a pale yellow and the kitchen floor is black and white tile; Gerri's mother wants the floor wet mopped daily because "It show everything. Dark dirt and

footprint show on the white blocks and light color dirt show on the black blocks. It look dirty 10 minutes after you clean it."

Off the other side of the living room are three small bedrooms (the largest of which is 10x10 feet), each with a single closet, and one small bathroom with a tub but no shower. The hallway leading to the bedrooms and bath is dark most of the time; there are no overhead lights, making it difficult to see the framed color print of John Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Robert Kennedy that hangs a hallway wall. Gerri's mother has a bedroom to herself; Gerri and her son occupy the largest bedroom; and Gerri's two younger sisters, twins Anita and Benita, both junior high school students, share the third bedroom with their brother Darnell, age six. Before the baby was born, Gerri's younger sisters and brother occupied this larger bedroom, but the arrangement was changed during the summer before her baby's birth.

Gerri has a twin bed, a small stereo, a desk, an orange-crate nightstand with a clock radio and a small, shaded lamp, and a wooden, five drawer dresser in her room, along with a crib and wooden toy chest for Keith, Jr. On top of the dresser are small school pictures of Keith, Sr. for each of the last three years, a picture of Gerri holding Keith, Jr. (taken at the hospital when he was a day old),

and three small, gold trophies. Atop each trophy is a golden figure of a female athlete -- two are basketball players in the act of shooting a free throw and the other is a runner in motion. Taped to the wall above the dresser are three athletic certificates, one from a district track meet and two from junior high/middle school basketball tournaments. In the corner of one certificate is a color picture of a junior high girls' basketball team, with Gerri in the center of the second row of players, squinting into the camera in bright sunlight. All the girls in the picture are wearing green and gold uniforms and holding basketballs; in front of the team, on the ground, is a row of small basketball trophies like those on the dresser.

The toy chest was made in wood shop class last year by Keith, Sr., before he switched to the two-year auto body program to complete high school; in it are several soft, foam balls in the shapes and colors of a football, a basketball, and a soccer ball, wooden and plastic blocks, a box of Legos building materials, a metal xylophone, a toy drum and sticks, two cloth baby books, plastic toy handcuffs, several metal and plastic cars, a metal helicopter, a plastic water pistol, and a set of plastic letters with magnets on their backs, attached to a small chalk board, a farmyard See and Say toy and a plastic ring toss game, with seven rings in different colors and

graduated sizes.

Until the baby was eight months old, he slept in the twin bed with Gerri, but her mother found a baby crib at a used furniture store, cleaned it up, added a new crib mattress, made crib sheets and a blanket from blue flannel, and gave it to Gerri for Christmas. The room was painted white last summer by Keith before the baby was born, and the dresser, toy chest, and crib he painted a light blue.

When Gerri does any school work or other writing at home, she works at the kitchen table or on the living room couch; next to her bed is a stack of school books and her nylon bookbag. She says that her favorite things to read are Stephen King novels and romance books; in her room are paperback copies of two of King's books and a paperback book of poetry by Nikki Giovanni, a Valentine's Day gift from Keith Sr. this year. The Christmas before their son was born, Keith gave Gerri a diary; she wrote in it two or three times a week until the baby was born, and has not written in it since. Most of the entries concerned her romance with Keith, noting the days and nights they went out, where they went, who they were with, and when they came home. The first entry reads:

Keith give me this diary today for Christmas. He has it wrap real pretty and a card with it that say To Gerri, who I will always love. Your boyfriend forever,

love "Keith". I like the card because he never wrote "love" to me before. I wonder if he like me as much as I like him. Melissa say boys only want 1 thing from a girl, but Keith been nicer to me since we been doin it.

Gerri's mother's room contains a single bed with a scarred wooden headboard, a four-drawer dresser with one drawer missing and an oval mirror above it, a small wooden nightstand with one drawer, an upholstered chair and small footstool, an electric sewing machine with a red metal floor lamp standing next to it, and an ironing board propped against the wall, near the single closet. Next to the sewing machine are two plastic bags of fabric pieces, and stuck in the edges of the mirror are a dozen color snapshots of Gerri and the other children and Keith, Jr., her only grandchild. This room is painted light green, with one wall painted a deeper green; the single window is above the bed and has box-pleated Kelly green and light green print curtains, made by Gerri's mother. On the sewing machine are two copies of Better Homes and Gardens, one a month old and the other two years old, and next to the bed are several recent issues of The Watchtower, a stack of grocery coupons cut from newspapers and magazines, a greeting card from a friend in Cleveland, Ohio, and a small Bible stamped on the cover with the name of a local funeral home. Next to the bed is a window fan which is used in this bedroom during the

spring and summer.

On the shelf of her closet, Gerri's mother keeps an accordion envelope marked "IMP. PAPERS". In this folder are the birth certificates for her four children and for her grandson, inoculation certificates, several report cards from elementary and junior high schools, the papers from the Rent-to-Own store where the TV set was obtained, a picture of Gerri's maternal grandmother when she was a little girl, living near this city's downtown core, and a medical check-sheet for Keith, Jr., given to Gerri and her mother at a local clinic.

The third bedroom contains a double bed and a cot; Gerri's sisters, Anita and Benita, sleep together in the double bed and the cot is occupied by six-year-old Darnell. Two dressers are against one wall, near the closet and the closet door has been removed, so hanging clothes, pairs of shoes, and two large cardboard boxes of summer clothing on the floor are visible from the room. There is a rectangular, wooden table next to the head of the cot; atop the table are school mathematics and English books and a spiral notebook with an elementary school logo on its cover. On the wall above the table are two color pictures of Anita and Benita in identical dresses the color of orange sherbet and a picture of singer George Michael, torn from a magazine. Also on the wall is a framed picture of the children's

mother and maternal grandmother, taken in front of their grandmother's church last summer just after Gerri's baby was born. Their grandmother is now 45, their mother 30. Their grandmother lives with her second husband, in a two-family house about five blocks east of this house. The walls of this room are painted a deep rose and the cotton bedspreads, made by Gerri's mother, are a quilted pale pink. A teen magazine with singer Prince on the cover and a GI Joe toy are on the floor near the double bed.

A School Day

On a typical weekday morning, Gerri's mother gets up at 6 a.m., makes coffee, and sits alone in the kitchen for a little while, in her robe, having a cigarette and "thinkin' my own thoughts" before any other members of the household are awake, then wakes Gerri at 6:30 a.m. on school days. On Sundays, she is awake at the same time, and gets up and makes coffee, then returns to her bedroom and listens to Sunday morning ministers on the radio, not waking anyone else in the apartment.

Gerri takes a bath on school mornings, fixes her hair, and gets dressed for school, tiptoeing around their dark bedroom if the baby is asleep, playing her favorite station, a local rap music station, on her small, bedside clock radio if he is awake. Gerri's mother works on the housekeeping

staff in a nearby nursing home (her mother -- Gerri's grandmother -- has a similar job in a nearby hospital) and doesn't go to work until 3:00 p.m., so on most school days she takes care of Keith, Jr. until Gerri gets home from school.

Once or twice a week, Gerri takes her son to the day care center at the high school. It's on those mornings that her mother does her heavy cleaning tasks at home and goes to a nearby laundromat, pulling her plastic trash bags of dirty clothes in a rolling metal cart she found along the curb one day. Gerri and Keith are both juniors at the same high school, making their son eligible for the school's day care program. Since she does not need the day care program's services every day, Gerri is on a list of alternates and is called in the morning by Mrs. Hunter of the day care program if one of the regular attendees has called in to relinquish an infant's spot in the program for that day. The children are classified as infants in the day care program until they are approximately 14-18 months old. The older babies are called toddlers and the program has room for more toddlers than infants. There has been no call from the day care teacher this morning, so Keith, Jr. is going to stay home with his grandmother. Gerri is glad because "he so heavy to take on the bus in the mornin' and he so active now, so strong, that he be squirmin' and fightin' me and my arms

hurt from carrying him by the time we gets to school."

Gerri kisses the baby good-bye as he sleeps in his crib this morning, then goes out to the kitchen for breakfast before school. Her mother pours her some apple juice and questions her about what Keith, Jr. had for dinner the night before and what time he went to bed. Gerri reports that she and Keith Jr. had the same thing for dinner, that they ate next door in Keith's apartment and had fried chicken and macaroni and cheese. Gerri's mother gets off work at 11:30 p.m. and Gerri, her siblings, and the baby are often asleep when she returns.

This morning at breakfast, Gerri's mother directs Gerri to make dinner for the family tonight. Gerri protests that she wants to eat at Keith's again, but her mother insists that she prepare dinner for herself and her siblings as soon as she gets home from school. Gerri mutters that the girls' track coach talked to her about coming back to the team this spring, and Gerri's mother sits down at the kitchen table for a moment. "Gerri, you know what we said before Keith, Jr. was born. You wanted this baby, couldn't no one talk you outa havin' him and keepin' him and you say you understood havin' him meant giving up them things girls without 'sponsibility gets to do -- like track and basketball. You have a son and you hafta take care of him. I don't wanta hear nothin' else about no track team this

year. Keith Jr. is your track team." Gerri responds "Yes, ma'am" and asks for a cup of coffee. Her mother retorts "You ain't grown enough." and Gerri answers, "Then I oughta be able to run track!" gathers her books, leaves most of her cold cereal in the bowl, finishes her apple juice, and goes out the door for school. The twins are coming out of the bathroom and Darnell stumbles out of the bedroom in his Sesame Street pajamas, toward the kitchen and his mother's lap, where he will sit and have a breakfast of Cocoa Puffs and milk. Her mother begins cleaning up the kitchen as Gerri leaves.

Outside, Gerri crosses the already busy street to the bus stop, where Keith and his sister, Nikki, also a high school junior, are waiting for her. The three of them talk until their bus arrives a few minutes later, most of the talk centering on track practice that afternoon; Gerri knows that both Keith and Nikki will be at track practice today. The driver or passengers in every second or third car honk or wave at one or all of those standing at the bus stop; twice, cars stop in the street and Keith carries on conversation with friends inside the cars, ignoring the honks of drivers who are impatient to get to the nearby hospitals, medical offices, small businesses, and university.

When the bus arrives, Nikki sits down with a friend

near the front door, and Gerri and Keith ride to school together in a seat near the back door of the bus. This bus, a morning school route, is crowded and boisterous, filled primarily with public and parochial high school students, and Gerri and Keith have to lean close together to hear one another. Each carries a bus pass which allows them to ride the city busses free during the two hours before and after the school day. The advertising posters that line the sides of the bus interior, above the windows, feature beer, wine coolers, cigarettes, basketball shoes, a runaway shelter, a literacy hot-line, and a battered women's shelter. Gerri has had an idea and, on the way to school, she tries out her idea on Keith. She explains how much she wants to run track this year, and asks Keith if he will do child care two afternoons a week, so she could go to practice half the time, and "keep my times good and my legs in shape." Keith's response is that "Takin care of babies is a girl's job. I'm goin to track every day. You mama and my mama should watch Keith, Jr." Gerri says nothing else the rest of the way to school, looking out the bus window. Keith leaves their seat and works his way through the crowded aisle, stopping mid-way through the bus to talk to two male friends for the rest of the trip.

Gerri, Keith, and Nikki stream out of the bus with thirty to thirty-five other students, and join even more

high school and college students on the sidewalks outside the school. Keith ducks into a donut shop for chocolate milk and a glazed donut, while Gerri and Nikki wait for him on the sidewalk outside and watch the crowds of students heading into their high school, directly across the street from the donut shop. Other students cruise the block on motor cycles and in cars and the car radios are all playing tapes or the local, most popular rap station at street-shaking volume levels. Keith, Nikki, and Gerri cross the busy street together, coughing in the exhaust of the many buses converging here because of the high school and the university, and go in the main entrance of the high school building.

Once inside, Gerri and Keith pass the moving print of a digital display sign, where red flashing messages remind them to "SUPPORT THE BASEBALL TEAM - GAME V. EASTERN VALLEY HS TODAY, 4 PM" and "SENIORS... BUY PROM TICKETS NOW AND SAVE \$10," and go together to Gerri's locker before going their separate ways, she to the computer alternative program on the third floor of the main building, he to the auto body program in the vocational building at the other end of the block in the newer, air conditioned vocational building that also holds the day care program. Keith and Gerri go downstairs from the main hallway, to her locker in the main building's basement. Before walking to the vocational

building, Keith kisses Gerri goodbye in front of her locker, and a passing teacher, a young, bearded, European American male, comments "That's where babies come from, Keith, haven't you heard?" Keith laughs and leaves for the vocational building, then Gerri turns to the row of graffiti-covered lockers, gets the books for her morning classes, and goes into her homeroom, where she talks to a female classmate who is also a parent until homeroom begins at 8:20 a.m.

All around the large building, in wide hallways, the school's 1,250 students are sitting on the worn wooden floors and in wide window sills, several eating donuts from the shop across the street, others munching on cinnamon toast from the free breakfast program in the school cafeteria, downstairs. Other students are eating breakfast biscuits, dill pickles, potato chips, and other food items from the fast food restaurants and small groceries near the school. School hasn't started yet, but the floors and window sills are already spotted with fast-food bags, cups, lids, and straws, candy and straw wrappers, pop cans, and breakfast sandwich and biscuit styrofoam containers. 80% of the students are African American; the rest are European American (primarily from two low income, Appalachian areas of the city) with a dozen Asian American and Mexican American students. In the hallways and in classrooms, the

separation by race is obvious. Clusters of students are almost totally segregated; groups of African American students stand near smaller groups of European American students; rarely are students of different races seen having lunch together or sitting in class together. Students are also segregated by program; special education students are ignored or made fun of by other students; those in the computer alternative program stay together not only in their classes, but also in the hallways, library, and lunchrooms; and vocational students tend to socialize with others in vocational programs.

A male, European American assistant principal walks by Gerri's homeroom twice this morning, carrying a walkie-talkie and telling students to remove their hats in compliance with the school rule forbidding male or female students to wear hats within the building. His commentary is almost continuous, since 80-90% of the young men he passes are wearing hats, most of them baseball hats in the team colors and emblazoned with the names or logos of professional sports teams. Almost every professional sports team in the United States is represented in hats, jackets, shirts, sweat pants or warm up suits, except the two local sports teams, conspicuous by their absence. As the assistant principal makes his morning rounds, he bends over frequently to pick up trash and throw it into large

metal garbage cans, painted the school's colors and scattered every 20 to 30 feet up and down the hallways. Twice he takes walkman radios and headphones away from students, reminding them of the school rule against radios and telling them they can claim their radios from his office after school on Friday. They protest loudly, but he ignores their remarks and walks on; when he is almost out of hearing distance the loud complaints turn to profanity, which he does not acknowledge, continuing his morning rounds of a portion of the building's almost 5 miles of hallways. Seven security guards, each with a walkie talkie, supplement the building's principal and four assistant principals in their efforts to keep students in class and out of the halls during class time. One of the security guards and one of the assistant principals are women.

The homeroom period that begins the day is just ten minutes long; a student reads the morning bulletin over the PA system, including the schedule of club meetings, team practices, and other extra-curricular activities, and the lunchroom menu for the day. As usual, the principal has a few words to say on the PA after the bulletin has been read; today, he is warning students to be on time for all their classes or risk assignment to Saturday School if they are tardy to class. In Gerri's homeroom, like many others, few persons appear to listen to the PA announcements; homeroom

teachers are passing out permission slips and a newsletter to parents while taking attendance and writing excused or unexcused absence slips for students who missed school yesterday.

Gerri's first class is world history and she draws track and field figures on a piece of lined notebook paper as the teacher lectures at the front of the classroom and occasionally writes a word or phrase from the lecture on the board. Gerri takes no notes and, when called on twice by the teacher during the period, responds with shrugs but no words both times. The world history classroom is filled with morning sunlight from the east-facing windows; three of the four window shades are broken and the students squint in the sunlight streaming through the dirty windows as they sit in rows of wooden seat-desks looking at the teacher and the chalkboard in the front of the room. A globe with a gaping hole and pieces of a window shade sit on the wooden floor under one of the windows. The floorboards are broken in two places near the doorway and the walls, painted a pale green, are streaked with dirt and penciled graffiti. The teacher's desk leans at a rakish angle; one of its legs is broken and leaning inward, causing the desk top to slant. The students' wooden seat-desks are scarred with the gouged names, initials, and comments of generations of day and night program high school students. In this building, an

afternoon school (4-6:30 p.m.) and an evening school (7-9:30 p.m.) operate daily.

Gerri's next class is 11th grade English and she listens from the back row of the classroom to two persuasive speeches made by classmates, one on the need for day care facilities in office buildings (this one given by female classmate of Gerri's who is also a student parent and, like Gerri, shares a bedroom with her young son in her family's apartment) and another persuasive speech on the need for drug treatment programs for teenagers, given by a male student who was released from a hospital's drug and alcohol rehabilitation program just three weeks ago. During both speeches, Gerri passes a series of notes to the student seated next to her, a sophomore who also has a son. Their running note deals first with the track team starting practice that afternoon, then changes to plans for the following weekend, when they are going to take turns babysitting for each other on Friday and Saturday nights, so that each of them can have one weekend evening out with her boyfriend. A portion of their note:

Gerri's writing: Can you keep Keith, Jr Sat nite so Keith & me go to track meet + the dance aftr?

Euleda's writing: I well do it if you keep robert friday night so me and Reese go to his sister

party. Write me back.

G: We bring Keith, jr to your house but not tell my mama we leave him their she think I do that alot (to much.) I dont but that what she think.

E: OK

Euleda's boyfriend dropped out of school last fall and has been working in a grocery warehouse. He has joined the Navy and is leaving next month for Great Lakes Naval Station; Euleda is planning to join him there with the baby, but has not yet discussed this plan with her mother, who she is sure will oppose the idea. In this classroom, the female teacher and all of the students are African American, but the aging bulletin board decorations near the door are exclusively European American, with blond, blue-eyed figures of children holding signs containing periods, exclamation points, question marks, colons, semicolons, commas, apostrophes, and quotation marks. Student graffiti written in tiny letters on the faces and limbs of the cardboard figures is largely expletives. This room was painted by the teacher a few years ago and is a cleaner, brighter yellow than the room Gerri is in during first bell.

Gerri's third bell class is math and her teacher is absent today; the substitute, a retired teacher with two hearing aids, announces a study period. Several students get up and leave, over the mild protest of the sub, and

Gerri sits alone at a back table, munching a candy bar she pulled from her book bag as she finishes her biology homework, due after lunch today. Her math classroom is small and the tables and chairs are placed close together; the room was created by dividing a larger, square classroom into two rooms. After the conversion, this small room had no storage cabinet, clock or PA speaker, and none of those items have been added to the room in the three years since the remodeling. Two of the windows in this classroom are broken; Gerri and the other students are wearing their coats anyway, to make sure that they're not stolen from their lockers. When the substitute passes around a sign-up attendance sheet, Gerri signs her own name in pen and then uses a pencil to sign the name of a friend who left the room at the beginning of the period. The substitute announces that there are no lesson plans. Some of the class members sleep, while Gerri finishes her biology homework and another student reads a paperback romance novel.

When the bell rings to end class and begin the lunch period, Gerri goes downstairs to the vocational lunch room, the most colorful of the three lunch areas in the building, and eats lunch with Keith. They each have a slice of sausage pizza and a Mountain Dew; Keith goes back to the line for a second slice of pizza and, a few minutes later, Gerri also gets a second piece. Both have tickets enabling

them to get the "plate lunch" at no cost, but they use the tickets only near the end of the month, when they have no money to purchase food in the snack line or the vending machines. When the lunch period ends, Gerri goes to her biology class, puts her homework paper on the teacher's lab table as she enters, and puts on her lab coat as the bell rings to begin class. After the European American middle-aged male teacher explains the procedure for the day, he divides the class into pairs for the lab exercise. As Gerri's female lab partner performs the initial cut into the stomach of their tiny frog, the sight and smell of the frog's interior nauseates Gerri and she spends the rest of the period with her head down on the lab counter. Her teacher uses several colors of chalk to make a big drawing on the board of what the students should be finding and identifying inside the frog, but Gerri protests that she is sick and keeps her head down for the remainder of the period. While her head is down, she listens to a running conversation her lab partner is having with other students about a coat sale that is to begin the next day in the city's largest department store. All three of the girls discussing the coat sale are going downtown after school tomorrow to look at coats. Gerri's partner invites her to join them, but Gerri says she can't go, because she has to go straight home and take care of her son. "Shit" is her

lab partner's only comment. The only writing Gerri does in this class today is check marks on the step-by-step dissection instructions given to each team of lab partners.

In gym class the next bell, Gerri tells her teacher, shouting to be heard over the noise that she became ill during the biology lab and can't dress for gym. Her female, European American teacher, who is the coach of this school's championship girls basketball team, tells her she'll receive an F for the day and shouts over the noise that she should "walk or run laps around the gym - 10 laps." Gerri questions doing the laps when she has already gotten an F and feels too sick to walk or run, and the teacher shrugs and assigns her a detention for that afternoon. Gerri pleads that she cannot serve the detention that day because she is expected to come home immediately and take care of her son and younger brother; the teacher changes the detention to the following day, and warns Gerri to "make arrangements to be there or expect further punishment." When Gerri continues to protest either doing laps or serving a detention, the teacher tells her to dress for class and she won't have to worry about detentions or Fs. Their entire conversation takes place in shouts, because two classes are using the gym, one for half-court basketball and the other for aerobic workouts, and, combined with the sounds of up tempo music accompanying the exercising, the

noise level in the gym, two floors below the main floor of the high school building, is high all during the period. Asbestos repair is going on around three pillars of this facility, which is the oldest of three gyms in the high school.

Gerri's last class is computer technology and she works by herself in a corner of the last row of computers. The room is three times the size of an ordinary classroom and is used as a resource center by teachers and students involved in a computer alternative program that is a school-within-a-school, with its own administrators and recruiting program. Along one wall of the room are racks of computer magazines, dating back five years, and a rack of college pamphlets and brochures. Half of the room is filled with long, metal and formica tables with metal folding chairs; the other half of the room has the same kinds of tables and chairs, but the tables are filled with rows of Apple IIE and Apple IIGS computers and Imagewriter printers, a total of 42 computers, with a printer for every three computers. In a corner of the room are over 30 computer parts: monitors, disk drives, printers, CPUs, etc. They are all broken and tagged to go to the repair store, but the budget line for repair is \$0.00 this year, and some of the computer parts have been sitting there since June, 1988.

Though there are several conversations going on around

her, and she is sitting only two chairs from Keith Sr.'s sister Nikki, Gerri stares straight at her computer monitor and appears to tune out all surrounding activity, going to the teacher a few minutes before the bell and asking to have her completed program checked. The teacher protests that it is too close to the bell to run Gerri's program and advises her to bring it up at the beginning of class the next day or to bring it in during her study hall. Gerri has no study hall because she is taking biology to make up for failing a science class last year when she was missing a lot of school because of clinic appointments related to her pregnancy. Gerri says nothing to the computer tech teacher and returns to her seat; the bell rings and she goes to her locker to get her coat and leave the building. She puts her biology book in her locker and takes no books home, though she has homework tonight in English and in history.

Gerri says that her favorite class this year is computer programming, because "It help me get a job, I think." She says that last year, when she was pregnant, PREPARE was her favorite class, because "The teacher, she talk to you private about labor pains and things you don't have nobody else to ask. She come to my house and help me and my mama decide about the bedrooms, 'bout where the baby sleep, before Keith, Jr. born. She help me and my family. PREPARE not like other classes. You have homework and

tests, but . . . it just different. It about real life, real problems you have with your child, not boring stuff like in other classes."

After School

Gerri rides home alone today on a crowded city bus, using the bus pass issued to all high school students who live more than two miles from their schools. Several of the large billboards the bus passes advertise a YWCA number to call for information on adult literacy programs. The majority of the billboards, however, advertise either cigarettes or alcoholic beverages. Keith and Nikki, who usually ride home with Gerri on this bus, are both participating today in track practice. Gerri gets home a half hour before her younger sisters and brother; her mother, who has been sitting at the kitchen table smoking a cigarette, listening to Keith, Jr. play in a rocking feeding-chair around the living room and the kitchen and waiting for Gerri to arrive, then leaves for work immediately, walking to the corner at the opposite end of the block from where Gerri catches the bus to school, and riding a city bus to a nearby nursing home.

Ignoring her mother's instructions to start dinner preparations, Gerri sits down on the couch in the living room and watches Divorce Court on the 26-inch color floor

model set while the baby plays, first in the rolling feeding chair, rebounding off pieces of furniture, and then crawling on the living room floor. She calls two friends, bringing the phone receiver in to the living room couch, but neither friend is home, and when Darnell, Anita, and Benita burst in the door, she orders the identically dressed twins to do part of the dinner preparation tasks her mother left for her. Both sisters protest, but change into sweatshirts and jeans and begin the dinner preparations, bickering with one another as they work at the kitchen counter, peeling potatoes, putting them on the stove to boil, and preparing the batter for the chicken, which their mother put in the sink to thaw earlier. Darnell puts on a pair of high top gym shoes, a sweat shirt proclaiming him a Cleveland Browns' fan, and a pair of jeans he has almost outgrown, and goes downstairs to play with a friend who lives in the basement of this building.

Darnell is not enrolled in the neighborhood elementary school, and rides a yellow school bus each morning to an alternative elementary school that features a bilingual program; half his school day is conducted in English and the other half in Spanish. His mother chose the school not because of the alternative foreign language program but because it is a 50-50 integrated mix of students in a newer, more attractive building than the neighborhood elementary

school her other children attended. Darnell is learning to read in both English and Spanish, but no one at home speaks any Spanish and he no longer practices his Spanish words at home, except when the Sesame Street characters speak Spanish on television. Darnell's mother sometimes does volunteer work at his school on her day off; she says that "While my children small, I tries to be at they school a lot. I been a room mother and a PTA worker for all of `em. When they leave elementary, I don't work with the school no more, 'cause then they grown."

Gerri warns her brother not to go outside the building and to be back at 5 o'clock for supper and he nods as he closes the apartment door behind him. Gerri leaves her sisters briefly, to pick up her son from the living room floor, where he has begun to cry and kick, rolling over onto his back in front of the television set, and gnawing on the knuckles of his right hand. Gerri carries the baby next door to his other grandmother, talks with her for a few minutes, listening to her advice to rub bourbon on his gums when he is fussy about teething, then comes back to supervise her sisters' work in the kitchen and to turn the television set from the cartoons Darnell watched while he changed shoes to Oprah Winfrey's talk show. Her sisters howl in protest from the kitchen, saying that they are listening to the cartoons, but Gerri ignores them, staring

at Oprah and her male cross-dresser guests.

The Evening

When the talk show ends and the local news begins, Gerri sets the kitchen table for dinner with forks, paper napkins, plastic plates, and jelly glasses and moves the salt and pepper from atop the stove to the center of the table. She mixes a pitcher of cherry Kool-Aid and puts some in each of the three tall glasses, then pours milk into a small Flintstones jelly glass for Darnell and into the baby's lidded Mickey Mouse plastic cup. When dinner is ready, she puts two ice cubes in each of the tall glasses, then goes next door and gets the baby, putting him on her lap and feeding him from her dinner plate. She fusses at her sisters that the chicken isn't done enough, but they ignore her and eat quickly, then leave the table and go into the living room to watch television. Darnell comes into the apartment as Gerri is finishing her meal; Gerri fixes him a plate of food and he carries it into the living room, where he sits on the floor and eats dinner, watching the quiz shows his sisters have turned to. Gerri puts the baby on the floor in the living room when she is finished eating, and goes back into the kitchen to do the dinner dishes. Keith, Jr. crawls around the living room and when he tries to pull himself up by holding onto a piece of furniture and

falls to the floor, he's picked up by one of the twins and held on her lap. Gerri scrapes the food still on the dinner plates into a plastic garbage bag inside one of the kitchen garbage cans (the other garbage can holds pop and beer cans to sell for recycling), then gives the bag to her brother to carry down to the large metal trash cans that line the rear exterior wall of the building. Her sisters and brother are now sitting on the living room floor with the baby, playing with him and watching TV. About 6:30, Keith comes in from track practice, sits down on the couch, picks up Keith, Jr. and comments that the baby stinks. Gerri takes the baby into her bedroom, changes his disposable diaper, and carries him out to his father, remarking that she has only four more diapers and he had promised to get diapers during the weekend just passed. Keith agrees that he had promised, but protests that he had to spend all his money last weekend on new shoes for track. His favorite sports season is track, and he is an excellent runner; his coaches think he could qualify for a track scholarship, but he doesn't like to discuss it, saying that he is going into the Navy and not to college. He is in a vocational auto body program but intends to be a pilot in the Navy; if he doesn't get to be a pilot, he plans on being a jet mechanic. Gerri shouts that his son ought to come first, certainly ahead of "some ol' track team." Keith reminds her that their dream for the

baby is for him to become a professional basketball player; for several months they planned to name a baby boy Dominique for their favorite professional basketball player. Gerri doesn't want to talk about track shoes and basketball; she wants to know when Keith is going to buy some diapers. Keith stops arguing with her and leaves, going next door to his mother's apartment, carrying the baby and trailed by Darnell.

Gerri watches TV until 10 p.m., controlling the cable television remote control and ignoring her sisters' and brother's requests for certain programs, watching primarily music videos on the Black Entertainment Network, and putting a layer of bright pink nail polish on her finger and toe nails. When her nails are dry, she orders her brother and sisters to go to bed, threatening to "tell mama on ya'll iffen you don't do what I says for you to do." When they are in their bedroom with the door closed, still grumbling audibly, Gerri is alone for the first time that day, and uses that time to call two girl friends and talk until it's time for her mother to come home. Her mother's first question is about the baby, and Gerri walks next door and picks up the baby from Keith, Sr.'s twin bed, where father and son are sprawled, asleep, a portable television is tuned to a situation comedy, and a radio continues to play current rap songs. She crosses the living room, where Keith, Sr.'s

mother and sister are watching television, and leaves their apartment, going back to her own. She carries the baby back to their bedroom, and appears not to listen as her mother lectures on her responsibility to "get that chile in the bed at a decent hour!" As her mother continues to fuss, Gerri puts pajamas on her son and puts him in his crib, then changes into a nightshirt and sweatpants, gets into her own bed, turns on the radio, and turns out the light. Still fussing, in the darkness of the bedroom, her mother pulls a small blanket over the sleeping baby and goes back into the living room to watch Arsinio Hall. In the darkness, the sounds of radios, tape players, records, television sets, conversations, babies, and arguments mingle within the building, crowding out the sounds of cars, trucks, buses, pedestrians, horns, and sirens outside.

Weekends

On weekends, Gerri usually sleeps until noon, and either her mother or Nikki take the baby out into the living room and kitchen when he awakens. Gerri and Keith like to take the baby with them on their usual weekend activities, riding the bus to a shopping center or walking to the neighborhood Y or the Community Center on Saturday afternoons, and to Keith, Sr.'s maternal grandmother's house, near downtown, on Sunday afternoons. There, Keith,

Sr. usually watches sports on television with one or more of his uncles, while Gerri talks with his grandmother and one or more of her daughters-in-law and sisters in the kitchen. Gerri watches while Keith's grandmother fixes Sunday dinner and usually 8-10 people share that meal while football or basketball watching continues through the afternoon and early evening hours. Gerri and Keith, carrying a usually sleeping baby, then take the bus back to their street, returning to their mothers' apartments. Tonight the bus that goes to their neighborhood from downtown is late, and Gerri sits on a sheltered bench holding the baby while Keith reads an article about Mike Tyson in a two month old sports magazine one of his uncles gave him today. When the bus arrives, there are no other passengers; Keith places the sleeping baby on the seat across the aisle from where Gerri is sitting. Then he and Gerri kiss in silence until the bus reaches their street twenty minutes later. In the darkness, the advertising inside the bus glows; most of the ads are for cigarettes, beer, and local restaurants but two of the ads are phone numbers for runaways and teenage parents to call. Neither Gerri nor Keith has glanced at the ads and Gerri carries the diaper bag, sports magazine, and her purse off the bus, down the block, and into the apartment building, while Keith carries his still-sleeping namesake off the bus, down the street, into the building, and through

Gerri's family's apartment to his crib. Everyone else is asleep and Keith kisses Gerri goodbye in her apartment doorway. They listen briefly to a fight going on across the hall, laugh quietly at the things the fighting couple are shouting at one another, then Keith goes into his family's apartment.

Composite Profile #3

This composite represents male student/parents.

Living in this household:

Consultant: Byron, 17, a high school senior

Mother: Genelda Pierce, 30

Step-father: William Pierce, 36

Sisters: Erica, 11; Teresa, 9

Brother: DeMarco, 7

Living elsewhere:

Cheryl, Byron's girlfriend, 19 (7 mo. pregnant with their second child)

Jolene, Byron & Cheryl's daughter, 10 mo.

Home - the Neighborhood

Byron, his mother, step-father, and three younger siblings live in a single family house three miles east-northeast of Byron's high school and a little further north of the city's central downtown area. He lives just a few blocks west of Gerri's apartment building, but their immediate surroundings differ more than their distance would suggest, in real estate values, population density, owner

perceptions of most outsiders. Byron's family home is a large, square, two-story frame house with an attic and a full basement; remodeling of the house a few years ago involved enclosing a porch on the first floor and covering the exterior with aluminum siding. The house has four bedrooms and one and a half baths. Byron's younger sisters, who are nine and 11, share a bedroom; his younger brother, seven, has a bedroom to himself. His mother and stepfather share a bedroom, and Byron uses the third floor attic as his own "apartment."

The house is only a few feet from those on either side of it; they are also single family residences. All the houses on the block were built 70 to 90 years ago, at a time when the city was growing rapidly, spreading north and east from the downtown core, and a main streetcar line, initially horse-drawn, led from downtown to the zoological gardens. The western end of Byron's family's street borders the city's zoo and is three blocks north of a cluster of hospitals in an otherwise largely residential neighborhood. For the last year and a half the neighborhood residents have discussed rumors of zoo expansion taking more of the streets that border the zoo, including the land their houses occupy, but there has been no official word of such expansion.

All of this family's neighbors are African Americans and the ages of the children on the block range from infants

to several 18-22 year olds. Three and four generations of families live in several of the houses on this block. At holiday times, the street is crowded with generations of family members who consider this block 'home' and are here to visit parents, grandparents, children, and grandchildren. On ordinary days, during daylight hours in good weather, small children are usually visible and audible, playing in yards and on sidewalks with Big Wheels and other tricycles, dolls, jump ropes, jacks, and other toys. Older children go to and from school on yellow school buses and on city buses; some wear the plaid uniforms of a nearby parochial school while two who are enrolled in an African American private school in the downtown area are also recognizable by their uniforms. After school and on weekends, teenagers, both male and female, are often outside on front porches and in driveways, and sitting on or getting in and out of cars parked on the street. They frequently wear school jackets and jerseys, representing public and parochial high schools in the city. The majority of high school age students in the neighborhood attend Byron's high school and use city buses to and from school. As late afternoon becomes early evening, the ages of those outside in good weather gets progressively higher, and by dark, most children are inside and front steps and porches are populated with groups of young people and of those in their parents' and

grandparents' generations.

On most days, the sounds of humans compete with the sounds of animals in the nearby zoo. Elephant trumpets, lion roars, and seal barks are among the easily recognizable sounds, joined by the hoots, howls, coos, cries, and shrieks of a variety of other animals and birds. The zoo sounds are especially audible in early morning hours, when traffic on this street is nonexistent or very light and the sidewalks and front yards are empty, and again at night, after midnight, when most human activity on the block has stopped or moved indoors. The zoo animal sounds are startling to one who is new to the neighborhood, but are taken for granted and usually ignored by most of the block's residents.

Added to the sounds of the zoo animals are the barks and whines of the dogs who live on this block; almost every household has a large dog. Most are mixed breeds and live outdoors, in chain-link fenced back yards.

The houses on this block are, for the most part, 70 to 90 years old, and most of their exterior walls are 8-12 inches thick; only in the summertime are the sounds within the houses heard on the street, when windows and doors are open. Fifty years ago, this was a grand and fashionable residential area; the main thoroughfare through this neighborhood runs parallel to and is one block south of

Byron's street. The brick and stone mansions on this wide, tree-lined street frequently featured servants' quarters in the attic or in a carriage house behind the main house; several also had ballrooms on their first or second floors. Several ballrooms remain, and have been restored with the chandeliers and hand-painted walls they were so admired for originally. The streets in this area were wide, and horse drawn public and private vehicles tied up to hitching posts in front of each grand home. Today, some of the mansions have been demolished, or subdivided into apartments, but several have been extensively refurbished and look like the 1920s pictures of the neighborhood available in the city's historical society neighborhood archives.

During the summer, there are a few air conditioners visible in the upstairs bedroom windows of the houses on Byron's street, and many window fans are visible on both first and second floors. Unlike some other streets nearby, all the buildings on this block are still single family or two family houses, and most are owner occupied. There are just a few driveways or garages, and during evening hours, the street is usually filled with parked cars on both sides of the street, other cars double parked while the driver and occupants talk to block residents. Car horns often honk to signal someone inside that their ride awaits them. Many adult residents on this block have two jobs, and there is a

steady stream of people coming home in the afternoon from one job and leaving again for a second job. The male middle school teacher next door works as a waiter in the evenings; the fire fighter across the street works at a discount appliance store three days a week; the insurance company secretary down the block has a beauty shop with evening and weekend hours.

Byron's house is just one-half block from the closest city bus stop, on a corner directly across the street from a zoo visitor's entrance; Byron, a high school senior, usually catches a city bus to school in the morning, goes directly from school to work in the afternoon, a short walk from his high school, then comes home by city bus or on foot from the fast food restaurant where he has a part time job. The bus stop is merely a sign affixed to a telephone poll; there is no bench or shelter. Three city bus routes serve this bus stop; the combination of residents and zoo visitors means that one or more persons are usually standing at the bus stop during daylight hours.

Home - the House

Byron's front yard is not fenced. Four concrete steps start at the sidewalk and go up a slight rise to a level sidewalk leading to the house. Four additional concrete

steps lead to the front porch of the house, where a wooden glider hangs from ceiling hooks and there are several other pieces of porch furniture largely unused during winter months. The grass in the front yard is well worn, and the foundation of the house is lined with thick shrubbery; it was Byron's responsibility to take care of the yard until he got his part-time fast-food job last year. Now, his step-father does the yard work, with the occasional assistance of his daughters. Byron's mother (and her mother, when she is visiting) take care of the vegetable garden in the back yard.

The front door of Byron's house opens directly from the roofed front porch that runs the house's full width into a large, square entrance hall. Inside, directly ahead of the front door, is a staircase leading upstairs to the bedrooms. To the left of the entrance hall is a wide entrance way into a 6 x 14 foot room that was formerly a screened in porch, but has been enclosed and is now used as an additional living room or family room. To the right of the entrance hall is the living room, 20 x 17 feet, which is furnished with a mixture of gold-tone metal, upholstered, painted and antiqued wooden furniture, and several large table and floor lamps with fabric shades. On the back and arms of a brown tweed couch and reclining chair are round white doilies, made by Byron's maternal grandmother. A large floor-model

television set is the focus of the living room; the couch, reclining chair, and two other large, upholstered chairs are all arranged to have a clear view of the television set along the room's back (or south) wall. Next to the reclining chair are a gold-tone metal basket that holds the weekly television magazine that comes inside the Sunday newspaper, any newspapers from that day or recent days, and sometimes a magazine, a racing form, a word-search puzzle book, or the local African American weekly newspaper. In one corner of the room is a tall, gold-tone metal and glass open-front cabinet, holding glass and pottery vases, souvenir plates from Washington, D.C. and Williamsburg, Virginia, and several glass paperweights. Near the doorway to the entrance hall is a small York stereo rack system with a turntable, receiver, tape deck, record or tape storage area, and two large speakers. Several dozen cassette tapes, prerecorded and home-recorded, are piled in the storage area. The music is a mix of rap, rhythm and blues, and jazz, reflecting the tastes of both children and adults in this household.

The enclosed porch to the left of the living room and entrance hall has jalousie windows on three sides. During the winter, it is rarely used because its only source of heat is a small kerosene space heater and the walls of windows allow a great deal of cold air to enter the room.

During the rest of the year, the room is used as a play area by the younger children during the day time, as a showcase for Byron's mother's collection of African violets and other plants, and as a place to play poker by Byron's step-father and his friends during some weekday evenings. Mrs. Pierce prefers that her husband have his poker group over on Tuesday nights, because that is the night she walks to a local church to play bingo. She is not a member of the church, but has played the weekly bingo games there two or three times a month for several years. When she goes to these games, the girls are put in charge of watching DeMarco, their little brother. "I have never had no baby sitters outside the family. When Byron little, I didn't have no money for no baby sitters. Then, when the girls was little, Byron watch them when I tol' him, and now the girls grown enough, they watch DeMarco."

The enclosed porch is furnished with a square, folding card table and four metal, folding chairs, a black and white television set on a rolling metal cart, and two well-worn, overstuffed, arm chairs upholstered in floral fabrics. On the shelf of the television cart, beneath the TV, is a recent issue of Sports Illustrated, purchased by Mr. Pierce at a corner store next door to the neighborhood barber shop he has patronized as long as he has lived in this area. In the corner of the porch is a small basketball that belongs

to Byron's younger brother, DeMarco; next to it are a pair of children's roller skates, black, and a football in need of further inflation. Currently, the window-walls of this room are covered with sheets of clear plastic, inside and out, to help keep the cold air out.

The dining room, square and smaller than the living room, adjoins the living room on the side of the house opposite the enclosed porch and contains a large, rectangular mahogany table and eight chairs of different sizes and shapes. Needlepoint cushions, made by Byron's maternal grandmother, are on each dining room chair. Along one wall is a wooden sideboard given to Gerald's mother by her mother when she married Byron's father; artificial flowers in a green glass vase are centered on a rectangular doily, like those on the living room furniture. On the blue and green flower wallpapered dining room walls and on the mantle above the gas fireplace in the living room are pictures of the four children in the family--baby pictures, school pictures, and snapshots taken at Christmas and Easter. In one corner of the dining room is a glass-front china cabinet. Inside it are salt and pepper shakers from Florida, Tennessee, and New York, Byron's mother's good dishes, a picture of Byron's mother and step-father the day they were married, and four clear stemmed ruby red wine glasses with a matching decanter. The floors in both the

living and dining rooms are wooden and there is a large, green cotton hooked rug in the middle of the living room floor.

Behind the dining room, across the back of the house, are a long, narrow kitchen with an adjoining pantry, a door to the stairway that leads to the basement, and a door to the back yard. The kitchen contains a one-piece sink and drain board, a gas four-burner stove with a large oven, and a double-door refrigerator. The kitchen cabinets have glass fronts; visible inside the cabinets are dishes, canned goods, and staples like flour, sugar, cereal, and seasonings. In the middle of the kitchen is a round, pine table with six metal and plastic chairs. The walls of the kitchen are painted a bright turquoise and the floor is a turquoise and pink linoleum. The wood portion of the glass-front cabinets is painted pink. On a shelf above the sink are four cookbooks, one of them a 1935 cookbook assembled by a women's church group in Montgomery, Alabama, the others fairly new paperbacks. On the front of the double door refrigerator are two large finger paintings done at the neighborhood community center, by DeMarco. A telephone hangs on a wall near the kitchen's back door. Next to it is a yellow wipe-off message board with a marker tied on a string; a message printed in large letters reads:

ERICA -

CALL YASHA

The pantry is a room approximately 4 x 4 feet, with large storage cabinets on three walls. Some vegetables canned by Byron's grandmother from the summer garden in the backyard are kept here, but the room is primarily a storage area, where window screens and furnace filters, are stacked and two window fans are kept during the winter months.

Upstairs, on the second floor, there are four bedrooms and one bath. The smallest bedroom belongs to DeMarco, who at age seven is the youngest of the family's four children. This room has a geometric print wallpaper in brown and beige that is beginning to come off the wall in some places near the ceiling. There has been water damage to the ceiling and furniture has been moved away from one corner where the water damage is extensive. There is a wooden bunk bed set that used to belong to Byron -- his first name and initials have been carved into the wood in several places --, a small table, painted a pea green, that DeMarco uses as both desk and work table for building model planes and cars from beginner's kits, a small black boom-box radio and a large wooden box of toys. Inside the toy box are hundreds of green plastic toy soldiers, three stuffed animals (one with a missing eye), a yo-yo without a string, a small skateboard, a plastic water pistol, two large, bright yellow, metal toy trucks, a large rubber spider on a long

string, a red plastic Spirograph toy, two rubber California Raisin figures from the fast food restaurant where Byron works part-time, a Hi Ho Cherry Ho game, and a set of 24 magic markers in a plastic case. A three drawer particle board dresser sits just inside his closet; on top of the dresser is a stack of back issues of Ebony, Jr. magazine, a Christmas gift annually from his maternal grandmother, and a small clip-on bow tie. Taped to the side of the dresser and to the inside and outside of the closet door are pieces of art work DeMarco has brought home from school and the community center. All are acrylic paint or water colors on poster paper; black is the dominant color of every picture. Some of them have brief comments written by his teachers, comments "Good work!" and "Fine job!"

Next door to DeMarco's room is his sisters' bedroom. Erica and Teresa have pink flowered wallpaper on two walls and vivid pink paint on the others, ceiling water damage in two corners, twin beds with matching wooden headboards, matching wooden four drawer dressers painted an off-white, with decals of pink flowers on the drawers, a small wooden desk, two white plastic chairs, a full-length mirror on one wall near the door to the hall, and posters of Prince and Michael Jackson on the wall behind their beds. Next to the mirror, the girls' height has been measured since they were less than three feet tall; the marks are in pencil and the

heights, in inches, are marked in their mother's handwriting. The wall opposite the beds, behind the sisters' two-drawer desk, holds a rectangular 3 x 4 foot cork bulletin board, containing gymnastics and modern dance certificates with both Erica's and Teresa's names, several elementary school honor roll certificates with Erica's full name (Erica Tinesha), a year old Stevie Wonder concert program, a small poster advertising a neighborhood Community Center children's party, a small school picture of Erica's boyfriend and classmate, Tony, and small cut-out color and black & white magazine pictures of singers Prince, Michael Jackson, and George Michael, and rappers LL Cool J and Public Enemy. On the floor by one of the beds is a word-search puzzle magazine. The girls are 9 and 11 years old and are in 4th and 6th grade classes in their neighborhood elementary school, a five block walk from their house.

Above the kitchen, also on the second floor, is the bedroom used by the adults, the largest bedroom in the house. Its walls are painted a pale green and the furniture is dominated by a five piece set of Mediterranean fruitwood design - a double bed, tall dresser, long dresser with mirror, and small nightstand on one side of the bed. On the nightstand are a tall lamp with a pleated fabric shade, a cordless telephone in a stand, some back issues of The Watchtower, a flyer announcing a time change in the weekly

bingo game Byron's mother often attends, the current issue of a local African American community magazine, and a small clock radio. This is the only bedroom containing a lamp; the others are lit by light fixtures in the center of the ceilings. In the master bedroom are two small dark-green, oval shaped hooked rugs, one next to the side of the bed, and one in front of the long, low dresser. Near the wall opposite the bed are two upholstered arm chairs placed next to each other and facing a table that holds a portable color television set. A copy of this week's TV GUIDE is on the table next to the tv set.

On most weekday evenings, Byron's mother and stepfather watch television in this room, leaving the downstairs rooms "for the chil'ren and they friends; my husband don't like all the noise they make, so we usual stay up here where it's more peaceful like in the evening time." Three children from a house down the street often watch TV downstairs with Byron's brother and sisters; they are home alone in the evenings until their mother comes in from work about 11:30 p.m. Other neighborhood friends of this family's children also visit during weekday evenings. Thus, it isn't unusual to have six to eight children downstairs on a week night, watching TV, making popcorn, listening to music, dancing, playing card or board games and talking.

Next door to the master bedroom is another, smaller

bedroom that Byron used to occupy; it is now used for storage of off-season clothing, sewing, ironing, and sometimes as a guest room. A narrow, single bed and a round wooden table are the only pieces of furniture in this room. The most frequent guest is Byron's maternal grandmother, who comes up from her home in Alabama two or three times a year, and spends several weeks each time with the family; during her visits she sleeps in this room. Byron's mother refers to this as "the guest room" but all the other family members still call it "Byron bedroom" and refer to the area he now occupies as "the attic" or "Byron attic." The closet of this small room still contains toys and board games that belong to Byron, things he thought were "too baby like" to move to his attic space.

Byron's Room

Byron, for the last two years, sleeps in the large, open attic of the house and has furnished it with two twin beds, a narrow, green canvas cot he uses as a couch, a ping pong table, a small white wicker dresser, a rectangular wooden table Byron uses as a desk, a metal rack for hanging clothes, a small "boom-box" stereo that works with electricity or batteries, a stack of prerecorded tapes, and two canvas and wood camp-stools. The attic is a very large, open space, and the first impression, even with all of

Byron's furniture and clothing and family storage visible, is of emptiness. The western wall of the attic is lined with boxes that contain out-of-season clothing, clothing the younger children have outgrown, and other personal items. Each of the boxes is marked on the outside by Byron's mother; she used a magic marker to describe the contents of the boxes.

On the wall above one of the twin beds are two color snapshots -- one of Byron in his high school football uniform, standing on the front steps of his school, and another picture of Byron with his girlfriend and their baby daughter, standing in front of the fast food restaurant where Byron works. Above the other twin bed is a large color poster of Byron's high school football team, their coach, and their five-foot-tall division championship trophy . The team had a 10-1 season this year, their school's best season in over 20 years. On the floor near the beds is a telephone; Byron uses some of the money from his part-time job to pay for his own phone line and he bought this small beige phone at Radio Shack. Near the telephone there is a square, blue plastic milk carton with the name of a local dairy; inside it are two paperback books on football, a hand-held battery operated football game, a paperback copy of Animal Farm, and three issues of Playboy magazine.

There is a light bulb on the wall in a small pull-

chain fixture above the twin beds and, near the table, there are two aluminum photography clamp-on lights, each containing a 40 watt light bulb. The attic has only two windows and is fairly dim, even in the middle of a bright day. There is no heat in the attic and when, in Byron's opinion, it is too cold for sleeping, he sleeps downstairs on the second floor, in his old bedroom. Byron usually entertains his friends in the attic, rather than in the living room or elsewhere in the house, because "There always be little kids down there yellin' and, you know, messin' in my business."

Byron began bringing his girlfriend home from school with him two years ago and it was in the attic that their daughter was conceived. His girlfriend says that the two of them "used to spend lots of time in the attic and didn't nobody bother us much. The little kids would peek up the stairs and giggle, but we could lock the door and sometimes it'd be a couple hours till somebody looked for us. We started fooling around up there - we didn't have any car or no other place to be private, so that's where we started doin' it. Now we're not allowed to go up there by ourselves. Our baby that's on the way now comes from us bein' in my apartment alone, which still don't happen much. The only time we ever spent a night together was the day I came home from the hospital with the baby. He slept through

the night and I got up with the baby over and over. In the morning, I told him he couldn't spend the night no more because he wasn't no kinda help to me."

The basement of the house contains a storage room with shelves full of paint, varnish, and shellac cans, a coal bin converted to a storage closet, and a large, open L-shaped space. This open portion of the basement is dominated by a large furnace, a washer and dryer and a large laundry tub. On the opposite wall, under the kitchen, is a half bathroom -- a sink and toilet. The door has been removed from this bathroom and is leaning against a basement wall. In the basement are boxes of off season clothing and two bicycles, one missing a wheel and the other with no handlebars. A window air conditioner and a car battery sit on the floor near the washer and dryer, next to some pieces of a small motorcycle and the bicycle handlebars. Under the stairway that descends from the kitchen are several shelves containing dozens of mason jars of vegetables and jellies made by Byron's mother and grandmother. On the back wall of the basement, near the stairs to the kitchen, is a doorway leading to a steep concrete staircase into the back yard.

The back yard has a chain-link fence and two large mixed breed dogs -- King and Duke -- primarily German Shepherd in appearance, both male, live in the yard. Their food and water dishes are next to three battered metal

garbage cans on a small, concrete sidewalk near the kitchen door. The yard has a rusting metal swing set and a long clothesline connected to two wooden posts sunk into the ground and held in place by small mounds of concrete. The girls' initials are visible in the concrete.

Byron's step-father purchased this house on a land contract the year he married Byron's mother (Byron was three years old at the time and has no memory of ever living anywhere else); the adults say that in the years since, the neighborhood has changed in some ways and remained the same in others. Several families who lived on the street 17 years ago still live there today, but people move in and out of some of the two-family houses several times a year. Byron's mother feels that the women on either side and directly across the street are friends, but she has only a nodding acquaintance with other neighbors. Byron's step-father bowls weekly on a team made up of four neighborhood men, three of whom have lived on the same block for several years. One of the members of the bowling team works on the same department store loading dock with Byron's step-father.

Byron's mother is a licensed practical nurse in a large university hospital four blocks from her house. She was a 13-year-old junior high school student when Byron was born. To take care of him, she quit school and worked cleaning houses until she met and married her current husband, when

she was 16 and he was 22. He was a high school graduate with a 1 year electronics course completed when they met; he encouraged her to return to school and she attended night high school for adults in the same building where Byron goes to high school now. When she finished high school, she took a two year adult course in a vocational high school and is now a Licensed Practical Nurse. She started a full time job when Keith started kindergarten. Before that, she worked part time in a nursing home. She is now 30, and her husband is 36. Her mother, the family's frequent guest, is 44 years old and works for an industrial cleaning company, cleaning office buildings at night, in Montgomery, Alabama. Byron's maternal great-grandmother is 59 years old, lives in Montgomery, Alabama just a few blocks from her daughter, has never married and works as a domestic. She has never been north of Tennessee and Byron and his siblings see her at her home or at family reunions held every few years in Alabama.

Byron's mother and step-father believe that drugs are a problem in their neighborhood in the last few years, and do not allow any of their children to be outside, beyond the front porch, after dark. They are suspicious of some young men who often sit in or on parked cars during evening hours, believing that they are drug dealers who sell marijuana and cocaine to the neighborhood's young people. Byron's step-father readily admits smoking marijuana in his high school

days, but thinks that cocaine and crack are in a different, more dangerous, addictive league of drugs that lead to criminal activity when people are desperate for more drugs. "The police don't do no patrolling here," he says, "we have to look out for our kids and our property or these drug types are going to take over everything from honest people." Break-ins have been a problem on the block during the last year. Byron's home has been broken into twice during daylight hours when no one was home; items stolen included a portable television set from the parent's bedroom, clocks, radios, and silverware from a drawer in the dining room, and two computerized toys. They've stopped subscribing to the city's evening paper, because their paper was so frequently stolen before either of them returned from work. In the opinions of both Byron's parents, the neighborhood is "going down" and they worry about the safety of their younger children. Byron's father hopes to live in the house until his youngest child finishes high school, but believes that he will have to move before that to "get any money out of this house, before the street is full a crack dealers and them other street people who don't fear the police, God, or no one else."

A School Day

Byron's school days begin at 7 a.m., when his mother

comes upstairs to wake him, or uses her phone to call his phone and wake him with a morning call. Byron showers downstairs in the bathroom on the second floor while his mother wakes his younger siblings; then he dresses in his room, takes his hat, jacket, and athletic bag, and goes downstairs. Mrs. Pierce gets up at 5 each morning and does one or two loads of wash and some ironing before starting to wake the children; she irons everything her husband and the boys wear, and expects both girls to do their own ironing. She prepares breakfast for the children every school day morning, then leaves for work about 7:20, but Byron usually eats just a piece of toast with jelly while he walks to the bus stop, catching his bus at 7:40 and getting to school just before the tardy bell at 8:10 a.m., if the bus is on time. He is frequently tardy but refuses to catch an earlier bus, because that would mean getting up earlier. Once he gets to school, he goes into the donut shop across the street, or to the fast food restaurant a block away (where he works part-time) for something to eat -- a sweet roll, a donut, or a breakfast biscuit, usually paid for by a friend -- talks with friends, and then goes into the school, usually to his third floor locker to get the book for his first morning class, then sits in a window sill near his locker and talks with a group of male friends, most of whom are also seniors and members of the football team. No

matter how warm it is inside the building, he does not put his wool and leather football jacket inside his locker, but wears it all day long. He says that there are too many locker break-ins, so he puts nothing in his locker but his school books, which he says "don't no one want, anyway."

Byron's first class of the day is computer technology IV; today he slips a disk out of his athletic bag and puts it into the computer almost in a single motion as he sits down at the room's last row of computers. He leans back until the back of his chair touches the rear wall of the room and a shooting game appears on the computer monitor, quickly turning off the sound on the computer, so the game noises will not be obvious. Byron plays this game for the entire period, ignoring the other students, the programming assignment on the board, and the teacher. Once during the period, the teacher, a European American male in his second year of teaching, walks behind Byron, glances at the monitor of his computer, and says "No games allowed. Get to work." Byron nods but ignores the teacher's direction. The teacher does not walk past Byron again and he continues to play the game until the bell rings. Students drift in and out of the room during the period; Byron is one of only four students who remain seated at computers throughout the period.

The walls of this room are painted beige and brown and the ceiling has been lowered. The room is carpeted and air

conditioned, because of the computers. The single bulletin board is bare. The room is filled with long, formica-topped tables containing IBM and Apple computers, interspersed with printers. The student chairs are metal, with padded seats. The padding on many chairs has been cut, and foam rubber protrudes from slashes in the seats. The teacher's desk is covered with piles of paper -- green and white computer printout paper, mimeographed worksheets, school bulletins, daily absence lists, blood drive brochures, voter registration brochures, bulletins regarding the upcoming prom, and a tall stack of programming test papers.

Byron's next class is world geography and he again sits in the back corner of the room, putting his head down on his desk almost immediately when the bell rings to begin second period classes and not raising it during the entire period. The teacher, a 34 year old European American female who has been teaching here for three years, lectures throughout the period. Four of the 20 students present take notes during some or all of the period; the rest of the class members read (handwritten notes, a paperback book, an algebra text), sit with their heads down on their desks, write notes, or do worksheets for other classes. No student is spoken to individually by the teacher. She addresses two questions to the group at large, but goes on with the lecture when there is no response. When the bell rings, the class leaves

without anyone speaking directly to or being spoken to by the teacher. During the lecture, she wrote some words on the board:

COMMUNISM ECONOMICS CAPITALISM

but they are not defined in the course of the lecture. On the walls of this classroom are two world maps and instructions for leaving the building during a fire drill. No student work is displayed. Students sit in individual desk-chairs, most of which are wooden, covered with ink and carved graffiti. Two large panes of the room's windows have been replaced with blue translucent plastic, cutting down on the light inside the room.

Byron's third period class is senior English, taught by an African American female teacher in her mid-30s. In each of the past three years, she has been voted "Most Beautiful" and "Most Stylish" teacher by the senior class in their popularity poll. "She dress good, real high class and she act sophisticated like, you know, like women in magazines," is Byron's assessment. At the beginning of this class period, Byron tells the teacher that he needs to go to the library to work on his notes for next week's debate on legalization of drugs. Library pass in hand, he goes downstairs to the sub-basement and talks to one of the assistant football coaches for the entire class period, leaving to meet his girlfriend for lunch when the bell

rings.

Byron's girlfriend Cheryl graduated from high school two years ago, and is 17 months older than he is. Cheryl is European American; she's a 5' 3" blond who describes herself as being Appalachian. She gained 55 pounds during her first pregnancy and lost only a portion of that weight before she became pregnant again. Both her grandmothers live in Tennessee, a few houses from each other in a hollow near Pigeon Forge, formerly an extremely depressed area economically and now the site of the amusement park Dollywood. Cheryl's divorced parents, who came here from Tennessee together 10 years ago, are both very much against her relationship with Byron, usually calling him "that nigger" instead of using his name. When Cheryl told her mother that she was pregnant (the first time), her mother beat her, kicking and punching her until the neighbors, hearing Cheryl's screams, called the police, who restrained her from hitting Cheryl anymore. Cheryl remembers that evening vividly; she ran outside to escape her mother's blows and her mother followed her outside. Cheryl says: "What she said while she was hittin' on me and I was fallin' down the hill and yellin' at her to stop, and the neighbor's lights was goin' on, 'cause they could hear my screamin' -- she said over and over that she was gonna hit and kick that baby out of me. And I believed her!" Though the issue has

never become physical, Byron's mother and step-father also disapprove of his relationship with Cheryl and no longer allow Cheryl to visit Byron in his attic room.

Byron and Cheryl meet today for lunch at a pizza restaurant across the street from the school, a meeting Cheryl insisted upon last night in a series of phone calls to Byron at work and at home. When he arrives, she is already there, holding their daughter on her lap. The baby, Jolene, who is 10 months old, lifts her arms when she sees Byron and he picks her up, then hands her back quickly, commenting "She wet." Cheryl takes Jolene back, puts her on the seat of the restaurant booth, and changes her disposable diaper. Cheryl is seven months pregnant with their second child; she and Jolene, their first baby, have a subsidized one bedroom apartment three blocks from the high school. The furnishings are minimal; most of them were provided by Cheryl's high school teachers, who also gave her a surprise baby shower when she was 8 months pregnant with Jolene. With loan and scholarship money, Cheryl is now enrolled in a secretarial program in the two-year division of the local university. Her financial aid is contingent on full-time enrollment, but during this pregnancy she has missed so many classes that she's considering dropping out. Her advisor, a Freshman English instructor, encourages her to "Hang in there and don't quit!" with phone calls and notes to her

apartment.

Cheryl pays for their lunch today and asks Byron as they part to please get her a box of diapers after school today. He says only that he has to go to work after school and that he might talk to the Marine recruiter again today before going from school to work. Byron's plans are to enter the Marine Corps after graduating from high school this year; Cheryl says that they are planning to get married before Byron leaves for the Marine Corps. Cheryl is planning to name the baby after Byron if it's a boy, but "only if Byron starts to act like a father instead of a selfish high school kid." Byron tells his friends that the baby is going to be a boy, and that they'll name him Byron, Jr.

Returning from the pizza restaurant, Byron goes to the second floor of the high school's main building to his Spanish II class. He takes a seat in the last row of desk-chairs and, throughout the period, he draws pictures of footballs and athletic shoes. The 63-year-old Spanish teacher immigrated from Germany as an adolescent; she has serious vision and hearing problems and a continuing difficulty with swelling in her ankles. Today, like most days, she conducts class seated in an arm chair behind her desk in the front of the classroom. The room itself is bare of any decorations; the cork bulletin boards are empty

except for years of graffiti; the floorboards are well worn, the windows cracked in some panes and missing others, the ceiling and upper walls heavily water damaged. The combined odors of mildew, mold, chalk, dirt, and adolescent bodies are the first things noticed by most visitors to the room.

The lesson today is a lecture linking Spanish history and literature, but Byron does not participate in any way, never making eye contact with the teacher and not responding to her questions, even when they are specifically directed to him. Two girls in the front row complain that they cannot understand the material, that the teacher's heavy accent makes it impossible to understand what she is saying. The teacher does not respond in any way to their loud complaints, simply continuing her lecture. Byron does not copy the homework assignment from the board. When the bell rings, the teacher calls to him as he is leaving the room and asks him if he needs to pass Spanish to graduate. He shrugs and keeps walking. "Children today tink a high school diploma is owed dem, not earned. Vell, someday, ven it is too late, dey vill know dey do not have da education dey need," she remarks to his departing back.

His next class is a study hall in the basement of the high school's main building; the room was formerly a shop class and still has long, rectangular, metal shop tables bolted to the hundred year old wooden floor. The room is

huge, approximately the size of six ordinary classrooms, and the windows are covered with heavy metal screening, painted black. The walls are institutional green and the paint is stained, bubbled, and peeling from years of wear and water damage to the ceiling and upper walls. The worn wooden floor and the metal tables and benches contribute to the room's high noise level; when the 50-80 students assigned to the study hall in any given period are present, the noise level is uncomfortably high for visitors and some students. There are no print materials of any kind in the room, no pictures or other decorations on the walls, and the clock over the door has only an hour hand. Byron goes to the doorway of the study hall and looks around, but instead of going into that room or to his last class of the day, algebra, he pushes his way out the door through a crowd of students coming into study hall, goes to his locker, and puts his books inside it. Carrying only an athletic bag, he leaves the school building, walking a little over a block, past a series of college student-oriented restaurants, bars, and shops to the fast food restaurant where he works from 4-10 pm on week nights and all day on Saturdays.

On his way out of the building, a European American, female security guard asks where he is going; he answers "To work," and continues walking out of the building. No one else stops or questions him. Many of the shop windows and

doors he passes have hand lettered signs saying, with only minor variations:

NO H.S. STUDENTS

UNTIL AFTER 3 P.M.

After School

Byron is two hours early for work today, so he sits in a rear booth talking to workers who are on break; he drinks the large Coke and eats the chicken sandwich a female employee brings him soon after he sits down. Barely acknowledging her with a flicker of his eyes, he continues talking to the other employees, all male, some high school students and others college students. Five minutes before his shift begins, he changes into his uniform in the bathroom and reads the job descriptions for his shift. He is assigned to the drive-in window and works there all evening, wearing a headphone and talking into a microphone to drivers outside and to the cooks inside. The keys of his electronic cash register are color coded, and he says he uses colors and placement of the keyboard, rather than words, to record each incoming food order. On his dinner break at 7 p.m., he eats a hamburger, two large orders of french fries, and a large chocolate chip cookie and drinks another large Coke. At 10 p.m. he punches his time card, changes back into his jeans, shirt, and jacket, picks up

another hamburger, and walks a block to the bus stop.

The Family's Evening

While Byron is at work tonight, his mother goes to the grocery for her large (usually twice monthly) purchases. Her husband drives her to a discount grocery several miles from their home and, while she does the shopping, accompanied by DeMarco, he sits in the front of the store, reading the local African American weekly newspaper and a horse racing sheet. While they are at the grocery and Byron is at work, the two girls are at home watching television in their living room with two other girls who live on the same block. Tonight, Byron's mother's purchases are primarily staples: bread, soup, milk, eggs, flour, sugar, lard, cereal, margarine, plastic bags, laundry detergent, bleach. DeMarco walks the aisles slightly ahead of his mother and her cart, occasionally pulling items off the shelf and saying "Mama, we needs this." or "Mama, buy me some this, ok?" She refuses his requests for highly sugared brands of cereal, saying "Boy, that candy, that's not breakfast food." DeMarco returns the boxes of Count Chocula and Fruit Loops to the shelves and they compromise with a large box of Cheerios. In the bread aisle, DeMarco runs ahead, announcing that he's going to find the "four for a dollar breads." He peers at a long row of loaves bearing 25 cent

stickers, and looking up at an adult male customer standing next to him, asks "Is these the four for a dollar breads?" The man nods, and DeMarco carries four of the loaves to his mother's grocery cart. The last selection made is ice cream, and after studying the prices and deciding upon the brand, DeMarco's mother allows him to select the ice cream flavor. He does not look at the individual gallon containers, but stares at the freezer cabinet doors and announces, "Chocolate. Get chocolate, Mama. Daddy like it and I do too." She nods and takes the chocolate container out of the freezer cabinet and the two of them push the basket toward the check-out counters, where DeMarco's father is waiting for them. When they get home, DeMarco's mother is assisted by her husband in carrying in the first armloads of groceries; then he goes into the living room and watches TV with DeMarco and the girls while she finishes unloading and unpacking the groceries.

This is a week night, so Byron works a 4-10 p.m. shift on his job; on weekends he works 12 hours every Saturday and 12 hours every other Sunday. When he works both Saturday and Sunday, he stays home from school on Monday and sleeps. This is a constant source of argument between Byron and his mother, but she gives in to Byron's arguments, "'cause I believes that boy does need the discipline of a job. He's lazy and I'm tired of trying to make a good worker out of

him. Maybe these folks at the restaurant can train him better, leastwise I hopes so and I hopes he and will save the money for college." Byron says he isn't going to college and he needs the money to buy clothes, shoes, movie and concert tickets, things for his room, and other items. Cheryl expects to get \$25.00 from him each week; in order to get that money, she usually comes to work during the Friday shift when she knows he has been paid. Tonight, he waits for 10 minutes at the bus stop, eating his hamburger and standing near but not talking to three other fast food workers, from other restaurants in the same area. Pedestrians, most of them college students, are walking the sidewalks in both directions, many of them eating or carrying bags of food from the fast food restaurants. Byron rides a city bus home, the ride tonight taking about 15 minutes, less time than the same route he travels in the morning, when the bus is packed with high school and college students.

Byron's Evening, After Work

When he gets off the bus at the corner of his block, Byron approaches a dark blue late model sedan with two young men seated inside. He passes tightly folded bills into the slit of the darkly tinted passenger side window and is handed two thin marijuana cigarettes in return. These he

puts inside the top of his left sock, then walks the short distance home. Inside, as he's walking upstairs to the attic, his mother comes out of her bedroom into the hallway to tell him that Cheryl ("That sorry white girl who calls herself your girlfriend. . . ") called him twice on the family phone, complaining that she has no diapers for Jolene. He shrugs and continues walking upstairs, and his sisters lean out the door of the bedroom to chorus "Buy the diapers, daddy!" Byron ignores them and reaches the attic, where his mother has put an extra blanket outside the door, because it is cold tonight and expected to get colder. He takes off his shoes (Air Jordans), jeans (Calvin Klein, stonewashed), and football jacket, then goes outside one of the attic windows to a sheltered spot on the roof. He smokes a joint and looks out over the rooftops of the neighborhood, listening to rap music from his radio inside the attic: outside, he watches an emergency helicopter land on the roof of a nearby hospital, a brief sound and light festival that temporarily drowns out the other sounds -- an ambulance, some stirring zoo animals, a city bus, an occasional car. From down below, he can hear a neighbor whistling and calling for a dog to come home. Then, still wearing his underwear and socks, Byron comes inside and makes a phone call to a friend who is on his team for next week's English class debates. He talks to her for over an

hour, asks her to have lunch with him tomorrow and talk more about their debate plans, then says good-bye and goes to bed. His phone begins ringing just after he gets into bed; he does not answer it. When it begins to ring again a few minutes later, he unplugs his phone from the wall and goes to sleep to the continuing sounds of rap music on his radio. Someone knocks softly on the door to the attic, but he does not respond and the knocking does not persist.

COMPOSITE PROFILE #4

This composite represents the infant and toddler children of the student/parents who were enrolled in the day care center housed within their parents' high school.

Focal Learners: Latanya, 27 months

Keith, 11 months

The Setting¹

The Day Care program is housed on the first floor of the high school's brick, five story vocational building. The most-used entrance to the program is located just inside the main entrance to the vocational building, off a circular driveway from a small parking lot reached via a driveway that comes in from the side street bordering the high school on the south. The Day Care facility was created 8 years ago as a training facility for high school students enrolled in a vocational program designed to prepare them to work in child care settings. The facility has a wall of one-way glass and a long narrow observation room, originally designed for students in the child-care program to observe adults modeling child care techniques, story reading, etc. The vocational child care program was discontinued, but state vocational education funds continue partially support the day care program, operated for the infant and toddler

children of students enrolled in the high school.

Appendix 4-1 is a map of the Day Care center space, as it was configured during the 1987-88 and 1988-89 school years. Day Care's physical setting includes several areas used for different purposes and at different times during the day, as illustrated. The largest room in Day Care is the room used by the toddlers; it's approximately 55 feet by 30 feet, and includes: indoor play areas and large, wooden play equipment (jungle gym, sliding board, crawling tube); wooden tables and chairs (child-size) for mealtimes and for art activities, and other wooden tables and chairs for play activities; an upright piano; an L-shaped arrangement of low wooden shelves, containing several sizes of colorful, plastic blocks and a large set of wooden shapes; one wall of low wooden shelves containing toys, puzzles, dolls, and stuffed animals; a record player and a stack of children's record albums; a corner containing wooden shelves and racks holding children's books, a wooden rocking chair, a toy chest containing dress-up clothing, and a large bulletin board affixed to a wall; a play house area emicly called "housekeeping" which contains child-size kitchen appliances, an ironing board, a round wooden table and chairs, 2 doll high chairs and a doll cradle; a wall lined with individual, open-front "cubbies" for storage of the toddlers' belongings; a large Formica counter area that includes 3 low

sinks in the middle and a diaper changing station and mealtime plate-preparation area on either end; and a storage area where the cots used during nap time are piled atop plastic-covered mats used for tumbling.

In the middle of this room, a circle has been created with masking tape on the carpeting. This area is known as the "song-circle" or just "circle" and is used for morning songs and organized play activities before lunch (including such things as group story-reading sessions, singing, and dance and other movements to records) and sometimes after the afternoon snack, just before going home.

Doors off this large, airy room lead: (1) directly outside to the vocational building driveway; (2) into a fenced, all-weather carpeted outdoor play area; (3) into a bathroom with child-size toilets and sinks; (4) into a stairwell of the vocational building; (5) into the half-glass walled program office; (6) through the narrow observation room into the nursery; (7) into small rooms used for toy, book, and other storage; and (8) into the program kitchen.

The large room is lit by natural light from a wall of windows opposite the toy shelves, and by overhead florescent lights. The impression of lightness and spaciousness is augmented by the wall of mirrored glass opposite the windowed wall, and by the colorful decorations used

throughout the room: Sesame Street alphabet posters, holiday and seasonal bulletin board displays, color pictures of the toddlers, infants, and their parents, and various types of art work completed by the toddlers, from scribbles on coloring-book pages to macaroni art and finger paintings.

By contrast, the nursery, which has no outside windows, is often lamp lit rather than bright with the overhead, recessed florescent lights, and is approximately one quarter the size of the large room. The nursery has cubbies for each of the infants (identical to those in the large room, used by the toddlers), six wooden cribs, a play pen, rolling feeding tables, a wind-up swing, a wooden rocking chair, a diaper-changing counter with a sink next to it and wall shelves near it, and a set of wooden toy shelves. Shelves built onto the walls in this room and the large room were made during the 1988-89 school year by the teacher in charge of the carpentry program in this vocational building. He also makes a Christmas gift annually for each child in the program, a wooden crayon holder with a brass nameplate, engraved with the child's first name. He sometimes plays the role of Santa Claus at the annual Christmas party for the Day Care children and their parents.

Above the changing counter is a large, colorful mural picture of Mickey Mouse, and each crib and cubby in the nursery is marked with a sign featuring an infants name.

This month, the signs, made on the program's Apple computer by instructional assistant Pam, are color coordinated; Keith's crib sign is red lettering on blue paper and so is the sign on his cubby. On the walls above the cribs are alphabet decorations with Disney and Sesame Street characters holding each of the individual letters, and each crib has a wind-up moving, musical mobile of Disney, Sesame Street, or Winnie-the-Pooh characters. The crib sheets and lightweight blankets are also multi-color depictions of various cartoon and book characters. Across the nursery doorway that leads through the observation room and into the toddlers' large room is a wooden safety gate. Infants who have reached the walking stage often stand at this gate, watching the toddlers' activities, and several of the toddlers regularly come over to the gate to look at, talk to, or touch the infants watching their play.

The long, narrow room located between the large room and the nursery contains a wall of observation glass, mirrored on the large room side, and looks unusually crowded this week, because its table tops are piled with childrens' clothing donated by a group of African American physician's wives. Program staff members have sorted through the clothing and divided it into three approximate-size groups. Each day this week, they urge the student/parents to look through the stacks of clothing and select anything they need

for their children.

The program office is just inside the main entrance to the Day Care area. It contains 2 metal desks, an Apple II computer and Imagewriter printer on a rolling metal stand, several metal file cabinets, and a telephone connected to the school's switchboard system. The school's telephone system was revamped last year, but the new system has so few outside lines that it often takes 10 minutes or more to make an outside call. The day care office is used by all three of the program staff members, rarely for more than a few minutes at a time during the hours when the children are present, used more extensively before and after school. Its half-glass walls allow a full view of the large room where the toddlers spend most of their time. In this office, the staff members: make telephone calls, often to the student/parents and their parents at home; prepare materials for the toddlers' art projects; use the computer and hand-written log books to keep program records, write letters and announcements for the student/parents, write the lyrics of songs often sung in day care, for the student parents to have at home, and make banners, posters, invitations, and other materials used in the Day Care program.

The kitchen is a large room with yellow walls and recessed, overhead florescent lighting; its appliances line 3 of the walls and include a refrigerator, dishwasher, and

electric range, all of which are the size of those in homes, not the industrial kinds of appliances found upstairs in the school's main kitchen. The center of the room is empty and there is a pass-through window and counter on the 4th wall, next to the door and looking into the large room. Most of the food eaten by the toddlers is prepared upstairs in the school's kitchen, but some food and the formula and other bottles for the infants are prepared in the program kitchen. Food to supplement the breakfast items and for the afternoon snack eaten by the toddlers are also prepared here. During the school year, there are monthly luncheon meetings or picnics for the student/parents, and food for these occasions and snacks for meetings of the program advisory committee are prepared or heated in this kitchen.

Rules and Procedures²

Day Care program rules require that infants and toddlers be dropped off before the beginning of homeroom period each morning. Student/parents are not supposed to walk through the hallways and classrooms of the high school building with their children in the morning, or go anywhere in the building prior to coming into the day care program. This rule, building administrators explain, is for the protection of the infants and toddlers. In order for an infant or toddler to be in the Day Care program that day,

their parent must be in school; in other words, it is against the program and school rules for a student/parent to drop off an infant or toddler and then leave the school building. Students who are caught violating this or other program rules are dropped from Day Care, and infants and toddlers on the waiting list are then moved into those openings. Similarly, if a student/parent moves out of the school's attendance area or drops out of school, their child/children are removed from the program rolls and others from the waiting list are invited to be full-time participants.

Funding for the Day Care program is from two sources: the State Department of Education's Vocational Division pays eighty percent of the program costs; the remaining twenty percent is paid by sources obtained by the school district's home economics supervisor and the day care program director. During the 1987-88 school year, these funds came from a community child care agency and a private foundation. When the foundation did not provide any funds for the 1988-89 school year, there was a brief period when the school principal, the program director, and others felt that the program could not operate without full funding and therefore would not open. The program director called each of the student/parents who were expecting to have their children enrolled when school began and warned them of the funding

difficulties and the probable closing of the Day Care program. This dilemma was publicized by a local newspaper columnist a week before school was to begin in August, 1988 and an anonymous, individual donor provided the funds necessary to supplement the state vocational money and allow the program to continue throughout the 1988-89 year. The school system in which the program is housed pays no part of the program expenses, providing only the physical setting, located in a building paid for with state and federal vocational education funds.

The Day Care program's capacity is determined by Board of Health regulations, Fire Department stipulations, and Rules for Licensing Day-Care Centers established by the State Department of Human Services. During the 1988-89 school year, that capacity was 6 infants (defined in the licensing rules as babies who have received their first standard set of infant immunizations to those 18 months old), and 16 toddlers (18 months to 4 years). Enrollment fluctuates and a waiting list never shorter than 15 names and usually 30 or more is maintained by the program director.

The first few student/parents on the waiting list have what is called in the program rules and regulations 'alternate' status, meaning that when someone with a place in the Day Care program cannot come to school, they must

call the program director before 6:30 a.m., so that another child can be taken care of that day. The program director then contacts the student/parent at the top of the alternate list, telling them that day care is available for them that day. The usual reasons for absences include: illness (student/parent and/or infant/toddler); job interviews; clinic appointments; suspension from school; appointments in housing, food stamp, welfare, or other offices; job interviews; and responsibilities at home. Student/parents who are not coming to school but who do not call and notify the Day Care program director are thus denying a place to another student that day. This is against the rules, and if a student violates the rule repeatedly, he or she can no longer use the Day Care program.

The Day Care Program Staff

The staff consists of 3 adult women, all of whom are full-time employees of the school district. The Program Director, Betty Hunter, is a European American female who has a Bachelor of Science degree in education and is a home economics major with teaching certification in home economics. She has no formal training in child care beyond a course in college 20 years ago. She came into this program two and one-half years ago as a substitute for the then program director; the substituting continued for weeks,

then months, then, just before the end of that school year, she was offered the job permanently and accepted. The instructor assistants are African American females with high school educations; one was in a child-care vocational training program during high school, and the other completed a child-care training program at a local vocational school after her high school graduation.

Betty Hunter is married to the minister of a local Protestant church and has one son, a high school student in one of the school district's alternative schools. Pam Hall, one of the instructor assistants, was the parent of a 5 year old daughter during the 1987-88 school year, and gave birth to another daughter during the spring of the 1988-89 school year. Arnette Mitchell, the other instructor assistant, is the parent of 2 sons, one in the U.S. military and the other a high school student. All of the program's staff members live within the boundaries of the city school district, unlike the majority of the teachers in this high school, most of whom live in the surrounding, suburban school districts.

Toddlers call the program director "Miz Hunter" and the instructor assistants "Pam" and "Arnette." Each time the school district's home economics supervisor visits the program, she prompts the children to say 'Miz Pam' and 'Miz Arnette,' and they revert to dropping the title when she

leaves. The supervisor visits the program frequently, usually once or more each week. When she visits, she often pitches into whatever work the staff members are doing, talking with them as she assists with feeding, or play activities, or whatever activities are ongoing. "This is a happy place," she declares, "different from anything else under my supervision in home economics. There's a need . . . I'd like to have a program like this in each of our high schools. The need is there."

The program director oversees all activities in Day Care and does the yearly appraisals of the two instructor assistants. She determines the program schedule and has established a monthly rotation of the two instructor assistants. At the beginning of each month, they exchange responsibilities; whoever has been working in the large room with the toddlers moves to the nursery to work with the infants for the next month, and the assistant who has had primary responsibility for the nursery goes into the large room to work with the toddlers. Another marker of the beginning of months is the disinfectant cleaning of all the toys in both the toddler and infant areas, a task (like most others), that all three staff members work on together.

Like all other teachers in the building, the program director is appraised by an assistant principal and is required to submit weekly lesson plans. For obvious

reasons, her lesson plans are very different in scope and content from those of the other high school teachers. Pam and Arnette's jobs are also very different from the 18 others in this building who have the title Instructor Assistant; most of those persons work in jobs such as building security and high school special education classroom assistant. Only one other high school staff member, a home economics teacher, has training or experience in working with preschoolers; she was in charge of this facility when it was a vocational training program for high school students. No other adult in this high school has worked directly with preschoolers.

The Focal Learners, during a School Day

One of the focal learners this section will shadow through a day in the program, Latanya, now 2 years old, has a regular place in Day Care, and has been enrolled and attending since she was 7 weeks old. Her older sister was also enrolled in the program from the age of 7 weeks, spent 4 school years in Day Care, and is now 4 years old and participating in a Monday-Thursday Head Start preschool program.

Keith, the other focal learner to be described in this section, is an alternate in day care. He is usually cared for during the school day by his grandmother, who works a 3-

11 p.m. shift during the week. The Day Care program director called his mother this morning to let her know space was available, and Keith's grandmother was glad to have a day without child care. During this school year, there has usually been a space for Keith once or twice a week.

When the Day Care program director fills the slots for the school year, the availability of other day care options is one of the deciding factors for who gets into the program. She explains: "If a girl has no other way of getting day care . . . she lives on her own and she has no money to pay for child care and no relatives or friends available for child care, we try to move her onto our roll as soon as possible. After all, our purpose is to help the parents get through high school, and if they have NO day care, they're going to be dropouts."

Since Keith's grandmother is able and willing to care for him most of the time, the alternate status "been good for me and my mama, too" in Gerri, his mother's, opinion. Keith's grandmother says "It give me a break, and I need that sometime, for gettin' groceries, bill payin' and other such business. When the baby go to Day Care, I know he well cared for and I go 'bout my business without worryin' over him."

This morning, Latanya's mother (Paulette) and Keith's

mother (Gerri) arrive, sign their names on a sign-in sheet always on a table just inside the program's main entrance, and read announcements for student parents posted on the table top or on the wall behind the table. Paulette pauses and reads all banners and posted announcements, while Gerri, as soon as she has signed her baby in, moves away from the table and the announcements and toward the toy shelves. The children's coats, hats, gloves, and other outerwear are put into open-front cubbies. Each infant or toddler's name is on a hand-printed or computer-designed sign at the top of the cubby. The signs change with the months, seasons, or holidays. For example, today it is early spring and there are green shamrocks and green lettering on each of the name labels.

Toddlers like Latanya know the morning routine well; today, after hugging one of the program's instructor assistants, Latanya walks directly to her cubby and hangs her jacket on a hook inside it. On the shelf of the Latanya's and most of the other cubbies is a set of clothing - pants, shirt, sweater or sweatshirt, underwear, and a pair of socks. Student parents are required to have a full set of clothing available in the cubby, in case of bathroom, mealtime, or other accidents during the day. If toddlers complete an art project during the day, their art work will be put on the wall for a few days and then put in their

cubbies, to be shared with the student/parents.

Once Latanya has hung her jacket in her cubby, she usually heads directly for the open toy shelves and today is no exception. She picks up a blond, nude female doll and carries her into the housekeeping area, puts the doll in a doll stroller, and begins pushing the stroller around the perimeter of the large room. She is quickly joined by 2 other female toddlers, one of whom tosses another doll into the pink plastic stroller. The three girls troop around the room in single file behind the stroller, giggling, in a kind of mini-parade. They wave to other toddlers and their mothers, who are sitting at the tables near the toy shelves, working puzzles and playing.

A male student/parent enters the room, signs the register, and leaves; his twin sons, 29 months old, take off their jackets, one flinging his to the floor and the other hanging his in the cubby marked BRENDON. The program director picks up the jacket on the floor and takes the hand of Nate, the twin who dropped it, leading him to his cubby and helping him hang up the jacket as his father leaves the program area without talking to anyone. The program director then moves the jacket Nick hung up in Brendon's cubby to the cubby marked NICK; as she does this, she is carrying Nick and reminding him which cubby is his. She points to the sign that says NICK in green letters, bordered

by shamrocks, and repeats the name, pointing to the sign. She then steps to the cubicle next to Nick's marked NATE and shows Nick his twin's jacket and name sign, pointing to each letter of Nate's name sign and repeating the letters and the name, just as she did with the sign that said NICK. Nick, after repeating NICK and NATE at the signs, squirms down to the floor and heads for the nearby wooden jungle gym, where Nate and another male toddler are already climbing.

After signing Latanya in, her mother, Paulette, greets each day care staff member. One of them leads her into the narrow observation room and explains the source of the stacked clothing, urging her to pick out what she needs for Latanya or her older daughter, Shantay. Two other student/parents, both female, are sitting at tables near the toy shelves in the large room, playing with their toddler children, watching Latanya and the other girls circle the room with the toy stroller while Susie, almost a year older than Latanya, repeatedly turns somersaults on the carpeted floor, blushing when praised for her gymnastic skills by a staff member.

After signing in at the table, Keith's mother Gerri carries him into the nursery and puts him down in a crib below a sign on the wall that says KEITH, then removes his jacket and hat, putting them in his cubby. She removes from her shoulder-strapped diaper bag (which she carries to

school on days when Keith accompanies her) a half dozen disposable diapers and puts them on the shelf of Keith's cubby, then picks Keith up from the crib and puts him in the play pen in the middle of the nursery, where his friend Demetrius, 13 months, is playing. The boys finger and suck on rubber Disney-figure toys and Demetrius' mother, Torria, seeing the expression on his face and wrinkling her nose, picks him up and carries him to the changing counter, near a large wall mural of Mickey Mouse. Pam, the instructor assistant working in the nursery this month, assists Torria with the changing and disposal of Demetrius' diaper and the spreading then disposal of the sheet of white paper used atop the changing pad; they briefly discuss the cold he is just getting over, a cold Torria thinks he caught at home from her little brother, who is just 6 months older than Demetrius. The first bell of the day rings, indicating that homeroom will begin in five minutes, and both Gerri and Torria leave the nursery for homeroom. Neither Keith nor Demetrius react to the bell or to their mothers' departure, but continue their parallel play in the play pen, while Pam gets a bottle ready for a 9 week old, Sara, just waking up in her crib. Both boys can stand unaided, but Demetrius, who weighs almost 40 pounds, rarely attempts to stand unassisted, while Keith has been standing more and more, sometimes pulling himself up and holding onto the furniture

as he carefully maneuvers around the nursery.

The stroller Demetrius' mother pushes him to school in and the jacket Latanya is wearing today were both donated to the Day Care program. For the last two years, Day Care has been the special project of a group of African American physicians' wives from a large, local teaching hospital. They donate money, children's clothing, boxes of disposable diapers, and items like bassinets, car seats, and strollers to the center, asking the advice of staff members on what is needed. In addition, at Christmas time they provide wrapped Christmas presents for each child, usually containing one or more toys and an item of clothing, like a sweat shirt, corduroy pants, or a sweater. They also make cash donations to the program, asking the staff to use the money for special needs the student/parents or their children have during the school year. This year, that money has been used for needs ranging from shoes for Demetrius (his grandmother refused to buy him shoes, saying there was no reason to buy shoes for a baby who couldn't walk yet; Torria appealed to the staff for help, because she thought his feet were cold on the long walks to and from school) to eyeglasses for a student/parent who was having increasing difficulty reading the monitors in her computer programming class.

The program director says "We have some girls who walk several miles to school, because buses don't run near their

homes, or because they are giving a false address to the school, in order to be in our attendance area and qualify for day care here. Demetrius' mother, Torria, is a junior this year who didn't attend this school until she became pregnant. She was an honor roll student who was sent to this high school by her counselor when she became pregnant as a sophomore in the school district's most prestigious academic high school. She had no stroller this year and no money to buy a stroller." Demetrius weighed almost 10 pounds at birth and grew rapidly, quickly becoming a heavy burden for his slim, not particularly strong mother; it was exhausting for her to carry him up steep hills each day to school. Aggravating the problem is the location of the apartment she and Demetrius share with her mother and 3 younger siblings; it's on a hill so steep that even the police and garbage truck crew avoid it during slick or snowy weather. The physicians' wives bought her a strong but lightweight stroller before Christmas this year.

The student/parents are required to keep a supply of disposable diapers in their infants' cubby, but some of them have severe financial problems and can't buy the diapers they need. The director explains: "Especially at the end of the month, the girls who are called emancipated minors -- they have apartments of their own -- have usually run out of money and food stamps. We have a fund from the physicians'

wives to buy boxes of disposable diapers for them, so we keep boxes in the various sizes here for those emergencies."

Toddlers in the program follow a routine, a schedule, on most days. Except in early fall and late spring, their days are usually spent within the large room.

Day Care Program Daily Schedule

8:00 - 8:10 a.m.	Sign-in
8:10 - 8:40 a.m.	Free Play
8:40 - 8:50 a.m.	Group Activity
8:50 - 9:15 a.m.	Breakfast
9:15 - 10:40 a.m.	Free Play
10:40-10:55 a.m.	Group Activity
10:55-11:00 a.m.	Bathroom
11:00-11:30 a.m.	Lunch
11:30- 2:00 p.m.	Nap
2:00 - 2:05 p.m.	Bathroom
2:05 - 2:15 p.m.	Snack
2:15 - 3:15 p.m.	Free Play

Throughout each day, the bells that signal class changes and the public address announcements that are a regular part of homeroom activity and other times of the day are audible in the day care program. If there is a school fire drill, the infants and toddlers must be evacuated from

the program, taken outside, down the driveway, and out to the street. If there is a tornado drill, the infants and toddlers must be taken to the sub-basement of the building, like all the other building occupants. Following the bell schedule of the rest of the building, rather than the day care schedule, people are in and out of the program all day long: building maintenance staff members who check the temperature in the program rooms; students who assist in the program during their study halls; PREPARE class members who have some directed experiences in the day care program; and student/parents are among those going in and out of the door that leads into the rest of the school.

This morning, when homeroom begins for the student parents, there are 11 toddlers and 5 infants present, an average day in the center. One or more toddlers are likely to arrive before lunch, having been to clinic appointments or on other errands with a parent or grandparent. It is not unusual for a student/parent to spend several hours in a clinic, waiting to see a nurse, an intern, or (on rare occasions) a doctor, then another hour getting to school on the city buses. Thus, a clinic appointment often eliminates an entire school day for that student/parent and her or his child.

The first group activity of the day is the morning song circle, led today by Arnette, who begins with a song called

"Good Morning" and encourages the toddlers to join her in singing; 3 or 4 of them do sing. Next is one of Latanya's favorite songs, "Have a Seat." The lyrics:

Everybody have a seat,
Have a seat, have a seat
Everybody have a seat on the floor.
Not on the ceiling, not on the door,
Everybody have a seat on the floor!

The toddlers, seated around the circle on the floor in the middle of the large room, sing with Arnette and do the hand motions that accompany the song, pointing to the ceiling and the door, and patting the floor. Arnette repeats the song three times, and, by the third time, the participation is loud and enthusiastic, the last line of the song drawn out lustily. When the singing ends, the toddlers clap and cheer loudly. Two more songs are sung by the group and then, Arnette and Miz Hunter call the toddlers from the song circle to the breakfast table.

While Arnette has been leading the morning song circle, Miz Hunter has gone up the building's elevator to the school kitchen and brought back the breakfast for the day, on a rolling metal cart. As is her habit, she took one toddler with her on this errand; today it was Nate's turn, and though his eyes briefly filled with tears as he lost sight of Nick, his twin, his beaming face upon their return

indicated a successful trip. Miz Hunter put spoons, small, plastic bowls of cereal, and paper napkins at each place on the tables as the last song was in progress, then went into the kitchen and made toast. When breakfast is ready, the toddlers' names are called aloud, one at a time, and they are seated at the table. Bibs, made of terry-cloth dish towels by the program staff, are snapped in place around their necks. "These are bigger than commercial bibs, so they cover the children's laps and catch a lot of food. They're terry cloth, so they wash really well and they're soft on the children's necks," Miz Hunter explains. "With the snaps, there's usually no problem if a child yanks off a bib, and they're easier to put on than ones with strings to tie and untie."

If toddlers stand up in the circle area or walk over to the breakfast tables without being called, they are reminded to sit down in the circle and wait to be called. Those called last are praised for their patience. Today, Latanya is called to the tables last, because she has been playing in the circle, rolling around on the floor and grabbing the ankles of the other toddlers as they left the song circle. Once seated at the table, Latanya notices that Mark, another 2 year old, is singing "Have a Seat" softly and she joins him in mid-song. Venus, almost 3, hears them and joins in the singing, and begins rocking from side to side. Latanya

and Mark pick up the rocking motion and continue to sing softly. The adults smile and continue serving breakfast, which today is orange juice and milk served in small, plastic glasses, and Fruit Loops cereal in individual packages, the same food items served upstairs in the high school's lunchrooms to students eligible for the Federal Breakfast Program. The singing and rocking stop as the toddlers' eating begins. The breakfast has been supplemented by the Day Care staff with pieces of toast, which staff members have spread with thin layers of margarine and strawberry jelly.

During the meal a bell rings, indicating a change of classes in the high school. The toddlers, used to hearing the bells all day long, pay no attention; neither do the staff members. While the toddlers eat, Arnette and Miz Hunter move around the tables, wiping up spills with little or no comment, offering more juice, milk, or toast. As the toddlers finish eating, they are called to the low counter that borders the tables, and their hands, arms, and faces are washed by Miz Hunter. As she finishes washing the toddlers, she hands them a paper towel. Each toddler uses a paper towel to dry her/his face, hands, and arms, and then carries the used towel to a rubber trash can at the end of the counter, lifts the lid, and deposits the wet paper towel. Even the toddlers who eat most of their meals in

high chairs placed next to the tables carry out this task with little or no prompting. Latanya puts her wet towel in the can and then heads directly for the bathroom, where Arnette helps her lower her jeans and go to the bathroom, then assists her with zipping up and buttoning her jeans and with washing her hands. She plays for a minute with the small soap bar on the sink. Arnette hands her a paper towel and Latanya dries her own hands, then throws the towel into the metal trash can under the sinks. Noticing that Arnette is busy with another toddler's complicated button-front pants, Latanya sees an opportunity to play in one of the sinks, and starts the water running full blast. Arnette looks up immediately and Latanya runs from the bathroom back into the large room, laughing as she passes other toddlers coming from the counter sinks. Inside the bathroom, Arnette is laughing too as she turns the water off.

Arnette remembers the day Latanya started in the program: "She was 7 week old and so tiny she look like month-old babies. She still tiny for her age. She and her sister have a place in my heart, 'cause I been knowin' 'em all they lives! Latanya don't talk as much as Shantay did at 2, but she have a sense of humor and she so affectionate; she favor her sister and her mother that way. Paulette, she real affectionate with her daughters, and they both affectionate, too."

Latanya, after leaving the bathroom, heads for the toy shelves, selecting a wooden puzzle of pieces of fruit. She takes the puzzle to one of the tables near the toy shelves and sits down, dumping the puzzle pieces on the table top. She starts to assemble the fruit pieces in their correct places. Latanya stops every few minutes to watch a boy who has pulled several of the large, plastic, rectangular blocks off the shelves and is stacking them in a rectangular shape in the open circle area. "This a car," he announces to no one in particular, and puts one of the group's favorite toys, a plastic dashboard-steering wheel, inside the rectangle. He then sits down and grasps the steering wheel, shouting "Brendon drivin' away!" This spurs Latanya to action and she leaves the puzzle on the table, goes over to the blue plastic 'car,' sits down next to Brendon, and puts her left arm around his neck, whispering something into his right ear. "Brendon drive! Brendon drive car!" he shouts. Latanya shrugs, removes her arm, and walks back to her puzzle. Within a few minutes, Brendon has left the blocks and the steering wheel toy behind and gone over to the sliding board. Just as quickly, another toddler takes his place in the plastic-block car.

Arnette finishes her work in the bathroom, then comes into the large room and starts a Mickey Mouse disco record on the record player next to the toy shelves. Some of the

toddlers are in the housekeeping area, pretending to feed dolls seated in the toy high chairs; one is in the rear corner of the room, sitting in the rocking chair and turning the pages of a cloth book; two are climbing the wooden jungle gym at the other end of the room; and Miz Hunter is helping two walk up and down two sets of wooden steps, holding their hands, and encouraging them to watch their feet as they step up and down. Brendon leaves the sliding board and begins to dance near the record player; Susie, holding two books, stands nearby watching him dance. Seeing her opportunity, LaTanya moves to the block-car and begins manipulating the steering wheel.

Miz Hunter cleared the breakfast tables of food and dishes while Arnette was in the bathroom with the toddlers; Arnette now carries the tray of food, dishes, and silverware into the kitchen, and comes back into the large room, wiping off the breakfast tables with a sponge and preparing the materials needed for a finger painting art activity. She puts poster paper on both sides of a small easel, takes the paints out of a cabinet underneath the sinks, and gets two plastic smocks out of the same cabinet. The poster paint she pours from large, plastic containers into empty roll-on deodorant bottles. "I learned this in my child care class," Arnette explains. "It's easier for the toddlers to handle than brushes is, and if it's knocked over, nothin' spill

out, so clean-up real easy."

When all her materials are ready, Arnette approaches the playing toddlers one at a time and says "Would you like to do art today? We're painting." As the morning progresses, almost all the toddlers respond positively, and, two at a time, they work on their paintings at the easels. Arnette watches them paint, hands them different colors of paint, and, when they nod or announce that they are finished, she prints their first names and the date at the top of their painting, then puts the painting on the counter to dry, taking the aprons off the toddlers and helping them to wash their hands at the low counter sinks. The younger toddlers, those who have moved recently from the nursery into the large room (the same toddlers who eat in the high chairs) do their art work either on their knees at one of the tables, or in a high chair, as they prefer.

While free play and art are going on this morning in the large room, Pam is in the nursery with the infants. They have different feeding schedules and are as much as 13 months apart in age, and Pam's morning activities with them vary. Today, she spends time on a comforter on the floor with each of the infants, exercising their arms and legs, encouraging them to follow the motion of a toy with their eyes, and holding the hands of Demetrius and Keith, one at a time, encouraging them to take steps. Demetrius, even when

left alone on the comforter, does not move off its edges, but Keith crawls about the room, under cribs and behind the rocking chair. Pam eventually puts him in a swing seat and winds up the seat, as she does exercises with some younger infants and feeds a bottle of Similac to 9 week old Sara, talking steadily to Sara as they move gently to and fro in the wooden rocker. Watching the motion of the rocker, Demetrius' eyes flutter then close, and he is asleep on the floor. When Sara finishes her bottle, Pam burps her, rocks a few minutes more, then puts Sara into her crib and moves the sleeping Demetrius into his crib.

When she needs to heat a bottle or get juice or water, Pam goes to the program's kitchen, pausing in the large room sometimes to watch the toddler's play activities. "Workin' with the toddlers is my favorite - I like those months best, but it's more peaceful in the nursery. Now that I'm pregnant again, I'm likin' the nursery more. My back has been givin' me some problems durin' this pregnancy and in the nursery, I do get to sit in the rocker with the babies and that helps my back some. Arnette love the babies, though. She work in the nursery every month if she could."

Keith's swing seat has stopped moving when Pam walks back into the nursery; Pam puts him back on the comforter to play, handing him a cloth book and a clear plastic ball with small, colorful balls inside. He clutches the ball with one

hand and puts the book on top of it with the other, while Pam changes two diapers and a soiled crib sheet, watching him play on the floor.

Meanwhile, back in the toddlers' room, Latanya uses only red paint today, making large circular motions on the poster paper with the rolling top of the deodorant bottle. A change-of-class bell rings and is ignored by all present in the Day Care program. Arnette offers her other colors, but Latanya shakes her head no and continues to work with the red paint. When she decides she's finished, she walks over to the sink and holds her hands out to Arnette, who helps her clean up. Arnette prints Latanya's name atop her art work and Latanya says each of the letters as it is printed. Latanya suddenly makes a grab for the sink's faucets and Arnette intercepts, then hugs her as they both laugh. Latanya kisses Arnette's cheek and hugs her briefly, then deposits her used paper towel in the trash can and walks over to the steps of the sliding board, climbing up the platform above the slide, throwing herself down the slide head first and landing on the tumbling mat on the floor beneath the bottom of the small slide. After several more slides, she joins two other toddlers on the jungle gym, raising her feet off the ground, and swinging briefly from a low bar. Then, she walks to the opposite end of the room and picks up a book, looks around the room and goes over to

Miz Hunter, who is seated on the floor, working a puzzle with another toddler. Latanya squirms into her lap and, without words, hands the book to Miz. Hunter, who then reads the book aloud to Latanya and the other toddler. Behind them, art work continues (1 or 2 toddlers at a time) until all of them have finished a roll-on painting. Arnette cleans up the art area, puts the materials away, and uses masking tape to put the art work up around the room.

When the story reading ends, Latanya finds a rolling wooden train in its normal storage place in front of the shelves of plastic and wooden blocks, hooks two other cars to the engine, then sits atop the engine (almost 3 feet long) and moves around the room, pushing with her feet to make the train move. Two other toddlers, Nick and Brendon, fling themselves atop the other cars of the train and Arnette laughs as they circle the room, waving to everyone. Arnette begins making train noises (choo-choooo) and the three train riders join in. Leaning too hard into a corner, Latanya turns the engine over and all three toddlers spill onto the floor, ending their train ride.

Latanya starts to walk away, and is reminded by Arnette to put the train back in the storage area. She does, then walks over to the door and pats Keith's head as he stands watching the action in the toddlers' room. He grins at her and hands her the rubber Big Bird toy squeeze toy he's

holding. Latanya gives it back to him and walks over to housekeeping, taking plastic dishes and plastic food out of the refrigerator and separating the food pieces that are part of a plastic hamburger - bun, lettuce, tomato slice, bacon strips, cheese, and the hamburger patty. She assembles them in a recognizable order, except that both pieces of bun are on top, then leaves them and walks over to the toy chest in the corner. From the toy chest, she pulls out a blond wig and plops it on her head, then turns to admire herself in the nearby, wall-mounted full-length mirror.

Another school bell rings, indicating the beginning of the 3rd period in the high school day, and a PREPARE class comes into the day care center with their teacher. The class members, 9th through 11th graders who are pregnant (and in one case the boyfriend of a pregnant high schooler), have been assigned to read to individual toddlers today. In their PREPARE class last week they practiced reading the books of their choice and have carried them into Day Care today. Latanya spots a friend of her mother, a sophomore named DeNita who is 7 months pregnant, and wraps her arms around DeNita's legs. Greeting Latanya by name, DeNita leads her over to one of the tables near the toy shelves, as the other high school students pair off with the toddlers. The father-to-be in the PREPARE class is asked by Miz Hunter

to read his book to the male twins. He agrees and sits with the twins on the floor, near the housekeeping area, reading them a tall book titled Danny Driver.

Some of the high school students read very slowly, without inflection or emotion; others are animated as they read. Latanya stares at DeNita's face at first, then peers closely at the pages of the book as the story, Just Us Women, unfolds. It's a book about a little girl who lives with her mother and grandmother and goes to a Day Care program each day. It is, in fact, a book Latanya has at home, given to her mother by a teacher she had in elementary school and still visits. Latanya points to the mother in the book and says "Mama." DeNita laughs and responds "That's right, girl, that's Paulette!" Some toddlers wander away as the books are being read; others are raptly attentive; one, seated on a high schooler's lap in a rocking chair, goes to sleep. After finishing the books, the PREPARE students stay and play with the toddlers or visit the nursery until their teacher warns them that the bell ending their class is about to ring.

Shortly after the departure of the high schoolers, the Day Care staff starts to prepare for lunch. Taking the program's only currently enrolled European American toddler, Susie (39 mo.) with her, Miz Hunter leaves for the school kitchen, with the rolling metal cart. As they leave, Pam is

finishing her lunch feeding of the younger infants, and has only Demetrius and Keith left to feed. They are now old enough that, on most days, they eat the toddlers' lunch food, cut into tiny pieces, feeding themselves with Pam's help, and seated in the rolling feeding tables. Meanwhile, Arnette calls the toddlers into the circle and, when they are all seated, leads them in singing 2 songs. Then, she puts a record on the record player and the toddlers stand up, following Arnette's lead in acting out the verses of the song -- putting their hands atop their heads, touching their feet and their knees, clapping their hands, turning around and around, and following other directions sung on the record. The younger toddlers pick up some of the motions; the older ones know them all. This song is followed by one called "Goin'to the Store" in which each verse names a different kind of motion around the circle - crawling to the store, hopping to the store, swimming to the store, etc. At the end of each song, the toddlers clap and cheer loudly. As they're singing, Susie and Miz Hunter return with the food for lunch, and Pam comes out of the nursery, the younger infants fed and asleep, to help Miz Hunter dish the toddlers' food (taco salads and green beans) onto the plates. Since all of the children's parents are eligible for free lunches, their children are also entitled to the lunches, and the toddlers are served whatever is being

served that day in the school cafeteria. While Miz Hunter and Pam continue to quickly prepare the plates of food, they are joined by a high school student helper. Miz Hunter directs her to wash her hands before helping to put the plates on the tables and the high chairs. Miz Hunter then begins to lead the toddlers into the bathroom in groups of 2 or 3, returning them to the song circle. When everyone has been to the bathroom and the plates are nearly ready, Arnette concludes the circle activities with a seated game called "Touch Your _____" Starting with their heads, Arnette asks the group to touch their knees, toes, elbows, backs, tummies, noses, etc., prompting those who don't understand some of the directives. Then she reminds the toddlers to stay seated in the circle until their names are called and begins the lunch seating by strapping in the high-chair eaters. Then, she calls the others to the tables one by one, seats them, and puts on their bibs. As they are seated, Miz Hunter and Pam put plates of food in front of them, but no one starts to eat. When everyone is seated, Arnette puts her hands together and begins the prayer. The toddlers fold their hands together and join her in saying "God is great, God is good, and we thank Him for this food." At the blessing's conclusion, some of the younger toddlers cheer and clap, and all three staff members are partially successful at stifling grins.

Pam cuts the food on the 2 remaining plates into tiny pieces, then carries them into the nursery with spoons for Demetrius and Keith. Lifting them, in their rolling seats, onto a piece of plastic she has spread over the carpeting, she puts the plates on the tray tables and the spoons in their hands. They feed themselves, some of the food reaching their mouths and quite a bit the tray tables or the plastic sheet. Pam talks to them as she assists them with eating, putting the spoons back in their hands when they drop them and grab at the food with one or both hands.

In the large room, Arnette and Miz Hunter move from toddler to toddler, wiping up spills and helping the toddlers negotiate the hard shell of the taco salad. The high school student works with the high-chair eaters, picking up spoons they drop, helping them eat, and holding their plastic glasses as they take sips of milk. At the corner of one table, Susie stares at the still untouched scoop of spiced hamburger inside the corn meal shell on her plate and comments, "Looks like doggie doo."

"Doggie doo!" Nate repeats with delight, as Susie turns the taco salad over, spilling meat, cheese, lettuce, hamburger, and green beans onto the plate and the table. "Doggie doo!" the group at the tables and in the high chairs starts to chorus and some begin to imitate Susie's motion with their plates. Miz Hunter intervenes, grabbing Nick's

hands and saying to the group "Don't turn your food over, please." She then moves to Susie's side and, kneeling, talks with Susie quietly, saying "There are some words we don't use at the table. It isn't nice." "Doggie doo?" Susie responds and Miz Hunter replies, "Right. That's something we don't say at the table. It isn't polite to use words like that when we're eating." Susie nods and pokes at the food in front of her on the table. Miz Hunter moves to clean up, reassembling Susie's lunch, and the meal continues without further incident, other than the usual spilling of food and milk onto the tables, the toddlers, and the floor.

Latanya's mother, Paulette, comes into the room briefly. She is checking to see if Latanya has been sick this morning. Both Paulette and Latanya were up much of the previous night, and Paulette decided to come down during her own lunch period to check on Latanya. Miz Hunter assures her that Latanya has been fine and Paulette leaves.

As lunch continues, Miz Hunter and the student worker move the naptime cots into place while Arnette continues to assist the toddlers. The procedure for leaving the lunch tables is the same as after breakfast, except that after throwing their towels away, the toddlers head for their cots. Each toddler knows her/his cot by its placement in the room; a diagram above the stacked cots tells adults where to put each one, and every toddler's name is printed

on masking tape at one end of a cot. Each cot has a small blanket and Arnette and Miz Hunter cover the toddlers as they climb onto the cots and put their heads down. When the last of the toddlers finish lunch and take their places on cots, Arnette turns off the overhead lights and the room is in shadow, but isn't dark, because of the west-facing wall of uncurtained windows opposite the mirrored wall. Arnette and Miz Hunter clean up the meal area, and the student assistant sweeps the tile floor around the tables. A high school bell rings, but no one reacts to it except the high school student, who puts the broom back in its place in the kitchen and leaves the area for her next class, waving good-bye as she leaves the program.

The room is quiet and the staff members fix their own plates for lunch, Pam and Arnette going to the tables in the observation room to eat; from there, they can get into the nursery or the large room quickly if an infant or toddler awakens. Miz Hunter takes her lunch into the program office and begins using the telephone, calling the home of a student/parent who did not bring her child in or call this morning. Getting a "disconnected" recorded message, she finishes her lunch and tries to get an outside line again, to call the telephone number she has for the grandparent of the toddler who did not arrive today. After several minutes, an outside line is available, and the grandmother,

who works at night, is awakened by the telephone. She tells Miz Hunter that she has not seen her daughter or the baby since the previous morning and thinks her daughter may have left town with a boyfriend. The daughter has been living on her own as an emancipated minor for several months; her boyfriend is a Marine stationed in North Carolina. Miz Hunter asks the grandmother to contact the Day Care program if she hears from her daughter, and concludes the phone conversation. She then turns to record keeping, noting those present today in the attendance record she keeps on the computer, and writing a memo advising the members of the Day Care Program Advisory Board of the date and time of their next meeting.

Meanwhile, all the toddlers appear to be sleeping. An infant awakens in her crib and begins to cry, and Pam leaves her lunch to go pick up the baby and bring her back into the observation room, placing her in an infants seat atop a table. Arnette and Pam talk to the baby and she smiles in response; her eyes begin to close repeatedly and, in a few minutes, she is asleep. Finishing her lunch, Pam carries the sleeping baby back to her crib, then makes her notes on a clipboard of what each of the infants had for lunch and how much each of them slept during the morning, along with a brief description of the exercises she did with them on the comforter that morning. Miz Hunter appears in the doorway

and poses a question to both assistants; who do they think should represent the student/parents at the upcoming Advisory Board meeting? Pam suggests Laurel, a junior, saying "She talks to people real nice. I think she would talk in the meeting when some of the other mothers wouldn't -- they be too scared, like." The other two staff members agree with Pam that Laurel is a good choice, and Miz Hunter returns to the computer to add Laurel to the list of those receiving invitations to the meeting, then writes herself a reminder note to talk to Laurel.

Arnette gathers the cafeteria dishes from the staff members' lunches, adds them to what is already on the metal cart from the childrens' lunch (primarily the serving dishes), and takes the cart to the cafeteria, upstairs, pausing in the program office to get Miz Hunter's ring of keys, in order to operate the elevator in the hallway and ride up 3 floors to the school's main kitchen. While she is gone, Pam finishes loading the dishwasher with the dishes and silverware and baby bottles dirtied since that morning, and starts the dishwasher. A high school class-changing bell rings as Arnette returns from upstairs, but none of the sleeping toddlers seem to hear it. A minute after the bell, however, a school administrator's voice breaks in, suddenly and at high volume, over the school public address system. Several of the toddlers wake up simultaneously, crying or

screaming. All the staff members go immediately to the crying children, sitting or kneeling on the carpeting next to the cots, and talk quietly to the toddlers through the entire PA announcement, which has to do with calling classes to an assembly in the auditorium. By the end of the announcement, most of the toddlers are stirring, and one of the infants begins to cry. Pam goes into the nursery as LaTanya's eyes open. Miz Hunter holds Latanya's small hand, squeezes it and watches Latanya's eyes close as Pam walks back from the nursery, carrying a now softly crying Orchid, who within a few minutes goes back to sleep, her head tucked into Pam's neck.

Arnette checks her watch and goes into the program kitchen, getting out the popper, popcorn, plastic dishes and glasses, apple juice, and paper towels she plans to use for the toddler's afternoon snack. She doesn't read the instructions on the jar of popcorn, having made the same brand of popcorn in the same popper about once a week for the last 2 years. Pam returns to the nursery, puts Orchid back in her crib, and talks softly to Demetrius, who is standing up in his crib, pacifier in mouth, and eyes wide open, looking around the darkened nursery. He raises his arms and Pam picks him up, sits down in the rocker and rocks for a few minutes. Demetrius is still wide awake, and Pam puts him in one of the rolling feeding tables. He crows

excitedly and begins to push with his feet, rolling across the room in a tacking motion, heading generally for the gate across the door to the toddlers' room. There is stirring now in almost all the cribs. Pam turns on another soft counter light and begins checking the infants who are awake for wet diapers, talking to each of them as she reaches under their plastic pants to feel the disposable diapers underneath.

Keith's diaper is wet and Pam changes him, talking as she wipes off his bottom, disposes of the soiled diaper in a plastic-bag lined, lidded rubber container, puts lotion and powder on him, and tapes on a new diaper, all in swift, sure motions, never interrupting her conversation except to pause briefly, as if listening to his replies.

Did you have a good nap, Keith? Um, hmm. You look like you did. Um, hmm. Whew!!! You did somethin' in this diaper, didn't you? I see you grinnin' on that one. You think that's funny, don't you? Mmm, hmmm. Yes, I see you point. That's Mickey Mouse on the wall. Can you say Mickey? Mmmmm. Mickey. Um, hmm. You are getting so big, Keith; you're such a good, big boy. Mmm, hmmm. There you are, clean and dry."

Pam lifts Keith from the changing counter and places him atop a small comforter on the floor, in a sitting position, near the playpen. The comforter was made in one

of the PREPARE classes, and has buttons and button holes, snaps, a large plastic zipper, a heavy shoelace to tie, and pockets that each contain a soft, cloth toy. Next to him on the comforter, she puts two plastic Sesame Street figures, then continues checking the infants for wet diapers. Keith fingers the zipper and the buttons and pulls two of the cloth figures out of their pockets.

In the large room, Miz Hunter and Arnette have begun taking the toddlers who are awake into the bathroom. Latanya awakens as the first of the toddlers are being taken into the bathroom, gets up and walks into the bathroom by herself, rubbing her eyes. Miz Hunter meets her in the bathroom and Latanya puts her arms around Miz Hunter's legs, resting her cheek just under a knee, and hugging wordlessly. Miz Hunter leads her into one of the stalls and helps her lower her jeans. Feeling wet jeans and underwear, Miz Hunter asks Latanya to stay on the toilet while she gets her some dry clothes. Latanya nods and Miz Hunter walks from the bathroom to Latanya's cubby, picks up the corduroy pants and the tiny pink underpants folded on the cubby shelf, and goes back to the bathroom, where Latanya, naked from the waist down, is playing with the water faucet in one of the toddler-level bathroom sinks. Laughing, Miz Hunter turns off the water, carries Latanya out to a counter changing station, wipes, dries, and powders her, then puts on the

replacement underwear and pants. They talk throughout this process:

H: "Talk to me, Latanya in your nice, big voice. What is your name?"

L: "'Tanya."

H: "Latanya? That's right, that's your name, yes it is. I see that finger pointing at me. Do I get to eat that finger?"

(Both laugh.)

"Count with me to five, Latanya. One. . . "

L: "One. Three."

H: "One, two, three."

L: "One, two, three."

H: "Four."

L: "Four more."

(Both laugh.)

Miz Hunter lifts the newly-garbed Latanya to her feet on the counter, and Latanya hugs the teacher's neck fiercely as she is lowered to the floor amidst the cots, some still containing sleeping toddlers. Just as Latanya returns to her cot and closes her eyes, the program's main door opens and Paulette walks in, wearing her coat, carrying her purse, her bookbag, and her diaper bag, and ready to go pick up daughter Shantay at Head Start. She gets Latanya up from her cot and together they walk to the cubbies. Paulette

begins to put on her daughter's hat and coat, talking continuously: "You got on clean pants. This happen while you sleepin?" "I pee pee 'sleep," Latanya responds and Paulette smiles at Miz Hunter, who has just placed the soiled clothing in a large plastic bag with bibs, dish towels, and other program laundry.

One of the vocational programs on the same floor as Day Care is the Fabric Services Department, where students learn to work in the laundry, dry cleaning, and tailoring industries. They do the laundry for Day Care, restaurant management, auto mechanics, and other vocational programs twice a week; Paulette knows that by the end of the next day, the newly laundered clothing will be back in Latanya's cubby. Latanya's father was for a time enrolled in the Fabric Services program and Paulette still brings her dry cleaning there, as several of the high school teachers do, because the prices are so reasonable.

Paulette and Latanya leave for their first bus stop of the afternoon as the last of the toddlers are awakening from their naps. Miz Hunter, after all the toddlers have visited the bathroom and been seated at the tables or in high chairs for their snack, puts the cots back in a stack. The last toddler to leave the bathroom, Aria, 28 months, walks directly to a chair nearest an already seated and eating Roberto and says "Pop, pop" as Arnette sets a bowl of

popcorn and a glass of apple juice in front of her on the table.

Arnette and Miz Hunter circle the tables and high chairs, putting dropped paper towels back on the table, refilling juice glasses and popcorn bowls. Orlando, one of the high chair group, begins throwing popcorn and his bowl is quickly removed from his high chair. He howls in protest, and the table-seated toddlers all turn to him as Arnette says, "Orlando, when you throw your food, we think you don't want no more, so we takes it. Don't be throwin' food." She puts the bowl back in front of him; he grins and throws a few kernels into the air with both hands, to the chortling delight of the table-seated. Arnette removes his bowl again, takes the tray off his high chair, unstraps Orlando, and takes him across the room to one of the tables near the toy shelves. The other toddlers continue eating, and a brief conversation ensues at the table.

Susie: "I hate popcorn."

Nick: "I likes popcorn."

Arnette: "I do too. I love popcorn."

Aria: "Me too. Popcorn."

Susie: "Yuk."

Orlando: (from across the room) "Yuk!"

There is much laughter from the group as Miz Hunter begins to call them to the sink, one at a time, for a quick

clean-up, before they scatter to various parts of the large room. Nick and his twin, Nate, walk over to the gate, where Demetrius and Keith are standing and watching the toddlers. Nick touches Demetrius' cheek briefly and says "Baby." "Baby," Keith repeats, clutching the wooden gate with both hands and swaying slightly, careening into Demetrius. Both Keith and Demetrius lose their balance and plop to the floor bottoms first. The twins turn to the large, wooden trucks near the shelves of large blocks and begin rolling two trucks across the floor in tandem; the now-seated Keith and Demetrius watch Nate and Nick's every move for several minutes.

Aria pulls a toy MacDonalds restaurant off a low shelf and sits down with it, pulling from its interior a plastic car containing two Play Skool plastic figures of children, and rolling it around and around the MacDonalds, walking around the table as she guides the car close to the side of the toy, as if pausing at the drive-through window.

Arnette cleans up the eating area as Miz Hunter circulates through the room, beginning to pick toys up from the floor and from tables, and setting them back on the shelves. Noticing what Miz Hunter is doing, Susie gets down from the adult-size rocking chair where she has been turning the pages of a Golden book (The Little Engine That Could) and begins to pick up toys and put them back on the shelves.

Miz Hunter thanks her for helping and just-3 year old Brendon stops rolling a plastic airplane across the floor and also assists with the clean-up. A bell rings.

After School

As the student/parents begin to walk through the program's main entrance, coats on, diaper and book bags, purses and other paraphernalia over their shoulders, some of the toddlers crow, laugh, and lift arms to be picked up or to hug the legs of their parents. The twins' father comes into the room, the only male student/parent present today and the only parent not carrying a diaper or book bag. He lifts one son in each arm and walks back to the full-length mirror, talking to the twins as all 3 of them look into the mirror:

"Look at us, guys, we lookin' good or what? You sharp lookin' dudes look like dad, huh? Look at us, you know, lookin' too sharp! The ladies be, you know, noticin' us today!"

The twins are wearing navy-blue 2 piece nylon warm-up suits with white undershirts underneath; outfits identical to each other and almost identical to the black 2 piece nylon warm-up suit their father is wearing. Arnette puts a small black nylon, fur trimmed bomber jacket on one twin as their father stands and watches. Arnette pauses and looks at the

student/parent for a moment; when he remains motionless, she puts an identical bomber jacket on the other twin. The three leave, without comment, Nick waving over his shoulder to Arnette as she waves back.

Each of the student/parents signs out at the sheet on the table just inside the door, some before they go to their child, some after. Some of them don't say a word as they sign, go to a cubby, get the sweater, jacket, or coat hanging there and put garments on their toddler. Others talk continually to their child or children, from the moment they come through the door. Keith's mother, Gerri, talks with another student/parent in the large room, copying down a phone number before going in to the nursery and getting Keith ready to go home. She talks to Pam briefly in the nursery as she puts Keith's outerwear on; he watches her face as she dresses him, then picks him up, ready to leave. Pam brings up the subject of diaper rash and shows Gerri the lotion she put on Keith twice that day; Gerri responds: "I'll tell Mama."

By 3:25, all the student/parents and their children have left. The three staff members talk in the kitchen as Pam unloads the dishwasher and the other two put the clean dishes and silverware away. Arnette leaves just before 3:40, to catch the first of two buses home, and Pam and Miz Hunter walk out the door together moments later, Miz Hunter

turning off the overhead lights and checking the door behind them to make sure it is locked. Both take the elevator up to the main floor of the vocational building, and walk across the interior "bridge" to the older main building, crossing the building to the school's main office and checking their mailboxes before retracing their steps through the two buildings and going out to their cars through the vocational building exit, into the small parking area off the driveway.

At the bus stop across from the driveway, Gerri stands leaning against a building, holding Keith in one arm, and a diaper bag, book bag, and a pair of gym shoes over the other arm. She doesn't notice Miz Hunter's wave.

Notes

¹ The organization of this section generally follows the preceding 3 sections, but differs somewhat because those sections told the stories of a full day, from awakening to bedtime. This section details the activities in a typical day in the Day Care program attended by the infant and toddler children of the student/parents; therefore, it covers just the school-day portion of a typical day.

² A packet containing the Program rules and regulations and school and school system rules that impact upon the program,

along with names, home addresses and telephone numbers of the program staff members and descriptive material about the program is given to each student/parent when their child is enrolled in Day Care. Usually, the program director takes student/parents new to the program on a tour of the facility, then talks with them in the program office and gives them their packet of materials, going over some of the material together.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

Literacy researchers offer reminders that reading and writing are deeply imbedded in the social processes of everyday lives (Au & Mason, 1981; Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Heath, 1983; Taylor, 1983; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988; Ochs, 1988). The student/parents who were the primary consultants in this research used reading and writing in a variety of ways, for a range of purposes. They engaged in some kinds of reading and writing activities in their high school activities and, under most circumstances, in other kinds of reading and writing in their work and home lives. Their children saw them and other members of their families engaged in reading and writing tasks. The student/parents' adult family members -- their parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, older siblings and others -- all engaged in some reading and writing tasks, at home and elsewhere. The student/parents' children saw their parents and other members of their families engaged in reading and writing

tasks. Those children, observed in the course of this research in their day care program and at home, observed adults and other children involved in reading and writing tasks and were experimenting with reading and writing-related tasks themselves. This chapter explores the specific kinds of reading and writing tasks observed in the course of the research and attempts to compare them and the contexts in which they occurred, in high school classrooms, in day care, and at home.

The chapter begins with a description of findings, that is, of the kinds of reading and writing activities observed in day care, in high school, and at home, using the framework of types of reading and writing originated by Heath (1983) and adapted by Taylor (1983) and Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines (1988). Within this framework, participant observation fieldnotes, structured observations (Pitman, et. al., 1989), photographs, interviews, inventories of print materials, artifacts, and other data contributed to the descriptions of the kinds of reading and writing in all of the research sites.

In the discussion throughout this chapter, the student/parents are divided into three groups, a data-driven decision based on patterns of strong similarities within groups and clear differences between and among groups.

3 Groups of Student/Parents

Group 1: Female student parents who live independently, with one or more children. Four of the student/parents are in this group. They were described in Chapter IV's Composite Profile # 1.

Group 2: Female student parents who live in extended family situations, with one or more children, one or more of their own parents, and other family members. Seven of the student/parents are in this group. They were described in Chapter IV's Composite Profile # 2.

Group 3: Male student parents who live in extended family situations. Three of the student/parents are in this group. They were described in Chapter IV's Composite Profile # 3.

After the explication of findings, the chapter continues with a brief discussion of additional work that remains to be done with the data collected for this research, then concludes with suggestions for extensions of this research.

Readers should note that all the specific kinds of reading and writing explicated and discussed in this chapter are embedded in the Chapter IV Composite Profiles. In this chapter, types of reading and writing activities, as defined by literacy researchers, are pulled out of their full context and discussed individually. Presented in this way,

I believe that they are deceptive, that the item-by-item descriptions disguise the relatively small role reading and writing play in the full context of the student/parents' and their parents' lives. The data collected, in the form of participant-observation field notes, artifacts, structured observations, pictures, interviews, etc. make it clear to me that speaking and listening, not reading and writing, are the dominant communication skills utilized in both the home and school lives of the student/parents.

The discussion that immediately follows, of reading and writing in the home and school lives of the student/parents, the home lives of their parents, and the home and day care lives of the toddlers, are structured by Heath's (1983) categories, modified by Taylor (1983) and by Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines (1988) for types and uses of reading (presented first) and then of writing. Just as Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines modified the Heath categories, adding some kinds of reading and writing and deleting others, I have done the same (based on the data collected), further modifying the categories by adding specific kinds of reading and writing tasks that were repeatedly observed in my data collection, and noting the absence of some of the specific kinds of reading and writing tasks observed by the aforementioned literacy researchers.

Findings Related to Heath's Categories for Reading

1. Instrumental (reading to gain information for the practical needs of daily life)

All the student/parents were observed doing this kind of reading during the course of ordinary school days. They read room numbers above classroom and office doors; they read the names of counselors, assistant principals, and others on office doors. They read slips telling them that books they had checked out of the library were overdue, and they read price lists and bills for items ranging from school shirts and hats to graduation announcements, prom tickets, cap and gown sizes, and styles and prices of class rings, tassels, and other items.

Other opportunities for instrumental reading were short-circuited by school procedures. For example, during the morning announcements on the public address system, the high school's lunch menu, schedule of meetings, meets, and games, and other information were read aloud to the students, rather than posted or distributed on paper. In the student store, no prices were marked on any of the large number of items on sale - one asked a sales person (a vocational program student) in order to find out the prices of items in display cases ranging from candy and soft drinks to pencils, pens and notebooks, to caps and sweatshirts.

Inside the high school, there were seven pay telephones in the halls for the use of students; they were in almost constant use. Thus, the student/parents, like the other students, read the telephone buttons in order to make calls from the school. The numbers on their combination locks were also read three to five times per day, as the students put items into and took other items out of their lockers. Several of the students took physical education classes and thus negotiated another combination lock twice each day.

All of the student/parents were also eligible for the federally financed free lunch and breakfast program, for which they had to read their ticket booklet, finding the correctly dated ticket and giving it to the cafeteria cashier. Most students either carried this ticket booklet in their book or athletic bags, or kept it in their lockers.

As one might expect, the student/parents of Group 1 did far more instrumental reading in their home lives than did the student/parents in the other two groups. All four of the Group 1 student/parents had a particular place (a kitchen drawer, an envelope kept in a certain location, a stack on a bedside table) for keeping grocery and other coupons. The Group 1 student/parents all saved and used grocery, discount store, and drugstore coupons, primarily for disposable diapers, cereals, breakfast meats, feminine hygiene products, and paper products such as toilet paper

and paper towels. Some of the coupons were cut from advertising sections of the city's Sunday paper, some were picked up at school from a box of coupons kept by the PREPARE teachers, some came in envelopes of coupons sent in mass mailings, and other coupons came from relatives, friends, and teachers. Two of the Group 1 student/parents had relatives who gave or sent them coupons by mail, usually for disposable diapers or for cereal. Group 1 student/parents did far more grocery and other shopping than those in either of the other groups, necessitating the reading of brand names, prices, and other information while in the stores. Since the Group 1 student/parents were usually accompanied by their children on trips to the grocery, they were often attempting to read labels and compare prices of items while watching their infant or toddler(s) seated in the grocery cart and negotiating the cart up and down the aisles of the store. Three of the four explained that they read the brand names or logos on grocery items and very little else. Paulette's explanation of her grocery shopping routines was typical of the others who live independently: "With two of them ridin' in the cart shoutin' "Gimme that, Mama!" and "Get some a dese, Mama!" I just try to get through the store the bestest I can. I read the prices on the shelf and I read the labels and I usually pick up same brands mostly every time. Same cereals, same diapers, same

kinda milk, mayonnaise, pop - not much to read if you be buyin' the same things all time." Group 1 parents were all eligible for food stamps, and trips to the grocery store involved additional instrumental reading, in the form of figuring out what items the stamps could be used for and what denominations of food stamps should be used at the cash register.

Group 2 student/parents did far less grocery shopping than those in Group 1, were usually not encumbered with an infant or toddler while shopping, and, when they did shop, were usually in the company of an adult family member or a sibling. Unlike the members of Group 1, the student/parents in this group were not responsible for managing and using food stamps; if food stamps were used in their households (5 of the 7), their mothers were the ones who decided when and for what grocery items the stamps would be used. Also in contrast to the Group 1 mothers, those in Group 2 regularly saved and used coupons for fast food purchases, usually for themselves, but sometimes for their children. The Group 3 members (the fathers) did almost no shopping other than for their own clothing and personal grooming needs. None of them used coupons except for fast food purchases, and food stamps in their families were managed by their mothers or grandmothers.

In all of the families observed, there was some reading

of recipes, a type of reading I have added to Heath's categories. Group 1 mothers read recipes in cookbooks, on recipe cards they or their mothers had written, and on food packages. Group 2 and 3 family members also read recipes, but in most cases it was the grandmother and not the student/parent who read and interpreted recipes. Much of this recipe reading was done in the presence of toddlers, who were usually playing on the kitchen floor or seated on or carried by mothers or grandmothers.

Price tags were read by the members of all three groups. Group 1 student/parents did the most reading of price tags, not unexpectedly, since they purchased clothing, shoes, school supplies, and other items for themselves and their children. Price tags were read by the Group 2 mothers, but they were usually for personal items, since clothing and other items for their children were often made by other family members. Group 3 members read price tags, almost exclusively for clothing and other personal items; only under pressure did they purchase items for their girlfriends or their children and in most instances, they handed their girlfriends cash for items such as diapers, rather than doing the purchasing (and the reading of price tags) themselves.

Instrumental reading connected to transportation was done most often by the members of Groups 1 and 3. Group 1

student/parents, on a daily basis, read bus schedules, route labels on the fronts and sides of the buses, bus stop signs, and printed bus schedules. Group 3 student/parents also did this kind of instrumental reading, and additionally negotiated bus trips to school-sponsored athletic events, and to get to the downtown area and home again, after school and on weekends. Student/parents in Groups 1 and 2 also read WALK - DON'T WALK street crossing signs several times each day; the Group 1 mothers were more likely to read them aloud, to their child(ren). The Group 3 student/parents rarely walked or rode buses with their children and were also more likely than those in the other groups to take trips around the city to visit friends, which necessitated reading routes and time-tables for other busses and reading street signs in neighborhoods other than those they lived and went to school in.

All the student/parents who lived at home in extended families (Groups 2 and 3) interacted with adults and with siblings who were engaged in Instrumental reading tasks. They saw adult family members reading and paying bills, reading price tags and labels on items ranging from clothing to lawn mowers to aluminum siding, reading their home telephone dials or buttons in order to make calls, reading recipes in cookbooks, on food packages, and handwritten on pieces of paper or index cards, and reading the labels on

clothing they were sorting into washers and dryers, either at home or at the laundromat. Most of the time, the adults they saw doing this kind of reading were women. Group 1 student/parents were not around others who performed these kinds of instrumental reading tasks as often as the student/parents in the other two groups, but they were responsible for more of this kind of reading themselves. For example, three of the four had rental/purchase agreements for television sets, stereos, major appliances, and/or furniture to read, and all four had housing assistance forms to fill out in order to show their initial and continuing qualifications for living in subsidized housing projects.

The Group 1 parents were also responsible for their own and their child(ren)'s health care and they read and responded to the forms required for each of their clinic visits. The Group 1 parents also washed and ironed their own and their children's clothing, sometimes necessitating reading of the clothing labels, the detergent, fabric softener, and bleach boxes and bottles, and the washer and dryer instructions. Most of the Group 2 student parents had their laundry done for them and for their children by adult female household members (their mother, grandmother, or aunt), or participated only minimally in this task, assisting their mothers or other adults.

Almost all reading related to purchases was done during

the first half of each month, when the student/parents and others in their families had food stamps and cash. During the latter portion of the month, there were few trips to the grocery and almost no trips to other kinds of stores.

Correspondingly, it was during the last week of the month that the student/parents in Group 3 were most often contacted by the mothers of their children and asked to help out financially, until the first of the following month.

The infant and toddler children of the student/parents witnessed instrumental reading by their parents and other adults with whom they lived. They were often in the laps of adults who were dialing telephone numbers, reading bills or price tags, or cutting out coupons. On other occasions, they were in the laps of, holding the hand of, playing on the floor near, or seated next to their parent or another adult as price tags, labels, or bus schedules were read, or as clinic and other forms were read and filled out. In the day care center, the toddlers witnessed adult staff members reading grocery bills, labels on boxes and cans of food and formula, recipes, directions and other information on a computer screen, (in order to access, for example, a list of those currently enrolled, or the telephone number of a parent or grandparent, or the names and addresses of those serving on the day care advisory board). They saw staff members use the telephone in the program office. They saw

the program manager receive checks from individuals and groups making contributions to the program.

2. Social Interactional (reading to gain information pertinent to social relationships or planned activities)

Heath includes greeting cards, church newsletters, telephone messages, and books shared with preschoolers in this classification of reading tasks. Only in the PREPARE classes was this type of reading a part of the officially-sanctioned school day. In PREPARE, the student/parents picked out books to read to preschoolers and, as a part of class groups, visited the day care center to read to toddlers the books they had chosen and practiced reading to one another in class. Social interactional reading was almost nonexistent in other classes taken by the student/parents. Rather, it was at home that this kind of reading was most evident.

Greeting cards and telephone messages were the primary forms of social interactional reading done at home by students in all three groups. Since the student/parents in Group 1 lived independently with their children, and none of them had telephone answering machines, they rarely had telephone messages to read or to write at home. The students in Groups 2 and 3 however, in the course of everyday living, read one or more telephone messages, for

themselves and other family members, on a daily basis. Four of the Group 2 and 3 families had the same location for telephone and other messages for family members -- the front of the refrigerator. Two other Group 2 families had regular places for messages; one used a wipe-off message board on the wall next to the kitchen telephone, and another family wrote messages with pencils on the white enamel surface of the kitchen table. Two student parents, one in Group 2 and the other in Group 3, spent much of their time at a grandparent's home. Both of them were used to receiving written telephone messages at their grandparent's and in their mother's homes.

Greeting cards were the form of social interactional reading most visible in the homes of the Group 1 students. Relatives and friends did not expect presents on special occasions, but did display and verbally express their disappointment if no card was received, no matter how bad the current financial situation. In short, greeting cards were socially mandated in the home lives of these student/parents. Birthday, holiday, graduation, sympathy, friendship, and other cards were sent and received, and those received were displayed for weeks and sometimes months, on bulletin boards in kitchens and bedrooms, atop television sets, tables, and other pieces of furniture in living and family rooms, and on mantles and in glass-front

cabinets in living and dining rooms. Notes were often written inside these cards, ranging in length from two or three words to several paragraphs. Greeting cards were usually addressed to and opened by specific individuals. In Group 1 families, the student/parents opened all mail themselves, including greeting cards, then read the cards addressed to children aloud to them, usually not allowing them to take the card away that day, but instead displaying the card for weeks or even months.

In the homes of the Group 2 and 3 student/parents, in addition to the sending, receiving, and display of greeting cards, church, school, and club newsletters were received and read by grandparents and other adults. Church newsletters, containing the dates and times of upcoming activities at the church and in the church community were read regularly by the grandmothers and other adult women in the Group 2 households. No adult male was ever observed reading these newsletters. Some of the women kept their newsletters, in their living or bedrooms, for a year or longer; others threw them away after reading them. Two marked dates from the newsletters on household calendars before throwing the newsletters away. No church newsletters were received in any of the Group 1 households.

Elementary school newsletters and announcements were received (by mail or hand carried by children) in almost all

of the Group 2 and Group 3 households. Many were discovered by parents in children's pockets or backpacks days or weeks after they had been given to the children at school. Those found were usually read by someone at home (usually an adult female) before being thrown away or placed on kitchen bulletin boards or refrigerators. In the two homes where church newsletter dates were recorded on household calendars, the same procedures were followed for school-related dates such as rummage sales, festivals, parent-group meetings, date set aside for parent-teacher conferences, and school holidays. No adult males were ever observed reading school newsletters or referring to household calendars.

Club newsletters, such as those from women's church-sponsored clubs, masonic organizations, and social clubs, were received in the mail by both adult men and women in the Group 2 and 3 households observed. These tended to be read and then thrown away by men soon after they came into the house or apartment, or placed next to men's favorite chairs in living or family rooms, and thrown away weeks or months later by adult women.

Toddlers in all of the families observed were well-aware of the greeting cards displayed in their homes and would often pick them up and show them to visitors, or would sit down and pretend to read the greeting card, pointing to

the printed and hand-written words as they repeated what they heard others say aloud as they looked at the cards. Some of the toddlers' birthday, Christmas, and other cards were displayed in their bedrooms and the toddlers would play with the cards, putting them inside the storage compartment of their Big Wheel tricycles, "reading" them aloud to themselves or others, or scribbling on the cards with pencil or crayon.

The toddlers in Group 1 homes were read to by their mothers on a regular basis. Some of the books the student/parents read aloud had been their own childhood books, others were purchased at the dime store or grocery, others were Christmas or birthday gifts to the toddlers from the day care program. Two of the Group 1 student/parents tried to read one or more children's books aloud to their child(ren) each evening at bedtime. Another of the student/parents in this group read to her child on the bus on the way to and from school, from preschool books she checked out of the downtown public library once a month. She was the only student/parent who made use of the children's section of the library on a regular basis.

In day care, the toddlers did not see many of the greeting cards all of them were used to seeing at home. Instead, announcements and greetings were usually displayed on computer-printed banners and posters near the doorway of

the program's space. Toddlers regularly heard these read aloud and discussed by the day care staff members, the student/parents, and by visitors to the program.

The day care staff members received greeting cards in the mail, both personal and job-related. They usually displayed these on their desks in the program office. They also received, on a regular basis, newsletters from civic and community organizations, such as the Community Chest. These were usually read by the program director and were sometimes read by the other staff members, then filed or thrown away. The toddlers usually did not witness this reading, because mail was picked up from the school office and read by the staff members during the toddlers' nap time. It was not unusual, though, for a child to wake up during nap time and be comforted by a staff member who still had in one hand the greeting card, newsletter, or announcement she had been reading when the crying began.

All the toddlers observed (and several of the older infants) had extensive experience in hearing story books read aloud, to them individually and to small and large groups during the regular daily schedule in day care. The staff members in day care read to the toddlers (as a group) on a daily basis, and this reading was supplemented by adults who volunteered time in the program to read to individual and/or pairs of toddlers, and by PREPARE

students, female and male, who came into the program to read to individual toddlers or infants and to small groups of toddlers.

In the day care center, cloth, paper, and hard bound children's books were displayed on a low, wooden set of shelves and regularly carried around the room by the toddlers, several of whom would pretend to read them, turning the pages, pointing to words and pictures as they read aloud or to themselves. Additional books were kept in a storage room and frequently rotated with those on the display rack.

Three of the toddlers were never read to at home in any of the interactions observed during this research; all of the others who were old enough to talk were read to at home on a fairly regular basis. No child under one year was ever read to during any of the home observations in this research. In Group 1 families, it was the student/parent who did almost all the reading aloud at home, either from library books, books given to the toddlers in the day care program, or books purchased by the student/parents. In Group 2 families, it was most often a grandmother rather than a student/parent who did the reading aloud to one or more children. One of the grandfathers read aloud regularly, to his grandchild and to his two youngest children, usually at bedtime. One of the grandfathers in

Group 2 could not read, but pretended to read to his toddler granddaughter, turning the pages, pointing to pictures and words, and making up stories as he went along. In Group 3, none of the three male student/parents were ever observed reading to their children or any other children, at home or anywhere else. On two occasions during observations, a toddler's mother asked the father to read a story. Both fathers declined, one commenting that reading was "girls stuff." He gave the same answer months later, when asked to read a story during a day care party.

In the Group 2 families, infants and toddlers were frequently in the presence of adults who were doing social interactional reading. Sitting in high chairs next to adults reading at a table, sitting on the laps of adults reading newsletters or cards, sitting next to adults on buses as they read newsletters, infants and toddlers witnessed this kind of reading by others on a regular basis. Not surprisingly, they saw more adults doing this and every other kind of writing than did the toddlers in Group 1, who usually had only 1 adult in their daily home lives.

3. News-related (reading to gain information about distant events or 3rd parties, or local, state, and national events)

Heath (1983) and Taylor (1983) include in this category the reading of newspaper items, news magazines, political

literature, union newsletters, missing children notices on milk cartons, and advertising flyers.

No Group 1 families had home delivery of a newspaper, nor did they purchase a newspaper regularly. Three of the Group 2 families and one Group 3 family received daily newspapers; two received the city's morning daily and the third subscribed to the afternoon daily; all three of those Group 2 families and two others often purchased the city's weekly African American newspaper in neighborhood stores (except during the last week of the month), but did not subscribe. No news magazines were received or read by anyone in any of the families observed, with the exception of one Group 2 grandmother who reported reading both Time and Newsweek at break time during her work at a nursing home.

At school, the student/parents used both newspapers and news magazines in the preparation of research papers and speeches, but this activity occurred only sporadically, no more than three times for an individual student/parent in the full school year of observations. Brief articles from newspapers and news magazines were occasionally read aloud in class, always by social studies teachers. Three of the student/parents were regular visitors to the school library, but none of them chose newspapers or news magazines for their recreational reading.

Political literature was almost nonexistent in the homes of Group 1 students; what was received in mailboxes was almost always discarded immediately. Only one of the Group 1 students was old enough to vote, and she was not registered, though voter registration was available for all eligible students in her high school's main office. Group 2 and 3 students were similarly uninvolved with political literature, though a male student/parent had a part time job in November, 1988, earning the minimum wage to deliver political literature for a local candidate door-to-door in his own neighborhood. Adults in the Group 2 and 3 homes read political literature received in the mail and handed to them at work, in grocery and other stores, and on the street. Men and women read political literature at home, and usually discarded it that same day. Sample ballots for primary and general elections, distributed by the local Democratic party, were kept around Group 2 and 3 homes longer than any other forms of political literature observed, sometimes put on bulletin boards or refrigerator doors until election day. No Group 2 student/parents and only one Group 3 student/parent were registered to vote, though 5 were of voting age.

In the Group 2 families, three grandparents (two male, one female) belonged to labor unions and received and read mail from their unions, mail that was usually in the form of

a newsletter or an announcement. Most of the union mail was read and thrown away the day it was received. In several Group 2 and 3 homes, there was bitterness against local unions for not hiring African Americans; mail from unions in support of particular candidates, or mail from candidates pointing out union support, were thrown away in these homes.

Notices of missing children, appearing on milk and juice cartons, and on the back sides of advertising flyers, were read by student/parents in Group 1 on a regular basis and were rarely read by Group 2 or 3 student/parents, whose mothers were much more likely to read and discuss with others such news-related information. Other kinds of advertising, often for carpet cleaning, do-it-yourself books, or insurance, were read by most of the female adults in the Group 2 and 3 families. Only 1 of the male adults in Group 2 and 3 families reported and was observed reading such mail regularly. Many adults took such advertising directly from the mail box to the trash can. One Group 2 great-grandmother hoarded this kind of mail, which she retrieved almost daily from the kitchen wastebasket and kept in stacks under her bed.

For four weeks, during the spring of 1989, I kept track of the advertising mail received by all of the observed families; I also kept a record of the advertising mail I received during that same period. None of the families

received more than one third the number of mailings I did. When I asked about this disparity at the post office that served 8 of the 14 families, the response was that zip codes determine advertising or "junk" mail amounts, that some zip codes are targeted for advertising by both local and national companies and others are almost ignored.

News-related reading was not something any of the toddlers saw a lot of at home. In the day care setting, this was not a dominant form of reading, though day care staff members did read missing children notices on milk and other cartons and comment on them to one another and to other adults, in the presence of the toddlers. During nap time, staff members often read daily newspapers, but rarely had news magazines in sight of the children.

4. Recreational (reading during leisure time or in planning for recreational activities)

Heath and Taylor include in this category the comic and sports sections of newspapers, sports magazines, novels, movie ads, party invitations, ball game line-up cards, and bedtime stories. Based on the data collected in this research, I have had to add several specific types of reading not discussed by Heath or Taylor to the recreational category. I've moved bedtime stories from this category to the second one discussed, social interactional reading. To

this recreational category, I have added the reading of notes passed or delivered between and among students, usually at school, but sometimes on the bus or at home. I have also added reading related to recorded music -- that is, the reading of song titles and artists and liner notes found on album covers, cassette tape boxes, and CD labels. Perhaps because Heath and Taylor's categories were created from the observation of home settings, another of the kinds of reading I repeatedly observed at school had to be added to recreational reading, reading connected to athletic team participation. Finally, I have added to this category the reading of tabloids devoted to stories about movie and television actors and the reading of shirts.

At school, some recreational reading is done in the library during class, study hall, or lunch time by one of the Group 1 parents, three of the Group 2 student/parents and all of the Group 3 student parents. Newspaper sports sections are the major type of reading within this category, closely followed by periodicals like Sports Illustrated and Sporting News. The young men of Group 3 and one of the young women in Group 2 report reading every issue of Sports Illustrated, sometimes in the school library and sometimes at the barber shop. The same student/parents report reading newspaper sports sections regularly; all were observed more than once reading this kind of material. Two of them had a

math teacher who posted the morning paper's sports section on his homeroom bulletin board each day; they read his copy each morning either before school or during homeroom.

However, the major form of recreational reading at school is the reading of student-written notes. These notes, ranging in length from a few words to several pages are almost always hand written on lined school paper, folded, and passed from person to person during class, handed from person to person between classes, or slipped into purses, pockets, book bags or lockers during the school day. These notes are usually read more than once by female recipients in both Group 1 and Group 2. Sometimes, they are kept by the recipient and reread several times over a period of days or even weeks. Most of the notes I was shown or discovered on the floor and in wastebaskets were from one female student to another. The young men of Group 3 received hand-written notes in school, almost always from young women. One of the young men received 5 notes in the course of one spring school day, each from a different young woman, none of them from either of the mothers of the two children he acknowledges having fathered.

Related to notes is the regular circulation of announcements of parties. These are usually hand written on a sheet of lined school paper, then reproduced on a Xerox machine and handed out to friends at school. They typically

give the date, address, and starting time of weekend parties in the homes of students, most of which require a fifty cent or one dollar admission charge. These party announcements are read and immediately discarded or thrown into the bottom of a locker by the young men, read and often kept for a few days or for longer periods by the young women.

Paperback novels, purchased new and used or borrowed from friends, are a major form of school reading for the young women of Group 2 and by one young woman in Group 1. Almost exclusively romances, these paperbacks are placed inside or underneath textbooks and read during class. They are also read on the bus and at bus stops, and they are read during lunch and assemblies. Paperback books read by the young men at school are usually sports-related and are passed from one student to another. None of the Group 3 young men reported buying such books, though two of the three were observed reading them at school, having them inside their lockers, and carrying them inside gym bags. At school, there is also recreational reading in the form of cassette tape jackets and labels. All the student/parents in Group 3 and four in Group 2 carry cassette radio/tape players with headphones to school daily, in violation of a school rule. They are usually kept inside book bags or purses, and brought out when the owner thinks no one will bother them. Tapes are passed from student to student

throughout the school day; during class some are exchanged, but most are traded or purchased near lockers or in the lunchrooms or gyms. Student/parents read song titles and artists names; occasionally, (particularly with a brand new release) they read all the information printed on the tape case.

Other recreational reading in the school setting was observed most often in the Group 3 student parents - the reading of material connected to athletic participation. The young men in Group 3 were all involved in school athletic teams, ranging from football to cross-country running, and all of them were responsible for reading plays, game plans, team rules, game and practice schedules. This reading was usually done at school, in the locker room, in classrooms, and in gymnasiums, but some of it -- football plays, for example, consisting of Xs, Os, arrows and written descriptions -- was taken home and read or reread there. Prior to becoming parents, one of the Group 1 young women and three of those in Group 2 had also actively participated in school and neighborhood center sports programs; all four of them stopped participating in athletics after becoming parents, though one participated in school track-team activities up until three weeks before the birth of her son.

T-shirt reading was a part of almost every school day. From the logos or names of professional sports teams to

messages such as "SHIT HAPPENS" and "If At First You Don't Succeed. . . Offer Her Money," students read and commented upon one another's t-shirts regularly. T-shirts were censored by school administrators, who would take one of two actions when they thought the wording on a shirt or cap was obscene: (1) ask the student to turn the shirt inside-out; or (2) send the student home to change clothes. During home observations, including early morning visits when the student/parents were leaving the house, no members of their families ever objected to or commented upon the messages the shirts and caps of their children contained.

In all fourteen homes, the primary form of recreational reading was television program guides. TV Guide was occasionally purchased by adults in two of the Group 2 families during the first part of a month, but in every home, the TV section of one of the city's two daily papers was always visible on or near the TV set. Even in families where no newspaper was visible during the week, one or both of the 2 weekend TV sections was regularly available. This program guide was usually consulted by adults; the student/parents and their siblings watched the same shows each day or each week, and rarely consulted the TV sections before turning to the channel they wanted to watch.

There usually were no sports magazines or newspaper sports sections in any of the student/parents homes, and,

unlike school, there was very little sending and receiving of notes. Notes written at home were usually instrumental rather than recreational reading, and were in the form of telephone messages or were the kinds of notes that parents leave children, with reminders or directions for heating a casserole or for putting the dog in or out at a specified time. Two of the Group 2 fathers reported reading sports magazines at work, but a sports magazine was seen only twice, in one home, during a six month period of observations in 14 households. Invitations read at home by adults were usually to weddings or showers; most such invitations were received by telephone, however. All invitations received during my observations were addressed to and read by women. Men received invitations to bachelor parties, golf outings at public courses, and gatherings for cards or bowling, but these invitations were delivered in person or on the telephone.

Record album jackets and the cases of cassette tapes and CDs were read by adults in all of the Group 2 and Group 3 homes. Men and women read the labels of records, tapes, or CDs as they choose something to put on the stereo. This was the only kind of recreational reading that all the adults and all the student/parents did at home on a regular basis during my observations. However, the adults usually read this kind of material in their living rooms, while the

student/parents most often were in their bedrooms when they were choosing music to play at home or to take with them when they left home.

The comic sections of newspapers were read at home by a few of the parents in the Group 2 and 3 families. None of the student/parents reported or were observed reading newspaper comics, though one of the Group 2 student/parents and one of the Group 3 student parents did read comic books on a regular basis at home, usually comic books belonging to younger siblings. Comic books were the major form of recreational reading for younger, male siblings in both Groups 2 and 3.

The reading of movie ads was never observed in any of the homes, though one of the student/parents in Group 3 regularly called a taped information line to get the starting times of movies at a downtown theatre. During the time this research was conducted, only two movie theatres were within a two-bus ride for any of the student/parents. Rather than attend movies at a theatre (and pay the \$5 and higher ticket charges), most of the student/parents saw movies via VCRs, in their parents' or other relatives' homes, or in the homes of friends or neighbors. Two of the Group 3 young men regularly visited video rental stores, doing some reading of the video-tape boxes, but usually reading just the titles of the movies; in the Group 2

households, it was usually a member of the grandparents' generation who did the reading connected with choosing video tapes.

No adult was ever observed reading a novel, though two mothers of students in Group 2 had novels in their bedrooms and mentioned in interviews a liking for novels, one mentioning romance novels, the other mentioning mysteries, specifically the books of Stephen King. Romances and mysteries were read at home sporadically by three of the student/parents in Group 2 and by two student/parents in Group 1. Both of those Group 1 parents had small collections of paperbacks in their bedrooms. Again, when the consultants were asked about their recreational reading in interviews, Stephen King was the only author specifically mentioned.

The reading of tabloids featuring stories about movie and TV stars was a pervasive form of recreational reading by the student/parents in Groups 1 and 2, and by the Group 2 grandmothers, great aunts, and other adult women. At least one person in every one of the households observed was a regular viewer of one or more soap operas, and the majority of the soap opera fans read stories in the tabloids about their favorite stars. These tabloids were purchased by the student/parents and their mothers at the grocery or were read in beauty shops and in work places; those purchased

were passed to and from friends and neighbors.

The children of the student/parents saw their parents and others in their homes doing recreational reading on a daily basis, and sometimes imitated these behaviors. Adults consulted the TV program guides in their presence, read shower, birthday, and wedding invitations aloud, commented on scores and other sports-related information they read, and brought home line-up descriptions and other information from sports' events they attended. The toddlers saw adults and older children reading record, tape and CD labels, and would frequently pick up a record album or tape box and pretend to read song titles aloud. They saw their parents reading notes, at home and on buses, and several of them saw their mothers reading novels, also at home, on buses, and at bus stops.

All the toddlers saw and heard adults reading and discussing tabloid stories about soap opera and movie stars. The toddlers in Group 2 families accompanied adults on trips to pick out video tapes for rental. Toddlers in Group 1 and 2 families sat next to their mothers or on their mothers' laps or played very nearby as their mothers discussed books they were reading, television shows they had watched or were planning to watch, the private and TV lives of soap opera stars, and tapes they had read about and purchased, or were planning to purchase. Toddlers in Group 2 families were in

the presence of their grandmothers, great-aunts, great-grandmothers and other adults who discussed or were engaged in similar recreational reading.

In day care, the toddlers saw adults reading paperback novels, nonfiction (often work-related reading -- books on children's art projects, child development, etc.), and magazines such as Teacher. Each day, usually more than once, they watched adults read record labels, choosing records to play during free and organized play. They heard adults discussing books they were reading and television shows they had read or heard about and were planning to watch, or video tapes they had rented or were planning to rent, or movies they had seen or were planning to see. Both instructional assistants in day care were soap opera fans, and they would discuss, in the toddlers' presence, the "stories" and related print information they had read or heard about. At times, the toddlers would join in these conversations, as when three-year-old Susie interrupted the instructional assistants' discussion one morning during free play time to say "My mama think he mean. My mama not gonna watch dat show no more 'cause he too mean to womens." On other occasions, the toddlers worked the names of soap opera characters into their own imaginative play, as when Brendon, speaking into a plastic toy telephone right after arrival in day care one morning, said "That Erica, she no good," and

his mother, hearing him, said with surprise: "He hear me say that on the phone last night to my friend!"

5. Confirmational (reading to check facts or confirm beliefs, to gain support for attitudes or beliefs already held)

Heath and Taylor include in this category archival material (such as wills, income tax forms, passports, and birth certificates), the Bible, appliance warranties, loan notes, brochures on schools or colleges, and children's letters and drawings. I have added immunization records to this category, because, along with birth certificates, the student/parents have to produce up-to-date immunization records in order to have their children enrolled in the day care program.

In the school lives of the student/parents this form of reading did not exist in any of the classes observed during the 1988-89 school year, except in the form of college and technical school literature, available in counselors' offices, in some classrooms, and at special college or career programs. Three student/parents were observed reading this material, one a Group 1 mother reading a brochure from a court-reporter training program and the other two Group 3 fathers who were reading recruiting materials from the Marine Corps.

At home, there were marked differences in the existence of confirmational reading material. Information like birth certificates, copies of past income-tax forms, school report cards, and baby's immunization records were kept in an envelope, box, or drawer by adult women in the homes of the Group 2 and 3 student/parents. In no instance was this type of reading in the possession of a student/parent. In the homes of the Group 1 student/parents, such material was kept in a dresser or coffee table drawer by all of the young women; each had her own birth certificate, her rental/lease agreement, and her child(ren)'s birth certificate(s) and immunization records. Two also had appliance warranties and furniture and/or appliance rental/lease agreements in this same storage area. The same two kept their last year's income tax forms in the same storage place, and one of them had all of her own report cards, from kindergarten through high school, in a large envelope. All of the Group 1 mothers had brochures from colleges and technical schools at home; two of the Group 2 mothers had similar information in their rooms, one in a desk drawer and the other on top of her dresser. One of the Group 3 fathers had Marine Corps and Army brochures at home, and was observed reading this material more than once, in his bedroom.

Children's drawings were displayed in all of the homes of the Group 1 student/parents. All had children's art

work, from the day care center, displayed on their refrigerator and on the walls of their apartments. In one of the Group 1 apartments, an entire wall of a three-year-old's bedroom was covered, floor to ceiling, with her art work from two years of participation in the day care center: finger paintings; water colors; macaroni art and necklaces; pages from coloring books; geometric figures colored, cut out, and labeled with their names, in print (CIRCLE, SQUARE, TRIANGLE...); holiday decorations (an orange construction paper pumpkin, a paper Santa Claus, a mobile of candy canes, a paper and cotton-ball rabbit, a heart, a paper Christmas tree ornament, a paper Easter egg), and others. In homes where the toddlers were three or four, samples of children's writing were displayed on refrigerators and walls, typically letters printed repeatedly, or first names printed, or numbers from one to nine. One piece of children's art was displayed in the bedroom of a Group 3 student/parent; it was given to him by his two-year-old daughter, who had made it in day care. In Group 1 and 2 homes, this art work was "read" by the toddlers in the sense that they led visitors to see and comment on it, they pointed to and attempted to explain things in their art, and they pointed to and "read" their names printed in the corners of their day care produced art. In Group 1 homes, it was the student/parents who praised and otherwise commented on the toddlers' art; in

Group 2 homes it was more often the grandmother or another member of her generation who consistently commented on the toddlers' art, particularly in the presence of the toddler.

Their own art work and their initial attempts to print letters were the only form of this kind of reading that the toddlers usually saw at home, though two of the Group 1 toddlers and three in Group 2 also saw the writing attempts of their parents' younger siblings, that is, their uncles and aunts, several of whom were students in the primary grades. Items like birth certificates, immunization records, loan agreements, and income tax forms were usually stored out of the reach or sight of toddlers and were rarely read in their presence. Vacation Bible School and other certificates with the toddlers' names were often more publicly displayed, on a refrigerator or on the wall of a bedroom. Adults in the Group 2 families sometimes read Bibles in the presence of children; a Bible was seen in the home of a Group 1 parent, but was never, during the six months of home observations, read or commented on in the presence of the toddler. In the homes of the Group 3 student/parents, the grandparents of two of the young men were observed reading the Bible in the presence of others several times and, in interviews, those grandparents (great-grandparents of toddlers) reported reading the Bible as literature, for pleasure. In those Group 3 households, the

student/parents were in the presence of such reading, but since their children did not live with them, it was their younger siblings, not their children, who witnessed this kind of reading by adults at home.

6. Critical/educational (reading to build or maintain a career; reading to fulfill educational requirements or increase abilities; reading to consider or discuss political, social, or religious knowledge)

Heath and Taylor include in this classification novels, news magazines, denominational newsletters, the Bible, play or book reviews, journal articles, textbooks, office paperwork, and computer printouts. In this study, novels, news magazines, and church-related reading material are discussed in the section on social interaction reading, because their use was framed in that way by those who were consultants in this research, in interviews, and in conversations at home. The Bible is discussed in the section on confirmational reading, also because that is the way its use was described by the study's student/ parent consultants and their family members. The kinds of reading that remain in this category - play or book reviews, journal articles, office paperwork and computer printouts, were not visible in the 14 homes observed and only textbooks, of the kinds of reading in this category, were a regular part of

the school day.

For some high school classes, the student/parents had textbooks that were never used in class; these could usually be found in the bottom of their lockers. For other classes, the textbooks were used only on certain days of the week; for example, in one senior English class, literature books were to be carried to class on Monday and Tuesday only; a class set of grammar books was kept in the classroom, along with a class set of whatever paperback novel or play the class was reading that quarter. In some classes, there were no textbooks, and in English classes, there frequently were not enough supplementary literature books (plays, novels, essays, etc.) for each student to have a copy.

School textbooks were occasionally read at home, but only occasionally. There was no regularly scheduled time to do homework for any of the student/parents or their siblings; some of them brought home no textbooks whatsoever, while others kept one or more of their textbooks at home, but rarely consulted them. One of the mothers and one of the aunts of student/parents in Group 2 were involved in adult education courses and read textbooks at home, in the presence of student/parents and their child(ren). One of those adults was preparing to take the GED test and had several GED preparation textbooks, some from the public library and some she had purchased, used. The other was

taking a word processing course at a high school with free evening classes for adults, and had two textbooks, one hardback and one paperback, which she read at home for periods of 1-2 hours, two evenings a week.

In day care, there were sometimes brief discussions of book, play, and movie reviews from the local paper, on the part of staff members and visitors, in the presence of the toddlers. There was also proofreading and discussion of computer printouts of the day care enrollment list, minutes of or agendas for meetings of the advisory board and/or the student/parents, lesson plans, lyrics to songs regularly sung, etc. On two occasions during the two years of observations, the program supervisor brought the staff members professional journal articles about studies conducted in day care centers; they were read by staff members at home but were discussed at work in the presence of the toddlers.

As is probably obvious in the preceding discussion, toddlers witnessed little critical/educational reading at home, and only slightly more in the day care center.

Reading: A Brief Summary

The kinds of reading categorized above are examined in this section from the points of view of the student/parents, their parents, and their children.

The student/parents did some kinds of reading at school, primarily instrumental, social interactional, and recreational. Their reading at school was usually not from textbooks, but was much more likely to be writing generated by other students in the form of notes, or instrumental reading related to the use of lockers, telephones, and food stamps. Outside of school, Group 1 student/parents did more instrumental reading than those in the other two groups, while student parents in all three groups did some kinds of recreational and social interactional reading at home.

The toddlers were in the company of their parents and others who were engaged in reading tasks, usually instrumental, social interactional, or recreational reading. Group 1 toddlers saw and heard much more instrumental reading tasks performed by others than the Toddlers in Group 2. In day care, all the toddlers were in the presence of adults who did instrumental, social interactional, and recreational reading. They very rarely were in the presence of others, at home or in day care, who were doing news-related, confirmational, or critical/educational reading.

The grandparents of the toddlers and other adults in their age group were engaged in several kinds of reading, often in the presence of the student/parents, their siblings, and their children. Most of this reading was instrumental, social interactional, or recreational.

Toddlers in Group 2 families were less likely to see the student/parents involved in reading activities, and more likely to see grandparents and older children involved in reading activities.

None of the toddlers or student/parents lived in a household with anyone who described her or himself as an avid reader, but all of the toddlers saw some kinds of reading every day of their lives at home and every day they attended the day care program. For the toddlers, the greatest distinction between reading activities at home and reading activities in day care seemed to be the amount of direct one-on-one reading of children's books. In day care, this took place on a daily basis, and often occurred more than once a day, with the toddler seated on the lap of or next to the adult or high school student doing the reading. In addition to scheduled opportunities for reading, toddlers could and often did request that an adult read to them during free play time. In Group 1 families, this kind of one-on-one reading of children's books to toddlers took place 3-4 times a week. In Group 2 families, this took place once a week or less, and the reading was usually done by a grandparent, not by the student/parent.

Findings Related to Heath's Categories for Writing

1. Reinforcement or Substitute for Oral Messages (writing

used when direct oral communication is not possible, when a written message is needed for legal purposes, or to follow up on an oral exchange, or when oral communication would be embarrassing)

Heath includes in this writing category: notes written for school absence or tardiness; letters written to request copies of school records, birth certificates, or grade transcripts; greeting cards; children's messages left for parents and vice versa; and letters related to consumer goods.

Most of what is categorized as reinforcement of or substitutions for oral messages does not exist in written form in the everyday lives of the student/parents in this study. They used the telephone whenever possible to report their own school absences or their children's absences from day care. They requested transcripts and school records orally, in person or on the telephone. Personal business involving consumer goods or government/agency dealings was also conducted primarily in person, not through letters. Their children were not old enough to leave decipherable written messages, and, most of the time, the student/parents communicated messages to their family members orally. The two kinds of reinforcement or substitute for oral messages writing that were a regular part of the student/parents lives were: (1) personal notes (usually written and read at

school, as described in detail earlier in the section on social interactional reading); (2) school absence and tardy notes, which most of them wrote for themselves. Two examples of absence notes written by student/parents and handed to adults in the school's attendance office, in both cases in the presence of the student/parents' toddler children were: "Dear teacher, excuse the absence of _____ yesterday. I needed her to stay home. Signed, her mother." and "_____ have miss school 2 days this week because of a Neck sprain. Mrs. _____. PS, call me to check if you want, 961-____."

At home, the grandmothers of the Group 2 toddlers were the most likely persons in those families to do this kind of writing. They wrote school absence and tardy notes for their elementary school-age children, notes to teachers requesting information about grades, behavior, and other matters, and notes giving their family members instructions for preparing meals, doing other household chores, making a trip to the store, or caring for younger children or pets. Grandfathers were only twice observed doing this kind of writing; in both cases, they were leaving brief, written instructions for a Group 3 student/parent - one for starting a lawnmower and the other for walking and feeding a neighbor's dog.

At school, the student/parents saw teachers and other

adults engaged in this kind of writing, as they wrote discipline referrals to school administrators, notes to counselors, administrators, and teachers about school matters, and wrote notes on the board reminding their students of homework and other assignment due dates.

In day care, the toddlers saw adults engaged in writing reminder notes to themselves and one another, regarding absences, tardiness, medicines to be administered, special dietary needs of specific toddlers and infants, feeding schedules for infants, etc. They saw adults reading these written messages aloud to one another. They saw such reminder notes written on sticky-notes and placed on desks, kitchen cabinets, and counters. In fact, if a pad of post-it notes was left in reach of the toddlers, one of them would quickly seize the pad and pretend to write on it, then remove it from the pad and stick it on the door of one of the toy refrigerators in the housekeeping area. At home, the toddlers saw little of this kind of writing. The Group 1 toddlers saw their mothers write their own school absence and tardy notes. The Group 2 toddlers saw their grandmothers write these and some other notes.

2. Social - Interactional (writing to give information pertaining to social relationships or parent role responsibilities, to extend greetings/courtesies, to

establish or to build and maintain social relationships, or to negotiate family responsibilities)

Heath includes in this category thank-you notes, letters, parent-child negotiations of written homework assignments, and notes on purchased greeting cards.

Little of this kind of writing took place in the high school activities of the student parents. Two of the young men in Group 3, and three of the young women in Group 2 were involved in a student activity where they were required to write invitations to teachers, parents, and other adults to evening events at the high school, and thank you notes to adults who attended these events and in other ways supported the activities of the student organization. The Group 1 and 2 student/parents who were involved in the PREPARE program also wrote, under the direction of the PREPARE teachers, thank-you notes to guest speakers, invitations to parents and others to attend a PREPARE program open house, and thank-you notes to adults who gave their children presents at the day care program's Christmas party.

At home, this kind of writing was most often in the form of notes written on commercial greeting cards. Usually just a few words in length, but sometimes several paragraphs long, these notes were written on birthday, Christmas, get well, sympathy, and other cards by the student/parents and, more frequently, by the grandmothers in Group 2 and 3 homes.

Student/parents in Group 2 often added brief written messages to greeting cards purchased, addressed by, and mailed by their mothers. In Group 3 families, greeting card notes written by the young men tended to be romantic notes on birthday or other cards sent to young women, and brief messages on birthday cards given to immediate family members. Three of the student/parents in Group 2 were coached by their mothers to write thank-you notes to relatives for birthday, Christmas, or graduation gifts. These were usually no more than two sentences in length and were sometimes criticized for handwriting and spelling, but never for content or style.

At home, toddlers were very aware of greeting cards, which were usually on display for several weeks in specified locations, such as atop a dresser or television set. They often picked up the cards, handed them to others, and attempted to read them aloud, imitating older members of the family.

In all three groups, greeting cards were the primary form of social-interactive written communication originating at home. Greeting cards were purchased by the student/parents and mailed or (more commonly) hand-delivered for the birthdays of family members and friends, for weddings and anniversaries, for the births of children, for deaths, for grade school, middle school, and high school

graduations, and just to say hello. In two of the Group 1 homes, the student/parents wrote thank-you notes for birthday and other presents given to the toddlers, and had the toddlers add drawings or writing attempts to the thank-you notes before mailing them.

In all of the Group 1 homes and in four of the Group 2 homes, there was a specified place for toddlers to do art work or writing, equipped with pencils, crayons, and some kind of paper, often recycled sheets of paper brought home from school or work by the student/parent. Work produced at home was displayed in the same way that day care-produced art was shown. Group 1 mothers were observed participating in home art activities with their toddlers more frequently than Group 2 mothers, though in Group 2, three grandmothers and one great-grandmother were observed working at art activities with toddlers. Toddlers in Group 1 were repeatedly observed "playing school" and imitating teacher's writing, on paper and on small chalk boards at home. Toddlers in Group 2 were occasionally observed in this kind of writing play, and were also observed watching the writing activities of their parents' younger siblings.

In the day care program, toddlers were in the presence of adults who were writing thank-you notes to advisory board members and others who made contributions to the day care program. In some cases, they saw the adults writing these

notes; in other cases, they heard a staff member read a draft of a thank-you note to another adult. Instead of greeting cards, posters and banners were the norm in day care for social-interactive messages, and the toddlers saw many examples of congratulatory banners, for births, birthdays, graduation, and other events. They would often "read" these banners aloud to day care visitors, as when Rashawn pointed to the banner above me and said (moving her pointing finger as she said the words) "Best wishes to the class of '89!" and Mrs. Hunter, hearing her and winking at me, said "Doesn't Rashawn read beautifully!"

In day care, toddlers had the opportunity to do an art project almost every day. Art was the toddlers' primary form of writing in the day care program. Their first names and the date were printed on all finished art work by a day care staff member, and most art was put on display somewhere in the room before it was taken down and put in the toddler's cubby for the student/parent to take home. Often, when the student/parents reached the day care center at the end of the school day, their child(ren) led them directly to their newest displayed piece of art.

3. Memory-aids (writing to serve as a memory aid for both the writer and others)

Heath includes in this category grocery lists, notes in

photo albums, lists of things to do, to buy, or to remember, recipes, reminder notes for dues or meetings, lists of telephone numbers or addresses, menus, and study notes for a test. Based on the data collected, I have added to this category writing done as teacher-assigned punishment in high school classrooms.

The student/parents, during the school day, were frequently expected to take notes in their classes, and to take those notes home to study for quizzes or tests. All the Group 1 student/ parents, three of the Group 2 student/parents and none of the Group 3 student parents took written notes in some of their classes on a regular basis. Only the Group 1 parents and two of the Group 2 parents regularly took their written notes home to study. However, all the student/parents engaged in memory-aid writing in other forms, and had multiple opportunities daily to see adults engaged in memory-related writing. All of them made notes of homework assignments, though less than half of them were ever observed doing homework outside of school. Several of their teachers made written notes to themselves of where their lecture or other class activity had ended that day; most of their teachers wrote reminders of homework assignments and test or quiz dates on the chalk boards or white boards of their classrooms. When student/parents were sent to the offices of counselors or school administrators,

they invariably saw those adults do memory-aid writing on computers, student records, lined paper, or sticky notes.

All the student/parents, during the 1988-89 school year, were observed at least once doing writing that was assigned to them as punishment. In most cases, this took the form of writing the same sentence 50, 100, or more times. In other instances, students were directed to copy words and definitions from the index of their Spanish textbooks. In all these cases, the teacher's stated objective was to improve the student's memory, to cause them to remember to do their homework, or not to talk in class, or not to cut class or interrupt the teacher.

More memory-aid writing on the part of the student/parents took place at home than at school. At home, all the Group 1 student/parents maintained address books which included the phone numbers of relatives and friends. One of them also kept records of birthdays and other important dates in an address book. Two of the Group 2 student/parents kept address books, and all of the Group 2 and Group 3 female parents of the high school students (grandparents of toddlers) kept and consulted address books. None of the adult males in any of the observed families had a written list of addresses, but one of the Group 3 student/parents had and carried a "little black book" of girls' names and phone numbers, among them the two high

school students who were the mothers of his two acknowledged children. It should be noted that friends and family members of the student/parents frequently had their phones disconnected and later reconnected (when they could pay the bill), so that formal lists of phone numbers were quickly outdated. In the course of my research, for example, only two of the fourteen households maintained the same phone number for the duration of the research and, in three households, school age children were directed by a parent to give an incorrect number to any teacher or school administrator who asked for a home phone number.

Lists of things to do were also regularly kept by three of the Group 1 mothers and two of the Group 2 mothers. No such lists were kept by any of the Group 3 fathers. Those who did not maintain such lists said that they simply remembered things they had to do, or were reminded of them by their mothers. As noted earlier, household calendars were maintained by some of the Group 2 mothers, who noted upcoming school, family, neighborhood events on calendars kept in their kitchens.

Shopping lists were kept regularly by two of the Group 1 mothers, four of the Group 2 grandmothers, and two of the Group 3 grandmothers. Most of these shopping lists were kept in the kitchen, and items were added to them on an almost daily basis. One Group 1 mother and one Group 2

grandmother didn't keep lists on a day to day basis, but did write out lists of items to be purchased just before they went to the grocery store. One of the Group 1 mothers kept what she called a "wish list" of items she wanted to save money in order to purchase, a written list that in January, 1989 included items for her children, herself, and her apartment:

- 1 Easter dresses and shoes for the girls
- 2 new living room furn.
- 3 carpetting in my bedroom
- 4 car (proably old)
- 5 VCR

She kept this list on a notepad stored in the back of her address book, saying that "It help me not to spend money on silly things like candy, you know, when they so many big things I want to get me and my girls. It remind me to hold onta my moneys."

Written menus were not maintained in any of the families observed, but recipes were often written by two of the Group 1 mothers and three of the Group 2 grandmothers, who copied recipes from co-workers, friends or neighbors (often) and from newspapers (rarely). These recipes were kept in small boxes in some kitchens, in a kitchen drawer in two households, and inside a large cookbook in another kitchen. The other Group 2 grandmothers said that they had

never cooked from recipes, but had learned to cook from their mothers, "pinches a this and handful a that, nuthin' wrote down," and, except for foods they had prepared for years, usually used convenience foods that "mostly don't take no recipes or direction to fix."

Photo albums were maintained by two of the Group 1 mothers, one of the Group 2 mothers, three of the Group 2 grandmothers, and 2 of the Group 3 grandmothers. Other student/parents and grandparents kept pictures in boxes or on bulletin boards or on dressers or mirrors. Usually, there was no writing on the backs of these pictures, except for wallet size school pictures, which the student/parents wrote brief messages and signatures on before giving to friends and relatives. This kind of writing took place at home and at school. Two samples:

To Robert,

2 good 2 be 4 gotten

Love, Trina '90

Luv ya allways!

Matt

At home, the toddlers saw their parents and others doing memory-aid kinds of writing. They saw grocery lists maintained throughout the week or written just before trips to the grocery store. They saw these same written lists

consulted inside the grocery store. They watched their parents write notes on the back of school pictures. They saw their parents and/or grandparents keep written lists of things to do, buy, or remember. Most of the Group 1 and 2 toddlers saw either their mothers or grandmothers reading some recipes from note cards, newspapers, cookbooks, or food packages, but much less frequently saw them writing or copying recipes. They saw mothers and/or grandmothers consulting or writing in their address books. A few of them saw school study notes their parents brought home, or study notes written and read by a grandmother or great aunt.

In the day care center, the toddlers were present when adults did memory-aid writing tasks, writing grocery lists, lists of things to do, buy, or remember, recipes exchanged among the staff members and discussed in the toddlers' presence, recipes read and used for special food items, as when staff members prepared food for advisory board meetings or student/parents' meetings, luncheons, and picnics. The toddlers saw staff members write reminder notes or other notices for the student/parents, and they saw staff members consult address and phone number lists in order to contact a grandparent or other relative.

4. Financial (writing to record amounts and purposes for expenditures, signatures)

Heath includes in this category the signing of forms or checks, the filling out of forms, ordering from catalogues, filling out church envelopes, and figures and notes for income tax preparation.

In the school lives of the student/parents, this kind of financial writing existed in college and technical school applications and financial aid forms, in math or business class exercises on the filling out of income tax forms, and in English class lessons on filling out catalogue forms for ordering items by mail.

At home, the Group 1 student/parents all kept some written financial records, including W-2 and other forms given to them by employers, Xeroxed copies of income tax forms filed one and two years before, copies of financial aid forms filled out in classes or in counselors' offices, with originals sent to colleges or technical schools, and copies of housing rental/lease contracts and financed purchases, such as television sets and furniture. Two of the Group 2 student parents kept such written financial records, but most of the Group 2 student/parents and all of those in Group 3 lived in households where their mothers maintained all of the household and personal financial records. Even in households where the grandfather was the only adult working outside the home, it was the adult women of the house who maintained the written financial records,

including items like rent receipts and savings account passbooks.

Only one of the student/parents in Group 1 and one in Group 3 had personal savings accounts and the written records that accompany them. One Group 3 parent had a savings account with a girlfriend, the mother of his daughter, but that account existed for only two months. Only two Group 2 parents and two Group 3 grandparents had checking and/or savings accounts in banks or savings and loans. Most of the persons in all the households observed operated on a cash and food stamp basis, occasionally purchasing money orders.

Mail order purchases were made sporadically by one of the Group 1 student/parents and three of the Group 2 grandmothers, but all of these orders were made by telephone and paid for with money orders or a charge card belonging to a friend; thus no order forms for purchases were filled out at home during the six months of observations. No church envelopes were filled out at home; observed contributions made to churches were made in cash, during Sunday church services, or in the form of service, as grandmothers washed dishes, took covered dishes, or in other ways contributed to church activities, or asked their husbands or sons to cut the grass, paint, or do other work at the church.

In the day care center, adult staff members maintained

a detailed written budget, making expense entries almost daily, sometimes in the presence of the toddlers. The program director wrote out checks to pay program bills, and maintained the checking account records, sometimes discussing those records with the school treasurer, in the presence of the toddlers. School absence and tardy forms, and enrollment and withdrawal forms were frequently signed by day care staff members in the presence of the toddlers. Occasionally, staff members ordered supplies from the school warehouse catalog and from commercial business catalogues, often discussing these purchases in the presence of the toddlers, before filling out the forms in the program office. Each day, the toddlers were with the student/parents in the morning and in the afternoon, often watching as the parent signed them in and out of the program, on the form designated for that purpose and kept on a table just inside the main entrance to the day care program.

5. Public Records (writing to announce the order of church services or other forthcoming events and to record financial and policy decisions)

Heath includes in this category writing to record financial and policy decisions, such as church bulletins, reports of a church's building committee, or minutes of a public meeting of a neighborhood association. In my

observations of day care, high school, and homes, I did not observe this kind of writing anywhere, by anyone participating in the study; nor did I observe anyone in the study in the presence of others who were doing this kind of writing.

6. Expository Writing (occasional tasks brought home from work, church, or civic duties; tasks brought home from school)

I have added to this category the writing of rap song lyrics¹, a writing activity engaged in by all of the student/parents in Group 3 and by two of the student/parents in Group 2. One of the young men in Group 3 participated in rap contests held across the city, and, during the 1988-89 year of school observations, won two school-sponsored rap contests and four contests held elsewhere. He wrote all of the raps he performed, including one titled "Don't Do Drugs," which he performed on stage in school assemblies, in front of his English classmates, and once, during afternoon snack time, in front of the day care toddlers.

Most of the student/parents did some expository writing in their high school classes, most frequently in English classes. They wrote essays, poems, auto-biographies, and other pieces of expository writing. Two of them were involved in English classes where 3-5 minutes of freewriting

(students were directed to write about anything that came into their heads, not worrying about spelling or punctuation, but simply getting their ideas down on paper) was the daily opening activity. However, as noted earlier in the reading section, the primary form of expository writing at school by the student/parents was personal notes, which were often several pages in length. Some of these notes were thrown away immediately, but others were kept for weeks or even months. Most of the student/parents' lockers contained several examples of this kind of writing. Short notes were often written covertly, given to a classmate who read what had been written, responded in writing, and passed the note back. These exchanges sometimes lasted throughout a class period. An example from March of 1989, passed back and forth in a world geography class between two female student/parents:

This class be so boring. What you doin' at lunch.

GOIN TO COL. CHICKEN. YOU WANT TO GO

No Don't have no money.

I GOT A DOLLAR YOU CAN HAVE TILL TOMMORROW

ok but I got to go my locker 1st.

OK. ME AND APRIL MEETS YOU BUY THE FRONT DOORS INSIDE.

not goin if that bitch goin

GIRL YOU SO SILLY!!!!!! YOU CRACKS ME UP. YOU HATE HER

CAUSE YOU'RE MAN BEEN TALKIN TOO HER AND YOU WANT HIS

THANG TO YOUSELF

I hate her since middle school. She a hoe and people
gonna no you a hoe too if you hang with her

BITCH

bitch back at you hoe

YOU MAMA

At home, the student/parents engaged in very little expository writing. The majority of them did not do any expository writing at home in the six months of observations. Two of the young women in Group 1 wrote long letters, at least once each week, to young men who were in the military, stationed in Michigan and Virginia. They sometimes received letters from those young men, but more often got post cards or greeting cards from them. Two of the Group 2 student/parents kept diaries, one for about a month and the other for almost six months, but both usually wrote in their diaries when their toddlers were sleeping, deliberately. Gerri explains: "My son like my diary; it have gold on the edge of the pages and he think it pretty and he grab for it and want to scribble in it. So I write in it when he `sleep most of the time." Several of the student/parents in Groups 1 and 2 wrote poems, more often at home than at school; their poems were usually about, and given to, a particular young man. One of the Group 3 student/parents wrote poems. He wrote one for a club

installation of officers and initiation of new members, held in the high school auditorium during a fall evening. Asked to read the poem from the podium, as a part of the program, he declined, but agreed to have another student read the poem and tell the audience that he was the poet. When asked later about the poem, he said that he had written it at home and shared it with his mother, but that he "didn't write that kinda stuff at school, 'cause you friends just think you a faggot if you be writin' poems."

Other adults did little expository writing at home. One Group 2 grandmother and one Group 3 grandmother carried on lengthy disputes with the city's health department and a landlord, respectively, but in most cases asked someone else to do such writing for them, or used the telephone instead of writing. Consequently, the student/parents rarely saw others engaged in expository writing at home.

Some of the toddlers were in the presence of their mothers or others doing occasional expository writing tasks, but most of them never saw this kind of writing at home. In day care, the program director occasionally did this kind of writing, creating, for instance, a written description of the program for inclusion in the high school's annual report to parents and the community, but she attempted to do this kind of writing at home or when the toddlers were napping. Thus, the toddlers usually did not see anyone engaged in

this kind of writing in the day care center. When I began participant observations in the day care program, some of the toddlers were fascinated by my writing of field notes, and would watch for opportunities to seize my pencil, paper, or both, and then write letters, numbers, or scribbles on my paper. Most of them grew used to my writing in their presence, and would ignore me, unless I left a pencil or paper where they could reach and use it.

Writing: A Brief Summary

Writing was not a major part of the school or home lives of the student/parents and their children. Personal notes were the major form of writing at school by the student/parents and art was the major form of writing by the toddlers in the day care center, and sometimes at home. In the high school classes of the student/parents, writing was used as punishment by some teachers, on a regular basis.

The grandparents of the toddlers did little or no writing in the presence of their children and grandchildren. The student/parents did slightly more writing than the grandparents, but usually at school or, when at home, did their writing out of the sight of their children.

Reading and Writing: Summarized Findings

The capsule findings that follow are summarized from

the Chapter 4 Composite Profiles and this chapter's descriptions of specific findings related to the categories of reading and writing adapted from Heath (1983), Taylor (1983) and Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines (1988).

1. All of the student/parents read outside school; their reading was usually instrumental, social interactional, or recreational. The student/parents who were heads of households (Group 1) did more instrumental reading than the students in either of the other groups. The student/parents did little school-related reading while in school, and even less outside of school. The male student/parents in this research did less reading in and outside school than the female student/parents.

2. In their home lives, the Group 1 toddlers were in the presence of more instrumental reading than were the Group 2 toddlers. All the toddlers were read to in the day care program, on a one-to-one and group basis, more than they were read to at home. All the toddlers had more reading material available to them in the day care center than at home. The toddlers who lived in the Group 2 homes saw more adults reading, probably because there were larger numbers of adults in their home lives. Most of the reading the toddlers saw at home was instrumental, social interactional, or recreational.

3. Personal notes were the major form of writing observed

at school (by the student/parents themselves and by others in their immediate surroundings). Writing was a form of punishment used by several of the high school teachers. During the school day, students were rarely encouraged to write and their writing was rarely, if ever, praised. At home, notes on greeting cards were the major form of writing by both the student/parents and their parents. Altogether, there was little writing in the home or school lives of the student/parents.

4. Art was the major form of writing in the day care lives of the toddlers. Some of them also engaged in art tasks at home and a few experimented with writing, usually by copying the letters in their own names. The student/parents, particularly those in Group 1, communicated positive messages about writing to their children, verbally and nonverbally. Most of the Group 2 grandmothers made positive comments to their grandchildren about art work produced in the day care center, and displayed it in their kitchens or elsewhere in the house or apartment. In two Group 1 households, children's art from the day care center were the only items displayed on the walls of the apartments.

The capsule findings that follow are related to the social contexts of literacy in the three major sites of this study's data collection, that is, to the high school classrooms, the day care center, and the homes.

1. Listening and speaking were a major part of the school lives of the student/parents. Correspondingly, speaking and listening were modeled by adults in the high school setting more than reading and writing. In the vast majority of classes observed, students and their teachers were engaged in speaking and listening activities. Most of the time, teachers talked or lectured during class time, and students were expected to listen. Outside of class time, students did a great deal of speaking, usually to their peers rather than to teachers or other adults. Reading and writing were not a major part of the school lives of the student/parents.

In the kinds and amounts of print materials present in the physical settings, there was more print available to the student/parents in school than at home. Most of the print materials available were not utilized, by the student/parents or by other students, however.

2. Speaking and listening were more important in the home lives of the student/parents than were reading and writing. Though the student/parents saw adults engage in reading and writing activities, those activities were not a major portion of their home lives. The student/parents in Groups 2 and 3 saw more modeling of speaking and listening than of reading or writing. Reading and writing activities by the student/parents were not often praised or encouraged at home, though younger siblings of the student/parents and

their own children experienced some praise and other support for reading and writing, in and outside the family settings. Most social interaction in all of the homes observed was carried out via speaking and listening. Greeting cards, sent, received, and written upon were the major form of reading and writing observed.

3. Electronic media played important roles in the social contexts of life at home and in the day care center, but not in the high school. The student/parents and the adults in their families usually had television, radio and/or records or tapes playing whenever they were at home. It was the norm, not the exception, to have two kinds of media operating in the same room at all times. Most of the student/parents had portable, headphone radios that they carried with them when they left home. Some of the student/parents wrote rap lyrics, and all of the student/parents listened to rap music, on records and tapes, on the radio, and on television. Telephones were an important communication tool for the student/parents and for others at home, particularly in the Group 1 homes, where telephones were the major link between the head-of-household student/parents and the world outside their apartments. In the high school, outside the computer program, media did not play a major role in class activities. One teacher used an overhead projector regularly, another used a VCR

occasionally. Most observed high school classes did not utilize any electronic media during the full year of observations.

At home, and in the day care center, media was a part of the toddlers' lives. In both the Group 1 and Group 2 homes, the toddlers were used to television, radio and/or stereo operating simultaneously. In day care, records were played during free play activities in the morning and the afternoon, were sometimes played at mealtimes, and were often used during organized play activities after breakfast and just before lunch. The toys the toddlers played with most often and the imitative play in which they engaged (Smith 1989a) were related to media -- plastic wind-up record players and records, toy radios, and toy microphones, and toy telephones lent themselves to play activities in which the toddlers mimicked the singing and speaking of their parents and others.

4. The PREPARE class was a bridge between home and school and between home and day care. Student/parents who participated in the PREPARE class were unanimous in viewing it as their most practical class, the only one they saw as related to their home and work lives. The PREPARE teachers used the day care center as a site for some of their class activities and projects, and visited the homes of the student/parents. The student/parents saw PREPARE classes as

the only high school subject that was related to their out-of-school lives, and the grandparents described the PREPARE class as preparation for parenthood and other aspects of adult life.

5. In the social contexts of literacy, in the roles of adults and children, in the physical space and its utilization, the toddler's experiences in the day care center can be viewed as "learning to do school" (Dyson, 1984; Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 1981; Heath, 1982). From their locker-like cubbies to art work labeled with their names and the date, from their participation in fire drills to their structured, daily routines, from the individual and group reading activities to the books and bulletin boards that surrounded them in day care, the toddlers were learning about reading and writing, and other aspects of school, at ages earlier than any of the student/parents or their parents. In all of the families observed, the toddlers were the first generation to experience day care, or any organized daily activities outside the home, before starting kindergarten.

Additional Work to be Done with This Collection of Data

Early in the data collection for this study, my intention was to include some analysis of the reading and

writing related values of the student/parents, their teachers, and the persons in their homes. Throughout data analysis, I was uneasy about the values stated and values implied sections of the structured observation field notes I had recorded in the high school classrooms and in the homes. Going over the codings I assigned to my descriptions of values stated and values implied, I grew increasingly uneasy about the values I had recorded in field notes and structured observations; i.e. were they the values of those I was observing, my values, or the values of those researchers who had devised that portion of the structured observation coding list? Never satisfied with the answers to that repeated question, I did not deal in this document with the values portion of the data collected. After doing additional reading in this area, I would like to revisit my field notes and structured observations, and recode then summarize the values material.

Examining the complex ways in which speaking and listening are interrelated with reading and writing is my other major interest in revisiting this collection of data. Not having training in the intricacies of dyadic interaction, I would like to involve other researchers who do have that kind of training and experience in re-analyzing my collected data.

During the course of the research, I collected student

writing and intended to analyze the writing process of the individual student/parents. However, so little writing was assigned to most of the student/parents that this did not prove possible. For two of the students, however, there is sufficient writing collected (prewriting, first drafts, subsequent drafts, and drafts labeled final products and turned in for grading) and graded and/or remarked on by teachers, to be the subject matter of an article devoted strictly to that topic.

Suggestions for Extensions of This Research

A longitudinal study of the school and home lives of the toddlers in this research study is my primary suggestion for an extension of this work. Only through a longitudinal study could the short and long term effects of the day care program be studied.

Studies comparing the school performance of high school student/parents - a group served by a day care program and a group without any day care facility for their children, for example, could be a useful extension of this research. Issues addressed could include promotion and graduation rates, reading and writing performance, and attitudes toward reading and writing in particular and school in general.

Because the high school attended by the student/parents in this study closed at the end of the 1988-89 school year

and reopened as a magnet school without a day care center, additional studies of this population would be very difficult. However, other schools in that city, and in other school systems serving low SES populations, are potential sites for similar research.

This study walked the edges of the lives of a group of high school student/parents, their children, and the other members of their families. It is but one small piece of the complex puzzle of literacy's social construction. As research on emergent literacy and on the social construction of literacy continue, and as educators and legislators become increasingly aware of the societal costs of student/parents dropping out of high school, studies like this one may contribute to school programs and school and community services that better serve the needs of student/parents and their children.

NOTES

¹ Rap is a form of music that began in the inner city minority populations of American cities, written and performed by young men on street corners and at parties. Rap music is characterized by a speaking rather than singing delivery, by rhyme and an emphasis on a strong, steady beat or rhythm. In the late '70s and early '80s, rap records were played in large discos in New York City and Washington,

D.C., then in cities across the country. In the late 1980s, rap "crossed over" into mainstream popular music, and was played not only on radio stations aimed at an African American audiences, but on radio stations targeting European American teenage and young adult audiences of all races. The Black Entertainment Television (BET) cable network was the first to show large numbers of rap music videos, followed by the VH-1 and MTV networks. Though there are European American and Spanish American rap artists and groups, and a handful of female rappers, most of the lyrics of rap songs come from the everyday lives and concerns of young, urban African American males. Spike Lee's 1990 movie "Do the Right Thing" featured a sound track of rap lyrics performed by the popular rap group Public Enemy.

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APPENDIX 3-1

DOCUMENT COVER SHEET

Document Cover Sheet

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APPENDIX 3-3

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR STUDENT/PARENTS

**Informed Consent Form
University of Cincinnati**

Title of Study: Tracing Literacy Across Three Generations

Researcher: M. Lynne Smith

This is to certify that I have agreed to participate in a study of activities related to literacy in my life at school and at home, as an authorized part of the research program of the College of Education, University of Cincinnati, under the direction of Lynne Smith and Chester Laine, College of Education, University of Cincinnati.

This study, its procedures, and my part in the study have been defined and fully explained to me by Lynne Smith and I understand her explanation. I have been given an opportunity to ask questions and all of my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that still pictures (black and white & color), slides, and video tapes will be made as a part of this study, and that I will have the opportunity to do some picture taking and video taping of places and activities related to literacy in my school and home life. Further, I understand that I will be interviewed by Lynne Smith, that the interview(s) will be audio taped, and that I will be able to review the transcripts of my interviews and make any changes I wish.

I understand that my name will not be used in this study without my permission.

I further understand that I am free to terminate my participation in this study at any time.

Signature _____

Date _____

APPENDIX 3-3

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR INFANTS/TODDLERS

**Informed Consent Form
University of Cincinnati**

Title of Study: Tracing Literacy Across Three Generations

Researcher: M. Lynne Smith

This is to certify that my son or daughter, _____, may participate in a study of activities related to literacy in the High School Infant/Toddler Care Program, as an authorized part of the research program of the College of Education, University of Cincinnati, under the direction of Lynne Smith and Chester Laine, College of Education, University of Cincinnati.

This study, its procedures, and my child's part in the study have been defined and fully explained to me by Lynne Smith and I understand her explanation. I have been given an opportunity to ask questions and all of my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that still pictures (black and white and color), slides, and video tapes will be made as a part of this study and that my child may be photographed in the course of his or her usual activities in the day care program. Further, I understand that copies of all the pictures and/or video tapes are given to the Infant/Toddler Care Program.

I understand that neither my child's full name nor my full name will be used in this study without my permission.

I further understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and terminate my child's participation at any time.

Student/Parent's Signature _____

Date _____

APPENDIX 3-4

STRUCTURED OBSERVATION FORM, HIGH SCHOOL CLASSROOM

**Example of One Structured Observation,
Conducted in a School Setting**

Date: Monday, October 3, 1988
Place: Room 318, main building
Time: 10:10 a.m.

American History - Gerri, focal learner

CODE

Basic Setting and Activity

<u>Setting</u>	Room 318, Mr. Miller's social studies classroom. (For a full description of setting, see field notes of 8/31/88.)	_____
<u>Institution</u>	computer program, _____ high school	_____
<u>Activity</u>	Today's activity is a role playing exercise. Students volunteered for parts last Friday & there are 2 sets of "actors" - a total of 10 students participating. The role playing is a pre-Revolutionary War meeting of British and American representatives.	_____

Immediate Human Context

<u>Group Size</u>	24	_____
<u>Group Composition</u>	22 students (17 African American, 5 European American); 1 male teacher & 1 female adult observer, both European American. 20 of the students are 11th gr., 2 are 12th gr.	_____

<u>Atmosphere</u>	Much laughter and talking before the bell rings to begin class. Students seem excited about the role playing exercise and there are lots of comments related to it: "Is we gonna wear wigs, Mr. Miller?" and "Do we got any costumes?" Outside: warm, fairly humid. Inside: this room is airconditioned and carpeted. Students sit at rows of tables	_____
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and chairs. Behind them, in the rear 1/3 of the room, are a dozen microcomputers on wheeled metal carts.

Learner Role and Behavior

Ability

Preparations for this role playing exercise went on all last week - the class discussed the events leading up to the war, the feelings of the British and the divided feelings of the Americans. The division of feelings re: war was compared to Viet Nam [O.C. Interesting for me to realize that Viet Nam and the Amer. Rev. are equally remote events to this age group.] Gerri, according to Mr. Miller, participates in this class only minimally - "usually does not take notes, usually writing notes to her friends, or doing other off-task activities."

Act

Gerri sat at the last row of tables. She could & did turn around to look at the computers behind her. Soon, it was clear that she was looking at her own reflection in the 2 monitors closest to her. She would adjust her collar & smooth her hair as she looked at the monitors. She appeared to pay little or not attention to either group of role players, looking either behind her or out the windows next to her most of the period. She did not talk to anyone once class had started. She brought no books or school paper into the class (once pulled folded note paper from purse & wrote on it briefly).

Response Factors

Responding Person

Mr. Miller, class members

Response

To G: no response. To the role playing: much laughter & applause from most of the students; only 2 others as non-partic.

as G.

Expressed
Values

"It's impt. for us to recognize that these famous people were just people like us, people who got angry, people who got their feelings hurt, people who agonized over tough decisions." - Mr. Miller

Implied
Values

APPENDIX 3-5

STRUCTURED OBSERVATION FORM, STUDENT/PARENT'S HOME

**Example of One Structured Observation,
Conducted in a Home Setting**

Date: Wednesday, March 3, 1989
Place: Gerri's family's apartment
Time: 9:30 - 10:30 p.m.

Homework - Gerri, focal learner

CODE

Basic Setting and Activity

<u>Setting</u>	Kitchen of Gerri's family's apt., at table, reading chapters 3 and 4 of <u>Black Boy</u> in preparation for a test tomorrow in 11th grade Eng.	_____
<u>Institution</u>	one 2 bedroom unit in multi-family apartment building	_____
<u>Activity</u>	Gerri is doing her homework. Her son (approx. 10 mo.) is fussing - "teething" Gerri says & she is rubbing his gums with a q-tip soaked in bourbon, which her baby's father's mother (who lives next door) gave her for this purpose tonight. Keith, Sr. is in and out of the kitchen, as are Gerri's 3 yngr. siblings, 1 M, 2 F. The TV & a radio are fully audible in the kitchen, as are conversation, TV & music from neighboring apts.	_____

Immediate Human Context

<u>Group Size</u>	varied from 2 (Gerri & son) to 7	_____
<u>Group Composition</u>	Gerri, F, age 16; 1 younger sib., M 2 younger siblings, F Gerri's son, Keith, Jr., M, 10 mo. Gerri's boyfriend, Keith, Sr., M, 16 Keith's mother, F, 33	_____

Atmosphere

Tension. Gerri's siblings are complaining about the baby's crying, and turning up the TV to drown him out. Gerri is trying to read, to quiet the baby, & is having yelling exchanges with her siblings re: TV volume. Phone is on wall above kit. table, Gerri answers it each time it rings (3 times in 1st half hour) then shouts for the person wanted on phone. Baby's father comes in every 30 min. (when TV shows change, to check on Gerri and baby - twice his mother comes with him to check on baby.

Learner Role and Behavior

Ability

Gerri is expressing difficulty (to Keith) in understanding the study questions (handout from her Eng. teacher) for the test and is expressing frustration with being unable to concentrate on the reading of the required chapters because of the baby's crying and her siblings yelling and raising the TV and music volume

Act

Gerri is reading, jotting a few short answers on the page of study questions, in pencil, stopping to pick up the baby when he cries, answering the phone, rubbing the bourbon-soaked q-tip on the baby's gums, talking to Keith and Keith's mother as they come in and out of the apt. from their own apt. next door.

Response Factors

Responding
Person

baby, baby's father, baby's grandmother, siblings

Response

baby: crying
father and grandmother: questioning,
concern, sympathy
siblings: complaining

Expressed
Values

"I gotta do good on this test to pass
this quarter!" (Gerri, to Keith, Sr.)

Implied
Values

Grades are impt., but child care is
important too.

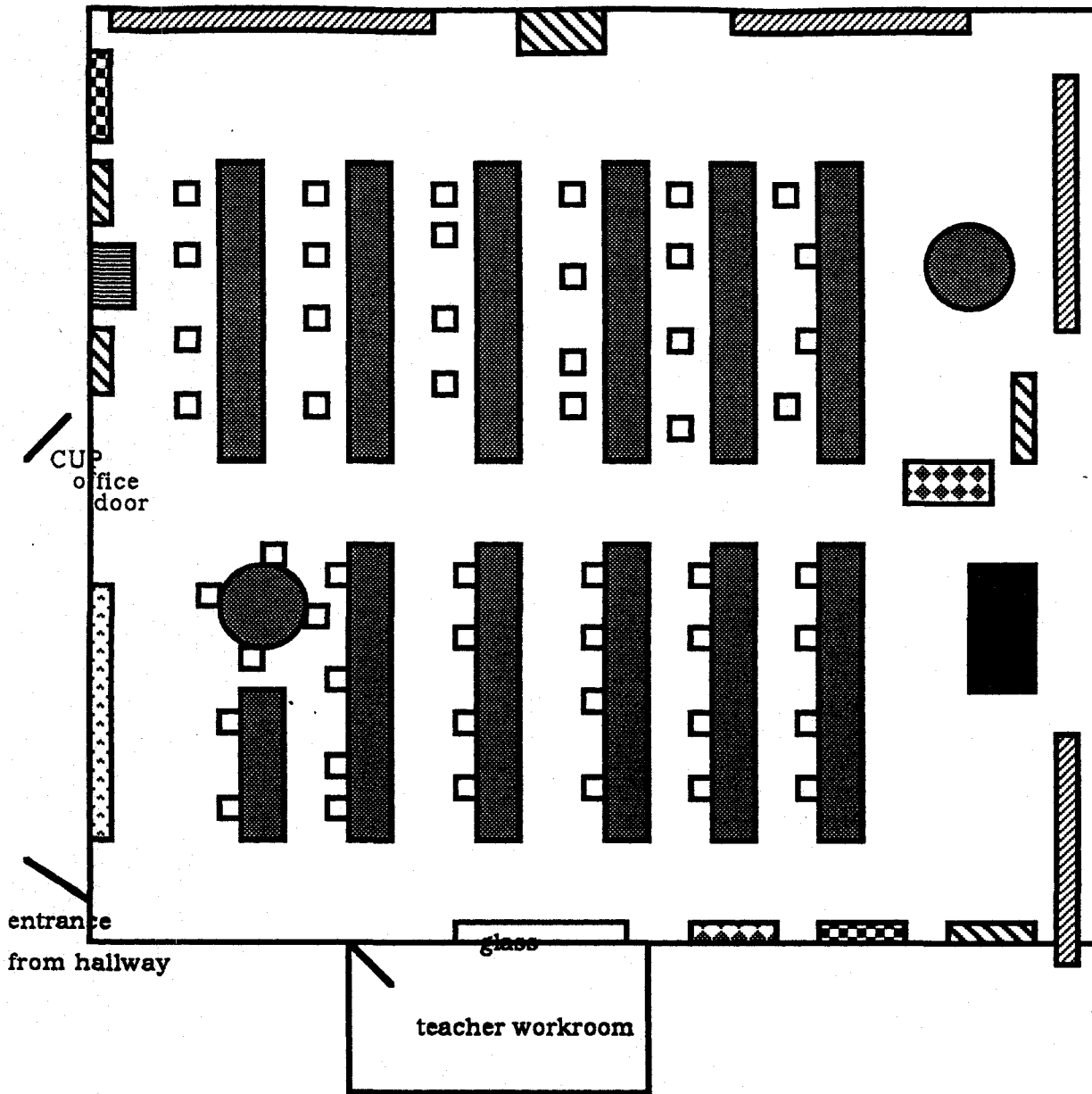
APPENDIX 3-6

A PORTION OF THE STRUCTURED OBSERVATION DATA BASE, HIGH SCHOOL

Obs #	Focal Learner	Obs Date	Subject Area	FL Reading	FL Writing
1	Ronda	8/31/88	soc st	ltr to parents; emerg. form; stu. info. form	emerg. form; stu. info. form; notes
2	Tina	9/14/88	assembly	form on college interests	form on college interest
3	Ronda	9/14/88	assembly	form on college interests	form on college interest
4	Matthew	9/20/88	office, asst. prin.	discipline form	discipline form
5	Jackie	10/3/88	soc. st.	X	X
6	Ronda	11/10/88	comp. tech	directions; keyboard; print on screen	computer prog. assign. (at computer)
7	Tina	11/10/88	assembly	newsletter	X
8	Jackie	11/10/88	assembly	notes she is passing to another student	notes she is passing to another stu.
9	Ronda	11/10/88	assembly	newsletter	X
10	Myron	11/10/88	assembly	X	X
11	Matthew	11/10/88	assembly	X	X
12	Matthew	11/14/88	comp. tech	X	X
13	Matthew	11/15/88	comp. tech	X	X
14	Matthew	11/21/88	comp. tech	X	X
15	Matthew	11/23/88	biology	X	X
16	Matthew	11/29/88	math	X	X
17	Myron	12/1/88	auditorium - JCG init.	program	X
18	Pauline	12/5/88	English	paper from her purse	freewriting - 5 min. at beginning
19	Matthew	12/6/88	comp. tech	X	X
20	Lynn	1/13/89	tardy center	tardy form	tardy form
21	Lauren	1/31/89	auditorium	X	X
22	Lynn	1/31/89	auditorium	X	X
23	Tina	1/31/89	Univ. of Cin.	McDonalds menu	X
24	Myron	3/8/89	English - mini aud.	his debate notes, word for word	X
25	Pauline	3/8/89	English - mini aud.	X	X
26	Lauren	4/18/89	day care advis. comm.	printed meeting agenda	X
27	Tina	5/4/89	English - in hs library	U.S. News article	copying magazine article
28	Ronda	5/4/89	English - in hs library	Newsweek article	taking notes on mag. article
29	Tina	5/5/89	English - in hs library	sign on clsm door; magazines; notes	taking notes on mag. article
30	Ronda	5/5/89	English - in hs library	sign on clsm door; magazines; notes; Readers' Guide	taking notes on mag. article
31	Tina	5/9/89	English - in res. center	own handwritten draft of paper; computer screen	using comp. - entering draft of paper
32	Ronda	5/9/89	English - in res. center	own handwritten draft of paper; computer screen	using comp. - entering draft of paper
33	Lauren	5/19/89	aud. - all sch. assembly	program	X
34	Jackie	5/19/89	aud. - all sch. assembly	program	X
35	Pauline	5/19/89	English	Macbeth study questions	answers to study questions
36	Ronda	5/19/89	social studies	test	answers on test
37	Ronda	5/22/89	computer tech	paper from her folder; computer screen	computer programming assignments
38	Tina	5/22/89	computer tech	drawing on board (arc); computer screen	computer programming assignment
39	Ronda	5/23/89	computer tech	comp. screen (prog. assign.) & folded paper from her purse	computer programming assignment
40	Myron	5/25/89	English	teacher's gradebk; freewrit. assign.; own writing	freewriting assigns. (Doc.# 89-160)
41	Ronda	5/31/89	computer tech	computer screen (prog. assign.)	X
42	Tina	5/31/89	English - in res. center	speech/paper (aloud)	reading the paper she'd written aloud
43	Ronda	6/1/89	computer tech	illus. & wrds on board during lect. & assign.; comp. screen	computer programming assignment
44	Ronda	6/1/89	English	speech/paper (aloud)	reading the paper she'd written

APPENDIX 3-7

HIGH SCHOOL CLASSROOM MAP



Key



metal cabinets



magazine rack



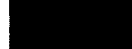
tables



bulletin boards



student chairs



teacher's desk



whiteboard



magazine rack

Room 312 Computer Resource Center

- Mrs. Barnhorn

APPENDIX 4-1

MAP OF DAY CARE PROGRAM

Appendix
Map of the Program Space
Infant/Toddler Care Program

