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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS AS PERCEIVED BY MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERS

The University of Arizona PH.D. 1982

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS
AS PERCEIVED BY MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERS

by

Avelina Chávez Trujillo

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the
DEPARTMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
In the Graduate College
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

1982

Copyright 1982 Avelina Chávez Trujillo
As members of the Final Examination Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Avelina Chávez Trujillo entitled The Significance of Teacher-Student Relationships as Perceived by Mexican-American Leaders and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copy of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

Dissertation Director
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DEDICATION

To the memory of my father,

ERNESTO R. CHAVEZ

who hoped that his ten children

would find a better way of life

than he had known.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This investigation is the culmination of years of work, training, and academic preparation. Many supportive relationships developed with persons who were instrumental in the completion of this study, and I would like to offer my sincere appreciation and gratitude to the following:

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To Ernie, my understanding husband, whose belief in education and total commitment to this endeavor sustained and inspired me throughout, and to our son Netito and succeeding generations who, like other parents, we hope will some day reap the benefits of our efforts.
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This investigation sought the perceptions of a selected group of Mexican-American community leaders in Tucson, Arizona, concerning their recollected classroom relationships with their teachers.

The investigation proceeded on the basis of a three-part theoretical framework drawn from the literature of psychology, anthropology, and education. The theory included the following: (1) Perceptual Processes; (2) Cultural Processes; and (3) Interpersonal Processes.

An interview schedule, based on the elements of the theoretical framework, was developed employing a Likert type scale together with an open-ended comment format. Twenty Mexican-American community leaders were identified and interviewed in depth regarding the perceived relationships that they recalled having had with their respective teachers.

Among the findings, the following appeared to be most significant: (1) the participants generally agreed that their teachers were aware of them; (2) the participants reported perceiving that their teachers had accepted them; (3) the participants agreed that their teachers had generally not accepted most aspects of their bicultural being. They reported perceiving that their teachers' thrust appeared to have been toward assimilation; (4) the participants reported that their teachers seemed not to have cared sufficiently to communicate to them that their bicultural identities were important; (5) the participants
reported that their teachers had not encouraged them to make choices in becoming independent persons. They tended to report that their teachers had lowered expectations for them and therefore had not adequately challenged them; and (6) the participants perceived that their teachers had not extended themselves to positively support their cultural identities.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Mexican-American people in the United States have had a wide diversity of educational experiences in American schools. For many, these experiences have resulted in insufficient preparation to cope with the many demands of a highly complex and competitive industrial society (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights 1971b).

For a small percentage of Hispanics, American educational institutions have provided the necessary skills for full participation in most or all aspects of American society, allowing them to partake in the opportunities afforded the dominant society (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights 1971b). In Pima County, Arizona, where 23.6 percent of the population of 567,400 people are of Hispanic origin, there are some Mexican-Americans who hold positions of considerable influence within the community and who are successfully functioning in mainstream American society (Arizona Department of Economic Security 1981; hereafter referred to as ADES).

Since an important part of young people's early years is spent in school, this institution tends to be a major social force in shaping these future citizens and preparing them for their roles in society (Guskin and Guskin 1970). The manner in which teachers relate to their respective students is a significant factor in this educational process (Barnes 1977). It therefore
seemed worthwhile to study the perceptions held by Mexican-American influ­
entials concerning the relationships they experienced with their teachers.

Statement of the Problem
The purpose of this study was to investigate the following question: Among a selected group of border-educated Mexican-Americans occupying positions of influence in the dominant society, what relationships with their teachers did they perceive as being personally significant?

Significance of the Problem
Mexican-American people have a long history of contributions to the rich heritage of the Southwest, and especially Tucson and its surrounding areas and communities (Roberts 1976). In the 1850s, Tucson was a small town of approximately 400 Mexican families where the principal language was Spanish. Presently, the population of Tucson is approximately one-half million people, and Hispanics continue to be major contributors to the social and cultural milieu of the community.

Some Tucson elementary schools are named for men of Hispanic descent who were concerned with the education of children in the Tucson pueblo. The schools are Carrillo, Ochoa, and Bonillas. Leopoldo Carrillo and two others were appointed to develop a new school district. A room was rented, a carpenter employed, and benches and desks were made for the school (Roberts 1976). Esteban Ochoa was a local merchant who became well-to-do from his freighting business. Later, as the mayor of the
community, he was influential in efforts to persuade the legislature to enact a school finance law. Ygnacio Bonillas was a student in one of the first Tucson schools and later, in 1875, became a teacher in one of the newly-built three-room schools (Roberts 1976).

For some Mexican-American young people growing up in the Tucson area, the school experience has been positive, while for others it appears to have been frustrating. The impact of these experiences, whether positive or negative, appear to have turned on the kinds of relationships the young people had with their various teachers.

Since the function of the school in American society is one of great importance (Glasser 1969), and since its major goal is contributing to the socialization of its young people, it would seem instructive to examine some of the teacher-student relationships which appear, in the minds of Mexican-American community influencers, to be of personal significance.

Assumptions Underlying the Problem

The investigation was based upon the following assumptions:

1. That the participants in this investigation have a unique accumulation of cross-cultural experiences which make them knowledgeable with respect to the problem of this investigation.

2. That the interview schedule designed for this investigation will be adequate to elicit responses from the participants which will be productive in terms of the research question.
3. That the Mexican-American community influentials in the investigation will be able to recall certain of their relationships with their respective teachers and will have the necessary communication skills to answer the questions posed by the research instrument.

4. That the responses elicited from the participants of this investigation will be as nearly accurate and truthful as recall will permit.

5. That the responses of the bicultural interviewees can be accurately reported in a scholarly fashion without undue distortion.

6. That the theories of perceptual psychology and interpersonal relationships will be appropriate in reporting and analyzing the teacher-student relational perceptions of the participants.

**Limitations of the Investigation**

The following operated as limitations to the investigation:

1. The investigation will be descriptive in nature.

2. The investigation will be limited to Mexican-American community influential respondents who have received a major part of their education in southern Arizona.

3. The investigation will be limited to the respondents' recollected perceptions of their respective teacher-student relationships.

4. The investigation will be limited to the verbal responses of the participants to an interview schedule and will not involve behavioral observations.
5. The description of the participants in this investigation will be limited to selected demographic data in order to preserve their anonymity.

Definition of Terms

The following definitions are used in this investigation:

**Anglo:** refers to all white persons who are not Mexican-American or members of other Hispanic groups.

**Border-educated:** refers to persons who have received a part or all of their education in southern Arizona and includes individuals who may have received a part of their education in Mexico.

**Community Influentials:** refers to persons who are in situations which carry sufficient influence to have a significant impact or affect upon the community. The terms "Community Influentials" and "Community Leaders" are used interchangeably throughout the investigation.

**Culture:** refers to the beliefs, values, language, and norms of a group of people which affect individual members' perceptions and social behavior.

**Cultural Processes:** refers to certain concepts, related to the term culture, which are used in this investigation as analytic tools in considering the Interpersonal Processes reported by the respondents.

**Dominant Society:** refers to the Anglo majority in the United States.

**Interpersonal Processes:** refers to certain key concepts which are used in this investigation as organizational and analytic tools in considering the crucial teacher to student relationships in the classroom.

**Interview Schedule:** refers to the instrument which was developed and used with the respondents to gather the data for this investigation. The terms "Interview Schedule" and "Questionnaire" are used interchangeably in this investigation.

**Mexican-American:** refers to persons who are United States citizens and whose parents or ancestors immigrated to the United States from Mexico. The terms "Mexican-American," "Chicano," and "Hispanic" are used interchangeably in this investigation.
Perception: refers to an individual's process of awareness, through his senses, of external objects, conditions, or relationships, through the personal meaning(s) he attaches to them.

Perceptual Processes: refers to certain concepts related to the term perception which are used in this investigation as analytic tools in considering the Interpersonal Processes reported by the respondents.

Personally Significant: refers to those experiences persons have which create distinct psychological impacts on individuals—ones that are clearly remembered.

Teacher-Student Relationship: refers to the interaction of an educational, social, and psychological nature, which students experience with their teachers.

Summary

In this chapter, the problem to be investigated, that is the recalled relationships of certain border-educated Mexican-American community influentials with their former teachers, was stated. The significance of the problem was discussed, together with the assumptions underlying the problem and the limitations of the study. In the next chapter, the research procedures are detailed.
CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

In this chapter descriptions of the community and the participants are presented. Additionally, specific research procedures are outlined. Throughout this investigation, the names of persons, places, and schools have been altered to ensure anonymity.

The Community

This investigation was conducted in the metropolitan area of Tucson, Pima County, Arizona. Tucson is a city of color and contrast, rich in the cultural and historical heritage of the Southwest. Its citizens represent a variety of ethnic groups, including people who have deep familial roots in the area, as well as newcomers who represent many parts of the nation. The population of Pima County is 556,150, of which 131,460, or 23.6 percent, are of Hispanic origin (ADES 1981).

In 1775, the Royal Spanish Army founded the Presidio of San Agustín del Tucsón. Soon thereafter, Tucson became the business and supply center of the growing territory. By 1909, "The Old Pueblo," as it has been informally referred to for many years, had grown to a population of 7,351. Between 1970 and 1980, Tucson's population had grown 51 percent to over
one-half million people (Tucson Economic Development Corporation 1981; hereafter referred to as TEDC).

Tucson is situated in a desert valley surrounded by mountains that bear names giving witness to the early Spanish and Indian influence. They include the Rincons, the Santa Catalinas, the Santa Ritas, the Tortolitas, and the Tucson Mountains.

The metropolitan area of Tucson includes modern high-rise buildings, shopping malls, and rapidly growing industrial parks. The city has grown upon the sites of ancient human habitations where traces of these early men, the Hohokams, were found. The Hohokams and those early peoples who followed them farmed along the Santa Cruz River, a stream that once flowed year-round, but which is now dry for most of the year.

Located as it is within the so-called "Sun Belt," Tucson tends to have a dynamic, expanding economy. Firms such as IBM, Gates Learjet, Hughes Aircraft, Burr-Brown Research, TEC, Inc., National Semiconductor, General Electric, and others have located in Tucson.

Mining is an important part of the Tucson economy. Eleven of the nation's 15 leading copper mines are located in Arizona, and four of these are situated in Pima County. They provide approximately 40 percent of the state's total mining production (Valley National Bank 1980). Davis Monthan Air Force Base, a major government installation in Tucson, employs 5,405 military people together with 1,301 civilians (TEDC 1981).
Tucson is presently served by 12 airlines, by the Southern Pacific Railroad and Amtrack, as well as by bus and truck lines. Interstates 10 and 19 link Tucson by freeway to all parts of the United States.

Selection and Description of Participants

The Mexican-American community leaders who were interviewed were selected by a panel of experts comprised by leading citizens of the Mexican-American community. The members of the panel were asked to nominate approximately 30 individuals from the Mexican-American population who were perceived to be community influentials, and to rank order the persons nominated. Twenty persons were selected as the sample for this investigation on the basis of frequency of ranking. The investigator contacted each individual, first by letter and then by telephone, to explain the purpose of the investigation and to ascertain his or her willingness to participate. All 20 individuals readily agreed to participate.

Three of the participants were between the ages of 30 to 34, five were between the ages of 35 to 39, five were between the ages of 40 to 44, two were between the ages of 45 to 49, four were between the ages of 50 to 54, and only one person was over the age of 60.

All participants had attended schools in southern Arizona and had had at least a portion of their education in Tucson. At least five of the respondents had attended Catholic parochial schools for a portion of their education. All of the participants had attended college-level courses, while 12 of them
had earned college degrees. Fifteen males and five females participated in this investigation. All participants are professionals within their respective field of work. Professions represented by the participants included the areas of business, law, government, education, media, religion, and social services.

The participants tended to be quite visible and recognizable as successful persons holding influential positions within the metropolitan area of Tucson. Their influence seemed to extend beyond the Mexican-American community to the community at large. Because of the uniqueness of some of the formal positions held by various of the participants, and in order to ensure their anonymity, it was deemed advisable to withhold specific data on the occupations represented. The participants did represent a wide range of professional occupations.

**Design of the Investigation**

As an initial step, a careful search of the literature related to the problem of the investigation, and including a computer search, was conducted, seeking major concepts which might be useful in conducting the investigation. This library search tended to be focused on perceptual, cultural, and interpersonal theories which could be useful in searching out and describing the relationships that the Mexican-American participants experienced as students with their various teachers.
A three-part theoretical framework, drawn from the literature of psychology, anthropology, and education, was developed to provide organization and meaning to the investigation. This framework, grounded in the theory of perceptual psychology, is composed of the three following parts: (1) Perceptual Processes; (2) Cultural Processes; and (3) Interpersonal Processes.

Formulating the Instrument

Drawing on the theoretical framework, an interview schedule was constructed which sought to probe certain teacher-student relationships. This schedule was designed to be used in face-to-face interviews, with the investigator recording the participants' responses in both written and audio-taped form. (See Appendix for a copy of the interview schedule.)

Field Testing the Instrument

Prior to the use of the instrument with the sample population, the interview schedule was field tested on a small group (five in number) of Mexican-American community leaders who would not be included in the sample. Results of this field test were utilized to determine if modifications to the interview schedule were necessary.

Conducting the Interview

The investigator attempted to create a relaxed and comfortable relationship with the respondents. The fact that the investigator shared the biculturalism and bilingualism of the interviewees seemed to contribute to
the generally relaxed and cooperative atmosphere of the interviews. The respondents, without exception, evidenced interest in the subject of the investigation. In most cases, they spent considerable time commenting in detail on the questionnaire statements.

Treating and Reporting the Data

The Interpersonal Processes portion of the theoretical framework was used to organize and analyze the data. Additionally, the Cultural and Perceptual Processes portions of the framework were used as further analytic tools in treating the data. (See p. 45 for a schematic representation of the framework.)

Each category of the Interpersonal Processes portion of the framework is presented in a separate chapter, beginning with a review of selected concepts associated with the category. Each questionnaire statement is then developed as follows: (1) the questionnaire statement is presented together with a histogram displaying the quantitative data derived from the responses to the question; (2) the quantitative data is discussed; (3) certain of the respondents' comments are presented and discussed; and (4) a summary of quantitative and qualitative data is given. Results of the investigation are synthesized in terms of conclusions and recommendations in Chapter 9.

Summary

In this chapter a brief description of the demography of the community was presented. This was followed by a recounting of the participant
Next, the design of the investigation was discussed and the three major parts of the theoretical framework were introduced, namely: (1) Perceptual Processes; (2) Cultural Processes; and (3) Interpersonal Processes. The procedures for constructing the interview schedule followed together with details of its use in the interview sessions. Finally, the treatment and reporting of the data was described.

In the next chapter, the review of related literature is presented and the theory employed throughout the investigation is detailed.
CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND PRESENTATION OF A THEORY

In this chapter, the literature pertinent to the investigation is reviewed. It is presented in three parts. The first part introduces certain perceptual processes which appear to be important elements of man's need for self-adequacy. The second part presents a set of ideas regarding cultural processes that seem to be useful in understanding the impact of cultures and educational institutions on young Mexican-American students in schools. The third part presents a constellation of concepts related to interpersonal processes which seem useful in understanding teacher-student relationships.

Introduction

A basic need of man is to become a more adequate person. In this becoming, people tend to perceive what is meaningful to them and what will help them satisfy their needs (Combs, Richards, and Richards 1976). As Bugental (1967, p. 15) suggested, "Man is engaged in a ceaseless quest to extend the range and improve the quality of his satisfactions through the exercise of his creative and inventive capacities." Man's search for adequacy has been the concern of many psychologists and other social scientists. Among
those who have given close attention to the subject are Combs, Richards, and Richards (1976), Maslow (1971), Rogers (1961), and Kelly (1963).

The search for adequacy has been defined by Snygg in the following manner: "That biologically grounded force in each of us by which we are continually seeking to make ourselves ever more adequate to cope with life" (Combs, Richards, and Richards 1976, p. 57).

Other terms used to define the search for adequacy are, "a need for self-actualization," introduced by Maslow; "a process of becoming," by Allport; and a "search for self-fulfillment," by Rogers (Combs et al. 1962, p. 2).

Rogers (1961, p. 35), in discussing this growth principle or drive toward self-actualization, suggested that it is:

the urge which is evident in all organic and human life—to expand, extend, become autonomous, develop, mature—the tendency to express and activate all the capacities of the organism, to the extent that such activation enhances the organism or the self. This tendency may become deeply buried under layer after layer of en-crust ed psychological defenses; it may be hidden behind elaborate facades which deny its existence; but it is my belief that it exists in every individual, and awaits only the proper conditions to be released and expressed.

Thus, each individual is a "fundamentally motivated organism, seeking from birth to death the maintenance and enhancement of the self" (Combs, Richards, and Richards 1976). The person's success in becoming an adequate person will be significantly influenced by the perceptions he is able to make.
Perceptual Processes

The theory of perceptual psychology addresses the need of each person to search for a more adequate self. This study of humans and their behavior has traditionally been viewed from two frames of reference: an external frame of reference and an internal one (Combs, Richards, and Richards 1976; Kuenzli 1959; Snygg and Combs 1949).

The external frame of reference makes possible the study of behavior through observations of what the person does. Watson, a behaviorist, rejected introspection as being unscientific (Neel 1977, p. 114). Skinner felt that "as other aspects of the mind, these were not necessary to account for behavior" (Neel 1977, p. 175). In an interview with Richard Evans, Skinner was asked about the behavioral viewpoint. He commented, "If you have a situation in which you can observe the frequency with which an animal or a man engages in a given activity, then you can search for all the variables of which that frequency is a function" (Evans 1976, p. 84).

The internal frame of reference makes possible perceptions and meanings from the point of view of the behaver (Combs, Richards, and Richards 1976). Snygg and Combs looked at a person's experiences as an entity in itself and attempted to understand human behavior in terms of those experiences (Neel 1977, p. 419).

Both internal and external frames of reference have provided useful information in studying human behavior. For many psychologists and other social scientists, however, both approaches seemed incomplete. Of this
situation, Allport once said, "The trouble with our current theories of learning is not so much that they are wrong, but that they are partial" (Combs et al. 1962, p. 152).

Perceptual psychology has attempted to present a third frame of reference to integrate the internal and external frames of reference. Combs et al. (1962, p. 67), in *Perceiving, Behaving, and Becoming*, defined this third frame of reference as one which:

seeks to understand man in dynamic terms. It looks at human beings, not only through the eyes of an outsider but also in terms of how things look from the point of view of the behaver himself. It is concerned with more than the forces exerted upon people from the outside. It seeks also to understand the internal life of the individual: his wants, feelings, desires, attitudes, values, and the unique ways of seeing and understanding that cause him to behave as he does.

The topic of personal experiences and meanings has been the subject of studies and research by humanists who may refer to themselves as humanistic psychologists, phenomenologists, transactionalists, existentialists, perceptualists, personalists, and self psychologists (Neel 1977).

Segall (1979, p. 70), in his discussion on experiential influences and perception stated:

From the time of the Greek philosophers, questions have been raised about whether individual human organisms might interact with their own sense impressions and thus participate actively in their perceptions of external objects and events. The results of such interaction would be that any given object or event is perceived uniquely by each person.

Perception, as suggested by Combs, is "any differentiation a person is capable of making in his perceptual field whether or not an
objectively observable stimulus is present" (Combs, Richards, and Richards 1976, p. 16). Any differentiations in that field include perceptions resulting from hearing, seeing, smelling, and feeling, as well as those made in conceiving, knowing, or understanding.

Perceptions and Self-Concept

A person's perceptions will be greatly affected by his concept of himself (Combs, Avila, and Purkey 1971, p. 43). The self-concept is an important and powerful force in a person's life, because through it, perceptions are made about the world (Felker 1974, p. 8). It also serves to interpret experiences and behavior. As Felker (1974, p. 8) noted:

If a young man offers to help three women across a busy street, one might interpret it as a kindly act; the second might interpret it as an insult about her age and ability; and the third might interpret it as an improper advance and call a policeman. Each of these interpretations is dramatically influenced by the view that the woman has of herself.

As people develop personal meanings and interpret their experiences, attitudes are developed about themselves and others. Felker (1974, p. 5) clarified this when he stated:

Because self-attitudes are directed inward, the emotions aroused by these attitudes are particularly powerful. Everyone directs attitudes (emotionally toned ideas) toward others and, at the same time, perceives the attitudes of others toward them. External attitudes can be avoided if they are negative or painful. But negative self-attitudes cannot be avoided.

Allport (1968, p. 34), in discussing the sense of self and personal identity and its importance as a reference point for all conduct, explained the
self in the following way: "The self as an anchorage in consciousness becomes securely established after the first year or two of life so that the child comes to locate up and down, before and behind, past and future, striving and rejection, in relation to the self he knows."

Harry Stack Sullivan held that, because the self is made up of "reflected appraisals" of other people, the quality of a person's life is very much affected by the quality of the relationships with the important people around him. Sullivan averred that, "If one is rejected by the significant persons, he will tend to develop a self-rejecting personality. If he has been welcomed, he will tend to develop a confident, self-accepting personality" (Phenix 1964, p. 200).

Argyle (1978, p. 198) emphasized the importance of self-image and its relation to adolescents by stating that young people "who have only just formed a tentative self-image are particularly sensitive to the reactions of others, and are 'insecure' in this sense." Although adolescents are especially sensitive in this regard, adults and teachers feel quite free to give "descriptive feedback" to children, while among adults, there is a hesitancy to give direct verbal feedback, especially if it is negative.

Perceptions and Behavior

A major concept of perceptual psychology is that "all behavior is a function of a person's perceptions or personal meanings" (Combs, Richards, and Richards 1976, p. 16). Perceptions are affected by internal stimuli. As
was noted in a recent yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, "Beliefs, attitudes, expectations, wishes, and desires influence our perceptions, and thus our behavior" (Berman 1977, p. 156). In his discussion of human existence and perceptions, Lana (1976, p. 62) observed that "it might be said that perception is not assessed truth, but truth in itself for the individual."

The combination of an individual's unique perceptions formulate what the psychologist refers to as the perceptual field, which is organized on a figure-ground basis. Experiences are influenced not only by the figure but also by all other characters in the background at that particular moment (Neel 1977, p. 420). The behaver will differentiate certain perceptions out from all others. These differentiations, then, tend to affect his behavior. The perceptual field contains many other meanings which are perceived with varying degrees of awareness, some of which are clear figures, while others are vague and undifferentiated (Combs, Avila, and Purkey 1971, p. 25). In *Perceiving, Behaving, and Becoming*, Combs et al. (1962, p. 61) pointed out that "the deeper, more personally significant the perception . . . the more likely it is to affect behavior."

Neel (1977, p. 422) suggested that perceptions shift focus from moment to moment in a dynamic fashion as the meaning or significance changes. This shift is illustrated in the following example:

In looking at a large crowd of people one person may stand out as figure; this person is much smaller than the original group, but one
is aware of many details about him, his appearance and actions. The perception may shift so that the whole group becomes figure wherein no particular individual stands out, and one is only aware of a sea of faces. One might refocus again and see the group in a particular social or historical setting, e.g., a revolution or a parade.

As mentioned earlier, behavior is significantly affected by the individual's perceptual field at the moment of action. "To produce change in behavior, then, it is necessary to produce some change in a personal field of meaning" (Combs, Richards, and Richards 1976, p. 39). The importance of understanding the link between perceptions and change in behavior was discussed by Combs et al. (1962, p. 76) in the following:

If we can understand how a person is perceiving right now—we may be able to help him change his behavior even if we do not know how he got this way. That is, if human behavior is a function of perception and if perception exists in the present, then it should be possible to change behavior if we can change present perceptions. This opens vast new possibilities for education.

The Effect of Threat on Change in Behavior

When a person feels himself threatened, the focus of attention is particularly concentrated. In this regard, psychologists are aware of two effects upon an individual's behavior. The first one is called "tunnel vision" where the individual's perceptual field narrows in reaction to the threatening elements. The other effect of threat on perception and behavior is a factor in learning which causes a person to rigidify and cling to his original perceptions in spite of other signals which might be important in his perceptual field (Combs, Avila, and Purkey 1971).
This concept was discussed by Combs, Avila, and Purkey (1971, p. 107) in more detail in the following manner:

When a person feels threatened, he is forced to defend the perceptions he already has. This effect of threat upon perception is extremely well-known to the man in the street, but it is truly amazing how little attention it has been given as a principle affecting learning. Almost everyone is aware that when he feels himself threatened, his first reaction is to defend himself in every way he can. What is more, the greater the degree of threat to which he is exposed the more tenaciously he holds the perceptions, ideas, or practices he already has. Under the experience of threat, people find it almost impossible to change.

Anxiety is the feeling that is experienced by a person who is confronted with a threat to the phenomenal self. Anxiety, as May (1950, p. 191) defined it is "the apprehension cued off by a threat to some value which the individual holds essential to his existence as a personality." Harry Stack Sullivan (May 1950, p. 148) felt that anxiety arises out of the infant's apprehension of the disapproval of the significant persons in his phenomenal, interpersonal world.

Anxiety will take a different form from person to person. What occurs in the case of anxiety is that there tends to be a threat to a certain value held by an individual. This is so particularly if that value is deemed by the individual to be essential to his existence and thereby important to his feeling of security (May 1950).

Kuenzli (1959, p. 209) cited Horney in discussing anxiety. She stated that there are three interdependent components of "basic anxiety": (1) helplessness; (2) hostility; and (3) isolation.
A reduction in anxiety, according to Kuenzli (1959, pp. 63-64) may come about in the individual:

when all of the ways in which the individual perceives himself—all perceptions of the qualities, abilities, impulses, and attitudes of the person, and all perceptions of himself in relation to others—are accepted into the organized conscious concept of the self, then this achievement is accompanied by feelings of comfort and freedom from tension which are experienced as psychological adjustment.

According to May (1950), it is only when the individual confronts the anxiety-creating situation that he will be able to move ahead without giving in to these anxieties, since the values with which he identifies tend to be stronger than the threat.

The relationship between anxiety and cultural factors has been widely recognized in contemporary psychology and psychoanalysis (May 1950). Studies concerning the worries of school children repeatedly reveal that a major area of anxiety for students lies in the area of competitive success, whether in school itself or in work (May 1950).

A persisting occasion of anxiety, as reported by girls, was competitive ambition, i.e., whether they would measure up to cultural standards of success. May (1950, p. 153) commented on this, stating, "The weight placed upon the value of competitive success is so great in our culture and the anxiety occasioned by the possibility of failure to achieve this goal is so frequent . . . that there is reason for assuming that individual competitive success is both the dominant goal in our culture and the most pervasive occasion for anxiety." In discussing the effects of threat on perceptions, Combs et al. (1962, p. 105)
commented as follows regarding children in the classroom: "Children need to be challenged, but the negative effects of threat in narrowing perception and forcing individuals to the defense of existing positions is clearly antithetical to the kinds of open exploration and discovery essential for development of a truly adequate self."

It is important, according to Glasser (1969) that a teacher be non-judgmental. In writing on the topic, he noted that when a teacher is non-judgmental, "Each child learns that he is important to every other child, that what he says is heard by everyone, and that his ideas count. When children experience the satisfaction of thinking and listening to others, they are not afraid to have ideas, to enter into a discussion, and to solve their own problems and the problems of their class by using their brains" (Glasser 1969, p. 131).

In 1966, the United States Commission on Civil Rights conducted a study entitled *Equality of Educational Opportunity* to investigate the problem of teacher interaction with Anglo and Chicano pupils. The commission used the Flanders System of Interaction Analysis since this system focuses on types of teacher behavior which relate to encouraging and involving students in the learning process. The study revealed that Mexican-American pupils in the survey received significantly less educationally beneficial teacher behavior than did the Anglo students in the same classrooms.

Mexican-American children, it was found, received significantly less praise and encouragement from the teacher. Furthermore, the teacher
tended with greater frequency to avoid accepting and using the ideas expressed by the Mexican-American students as compared to the Anglo students. In addition, teachers spent significantly less time in asking questions of Chicano pupils than of Anglo pupils (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights 1973).

Combs et al. (1962, p. 75) reported that if teachers accept the proposition that, in order to change an individual's behavior, a change in personal meanings must occur. Combs noted that if this is to occur, there must be an atmosphere of personalization in teacher–student relationships. This, he observed, would facilitate a less threatening environment and would progressively tend to create an attitude of accepting and caring on the part of the teacher.

If a teacher tends to treat one group of students more favorably than another group, the children involved are quick to perceive this inequality and are affected by it. When a teacher seldom praises or encourages a Chicano student, the effects on his motivation and academic progress can be significant. His perceptions of a teacher who appears to him to praise and encourage others while withholding same from him could lead him to certain conclusions. He might conclude, for example, that the teacher does not like him and that his education is not that important to the teacher (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights 1973, p. 10).

With respect to the students' perceptions about the teacher's interaction with Chicano students, the commission noted that:
The Chicano student's perception of the worth of his own ideas and experiences in comparison to those of Anglo students necessarily is influenced by the teacher's use of the contributions of members of each group. The disparity in favor of Anglos is likely to result in lower self-esteem, decreased interest, and poorer academic performance for the Mexican-American pupils (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights 1973, p. 30).

In the section which follows, an effort will be made to link the theory of perceptual psychology just detailed to a theory of cultural processes.

**Cultural Processes**

Perceptions and Culture

The importance of culture in affecting perceptions has been discussed by various psychologists, anthropologists, and other social scientists. Meanings, concepts, values, ideas, and other abstractions existing in the particular culture in which one is raised are essential to the need satisfaction of the person (Combs, Richards, and Richards 1976). Segall (1979, p. 96) suggested that "our perceptual functioning seemingly involves selective filters derived from culturally shaped experiences." In her discussion of the science of custom and man, Ruth Benedict (1961, p. 3) wrote, "From the moment of his birth the customs into which he is born shape his experience and behavior. By the time he can talk, he is the little creature of his culture, and by the time he is grown and able to take part in its activities, its habits are his habits, its beliefs his beliefs, its impossibilities his impossibilities."

People of different cultures vary in their perceptions of space, size, and distance; moreover, they differ in their method of remembering
and processing information (Segall 1979). Even an individual unsophisticated in psychology, Segall observed, can be aware of the fact that "people's social and cultural background shapes certain aspects of their behavior to a marked degree" (Segall 1979, p. 69).

In discussing the subject of cultural impact on perception, Combs, Richards, and Richards (1976, p. 174) pointed out that it is possible for a person to develop a phenomenal self even if he lived alone on a desert island. However, they observed that "the culture in which we move is so completely and inextricably a part of our experience as to overshadow almost all else in determining the nature of the concepts of self, developed by each of its members" (Combs, Richards, and Richards 1976, p. 174).

Allport (1955, p. 82), in his book *Becoming*, stated, "A man's culture is one of the sets of circumstances from which he draws his style of life. That the cultural approach yields valuable facts we cannot possibly deny, for culture is indeed a major condition in becoming."

Dorothy Lee, the anthropologist, felt that cultural factors are built into the experiences presented to the growing child, and that the young person's strengths lie in this fact (Lee 1976). Our perceptions, our way of looking at the world, our values and our lifestyles, Segall wrote, "are largely conditioned by our particular cultures. The contents of our cultures are internalized by each of us; we are, in a sense our own cultures" (Segall 1979, p. 222).

In the case of an Hispanic child who enters a classroom largely composed of Anglo youngsters, his sense of personal identity and his
self-concept tend to be immediately threatened (Johnson and Hernández-M. 1970). Many individuals reared in the culture of traditional Mexican families are encouraged to identify with their families and to remain identified with them throughout most of their lives (Ramírez and Castañeda 1974). A contrasting feature of the Mexican-American culture and that of most American schools is considered by Ramírez and Castañeda (1974, p. 45) as follows: "The mutual dependence and cooperative achievement characteristic of interpersonal relationships in traditional Mexican-American culture contrasts with the achievement through individual competition encouraged by the culture of the schools."

Language

A major distinguishing characteristic between man and animal is man's control of language. Although many animals have complex communication systems, man has the most sophisticated form of language control (Spolsky 1972; Postman and Weingartner 1966; Montagu and Matson 1979). Ashley Montagu and Floyd Matson (1979, p. 173) expressed their thoughts regarding person-to-person communication thus: "The greatest contribution to the whole subject of speech and language has come to us from anthropologists, who have demonstrated that the best approach to the understanding of another culture is through the study of its language, for language constitutes the formal structure in which people think."
As previously mentioned, attitudes about oneself are the components of an individual's self-image. In this regard, Felker (1974, p. 5) noted that "the self-concept is an extremely powerful factor in the growth and development of human beings. Part of the power comes from its uniqueness. Every individual has a concept of himself that consists of a set of self-directed perceptions, ideas, and attitudes."

The language of a child attending school for the first time is an important part of his self-concept. Spolsky (1972, p. 2) affirmed this point when he stated, "When a six-year-old child comes to school, he brings with him as a result of a huge investment of time and effort in language learning a high level of mastery of at least one variety of language. He is then often faced with the task of learning the variety of varieties of language chosen by the school."

As was reported by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1974) in *Toward Quality Education for Mexican-Americans*, exclusion from the school experience of the child's native language can result in two serious consequences. First, the child who has a limited proficiency in the English language will find it difficult to function satisfactorily in the classroom; and second, because a language is one of the values held by a particular group, the exclusion of that language from the school and classroom will transmit a message to the child that part of his life is undesirable.

Bruce Gaarder, a linguist, expressed the following thoughts regarding language and self-concept, stating, "Language is the most important
exteriorization or manifestation of the self, of the human personality. If the school, the all-powerful school, rejects the mother tongue of an entire group of children, it can be expected to affect seriously and adversely those children's concepts of their parents, their homes, and of themselves" (Spolsky 1972, p. 530).

In the case of five- or six-year-old Spanish-speaking children, the teacher can make a significant difference in a positive direction in their self-concepts by giving importance to their language. What actually seems to be occurring in many classrooms, however, is that the teachers, often unconsciously, destroy the five or six years of pre-school learning experiences which have become a part of the children's self-concepts (Johnson and Hernández-M. 1970; Ramírez and Castañeda 1974).

Laosa, a research psychologist, investigated several questions regarding student ethnicity, degree of bilingualism, and classroom interaction. One of the questions posed in the study was: "Is a student's English/Spanish language dominance a factor that significantly influences how teachers behave toward him/her and how the student himself/herself behaves toward teachers and other students?" (Laosa 1979, p. 58). An important finding in this study was that "students' language dominance—rather than student ethnic group membership—was the significant factor influencing teachers' disapproving behavior toward the students" (Laosa 1979, p. 60).
The Mexican-American, Culture and School

In a five-year study begun in 1971 by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, inquiries were conducted regarding what appeared to be the acute educational deprivations faced by many young Mexican-American people. Among other important areas of concern was that of the relationships between educational practices and conditions on the one hand, and on the other, the educational outcomes for Mexican-American youths (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights 1971a).

In this five-year study, another concern was the significance of culture and the educational experience of young Mexican-Americans. A 1967 Colorado State government report on Spanish-surnamed citizens revealed that school administrators' view of Mexican-American youth seemed to be that "because of their cultural value system ... they do not aspire to educational success" (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights 1968). The report went on to assert:

The lack of aspiration in any Spanish-surnamed student is probably not his failure to accept prevailing cultural goals, but his awareness that he cannot make it. Assuming he has the ability, as do many Spanish surnamed students who drop out of school, it is the educational system and the majority society which kill his aspiration, not an inner deficiency (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights 1968, p. 28).

Insensitivity to the culture and the impact on the individual has been a major problem. In Los Angeles, according to the commission, a mother testified before the State Advisory Committee to the commission and reported the following:
We have another mother in the school in the San Fernando Valley, which is having nine children, and which, with the wages the husband makes, was not enough to put an adequate lunch for the children when they went to school. Yet the school kept calling her back telling her that the beans—a sandwich of beans—was not enough. I think she knew that. She knew that very well. The point was, she didn't have enough money to put anything better.

And that is not the problem I'm referring about. The problem is that this was told to the children in front of the rest of the class. What kind of a teacher would make the children feel bad because of that—not once, three, four, five times. When a teacher is doing this, this is making damage on the child itself. He can no longer concentrate on trying to improve, trying to do his best. He's already been branded (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1968, pp. 31-32).

A significant observation made in one of the studies by the commission was that "the heart of the education process is in the interaction between teacher and student. It is through this interaction that the school system makes its major impact upon the child. The way the teacher interacts with the student is a major determinant of the quality of education the child receives" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1974, p. 33).

Arthur Pearl, quoted by Garcia (1978, p. 209), in his article, "Chicano Education: A Case for Alternative Schooling," stated the case thus:

Every ethnic or racial minority in addition to having the right to first-class citizenship, must retain the right to maintain their cultural heritage, in total or in part. Every Chicano must have the right to be Chicano, every Black must have the right to be Black, etc. This right among others, has been absent due to the melting pot philosophy that has pervaded school programs and has effectively denied that right. . . . Without the benefit of culture, teachers are not whole people. When teachers are not whole, they become non-people. Teachers cannot achieve anything approaching integrity of self if they are no more than a loose collection of skills. This seemingly obvious observation escapes the advocate of "precision-teaching" who wants teachers to react to every student in the exact same way.
In the next section, the role of interpersonal processes in the classrooms is highlighted and a link is established between it and the foregoing perceptual and cultural theories.

**Interpersonal Processes**

The family, as seen by Combs, is the "transmitter of constancies" (Combs, Richards, and Richards 1976). From the family, a person learns to develop perceptions about the world from within the unique culture into which he is born. A child, Combs submitted, "can only see himself in terms of his experience and the treatment he receives from those responsible for his development" (Combs, Richards, and Richards 1976, p. 113).

Ramírez and Castañeda (1974, p. 44) described interpersonal relationships in the Mexican-American family as being characterized by openness, warmth, and commitment to mutual dependence. Considerable emphasis is placed on the individual's skill in relating to others, on the development of sensitivity to others' feelings and needs. The most important characteristic of interpersonal relationships is the commitment to mutual help that results in cooperative achievement among members of traditional communities.

From a conceptual standpoint, interpersonal processes include various concepts which seem useful in examining crucial person-to-person relationships, especially as they affect teacher to student relationships in the classroom. In the following, a set of relational concepts drawn from the literature is presented. These concepts appear to have utility in considering the perceptions of the participants in this investigation.
Effective teacher-student relationships can be developed through the perceptual process of differentiation which permits a person to become conscious of another; to recognize his inherent uniqueness and to gradually become aware of him in a variety of ways.

Awareness by the teacher of each student in his classroom is a step toward effective classroom relationships. Levinger and Raush (1977, pp. 5-6) suggested that there are different levels of awareness. Beyond "zero contact," where two persons have no awareness of each other's existence, they detailed three levels of awareness, as follows:

1. Through one-way observation, without any reciprocation from the other;
2. Through two-way interaction, including superficial contacts between either strangers or recurring role partners; and
3. Through deeper mutual interdependence, where two persons develop and maintain a unique space of jointness—joint experiences, joint norms, and other mutual properties. From no relation, through unilateral observation and bilateral contact, toward mutuality—these seem to be basic gradations of interpersonal relationships (Levinger and Raush 1977, pp. 5-6).

Perceptions and levels of awareness are very closely interrelated concepts. Although the perceptual field includes all of the personal meanings of which a person is aware, the degree of awareness is not clear and consistent at each moment (Combs, Richards, and Richards 1976). To demonstrate the function of differentiation and levels of awareness and the intensity with which events are experienced, Combs, Richards, and Richards (1976, p. 27) pointed out that "we walk through the living room without paying specific attention to the exact location of the lamps and the chairs, but our behavior indicates that we
are aware of them. We do not bump into them. We know they are there even though we may be intent upon other matters. Awareness of these objects is at the low level of clarity adequate for the purpose of the moment. "Awareness was discussed by Barksdale (1977, p. 127) as being "the degree of clarity with which you perceive, analyze, evaluate, and understand, both consciously and nonconsciously, everything that affects your life. In short, your awareness is simply the functioning of your senses, of your human computer or brain and its associated nervous system." Awareness, as suggested by Wilhelms (1967, p. 60), is "ideas about readiness to relate, attending to stimuli, processing data, finding relations, and making unique meaning from experience." The importance of the process of awareness in relation to the classroom climate was considered in depth by Barnes (1977) when he discussed the word "contact." "Contact, as we see it, is the very beginning of person-to-person relationships" (Barnes 1977, p. 59).

The process of person perception is an important initial step in building a close relationship with another person. Schneider, Hastorf, and Ellsworth (1979, p. 19) noted that "person perception normally begins when we actually see or hear another person, and it generally involves more than just the perception of the person. Usually we perceive that person doing something—behaving—and we are also aware of a context for that behavior."
Accept

In the interrelationships which occur in a classroom, one of the crucial aspects of those relationships is the degree to which the teacher perceives the various students as being adequate and accepts them, that is, favorably disposed toward and appreciates each of them.

Combs, Avila, and Purkey (1971) suggested that a major requirement for the development of a good atmosphere for change is acceptance. Rogers (1961, p. 34) defined acceptance of a person as "a warm regard for him as a person of unconditional self-worth—of value no matter what his condition, his behavior, or his feelings."

The atmosphere for learning and growth must begin with a basic foundation of acceptance that a teacher should have for each of his students. As Combs noted, "The student . . . is accepted as who he is, what he is, and he feels without judging or valuing" (Combs, Avila, and Purkey 1971, p. 228).

Acceptance is learned behavior (Combs et al. 1962; Rogers 1961; Sugarman 1978; Tyler 1969; Fitts 1970). Studies have revealed that children accept even the most difficult of handicaps if they are accepted by those who are close to them. "Apparently," Combs et al. (1962, p. 59) observed, "one learns to accept himself and others as a function of having experienced acceptance."

Acceptance of a child in a classroom has a great impact on his learning. As discussed previously, behavior is a function of personal meanings, and thus perceptions become the center of the teaching-learning
experience. If a child is to react favorably to changes in a classroom, the classroom must be a safe place for the child (Combs et al. 1962). The classroom needs an atmosphere which promotes accepting behaviors. If the student feels accepted by the teacher, he will most likely be inclined to develop accepting attitudes toward himself and others. In such an atmosphere, there is more potential for exploration of personal meanings without the fear of being subjected to ridicule or attack for expressing unique feelings, beliefs, and ideas (Combs, Avila, and Purkey 1971, p. 228). Combs et al. (1962, p. 71) explained this idea when they commented:

Acceptance does not mean the teacher agrees that a student's meanings are valid, nor does it mean that these perceptions are made a part of the teacher's way of perceiving. It means giving the student the privilege of holding and presenting his meanings without ridicule or attack, the privilege of seeing things the way he does. It is in interaction with others that a student builds his perceptions, the meanings that people, ideas, information have for him. There should be ample opportunity and time for this type of exploration.

According to Fitts (1970, p. 25), acceptance is a freeing experience. Man can learn to shed prejudices, judgments, conflicts, hate, and misunderstanding if he exhibits genuine acceptance. He did note, however, that there are "limits to acceptance. . . . You may accept me unconditionally, but you may not accept all of my behavior" (Fitts 1970, p. 25). A person may accept another's color, age, size, education, language, hair, etc., but if he continually mistreats, threatens, or insults the person, that behavior will exceed the limits of acceptance (Fitts 1970).
Persons are concerned with the acceptance of self and others in the growth process. Glasser (1971, p. 10) noted that "almost everyone is personally engaged in a search for acceptance as a person rather than as a performer of a task."

Care

Through the critical elements of awareness and acceptance, a relationship of caring can evolve and become strengthened with the teacher's continued interest in the welfare of his students.

Care is an important factor in teacher-student relationships. Gaylin (1976, p. 153) expressed the following thoughts about the importance of care: "To be treated kindly by someone who is not a primary caretaker is like a stroke or a caress. It is unnecessary, but a delight. To be neglected by someone who should be in a caring position has the implication and the potential for real damage."

Through the process of caring, Parker (1968) suggested that a person is more likely to achieve what he calls "person-ness." Several things happen. First, a person comes to care for himself and for others with whom he has in-depth contact. Second, through caring, the person develops a greater empathy for the other person. Third, a person is able to parallel his outer expressions with his inner feelings. Fourth, a person develops a feeling that he knows who he is and what he is becoming (Parker 1968, pp. 38-39).

How do people develop a caring attitude? Investigators have looked at this question and have identified some requisites. Fitts (1970, p. 21)
suggested that there must be a high level of communication between the inter-
acting people. He elaborated on this position as follows:

If we invest ourselves fully in understanding the other's feelings, there is little room left in us for the usual negative reactions of judgment, ridicule, criticism, and resentment. Instead, we typically come to appreciate and value the other person more as we come to know what things are like in his private world. Our understanding enables him to give us a rare gift—his own true self—and we usually like people who give us valuable gifts (Fitts 1970, p. 21).

Communication is a process which allows people to find out about each other, although this process does not necessarily assure that "caring" will automatically evolve. The quality of the interaction is the *sine qua non* of the process (Fitts 1970).

Daniels and Horowitz (1976) submitted that essential to a caring relationship is a sensitivity to the needs and directions of others. An attitude of placing one's self in second place is desirable. In their characterization of caring relationships, Daniels and Horowitz (1976, p. 337) stated, "As we move from a competitive, win-lose attitude toward life into a cooperative, everyone-can-win attitude, we will all find it easier to be with one another in caring ways. Through sharing and caring, we can all feel better with our lives."

Fitts (1970, p. 14) has defined caring as "the extent of liking, affection, valuing, love, friendship, or concern which the parties feel for each other."

A condition for the development of caring for others is that a person must first have high regard for himself (Fitts 1970). Beyond this, a "reciprocity" principle is important and was proposed by Fitts when he said that if a
person cares about someone he will in turn receive care from the other. To emphasize this point, Fitts stated: "If we concentrate upon complete, two-way communication, then we will also be able to offer caring and acceptance to others. If then we seek from others what we offer to them, we will usually get what we seek and all parties will move toward greater self-actualization and a better world" (Fitts 1970, p. 43).

Aspire

Through care, there is a deepening of the teacher-student relationship which encourages the development of the student's potential and allows for a mutual striving and support in a growth direction.

As previously mentioned, an individual is always seeking to maintain and enhance the self in his search for adequacy. The goals people aspire toward depend importantly on how well a particular self-need is served (Combs, Richards, and Richards 1976). The shift in the perceptual field occurs when a person no longer sees that a particular goal or value serves his needs.

The need for self-enhancement can be a strong motivating force in the classroom. This idea is supported by Lembo (1969) with his observation that individuals tend to spend an extended amount of time and effort devoted to problem-solving tasks that seem to be related to their self-adequacy needs. "The need for self-enhancement enables the individual to continue at tasks in the presence of actual or threatened failure" (Lembo 1969, p. 93).
Teacher attitudes and behavior play an important role in the educational process. Children in school are quite dependent on the adults in their classroom environments. They look to the teacher for direction. The children's dependence is even more intense when they view the teacher as the "authority" symbol of their school world (Guskin and Guskin 1970). In considering the dependency of students, the effects of the expectations of important others is interesting and suggestive. Guskin and Guskin (1970, p. 106) commented on these effects, saying, "Teachers can cause significant changes in the student's intellectual performance and self-expectations. Thus the young student's self-evaluation can be altered by the expectations of his teacher, his warmth, his approval, his annoyance."

Teachers, it has been argued, are significant others in the lives of students. This is true for most young people, but especially for ethnic minority youngsters (Gay 1975). "How they perceive students and relate to them in terms of expectations and interactions has a great deal to do with the students' academic performance and evaluation of self" (Gay 1975, p. 167).

According to Gay (1975, p. 167), investigations into the topic of teacher expectations as related to minority youngsters demonstrate that "how teachers behave toward students and the opportunities they make available to students to participate in the educational process, are largely functions of their perceptions and expectations."

The level of aspiration of an individual, as suggested by Lembo (1969, p. 89) "derives largely from his interpretation of success or failure on
previous performance." He commented that a raising of one's aspiration level is likely to occur if one experiences success. Failure, on the other hand, frequently tends to result in avoidance or withdrawal by the learner and refusing to participate in further learning.

With reference to expectancies and goals, Combs et al. (1962, p. 109) commented:

People measure their success by the degree to which they are able to meet expectancies and reach the goals they have established either for themselves or from others. To provide the kinds of success experience out of which a feeling of adequacy is produced, children need to feel they are reaching goals and meeting expectancies continuously. This means the goals and expectancies created for children in the classroom must be accurate and realistic and within the capacities of the child.

Share

Sharing includes the concepts of aware, accept, care, and aspire. It involves a sincere concern for another person's well-being, and a reciprocal element of concern between persons may develop.

The concept of sharing has been characterized by Daniels and Horowitz (1976, p. 29) as "involvement in any kind of growing relationship and working on mutual growth."

Sharing is an important aspect of teacher-student relationships in the classroom. In Democratic Classrooms, Barnes (1977, p. 65) discussed the concept that "the category share interests marks for us the real beginning of cooperative action in the democratic process. It is the stage in personal relationships where contact is becoming well established. . . . It is that
point, we believe, where each person involved in the interest provides, receives, and learns."

Good interpersonal relationships, as suggested by Fitts (1970), require the ability to give to others as well as receive from others. Sharing requires an element of cooperation. The classroom atmosphere can be supportive in encouraging cooperative interaction. Cooperative actions can help free children to learn and to become more adequate.

It has been suggested by Berman and Roderick (1977) that the educational institution has erred in not giving enough attention to the interaction of cognitive and affective goals of education. Mutually enhancing relationships require receiving and responding to behaviors. These appear to be requisites of learning.

Share, as suggested by Barnes (1977) suggests a common partaking of a learning experience. The student in the classroom seeks some sort of affiliative relationship with his teachers and other young people. Lembo (1969, p. 94) commented on what he referred to as the affective need, saying, "An individual wants to be accepted by the persons with whom he feels an affinity. To the degree that acceptance and approval are contingent on achievement, and the need for affiliation high, the affiliative need is a potent force in classroom learning."

Sharing leads to openness (Daniels and Horowitz 1976), which has been defined by Fitts (1970, p. 14) as "the extent to which one is real, honest, genuine, and congruent; one's capacity to experience all aspects of his own
organism and to share that experiencing with another." Teachers in the classroom are in a strategic position to encourage students to become fully functioning persons through caring and sharing relationships (Combs et al. 1962).

In this chapter, a review of the theoretical concepts which were used throughout the investigation as organizing and directing guidelines, has been presented. This framework, referred to as an "Organizational and Analytic Framework of Interpersonal Relationships" is focused on the development and maintenance of a person's self-adequacy. The framework was ordered into three major areas: (1) Perceptual Processes; (2) Cultural Processes; and (3) Interpersonal Processes. The Interpersonal Processes portion of the framework has been used to organize, report, and analyze the data, while the Perceptual and Cultural Processes portions provided further analytic tools in examining the data.

This theoretical framework which was developed in this chapter is illustrated in schematic form in Figure 1.
Figure 1. Organizational and Analytic Framework of Interpersonal Relationships.
CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF THE DATA:

AWARE

Method of Data Presentation

In this chapter and the following four chapters, various data regarding the Mexican-American participants' retrospective perceptions of their relationships with former teachers are presented. They are presented and analyzed employing the five categories of the Interpersonal Processes portion of the theoretical framework: (1) Aware; (2) Accept; (3) Care; (4) Aspire; and (5) Share.

The order of presentation of the categories in the Interpersonal Processes portion of the theoretical framework evolved from the review of the literature. The categories, however, are not precisely discrete and should be viewed as somewhat overlapping elements in the flow of the relational process. In analyzing the data, moreover, concepts drawn from the Perceptual and Cultural Processes portion of the theoretical framework provide additional perspectives.

Each category of the Interpersonal Processes portion of the framework is presented in a separate chapter, beginning with a review of selected concepts associated with the category. Each questionnaire statement is then developed as follows: (1) the questionnaire statement is presented together
with a histogram displaying the quantitative data derived from the responses to the question; (2) the quantitative data is discussed; (3) certain of the respondents' comments are presented and discussed; and (4) a summary of quantitative and qualitative data is given.

Aware

"Aware" as the first relational concept originates in a social situation where the perceptual act of differentiation allows one person to become conscious of another. At the outset of the relationship, this consciousness or awareness may be quite superficial and function at a low level of clarity. At this stage, no discernible reciprocity may occur between persons in the developing process of awareness. Awareness in the early stages of person-to-person contact may be somewhat mechanical, but has the potential for developing into a higher level of consciousness and lead to a richer interpersonal relationship.

Awareness at its highest level is a form of "contact," marking the certain beginning of person-to-person relationships, and is important as an initial step in developing a close personal relationship with another person. Such a relationship can have significant educational import for teachers and their students in the classroom.

The first four questionnaire statements which follow in this chapter concern the concept of "aware" in various of its levels, as it applies to Mexican-American students and their teachers.
Questionnaire Statement Number 1

"I felt that my teachers were aware of me as a person."

In Figure 2, 10 percent (2) of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement concerning their teachers' awareness of them as persons. Forty percent (8) of the respondents agreed with the statement; thus a total of 50 percent (10) of the respondents were in agreement.

Twenty-five percent (5) of the respondents were undecided, while the remaining 25 percent (5) of the respondents disagreed with the statement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Francisco Silva commented on the awareness of his teachers toward him in the following statements:

I believe that my teachers were aware of me. When I was growing up in the eighth grade, and in the lower grades, I think that they were definitely aware of me. It wasn't always true, though. I mean I was treated and I felt just like any other kid in the classroom to a great degree.

I always perceived that the teachers took an interest in me because I was bright, because I was advanced. I knew the material, so they always gave me special assignments. I always felt that there was an awareness, but this was because my mom had talked to the principal and insisted that the teachers give me special work.

I felt proud because I felt I knew a lot and she [the teacher] was stroking me. It was all "shes"; I only had two elementary male teachers and they occurred in the fifth and sixth grades. So I felt good in that sense.

Francisco's perceptions indicate some unusual things about him as a person and about his mother as well. Since he was evidently bright and successful in school, the teachers apparently were quite aware of him. This was
Figure 2. Composite Response to Questionnaire
Statement Number 1 (Aware).

"I felt that my teachers were aware of me as a person."
further emphasized by the fact that his mother had apparently intervened and insisted that her son receive special attention in terms of teachers' assignments.

Francisco's uniqueness evidently was such that the teachers dealt with him in ways that he could only interpret as "aware" at a rather superficial level. The reported interaction between Francisco and his teachers appeared to be a two-way situation characterized by a certain degree of reciprocity. Further in the transcript, Francisco recognized that it was a problem of perception on his part as to whether the teachers were really very much aware of him as a unique and valuable person unto himself or whether they were simply responding to pressures which they may have felt from the principal and from Francisco's mother.

Among the individual respondents who agreed with the statement was one, Victor Franco, who had attended a Catholic school. He brought quite a different perspective to the matter of contact with teachers:

I agree that my teachers were quite aware of me in elementary school. I think that at the Franklin Street school, which includes grades one through three, the teachers were concerned. I believe they had some difficulty in really identifying and recognizing me as a person and identifying with my family background, but generally they were good. I have no unpleasant memories of these grades.

From the fourth through the eighth grades, which is naturally a more difficult age to deal with in a discipline sense, the sisters were a bit harsh perhaps, but they were tops. They had their problems, though. They did have big classes. They were very strong from a disciplinary standpoint. I identified with their concern for the student, and in this case, for me in particular.
In high school, it wasn't so much that the teachers were priests. I think that they brought a real concern for the students to their work. After all, it is their vocation. They were looking at each student as being a potential priest. And of course as potential priests, they needed to be concerned. This concern, however, was of a different type. I believe it was a very strict atmosphere, highly academically competitive. It therefore inspired students to be more actively participating in school.

It seems fairly evident, judging from his response, that Victor enjoyed positive classroom relationships with his teachers; this apparently occurred in spite of the apparent strict discipline that he encountered from the priests. It evidently was perceived by Victor as no more rigorous an experience for him than it was for any of the other young men.

David Rosas had a special problem in that he knew no English when he came to school. He described the level of awareness that his teachers held for him under these circumstances:

I didn't speak English, so the teachers were a bit more aware of me than they would have been of an average English-speaking student. They made a special effort to communicate with me. Some of them would just ignore me whenever I failed to understand their explanations. They looked at my tests a bit more carefully to see if I had learned anything or not. Yes, I would say I agree. The teachers were aware of me as a person, perhaps basically because I was different than the rest.

David, because of the uniqueness of his situation in not understanding English, perceived himself as having received somewhat more attention from his teachers than he might otherwise have. The fact that the teachers recognized his special language circumstance and made some effort to adjust to it would tend to indicate a fairly good effort at contact and at least some inclination toward two-way interaction.
Antonio Moreno indicated a considerable degree of awareness of him as a student on the part of his grade school teachers. This awareness diminished as he perceived it, in his secondary school years. He commented:

In elementary school, more teachers were aware of me. In junior high school, less were aware of me. I can count three who were very interested and who were very good friends. They are older now, but we still communicate. I think we had a caliber of teachers in those days who were very dedicated teachers, not necessarily the kind you find today. Those were the days when the teachers, because they were teachers, spent long hours working with you.

In the social context of the elementary classroom, Antonio evidently saw himself as receiving a considerable amount of recognition from his teachers. It appeared that there was a reasonable degree of contact between his teachers and himself. He evidently perceived the level of awareness his teachers had of him as being fairly high in grade school. This, he reported, was somewhat less true in his junior high school and high school experience. Antonio evidently experienced a marked degree of impersonality from most of his junior and high school teachers.

Estela Quiroz is a woman whose early training was in a Catholic school environment. She commented on the very close interpersonal relationships that she experienced within this school:

I agree that my teachers were aware of me. I would think so probably because of my close relationship with the majority of them. I really liked all my teachers and perhaps was fortunate that, in a Catholic school environment, there are not that many students. You had all the opportunity to get to know all the teachers. When I sought advice or help, personally or academically, they were all very supportive. Since I did have to learn a foreign language, they helped me greatly. They were very willing to guide me, and I never had any strong disagreement or felt that I was just another student. I felt that they did give me 100 percent of their time.
It appears that Estela experienced a fairly deep level of awareness on the part of her teachers. Her teachers clearly tended to recognize her inherent uniqueness and, it could be assumed, became increasingly aware of her as time passed. Judging from her reported perceptions, there was little question that productive contact was established between her teachers and herself.

Marcos Rico was uncertain as to whether his teachers were uniformly aware of him as a person. He reported that some were and others may not have been:

I would have to put a qualifier on my response. Some were aware of me as I perceived it, and some were not. I believe that some teachers basically treated people and students with respect whether they were aware of it or not. Perhaps that was their style. With those people I got along fine.

I don't necessarily mean to indicate that I was doing well academically or not doing well academically, but those people I found were the type with whom I could get along. There were other types of teachers who, I think, were somewhat crude in their approach and in their sensitivity toward me. My reaction to them was very negative. So what came through to me was that one teacher would say of me, "He is a nice person, very courteous." And then I would get the other one, the teacher next door to him, and he would say, "I have never had such an obstinate troublemaker." So it is this type of situation; I would have to say that there were some teachers who did have a considerable degree of sensitivity and did treat me as a person.

Marcos apparently was in an ambiguous position in reporting his feeling with respect to teacher awareness. On the one hand, he reported experiencing some teachers who seemed to be quite conscious of him as a person and of his uniqueness as a special individual. They evidently were
able to signal this awareness of him in a variety of ways. These teachers appeared to work with him at the level of two-way interaction. This then, has the potential of leading to an in-depth experience of mutual interdependence. On the other hand, Marcos did indicate that he encountered teachers who, as he reported it, "were disrespectful of him." It is conceivable that these teachers may have been aware of Marcos, but persisted in viewing him in a negative light and communicating this to him.

Fernando Leal also indicated that he was undecided concerning whether his teachers had been aware of him as a person. He was fairly clear in why he made this response in suggesting that his teachers had had no special preparation for dealing with the Spanish-speaking students, and therefore could not be expected to understand the problems of the Mexican-American youngster. He commented:

For Spanish-speaking students, it began with what they called the 1C program. It was the "baby class." The teachers we had did not have any special capabilities to work with us. So, from that point of view, one can say that they had no consciousness about our needs because they had a general background in education and did not know who we were as Spanish-speaking students. They had no consciousness of the individual needs of the person. It didn't exist.

Fernando evidently perceived the relationships that existed between himself and his various teachers as operating at a relatively primitive level in terms of awareness of him as a unique person. In this regard, then, it might be supposed that close personal contact between teacher and students was diminished at best, and perhaps even missing.
Marta Contreras disagreed with the statement as follows:

I disagree with the statement that my teachers were aware of me as a person. I rarely, rarely had anyone try to improve my self-concept or give me special help in any difficulties while I was going through school. It made me unsure of myself and when I had any kind of problem, it seemed that the teachers would not take notice of me except to reprimand me.

It appears that in the case of Marta, her recollections indicated that there was a singular lack of positive, effective classroom relationships between herself and her teachers. Evidently there was very little apparent teacher consciousness of her uniqueness as a person. The level of teacher awareness of Marta seemed to be at or near the zero point with virtually no social reciprocity involved.

Ricardo Duarte also disagreed with the statement concerning teacher awareness of him. He commented:

Ninety-nine percent of my teachers were unaware of me as a person. I believe this is so because I do not remember most of them. In elementary school, I don't remember a single teacher's name. I remember one big fat lady was one of my teachers because she was real tough, but I don't remember her name. I was one individual of 29 or 30 other Mexicans in the classroom. We were all Mexican.

Here again, this individual's recollections of relationships with his teachers were not particularly clear and positive, but rather featured one vivid memory of a teacher with whom he evidently experienced difficult classroom relationships. With this teacher there seemed to be only the recollection of "toughness," not a description which would suggest warm, personal contact.
Rafael Mora also disagreed with the statement regarding teachers' awareness of him. He observed:

Because in my experience going back to elementary school, I thought we were very much neglected in terms of any attention regarding personal problems. It was like you were there as a number and you filled the seat that was provided for you. That was basically it. I never had any real personal relationships with teachers, except possibly for one or two. I never had an elementary school teacher that was Spanish speaking. I never had a teacher in elementary school that would not get upset if we spoke Spanish. It was just a matter of staying in line with whatever their goals were.

Here, again, the respondent recollected little or no personal relationships with teachers or teacher contact. As he perceived it, there was no particular reciprocity involved in the relationship and it was simply up to him and the rest of the class to apprehend the expectations and goals of the teachers and conform to them.

Questionnaire Statement Number 2

"I felt that my teachers were conscious of my background."

As noted in Figure 3, 15 percent (3) of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that their teachers were conscious of their respective backgrounds. Forty-five percent (9) of the respondents agreed, for a total of 60 percent (12) of the respondents agreeing with the statement. Fifteen percent (3) of the respondents were undecided, while 20 percent (4) of the respondents disagreed, and one person strongly disagreed, making a total of 25 percent (5) of the respondents in disagreement.
Figure 3. Composite Response to Questionnaire Statement Number 2 (Aware).

"I felt that my teachers were conscious of my background."
Respondents' Comments and Discussion

In this question concerning the teachers' awareness of the person's background, of the three strongly agree responses, it is worth noting that two of these came from somewhat more mature individuals who had experienced schooling many years earlier than the balance of the individuals reporting. The third individual who strongly agreed with the statement was the product of a Catholic education. She commented on her experiences with teachers regarding their consciousness of her background as follows:

I had a very supportive environment in my home life. My teachers were conscious that I came from a strong Catholic family, that I had three older brothers, that I had very protective parents, and that I was not very aware of the new climate in America. The social aspects were different, the environments were different. There were different classes of people, and I had to become aware of this new environment. I felt that the teachers were very supportive and that they knew I had a deficiency in English. They worked very closely with me to help me become well versed.

Since this respondent is the product of a Catholic education, it might be supposed that there would be certain differences in the experiences of this person as compared to those respondents who attended public school. The respondent seemed to have had excellent classroom relationships with her teachers. They evidently were quite conscious of her as a unique individual with a special family background. Her recollected interpersonal relationships with her teachers seems to have been a two-way interaction which, with time, apparently moved to a deeper, mutual interdependence. Teacher-student contact in this case appeared to be very positive.
Of those respondents who agreed with the statement, most felt that the teachers could not help but be conscious of their respective backgrounds.

David felt that the teachers were conscious of his background because of his inability to communicate in English. He commented on this:

They were aware of my background mainly because I couldn't communicate with them. They had to deal with me as a foreign student. My counselor was especially conscious of my background. She helped me very much. As a matter of fact, she was a very strong teacher, a very demanding one. With me she was especially good because she understood my problems and tried to help me very much. Also there was another teacher who helped me with my languages. She was a Spanish teacher.

Because of the fact that the teachers knew and were aware of my background, I was used as an example for the students in the Spanish class. I was invited to all the Spanish teachers' Spanish classes to read to the students and things like that. Some of those teachers had a special appreciation for what I could do, because I would also be very helpful in their classroom. They were very nice and would try to help me.

I had some teachers that I felt enjoyed embarrassing me. I had a teacher in American Problems who would pick on me every day and would embarrass me. Knowing that I didn't have the ability to speak the language, he would stand in front of the group and ask me to explain in my own words the meaning of the editorial in the previous day's paper. How could I, if I couldn't communicate straight? How could I explain an editorial in my own words? That became a little habit that really embarrassed me, and at one point, discouraged me considerably. I was about to quit because of becoming so embarrassed. I guess I just made up my mind and said, "Well, I came to this country and I'm going to learn the language and that's the only way I'm going to make any progress."

This person evidently recollected some very positive relationships with certain of his teachers, although there were a few exceptions. He seemed generally to feel that they were conscious of his Mexican background and were willing to work with him to bridge the gap from Spanish to English.
Evidently the level of teacher awareness toward him was quite high and involved a two-way interaction with a considerable amount of mutual interdependence. The insensitivity of one of the teachers mentioned above tends to indicate that this teacher was not particularly desirous of maintaining positive classroom relationships with the respondent and even used his uniqueness as a point of derision.

Francisco also agreed with the statement as follows:

They were, de facto conscious of it, because I never had any Anglo classmate until I was in high school. A high percentage of the classes that I went to were totally Chicanos. I can't conceive of them not being aware of my background because we were always speaking Spanish outside. We'd whisper Spanish in class and we'd make jokes in Spanish. We'd flirt in Spanish. The reason that I said they were conscious of it is because I remember very distinctly that the teacher substitute made reference to our Mexicanness. He made some good statements, some bad, some indifferent, and some neutral. That tells me that they were definitely aware of the fact that they were teaching a group of Chicanos.

The respondent evidently felt that there was an inescapable teacher awareness simply because of the language and cultural situation of the classroom where virtually all of the students were of Mexican lineage.

Rafael agreed that most or all of his teachers were conscious of his background, but qualified his judgment thus:

I don't think they were totally conscious, because they used to tell you in school, "You're a very lucky child because you know how to speak two languages and in some cases three languages. You are bilingual or trilingual." But they wouldn't let us practice it. So the consciousness aspect of it, the real thing was that they weren't that sincere. They were saying, "Hey, o.k., you'll go far in this world because you have two languages," but there was never any attempt to develop it, so I think "consciousness" in the terms of our background was more of a non-sincere idea.
For this respondent, although he seemed to recognize that most of his teachers must have been aware of him, still questioned their various levels of awareness. He suggested that it quite possibly was superficial at best and carried no special suggestion of deeper mutual interdependence. His statement seemed to indicate that, although there was a degree of teacher contact, it was a vague, possibly negative type which lead him to question the sincerity of the teachers involved.

Fernando, although indicating that the teachers were probably conscious of their students' background, still seemed to have no certain idea as to how to appropriately react to these backgrounds. He stated, "The majority of them, perhaps, might have been conscious that we were different, but they didn't know how to react to this difference. I don't even know if they had an interest in these differences."

Edwardo Ruiz stated that he was uncertain regarding the teachers' consciousness of their students' backgrounds. His viewpoint was that most of the teachers wanted their Mexican-American students to act like the Anglo students. He expressed the following:

I don't want to make a blanket statement that they were all racist and prejudiced teachers that I had when I was going to school. But I am not comfortable in saying that the majority of them weren't. It's a funny call because we had teachers telling us, "You guys have got to get rid of your accent, you guys have got to act more like the other kids." We had all that being beat into us all the time.
This respondent questioned the positive direction of his teachers' awareness rather than their consciousness of the unique differences manifested by their Mexican-American students.

Marcos was clear in his feelings that the teachers were not conscious of his background. He put it thus:

There was never any experience that I could identify with, which was similar to what I was experiencing any other place. I never heard any humor. The humor I was used to on the playground and at home was missing. I can't remember any teacher talking about anything that I was accustomed to. Once in a while I would get a teacher that was positive. I remember that Mr. Woods one time told me that he really liked the way I was courteous. He said, "You always say 'yes sir, no sir, and thank you.'" He told me that I was a courteous person and obviously that was what my parents had taught me. Other than this incident, I don't remember anyone saying anything that might be reinforcing in terms of my family or things that I am accustomed to.

The level of consciousness of the teachers regarding Marcos as perceived by him seemed low. With one notable exception in his recollection, very little if any reciprocity or two-way interaction was reported. Moreover, the relational aspect of this respondent's school days appeared lacking in terms of personal contact with teachers.

Another respondent tended to perceive teachers as simply being there and doing their jobs. He stated, "I felt that the teachers were there because of their job. They were doing their job. But I never remember having any teacher take an interest in me or in my background or my family." The respondent evidently felt a very nearly total void in terms of warm, personal relationships between himself and his various teachers. He seemed
to deny that the element of reciprocity existed in the interpersonal relationships between the students and their teachers. He evidently felt that the teachers were operating at a very mechanical, superficial level. It seems somewhat evident that he perceived them as neither caring nor concerned about the Mexican-American students' backgrounds. Evidently, he viewed the teachers as feeling that this knowledge was quite irrelevant to the performance of their duties.

Questionnaire Statement Number 3

"I felt that my teachers were aware of me as a unique person with many cultural and social attributes."

As cited in Figure 4, 35 percent (7) of the respondents agreed with the statement that their teachers were aware of them as unique persons with many cultural and social attributes. Ten percent (2) were undecided, and 55 percent (11) of the respondents disagreed with the statement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Of the 7 respondents who agreed with the statement regarding the teachers' awareness of them with many cultural and social attributes, all were specific in pointing out that there were two or three positive experiences throughout their respective school careers. They then proceeded to indicate vivid instances of negative teacher behavior which they had experienced. In the case of Victor, he stated:

This can be both a positive or negative awareness. In other words, they may have recognized me as a person, as a unique person with
Figure 4. Composite Responses to Questionnaire Statement Number 3 (Aware).

"I felt that my teachers were aware of me as a unique person with many cultural and social attributes"
many cultural and social attributes. In a sense, as I recall, they would like to hear me speak of my background. I had some problems acculturating myself to their ways. It appears that I had a very strong attachment to my family and to my background. I felt isolated in the school and had many negative feelings. They may have felt the same way. You know, what does it take to get this kid in the mainstream? Generally, as I recall, there were increasingly positive relations developing.

This respondent seemed to feel that the teachers generally were interested in establishing positive relationships with students, and with him in particular. Judging from the report, some type of two-way interaction between the respondent and his teachers was recalled, although it is difficult to ascertain the depth and breadth of this perceived teacher-student contact.

Ernesto Loya was a student who came to the local public schools from Mexico, thus being fairly steeped in the cultural traditions of Mexico and speaking Spanish rather than English. He commented as follows:

I would say that I agree. Not strongly agree. At the beginning it was survival more than the realization that I was a Mexican from Mexico trying to cope with the educational system to the point that English was my second language, not my first language. I won't sit here and condemn anybody. I had been told not to speak Spanish because we were going to have a hard time learning English. They knew all along that English was not my language and Spanish was my language, and that English was the one that I had to really master to make it through the system.

In this report, the respondent pointed out the extreme significance in the life of any student of being able to deal with the lingua franca of the classroom. What the respondent indicated was that, being a native speaker of Spanish, and also being from Mexico itself, he was rather conspicuous to his teachers in terms of linguistic and cultural differences. This did not call
for a particularly high level of awareness on the part of the teachers, but
simply a consciousness of the other's situation, a matter of one's senses func-
tioning to inform him of the other's circumstances.

Eduardo was undecided. In his school experience there were evi-
dently several teachers who made an effort to include some aspects of his cul-
tural background into the classroom experiences. Of this he commented:

I think one of the things that made the biggest impression on me was
when we had an open house. We were in junior high, and I had gotten
an award for something I had done. I never told my parents about
the open house because I was embarrassed. They couldn't speak
English. When I came home afterward, my mother found out there
had been an open house and that I hadn't told her about it. She didn't
say anything, but I could tell they were both [my parents] very hurt
by it.

That was the real turning point for me in the way I began to look at
myself. It was in a very different way. I felt so guilty about what I
had done. Finally I got to the point where I didn't blame myself for
this anymore.

When I started high school, I was much more sensitive about who I
was, my background, my language and things like that. I remember
all through elementary and junior high school the teachers couldn't
say Eduardo so they called me Edward, and it was in the ninth grade
that I changed my name back and insisted that they call me Eduardo.
As a consequence, I was more aware at the high school level which
teachers treated me different and which ones appreciated me.

At the high school, because I looked for certain teachers, I had a
much better experience. I felt that at that level some teachers were
very aware and very helpful. It was a double thing. I became aware
of it, I became conscious of it. So, consequently, I was out there
looking for people that I was going to be compatible with. Prior to
the ninth grade, I could never say that there was anybody who made
me feel good about who I was.

Eduardo appeared to be quite keenly conscious of those teachers
who were aware of him as a unique person with many cultural and social
attributes. At the high school level, he reported taking a much more vigorous posture on his own behalf in seeking out those teachers he perceived as aware of him and sensitive to his needs.

Among those respondents who disagreed with the statement was David. He stated, "They were aware of me as a unique person, but probably uniculturally. That's how they looked at me you know. They felt that I really didn't know anything about the American culture because of the lack of knowledge and the language and subjects such as American History and American Problems."

Although tending to feel that his teachers were aware of him as a unique person, he still viewed himself as an individual who had only one culture, that of the Mexican-American. The respondent's perception of his teachers was that they saw him at a rather low level of clarity.

Francisco noted that there was a subtle pressure to minimize and eventually eliminate the Mexican cultural influence of the students and shift them into American patterns of thought, language, and action. He stated:

I disagree. They were aware, as I say, because I was advanced. If somebody were interested in me as a unique person with cultural and social attributes, they may not necessarily have done something about it. No, they never got to the step of dealing with me as a person having a unique culture and social attributes. They worked with us individually, but I don't remember them taking the second step. To the contrary, I think there was a subtle pressure, and in some cases it was overt, to de-Mexicanize us. I always felt that up until I was able to be good enough and sophisticated enough to deal with it. I always felt that pressure, which argues against their having a belief that we were unique culturally and socially. Quite the contrary was true.
The respondent seemed to have indicated that the personal relationships, if they were a two-way interaction, tended toward the superficial and mechanical. There was, according to him, at least some teacher-student contact, but it operated in the direction of acculturating the students, of attempting to shift them away from their original culture.

Rafael referred to his classmates and the fact that they were all Mexican-American. He stated:

I think that, in my experience, we were all pretty much basically the same in terms of our cultural aspects, because we were all minority kids in the classroom. I recall maybe one or two Anglos in any one given time. I think they looked at us as a group of minority persons, as opposed to individual backgrounds and cultures. I am talking generally, because there were some teachers that were really more sensitive.

There were indications that the respondent perceived his teachers as dealing with all Mexican-American youngsters in their classrooms en-block, as a homogeneous group rather than as a series of special human beings with a variety of attributes. According to this respondent, the teachers evidently functioned at a low level of clarity with no particular effort to reach a deep understanding and mutual interdependence.

Fernando, in disagreeing, made the following comment:

We did have a teacher who was a substitute for two months, more or less. She was very conscious of the fact that we had a culture that had much value, that had much worth, and she continually pointed out that it was a fascinating thing to be able to cross the border. She would also say that for us who may have been born in Mexico, or had lived in Mexico, or had traveled in Mexico, or simply those of us who were of Mexican descent that we should feel proud.
She had visited Mexico a few times, and not only did she love Spanish-speaking people, but she felt that Spanish-speaking people had beautiful aspects to their culture. Thus she would make an effort to make us feel that pride. However, she wasn't acquainted enough with our culture, so she limited herself to say, "You should be proud of your culture; you have a very beautiful culture, your language, your institutions," and so on. But nothing specific. She was the exception rather than the rule.

This respondent recollected with a considerable degree of precision the experience of having a substitute teacher who made contact with him and his classmates for a period of a few weeks. She evidently had a considerable impact on him in terms of the cultural and social values that she attached to Mexican culture. In instancing this one teacher, the respondent apparently was indicating that this substitute teacher was most unique and that most of the teachers had little or no awareness in this matter.

Estela felt that she had been treated as even-handedly as the other members of her class, but that this left something to be desired in terms of recognition of the cultural and social attributes of the students. She commented as follows:

I don't think that my teachers recognized any more about me than anyone else in school or in my class. I don't think that any of my teachers felt that I was very successful or that they should put more emphasis on me than anyone else. I think the environment that we were all in was one that we were all going to go on to high school, turn eighteen, graduate, get married, and have ten kids. In fact, I had some disagreement in the fact that I knew that wasn't me. Even at that age.

This respondent sensed that there was a degree of stereotyping on the part of the teachers to whom she was exposed. They may have been conscious of her uniqueness, but not in any distinct cultural and social sense of
the word. In terms of the level of personal relationships, there may well have been two-way interaction, but, judging from the report, it must have been somewhat superficial and mechanical. Personal contact seems not likely to have occurred at a very meaningful level in most instances.

Questionnaire Statement Number 4

"I felt that my teachers were sensitive to my needs as a bicultural person."

As cited in Figure 5, 40 percent (8) of the respondents agreed that their teachers were sensitive to their needs as a bicultural person, while 60 percent (12) of the respondents disagreed with the statement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Eduardo agreed that his teachers were sensitive to his needs as a bicultural person, but on the basis of the recollection of one particular teacher. Of this individual he stated:

I ran across one or two teachers that I would say made it a point. There was one that probably had a tremendous influence on me. He was an Irishman who had traveled all over the world. He started the first Spanish class for native speakers in 1965, and we were in his first class. There were about twenty of us. He had a big influence on all of us in and out of that class. There are six or seven of us that felt he was our big security. He was not only aware of our needs, he reinforced the fact that it was good to be Mexican-American. He would say, "You have the advantage—you have two languages, two cultures."

We were sophomores reading Don Quixote in Spanish, and nobody else could do that. He made us know that "Nobody in this school could do this. You are the best class, you are special." He was way ahead of his time, and we profited from that fact. He made us more secure.
Figure 5. Composite Responses to Questionnaire Statement Number 4 (Aware).

"I felt that my teachers were sensitive to my needs as a bilcultural person."
We started the first Mexican-American club at that school because of him. We started bailes folklóricos because of him. We got politically involved because of him and so on.

I would agree that there was teacher influence. A singular teacher, but nevertheless a teacher influence, and the impact that he made on that class is phenomenal if you really look at it.

This unique teacher appeared to be very sensitive to the needs of the Mexican-American students. He evidently had a remarkable facility for filling the cultural gap between the Anglo and the Mexican-American. He apparently made deep level of contact with the students at a mutually interdependent level. This contact appeared to help build bridges across the two cultures for the young Mexican-Americans and created relationships of a unique and most productive type for the participants. The teacher evidently had the facility for perceiving the problems of young minority students operating in a special social context and dealing with this effectively.

It seems clear that the perception of this unique teacher regarding the needs, interests, cares, and concerns of the young Mexican-Americans was tuned to these youngsters. The impact of this teacher upon the respondent was, as he reported it, most significant.

Victor discussed his teachers' sensitivity to the needs of bicultural students in the following way:

To the extent that they knew and could appreciate biculturalism, I think that they were. I'm not sure that, at the time, the people were knowledgeable as to what biculturalism was. Generally, they just took the individual for what he was.

I don't think they were trying to Americanize us. Indirectly they may have had that effect. As an example, they didn't want us to speak
Spanish, but I think they were trying their best to provide an education for us in basic skills. Really that is what it amounted to. But the problems, as I recall, or as I perceive them now, were in a sense insurmountable.

It appears from Victor's remarks that he felt a "conditional acceptance" based on teacher lack of knowledge as to who he was. He perceived that his teachers were trying, within the scope of their preparation, to provide him and others with basic skills. It appears, from Victor's report, that some of the problems the teachers experienced in attempting to relate to the students were in the areas of cross-cultural differences and misunderstandings.

Estela felt that her teachers were sensitive to her needs as a bilingual person. She commented:

I would say so. I think it was probably because of the environment, but I wasn't unique to my background. There were other girls and boys who were in special English classes. So that they had to be conscious that we came from a different culture, from a different environment.

We were trying to learn a new language under a new environment, under a new system. One of the things that I recall is the philosophy to teach us the English language, which was to negate the opportunity to speak Spanish. We were given what they called at that time demerits for speaking Spanish to each other.

At that time I would say to myself that it was necessary for me to learn a new language. In other words, if I continued to always speak Spanish to my co-students, obviously, I would not learn a new language because I needed to become part of the environment, to really learn a new language. But by the same token, when it happened, I felt that something which I needed to identify with had been taken away.

I think at that time I felt that there was some discrimination, but as I analyze it afterwards, I could see the teachers' perspective.
Apparently Estela's feelings were mixed with respect to the statement. While she acknowledged that, because of her background, she did need to develop her English skills, Estela nevertheless felt deprived to a certain degree of the opportunity to communicate in Spanish when it was necessary.

Jorge Rivera disagreed with the statement on the basis of a lack of understanding about his language:

They had no understanding of my bilingual ability. My vocabulary was reasonable in English, but on occasion I couldn't find the word in English, so I would use the word in Spanish and I was lost. There was no opportunity for the teacher to assimilate and interpret and understand the concept that I was trying to explain.

Jorge occasionally felt a lack of acceptance based on a communication gap that existed between him and his teachers. Implicit in his comment seemed to be an implied regret that the teachers did not understand his native language, Spanish.

Ricardo disagreed with the statement because he felt that while he was in school, he did not think "cultural sensitivity" was an issue. He noted, "They were teachers. Their main job was to educate us. They were zeroing in on the person's ability to learn and what he could do, and I don't think there were any hangups about ethnic groups and so on."

From Ricardo's report, it appears that his teachers had no awareness of any differences, therefore, there could be only a superficial acceptance of their students' needs as bicultural people.
Fernando disagreed with the statement. He commented:

I don't recall any [learning] unit that might have dealt with topics that corresponded to us as Spanish-speaking people; that they would have said, "Look, we are celebrating today what is celebrated on the Fourth of July. Notice that there is something similar in Mexico, the Sixteenth of September." Or when they spoke of great heroes of the United States that they could have mentioned those most prominent in Mexican history. Never. When they spoke of the literature, not including Chicano literature, they could have said, "Look, you also have great Spanish literature, for example El Quijote!"

It appears from Fernando's comments that not only did he sense a non-acceptance, but almost felt a complete rejection by his teachers of his biculturalism. The fact that, in his mind, there was a definite void in the curriculum concerning his identity, apparently created a distinct impression on Fernando.

**Summary of Scaled Responses**

In the "aware" category, the respondents answered questionnaire statement number 1 by indicating, by a slight majority, that they felt their teachers were aware of them as persons. Half of the respondents divided equally between being undecided and being in disagreement. With reference to questionnaire statement number 2, which sought the respondents' perceptions as to whether their teachers were conscious of their backgrounds, the majority agreed with the statement. Concerning questionnaire statement number 3, which asked whether the respondents felt that their teachers were aware of them as unique persons with many cultural and social attributes, they tended to disagree with the statement. In questionnaire statement number 4,
the last statement in the "aware" category, which asked whether the respondents' teachers were sensitive to their needs as bicultural persons, the majority of the respondents disagreed with the statement.

Discussion

Overall, in the "Aware" category, those who agreed with the statements seemed to do so, not on the basis of a "close relationship" which they perceived and had developed between themselves and their teachers, but rather on the basis of a practical awareness of the need for survival of both the student and the teacher.

In agreeing with the statements on awareness, the respondents generally tended to qualify their scaled responses with comments indicating that, in their perception, personal relationships with their teachers were not of a level which might lead to feelings of close contact.

The respondents, whether agreeing, undecided, or disagreeing with the questionnaire statements seemed, for the most part, cognizant of the fact that most or all of their teachers did not understand their cultural background. As a result, they perceived the teachers as not being in a position to effectively communicate with their students in ways which might lead to some sort of awareness and productive teacher-student relationship.

Several respondents commented that, when they were in school, "cultural sensitivity" was not recognized as an issue. They noted that the teacher "awareness" level with respect to linguistic and cultural differences
was markedly low. Several respondents did cite an exception to the above which was the situation where the teacher had a non-English speaking Mexican-American student in his class. They indicated that under these conditions, the teachers seemed to develop a superficial awareness, but that no close personal relationships resulted.
CHAPTER 5

PRESENTATION OF THE DATA: ACCEPT

Accept

"Accept" as the second relational concept is based on "awareness."

At the acceptance level, it is understood that a person is favorably disposed toward and appreciates another person. This acceptance may develop into a warm regard for the other person. It could continue to an even higher level characterized by feelings of unconditional self-worth and value irrespective of the person's condition, behavior, or feelings. The optimum phase of "accept" is to be accepted as a person, rather than as a performer of a task or a performer of a role.

In the classroom, the student learns to accept himself only by experiencing a certain acceptance by people of importance to him, and especially the teacher. The teacher may not necessarily accept all of the student's behavior and yet still accept a youngster as a person in a meaningful way which allows him to feel good about himself and his school experiences. The student, when he perceives himself to be accepted, tends to feel safe, relaxed, and comfortable in presenting his perceptions of the world about him. Under these circumstances, he is able to contribute to the classroom action without subjecting himself to ridicule or attack.

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Questionnaire statements numbers 5 through 13 which follow are concerned with the concept of "accept" in its various phases or levels as they relate to Mexican-American students and their teachers.

Questionnaire Statement Number 5

"I felt that most of my teachers accepted me as a person."

As cited in Figure 6, one person was in strong agreement with the statement that most of his teachers had accepted him as a person, 60 percent (12) of the respondents agreed with the statement, one person was uncertain, and 30 percent (6) of the respondents disagreed.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Miguel Castillo, in strongly agreeing with the statement regarding the teachers' acceptance of him as a person, felt that he perhaps had been most fortunate in the teachers which he experienced in school. He stated:

I agree very strongly. I don't know whether I was very fortunate in the teachers that we had in those formative years, like elementary school. As I say, I never experienced the things that many other Mexican-Americans maintain happened. I'm talking about those that went to school with me at that time. You hear students say, "Well, the teacher would spank us if we spoke Spanish." I never experienced that. I never experienced any of those negative things. And this is why I say, maybe I was fortunate in my whole educational process.

It is interesting that this respondent is the only one of the population of 20 respondents who strongly agreed with the statement. His general orientation toward life as revealed in the interview tended to be one of great optimism, and perhaps this might be some explanation for his strongly agreeing with the statement.
Figure 6. Composite Responses to Questionnaire
Statement Number 5 (Accept).

"I felt that most of my teachers accepted me as a person."
Diego Corona was in agreement with the statement that his teachers accepted him as a person when he stated, "To a certain degree I agree that they accepted me as a person. I never felt that I was discriminated against and if I was, it was indirectly, and I wasn't aware of it." It is fairly apparent that this respondent perceived his teachers as accepting him for who he was and what he was, while reserving any judgment or particular valuing of the individual. The fact that he was able to handle his academic assignments satisfactorily, without occasioning any particular demands on the teacher, undoubtedly contributed measurably to his perception.

Carlos Guerra also agreed with the statement. He indicated that acceptance was, at least to an important extent, predicated on not having difficulties in school. He noted:

I felt that if you produce, the teachers were willing to accept you. If you took geometry and did your work and you passed, that was fine. I don't think they took any effort whatsoever to help you if you had any kind of problem. So, if because of prior training, the piano, helped me train my capacity to concentrate. So in high school, I could pass all the courses that were being given. College entrance courses, I could pass them because I had learned how to concentrate and focus my mind. If you couldn't do that, you didn't have a chance, period.

Here again, the respondent recollected little or no personal relationships with teachers. As he perceived it, there was no particular reciprocity involved in the relationship, and it was simply up to him and the rest of the class to apprehend the goals of the teacher and move directly toward these goals.
David agreed with the statement but pointed out that some had accepted him and others didn't seem to care whether he attended class at all. He commented, "Some of my teachers probably felt that I was a nuisance for them because I would stop and ask questions and sometimes interrupt the proceedings because I didn't understand. Perhaps they felt a little bit annoyed. I think if I would not have been in the class, it would probably have been easier for them."

David had perhaps received a superficial acceptance by his teachers as long as it did not interfere with their classes. He seemed to perceive that perhaps they might have felt that their job would have been easier had he not brought the language problem to the classroom.

Rafael was undecided with respect to the statement simply because he could not recollect any teacher in his high school experience who had accepted him, with the exception of one or two at the junior high level.

Fernando disagreed, stating, "I mentioned that, out of all the teachers that we had, there were two particular teachers who accepted me as a person. I don't believe that it was me as a Mexican, but as a person with capabilities. So that in general, the majority of them did not accept us as persons who had individual idiosyncracies."

Jorge, who also disagreed, recollected only one teacher in his high school experience who he felt had accepted him as a person. He reported that she seemed to be sensitive to his needs as a person and student.
Marcos disagreed by saying:

I don't think they accepted me as a person. In my opinion, I don't think too many teachers really knew me. With minor exceptions, teachers just didn't know anything about me. It was very superficial.

My experiences with my teachers were ones of indifference. I never remember sitting down and talking to a teacher, other than when she was upset with me. Other than that, I never got to communicate with the teacher, hardly ever, with the exception of somebody like Mr. White. I don't remember sitting down and having a talk with a teacher and he being able to say, "I would like to talk with you." Never. I never remember anything like that.

As far as knowing me, I don't really think so. They knew a certain part of me. I was someone that didn't like school. Someone they couldn't basically understand.

It appears from Marcos's report that his teachers had a very basic awareness and somewhat superficial acceptance of him. He perceived himself as a person who did not like school and from his report, felt that his teachers could not understand him because of that.

Questionnaire Statement Number 6

"I felt that my teachers accepted my Mexican-American background."

As shown in Figure 7, one person was in strong agreement with the statement, and 40 percent (8) of the respondents agreed, making a total of 45 percent (9) in agreement with the statement that they felt their teachers accepted their Mexican-American background. Fifty-five percent (11) of the respondents disagreed with the statement.
Figure 7. Composite Responses to Questionnaire
Statement Number 6 (Accept).

'I felt that my teachers accepted my Mexican-American background.'
Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Estela was in strong agreement with the statement referring to her teachers' acceptance of her Mexican-American background. She made no further comment on this statement.

Victor, also in agreement with the statement, made the following statements:

I am sure that if they had not accepted me, I wouldn't have positive remembrances and recollections. I think that my Mexican-American background was a reality. They recognized it was a reality, and to the extent that it was a reality, they probably had to accept it. However, from an educated viewpoint, if things could have been different, chances are they would have opted for that. In retrospect, I consider these people as wondering, day after day, class after class, what can I do to make them different, to make them better disposed to academic pursuit.

I think, perhaps, I am trying to exculpate them, perhaps I am trying to rationalize, but under the circumstances, I think they were trying to do the best they could. I don't recall a teacher having rejected me as an individual or individually for being a Mexican-American.

They did vent frustrations on me and perhaps my being Mexican-American may have intensified their feelings. But I think that was, as I mentioned before, a reality. Now, as far as acceptance of my Mexican-American background by fellow students, that is something else. We did separate ourselves, that is, the Mexican-Americans from the Anglos, on the playground.

Apparently Victor sensed a passive acceptance of him by his teachers in view of the fact that his background was a "reality," as he expressed it, that they had to deal with. There appears to have been a mutual awareness of each other, and that evidently led to some sort of superficial acceptance of him and other students like him. This might, at a later time,
have developed into a deeper acceptance, since he did state that he had posi-
tive remembrances and recollections.

Sara Garcia also agreed with the statement that she felt her
teachers had accepted her Mexican-American background. However, she did
recollect the following:

In grades one through six, it was very obvious that our Mexican-
American background was accepted. Later on, in junior high, if
we said, "Mexican-American," we were told, "You are American,"
and to drop the Mexican.

We were told, "You will speak in English, you will not speak in
Spanish." We were constantly reminded of that, and on one occa-
sion, I was told that I was rude because I was speaking in Spanish
when there were Anglo children in the room.

Sara apparently experienced acceptance by her teachers in her
eyearly years. Throughout her report, she pointed out that most of her positive
experiences occurred in grades one through six. In later school years she
experienced a lack of acceptance on the part of her teachers, which took the
form of judging and evaluating her relationships in the classroom.

Rafael, while agreeing, had the following to say regarding teacher
acceptance: "Yes, they accepted it because it happened to be that. Whether
they agreed with it or not is another story. Whether they accepted in the sense
of a positive acceptance, I don't know. But I never felt that the acceptance
itself was either positive or negative as far as accepting."

From a review of Rafael's comments, it appeared that there was
an awareness and at least a superficial acceptance, although he seemed to
feel that it was very nearly neutral in its affective tone. There seemed to be
some indication that his teachers were favorably disposed toward or appre-
ciated him as a person. Again, there appeared simply to be an awareness and
a general acceptance.

Eduardo tended to concur with the above discussion when he com-
mented on his teachers’ behaviors in their classrooms which were comprised
mostly of Mexican-American students:

In most of my public school years, I don't think they had a choice; they had to accept me because the population in those schools, as I indicated to you, were ninety to ninety-nine percent Mexicanos. They were Mexican schools. The parents were Mexicans, the kids were Mexican, and the neighborhoods were Mexican. And if the staff was all Anglo, it didn't matter, because they had to accept that fact. I know this through hindsight.

Now I know about the experience I had in school. Basically, it's part of the teacher's job to accept what's there. They don't have a choice. That's the profession that they got into. If they can't accept it, then they shouldn't be in it.

Whether they accepted it positively and saw it as a good thing or saw it as a bad thing, those are judgments that I think I was either too young or too naive to know. I haven't figured that out in my mind yet, so I don't know that. I just knew that they had to accept it. By the time I got to school some of the more crummy things had been re­moved. We could speak Spanish on the playground. Some of those uglier things had been taken away already. Some of the very obvious things that were used like paddling kids for speaking Spanish, and Spanish being prohibited on the playgrounds, had diminished.

From a review of Eduardo's comments, there was an apparent feeling of passive acceptance on the part of his teachers toward him. In his perception, there seemed to be a forced awareness by the teachers and an acceptance that had not developed into any feeling of warm regard or of valuing of the individual regarding his background.
Antonio seemed to be uncertain about the statement. He agreed that his teachers accepted his Mexican-American background because he perceived himself not affected by any negative situation. He commented:

I was not conscious of discrimination. Black co-workers of my father were always at my house. So I associated with Chinese, black, Indian, and other Mexicans and Anglos, Anglos who one might categorize today as median income and slightly below median income.

All of us were native-born Tucsonans. Well, anyway, the issue of Mexican-Americans, if my teachers were cognizant of that as a factor, we did not know it. It was not talked about. It was not discussed. It was not an issue, and if perhaps their caring for me was because of that, I never knew it. I saw them treat everybody the same. In junior high and in high school is where I saw the difference. My first shock was to go to a counselor, who is supposed to help me, and he laughs at my aspirations. My father wanted to punch him out.

Again, Antonio felt a very positive experience in his formative years and noted a certain acceptance of him by his teachers during that period. Apparently his experience of acceptance was based on a sense of caring on the part of his teachers and an extension of his home experiences. This feeling evidently diminished as he progressed through the system and led to his "uncertain" response to the statement.

Luz Fuentes, whose early school years were in a small border town, concurred that her teachers had accepted her Mexican-American background and stated her reasons for this perception as follows:

The reason I think they accepted it is that they were part of it, too. They were bicultural. They bought their groceries across the border; they lived in the same neighborhoods. At that time it was even smaller than it is today. Everybody knew everybody else. It was a situation where they not only knew everybody else, but they shopped in the same places. They didn't say, "Well, I'm not going to shop across the line because, my goodness, there's a fly there." No, they were just natural
about the whole thing. We expected for them all to be there at the
dances or at somebody else's house or at a birthday party. But
again, I'm talking about a very few teachers.

In Luz's case, it not only appears that the acceptance was based on
awareness, but indeed her teachers seemed favorably disposed toward her.
She evidently felt that they operated in a special atmosphere of biculturalism
where most or all other people shared that bicultureness. In this sense, her
teachers learned to accept their students by experiencing part of their culture
and in turn being accepted by the students. This type of acceptance seems to
be one where the two groups, teachers and students, had learned to shed pre-
conceived ideas about each other and to avoid prejudices and, to some extent,
and to some degree, judgments of each other's lifestyles. Luz did indicate
there were some teachers who opted to socialize in a different manner, but,
by and large, the teachers that she recollected socialized in this manner and
were bicultural in the full sense of the word.

Among those who disagreed was Carlos. Although Carlos did seem
to have a positive experience in school, he noted that his teachers seemed not
to accept his Mexican-American background. In so disagreeing, he stated:

In the process of going to high school, I became the editor of the news-
paper because I wrote. I became successful in writing as a sophomore.
Pretty soon, I became the sports editor, and the last year I was the
editor of the newspaper, which again was very unusual.

They had a big social function at the end of the year, between December
and January, and they called it the Rainbow Dance. During my senior
year we had won the state championship in football; I had been the cap-
tain of the defensive team, the student body president, and the editor
of the newspaper. We used to have a dance band not only for our func-
tions, but we also went all over southern Arizona to play. I was
relatively well-known and prominent in my high school class. They invited all these kids with Anglo names to the Rainbow Dance, but they wouldn't invite me, and so I was a little bit concerned. That's when I first recognized that lack of acceptance.

Apparently Carlos's experience with his teacher had been one where there had been an awareness of him because of his achievements, but evidently there was a lack of complete acceptance as he sensed it, since he recalled being left out of a particular function of special significance to him. He evidently perceived that he had not been accepted as a person, but only as a competent performer of a task, a role. This one incident of exclusion seemed to have created a vivid, troubling recollection for him.

Jaime Serna, also on the basis of some very vivid recollections, disagreed that his teachers had accepted his Mexican-American background. He recalled the following:

They were very suspicious. One thing that sticks in my mind the most was when I took Latin. That's when I really began to understand languages and began to understand English. I remember they gave us a special Latin test. I got the third highest score in the state, and I was really proud of it, but was accused by the teachers of cheating on the test! That really bothers you. That was my freshman year, so I didn't start off too hot, and it just carried on. All the Mexicanos were suspect.

Another person in disagreement was Marcos. He felt that his teachers had in no way dealt with the fact that he came from a Mexican-American background. He commented as follows:

It was an indifference. I just remember the notion, the thing about speaking English—the teacher telling my mother, for example, that she should speak more English to us. She intimated other parents would say that my mother was making a mistake in not teaching us English and not speaking to us in English at home, and this type of
thing. I think the teachers totally ignored what you were, and the
sense that you got that they were trying to change you, that there
was something wrong with you that they were trying to fix. That
you had a problem. You knew that you were different and that there
was something wrong with you and they were trying to remediate it.

Marcos evidently had not only sensed a lack of awareness, but felt
that there was little acceptance of him and his different background. He ap-
parently sensed that his teachers were attaching some value and judging his
background as being defective and needing some "fixing."

Ricardo was also in disagreement with the statement and communica-
ted the following:

I don't think it made any difference. One thing that I can never re-
member, I guess it's a negative thing, I never met with a counselor
or a teacher that suggested that I go to college. As far as I am con-
cerned, they never took an interest in me as an individual, whether
I had potential or didn't have any. Most of the initiative that I had
was self-induced. I never had any teacher except for Mr. Clark
who suggested that I could become something.

Not only did Ricardo sense a lack of basic awareness, but even less
acceptance if, as he stated, "it did not make any difference" to his teachers.

Questionnaire Statement Number 7

"I felt that my teachers accepted my Spanish-English bilingualism."

As represented in Figure 8, one person strongly agreed with the
statement, 35 percent (7) of the respondents agreed with the statement, for a
total of 40 percent (8) of the respondents who agreed that their teachers had
accepted their Spanish-English bilingualism. Fifteen percent (3) of the re-
pondents were undecided, and 45 percent (9) of the respondents disagreed.
Figure 8. Composite Responses to Questionnaire Statement Number 7 (Accept).

"I felt that my teachers accepted my Spanish-English bilingualism."
Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Estela strongly agreed that her teachers had accepted her Spanish-English bilingualism, but she did not comment.

Carlos agreed with the statement but added:

It depended on my teachers. My first language was English. But I heard Spanish all the time. I could speak it, but I felt more comfortable with English.

Then I started first grade at Catholic school. Most of the kids were not Mexican. They were all gringos. If I'd gone to public school then, probably all my friends would have been Mexican kids. Since I went to a parochial school, all the way through I just spoke English. I can't remember if there were any Mexican kids there.

I didn't have the experience of not speaking English, so that I would have to speak Spanish. I didn't have the experience of having a lot of Mexican kids running around that I had to speak Spanish to. Because I was going to a school where most of the kids were Anglo, I didn't have anyone telling me "don't speak Spanish," although I could speak Spanish.

Apparently Carlos did not depend greatly on the use of Spanish and experienced little, if any, problems with respect to his bilingualism. His teachers may have been aware of his bilingualism, but apparently were not in a context with Carlos where acceptance of that bilingualism was necessary.

Jorge agreed with the statement, but at the same time, commented on two of his teachers who stressed precision in the use of English to the inadvertent exclusion of the use of Spanish:

I remember Mrs. Baines and Mr. Donavan. They insisted on the accurate use of the language, and, typically, when we were talking in undertones, they would frown, particularly on the use of the Spanish language. But they were not so much putting down the language as insisting on the correct use of the English language. At least that's what I perceived of those two instructors. In the framework that they
were emphasizing and facilitating the assimilation rather than the dual development of Spanish and English, no they did not accept my bilingualism. But it was not a conscious thing to kill one versus the other, just an insistence on one. That's what I perceived then.

Although Jorge agreed with the statement, he evidently felt that the acceptance was based on his teachers' awareness of him and his classmates. The acceptance, however, seemed to be based on a secondary purpose of improving his skills in the English language. In this case, the acceptance appeared to be "conditional" rather than total on the part of his teachers.

Rafael, who also agreed with the statement, had the following comments:

Superficially, they accepted it in terms of recognizing the fact. We were accepting it in such a way that it would be valuable and that we could speak both languages. As a matter of fact, I think that they felt in a way threatened by the fact that we could speak Spanish. They may have been afraid that we were either scheming when we were speaking Spanish or something like that. Consequently, there were repercussions when we did speak it regardless of what we were doing in terms of communicating with each other.

I had, fortunately, a very strong language background at home. My mother was a monolingual Spanish speaker, and so we spoke Spanish at home. When we went to school it was English. At home it was Spanish, and my parents used to read a lot of the novelas. My mother used to encourage me to read novelas. As a matter of fact, I learned how to read and write Spanish at home in my early years. Later on, when I went to high school, I took Spanish courses that helped me with the grammar. I never felt deprived.

I never felt my language was defective; I still don't. I grew up in a neighborhood that used a lot of colloquialisms, a lot of pachuquismos. I go back a lot to the barrio with my friends who are there, and I speak the pachuco language, a lot of slang and that sort of thing. And it's very easy for me to go into that and then shift to the better Spanish that is normally spoken. Not a Castilian Spanish, but at least a Spanish that is understood and respected by most people in academia. So I've never had that problem.
Apparently Rafael felt at least a superficial acceptance by his teachers of his bilingualism. He noted that they may even have felt threatened by his bilingualism. Rafael apparently did not experience a feeling of "unconditional acceptance" by his teachers, but he did have a strong and supportive home environment that made him feel good about himself and his language. He seemed quite able to effectively deal with his bilingualism.

Antonio reported that he was undecided, possibly because his experiences with respect to his bilingualism were mixed, some positive and some not especially so. He commented:

I didn't suffer with respect to that in high school or college. It was an asset to two or three professors at the university. It was recognized as an asset.

I did have the experience of not being allowed to speak Spanish. I had to run laps and I got paddled for speaking Spanish while playing sports. It was very natural for one to say, "Tírame la bola." "Hey, take five laps." Thank God that's gone! I think it's gone. Nevertheless, it was a no-no.

Antonio apparently had both positive and negative experiences with various aspects of his bilingualism. If any acceptance occurred, it was by a few of his teachers. This appears to have occurred without any deeper development of that acceptance.

Ricardo disagreed with the statement, commenting as follows:

No, when I was in school, I don't think they understood what the difference was. That's all the way through high school and even college. That was before the civil rights movement. I don't think that anyone even knew or even used the word "bilingual" then. It wasn't even an issue. I don't really remember any overt actions, either negative or positive. If the teachers were biased, they were probably biased without even knowing it.
Ernesto also disagreed on the basis of vivid recollections:

Oh, no, they hated it. It was the majority of the ones that I dealt with. They had a hard time accepting my language and the fact that I could probably not accept their trend of thought or their beliefs and philosophies and what they were trying to do to me. I guess that was the other reason why I rebelled against the system.

I was rebelling against something that I wasn't and would never be. They were foolish to think that it could be. It's like me trying to make Mexicans out of them. I don't think I'd want to.

Both Ernesto and Ricardo apparently not only experienced non-acceptance, but from their comments, it appeared that their teachers' behaviors, as the two of them perceived the matters, bordered on total rejection of their bilingualism.

Eduardo, who disagreed, reported the following:

I don't think they accepted the bilingualism or the biculturalism because none of them had any reference point for it. I can't think of any with the exception of Mr. Simmons, and maybe a couple of other teachers who could speak Spanish. So if you got stuck, the only way you had to express it and to ask your question to get more information was in Spanish. As kids, we had only the option of asking a classmate. There was always someone who would know how to say it in the classroom, and they would tell you. Then you would go ask the teacher. That's the way we got around that whole issue.

In the first six grades there was a real big need. When I got stuck, I had the question in my mind and I had it in Spanish, but you kept your mouth shut and that's why they say about us, "They're dumb Mexican kids," "They're so quiet," "They're non-aggressive," "They don't ask questions," "They're so accepting."

Well, many times, you don't have a choice. I usually didn't volunteer answers. I always volunteered questions. If I had a question I wanted to ask, and that's where I think it really hurt me in elementary and junior high, I just couldn't get it out. I think that happened to a lot of kids. If you didn't understand something, rather than going through the embarrassment of having to try to explain that you didn't understand in English, most kids just kept quiet.
There were two or three kids in the class that were really good at English. That was their primary language whether they were Mexican or not. They were the ones that were our peer teacher aides. We would ask them, "How do you say this?" or "How do you ask her?"

From his comments, Eduardo apparently did not perceive that he had experienced "unconditional acceptance" which might have conveyed the feeling that he was in a warm environment where he could ask questions without being subjected to considerable embarrassment.

Diego disagreed and stated, "I disagree. As a matter of fact, the teachers were very strict. I remember my first day in school. I was very limited in my spoken English. I was speaking Spanish with somebody in the class. The teacher spanked me."

Fernando, in responding to this statement, commented:

No, they didn't allow us to speak Spanish. We used it during recess, but they did not accept it. Frankly, in our situation, it was not required that we speak English except in class, because in our life outside the classroom, it was with Spanish-speaking friends. Where I lived, it was a small town. There, our neighbors were all Spanish-speaking. I never had any difficulty with grammar. It was something that came easy for me. So that is why I felt competent with Spanish-speaking classmates. Even when they integrated us in the seventh grade with the Anglos, I felt as competent as anyone else.

Fernando apparently experienced a certain non-acceptance of his bilingualism by his teachers. His total experience outside the school was obviously one where Spanish was the first language of communication, yet his school environment was one where he was not completely accepted because of his bilingualism.
Questionnaire Statement Number 8

"I felt that my teachers, however subtly, looked down on me because of my different language and speech patterns."

As illustrated in Figure 9, 50 percent (10) of the respondents agreed with the statement that their teachers, however subtly, looked down on them because of their different language and speech patterns. Forty-five percent (9) of the respondents disagreed, and one person strongly disagreed, making a total of 50 percent (10) of the respondents in disagreement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Francisco agreed with the statement that he felt his teachers looked down on him because of his different language and speech patterns. He stated:

I think that there were some who did and some who didn't. I do remember some instances where teachers, again perversely, would really drill us on this business of "shair" and "chair," "shurch" and "church," "confecion" and "confession," and one of them used to make fun of it.

One English teacher was really bad. He would really drill us on the difference between "shair" and "chair," and he used to make a big deal of it. It was a mortal sin and one would wind up in purgatory if he said "shair" for "chair" or "shurch" for "church." That made you feel bad, because if you didn't start saying "church," you're going to be making a fool of yourself out in public.

To me, it doesn't make any difference, because I really don't think that a contemporary society puts that much value on that. I've come across some very "successful" people, and successful by American norms, who have those language patterns, who still say "shurch" and "confecion." Or, for example, have the habit of saying an "e" before an "s" like "estop" instead of "stop."

It all had to do with the words that were used [by the teacher] and the facial expression of the teacher. But even if they said it nicely, inside
Figure 9. Composite Responses to Questionnaire
Statement Number 8 (Accept).

"I felt that my teachers, however subtly, looked down on me because of my different language and speech patterns."
there was a message that the "way you guys talk is not cool and you should change it. You're defective."

Francisco apparently felt that his teacher's perceptions of his and other Mexican-American students' language and speech patterns were that they were somewhat defective. There might possibly have been a "conditional acceptance" on the teacher's part, so long as he was conforming to the teacher's idea of how he should speak the English language.

Ernesto also agreed with the statement while noting an apparent persistence on the part of his teachers to correct him. He stated:

In the correction of speech patterns, when anyone would speak or try to carry on a conversation, the teacher would indicate that I was not going to get rid of my problem. They never offered to help that much. So, for a long time I carried my accent just to harrass them. I could bring accents back anytime. Sometimes I would just keep it to make their lives miserable.

I knew that a lot of the class subject matter had nothing to do with my speech, my enunciation. It was just the idea of them saying, "We'll really work him out."

Ernesto evidently did not sense any feeling of acceptance, superficial or otherwise, from his teachers. He felt that they saw him as a problem. Apparently, as he perceived it, he was being judged by his teachers on the basis of his speech pattern rather than as a person of unconditional self-worth. Since everyone desires to be accepted as a person rather than as an adequate performer of tasks, Ernesto tended to resist his teachers' efforts to shape his behavior.

Rafael, in agreeing, stated, "Sure, and in my case it would be more prevalent than with others. I think I was fortunate that I picked it up
very quickly. I thought there were other kids who didn't and they had more of a heavy accent than I do. They were the ones that the teachers really got on their cases. I saw it, not insofar as it was happening so much to me, but to my classmates."

Eduardo had the following to say with respect to the statement:

Yes, I would agree with that statement. It's a whole issue of expectations. I really felt that many times when I was in public school settings that the teachers expected less of us. That is probably one way that a teacher can really look down. They expected less of us. They were nice, they treated us nice. All the good warm things were there with a lot of the teachers that I had, but their expectations for us were low. As a consequence many of us lived up to their lowered expectations. The kids didn't do as well as I think they could have done. I think that's why I would agree with that statement. I think they expected less of us, and I would define that lowered expectation to mean that they subtly didn't think we could master. I really believe that. I think they expected less of us. Consequently, they thought lower of us.

Those who disagreed seemed to feel that, although they were corrected at various times by their teachers, it was not a situation where the teachers were looking down on them so much as one where they were honestly trying to help the students to improve their English skills. Alternatively, it may have been a situation where the respondents perceived the teachers may not have cared that much, irrespective of the effects that the corrections might have had on the young people's self-concepts.

Luz, for example, commented:

Some of my teachers did and others never did that. I think that where I found out that I had a problem was when it came to writing. But speaking, I didn't have a problem. The writing aspect of it was difficult. I couldn't quite comprehend it. To me the English written language was a shock. I mean it was a real shock. I couldn't believe
it. "Should" became "shoulder" when you added "er." Why do they make it so complicated for me, I thought. Anyway, I learned to spell by saying for instance "because" [she pronounced it with Spanish sounds]. In that way I survived, by using my own language.

Jorge felt that he had a good concept of the English language, thereby eliminating at least one problem. He said:

I'm not trying to blow my own horn, but realistically, I feel that even talking over the phone, until I pronounce my name, people don't realize that I am of Hispanic descent. And I think I've been able to do that from a very early age. I've never had that problem. I feel very fortunate in that respect. That's the way I look at it. I'm not Mr. Goody-goody. I had a limited vocabulary. I perceived that, but whatever I knew, I knew it well. So my pronunciation and enunciation were relatively correct.

The only thing that I can use to justify that is that I have a natural ability in certain areas. Again, I'm not trying to draw a picture of somebody way above and beyond. I just have a little bit of natural ability in certain areas.

Jorge's mastery of language and speech patterns may have accounted for his sense of acceptance on the part of his teachers.

Ofelia Parra commented that there was nothing more to the speech corrections her teachers made than to have her speak correctly. She said, "I don't think they looked down on me."

Ricardo, in disagreeing, commented briefly, "When I reflect back on it, I have to think that they really didn't care. Because we were Mexican that we would probably never amount to much."

Miguel, who strongly disagreed with the statement, did so on the basis that he had never experienced that type of situation in his schooling. In that sense, he was very positive and felt good about himself and apparently
felt a significant degree of acceptance on the part of his teachers regarding his speech and language patterns.

Questionnaire Statement Number 9

"I felt that my teachers considered my customs and beliefs odd."

As presented in Figure 10, 55 percent (11) of the respondents agreed with the statement that their teachers had considered their customs and beliefs odd. One person was undecided, 35 percent (7) of the respondents disagreed, and one person strongly disagreed with the statement. Thus, a total of 40 percent (8) of the respondents disagreed with the statement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Ofelia Parra agreed and said:

Yes, I think there have been some things they couldn't understand. I think that perhaps they thought I was too loud at times because I was very dramatic. I'm very vibrant. I enjoy life. I holler, I scream, I sing. And every now and then I would go down the hall at Chaparral High and something would be good, and I would yell, "Viva, yo," or something like that. They had to accept it, I guess. They never threw me out. They never told me to be quiet. But I do think that that's one thing they felt was not too good.

Although Ofelia perceived that perhaps her actions were not totally acceptable, she felt that her teachers did in fact accept her as a person. She projected the question to herself, not as an overall attribute of most Mexican-Americans, but as a special aspect of her own personality. Apparently, there was a degree of acceptance there.
"I felt that my teachers considered my customs and beliefs odd."
Marcos also agreed, feeling that his teachers might have considered his customs and beliefs odd. He commented:

Yes, I think they probably did. I don't think in many cases they would even know what my beliefs were, so that if they had known them, I am sure they would have thought that they were odd. Their inability to relate to me indicated that they thought that. But more than anything, they never dealt with it. They never knew what my beliefs were and they never cared to find out about them. At that time I didn't realize that it was important for them to know that. I thought, "Well, they own the schools." It's their school and they are the people in control. That is par for the course. That is the way things are. But certainly, I didn't think that they even dealt with it.

Again, Marcos indicated that not only were his teachers not aware of his customs and beliefs, but if and when they might have surfaced, his teachers would not have found them acceptable.

Jorge Rivera also agreed with the statement, indicating that:

I feel that they didn't understand. We'd go on a field trip and pass by a Catholic church. Many of us would do the sign of the cross. The Anglo teachers would look at us and say, "What the hell are you doing?"

The idea of respect to the elders regardless, is not necessarily accepted by the Anglo society. Those are minor things that are unique in our culture that they don't necessarily understand. Perhaps they like them, perhaps they don't like them. I don't know, but they didn't understand them. In that sense they would consider them a little bit odd.

Also in agreement was Eduardo Ruiz:

I think that the teachers thought it was odd for kids who had mandas or who wore a habit for six months. They always thought that was odd. If someone in the family dies, and the whole family leaves the school for a week to go to Mexico, they couldn't understand that. The importance of certain days that weren't important to them. They just didn't understand a lot of things. Yes, I would say that I'm sure they thought they were odd.
Rafael Mora, who was undecided, was raised in a neighborhood and attended schools that had a large group of Mexican-American and Yaqui children. He commented:

I don't know whether the teachers felt they were odd or just accepted them as being such. I think that they were very intrigued by Yaqui culture, because they used to go out there with cameras and take pictures and all this kind of stuff. Many times I would hear them talking to another teacher, saying, "Did you see that thing over there at the village?" Whether they thought they were odd or not, or whether they were just genuinely intrigued by them, is very difficult for me to assess. It was different for them, I'm sure.

With respect to my special days, I think that was of very little interest to my teachers. I don't think that they were that interested in special occasions in our community. I think more than anything else, they tried to impose their values and their holidays on us. It was very important: Columbus Day, Washington's Birthday, Lincoln's Birthday, the Fourth of July, as opposed to the Sixteenth of September or Cinco de Mayo . . . that sort of thing.

Those in disagreement generally indicated that the teachers may not even have been aware of their customs and beliefs. The respondents could not discuss what the teachers' beliefs might have been.

Marta Contreras said, "I feel that I was anonymous in the classroom, and I don't think they even considered my customs and beliefs. I don't feel they were aware of them."

Diego Corona also expressed the same opinion: "To tell you the truth, I don't think they ever discussed that, that I am aware of. So I would disagree."

Luz Fuentes disagreed with the statement in a positive sense, saying, "They accepted me as a person, whatever it is. I'll have to disagree,
because to me, the teachers were bicultural, so if they accepted me as a person, they accepted me with my values, my way of thinking, the way I am."

Questionnaire Statement Number 10

"Teachers often embarrassed me for what they saw as my Mexican ways."

As shown in Figure 11, 20 percent (4) of the respondents agreed with the statement that their teachers often embarrassed them for what they saw as their Mexican ways, and one person was in strong disagreement. Ten percent (2) were undecided. Sixty-five percent (13) of the respondents disagreed with the statement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Eduardo agreed with the statement that teachers often embarrassed him for what they saw as his Mexican ways. He had vivid recollections about incidents that occurred to him and others in class. He commented:

The one teacher that made me tape record into that thing, and when the whole class was laughing, didn't do anything about telling them to shut up. That was embarrassing, and I think that I really resented her for that. The other time was when an English teacher that I liked a lot, ridiculed another Chicano in the class. Four or five of us went and spoke to him afterwards, and he apologized the next day, but some of the statements made about him being dumb, those kinds of statements were intended to ridicule.

Overall, with some real exceptions that I can remember, and there might have been some that I can't remember, there were some times when the teacher became either frustrated with the student's behavior, frustrated with the student's question and had no other way out but to try to embarrass him by using that, and that happened a couple of times. It didn't happen to me a lot because all the way up until I got into high school, as I said, I was very quiet, kept to myself. I
Figure 11. Composite Responses to Questionnaire Statement Number 10 (Accept).

"Teachers often embarrassed me for what they saw as my Mexican ways."
was such a non-entity that I didn't provoke anything anyway. For the
kids that did provoke a reaction, I noticed that sometimes when all
else failed, they would be ridiculed, and that was the most harmful
ridicule.

I think that a lot of the real bad stuff that kids go through, they have
a facility for survival that is unbelievable. Especially children. So
many of those things, we forget about them.

There appeared to have been an awareness on the part of the teacher
of Eduardo's and his fellow students' differences. There seemed to be merely
a "conditional acceptance," irrespective of what the teacher's motives might
have been in insisting that Eduardo conform to his teacher's standards. This,
apparently, left Eduardo feeling less than adequate and gave him a sense of
being ridiculed or being personally attacked. There seems to have been an
apparent lack of acceptance of him as a person. He was seen, rather, as the
performer of a task.

Francisco concurred with the statement and averred, "Because of
the accents, we did take a lot of flack because of our accent, and that was
throughout school. As I said, some people said it jokingly, and some other
people said it in a bad way, but yes, they would make fun of our Spanglish
sometimes."

Apparently, because of Francisco's accent, he was not "uncondi-
tionally accepted" by his teachers. There seemed to be some sort of negative
judging or devaluing of his language background that accompanied the relation-
ship, which seemed superficial, at best.
Sara agreed on the basis of some vivid recollections which she had of her physical education teachers:

Yes, specifically in physical education. We were always taught at home to sit properly, to make sure our dress fell neatly over our knees. I remember very well when we were going to take showers during P.E. the first time I was really embarrassed about taking a shower. They would ask why. And I would respond that we were taught at home not to go around exposing ourselves. Whack, it was a playful whack, but nevertheless, "Get in there and take a shower."

She recalled other incidents related to inconsistencies between what she viewed as "cultural differences" that were not recognized in the school and yet were insisted upon at home. The teacher may have accepted Sara as a person, but may not have been aware of her background, and thus did not accept all of her behavior.

Marcos, who was undecided, did comment in the following way:

If somebody had a very thick accent you could tell that their teachers' reaction was sort of non-verbal. But you found out very soon that they would not call on you or they wouldn't interact with you. They would interact with certain types of kids rather than the others. So it was obvious that someone who had some difficulty expressing himself wasn't going to be called on very often. That's the way things were. I think they didn't deal with our Mexican part at all. It was just ignored.

From Marcos's report, it appeared that there was an obvious lack of acceptance by his teachers concerning his "Mexicanness."

Jorge Rivera agreed with the statement and recalled some incidents that were embarrassing to him because of his economic situation, but not specifically as a result of his teacher's lack of acceptance of him.
Fernando was undecided. He commented:

It was not so much with me, because in the first six years, we were all Spanish-speaking students, but there is a small community close to where I was raised. The ones who attended school from that town were the ones who suffered the most. Criticism was directed at them with more force, along with intentional embarrassments. There was a teacher in the third grade who was so cruel. The students who were having difficulties either in the class or the material would be seated in front of the class with a ribbon on their head. The teacher would then get a baby bottle and place it in their mouth and give them a rattle, and they had to remain there all day because they hadn't completed their work.

Rafael, who disagreed with the statement, did so on the basis that he had dealt with any disagreeable situation in his own way. He commented:

I don't recall embarrassment because of my Mexican ways because I was a very retaliatory kid. I was a terror in school, and I wouldn't take anything from anybody, and that included teachers. I remember being spanked a lot for being that way. I was a terrible kid. If I didn't like something, I would say so. I would run away from school. I'd throw clay and erasers at the teachers. I was a very bad kid as a matter of fact. I recall that vividly. I would put nopales on their seats.

I remember one day that my fifth grade teacher, Mrs. Williams, came and grabbed my ear and started twisting and twisting. It really, really hurt. There was a chair that was between her and me. I looked at that chair, and it was just next to her leg. I purposely kicked it and hit her on the knee. She was in a great deal of pain, and I hurt her, but was very happy that I had. And that's the kind of kid that I was, so they left me alone more than anything else. It was probably because of fear of what I would do.

Rafael made it quite clear that he had problems liking school and relating to his teachers. He dealt with whatever situation that developed in his own unique way.

Ricardo Duarte, who also disagreed, pointed out that it was very difficult for him to recall the exact instances where he may have been
embarrassed by his teachers because of his Mexican ways. He did, however, remember a couple of persons who stood out in his mind in a positive way:

There was one person who really stands out in my mind in a positive direction. He is one of my friends and was a high school counselor. The other one who left somewhat of a positive impression on me was Mr. Hodges who used to be the football coach.

Most of the things, I think, that saved me in school had nothing to do with the educational institution. You hate to say this. I think that the teachers that I had, with a small exception, were very shallow. They had no real teaching preparedness to get into things, and there was no challenge. The ones that really motivated me to continue school were the coaches. They told me if I didn't pass the course I was going to be kicked off the team. They had something on me. If I hadn't been in sports in school, I probably would have dropped out in junior high. It was my interest in athletics that kept me going to school.

From Ricardo's report, it appeared that one counselor really had a positive effect on him. Evidently he felt a great deal of acceptance from this counselor as well as at least conditional acceptance from his coaches. That conditional acceptance was manifested by their efforts to have him pass his courses and thus be eligible to continue participating in team sports. Whether or not the coaches were favorably disposed toward Ricardo and appreciated him and his background is uncertain.

David, who also disagreed with the statement, did so on the basis of a very embarrassing situation that he reported had often occurred to him with one of his teachers. He rationalized the situation, saying, "In a sense . . . he was an exception. I don't think he meant to embarrass me. My teachers didn't feel obligated to put any extra effort on one student to the exclusion of the entire class. I didn't find anyone caring for what my Mexican ways might have been. It was just an unusual experience for them to deal with me."
Since David had come to the school as a foreign student, he seemed to indicate from his report that his teachers were having to cope with him as well as he having to cope with a strange situation. In this case there appeared to be an awareness on his part and of his teachers, although he evidently did not sense an "unconditional acceptance" of himself. Rather, he was learning to accept what was happening in a different environment, and his teachers might also have begun to accept him as a person, but not necessarily his background.

Miguel, who throughout his report indicated a very positive relationship with his teachers, strongly disagreed. He added, "The only time I felt embarrassed about anything was when I was in public elocution class in high school in the seminary, and it was pointed out to me that I had mispronounced words. That's the only time I was embarrassed. But that was not done to embarrass me."

Miguel evidently experienced a high degree of acceptance by his teachers and felt that he and they had developed a very good relationship in all respects.

Questionnaire Statement Number 11

"Teachers often treated me as if I were somehow inferior."

As can be seen from Figure 12, one person strongly agreed with the statement, and 30 percent (6) of the respondents agreed, making a total of 35 percent (7) of the respondents indicating agreement with the statement that
Figure 12. Composite Responses to Questionnaire Statement Number 11 (Accept).

"Teachers often treated me as if I were somehow inferior."
their teachers often treated them as if they were somehow inferior. Sixty per-
cent (12) of the respondents disagreed, and one person strongly disagreed with
the statement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Rafael was quite clear about this statement. He commented as
follows:

I think there is a great amount of feeling on my part that we were
inferior in some way. Going back, understanding where we are now
and what we are going through at the time, I would say that it was
because we were culturally different, linguistically different. We
looked foreign, and that sort of thing. You did things differently
than the way they are supposed to be done. I would have to agree
very strongly with that.

Apparently Rafael felt a lack of acceptance by his teachers because
of his cultural and linguistic background and his seeming non-conformance as
judged by the norms of the teachers.

Sara, who also agreed with the statement, felt that she was a
"second-class" citizen. She analyzed the situation thus:

I felt that there was the middle-class Mexican kids that spoke no
Spanish at all. But there were those of us who did speak Spanish.
They referred to us as "that little gang of Mexicans." That really
angered me. At that time I was very aware of the different treat-
ment of "those Mexican kids," "those trouble makers." I remem-
ber we were looked at like "those wild kids." We were always the
trouble makers, the potential failures. Nothing encouraging.

Evidently Sara perceived that her teachers differentiated between
groups of youngsters. There were those who were more conforming to the
acceptable norms of the school, including one which stated that Spanish was
not to be spoken. And then there were those students who seemed not to meet the norms and, as Sara reported, evidently were not treated in a way similar to the other students.

Marcos, who also agreed with the statement, commented:

Sure, it was very clear. No one ever said, "Well, all Mexicans are dumb." The non-verbal communication that was being transmitted to you was there. It was obvious that they felt that you were inferior somehow.

I felt inferior, particularly in the classroom. It didn't take too long to block that one out. I didn't want to feel that way. I didn't want to continuously deal with failure. So I learned "avoidance behavior." Sort of blocking that one out and dealing with others only outside the classroom situation. I think that is what I saw, looking back on it, and that is what a lot of people did.

Avoidance behavior is bad because some part is in the back of your mind and comes through every once in a while.

Because Marcos apparently did not experience teacher acceptance, he found a need to create a safe place for himself to exist within that classroom situation. He therefore developed what he called "avoidance behavior." There was perhaps an awareness by his teachers, but the acceptance of his condition, behavior, and feelings were possibly superficial at best. It may possibly have been that the teachers were only "conditionally" accepting him.

David, from his perspective as a person who was completely incompatible with the system at the beginning, agreed as follows:

I couldn't communicate with them. I was different and I have to agree that they saw me like "this student doesn't know the language; I don't know what he is doing here trying to learn subjects." I think that is where I was a little different than the average student. I was the oldest in my family, and feeling more the need to learn, I would say more the academic. I had very little social participation because I felt that I was,
in many instances, put aside because of the lack of time. I was having to support myself at an early age. I was working, and I really didn't participate very much in social, school related activities.

One who was undecided was Fernando. He felt that, individually, he had been lucky in this respect, although he perceived that many of his fellow students were not so lucky.

Diego, who disagreed with the statement, did so on the basis that he could not remember having received that type of treatment. He commented:

I always felt I was a person who had something to contribute; I felt I was intelligent. I always perceived myself in a positive manner. And again this comes from my family that they always encouraged me and caused me to feel that I had good qualities. I don't know if I told you, but my dad and mother wanted me to become a priest. They were very religious. I thought about it. Maybe if there would have been a church in the little community and I would have been more involved, I might have done it.

Diego, who evidently perceived himself in a positive manner, apparently felt a degree of acceptance by his teachers. His positive attitude, however, he attributed to his supportive family who pointed out his good qualities and provided the encouragement he needed.

Francisco also disagreed with the statement. He expressed himself thus:

No, they didn't do that. They didn't dare. See, my mom was one of those people who they hated. She was always in the classroom. She'd go meet with the teachers once a week. Teachers didn't dare mess with me and my sister. Secondly, because we were advanced. As I said, my mom had already taught us the basics. If my mom hadn't criticized the school district, she'd of had a job with them. Because we were all double promoted, every single one of us, all of my carnales and my sister, they never treated me like that. They treated the class like that. When I was being dealt with as part of the class unit, then the answer would be yes. If you're talking about me as a
person, then I would say no. Besides, they liked me because I did do their work. Teachers, I guess tend to like, and I don't want to give you the wrong impression because there were a lot of smart kids in my class, but they tended to like the smart ones. So there were a lot of us who were smart and industrious and worked and did our homework, so they did stroke us a lot.

Obviously, Francisco was a very bright student and had a decidedly positive self-concept. He felt that he was quite advanced and that his teachers might have accepted him because of this. He did point out that others who were equally bright and good learners might have experienced the same acceptance that he did.

Another person, Ricardo, who disagreed with the statement, sensed that there was no particular care for him as a Mexican-American. This evidently held both for his background and his language. He expressed himself thus:

I never felt it. Looking back, I sensed that they never really cared. If somebody would have cared, I think I would have remembered them telling me to go to school or encouraging me in some form. As far as I can recall, I never met with a counselor who told me, "Here's what you ought to do to get prepared for college, or for a job" or for anything. I never got any counseling or was never told that I could do anything.

Although he disagreed, Ricardo seemed to recall a lack of acceptance on the part of his teachers in that he never experienced any encouragement to go out and seek whatever his potentials and abilities might produce. He did recall one teacher who may have made a positive impression on him and encouraged him to think about a future in an area where he had special talents.
Jorge, who was also strong in his natural abilities and a bright student, disagreed with the statement on the basis that he was a good student and experienced at least a superficial acceptance by his teachers insofar as his performance was concerned. He stated:

No, simply because I had some natural abilities and I could compete. I could compete. I had a good self-concept, but only to a point. I was hesitant to put my hand up to do anything because I wasn't sure, but yet even when I was sure, I wouldn't put my hand up. I would never volunteer at any point in time.

In retrospect, I know that I could compete academically. I was a rather large child, so I didn't have to worry about being knocked around. I could compete on the playground relatively well. I didn't have problems, but I was shy.

Again, it feeds the thought that in the minds of the teachers, I was there, but I was a non-entity kind of thing. I was not a bad guy, but I was not a super good guy either.

Miguel, who as has been reported throughout, had a positive relationship with his teachers all through school, strongly agreed but did not comment.

Questionnaire Statement Number 12

"I felt that my teachers wanted me to learn acceptable American behavior."

As illustrated in Figure 13, one person was in strong agreement with the statement, and 75 percent (15) of the respondents were in agreement, thus making a total of 80 percent (16) persons agreeing with the statement that they felt their teachers wanted them to learn acceptable American behavior. One person was undecided, and 15 percent (3) of the respondents disagreed with the statement.
Figure 13. Composite Responses to Questionnaire
Statement Number 12 (Accept).

"I felt that my teachers wanted me to learn acceptable
American behavior."
Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Fernando, who strongly agreed with the statement, did not comment, but Rafael did agree, saying, "Absolutely, absolutely, I think that was the prime objective—for the school system to assimilate . . . and for us to accept that which is the status quo."

Miguel, who also agreed, explained:

It was never at the expense of my culture. Never at the expense of my background. I don't know whether this is leading up to acculturation or the so-called melting pot theory. They did want you to learn the acceptable American behavior and so and ideals. They motivated you but never at the expense of having to give up something. I am very American and my favorite music is Mariachi. I am very American, but I believe in our customs as far as our Mexican descent is concerned. I didn't have to give anything up.

Although both Rafael and Miguel agreed, they did so on the basis of two different premises. Rafael's perceptions were that there was a non-acceptance of his background by his teachers and that the obvious objective was for him to assimilate. Miguel, on the other hand, felt that his teachers did want him to learn acceptable American behavior, but in a very positive sense. He evidently believed that a complete acceptance on the part of his teachers did not compromise his bicultural status in any way.

Sara also agreed with the statement. She commented:

Yes, that was very well put to us. Very directly in that they said, "You shall speak English, you shall be expected to keep up with the rest of the class." Whatever that meant.

I always felt that I was a second-class citizen. I had the perception that they saw that we were poor, that we didn't dress well, that we didn't bring good lunches, that we didn't have enough to eat. In that sense, I always felt like a second-class citizen.
Sara, all through her report, mentioned that most of her positive experiences occurred in grades one through six. Her less positive experiences seemed to have occurred in junior high school and thereafter. There was a point in her early experiences where she had not known about her cultural and linguistic background or had not been especially identified with her culture, principally because she had been raised in an orphanage. When she left the orphanage and began to attend regular public school, she seems to have become reacquainted with her background. On the basis of this, she was able to compare major cultural and social differences and how she sensed the teachers were relating to her.

Estela, in also agreeing, stated that in her experience and because of her background, she was living in a different environment. She felt that she needed to learn to accept that difference, because she was going to live in that environment, which included certain perceptions of acceptable American behavior. She said:

Their perception of this environment was, of course, that you're not going to be a beautiful young lady, staying at home knitting and cooking until the right guy comes along; that in the United States there is a little bit more of giving and by that they were relating more to community affairs and driving your kids to schools and getting involved in the PTA, and that maybe you could have to socialize because your husband was trying to make good and that you would have to bring your husband's boss to dinner and impress him with the way you cooked and kept house, and they felt that we should emphasize that.

That it wouldn't be like going back to Mexico where somebody cooked and ironed for you and that most of them are independently wealthy, those Mexicans as we were planning to marry, I suppose. So that you wouldn't really have to worry about catering to your boss. You would just learn the social graces and be part of it; that you would just be
beautiful but dumb; that you would certainly not speak when two men were talking business. In America, they were indicating to us that things are a little bit different. Although there would be no independent female, whether in a married situation or as a single person, but they did give us a lot of that, and how religion was going to keep us straight; that religion was the answer to all. I think all of us in a sense tailor our beliefs as we grow older and mature.

Estela, who had very positive experiences with her teachers, perceived that they wanted her to learn acceptable American behavior. She rationalized that perhaps this was the thing that she needed to do as a foreign student who needed to learn about her new environment. She sensed a considerable degree of acceptance on the part of her teachers. At the same time, that acceptance was perhaps conditional in that she would have to learn to adjust her differences and conform to the acceptable goals and expectancies that her teachers, as nuns, had developed for her.

Ofelia also agreed with the statement, but she felt that her teachers were prompted to insist on acceptable American behavior simply on the basis of what the school and district policies were at that time. Ofelia perceived that she had had a very positive experience with her teachers and felt that she had developed a very good relationship with them.

David was undecided about the statement. He commented:

I really don't know that they wanted me or they were just not paying enough attention to whether or not I learned American behavior. I don't think that anyone, aside from my own counselor and a Spanish teacher, who because of the fact that I was perhaps considered an outstanding student in that particular subject, thought that it would be good for me to learn American behavior. But the rest of them, I don't think they paid any attention to or made any effort to help me accomplish that.
David was undecided because he apparently had several teachers who were quite aware of him and perhaps considered him to have great potential. He evidently perceived that, because his teachers wanted him to learn acceptable American behavior, he would benefit from that situation. By and large, he seemed not to know how to assess the perceptions of the rest of his teachers.

Carlos, who disagreed, said, "No, I never felt that. My parents had always been very conscious of what is proper behavior, manners, things of that type, so I always felt that it was just the opposite. Excessive courtesy was the way to be according to my parents. My teachers liked that."

Carlos perhaps felt that his teachers were accepting of him because of his behavior towards them, which seems to have resulted from home influence.

Ricardo, who also disagreed, felt that his teachers were not aware of "bilingualism" or the issues involved in this concept. He commented, "I guess we weren't aware that we were any different, because in high school, socially and everything else, we were strictly Mexican-American. I had very little contact with anybody else."

Ernesto, who also disagreed, did so without further comment other than that his teachers were "not consciously" trying to have him learn acceptable American behavior.
Questionnaire Statement Number 13

"I felt that my teachers encouraged me to use Spanish whenever I needed to."

As represented in Figure 14, one person was in agreement with the statement that their teachers encouraged them to use Spanish whenever they needed to use it. One person was undecided. Eighty percent (16) of the respondents disagreed with the statement. Ten percent (2) of the respondents strongly disagreed, making a total of 90 percent (18) of the respondents in disagreement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Luz Fuentes agreed with the statement, and, as reported by her throughout the interview, she felt that the environment in which she was raised was decidedly bicultural. She recalled the following:

Yes. Definitely. The reason they were especially interested that we use our Spanish is because they believed that work is very important, and of course, wherever you worked in my town and you didn't speak Spanish, then you had a problem. If you work, because of the people that shop there, that's what you have to have, even today. I'm talking about high school now, because at the high school level, they are more oriented for people to have part-time jobs. What the community needed, that's what was stressed.

Apparently Luz experienced an acceptance on the part of her teachers with respect to her language. They evidently saw that Spanish was of value in that it would assist her in her future endeavors to secure jobs, especially if she were to remain in that environment.
Figure 14. Composite Responses to Questionnaire
Statement Number 13 (Accept).

"I felt that my teachers encouraged me to use Spanish whenever I needed to."
Marcos, who disagreed that he was ever encouraged to use Spanish, indicated that there was even a certain degree of non-acceptance at the college level where he was taking Spanish classes. He stated:

When I took Spanish classes at the university, at first most of the Spanish classes were geared for the grammar part. Even though I began to see that teachers, for example, didn't particularly like for you to suggest other options on how to translate things, and you as a native speaker have so many other ways of saying things. I think that they resent that. I think that they resented the fact that they didn't have that ability. . . . The professors would feel a little bit threatened that native speakers would have other ways of saying things. So, I learned that if I was going to get a good grade I better just let it go.

Estela disagreed with the statement because she felt that if they encouraged her to speak Spanish, she would never learn English. With regard to this, she noted, "I still have a sad feeling. Now, I would guess it was discriminatory and it would not be implemented in a public school now or in a Catholic school either because of that, but at that time they felt it was the right thing to do."

There was an apparent non-acceptance of her use of Spanish. She perceived it to be something that her teachers may have been doing for her future benefit.

Ofelia stated that her teachers had never encouraged her to speak Spanish, although she believed that she knew Spanish better than the teacher. It wasn't until college that she took Spanish and experienced a rather awkward situation with her professor. She reported that he was unable to pronounce
her name correctly and she was unable to relate to the way he pronounced it.

She commented:

This is what people used to do that are teaching it. They may know the grammar, but they don't know how to speak it. They should have made us speak it. I felt sorry for Mr. Brown because everyone knew that he wasn't speaking it correctly. I got such a burning at the university, I didn't continue with my Spanish. I just took it for one semester and that's it.

Francisco was a bit more explicit, stating:

To the contrary, they discouraged us, except for Mrs. Sills. She made a very good impression on me. Elementary school was neighborhood based, and Mrs. Sills, for example, had my sister and my brother, so she kind of had a family history, and then because we were advanced they would take a special interest and talk to us and work with us and give us special assignments. In high school, it became a lot more impersonal.

Carlos also disagreed with the statement. He said, "No, never. I always just blended into the Catholic system in my first eight years. Then after that, "sink or swim" if you could in the high school. There was absolutely no consideration for any difference.

Fernando, who strongly disagreed, simply stated, "No, never, never, never." Generally, the persons who disagreed concurred that they sensed a teacher non-acceptance of their first language. They perhaps saw it as a not so positive aspect of the students' backgrounds, or simply as being a deterrent to their adequately attaining the acceptable language of the dominant society. There was apparently a valuing of one language as opposed to the other among the teachers of these students. This message seemed to have come through very clearly to the respondents.
Summary of Scaled Responses

In the "Accept" category, the respondents generally agreed with questionnaire statement number 5, which was concerned as to whether the respondents felt that their teachers had accepted them as persons. In questionnaire statement number 6, which concerned whether the respondents felt that their teachers had accepted their Mexican-American background, the respondents generally disagreed. With respect to questionnaire statement number 7, which sought the respondents' perceptions as to whether their teachers had accepted their Spanish-English bilingualism, the respondents were almost equally divided, with a slight tendency toward disagreement and a few undecided as to the statement.

In questionnaire statement number 8, the respondents were asked whether they felt that their teachers had, however subtly, looked down on them because of their different language and speech patterns. Again, there was almost an equal division among those who agreed and those who disagreed. In questionnaire statement number 9, which sought the respondents' perceptions as to whether they felt that their teachers had considered their customs and beliefs odd, the respondents, in the majority, agreed with the statement. Questionnaire statement number 10 pursued the respondents' perceptions concerning whether they felt that their teachers had embarrassed them for what the teachers saw as their Mexican ways. The respondents, in the majority, disagreed with the statement.
Questionnaire statement number 11 sought the respondents' impressions regarding whether they had felt that their teachers had treated them as if they were somehow inferior. Again, the respondents, in the majority, disagreed with the statement. The majority of the respondents agreed with questionnaire statement number 12, which sought to determine the respondents' perceptions as to whether they felt that their teachers wanted them to learn acceptable American behavior. In questionnaire statement number 13, the last statement in the "accept" category, the respondents were in disagreement with the statement that their teachers had encouraged them to use Spanish whenever they needed to.

Discussion

In the "Accept" category, the respondents, in the majority, agreed that their teachers had accepted them as persons. They commented on the questionnaire statements which helped to clarify their scaled responses. Since they mainly perceived themselves as part of a group or unit, that being the class, they felt that their teachers generally accepted them as a whole group without singling them out. Most, however, did not feel any special individual acceptance by their teachers. The respondents' reported general impression seemed to be that the teachers had no choice but to accept them as students, although there appeared not to be any great depth of awareness.

With respect to their Mexican–American background, bilingualism, customs and beliefs, the respondents reported a markedly low acceptance by
their teachers. As might be inferred from their reports, a number of the respondents seemed to have struggled to understand the relationships they were exposed to in school with their teachers. Some indicated that perhaps their teachers, as well as they, were trying to cope with the cultural and linguistic differences which existed between the home and the school. Those persons who were more fluent in English tended to perceive fewer experiences of teacher non-acceptance, while those who lacked that fluency tended to perceive their teachers as having a rather superficial acceptance of them as persons. They seemed to feel that the teachers viewed them as somehow being "defective."

Some respondents felt that their teachers had not accepted their Spanish language because of school policies which perpetuated the development of a monolingual English-speaking person. Other respondents felt that their teachers might have felt threatened by their students' bilingual skills, while still others sensed a lack of understanding regarding linguistic differences. Whether it was because of a lack of knowledge about the Mexican culture or simply an insensitivity to the issue seemed not clear to them.

The respondents generally disagreed with the notion that the teachers embarrassed them and caused them to feel inferior for their Mexican ways. Any perceived embarrassments and feelings of inferiority they tended to report occurred mainly when they needed a fluency in English to convey their needs to their teachers. As seen by the respondents, pronounced Spanish accents seemed to be a special issue with the teachers in relating to
these students. The respondents, as students, reported an occasional inability and a hesitancy to communicate with their teachers. Additionally, the respondents appeared to have the impression that many teachers were not disposed to recognize individual differences, and often seemed unable to meet the students halfway.

A majority of the respondents agreed that their teachers wanted them to learn acceptable American behavior. They did seem to feel, however, that their teachers had not encouraged them to use their native language, even when they had a need to understand something in English which was quite unclear to them. The overall impression of the respondents with respect to this topic seemed to be that the intent of the school system was to assimilate the Mexican-American students into the dominant society. This seemed to be the case, irrespective of how it impacted on the students' self-concepts or how it may have affected their learning capacities. Several respondents, perhaps because "bilingualism" and "biculturalism" had not been issues when they were in school, reported that their teachers seemed unaware of the connection between language, culture, and self-concept and their effects on learning.
CHAPTER 6

PRESENTATION OF THE DATA: CARE

_Care_

"Care" as the third relational concept is based on the two previously introduced concepts of "awareness" and "acceptance." Where caring is occurring, there tends to be continuing warm regard for the person and an increasingly demonstrated interest in his well-being. Care may be reciprocal, although not necessarily symmetrical, when it comes from a genuine concern for the well-being of another person. The communication at this level may lead to understandings as to what the person is feeling and thinking.

In the classroom, where the student senses genuine concern on the part of the teacher, the possibility for increasingly open communication channels between himself and the teacher clearly exists. This teacher care tends to exclude such negative instructor behaviors as judging, ridiculing, and criticizing.

Questionnaire statement numbers 14 through 18 which follow are concerned with the concept of "care" in its various phases or levels as they relate to Mexican-American students and their teachers.
Questionnaire Statement Number 14

"I felt that my teachers were genuinely concerned about my well-being."

In Figure 15, it can be seen that one person strongly agreed with the statement, while 55 percent (11) of the respondents agreed, making a total of 60 percent (12) of the respondents agreeing with the statement that they felt their teachers were genuinely concerned about their well-being. One person was undecided, 30 percent (6) of the respondents were in disagreement, and one person was in strong disagreement with the statement, making a total of 35 percent (7) of the respondents in disagreement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Miguel strongly agreed with the statement that his teachers were genuinely concerned about his well-being, without comment.

Diego, who also agreed, commented, "I think that if I said no, it would be unfair to the teachers because they were trying to do the best that they could for me at the time with the knowledge that they had. They meant well. I had a positive attitude towards the teachers. I felt that they had something to offer me and that I would try to take everything I could."

From his report, Diego appears to have experienced a sense of care from his teachers. He apparently valued what they had to offer him.

Carlos, who was also in agreement, felt that there were some teachers who were genuinely concerned about his well-being, but he also had
Figure 15. Composite Responses to Questionnaire Statement Number 14 (Care).

"I felt that my teachers were genuinely concerned about my well-being."
some vivid recollections of others whom he perceived as being less sensitive to him. He stated:

It had to do with Boy's State. There was every reason in the world why I should have gone to Boy's State. The guy that chose the persons to go did not choose me. I was the student body president. I'm not going through a litany, but I had all these criteria that had existed throughout my high school career, and I was not chosen. His decision was based upon grade average alone. And, frankly, I didn't have a really good grade average, but my interests were directed to music, the newspaper, athletics, and, although I was taking college level courses, I was not a big studier. We did not have a tradition of that kind of studying in our family. So I was not competitive in that respect.

His criteria was strictly based on grades. That was not the way I understood it should be done. I thought it had more to do with choosing the kids whose fathers were important in town, and if you have to take a Mexican kid, take the one that you coached while in grade school.

Carlos's teacher in this instance did not appear to have displayed any particular sense of awareness of his feelings, and the importance of this particular event in Carlos's school life.

Francisco also commented that some of his teachers were genuinely concerned while others were not. In reporting his feelings about this statement, he noted that he had liked school and had developed some good methods for "surviving" any difficult situations. Francisco stated:

I guess in my life there were a whole lot of negative things that happened in school, but I had so many defenses against those things that they didn't cause me any traumas. For example, when something really bad happened in the classroom, the trauma that I suffered, if I suffered any trauma at all, was very short lived because I was very popular with my peer group; because we had a little ganguita. So I got a lot of good strokes with them, and then my mom was always stroking us, she and my dad both. Well the trauma was there, but I dealt with it very well, and I was able to expel it because I was able
to get a lot of positive strokes, reinforcement, and support from my peer group and from my family.

So then, the trauma was reduced to a very minimum, and that's probably why. That, coupled with the fact that I really enjoyed school and I looked forward to going to school. I loved it. I love going to the library. I love learning things. I get excited when I come across a book or an article that's interesting. Wow! That's the way I dealt with school.

That had a lot to do with mitigating the bad experiences. Because my own enthusiasm was such that when bad things happened, they weren't strong enough to push back my momentum. My momentum was so strong for school that even when teachers would mess with me or say bad things that would cause me traumas, it would set me back because I would feel bad and all that kind of stuff, but I enjoyed being there. I was able to overcome that and then after school, with the ganguita, they were very supportive and at home family members were very supportive. There were many bad experiences I had in school, but I was able to deal with them. I had good coping mechanisms.

Although Francisco may have experienced a high degree of awareness and a degree of acceptance by his teachers, he does not appear to have experienced any deep level of communication with them. From his report, it is evident that Francisco was able to deal with any negative experiences in his own fashion with the support structures of his friends and family around him.

David was undecided about the statement. He mentioned two teachers who were the exception and who had been aware of him enough to show some care about his well-being and offer help to him in adjusting to his new environment.

Estela commented on the topic:

I think they were in their own way, but my teachers were trying to teach us the educational part of it and the spiritual part which was very strong because of the Catholic environment. They also tried to teach us a lot of human factors such as working with each other,
accepting a lot of things that we would probably be encountering in the world. Yet in some aspects of our well-being, and I could understand, they were uncomfortable about talking about a male and female relationship. I'll never forget that in part of our religious training, there was a chapter that dealt with marriage. The teacher we had at that time skipped over that chapter totally. We were all anticipating the day we would get to that chapter, and when we asked why we had skipped it, she totally ignored that.

Estela perceived that her teachers, who were caring and concerned about her well-being to the extent that they could be, apparently were not able to assist in certain areas of special student interest because of their limited backgrounds. From Estela's report, there was evidently a perception of acceptance on the part of her teachers and an apparent quality of interaction between herself and her teachers that developed into a deep caring for each other.

Marcos, who disagreed with the statement, reported that he felt his teachers had not really been genuinely concerned about his well-being because he apparently had not felt that he was learning and that he did not have the skills he would need later on when he left school. He stated:

I always thought that one day somebody would deal with the fact that it was a big game and that someday they would say, "Okay, we have been kidding all along here. It's been a big farce and really you need to know something before you leave here, and we are going to start today. We are going to start even with the first-grade book or whatever. We are going to teach you."

I kept on expecting someone to do that. To me it was so obvious. I always remember that, because in college in elementary education they would say, "We should really work with those non-achievers who need high-level interest text with lower grade level expectations of vocabulary." I always thought, maybe it's good, but most kids need to deal with reality. They know reality. If they are not achieving and they can't read, they know something is wrong.
So what I kept on expecting was to find an honest person who was teaching. Someone who would say, "Hey, you're having problems here, so I'm really concerned about you and you will not be able to succeed without having certain skills. We are going to have to sit down with you and do that." It wasn't like that, and even in the classes that were just for students who were having problems reading, it was sort of socializing activities, sort of a cut and paste, but not getting to the problem, which seems like they didn't want to face the issue. So that is what I felt.

I thought they weren't genuine enough to say, "Let's get down and help you out on something." They just overlooked it.

The fact that Marcos sensed that no one reached out to him to tell him that he was lacking the needed skills and care enough and be concerned enough to somehow help him over that barrier, apparently led Marcos to perceive that his teachers were not genuinely concerned about him. He saw that he had been neglected by these people who were very important to him during this period of time.

Jorge, who also disagreed with the statement, felt that his teachers were generally more concerned about the assimilation process and how he fit into their scheme of things than being sensitive to his needs.

Ernesto, who was also in disagreement, felt that if his teachers had been genuinely concerned about his well-being, they might have taken a different approach. He responded thus:

It's the system I fear, and it's the system that I have been against all along. This is why I have really gotten involved in the policy making, the decision-making of the system. The teachers might have had some genuine concerns about their students, but it was probably the interpretation that they received from that memo that the system filtered down to them, whether or not they thought it was the right approach or the humane way of doing things. So really I have it against the system, not the teacher.
Evidently Ernesto sensed a lack of communication between himself and these significant others whom he saw as important to his well-being.

Questionnaire Statement Number 15

"I felt that my teachers cared whether I did well in school."

As cited in Figure 16, 10 percent (2) of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement, 45 percent (9) of the respondents agreed, making a total of 55 percent (11) of the respondents agreeing with the statement that they felt their teachers cared whether they did well in school. Fifteen percent (3) of the respondents were undecided, and 30 percent (6) of the respondents were in disagreement with the statement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Miguel agreed with the statement that he felt his teachers cared. He observed that his teachers manifested this care through visitations to his home, that they had cared about his family background, his home and his family, and that they had really been quite involved with him and his life as a student in their school.

Ofelia also agreed with the statement and pointed out one or two special teachers who she felt were exceptionally caring. She stated:

I noticed it especially with Miss Emerson. She was very interested that I did very well in geometry because I had done so bad in algebra. I had such a bad concept of math that she went out of her way. I feel that Miss Emerson of course was very concerned. She used to keep me in her office after school and make me study because she was concerned that I pass with good grades and go on to the university.
Figure 16. Composite Responses to Questionnaire Statement Number 15 (Care).

"I felt that my teachers cared whether I did well in school."
On the basis of these teachers who stood out in her mind, Ofelia felt a deep sense of care and communication with them. This type of care, which tended to become care in a deeper and reciprocal sense, was perhaps what Ofelia perceived she needed at that time.

Another person who felt that his teachers cared as to whether he did well in school or not was Antonio. He felt that the majority of his teachers in elementary school cared whether he did well. In junior high and high school this seemed to be true to a lesser degree. In college, as he perceived it, the process of caring had virtually disappeared. He commented:

In college, you're just an IBM number. If you didn't show, so what, you didn't show up. I remember in college in one class, because I was a P.E. major, the professor asked, "How many of you are P.E. majors?" Well, half the class raised their hands and he said, "I predict that 50 percent of you are going to fail." All my grades and my exams were A's and I flunked the final. We went and fought, my friend and I. He was a very smart student, very sharp, but we couldn't do anything. The "5" stood. I had to take that course in summer school. I got a "1" in summer school to wipe out the "5." That's a fact.

Antonio apparently had good experiences with his elementary school teachers. He expressed throughout that he felt there was a high level of communication between them and him and that they had been caring individuals who were concerned about him and his well-being. He did recall a vivid negative experience that he had at the college level.

Diego felt that, although his teachers had cared whether he did well in school, he had never been challenged or motivated or inspired by them. He stated, "When I went to the university, and I'm not blaming the teachers, I
think it was my fault that I wasn't aware of it, but I lacked the basic English concepts and fundamentals and so forth. I felt I didn't have a good background in English. So, consequently I found myself in trouble at the university and I had to work extra hard."

Carlos also agreed, with the exception of two teachers whom he perceived as being not very accepting of him. With regard to those teachers he felt positive about, he commented:

Excluding the two I mentioned, I had a relatively positive feeling towards my teachers, even the ones that weren't real friendly towards me. If there was any problem with a relationship, it was based on my performance. I never had the concept that you were going to lose because you're a Mexican. I had the concept that whatever you do counts, period. I never had that inferior feeling. I just had that antagonism I mentioned with these two guys. But other than that it was positive.

Carlos consistently expressed the feeling that he felt a high degree of acceptance on the part of his teachers for him and that there seemed to be a real sense of caring.

David, who was undecided about the statement, found it difficult to answer this question since he had been an exception in being a foreign student. Consistent with his report, he felt that there had been several teachers who had really helped him and had been very caring and sensitive to his needs. However, he took note of the general situation in the following: "If I were to sit in a corner and not say one word, the better for them. I think that nowadays there is more sensitivity in that regard, but at that time, they were just
doing their job. I don't even know that they were concerned with the Mexican-American in general, much less with a foreigner."

Another person who was undecided was Ernesto. He felt that he could interpret the statement concerning caring in two ways. He said, "They could have cared because if not, it's seen as a failure or they could have genuinely cared, because if they really cared what happened to me, I'd do good continuously. If they did care, I think they were more concerned about their failures than they were of me."

Ernesto is questioning the motivation behind the care which he perceived that his teachers might have had. In either case, there appeared to have been a low level of communication between Ernesto and his teachers. He seemed not to be sure how to rationalize his relationship with them with respect to this statement.

Jorge, who disagreed with the statement, felt that, at the elementary level, the perception of being a non-entity had existed. At the junior high level, he felt that he had not really been seen as good or bad, but that at the high school level he experienced a different situation. He commented:

I was on the honor roll, to my best knowledge, all the time. I might have missed it once or twice during the four years. But generally, I was on the honor roll all the time. In my senior year I was in seminar classes, math, English, science seminar and something else. Four seminars. So it wasn't as though I was the run of the mill. By that time I had established a little academic ability. But I didn't feel that to the teachers I was special. I was just another student I think. There was nothing special. I don't recall, but I was one of the few Chicanos in the class in all the seminar classes.
Jorge apparently felt that, although he had done very well and was an exception among his Mexican-American co-students, he had not received any special recognition by his teachers. There apparently had been some awareness and acceptance of him, but it may have been a superficial type of care that a teacher might have for almost any student. There apparently was no really high level communication between himself and his teachers. Evidently, the teachers' sensitivity to his special needs was low or non-existent.

Marcos, who disagreed, had the feeling that his teachers really didn't care. He did note one or two teachers who were the exception to this general situation. He recalled only one teacher who provided him any positive reinforcement. He felt that he had never experienced a real sense of care from his teachers in his entire school career. Apparently Marcos experienced a low level of communication between himself and his teachers with the exception of one teacher, who evidently was quite sensitive to Marcos's potential in certain areas. He had offered Marcos the encouragement that he needed to begin the process of feeling good about himself. The quality of interaction between himself and this teacher whom he perceived to be special was evidently gratifying to Marcos.

Questionnaire Statement Number 16

"I felt that my relationship with my teachers helped me feel good about myself."

As presented in Figure 17, 10 percent (2) of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement, and 55 percent (11) of the respondents
Figure 17. Composite Responses to Questionnaire
Statement Number 16 (Care).

"I felt that my relationship with my teachers helped me feel good about myself."
agreed, making a total of 65 percent (13) of the respondents who agreed with the statement that they felt their relationship with their teachers made them feel good about themselves. Thirty-five percent (7) of the respondents disagreed with the statement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Ernesto, who heretofore had reported that he had had generally negative experiences with his teachers, evidently experienced good rapport with his coaches. He reported it thus:

The teachers that gave you positive feedback, good vibes of communication, made it easier. The people that I really feel good about were the coaches. They gave me an ultimatum: "You do good or you can't play." I don't think that the teachers were prepared to give me that type of ultimatum in the classroom because I was already done with most of my work in my freshman and sophomore year, and the rest was just sliding.

I had already fulfilled the requirements, but I had enough anger toward the system that I didn't want the system to look that much better by my continuing to make them look good. It was the system. Some teachers knew I knew, so those were the ones that tried to give me some type of an explanation, but it was not acceptable.

Ernesto reported feeling sufficient care on the part of his teachers, especially his coaches, to have made him feel that he could agree with this statement. Apparently they were sensitive to his needs for options and challenges. Whether that care was superficial or not is difficult to assess. However, his coaches apparently had touched a part of Ernesto's life in a way that enabled him to respond in a positive manner.
Jaime agreed with the statement, reporting that he was always able to turn his negative experiences into some sort of positive learning experience. He stated:

Yes, because for example, the teacher that accused me of cheating on my Latin exam, I knew that I didn't and that I was tops. So it gave me a self-satisfaction, and the same with my history professor who accused me of cheating. I knew I had done the work, and I tested out well in other exams and so forth.

I remember that I was a good athlete, and in math quizzes. I knew that I was good, but they never picked me. I was a good artist in junior high school, yet they never picked me in terms of sending the kids out to compete with other schools. They would have quizzes on the drawing board. I would go up and do some math questions and I always came out on top. I remember in an art contest, I would always win, yet I never got the recognition. So it was just an acceptance on my part. When I went to Catholic school, it was the same thing. At that school I was good in sports and I wasn't going to play. I quit because the other Chicanos didn't have a chance. So I just knew that I didn't have to play their game.

As he reported it, there appeared to be a lack of deep caring by Jaime's teachers. Apparently there was a low level of communication between himself and his teachers, yet Jaime was able to perceive that he could turn some of these experiences around and benefit from them.

Diego agreed that his relationships with his teachers had helped him to feel good about himself because, as he said, "With some I would say yes, because I always felt good, and I was always positive." It appears that, because Diego had a positive attitude, as he perceived himself, he might have sensed a greater degree of reciprocity in interpersonal relationships between himself and his teachers than many other students.
On the basis of having two teachers whom he perceived as being very good with him, Eduardo agreed with the statement. He commented:

With a couple of them, yes. With most of them, I had no relationship with them other than going to school and going home. I was a different kind of kid. You sort of had to make the first move to be friendly, to have a relationship other than the teacher-student writing on the blackboard relationship. If they had made the first move, I would have reciprocated.

From Eduardo's statement, it might be inferred that he tended to have a superficial relationship with most of his teachers, and a relatively low level of communication.

Luz agreed with the statement. She commented that her relationship with her teachers had developed not only on an individual basis, but in conjunction with her family situation. She reported feeling a considerable degree of care from her teachers. There appeared to have been a high level of communication, and she indicated no negative experiences in this regard.

Antonio, who was undecided, felt that he had just not been conscious of it one way or another. He had not felt badly about this condition and could not comment as to whether his relationship with his teachers had made him feel good about himself or not.

Ricardo disagreed with the statement in that, as he reported throughout, he seemed to have a very low level of communication with his teachers and experienced a minimum of deep care from them. He noted that there had been one exception, a teacher who encouraged him. He commented:

The only exception is one teacher, Mr. Evans. I never felt that teachers were people I could go communicate with. I was, I guess,
an average student, although I always thought of myself as maybe a little better than average. I never worked too hard at it and I always got pretty good grades. I think maybe, if someone had taken an interest, that I probably could have been a very good student. Since nobody cared, I just did it on my own. A lot of my friends had very hard times in certain classes, and they had to work a lot harder than I. I just coasted through high school.

In terms of success as we measure it in this society, becoming leaders, making good money, acquiring assets, I would guess that most of the people that I went to high school with probably didn't do very well.

He continued, mentioning that he felt the education system had not done a lot for him and that his principal encouragement had come from people in his work world following his schooling.

Rafael, who also disagreed, commented:

As a matter of fact, I think they made you feel pretty rotten. If I had felt pretty good about it, I guess I wouldn't have been running around doing the things I did, running away from school all the time and not wanting to go to school.

I had a close relationship with a couple of teachers. One was my Spanish teacher. He was an Anglo, but he was a Spanish teacher. As a matter of fact, I still remember a poem that he had on the wall in Spanish that I memorized from the second day I was in his classroom. I recite it from time to time. It was written by Rubén Darío.

One other teacher was a baseball coach. I think that had it not been for Mr. Henderson who was a freshman coach, I would have dropped out of school. He encouraged me to stay in school and to play ball, so I stayed in, basically for that. He was very, very kind.

Rafael evidently felt that he had a good relationship with these two teachers and sensed some level of communication that perhaps might have developed into a deeper caring relationship, including kindness.
Marta, who disagreed, said, "There was just no opportunity to have communication with teachers. Generally speaking, I would say that is what was mostly lacking, communication." Marta went on to express her feeling that the teachers were there for one purpose, to teach them, and she sensed that she had to learn to handle her own problems without teacher help. Apparently, as she reported it, there was a very low level of communication between herself and her teachers.

Questionnaire Statement Number 17

"I felt that my teachers thought it was important that I retain my bicultural identity."

As reported in Figure 18, 20 percent (4) of the respondents agreed with the statement, while 80 percent (16) of the respondents disagreed with the statement that they felt their teachers thought it was important that they retain their bicultural identity.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Luz, who agreed that her teachers thought it was important that she retain her bicultural identity, was very positive, consistent with her general response to the interview. She said, "Let's put it this way. Yes, but the way they saw biculturalism is through a process of enrichment." Apparently, for Luz, the word "bicultural" was the equivalent of enrichment. She sensed that her teachers were caring in that respect, and that it was important to them, too.
Figure 18. Composite Responses to Questionnaire Statement Number 17 (Care).

"I felt that my teachers thought it was important that I retain my bicultural identity."
Rafael, who was also in agreement, stated, "I think that they genuinely felt that it was important. They used to reiterate it, time and time again. They did, but they weren't willing to sacrifice some of their own aspects of what the status quo was in order to encourage it even more. They would tell you that it was important, that you should, but it ought to be separate and apart."

Although Rafael perceived that his teachers felt it was important that he retain his bicultural identity, it perhaps may have been a conditional feeling that was a part of his biculturalism, conditional in the sense that it was acceptable, but separate from the main thrust of schooling and should be kept thus. The level of communication between Rafael and his teachers may not have been deep enough for him to sense that there was any genuine care.

Estela agreed that her teachers had felt that it was important that she retain her bicultural identity. She stated:

Other than the language learning process, we were certainly given Spanish classes, we did a lot of projects that delved into the culture. A lot of the projects were tailored to keep our culture alive, like dances and Mexican food.

They would treat us to different field trips where we would learn more about the culture of Arizona, which was very instrumental to our growth: San Xavier, the mission, and how Arizona was once part of Mexico and so forth. Insofar as they tried to take that away from us, no. I think they tried to reinforce what we had in our own culture here in the United States, which was not uniform, but which we could identify with. Probably the uniqueness of Arizona, that is you have Mexicans from Mexico coming here. They don't find themselves in a completely different environment as if they were to go live in Wisconsin, because there is so much culture from Mexico here and ethnic background that we can identify with. They did a lot to reinforce that.
Estela seemed to possess a deep sense of personal care which tended to generate reciprocal feelings between herself and her teachers regarding her biculturalism. Her teachers were apparently willing to find out about her and allow her to communicate and experience things that kept her own culture alive.

Among those who disagreed was Jorge. He stated, "No, not at all. Quite the contrary. It was more, as I said, an orientation towards assimilation into the dominant society."

Another person who disagreed was Ricardo. He commented:

They weren't really encouraging us as Mexican-Americans to do anything or to get ahead more than the average person. Otherwise the whole thing would have turned out for us and we would be at a higher level as a people, both educationally, financially, and everything else. We're still basically in the same boat. We haven't made much progress. And that's because of the system, that's the way the system is.

It seems that Ricardo did not experience a high level of communication between himself and his teachers with respect to his biculturalism. He reported that the "system" seemed not geared to enhance the students' good feelings about their own bicultural status.

Also in disagreement with the statement was Ernesto. In so doing, he remembered two teachers who were positive about his bicultural identity. He said:

I had two. I don't know how many teachers one goes to in twelve years, but I had two that really said, "If you do anything, don't forget your background, don't forget your culture." The other ones would just as soon have told me, "Forget your damn background and you'll be able to deal and approach this society, the one you live in, and you'll live in a fashion that will probably be acceptable to this
society." There were two during the whole time that really felt that if I stuck to it and do it right, that I would be much better off.

Ernesto perceived a lack of sensitivity to his background and his needs by his teachers. This might be explained in terms of a lack of teacher-student communication where positive interaction could possibly have helped both him and his teachers in locating his priorities and clarifying them.

Miguel, who disagreed with the statement, stated that he disagreed on the basis that he could remember nothing ever said or done by anyone which encouraged him to retain his cultural background. He commented:

I don't think they ever had to express it because it was so accepted, since you had Irish-Americans, German-Americans, and Polish-Americans and everything else. So one more guy in the pot would not make a difference. There was never any problem with that to my knowledge. But in my formative years, I can't say that anybody said, "Don't do anything to lose it," or "Do something special" to retain it.

Another person who disagreed was Jaime. He did so by stating, "It was a repressive tolerance. We were there, and when you spoke Spanglish then you were talked down to. You were never encouraged to improve it."

Diego, who also disagreed, said, "No, the teachers could care less if I retained my cultural identity." Miguel, who felt in a sense that there was no one telling him that he should forget it, still could remember no teacher encouraging him to retain it. It evidently was something that was not vivid in his mind which he could recollect. Jaime reported that it was repressed and there was a lack of care and concern by his teachers. Diego evidently agreed
with this. Both Diego and Jaime indicated that their teachers manifested little care or concern regarding their retention of their biculturalism.

Questionnaire Statement Number 18

"I felt that my teachers cared that I develop positive attitudes about myself."

As shown in Figure 19, one person strongly agreed with the statement, and 55 percent (11) agreed, making a total of 60 percent (12) of the respondents in agreement with the statement that they felt their teachers cared that they develop positive attitudes about themselves. Ten percent (2) of the respondents were undecided. Twenty-five percent (5) of the respondents disagreed, and one person strongly disagreed, making a total of 30 percent (6) of the respondents in disagreement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Sara agreed that the teachers cared about her developing positive attitudes about herself, but that seemed to be limited to grades one through six. Throughout her interview, Sara mentioned that she felt that nobody, from junior high on, seemed to care whether she stayed in school or not. She expressed it thus:

I still feel that way. I don't think teachers really care if you stay in school. The teachers that I remember were strict, but fair. They really taught you. I think that if someone had fought some battles for me during junior high, I would not have dropped out of school. But in grades one through six, there were three teachers who would always tell me that I could write and that I was good at writing.
Figure 19. Composite Responses to Questionnaire Statement Number 18 (Care).

"I felt that my teachers cared that I develop positive attitudes about myself."
Estela strongly agreed with the statement which corresponds with her positive statements on most other items on the interview schedule.

Ofelia agreed with the statement on the basis of an experience in higher education. She said:

Yes. I think so. For instance, when I was going to college, the governor used to give medals for the person they chose as the best student teacher of the year. My teacher recommended me.

I've never cared how I looked and I've never bought expensive clothes, just so that I was clean. So she said, "I have never given four A's to anyone who is student teaching. I'm going to give them to you because you have worked so hard, but I'd wish you'd learn how to comb your hair. Your hair never looks good." And it still doesn't. She also criticized me because of my voice. She said, "You're going to make an excellent primary teacher if you don't scare the hell out of your kids with your voice." So I think they cared.

Ofelia perceived positive relationships with her teachers throughout her schooling. She sensed a depth of caring and felt that she had a good level of communication with her teachers.

Rafael, who also agreed, stated:

I feel that they didn't understand us well enough to be able to bring that home. I think there was more confusion than anything else because there wasn't any real communication. If you can't communicate with the student, I don't think that you can teach them effectively. I think that's essential.

I think that it helps a great deal to be able to speak the student's language. I don't want to say that it had to be that way. What I am saying is that it makes it a great deal easier and creates more incentive for a student to be able to communicate in such a way.

I think you have different categories of Spanish speakers. You have those who speak more Spanish than not, those that are in between, and those that don't speak any at all. So I think there has to be a way in which you take those things into consideration.
There seemed to have been a lack of communication between Rafael and his teachers and with this lack, a link in the caring process and the building of a deeper caring relationship was missing.

Luz, who agreed, simply said, "Yes, as a matter of fact, I can see the results today." Apparently Luz perceived herself as having a high degree of communication and care with her teachers.

Eduardo, who was undecided with respect to this question, stated:

It was like a self-defeating effort on the part of the teachers, because in order to have good self-confidence, you also have to have good self-esteem. So if they didn't work on the latter, no matter what they did to make us feel good, there was always a little gap. So I think they did care, but they didn't know how to go about showing it.

I think they cared, because as educators, part of the training is rounding out the child you are working with and that is to give that child a sense of self-confidence and a good feeling. I think they tried to do that, but they didn't know how. When you lost a very, very important component, the language of the child, there is something missing. Then it's not going to work. As I said, it's self-defeating.

They knew how to do it for other children, but they didn't know how to do it for us. As a consequence, their techniques didn't work. Our reassurance was always to be able to go back home and to the neighborhood. Then you could breathe with a sigh of relaxation. You felt good.

Consistent with his report, Eduardo felt that, in a sense, there was a caring by the teachers. He indicated lack of communication, however, especially when he needed to use his native language to communicate matters important to him. If teacher and student cannot establish two-way communication, it is very difficult to attain any deeper relationship. Again, as was
stressed by other respondents, the only reassurance or sense of real support, as he perceived it, was his home and neighborhood.

A person who disagreed with the statement was Fernando. He commented, "If they had had an interest in our feeling good about ourselves, and that we had good attitudes with respect to what we are, they would have respected our culture, which they did not do."

Fernando sensed a lack of respect for his cultural background in the attitudes of his teachers. It appeared that there may have been a low level of care on the part of his teachers regarding effective communicating with him concerning his personal needs and potentials.

Another person who disagreed with the statement was Ernesto. He said that he recalled two teachers who had been good at communicating with him, but then asserted, "The rest, I think really had a challenge on their hands. I don't know which way they were looking. I wasn't paying attention to them. I don't know if they were paying attention to me, but these two persons stand out in my mind."

It appears that Ernesto had quite a superficial relationship with his teachers. There evidently was a basic awareness, possibly a very low level acceptance, and rather clearly a lack of depth or even the development of caring between him and his teachers.

Marta, who strongly disagreed, did so on the basis of her low level of communication with most of her teachers and counselors in high school. It
appeared that there was a limited sense of care which had no chance to
develop further because of the communication blockage.

Summary of Scaled Responses

In questionnaire statement number 14, the first statement in the "care" category, the respondents, in the majority, agreed that they felt their teachers were genuinely concerned about their well-being. In questionnaire statement number 15, the respondents again agreed, in the majority, that they felt their teachers had cared whether they did well in school. The respondents, in the majority, also agreed with questionnaire statement number 16, which posed the problem as to whether the respondents' relationships with their teachers had helped them feel good about themselves.

In questionnaire statement number 17, the majority of the respondents disagreed with the statement that they felt their teachers had thought it important that they retain their bicultural identity. In the last statement of the "care" category, questionnaire statement number 18, the respondents agreed, in the majority, that they felt their teachers had cared that they developed positive attitudes about themselves.

Discussion

In the "care" category, the respondents generally agreed that their teachers were concerned about their well-being. Moreover, the respondents seemed to agree that their teachers had generally cared that they develop positive attitudes about themselves and did well in school. The respondents
tended to believe that the above mentioned statements included elements of a teacher-student relationship which are general, overall encompassing parts of a teacher's role in school. Additionally, a common remark among those in agreement was, "Some did, others did not [care]." It is important to note that, while the participants tended to agree with these statements, this was on the basis of recollections of positive teacher-student relationships with a small number of teachers in the respondents' total school experiences. Another common expression with respect to this category was, "I can only remember one or two [caring teachers]."

Those participants who disagreed with the statements indicated that they had felt a void in communication between their teachers and themselves. This void in communication is an indispensable component of a caring relationship.

With respect to the statement concerning how the respondents felt their teachers thought it was important that they retain their bicultural identity, the majority of the respondents disagreed with the statement. That is, they perceived that their teachers had not considered their cultural identity as being especially important. The respondents reported that they had at times perceived a "lack of respect" by their teachers for their cultural background. It was not, in their view, therefore, perceived to be incorporated into any facet of their school experience by their teachers.

Overall, the respondents reported feeling good about their relationships with their teachers in ordinary teacher-student relationships. They did,
however, seem to feel that when any facet of their "biculturalism" was involved, that their teachers were not particularly responsive and thus the students felt less positive regarding these relationships.
"Aspire" as the fourth relational concept continues the flow of the relational process developing in "aware," "accept," and "care." Aspire allows mutual striving and support in a growth direction. At the "aspire" level, there is encouragement for the development and reaching of a person's potential.

In the classroom, where students need to experience successes, goals and expectancies developed by the teachers and students need to be realistic, accurate, and within the capacity of the students. These goals and expectancies must present challenges to the young people and should hold forth the prospect of intrinsic satisfactions.

For students to reach personal goals, increments of success need to be felt by the young people. If the young people perceive themselves as experiencing success in their classroom activities and relationships, then conditions tend to be favorable for them to raise their aspiration levels.

Questionnaire statement numbers 19 through 24 which follow are concerned with the concept of "aspire" in its various phases or levels as they relate to Mexican-American students and their teachers.
Questionnaire Statement Number 19

"I felt that my teachers wanted me to have the best education that I could acquire."

As illustrated in Figure 20, one person strongly agreed with the statement, and 40 percent (8) of the respondents were in agreement, making a total of 45 percent (9) of the respondents in agreement with the statement that they felt their teachers wanted them to have the best education that they could acquire. One person was undecided. Forty-five percent (9) disagreed, and one person strongly disagreed, making a total of 50 percent (10) of the respondents in disagreement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Miguel strongly agreed with the statement that his teachers wanted him to have the best education he could acquire. He seemed to feel that his teachers sometimes went out of their way in caring for what he did and how well he did. In a sense, he had experienced a significant degree of "awareness," "acceptance," and "care" and even possibly "aspire" in his reported relationships with his teachers. He did indicate that there was not much they could do for him in the vocation of cleric which he had decided to follow.

David also agreed with the statement and qualified it by saying, "Some of them did. Some of them were indifferent. As a matter of fact, my counselor tried so hard for me and really felt that I would become an excellent addition to the Spanish teacher's faculty. Some of them really wanted me to continue in education so that I could return as a teacher."
Figure 20. Composite Responses to Questionnaire Statement Number 19 (Aspire).

"I felt that my teachers wanted me to have the best education that I could acquire."
Apparently David felt that in a sense, his teachers were encouraging him to continue in a field where he had exhibited potential. It appeared from his report that they were aspiring for him to do something and be something. It perhaps may not have been his choice, but he did report sensing a great care from his teachers.

Ofelia also agreed with the statement and consistently expressed positive attitudes in that respect. Estela agreed with the statement with an exception. She perceived that her teachers had wanted her to have the best education that she could attain, but, as she stated:

I would say that it was tailored to the learning of English and finishing high school. There was no formal type of consultation and educational programs which would prepare us for college. There weren't even any types of programs where we could learn the opportunities in different fields. I guess we had a vocational day and vocations were emphasized. Perhaps we had a speaker that was a nurse, another one that was a teacher, and that type of thing. But insofar as their saying to us, "You have to have an education, you're going to need it, you have to prepare yourself," no.

I think the education that I missed was how to coexist in a coeducational environment. We were never exposed to that. If anything, it was a very difficult time in my life to find competitiveness with the male. Maybe that is what made me want to be in a male oriented atmosphere.

Although Estela felt that her teachers were aware of her, accepted and cared for her in a certain sense of the word, she perceived that they might have aspired for her in terms of their own goals or education expectancies drawn from the dominant societal value system.

Ernesto was undecided concerning the statement. Again, as he had stressed throughout his report, he felt that it was the system and not the
teachers who had ill-prepared him insofar as meeting challenges beyond the school. He stated:

I was there and I wasn't that bad off, or at least my brain capabilities were not that bad, but yet when I came out of school and had done everything that they said to do, I experienced difficulty. When I graduated and went out and tried to take tests at the university, it was terrible. Yet in high school I had good grades.

I don't think the language was the big problem. I just think the system did not prepare me, and I know for a fact that if you wanted to get really ready, you had to do a lot more yourself on your own.

I may have excelled in school, but as far as the language barrier, the difference is that I became exposed to a different environment as soon as I got home, so that started changing or limiting my exposure to the conditions that it took for me to master tests and improve my vocabulary, because once I got home, experience in the English language stopped. So I'd pick up every book I could and read it, because that was going to be the salvation to my whole problem. I was going to have to do it because it wasn't done before.

Ernesto felt that he had not acquired the academic skills that he might need later in college. In a sense, this may have been a perceived lack of care, not so much on the part of his teachers, but, as he put it, an inadequacy in the school "system." In developing a feeling regarding this perceived inadequacy, he seemed to indicate a lack of care, in the generalized sense of the expression, and worked hard to compensate for it.

Rafael agreed with the statement. He commented as follows:

I think that they had one primary function in mind and that is to acculturate you as to what was going on around you, to assimilate you. In terms of a best education possible for you, it does not seem to me that was a priority. If it had been, it would have gone somewhat further than to make you take woodshop and working with your hands and junk like that. They started doing that to you when you were in the seventh grade. They had all these shops when I was there, and I know darn good and well that all of us had to go there throughout our whole
careers in junior high school and even in high school. We just weren't being prepared for anything other than that.

Rafael seemed not to feel that there had been any conscious efforts on the part of his teachers to raise his aspiration levels. He failed to perceive any teacher encouragement for the development of his potentials insofar as vocational and/or academic areas were concerned. He reported that the teachers tended to limit him in certain intellectual pursuits.

Francisco also disagreed with the statement and commented:

No, no, I don't think so. I think that the teachers basically were satisfied that we had just gone through what they considered to be the standard education of courses through eighth grade, and possibly high school. They considered high school graduation a big deal. And after that, no. I think that in that sense, their perception of our aspirations and capabilities was bad and very low.

They perceived it as a big success if they could get us out of eighth grade. I remember in those days the standard joke was, "Well, man, do you want to be a ditch digger?" because people who didn't graduate from high school in those days wound up being ditch diggers. I think it was just a contemporary joke.

I always had the perception and the feeling that the teachers just wanted us to go through eighth grade and they thought that was fantastic. Except for individual people that I identified, they were the only individuals that were probably urged or told, "Go on to school," but on the average, no.

Francisco perhaps felt that his teachers' expectations in the realm of academic pursuits for certain people were low. He reported feeling that the teachers seemed to be striving to accomplish the minimum with him in reaching any personal goals. Francisco did perceive that those people who were considered "good students" tended to be the only ones singled out and encouraged to seek further education.
Another person who disagreed with the statement was Diego. He perceived parental values as playing an important part in the matter:

I don't think so, because as I told you, I was never challenged. Whatever work I did, I don't remember a teacher telling me, "Hey, you have potential." I never felt that I was motivated.

Out of all my classmates, the majority of them, and I'm talking about the Chicanos at the elementary level, I think I was the only one that went on to college. One of the things that I saw was that the parents wanted to take these kids out of school and put them to work in the fields because they needed the money. They felt that an education was not necessary. It was a matter of survival more than anything else, and they used to criticize my mom for sending me to school and not putting me to work. Parent values played a very important part. I think it was more the home than the school, the way I look at it now. We never had counselors talk to us.

Diego seemed to go along with the others who disagreed in perceiving that the teachers were apparently not especially instrumental in raising the aspiration levels of the students and that they seemed to be basing their teaching behavior on lowered expectations of the young Mexican-Americans in their classes. Diego stressed that he felt his home provided the strong, supportive thrust for continuing his schooling in higher education.

Jorge also disagreed and stated the following:

I generalize my perception from this standpoint, that is that I was not really prepared for the university setting where the instructor puts it out, and if you want to pick it up fine. If you don't, that's fine. The responsibility is yours to prepare.

In high school, I had no need to prepare. If there was an exam, during the lecture I was reading for the exam and kind of listening at the same time. At home I would never crack a book. Never. So was I prepared? Did I have study habits? As an example, in the math seminar, I took trig and calculus in high school. The first math course at the university we used the same book as we
had in high school. In high school I got an "A" and at the university I got a "C" because I didn't study. I just was not prepared.

If you want to meet those teacher demands, fine. If you don't want to, they don't care whether you do or not. In high school, if in fact you show any potential and even if you don't then you should be prepared to go to a job or to go to the university. They should not make that decision for you. I think the perception that I have is that years ago, and maybe it hasn't even changed, the Chicano was expected to, the girls to be in typing to get ready to be a secretary, and the Chicano was expected to get ready to become an electrician, if that much, or a laborer. And to dream of anything more was too much.

Again, Jorge was in agreement with the others. He perhaps felt that his problems at the university were created by his own poor study habits, but he did feel that the aspiration levels of the teachers for him were lowered. He perceived that the teachers' expectations for him and his classmates were diminished. Additionally, he perceived that he had not developed adequate skills which would help him to reach personal goals which he aspired to.

Marta strongly disagreed with the statement. She said, "I felt that I was just pushed through the system. I didn't get quality education. I felt that I was just pushed through and that I wasn't getting the best education possible."

Questionnaire Statement Number 20

"I felt that my teachers desired to help me develop adequate skills."

As cited in Figure 21, 75 percent (15) of the respondents agreed with the statement, and 25 percent (5) of the respondents disagreed with the statement that they felt their teachers desired to help them develop adequate skills.
Figure 21. Composite Responses to Questionnaire Statement Number 20 (Aspire).

"I felt that my teachers desired to help me develop adequate skills."
Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Estela agreed with the statement that she felt her teachers desired to help her develop adequate skills. In so agreeing, she commented that the desire seemed to be somewhat restrained. She said:

I developed the skills as they related to survival, but not to the extent of the need we had. I think back and there were some very, very talented people, brainy students that could probably have accomplished so much had they been given the initiative to go on to do other things. But the teachers' vision was very short sighted into education and preparing us for the world or for the environment.

As I said before, I can't really fault them because they lived in such a limited world themselves. It's not like the teachers that you have now. They were limited to what they knew, had been taught, the work or the educational knowledge, but there were skills that we could have developed, but didn't.

Estela seemed to sense a caring on the part of her teachers. However, she perceived that their "vision was short" and their encouragement to develop the potential talent was somewhat limited. Perhaps, as she mentioned, they were doing their best within the limits of their preparation.

Another person who agreed with the statement was Carlos. He felt that the teachers he had mentioned throughout his report were the ones who desired to help him develop adequate skills. He stated:

I really believe that there was something in those days that they wanted you to learn, and if you didn't learn, that was your problem. But they wanted you to learn at a certain level. This business of whether or not you are or are not learning, they just pass you along these days. That didn't exist then. If you learned, fine. If you didn't learn, fine. Go some other place.

Carlos seemed to express the idea that perhaps his teachers did not have particularly high expectations for him as a student in that they
encouraged him only to a certain point. Beyond that, he perceived them to have left the student in a "sink or swim" situation.

Jorge also agreed with the statement and observed, "Adequate skills in light of the teachers' orientation. They saw the female going on to learn typing, to be a secretary, and the male becoming a laborer, a skilled laborer, but a laborer nevertheless."

Although Jorge viewed himself as a bright, competent person, he still held a certain perception of the way he saw his teachers relate to him and the limited expectations they seemed to hold for him.

Rafael tended to concur with Jorge when he said:

Skills in terms of vocational skills, not academic skills. My experience was that I shouldn't take algebra, that I should take general math, because I couldn't pass algebra.

We had counselors assigned to us, but I don't think I went to a counselor very often. I was more independent. I knew what I was going to be told pretty much. After you go once or twice or three times, you find out what they're telling you. You want to do something different. If you have a mind of your own, and you want to do something different, there's no use going to a counselor. You just do it or try to get it done.

Apparently Rafael felt that he was not encouraged to develop to his greatest potential. He saw himself discouraged from taking some classes that, in his teachers' perceptions, he could not handle.

Diego, who also agreed with the statement, qualified the situation by saying, "To a certain degree. I didn't know what adequate skills were, but when I got to the university, I didn't know how to write a paragraph. I didn't know how to write a good sentence."
It appeared that Diego felt that he had not developed adequate skills to help him to succeed at the university level, thus he was impeded, as he perceived it, from reaching his goals. It seemed that his aspiration level for himself had been markedly higher than that of his teachers.

Ernesto, who disagreed with the statement, said:

Again, it's the system. The teachers have their mandates, so they have things they have to do. I was put on the same treadmill as all the other ones. I guess they had the right ideas of how to develop me, but I see myself with dual cultural differences. Their material is prepared for the average junior high or the average sophomore in high school. It definitely was not average for the bilingual or bicultural person in high school.

The teachers might have desired more for us, but they didn't have the training or the materials to prepare us. The system knew that we were around, but I don't think that they ever made any extra efforts. These things came later on with the variance in courses and the material.

Throughout his report, Ernesto had noted that he felt that the teachers tended, in their classroom behavior, to be driven by the expectations of others for them, rather than by any hopes or desire of their students. He saw them as not able to look beyond that expectancy level and as not sensitive to the aspirations he had for himself.

Marta also disagreed and mentioned that it was only in her last year of school that she felt her teachers had manifested any interest in helping her to develop adequate intellectual skills.
Questionnaire Statement Number 21

"I felt that my teachers encouraged me to make choices for myself."

As represented in Figure 22, 30 percent (6) of the respondents agreed with the statement that teachers encouraged them to make choices for themselves, while 70 percent (14) of the respondents disagreed with the statement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Jaime agreed with the statement that his teachers encouraged him to make choices, although qualifying the statement to mean the class as a whole and not himself individually. He stated, "I would listen to what teachers told the brighter kids in the class. As I said, they weren't directed toward me; the choices were directed towards the class."

Jaime apparently sensed a lack of individual attention with respect to matters of personal choice in the classroom. His relationships with his teachers may have been somewhat superficial. Furthermore, he may have had to select out and internalize whatever messages he could for himself from that which was being directed toward the generalized others.

Luz also agreed by saying:

I think they encouraged me to make choices, but at the same time they pushed me hard enough when I was there to make a choice. Not all the time. They often made the choices for me, but then, they tried to get me to a point where I would make a choice for myself. For example, I made the choice to get a book and do my homework because the teacher kept asking me questions. I look at that as a choice. Other choices that I needed to make, for example, were on whether I was
Figure 22. Composite Responses to Questionnaire Statement Number 21 (Aspire).

"I felt that my teachers encouraged me to make choices for myself."
coming to the university, but again they pushed all of us. But let's call it half way down the line. They manipulated a lot, but I appreciate that, because I could easily have gone in the opposite direction.

Luz, whose report seemed to indicate a good relationship with her teachers, felt that the teachers had encouraged the development of her potential and had, in a sense, aspired for her to reach a point where she could make choices for herself in the service of whatever goals she had set for herself.

Sara also agreed with the statement, limiting this to grades one through six. She felt that the choices that she was given by those teachers were productive because she enjoyed having options. To illustrate, she commented:

When Mrs. Owens would tell me, "When you finish your work, if you want to pick your book and write, fine." When I felt like it, I would hand her my papers and she would say, "Okay, you can go and write over there in the corner." And I would sit down to write. Joan Smith and I would go write.

I remember the book she gave me was dark green. I just kept on writing and she would say, "Let's see what you're up to today, Sara." She would say, "It's very good."

When we started the newspaper, Joan and I kind of lost our friendship because we were always competing to see whose article would appear in the newspaper. But the teacher would always encourage us to write.

Apparently Sara felt a great sense of satisfaction and accomplishment in the fact that her teacher had allowed her to develop a skill or talent that she perceived she had. In the process, a friendship evidently developed with the teachers who encouraged her to write. In that respect she seemed
to sense a great deal of encouragement and felt that the teachers' expecta-
tions in grades one through six were high.

Jorge, who disagreed, said:

No, quite the contrary. I think they wanted to make decisions for me. They didn't help me make decisions. Why did I go to the uni-
versity? Not because I had a goal in mind even though in the back of my mind I wanted to go to the academy. I think I mentioned it to my counselor once, and she said, "Who do you know?" I think that's where I realized it. Where was I going to get the political clout and access to one of the senators or congressmen?

Jorge perceived that his options in school had been limited—that he had not had much encouragement to develop his potentials leading to personal goals.

David, who also disagreed with the statement, tended to feel that his teachers were actually telling him in what areas he would be good. He seemed not to sense a real feeling of freedom in making choices for himself. He commented:

Some of the teachers didn't care which way I went. Most of them didn't care. A few cared and felt that I was going to be very good in that special area.

They were more concerned with their subject matter, and not so much concerned with whether I was learning. This was because they gave me the feeling that they were not there to teach English to a non-English-speaking person, but that they were there to teach the grammar of the language, not the language itself.

David apparently felt that the teachers were there to fulfill their responsibilities in terms of their subject matter. The encouragement for individual development, as David saw it, was somewhat limited and weighted in the direction of the teachers' goals and expectancies.
Ofelia also disagreed with the statement, saying, "No, I can't think of anything. You see, they weren't concerned about culture, and I don't think they cared whether I became anglicized or remained Mexican-American. Now, Miss Emerson made me change from a general curriculum to a university bound curriculum.

Ofelia reported that she was encouraged by a particular teacher to follow a certain type of curriculum which would be of great benefit to Ofelia, irrespective of what she might have had as goal expectancies. The teacher apparently exhibited a marked degree of awareness, acceptance, and care for Ofelia. Furthermore, that teacher had a high aspiration level for Ofelia as she recollected it.

Estela also disagreed with the statement. She observed that her teachers in parochial school encouraged her to make choices for herself, but within a quite limited range of options. This seemed so to Estela, since her teachers were geared toward one quite restricted philosophic position. She commented as follows:

I thought it was very much a one-road goal that we all had. I was overwhelmed when I first went to the university because there were so many classes I could choose from. I didn't really know what they were all about. The selection was so great that it overwhelmed me.

In high school, there weren't any choices of lifestyles. There was one path. Every time that we had any independent thinking, we were put down because of it. It was such a confined environment. For example, we all had to wear a uniform. There was no choice in what we could wear, how we fixed our hair or our makeup. You just didn't have any choice, and that's the way it was. You couldn't even eat what you wanted, it was what was served.
Although Estela seemed to have experienced considerable care and acceptance, as she perceived the behavior of her teachers, and to a degree she felt they had aspired for her, still it was all within the realm of what her teachers saw as a fit path or lifestyle for a girl in her situation.

Miguel disagreed with the statement and noted that he had not been too aware as to whether his teachers were giving him choices:

I think generally they were astonished and stunned to find out that I wanted to be a priest. I don't know whether they were shocked, because I was a simple little Mexican-American kid expressing a dream or a vision. Nothing like that was ever expressed. I think they were astonished that I already had that goal when I was still a kid. I remember Miss Parks saying that she was proud that I had chosen that vocation, even though she was of a different religion. She said she was very proud of me for wanting to be that.

Questionnaire Statement Number 22

"I felt that my teachers wanted me to become an independent person."

As can be seen from Figure 23, 40 percent (8) of the respondents agreed with the statement that they felt their teachers wanted them to become an independent person. Ten percent (2) were undecided, and 50 percent (10) of the respondents disagreed with the statement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Francisco agreed with the statement that his teachers wished him to become an independent person, but felt that his teachers wanted him to have an independence which had no relationship to their classrooms. He stated, "I used to get into trouble for being independent in class. I'd do a lot of
Figure 23. Composite Responses to Questionnaire Statement Number 22 (Aspire).

"I felt that my teachers wanted me to become an independent person."
independent study and the teacher used to get mad." Francisco apparently felt that in attempting to reach out toward his personal goals, his behavior was not especially welcomed by his teachers.

Luz agreed with the statement and said:

I think so. If they were gearing me to get an education, I think an education makes for an independent person. I think so. You see, if you didn't get an education, you'd end up either at the company store or at the bank and you were boxed in. I think in a sense they just tried and tried to make sure, especially considering again the home environment and situation, to help. I am very pleased that they saw in me that I could do more than to just cut off schooling right there. I think that, in a sense, is an independence, and I'm so grateful today.

Luz felt her teachers had reached out to her and had aspired for her. She seemed to report that her teachers were aware and cared for her in their own special way and did aspire for her to be educated. This, Luz interpreted as leading toward becoming an independent person.

Ernesto agreed with the statement, but prefaced his comments by saying that he felt that his teachers knew he was of an independent nature and that they perceived that he was going to do what he wanted, irrespective of their wishes. He commented:

I've always thought of myself as a very independent person. I always had a hard time doing group projects. I was very independent. The only time that I can remember that I really excelled and really tried to do group work was in the speech courses when we were going to debate. That was the only time.

I wasn't just independent in school. I was independent all the way around. I bought my car when I was in junior high and paid for it myself. As far as independence is concerned, it didn't take anybody to come out and tell me, "Well, you want to drive your car to school." I don't think my dad ever bought me gas. If you want your car to
run, you go fix it. For various reasons, I had a goal when I went into high school that I was going to graduate with better than a 1.5. I wanted to beat my brother. He came out with a 1.1 and I came out with a 1.2. So those are the things that we had within ourselves.

I had a real neat teacher when I went to college in Yuma. He was real good. He was about the only one that I perceived as knowing me and my potentials.

Apparently Ernesto had quite clear personal goals. Whether or not his teachers were aware of them or encouraged his independence, he reported making choices for himself and maintaining his independence. According to his report, there was an apparent awareness and acceptance of him by his teachers, whatever expectations they may have had for Ernesto. It is noteworthy that he saw only one teacher as being close to him, and that at the college level.

Jaime was undecided because he felt that his teachers thought he was probably too independent. He indicated that he always spoke his mind, whether he got into trouble or not. Apparently he sensed that there was a lack of encouragement on the part of the teachers for him to become an independent person.

Jorge disagreed with the statement, stating:

I really don't feel that we were prepared to make choices. The key choice is whether you want to go to school, what goal you have if you do go to school. If you don't go on to school, what area do you want to go into? You don't want to wash dishes if you drop out of high school, or even if you don't drop out. And no one was prepared to make those kinds of choices. Career education was not a big thing.
Estela said:

I don't think so. I don't think they felt that a woman should be independent in thinking or in being. I think it was a woman thing, and I think it was because of the way we had been brought up to be dependent on our spouse. The dependencies go from one aspect to another. The dependency is to your parents and then you leave your parents and become dependent on your husband. I think even the teachings of the church, you leave your parents to become that second part to your husband, although we have tailored those rituals a little bit more. I envision that as dependency and that's how they envisioned it.

I don't think that we were ever taught that, "Hey, you know one day you may become disabled." We didn't know anything about social security or welfare or other educational programs or fundings or grants or anything of the opportunities that have been available. I mean I had a terrific grade average. I could have applied for a scholarship, but nobody told me there were scholarships available. I don't think there was any direction that way.

Estela seemed to perceive that her teachers felt that a woman should not be independent in thinking or in being. Apparently choices that Estela was given and the limited independence she might have experienced were all within the acceptable "lifestyle" that had been chartered for her and for others like her.

Eduardo also disagreed. He felt that as a Mexican-American, he had been pushed in one direction and that if he did not follow that direction, he was the exception rather than the rule. He said:

They had a mentality about Mexicans that they can all be headed in one direction. The ones that didn't go with the herd were just the exception. So I think a lot of the choices were already cut and dry. My friend who I always thought was the brightest one in our neighborhood ended up in the Marines. Now he is finishing up the university, but what is he? He's eight years behind the schedule. He resents that very much, but he's probably working harder than ever.
It appears that the expectations of Eduardo's teachers may have made a difference to him in his school efforts. He evidently perceived that they were not expecting him to be or become an independent, choosing person in their various classrooms.

Ricardo disagreed, saying, "We were just part of the masses. Nobody ever encouraged me to be independent. I don't ever recall being encouraged to do anything in high school."

Ricardo appears to have a somewhat less than positive view of his teachers, insofar as encouragement to become an independent person.

Questionnaire Statement Number 23

"I felt that my teachers wanted to set a positive direction for me."

As presented in Figure 24, 60 percent (12) of the respondents agreed with the statement that they felt their teachers wanted to set a positive direction for them. One person was undecided. Thirty-five percent (7) of the respondents disagreed with the statement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

While Estela agreed that her teachers in parochial school wanted to set a positive direction for her, she felt that it was positive in a limited sense. She explained:

I felt that there was so much that I wanted to do and see and explore and we were limited. Maybe because of funds, or because they thought it was giving us too much liberty. We got up at a certain hour, prayed a certain prayer at a certain time, went into a certain
Figure 24. Composite Responses to Questionnaire Statement Number 23 (Aspire).

"I felt that my teachers wanted to set a positive direction for me."
class, did so much homework. Very regimented! Maybe that's one good part of it, that I'm organized that way.

It was very difficult for me once I started to work to feel that I was even part of a work environment because my beliefs were so totally different. Let's say going out with the girls to have a drink after work as an example. I couldn't do that. We would have an office party at Christmas or whatever. I couldn't stay because it was just not the thing to do.

It appears that Estela, while having a very positive relationship with her teachers, felt that the expectations of her teachers made a great difference in her outlook on life and on her subsequent behavior. It appeared, in fact, that in significant ways, the teachers had succeeded in setting a direction for her.

Sara agreed with the statement, but only insofar as her experiences in grades one through six. She said, "I still had the feeling that in junior high no one cared if I went to school or not." It appears that, if she had the above perception of her teachers, the expectations of her teachers in terms of positive directions for her may have been less than adequate.

Francisco also agreed with the statement, indicating that his teachers had set a positive direction for him, but qualified it thus:

But when I was part of the unit, no. Except there were some teachers that would say, "You can do this," but that was put in the context of their subject matter. A teacher would say, "If you don't learn math, how are you going to be an accountant or whatever it is that you're going to be in life?" So they would do those kinds of things as long as it was their own subject matter. In English especially they would do that, but not from a super-caring standpoint. Rather, it was a tool to get you to learn their subject matter.
Evidently Francisco perceived his teachers as having aspirations for him and the other students within the limits of their own disciplines. In a sense, then, the direction they were striving to provide in the lives of their students, to follow Francisco's perception, was sharply limited by the bounds of their subject areas.

Eduardo agreed with the statement, and in so doing, commented, "In their mind, what they perceived to be positive. Yes, I would agree with that, but they had their own definition for 'positive.' We had no choice of what was positive."

Fernando was undecided with respect to this statement. He simply stated, "There was no guidance and counseling plan that would respond to that type of thing in the classes specifically." Perhaps Fernando felt that, if there had been a proper guidance and counseling situation, he might have been able to share some of his own goals or views with someone. Obviously, with respect to his perceptions of his experience, that was not the case.

Diego disagreed. He said, "If they did want to set a positive direction for me, I wasn't aware of it."

Ernesto, who also disagreed, said:

I don't think many of them cared which way I went, to be honest, except for the couple I mentioned. And I don't think that really made a big difference for me, because I didn't care what they thought anyhow. So the feeling was mutual. About that time I had had it with the system. I think that right about the time I got out of elementary and went into junior high I knew that I had to finish it because I started it, but if I would have had something else to do, I probably would have done it. There were no other options. Once I got into high school I said, "Now I'm in, so I'll do the best I can and get out."
Ernesto consistently reported a less than satisfactory experience with his teachers. He perceived that they did not care about him. With respect to his views as to whether his teachers wanted to set a positive direction for him, he felt that they did not care enough to exert effort in this direction.

Jorge perceived the matter thus:

From the standpoint of becoming a productive member of society, yes, but not necessarily an optimally productive member of society. That's a big distinction. It's okay for you to become, as I said, for the female to become a secretary or for the male to become a laborer. It's not necessarily good for a person to aspire to become a business owner or manager, whether female or male, or to become an army officer.

On the basis of his own experiences, Jorge felt that perhaps his teachers wanted to set a positive direction in terms of their own expectations of him and other Mexican-American youngsters.

Questionnaire Statement Number 24

"I felt that my teachers wanted me to make decisions for my education."

As shown in Figure 25, 35 percent (7) of the respondents agreed with the statement that they felt that their teachers wanted them to make decisions for their own education. One person was undecided. Fifty-five percent (11) of the respondents were in disagreement and one person strongly agreed, making a total of 60 percent (12) of the respondents who were in disagreement with the statement.
Figure 25. Composite Responses to Questionnaire Statement Number 24 (Aspire).

"I felt that my teachers wanted me to make decisions for my education."
Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Carlos agreed with the statement that he felt that his teachers wanted him to make his own decisions about his education. But in agreeing, he commented that he felt there had been little direction afforded him by his teachers. While Miguel concurred with the statement, he felt that he had received encouragement from his teachers to continue his education. Luz also agreed that her teachers wanted her to make decisions about her own education. Although there was apparent agreement among these three persons, it was not clear from their statements whether their teachers had a deep interest and care for them or were simply fulfilling job responsibilities concerning their students. Perhaps Miguel and Luz, consistent with their positive overall report, felt a high level of encouragement from their teachers to develop whatever potential they might have, thus making decisions about their own educations to this extent.

Rafael, who disagreed, stated, "I don't think so. I think that what they did was to hinder your ability to make decisions based on what you wanted to do educationally in the future. I don't ever recall counselors or teachers encouraging me to go to college. It was more geared to finding a job, looking for a trade and things like that."

Rafael reported that he even felt a thrust away from personal decisions about educational goals. He cited the lack of encouragement, both of teachers and counselors in this regard.
Ernesto disagreed, stating that, with few exceptions, they had not been concerned about involving the students in deciding about their own education.

Jorge expressed the following view:

There was no orientation as to our educational needs. I had a little bit of demonstrated ability in high school in terms of my standing in class, in terms of the subject areas, the seminars. Yet there was no push, no guidance, no support for additional study beyond the high school level. What happened to the individual that was just an average student or less?

It seems clear that Jorge perceived his teachers as having a less than adequate level of aspiration for him as regards the development of his potentials. This in spite of his report that he had demonstrated academic abilities in school.

Francisco also disagreed, stating, "No, on the contrary, I had this ongoing ego struggle with the teachers because they wanted to make the decisions for me. I kept making my own decisions about what I wanted to study."

As has been reported previously, Francisco had indicated a special sense of independence and felt that there was some sort of struggle between the expectations he had for himself and those his teachers held for him.

Marta, who strongly disagreed, said:

In fact I was discouraged. My counselor said that maybe I couldn't make it working at the newspaper because I didn't have any talent, according to the test scores. They were just reinforcing the negative. I remember feeling awful about it, but I thought, I'm going to fool you, because at home I got positive reinforcement and because my mother was always saying, "I want you to go to school."
Apparently Marta perceived that she experienced less than adequate relationships with her teachers throughout her school career. The exception appeared to be her last year in school where she mentioned she had one teacher who was somewhat encouraging. It appears, from her perceptions, that her teachers did not see great potential in Marta and their level of aspiration for her was therefore limited. Her principal support came from her home.

**Summary of Scaled Responses**

In questionnaire statement number 19 of the "Aspire" category, the respondents, by a slight majority, disagreed with the statement that they felt their teachers had wanted them to have the best education they could acquire. The respondents were in agreement, in a clear majority of the cases, with questionnaire statement number 20 which asked whether they felt that their teachers had desired to help them develop adequate skills. With respect to questionnaire statement number 21, the majority of the respondents disagreed with the statement which asked whether they felt their teachers had encouraged them to make choices for themselves.

For questionnaire statement number 22, the respondents were almost equally divided, with a tendency toward disagreement with the statement which sought their perceptions concerning whether their teachers had wanted them to become independent persons. Regarding questionnaire statement number 23, the majority of the respondents agreed with the statement that
their teachers had wanted to set a positive direction for them. In the last statement of the "aspire" category, questionnaire statement number 24, the majority of the respondents also disagreed that they felt their teachers had wanted them to make decisions about their own education.

Discussion

In the "Aspire" category, a majority of the respondents were in agreement with the statements that their teachers were desirous of helping them to develop adequate skills and wanted to set positive directions for them. They did, however, express the opinion that the development of adequate skills and the setting of positive directions were matters of teacher interpretation regarding what "adequate skills" and "positive directions" might have meant. They seem to have believed that their teachers had only met minimum school district standards.

With respect to the statements regarding the respondents' perceptions as to whether their teachers had been helpful in assuring that they acquire the best education possible, the respondents were almost equally divided. Those who agreed did so on the basis of recalling one or two teachers who had been helpful and thus had had a positive impact on the respondents. Those who disagreed felt that there were "limitations" placed upon their aspirations. They seemed to perceive that their teachers had somehow transmitted to them the idea that they couldn't aspire beyond what had been programmed for them. Furthermore, the respondents seemed to feel
that they had not been adequately challenged or encouraged to pursue their
learning beyond what might be considered a standard education.

The respondents were generally in disagreement with the statements
regarding the topics of independence, making choices and decisions for self.
They tended to be of the opinion that their teachers had preconceived ideas of
what was good for them as students, in what areas they might or might not
have potential, and what direction they should follow. They reported that the
range of classroom options was quite limited and that there appeared to be a
"set curriculum" for them without any special regard as to their preferences.

Those who agreed with the statement felt that their teachers had pro-
vided them with options and that this had contributed to their overall positive
feeling about their relationships with their teachers.
CHAPTER 8

PRESENTATION OF THE DATA: SHARE

"Share" as the final relational concept in the process is based on the preceding four concepts. It implies the involvement of the student and the teacher in a working relationship which is increasingly close and is characterized by mutual growth.

In the classroom, the relationship between the teacher and student, where sharing is occurring, develops into cooperative action. The people involved provide, receive, and learn from each other. Since the teacher is so important in the young person's life, the concept of "share" has great potential for developing into a mutually enhancing relationship. There is a common partaking of the learning experiences which develop in the classroom.

Questionnaire statement numbers 25 through 29 which follow are concerned with the concept of "share" in its various phases or levels as they relate to Mexican-American students and their teachers.

Questionnaire Statement Number 25

"I felt that my teachers joined in helping me to realize important goals."

As illustrated in Figure 26, 35 percent (7) of the respondents agreed with the statement. Sixty percent (12) of the respondents disagreed, and one
Figure 26. Composite Responses to Questionnaire Statement Number 25 (Share).

"I felt that my teachers joined in helping me to realize important goals."
person strongly disagreed, making a total of 65 percent (13) of the respondents who were in disagreement with the statement that they felt their teachers joined in helping them to realize important goals.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Antonio agreed with the statement that he felt his teachers had helped him to realize important goals. This was true for him in junior high, which was the time period that stood out most clearly in his mind. Of this he commented:

It was the caliber and quality of teachers. We happened to be very fortunate I guess. There are guys that I went to school with who are supervisors. If you ask them who is your favorite teacher, they'll name a junior high teacher. I don't know why it was. Mr. James was the principal. They must have had an uncanny ability to pick very sensitive, good teachers, because the caliber and quality was outstanding. We were very fortunate.

Antonio apparently felt a significant degree of awareness, acceptance, and caring by his teachers. At that junior high school level he seemed to be aware that they were involved with him and tended to account for his aspirations. He evidently saw them as accepting him for who he was. He noted that they had shared a relationship with him and indicated a degree of sensitivity for his needs and goals.

Miguel also agreed, saying:

Yes, yes, I think so. Even for instance when the class or somebody did something wrong and even if someone did not admit that he or she was responsible for the misbehavior in class. I remember one situation at Thomas School. Somebody misbehaved in class, but we all ended up paying for it. I ended up being paddled once. Then the
teacher told us why she had done it. I think that was good. She explained why she did that. She didn't have any obligation to explain why she did it. We all knew.

Miguel sensed that his teachers were positive toward him. He perceived that his interpersonal relationships with teachers had been personally gratifying.

Estela agreed with the statement that her parochial school teachers had shared in helping her to realize important goals. However, according to her perceptions, the goals had been defined by her teachers. She commented:

I think that there were two goals, either become a religious sister or get married. The goals were the goals that were important to them. I don't believe they were instrumental at all in helping me to realize the goals that I had already envisioned in my life. I spoke to several of them as to what I wanted to do, but insofar as encouragement, there was not really much.

As I said, academically, I could have done something with it, but there was really never any encouragement. I felt that at that time they even discouraged me by saying, "You're dreaming Estela. What do you want to do that for? You've got a boyfriend, you're probably going to get married and have ten kids." And maybe since they said it to me so many times, I rebelled against it. "If everybody is going to do that," I said to myself, "I'm not going to do that."

Estela's response indicates that she had developed a good relationship with her teachers. This seemed to involve a degree of mutual sharing and caring without regard to the differences in their views on life.

Fernando disagreed with the statement. He stated, "Instead of guiding us and telling us, 'Look, you do have all the possibilities open to you,' it was the contrary." It appears from that statement that Fernando sensed a
lack of involvement by his teachers, an avoidance of a deeper relationship where the teachers aspired for him and shared with him in whatever his goals might have been.

Sara disagreed with the statement, saying, "No, not in junior high." Throughout her report, she had stated that all her positive school experiences occurred in grades one through six.

Marcos also disagreed, mentioning one teacher who was the exception: "I never heard a teacher say, 'You could do this, or have you thought about that?' He did. He was the only one that I remember talking to me about what was going to happen to me."

Apparently Marcos had not perceived any special cooperative action on the part of his teachers, with one exception. His experiences at college seemed to have been the same as he had experienced throughout most of his high school years.

Marta simply stated, "Don't make me laugh. It seems funny that you should have the word 'teachers' in there because they were the least encouraging."

Questionnaire Statement Number 26

"I felt that my teachers shared in my efforts for self-expression about things I considered important."

As represented in Figure 27, 40 percent (8) of the respondents were in agreement with the statement, 55 percent (11) of the respondents disagreed,
Figure 27. Composite Responses to Questionnaire Statement Number 26 (Share).

"I felt that my teachers shared in my efforts for self-expression about things I considered important."
and one person strongly disagreed, making a total of 60 percent (12) of the respondents who were in disagreement with the statement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Miguel, who was consistently positive throughout his reporting, perceived that he never really did make any special efforts at self-expression. He pointed out that he was a rather bashful and quiet person. The experiences that he reported having with some of his teachers seemed to be positive in nature and tended to involve him in what he felt was a good learning atmosphere.

Estela agreed, and in so agreeing, felt that her teachers had shared in her efforts for self-expression. She reported that they were very easy to talk to, that they were warm and understanding. She reiterated, however, that in her perception, the teachers were limited in their capacity to share with her in her special interests.

Ofelia also agreed and commented, "I have never been one to keep quiet. They used to give me chances to express myself because I remember they would choose me to read out loud. They used to choose me for parts in a play."

Ofelia, in her own self report, noted that she had always been vibrant and expressive about things that were important to her. She had commented that she was always able to express whatever it was that she felt, whether or not her teachers approved of it. She felt that to be expressive was a true expression of her personality.
Among the people who disagreed was David. He said that he could not communicate with his teachers, and because of that, he perceived that they had not encouraged him to express anything in his classes or taken an interest in that aspect of his personality. It appears that David had a difficult time in developing any close relationship with most of his teachers because of his lack of skill in communicating in English.

Francisco disagreed. He said, "Again, that calls for a schizo answer. For the most part, they demanded conformity in the classroom, but on a one-to-one basis they would encourage me to do all kinds of different things. In the context of the classroom, no. They'd much rather that I would have conformed."

Carlos felt that the only way he had had any real opportunity for self-expression was through his interest in writing for the newspaper. He said, "In that respect, it would have been applicable, because there you would have been writing. We had a real good newspaper. For two or three years it won some awards. Our town newspaper was the best newspaper in the state. Then we had some national recognition for schools with 500 to 700 students."

Carlos mentioned again the fact that there were a couple of teachers with whom he had felt very comfortable and had been able to express to them some of his concerns, ideas, and feelings. Apparently, there had been a good teacher-student relationship associated with his writing experiences and that seems to have been a mutually enhancing relationship between Carlos and
several of his teachers. One of these, he reported, had been his English teacher who had encouraged him in his newspaper interest.

Another person who disagreed with the statement was Jorge. He commented, "No. There was no real opportunity for self-expression concerning things important to me that might have fit into the history, American Problems, or English classes. My perceptions were not important as to who was in the book, but they provided the facts and the books. My own experiences were unimportant, I felt."

Jorge perceived that he had not been accepted by the people who were significant in his school experiences, his teachers, and that there had been no special effort to involve him. Consequently, there seemed to have been no particular development of a good interpersonal relationship between him and his teachers where self-expression was encouraged.

Rafael also disagreed. He noted:

I had a very poor educational background as you can tell. You know, I never really decided to take any college courses at all until I was in the service. That was only because of my roommate that I had in the service. He'd been going to community college before entering the service, and he started taking classes. At that time I was stationed in Louisiana and spent a year and a half there. I decided to take an extension course and he convinced me to take one with him. That's how I started getting an interest in college. I was 23 years old then.

From Rafael's report, it appears that he saw himself as having missed any type of sharing relationship with his teachers.
Marta, who reported very negative experiences regarding her relationships with her teachers, strongly disagreed with the statement without comment.

Questionnaire Statement Number 27

"I felt that my teachers joined in exploring ideas that were of special interest to me."

As shown in Figure 28, 30 percent (6) of the respondents agreed with the statement that they felt their teachers joined in exploring ideas that were of special interest to them. One person was undecided. Sixty percent (12) of the respondents disagreed with the statement, and one person strongly disagreed, making a total of 65 percent (13) of the respondents who disagreed with the statement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Victor agreed with the statement. He commented:

I can't recall any special ideas. However, my answer is, if I had expressed an interest, the chances are that they would have helped. This is my perception and again, you have to recall the setting. We didn't go out of our way. We were in school because we were supposed to be there and I think we all identified with each other. To have gone any special way out of the setting, I think, would have subjected us to criticism by our peers, to exposure that could cause threatening situations. But again, my pursuit to higher education, somewhere, if I had not met with a great deal of cooperation, I probably would have failed, because it was difficult even from an economic viewpoint.

Victor apparently felt that somewhere in his school career, his teachers had probably done the best they could under the circumstances. He
Figure 28. Composite Responses to Questionnaire Statement Number 27 (Share).

"I felt that my teachers joined in exploring ideas that were of special interest to me."
repeatedly stressed in his report the importance of the family support and the home environment in his long-range aspirations.

Carlos agreed with the statement, but again singled out a certain teacher who, as he recalled, remained supportive. He perceived that she had been very strict in the sense that she always stressed proper grammar and professionalism. He reported that this had helped him with his writing. He felt that she had been supportive and had shared with him the tools and techniques to continue being successful in his newspaper writing.

Luz agreed with the statement and reiterated that everything had seemed so positive to her. This in view of the fact that she tended to be a very positive person.

Antonio was undecided. He indicated that he felt comfortable expressing himself with only two teachers and then stated:

I didn't have any discomfort approaching teachers. I had a lot of respect for them. I was basically shy, but I had no problem talking to them. I think I was in awe of them. I was always the one that got picked to lead the class. I don't know why. It was me or two other persons.

I think that sports were very, very important. At that time there were sports where you could participate according to size and weight. If that was yielding to the macho I don't know. I think it was just an outlet. But that whole environment of competition, of how to lose as well as how to win, has helped me throughout my whole career.

According to Antonio's comments, there was evidence that, when he approached his teachers for whatever reasons, he was quite satisfied with the interchange.
Estela disagreed, stating that, in her opinion, the teacher had not helped her explore ideas that were of special interest to her. Sara felt that it was only in elementary school where the teachers had joined with her in exploring her writing interest.

Miguel disagreed with the statement, since he had the goal of attending seminary and becoming a priest. He perceived that his teachers didn't have any way of helping him to realize this, that it was something beyond their competency. If there was any encouragement for self-expression, it evidently involved more general interests.

Questionnaire Statement Number 28

"I felt that my teachers assisted me to retain my cultural identity in a predominantly Anglo society."

As cited in Figure 29, 25 percent (5) of the respondents agreed with the statement that they felt their teachers assisted them to retain their cultural identity in a predominantly Anglo society. One person was undecided. Sixty-five percent (13) of the respondents were in disagreement, and one person was in strong disagreement with the statement, making a total of 70 percent (14) of the respondents who disagreed with the statement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Luz agreed with the statement that teachers had assisted her to retain her bicultural identity and noted that, "I'm going to have a problem answering that. At the university level I can think of one teacher who did that."
"I felt that my teachers assisted me to retain my cultural identity in a predominantly Anglo society."
In one class, the teacher was extraordinary. He was a man, who, let's call him trilingual, tricultural or more. Actually he could see things just like I was seeing them."

Estela, who agreed with the statement, felt that her teachers had encouraged her to retain her cultural identity, but she said:

I don't think I would attribute it to my teachers. I would attribute my feeling of pride of being Mexican and being bilingual and bicultural to my mother. She would always say, "Never forget that you are Mexican and that you were born in Mexico. We're poor, but we are good people, we are a good family." She would always repeat this to us. As I said before, she was more instrumental in that aspect of it than my teachers. I think it was more of a one road, a one path thing. For them it was your English, your education, on to high school and then your marriage. One path.

Estela was insistent in her report that her teachers had been well-intentioned, that they were supportive in their own way, that they were caring, but at the same time they did not offer her too many choices. She observed that, if there were choices, they were only those that were realistic within their own experiences and lifestyle.

Carlos felt that he had been encouraged to retain his cultural identity by one teacher, a coach. Concerning him, he stated:

He didn't require me to be anglicized. He permitted me to retain pride in myself, because of the contribution of the Mexican kids to the excellent football program. That was one aspect of my life I could feel competitive in what appeared to be important at the time, football. He protected my Mexican culture. At the same time, Mrs. Kelley gave me confidence in the Anglo sphere, the newspaper. I was the only Mexican writing there. She got me a job working with the newspaper at a community level. It was very unusual for a Mexican kid to be doing that. So she also put me in an Anglo sphere, while the coach protected my concept of myself and my family in the Mexican area.
Francisco, who disagreed, commented:

No, they didn't assist me. They just didn't impede me. They were resigned to the fact that they couldn't change us. They accepted what we were. They didn't go out of their way to help us retain it. On the contrary, the subtle undertone was always there for us to lose our cultural identity.

In some cases it was overt, but in most cases, it was not overt. It was just covert, but it was there. I would always feel the vibes. The things they said, the exercises they ran us through, were geared to make us lose our accent. Our accent, of course, is tied to our Spanish language which is tied to our cultural identity. So in that sense, yes, they were covertly trying to get us to do exactly the opposite.

From his observations, Francisco apparently did not have a feeling that his teachers were making an effort to support his cultural identity. He seemed to sense, on the other hand, a subtle effort to have him forget some of his ties to his culture.

Sara also disagreed. She did so on the basis that, in her early experience while she was in an orphanage, it had been just one society, an Anglo society within an English-speaking world. Since no other options had been offered, and knowing English was what she needed for survival, she felt that her teachers did not concern themselves with whether she retained her bicultural identity or not.

Another who disagreed was Jorge. His perception was that his teachers were intent on assimilation rather than on reinforcing his identity within his Mexican culture.

Marta strongly disagreed with the statement. She felt that none of her teachers had ever encouraged her to retain her cultural identity.
Questionnaire Statement Number 29

"I felt that my teachers shared in efforts to solve my problems in a way that would be of most benefit to me."

As presented in Figure 30, 40 percent (8) of the respondents agreed with the statement that they felt their teachers shared in efforts to solve their problems in a way that would be of most benefit to them. One person was undecided. Fifty percent (10) of the respondents disagreed, and one person strongly disagreed, making a total of 55 percent (11) of the respondents who disagreed with the statement.

Respondents' Comments and Discussion

Luz agreed with the statement that her teachers had shared in her efforts to solve personal problems. She did point out that there were teachers who did not do this, but that she preferred to think only of the positive situations. She felt that because of a few teachers, her whole outlook was very different today.

Estela, while in agreement, commented on the skills of her teachers:

My problems at that time probably were more frustrations than problems, and I would have to say, yes, that I would agree with the statement. I felt that they were concerned enough for each one of us to feel that they wanted to steer us the right way; however, I don't feel that they used the various tools by which we could have been more attuned in making decisions. They themselves didn't have those skills. I think that they gave us everything that they had to give us.

There was just not enough meat in what we were getting. I became extremely bored and I would ask more questions and wanted to learn more of what was going on in the newspaper and ask about issues and
Figure 30. Composite Responses to Questionnaire Statement Number 29 (Share).

"I felt that my teachers shared in efforts to solve my problems in a way that would be of most benefit to me."
they didn't. They wanted to go by the book. We didn't have speakers. We didn't have any innovations in our studies. We read the book, did the homework at the end of the chapter, we presented it, discussed it, either passed or failed the course. We didn't really explore a lot of things in the world. I was always kicked out of the class because the teacher kept saying I would always ask questions that would disrupt the class. She called me "frisky."

Throughout her report, Estela indicated how there had been something missing in the kind of direction she had been given and in the choices she had been offered. Still, from her observations it seems clear that she felt a deep sense of close relationship with her teachers. In her report she indicated that she was still in close touch with two or three of her teachers, that they considered her as part of their family. She has continued to be in touch with them, although a couple of them no longer live in the community.

A person who disagreed with the statement was Fernando. He said that he had been fortunate in certain respects and stated:

I believe that I was very lucky to have parents who would have a great interest in our education and that I had an older sister and an older brother who liked school very much. This motivated me to want to learn. In addition to my wanting to learn, I wanted to follow in their footsteps because the two were very outstanding. So, in spite of the teachers that we had in elementary, I was able to learn. And in spite of the fact that they didn't have a real interest in us as we would have hoped, I was able to learn.

From my perspective now, it was a good experience for me in the elementary level, but also from my perspective we could say then that the teachers weren't so bad. The fact is that the great majority of my friends did not continue with high school. Of all my classmates in the elementary level, there were only two that graduated from high school.

So that even though my experience was positive, it was not too positive for the majority of my classmates. That can be seen in the fact that they all dropped out of school.
Again Fernando noted that his major support in dealing with his school experiences were his parents. He also seemed to have had good role models in a brother and sister at home to help motivate him. Throughout his report, he mentioned that he had been a good learner and that probably had helped to maximize the positive experiences that he may have had.

Jorge disagreed, noting, "If it was something that would pigeonhole you, yes, but if it was a problem unique to you and your culture, that was not the goal of the faculty in general to help you. Overall I succeeded academically in spite of the system."

Antonio also disagreed on the basis of his high school experiences. He had reported that at the elementary and junior high level he had good experiences with his teachers, but then noted:

Classes in high school had 30 to 35 kids. Either the teacher's own personal goals and aspirations were entirely different, or they simply didn't care. It was just a job. I could see the beginning of a difference in attitude.

In the elementary schools the teachers were there to teach and they were gung ho. In the high school it was different. In college it gets worse.

Ricardo disagreed with the statement and reported that, throughout his school career, he had experienced few teachers and counselors who were willing to work and share with him in any personal way. He observed:

In the school system, they spend too much time on a lot of mickey mouse stuff instead of the basics, math, science, and English. I have an impression that counselors really don't counsel. They are so tied up in their paperwork, checking schedules that they don't have the time or inclination to deal with the problems of specific individuals.
I think the minorities have a very special need, but we're still way below in almost every area, and I think there is still the attitude that if you are an Anglo, you are expected to go the university. Whether you have the ability to do it or not, you're just expected to go. If you are Chicano or black or Indian, you have to do it on your own, because nobody is going to help you.

I have no doubt that my children, if they want to, can go to college and get an education and be whatever they want to be because I think I can help them do that. There are still so many Mexican-American families who have had no higher education. How are they going to encourage their children to go? I think it's very exceptional if somebody can do that, because the majority of us are at such a low level that all we can expect is that our children do a little better than we do.

Marta strongly disagreed with the statement and reiterated the fact that there was only one person that she could recall, a counselor, who was kind to her. She had recently seen him and thanked him for having been compassionate and showing some interest in her.

Summary of Scaled Responses

In the "Share" category, for questionnaire statement number 25, the respondents in the majority disagreed with the statement that their teachers had joined in helping them to realize important goals. Questionnaire statement number 26 revealed the same results, with the majority of the respondents being in disagreement with the statement that their teachers had shared in their efforts for self-expression about things they considered important.

Questionnaire statement number 27, which was concerned with the respondents' perceptions as to whether their teachers had joined in exploring ideas that were of special interest to them, resulted in a majority of the respondents disagreeing with the statement. Questionnaire statement number
concerning whether their teachers assisted them to retain their cultural identity in a predominantly Anglo society, the respondents again were in disagreement with the statement.

In the final statement, questionnaire statement number 29, the respondents, in the majority, disagreed that their teachers had shared in their efforts to solve their problems in a way that would be of most benefit to them.

**Discussion**

In the "share" category, the respondents in the majority disagreed with each of the statements within the category. The general impression derived from the respondents' comments was that teachers seemed to function out of a set perceptual and behavioral base in relating to students in the classroom environment. The respondents indicated that perhaps this may have been a problem which was multifaceted: First, the teachers functioned from the point of view that there had to be a clear-cut difference between teacher and student, and that there was no opportunity for sharing views and ideas which might lead to mutually enhancing relationships. Second, the cultural and linguistic differences seemed to contribute to the respondents' perceptions that the teachers had not been inclined to work with them to explore their areas of interest. Third, the respondents also indicated that the teachers may have not had any particular interest in taking those cultural and linguistic differences into account at any level of the teacher-student relationships.
As had been touched on before in the other categories, the respondents seemed to feel that their teachers had a set "job role" in mind and might have felt that their job responsibility ended when they had finished imparting their subject matter to the students.

Those persons who agreed, on the other hand, recalled positive experiences with a few teachers and based their scaled response of agreement on those positive experiences. In some cases, these unique teachers had a very significant impact on the respondents with respect to their dispositions and outlook on many topics touching their life presently.
CHAPTER 9

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter, the summary of the investigation, together with the conclusions and recommendations are presented. The chapter is divided into three parts. The first part introduces the investigation and summarizes the findings. The second part presents the conclusions, while the third part presents the recommendations as well as certain suggestions for further investigation.

Introduction and Summary

This investigation was concerned with the perceptions of a selected group of border-educated Mexican-Americans, occupying positions of influence in the dominant society with respect to the relationships between themselves as students and their teachers. A review of selected literature was conducted which yielded concepts pertinent to the problem under investigation. These concepts were then organized into a theoretical framework by means of which the investigation was conducted. The theoretical framework was divided into three major sections: (1) Interpersonal Processes; (2) Cultural Processes; and (3) Perceptual Processes. The Interpersonal processes section was, in turn, divided into five categories which were presumed to describe selected
teacher relationships with students. These were: (1) aware; (2) accept; (3) care; (4) aspire; and (5) share.

A group of twenty Mexican-American leaders in Tucson, Pima County, comprised the sample for the investigation. They were interviewed in depth, utilizing an interview schedule constructed around the five categories of the Interpersonal Processes noted above. The 29 interview statements were presented to each participant in a Likert scale format under the various categories. The responses to the statements were marked on the scales, while the comments were tape recorded for later transcription and analysis.

The data was then analyzed and reported on the basis of the theoretical framework. In the immediately following discussion, the stage will be set for the presentation of the conclusions and recommendations.

The child, upon entering school for the first time, presents himself as a developing person with certain family attitudes, feelings, values, ideas, and language. All these aspects of himself affect how he perceives his classroom social world and how these influence his behavior. He typically comes from a "known," familiar, and comfortable environment of the home where he has developed a degree of personal adequacy in his relationships with his family members. His immediate task, as he enters the classroom world, is to determine how he will fit into this new, confusing, and puzzling environment.

The new student is usually isolated in terms of personal relationships. He often does not know either the teacher or the other students. It is his task to develop relationships with these significant people in his perceptual
field as quickly as possible in order to cope with the social world of the classroom. In this whole process, he more or less intuitively seeks a feeling of personal adequacy within the school such as he had already established at home.

The teacher plays a crucial, central role in the child's life. He can move toward the child and establish contact with him. Assuming that productive contact is established between the teacher and the child, the child's process of developing an adequate self-concept is immediately facilitated as he experiences the positive, "reflected appraisal" of his teacher. If, on the other hand, the teacher contact is negative, and the child perceives it as such, there is a possibility that he could become anxious. If this teacher behavior persists, it might eventually affect his self-concept.

Mexican-American children beginning school generally arrive with varying degrees of proficiency in two languages, Spanish and English. Some Hispanic children may be non-English speakers, many are Spanish speakers with a limited command of English, and a few are non-Spanish speakers. Additionally, these children are from families who have varying degrees of identification with and attachment to their Mexican cultural backgrounds.

In many cases, the Mexican-American child comes from a family where the members have a strong commitment to each other. This child, while at home, typically develops in a warm, caring, and supportive atmosphere. In such families, each member is an important part of the social unit
which functions in a cooperative fashion. This atmosphere incorporates traditions and customs of the traditional Mexican-American family.

When the Mexican-American child from this type of home first enters the school setting, he has already acquired many social and cultural values which inevitably influence his perceptions. These perceptions tend to be translated into behavior as a result of how he perceives the teacher relating to him and to the other students in the classroom.

The transition of the Mexican-American child who may be bilingual and bicultural, from home to school, can be a less threatening experience for the child if the teacher is aware of the necessity for establishing positive interpersonal relationships with him. Certain of these crucial elements in positive interpersonal relationships are: (1) an awareness of the student by the teacher; (2) an acceptance by the teacher of the student; (3) a caring by the teacher toward the student; (4) an aspiring attitude by the teacher on behalf of the child; and (5) a sharing of those aspirations by the teacher with the student.

Aware as a category of the Interpersonal Process, was used as the first step in probing the recollections of the respondents in this investigation concerning their perceived relationships with their former teachers. Aware referred to the consciousness the teachers may have had of the Mexican-American students in their various classes.

The elements of the perceptual field and the figure were prominent in the aware process. The teachers, employing their various senses, either discriminated the figures of the young Mexican-American students out of their
own perceptual fields, one at a time, for special attention or they did not. If the latter was the case, then the students tended to be dealt with en masse or as a classroom totality where individual interests, needs, concerns, and uniqueness were largely ignored. In this circumstance, the teachers tended to operate at a very low level of awareness or clarity.

The process of person perception, awareness actually begins when one hears or sees another person in his perceptual field. This "person perception" or awareness is the initial stage of creating relationships between people. In awareness there can be various levels of "person perception," including one where no reciprocity between people occurs. A second level is two-way interaction at a superficial, mechanical level, while a third would be interaction at a deeper level of mutual interdependence.

The data of the investigation acquired in the awareness category seemed not to have any particularly significant patterns. The qualitative responses, however, revealed that the respondents tended to feel that their teachers were aware of them, not on the basis of a deep level of mutual interdependence, but rather on a superficial level which was based on a perceived need for survival.

The respondents, in many instances, reported what seemed to them to be a complete void in significant communications with their teachers. There tended to be a perceived consensus that "cultural sensitivity" had not been recognized as an issue by most of their teachers and thus cultural awareness, in terms of teacher behavior, was seen as almost non-existent.
The second category in the Interpersonal Processes, accept, is an important link in the development of a productive interpersonal relationship between the teacher and the student. Acceptance is based on awareness and implies that one person has a warm regard for the other person and appreciates him.

The teacher can create either a warm climate for the student, or a cold, rigid atmosphere. In a healthy atmosphere, the student can feel comfortable enough to perceive that he is important to the entire group, that he can contribute what is in his experiences, as well as learn about others' experiences. An accepting teacher will transmit to the student a feeling that he is a person of unconditional self-worth and value, irrespective of that child's situation. If the child perceives that his teachers are non-accepting of him, he may develop many adverse attitudes about school, about teachers, and about learning.

Although the data in the accept category did not appear to have any particularly significant patterns, the comments of the respondents were interesting. While many of them agreed that their teachers were generally accepting, when it involved acceptance of any aspect of the respondents' beings that were in any way "non-conforming" or "non-aligned" to the values held by the teachers, the respondents reported perceiving their teachers as non-accepting of them. This behavior on the part of the teachers, in the respondents' opinions, was particularly noticeable in the areas of cultural or linguistic differences. The general impression among the respondents seemed to be
that the teachers were determined to correct any non-conforming characteristics of their students. Thus, the acceptance may have been a superficial one that did nothing to encourage the further development of a productive relationship between the teachers and these students.

The next link in the Interpersonal Processes was the care category which was based on the aware and accept categories of the Interpersonal Processes. If, within the aware and accept steps of the process, a positive direction has been established, then the ambience for a continuing productive and caring relationship is established.

Genuine care manifested by a teacher tends to open the way for a higher level of communication. This may transcend many communication barriers. When care is part of the classroom atmosphere, the likelihood of negative attitudes about self and others developing is lessened. Similarly, the opportunity for rendering judgments, ridicules, and criticisms of others is minimized. Care lends itself to finding out about others. This, in turn, may help to eliminate student fears and anxieties and contribute to a supportive, stimulating classroom atmosphere.

In the care category, the respondents were, for the most part, in agreement with the statements within that category. It is interesting to note that, although the respondents did agree that their teachers cared in certain areas, they based that agreement on the recollection of only one or two teachers who had had a significant impact on them throughout their entire school careers. The respondents felt that the teachers had not exhibited any
special "care" in seeing that they retain their bicultural identity. The respondents reported that they had sensed a void in communications with their teachers. The verbal bridge over this void was seen as a missing and indispensable component in the "caring relationship."

The aspire category of the Interpersonal Processes was based on aware, accept, and care. In aspiring for another, a person encourages the development of another's potential. Aspiring allows for mutual striving and support.

Since the teacher is the "significant other" in the school world of the Mexican-American child, the expectations which the teachers hold for their students tend to make a significant difference to the student.

The need to continue the "becoming" process is highlighted at this stage of the process. Students need to experience success in school as they set goals for themselves and as they attempt to meet the expectations of their teachers. If they see that their teachers are expecting less of them, their self-concepts tend to be reinforced with negative signals. On the other hand, if they feel that their teachers are realistically setting goals with them and aspire for them in the attainment of those goals, the students' self-concepts tend to be reinforced with positive signals.

There seemed to be no particularly significant patterns of response in the aspire category. While the respondents agreed that their teachers may have aspired for them in the area of developing adequate skills and setting a positive direction for them, they did comment that those were aspirations
which the teachers interpreted as suitable goals for them and which were within the reach of the respondents' potentials.

The respondents were generally in disagreement with the statements within the **aspire** category that dealt with the topic of independence and the making of choices and decisions for oneself. They tended to feel that their teachers had preconceived ideas of what was good for them as students.

**Share** is based on the preceding categories of **aware**, **accept**, **care**, and **aspire**. Share involves cooperative action between people. In this step, both parties contribute to the growing relationship and receive from it. The effort is toward a mutually enhancing relationship which allows the participants more productive growth and development.

The teacher can encourage such a relationship with his students. The background and experiences of young Mexican-American children are rich in cultural heritage. A teacher can learn from the students as well as they can from him. This can be accomplished in a mutually sharing and warm atmosphere where the children feel that they are complete and that they do not have to leave their identity at home in order to function successfully at school.

The **share** category was the only one that resulted in significant overall pattern. The respondents, in the majority, disagreed with each of the statements in that category. They reported that they had not sensed any particular form of "sharing" on the part of their teachers with respect to their cultural and linguistic differences. Within the framework of the **share**
category, the general impression concerning the teachers was that they seemed to function out of their own set perceptual and behavioral base.

Conclusions

Based on the perceptions reported by the respondents in the scaled responses and comments to the interview schedule, the following conclusions are presented. The conclusions concern the terms of the Interpersonal Processes theory regarding teachers and their relationships to Mexican-American students. The scaled responses have been underlined.

1. The participants generally agreed that their teachers were aware of them. Their comments, however, tended to significantly modify this assertion and led to the conclusion that their teachers were generally aware of them as students at only the most superficial level.

2. The participants agreed that their teachers were generally unaware of their cultural backgrounds. In their comments, the respondents were virtually unanimous in agreeing that their teachers simply did not recognize "cultural sensitivity" as an issue.

3. The participants generally agreed that their teachers had accepted them. Their comments tended to indicate that the respondents felt an "acceptance" only as it applied to the whole group or class, rather than to individuals on a personal basis.

4. The participants generally agreed that their teachers had not, as a rule, embarrassed them or treated them in ways which would make them feel
inferior. Their comments did, however, seem to modify the scaled responses. The respondents tended to report that when they did feel embarrassed or inferior, it was generally self-generated and in response to the reflected appraisal of their teachers.

5. The participants agreed that their teachers had generally not accepted most aspects of their bicultural being. They tended to feel that the teachers' main concern was a thrust toward total assimilation of the Mexican-American into the dominant society. This view was affirmed in their comments.

6. The participants agreed that their teachers had been concerned for their well-being and their development of positive attitudes toward school and self. Their comments revealed, however, that this agreement was based on individual recollections of one or two significant teachers who had had a strong positive impact on them.

7. The participants agreed that their teachers had not cared sufficiently to communicate to them that their bicultural identity was important. The comments affirmed the scaled responses.

8. The participants agreed that their teachers had aspired for them in terms of their developing adequate skills and establishing positive directions. The comments, however, tended to indicate that the respondents felt that their teachers had preconceived ideas of what "adequate skills" were, and in what manner they should seek them out. These preconceived ideas seemed, in the eyes of the respondents, to result in lowered teacher expectations for them.
9. The participants agreed that their teachers generally had not encouraged them to make choices in becoming independent persons. They tended to agree that their teachers had lowered expectations for them and therefore had not adequately challenged them. To that degree, the respondents felt that the teachers had not provided them the best education which could be offered. Their comments affirmed the scaled responses.

10. The respondents agreed that their teachers had not related to them in any significant ways beyond what might be considered a typical "teacher to student relationship." The respondents seemed not to have sensed any teacher efforts to extend these relationships into areas of the students' personal concerns. Moreover, the respondents seemed to feel that their teachers had not extended themselves to positively support their cultural identities. Their comments affirmed the scaled responses.

**Recommendations**

On the basis of the foregoing investigation, the following are recommended:

1. That teachers of Mexican-American students be aware of and accept the cultural and linguistic differences in a caring manner.

2. That teachers of Mexican-American students be aware of and accept the fact that these students share cultural understandings which assist them to interpret their classroom experiences and react to them.
3. That teachers of Mexican-American students have knowledge of the students' culture and some proficiency in Spanish.

4. That teachers of Mexican-American students aspire and work actively toward the fullest possible development of each student's potential.

5. That teachers of Mexican-American students create warm, supportive classroom environments where the students feel that they are important individuals, capable of sharing as well as receiving from others.

6. That teachers of Mexican-American students recognize and accept each student in his totality as a unique person of unconditional worth.

7. That teachers and other school personnel strive to create classroom atmospheres where Mexican-American students can develop positive self-concepts and see themselves as having the potential to achieve.

8. That teachers of Mexican-American students learn and use the dynamics of effective interpersonal relationships.

9. That investigators continue the task begun in the present study of identifying the types of relationships between teachers and Mexican-American students which are most conducive to learning and which will enhance the Mexican-American students' self-concepts.

10. That investigators delve intensively into the Mexican-American family core values and determine their effects on school learning experiences.
APPENDIX

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS OF PERSONAL SIGNIFICANCE TO MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERS

Your voluntary participation is requested in answering the questions posed to you by the investigator, as outlined in the following. The purposes and objectives of this study are to seek your perceptions of teacher-student relationships of personal significance to you.

If you decide to participate, you will be given a copy of the interview schedule containing the questions which you will be asked by the investigator. Please answer as many of the questions as you are able to answer with confidence. You do not have to answer all the questions. Your responses to the questions should take approximately 45 minutes.

Avelina Chávez Trujillo

I have read the above "Subject's Consent." The nature, demands, risks, and benefits of the project have been explained to me. I understand that I may ask questions and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without incurring ill will. I also understand that this consent form will be filed in an area designated by the Human Subjects Committee with access restricted to the principal investigator or authorized representatives of the particular department. A copy of this consent form is available to me upon request.

Signature of Interviewee

233
Background Information

1. Age: 20-24 □ 30-34 □ 40-44 □ 50-54 □
   25-29 □ 35-39 □ 45-49 □ 55-60 □
   Over 60 □

2. Male □ Female □

3. Marital Status: Married □ Single □

4. Years Formal School: 1-8 □ 9-10 □ 11-12 □
   13-14 □ 15-16 □ 17-20 □

5. Schools Attended: City Grades

   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________

6. Colleges and universities attended:

   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________

7. Occupation(s):

   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
We would like to ask you to think back on your grade school and high school experiences and recall some of the more vivid relationships which you experienced with your teachers.

In recollecting these relationships with teachers, we have constructed a series of statements concerning possible student-teacher relationships. With each statement, a response scale is provided. This permits you to respond in one of the following ways: strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, or strongly disagree.

Please place an "X" at any point on the scale that most closely corresponds to your perceptions or feelings about the statement.

1. I felt that my teachers were aware of me as a person.

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<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
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   Comments:

2. I felt that my teachers were conscious of my background.

   | SA | A | U | D | SD |
   Comments:

3. I felt that my teachers were aware of me as a unique person with many cultural and social attributes.

   | SA | A | U | D | SD |
   Comments:
4. I felt that my teachers were sensitive to my needs as a bilcultural person.

/ / / / / / \\
SA A U D SD

Comments:

5. I felt that most of my teachers accepted me as a person.

/ / / / / / \\
SA A U D SD

Comments:

6. I felt that my teachers accepted my Mexican-American background.

/ / / / / / \\
SA A U D SD

Comments:

7. I felt that my teachers accepted my Spanish-English bilingualism.

/ / / / / / \\
SA A U D SD

Comments:
8. I felt that my teachers, however subtly, looked down on me because of my different language and speech patterns.

Comments:

9. I felt that my teachers considered my customs and beliefs odd.

Comments:

10. Teachers often embarrassed me for what they saw as my "Mexican" ways.

Comments:

11. Teachers often treated me as if I were somehow inferior.

Comments:
12. I felt that my teachers wanted me to learn acceptable American behavior.

Comments:

13. I felt that my teachers encouraged me to use Spanish whenever I needed to.

Comments:

14. I felt that my teachers were genuinely concerned about my well-being.

Comments:

15. I felt that my teachers cared whether I did well in school.

Comments:
16. I felt that my relationship with my teachers helped me feel good about myself.

I / / / / SA A U D SD

Comments:

17. I felt that my teachers thought it was important that I retain my bicultural identity.

I / / / / SA A U D SD

Comments:

18. I felt that my teachers cared that I develop positive attitudes about myself.

I / / / / SA A U D SD

Comments:

19. I felt that my teachers wanted me to have the best education that I could acquire.

I / / / / SA A U D SD

Comments:
20. I felt that my teachers desired to help me develop adequate skills.

| SA | A | U | D | SD |

Comments:

21. I felt that my teachers encouraged me to make choices for myself.

| SA | A | U | D | SD |

Comments:

22. I felt that my teachers wanted me to become an independent person.

| SA | A | U | D | SD |

Comments:

23. I felt that my teachers wanted to set a positive direction for me.

| SA | A | U | D | SD |

Comments:
24. I felt that my teachers wanted me to make decisions for my education.

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Comments:

25. I felt that my teachers joined in helping me to realize important goals.

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Comments:

26. I felt that my teachers shared in my efforts for self-expression about things I considered important.

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Comments:

27. I felt that my teachers joined in exploring ideas that were of special interest to me.

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Comments:
28. I felt that my teachers assisted me to retain my cultural identity in a predominantly Anglo society.

|
SA | A | U | D | SD |

Comments:

29. I felt that my teachers shared in efforts to solve my problems in a way that would be of most benefit to me.

|
SA | A | U | D | SD |

Comments:
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


