This volume contains the proceedings of two conferences. One conference was concerned primarily with research on racial desegregation and integration in public education, and was highlighted by a paper by Irwin Katz, "Problems and Directions for Research in Public School Desegregation." The second conference focused on social change and the role of behavioral scientists. There were papers by (1) Martin Luther King, Jr., "The Social Activist and Social Change," (2) Lee S. Shulman, "Reconstruction in Educational Research," and (3) S.M. Miller, "Economic and Political Prospects of the Poor." Included are summaries of the discussions which followed the various presentations. Additionally, syntheses of group discussions are included in the proceedings of the conference on social change. The proceedings of the research conference were held on September 30, and October 1, 1965, at West Point Farms, Central Valley, New York. The proceedings of the invitational conference were held May 4-6, 1966, at the Dinkler Motor Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia. (NH)

CONFERENCE   PROCEEDINGS

1   RESEARCH CONFERENCE
    ON RACIAL DESEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION
    IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

2   INVITATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL CHANGE
    AND THE ROLE OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENTISTS

Ferkauf Graduate School of Education
Yeshiva University
55 Fifth Avenue
New York City

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Introduction:

HAVE SOCIAL PROBLEMS BEEN "STUDIED TO DEATH?"

Traditionally, conference proceedings are published for the purpose of pro-
viding a permanent record and fulfilling an obligation to participants and
sponsors. This publication is no exception to that tradition, but the pro-
ceedings differ from conferences in which historians assemble to talk about
history, or businessmen convene to talk about business. Here, the subject
of racial equality is approached from two directions; that of the social
scientist and that of the social activist.

The Atlanta conference, particularly, was an attempt by scientists and
activists to explore the contribution of research to social action and to
point out new directions in research related to school desegregation and in-
tegration. We use the word "attempt" advisedly, for the attendant activists
were far outnumbered by academicians. Perhaps the lack of participation on
the part of activists reflects a pervasive feeling among them that the prob-
lems of Negroes and other disadvantaged persons already have been "studied
to death." But if these proceedings show nothing else, they point to many
problems involving education, employment and community organization which
obviously need more study, not less.

The first section of the document is a report on the Central Valley Con-
ference which was a forerunner to the Atlanta meeting. It was highlighted by
Dr. Katz' paper, "Problems and Directions for Research in Public School De-
segregation." Both conferences were supported by funds granted to the Ferkauf
Graduate School of Education, Yeshiva University, by the U. S. Office of

Education for a project titled "Stimulation and Development of Research. Related to the Education of the Disadvantaged and Segregated."

The second section of this document includes all of the major talks at the Atlanta conference and the responses to them. Of these, the talks by Dr. King and Dr. Shulman were formally presented and they are reported here just as they were prepared. Most of the respondents also presented prepared statements. In some cases, we have included extemperaneous remarks.

The talk by Dr. Miller on "Economic and Political Prospects of the Poor" and Dr. Hauser's response to Dr. King's speech were transcribed and edited with the speakers' approval of the published statements. Also edited were three group reports, which represent a summary of ideas suggested in group discussions. These ideas are further synthesized in Dr. Miller's summary statement which was used as an outline for his remarks.

Finally, rather than attempt to further summarize, we will let the proceedings speak for themselves. But perhaps this statement by Dr. Miller, at the close of the Atlanta conference, is pertinent:

We are looking to the development of new kinds of coalitions between social science and the civil rights movement. This means new kinds of roles, new kinds of communications, new kinds of dialogues and, therefore, new kinds of tensions....Any action of this kind will produce new forms of tension -- tension for us in terms of our professional allegiances; tension for us in terms of how effectively we can link with the civil rights movement.

Obviously we are living in a very exciting time. There are dangers and perils that this excitement won't lead to the reality of change, but [the present period] does offer to social science new kinds of possibilities. The excitement and vitality of a conference of this sort is that it brings

together people who want to be relevant to people who want to be in action. Some of us want to be both, but that is not always necessary. But the excitement comes from trying to breed a new kind of action today -- an action which builds on and takes from research and a research which builds on and takes from action.

Edmund W. Gordon
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  and Education
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RESEARCH CONFERENCE

ON RACIAL DESEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION

IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

*These proceedings were held September 30,
and October 1, 1965, at West Point Farms,
Central Valley, New York. They are adapted
from the conference sponsored by the
Ferkauf Graduate School of Education.*

Dr. Irwin Katz:

PROBLEMS AND DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH IN PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Segregation must be regarded as a national problem that is not confined
to the South. Racial prejudice in the North has given sanction to a pattern
of segregation in the public schools which, though different in degree, is
not greatly unlike "Southern style" *de jure* segregation. Dentler points out
that school segregation is so pronounced in certain major cities of the
North that if public schools are placed on a scale from all white to all
Negro, the great majority of them will cluster at the far extremes. Mixed .
student bodies are very uncommon.[2] Long notes that until well into the
present century, most Northern and Western states permitted, encouraged,
or required school segregation under law. Four Northern states did not make
segregation illegal till the 1940's, and in the states where it was technic-
ally illegal one can show that in many cases it was a result of a deliberate
policy of racial districting. By and large, Long concludes, segregation in
the North did not "just happen" as a result of occupancy patterns.[3]

Evidence on the extensiveness of Northern *de facto* segregation is well-
documented in a 1963 report by the National Association of Intergroup Relations
Officials. The same report marshals evidence that predominantly Negro schools
in the North, like their Southern counterparts, are generally inferior in the
quality of educational services offered, especially in the large cities.
Given these facts, it is clear that the responsibility of the Federal Govern-
ment with regard to the furthering of public school integration cannot be
limited to any single region of the United States.

3

In order to decide what types of research are most likely to contribute to the implementation of a governmental policy one must consider the basic principles and objectives of the policy. With respect to school integration, it will be assumed here that, insofar as possible, change efforts should be consistent with the following propositions:

1 The burden of adjusting to desegregation in a community should be shared as equitably as possible by all citizens, rather than being concentrated upon one segment of the total population.

2 The chief responsibility for carrying out desegregation should rest with local school officials and personnel; the change-over should not depend unduly upon the voluntary efforts of those private citizens whose constitutional rights are being violated under the status quo.

3 Since the larger goal of integration is to provide all children with adequate access to the privileges and responsibilities of American society, it should wherever necessary be tied to a general improvement of facilities, staff and curriculum.

4 In its famous 1954 ruling the Supreme Court declared that school segregation was psychologically harmful to Negro children. The implication is that each additional day of forced attendance at segregated Negro schools may contribute further injury to the "hearts and minds" of these youngsters. Therefore, unnecessary delays in bringing about change must be regarded by responsible officials as intolerable, and the goal of integration must be pursued with a sense of utmost urgency.

5 Integration involves more than just racially balanced enrollments. Principals and teachers must be responsibe to the needs of those who previously attended inferior segregated schools or who come from disadvantaged homes.

But the educational requirements of Negro children should not be used as an excuse for setting up racially segregated classes within biracial schools.

The foregoing considerations are not intended to be exhaustive; they are mentioned merely to suggest some important empirical criterial for evaluating the adequacy of different implementation strategies. Research can provide feedback on the extent to which these and other basic principles and objectives of integration are promoted by local desegregation programs. In addition to this use of research to assess the success of change-over efforts, investigations can increase our knowledge and understanding of the factors that influence the pace of desegregation. Writing on this subject, Pettigrew has stressed the importance of Negro insistence, white resistance, and social structural barriers. It is his view that once token desegregation has taken place, the most critical determinant of the speed of further change is the amount of pressure exerted by the Negro community.[5] Dentler has taken a similar position, on the basis of his own participation in several desegregation programs of small Northern cities. He believes that in order for desegregation to become possible politically and educationally, Negroes must protest in a visible, unequivocal manner, and that this protest must "resonate positively with some influential segment of the white population." It also seems plain to him that a very highly stratified class structure will act as a formidable barrier to desegregation. He then suggests another factor: "a clear, sufficiently intense stimulus from state or other extra-local authorities." In the North significant change has tended to occur in the smaller communities only when impetus was provided by strong state educational agencies.[6] La Porte, Beker and Willie found that in a middle-sized

Northern city pressures from local Negro protest groups and from the state

education department were primarily responsible for initiating action on de-

segregation. A directive from the state educational commissioner on racial

imbalance seemed to influence the situation by adding pressure on the local

board of education and by helping to get the board "off the hook" with more

conservative elements in the community.[7]

Research on White Resistance, and Related Problems

Cook and others have pointed out that attitudes alone are relatively poor

predicters of white people's reactions to desegregation. For example, be-

fore integration occurred in the District of Columbia 52 per cent of the

white adult population were against it, 24 per cent were neutral, and only

24 per cent were favorable. But except for a brief strike by some students,

which was not supported widely by adults, the first steps toward integra-

tion were carried out uneventfully. The school superintendent was suffi-

ciently encouraged to speed up the entire process. When respondents in the

pre-desegregation survey were re-interviewed at the end of the school

year, it was found that of those who initially disapproved of the Supreme

Court decision, only 29 per cent felt that desegregation in Washington was

not successful. Experiences in other cities bear out the point that even

when there is at the outset widespread feeling against integration, the

change-over may be affected smoothly and without incident.[8] Pettigrew has

cited evidence that white attitudes tend to become more favorable when de-

segregation is perceived as a *fait accompli* or as inevitable.[9] Various

alternative explanations of this phenomenon readily come to mind: perhaps

actual experience, or discussion and reflection, show the imagined dangers

of desegregation to be false or exaggerated, or the conflict between reality
and the desire for continued segregation generates so much internal tension
that the wish is suppressed or abandoned. Research on this problem may
yield useful information about the necessary conditions for inducing favor-
able attitude change.

What is particularly needed to improve our understanding of the rela-
tionship between attitudes and overt resistance to desegregation is an em-
phasis upon the pyschological sources of segregationist feelings and beliefs,
rather than -- as in the past -- upon the attitudes *per se*. To be able to
explain why white parents resist racial change in the schools it is neces-
sary to know in what ways they experience such change as threatening to
them personally when it involves their own children. Williams has pointed
out that any sustained review of the research evidence "will convey a power-
ful impression of the importance of 'threat' in the entire matter." He
discusses the threat of status loss as being particularly potent, since
quite often when desegregation occurs the white schools that receive the
heaviest influx of Negro students are in working class or lower middle class
neighborhoods where the social status of residents is at best precarious.
For these people there are few if any alternative ways of maintaining status,
once the prospective change takes place.

According to Williams, there is a very wide range of possible threats
in a proposed move to bring Negro and white children together in the same
schools, when they have previously been separated. For example, anxiety
may refer to: possible increases in cost and taxes; quality of formal edu-
cation; physical safety and comfort (fear of aggression, fear for health
condition, hazards of transportation); social practices (manners, language,

etc.); sexual threats; status-threat to parents vis-a-vis their ingroup peers; threat to a categorical sense of superiority; threat to long-run competitive advantages (jobs, housing, politics, etc.).[10] Investigations are needed to determine how the particular sources of threat to white parents vary for different socio-economic groups, with differences in the structure of the white and Negro sub-communities, and with regional, demographic, and rural-urban differences. Once research has identified the various specific fears that white people have about integration, it should be possible to assess their validity in the light of actual conditions, and to take appropriate remedial action. Thus, if there is widespread concern about deterioration of scholastic standards, an information campaign could be undertaken to acquaint the population with relevant facts about the impact of desegregation upon the quality of education in comparable communities where the change-over had already occurred, and about the various steps that would be taken in the local school system to preserve or even raise academic standards.

In at least one Northern community that was studied, white resistance to a "Princeton Plan" school pairing did not appear to be inspired by fear of educational deterioration. Rogers and Swanson found that in a high income, professional neighborhood of New York City, where interest in school affairs had always been high, as reflected in attendance at Parents Association meetings and other types of activity, a pairing was accomplished smoothly. But in a lower middle class area, parents who had previously been markedly apathetic about the schools were vehemently opposed to a similar desegregation step. From an analysis of the demographic characteristics of the two areas, the authors concluded that status anxiety was a primary moti-

vating factor in the resisting community. The latter was largely composed
of upwardly mobile members of minority cultural groups who had moved to
their present homes from ethnic ghetto areas closer to the central city.
Because of their limited occupational skills and education they probably had
reached the limits of their residential and economic mobility.[11] Similarly,
Tumin has reported that "hard core" resisters to integration in Guilford
County, North Carolina, tended to be the low men on the economic totem pole
who were the least educated, narrowest in social perspective, and most anomic
element in the local white population. They were the group that was most
vulnerable to Negro competition for jobs and housing, and most likely to
bear the brunt of school desegregation.[12]

It is both morally and practically desirable that desegregation be
carried out on an equitable basis. Common sense suggests that the wider
the range of neighborhoods and socio-economic groups that can be involved
in the initial process, the less intense will be the status threat and the
resultant sense of victimization experienced by particular white groups.
This proposition can be tested by means of comparative studies in two or
more communities that are about to undergo either selective or total-system
integration. It would also be worthwhile to carry out retrospective studies
of localities that have already experienced one or the other type of change.
Aside from the question of whether they instigate less opposition, it would
also be desirable to establish empirically whether system-wide change-overs
are not more efficient than the piecemeal variety, by virtue of stimulating
and permitting a kind of unified, overall planning that is hardly possible
when the latter procedure is followed.

An important aspect of the problem of white resistance has to do with the causes of violence and the development of adequate techniques for its control. It is already well established that the public stance of local officials, law enforcement officers, and political leaders can have a decisive influence on whether outbreaks of mass violence will occur. As Vander Zanden observes, the crucial factor governing the incidence or severity of disturbances attendant upon desegregation has "tended to be the determined, unequivocal policy instituted and pursued by authorities and the stern, non-tolerant policy inaugurated toward 'agitators' and demonstrators."[13]

Among the problems still in need of study is that of the relationship between the anomic, psychologically alienated condition of certain low-status white groups and the emergence of violent activism. In their study of white resistance to the pairing of schools in New York City, Rogers and Swanson noted "an almost complete absence of intermediate community organizations between the citizenry and the city government. At the risk of oversimplification, the sociopolitical structure of the neighborhood consists of city-wide and local public officials who make major decisions for the area and the large, powerless, alienated, and usually apathetic, though recently activist, mass." The authors speculated that if the white population had been able to express their interests and grievances through local organizations, "they would have had a built-in safety valve for 'bleeding off' their fears and sense of alienation." If they had had an opportunity to meet with other groups, hear other points of view, and have some of their questions answered, they might even have developed a stake in improving the public schools for all children.[14]

These observations may have bearing upon the situation in the Deep
South, where community organizational activity of all kinds is very low
as compared with other regions. But at present it is an open question whether
Rogers and Swanson's analysis of the relationship between sociopolitical power-
lessness and isolation, on the one hand, and emotional activism on the other,
can be applied to localities other than the one they studied. From a prac-
tical standpoint, it is clear that prolonged open debate about the desira-
bility of desegregating a local school system can have the effect of uniting
and strengthening the segregationist elements in the community. On the
other hand, there are numerous instances in which desegregation was success-
fully accomplished in Southern and Border States with minimal advance publi-
city or opportunity for discussion. There is a need for research on the
factors that govern white responses to relatively open and relatively closed
desegregation procedures. Presumably, reactions in the white community can
safely be ignored by public officials only when there is good reason to be-
lieve that the change-over will not arouse intense feelings of threat and
victimization among sizeable elements of the population. A particularly
harmful type of white opposition is that which takes the form of harrass-
ment of Negro children by white students. Permissive attitudes on the part
of white parents and school authorities seem to have much to do with its
occurence.

An interesting strategy for studying outbreaks of violence has been
recommended by Suchman *et al*. It involves assigning to special "on tap"
field workers the task of going into communities on short notice to do im-
promptu yet systematic on-the-spot investigations of riots, mob action, etc.

Using interview and observational techniques they would search for signifi-
cant background conditions that led up to the incidents, and would attempt
to describe the full course of events. These studies would be guided by
hypotheses derived from more extensive types of community research.[15]

Research on Negro Attitudes About School Desegregation

That Negroes have not pressed vigorously for school integration in the South
and North is apparent to all close observers of the civil rights movement.
According to Lomax, "NAACP people are hesitant to talk about it, but they
are having a most difficult time getting local parents to start integration
suits." On the whole, he adds, "Negro parents don't seem to be interested
in school desegregation -- and not just from fear of reprisals, but simply
because school integration isn't something large numbers of Negroes get ex-
cited about."[16] Indeed, one has only to recall the stated goals of the
major Negro protests and demonstrations of recent years -- Montgomery, Birming-
ham, Selma, and so on -- or to examine the writings of Martin Luther King,
Whitney Young, and other Negro leaders, to recognize that school integration
is not a high-priority target of the Negro revolution. Even in the large
cities of the North, civil rights advocates who agitate for an amelioration
of de facto segregation are disheartened by the lack of grass roots support.
To those who believe that integration is the only feasible way to achieve
educational equality for minority group children, the present situation is
indeed unfortunate, because numerically meaningful integration is not likely
to occur in the foreseeable future except in response to determined Negro
pressure.

At first glance the apathy of many Negroes regarding school integra-
tion appears to reflect a lack of genuine interest in quality education.
for it is certainly true that racial discrimination has long kept Negro
education devoid of any real economic utility. Though the job market has
improved in recent years, exclusion from white-collar and skilled employ-
ment is still a basic fact of life for most nonwhite Americans. However,
in their responses to survey questionnaires, Negro parents display a con-
siderable amount of concern about the adequacy of the education their chil-
dren are receiving in public school. In their study of the Negro community
in Tallahassee, Killian and Grigg found that the need for better schools
was ranked second in importance in a list of 18 sources of dissatisfaction.[17]

Looking more closely at the apparent indifference of Negro parents to
school integration, one begins to suspect that it is in large measure a
manifestation of feelings of threat that are not unlike those experienced
by the white resisters -- though different in specific content. Negroes
may be afraid to expose their children to the open prejudice of white class-
mates and teachers, or to devastating experiences of academic failure. In
Southern communities where entrance into previously all-white schools is
on a "free choice" basis, Negro parents often have realistic fears of offi-
cial harassment, economic reprisals, and even physical harm. Moreover,
Southern Negro teachers, who are often the most numerous local Negro pro-
fessional group, stand a good chance of losing their jobs when school systems
become integrated. Killian and Grigg's data indicate that Negroes do not
perceive quality education and desegregation as closely connected issues,
so that while "better schools" was their second most important public con-
cern, school integration had next to the lowest rank of all 18 items.

Clearly, Negroes must be made aware through the dissemination of information that separate schools are intrinsically unequal. Widespread desegregation will not become politically possible until large numbers of minority group parents begin to feel that it is necessary.

The ability of Negroes to bring effective pressure to bear upon local officials will depend upon the level of internal communication, organization, and unity of purpose of the Negro community. Suchman *et al.* observe that the Negro community is "actually a complexly differentiated cluster of subgroups, varying in socio-economic status, geographic origin, occupational type, intelligence level of children, and attitude toward school desegregation. This internal differentiation is likely to be as complex, if not more so, than the differentiation within the majority community."[18] Research on minority communities can reveal communication barriers between leaders and the population, and between various segments of the community. For example, in her investigation of the Negro community in a small city in the Mid-South, Burgess found that Negro leaders, who favored desegregation, were backed on this issue by 85 per cent of the Negro upper class, but by only 60 per cent of the middle class and 40 per cent of the lower class. Not more than 48 per cent of the total Negro sample favored immediate desegregation. Thus the most active leaders were "out in front" of their constituency -- especially the less educated and lower income elements -- and in danger of being repudiated or censured.[19]

CAse studies of Negro communities may reveal various ways in which leaders can improve their relations with different segments of the population. The motives, perceptions, goals, and action strategies of the former

can be compared with the attitudes and needs of the latter. Suchman *et al.*
favor the use of "action research" techniques in Negro communities. Research
personnel would work as "change agents" with community organizations to
achieve the following: coordination of minority leadership structures;
coordination, unification, and the increase of communication channels within
the total minority community; and finally, the opening of channels of commun-
ication with the white community.[20]

Case Studies of School Desegregation

Case studies in depth of communities with different demographic, economic
and political-social characteristics can contribute much to our understanding
of the basic forces that govern the course and the speed of desegregation.
These investigations can focus on the processes leading up to the decision
to comply with the Supreme Court ruling, or the processes of the planning
and accomplishing of the change-over to non-segregated schooling, or both
sets of processes. The approach is exemplified by the La Porte, Beker and
Willie study of the evolution of a school desegregation policy in a small
Northern city. Their inquiry included (1) the sequence of action on the
issue; (2) the structure and dynamics of "democratic" action in the city;
(3) functional relationships among the public, the Board of Education, and
the professional administrators of the school system; (4) the relative con-
tributions of particular individuals and groups to community decisions; (5)
extra-community influences. Their chief sources of information were docu-
ments (minutes of meetings, policy statements, reports, etc.); lengthy inter-
views with key participants (the Mayor, members of the Board of Education,
school administrators, heads of citizens' organizations, etc.); and direct
observation of meetings and public hearings.[21] Case studies of this sort

are rich sources of insights and hypotheses which can later be tested syste-
matically by means of cross-community studies that utilize a relatively
large sample of localities, from which highly specified types of data are
obtained.

Dentler observes that barriers to school integration in the North are
far less formidable in the smaller cities and suburbs than in the big cities.
In the smaller communities technical solutions are available in abundance,
and once the decision to desegregate has been made it is relatively easy to
prepare the community and the schools for the change-over. But in the big
cities technical solutions are few in number and generally drastic in effect
upon both the clientele and the practitioners. Also, problems of communica-
tion between the Board of Education and parents, of new staffing and coordi-
nation of effort within the school system, etc. are far more complex. Dentler
points out that among the six largest cities in the North, only Detroit has
made some progress toward improving the racial balance of schools. "New
York City, Chicago, and Philadelphia are more severely segregated today than
they were in 1954." The situation calls for systematic case studies of the
major metropolises, along the lines of the La Porte *et al.* inquiry. As
Dentler puts it, "We must look to the social and cultural bases of Northern
big city life to understand why so little change has occurred...we must
take into account the political context and the cultural milieu of urban
public education."[22]

Research on Technical Devices for Accomplishing De Facto Desegregation

According to Dentler, several partially adequate technical solutions have
been proposed for each of the larger Northern cities. The two most promi-
sing technical solutions, he remarks, are also the most radical:

> One is the concept of the educational park. Here, big city
> systems would abandon neighborhood schools (or use them for
> very different purposes, such as community centers) and
> erect consolidated facilities housing from 5,000 to 20,000
> students. Such a campus-style institution would be located
> to draw its students from a very wide residential base, one
> broad enough, perhaps, to surmount long-term changes in
> class and ethnic settlements. A second, related idea is to
> *merge* mainly white suburban school districts with increas-
> ingly Negro inner-city districts. District mergers could
> be achieved by state authorities and could break through
> ancient patterns of residential restriction.23

The most exciting aspect of the educational park idea is its potential for

achieving excellence in public school systems, while at the same time pro-

viding a technical means of improving racial balance over wide areas. The

park would allow the sharing of physical facilities on a rational basis,

provide a wider range of special services -- academic, remedial, counseling --

than any single school, provide the maximum opportunity for effective decen-

tralization, allow flexible use of teacher skills, and permit greater oppor-

tunity for creative innovation such as closed-circuit television, team teach-

ing, language laboratories and automated equipment. There could also be

fiscal gains over and above those resulting from improvements in operational

efficiency, for much of the cost of the parks could be paid for by the Federal

Government under Title 1 of the Urban Renewal Act of 1949. As the first educa-

tional parks come into being in various parts of the United States it will be

important that their educational and administrative merits, and their ability

to achieve racially balanced enrollments receive systematic evaluation.

Another promising technical device mentioned by Dentler, the merging of

suburban and central city school districts, could bring about massively fav-

orable changes in the ratios of white to Negro pupils in metropolitan school

systems. Cases of this type of redistricting should be assessed for their

effects upon residential occupancy patterns, percentage of white pupils who

transfer to private schools, staff turnover and morale, scholastic stand-
ards, attitudes and organized response of parents, etc.

Research on Compliance of School Officials with Desegregation Plans

Studies of the implementation of desegregation plans must take into account
the extent of compliance of field personnel in the school system -- assis-
tant superintendents, principals and teachers -- with directives from the
superintendent. Rogers and Swanson suggest that these personnel, especially
the principal, have tremendous impact on the extent of acceptance of white
teachers, parents, and pupils of an incoming group of Negroes. The princi-
pal and others "may effectively negate, sabotage, or at least water down an
integration plan that was developed after many months, perhaps years, of
study and discussion."[24]

Research on "Freedom of Choice" vs. Mandatory Integration Plans

Research is needed to evaluate the relative merits of "freedom of choice"
and mandatory integration plans in the South. Some civil rights leaders
contend that it is unrealistic to expect that Negro parents in the South
will ever initiate voluntary transfers of their children to predominantly
white schools to any significant extent -- that under this procedure inte-
gration will probably never become a reality in the Deep South. Lomax and
others have argued that having to apply for transfer gives the Negro the
feeling of changing schools in order to be with white people. "This is a
difficult psychological hurdle for Southern Negroes to overcome. The truth
is, on the whole, they don't want to be with white people as such. They do
want the best schools, however..."[25] Requesting transfer also exposes the
Negro parent to white displeasure and possible vindictiveness. By slowing

down the rate of integration "free choice" plans also prolong the period that young pioneer pupils remain a small, isolated minority, acutely vulnerable to the debilitating effects of social isolation and rejection by the white majority. Research is needed to show whether mandatory plans can introduce Negro newcomers into previously all-white schools in large enough numbers so that they can provide security for one another, without at the same time arousing a high level of white resistance. Research could also test the proposition that mandatory plans are better than "free choice" in that they allow for rational, system-wide planning with regard to optimal distribution of students in relation to available staff, facilities, and space.

Research on Enlisting Support of Influential Private Citizens

There is increasing evidence of a move on the part of the Southern business community toward an accommodation with the civil rights program of the Federal Government. For example, the Committees of One Hundred in Alabama and Mississippi, consisting of the top 100 business leaders of each state, have publicly advocated compliance with the Civil Rights Act. While other motives may be involved, economic self interest is clearly consistent with this change to a more progressive position on racial matters. Research can explore techniques for activating local business leaders in support of prompt and orderly school integration. Perhaps forums and conferences could be organized at colleges and universities on problems of education and local economic development, and talks could be scheduled by visiting federal officers.

Research on the Effects of Desegregation

Among the important areas for research are the effects of desegregation on
(1) residential occupancy patterns, (2) parent attitudes and participation
in school activities, (3) stability, morale, and attitudes of school staffs,
(4) scholastic performance of white and Negro children, (5) social relation-
ships among pupils of same and different races, (6) self-concept, attitudes,
and emotional adjustment of Negro pupils. Ideally, all of these variables
should be studied by means of before-after research designs, with non-
segregated schools as controls.

Experiments can unravel the underlying social dynamics of the bi-
racial classroom and the teaching-learning process. It would be useful to
follow up the promising leads of Gottlieb's work on the interracial percep-
tions of Negro and white pupils and Negro and white teachers in integrated
schools.[26] Rosenthal's recent experiment on the effect of teachers' expec-
tations upon the intellectual achievement of their pupils also suggests
worthwhile further investigations.[27] In his study, teachers were given
fictitious information about the intellectual potentialities of children
whose true intelligence was known to the experimenter. At the end of the
school year, the IQ's of the children showed changes commensurate with the
false information that had previously been given to the teacher. That is,
children who the teacher had been told had considerable potentiality for
intellectual growth showed large increments in IQ, while those who were
supposed to have little potentiality for improvement showed smaller gains
or no gains in IQ. Rosenthal's study does not tell us how the teacher's
expectations influenced her behavior toward different pupils.

It would be interesting to follow up the Rosenthal experiment with studies in which white adults (teachers) were given different kinds of information about a child (for example, bright-dull, middle class-working class, Negro-white) and then required to teach the child a standard task. Do the differential cues influence the amount of effort expended by the adult in instructing the child, the amount and kinds of reinforcement, unconscious expressions of acceptance or rejection? One might also examine whether the child senses the teacher's attitude toward him, by testing his perception of the teacher after the instructional period. The results of such experiments could be used in the training of new teachers as a means of sensitizing them to the human relations aspects of their future work.

Another problem for investigation has to do with teachers' responsiveness to children's needs as a function of racial differences. White and Negro teachers could be required to observe biracial groups of children and then to report on each child, first at a descriptive level and then at an inferential level where the child's emotional needs and interests were considered. The richness and detail of report, and validity when compared with objective information, could be evaluated in relation to the race of the teacher-observer and the race of the object-child. It could be ascertained what teacher characteristics are associated with accuracy of observation of own-race and other-race children. One might also examine the characteristics of teachers whom children like and from whom they learn readily.

In my own research I have examined the relationship between the race of adult testers and the learning ability of Negro boys of grade school age. I found that the children learned a list of paired associates more readily from Negro males and females than from white males and females. However,

the same boys worked harder for the white testers than for the Negro testers on a simple writing task (drawing X's in small boxes), suggesting that motivation was as high or higher in the presence of the white tester, but that complex verbal ability was impaired. Further research can establish whether the impairment was due to anxiety, and if so of what nature.

Finally, one can study the effects of various types of biracial peer environments upon the learning of Negro children. For example, Negroes can be required to learn a standard verbal task in the presence of white peers who are either friendly or unfriendly in their reactions. With regard to the role of the teacher, situations could be devised in which to study the effectiveness of teachers in inculcating in white children acceptance of Negro peers by means of appropriate modeling behavior and dispensing of reinforcements.

NOTES

1 Especially useful have been the following: R. M. Williams, Jr., "Factors Affecting Reactions to Public School Desegregation in American Communities," mimeo., 1964; E. A. Suchman, J. P. Dean, and R. M. Williams, Jr. *Desegregation: Some Propositions and Research Suggestions,* New York: ADL, 1958; R. M. Williams, Jr., B. R. Fisher, I. L. Janis, "Educational Desegregation as a Context for Basic Social Science Research," *American Sociological Review,* 1956 (Vol. 21) 577-583; S. Cook, "Desegregation: A Psychological Analysis," *American Psychologist,* 1957 (Vol. 12), 1-13.

2 R. A. Dentler, "Barriers to Northern School Desegregation," *Daedalus,* Winter 1966 (Vol. 95) pp. 45-63.

3 H. Long, "The Meaning of Segregated Education in The North." (mimeo.) March, 1964, Talladega College, p. 3.

4 *Public School Segregation and Integration in the North,* published as a special issue of the *Journal of Intergroup Relations,* Commission on School Integration, NAIRO, Nov. 1963.

5 T. F. Pettigrew, "Continuing Barriers to Desegregated Education in The South," *Sociology of Education,* Vol. 38 (Winter 1965), pp. 99-111.

6   R. A. Dentler, *ibid.*

7   R. La Porte, Jr., J. Beker, and C. V. Willie, "The Evolution of Public
Educational Policy, etc.," (mimeo) Syracuse University Youth Devel. Center,
1966.

8   S. W. Cook, "Desegregation: A Psychological Analysis," *American Psycholo-
gist*, 1957 (Vol. 12) pp. 1-13.

9   T. F. Pettigrew, *ibid.*

10 R. M. Williams, *ibid.*

11 D. Rogers and B. Swanson, "White Citizen Response to The Same Integration
Plan: Companions of Local School Districts in a Northern City," *Sociological
Inquiry*, Vol. 35, 1965, pp. 107-122.

12 M. Tumin, *Desegregation, Resistance & Readiness*, Princeton University
Press, 1958.

13 J. W. Vander Zanden, *Race Relations in Transition*, New York: Random
House, 1965, p. 80.

14 Rogers and Swanson, *ibid.*

15 Suchman *et al.*, *ibid.*

16 L. E. Lomax, *The Negro Revolt*, Harper & Row, 1962.

17 L. Killian & C. Grigg, *Racial Crisis in America*, Prentice-Hall, 1964.

18 Suchman *et al.*, *ibid.*

19 M. E. Burgess, *Negro Leadership in A Southern City*, University of North
Carolina Press, 1960.

20 Suchman *et al.*, *ibid.*

21 La Porte *et al.*, *ibid.*

22 Dentler, *ibid.*

23 *ibid.*

24 Rogers & Swanson, *ibid.*

25 Lomax, *ibid.*

26 unpublished.

27 unpublished.

CENTRAL VALLEY CONFERENCE SUMMARY

Following the promise of the 1962 Invitational Conference on Northern School
Desegregation: Progress and Problems, the 1965 Conference on Desegregation
and Integration in Public Education was seminarlike in approach. Professor
Thomas Pettigrew of Harvard University and Professor Irwin Katz of New York
University were invited to start the discussion. This was quickly succeeded
by informal exchanges on the part of most of the conference participants.
The emphasis was on a free, purposely unstructured atmosphere of inquiry to
facilitate the raising of substantive research questions, or as Professor
Edmund W. Gordon, the chairman, phrased it, to improve on the "shortage of
solid ideas." The problem of resources, the practical, or legal ways and
means, were not to hinder the development of research ideas in desegregation
and integration in education. This conference was directed to research ideas
where the only limit imposed was set by the imagination of the participants.

The 1962 conference on Northern School Desegregation: Progress and
Problems concluded by suggesting that future conferences might be in semi-
nar format --

> so as to enable the professors of sociology, psychology and edu-
> cation to present empirical data, and to develop social and be-
> havioral science theory pertaining to culturally deprived groups.*

It is worth noting that three years later the participants at the Conference on
Desegregation and Integration in Public Education were still calling for a
systematic development of a research domain and more reliable empiracal data.

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* *Proceedings of the Invitational Conference on Northern School Desegre-
gation: Progress and Problems,* Graduate School of Education, Yeshiva Uni-
versity, July 29, 1962

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The twelve individuals at the conference were representative of five
universities, two different segments of the United States Office of Educa-
tion, the State of California and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. They are:

Dr. John Blue, Bureau of Educational Research, Office of Education

Daniel Collins, D. D. S., California State Board of Education, San Francisco

Dr. Tilman Cothran, Atlanta-Fulton County, Economic Opportunity Program, Atlanta

Dr. Robert Dentler, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York

Dr. Irwin Katz, New York University, New York

Dr. Louis Levine, Yeshiva University, New York

Dr. Ruth Love, California State Department of Education, Sacramento

Dr. Paul Messier, Bureau of Educational Research, U. S. Office of Education

Mr. Kenneth Neubeck, Equal Educational Opportunity Program, U. S. Office of Education

Dr. Thomas Pettigrew, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Dr. Wilson Record, Portland, Oregon State College

Dr. Max Wolff, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, 322 West 45th Street, New York

The presentation of ideas advanced in this highly informal manner of con-
versational exchanges poses some obvious problems. The flavor, atmosphere, and
quality of the various observations can only be fully and accurately rendered
in a transcript of all that occurred. [Such a transcript is available for re-
view at the Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged at the Graduate
School of Education, Yeshiva University, 55 Fifth Avenue, New York, and in the
Unit on the Disadvantaged and Segregated, Bureau of Research, U. S. Office of
Education.] However, for purposes of summary a different technique was em-
ployed. The approach consists of dividing the observations and research con-
cerns of the participants into several groups: (1) achievement level; (2)

desegregation process; (3) attitude change; (4) teacher effectiveness; (5)
compensatory education questions; (6) methodology; (7) new approaches; and
(8) action by the Office of Education. The eight problem areas will be
followed by a comment on some omissions and additional research issues based
upon the conference material.

Achievement Level

*Achievement level is used here to refer to all phenomena that bear upon the
intellectual accomplishments of children. The page references which follow
are made to the transcript of the conference proceedings which is available
for review at the Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged at 55
Fifth Avenue, New York.*

Herewith, a listing of research areas as suggested by the indicated confer-
ence participants:

1   The academic, emotional and personality development effects of school
desegregation on children (I. Katz, p. 73);

2   Differing transitional conditions of desegregation and its effects (I.
Katz, p. 29);

3   The stress of anticipated failure in grade and high school children
and by sex (I. Katz, p. 31);

4   The educational and vocational aspirations of students in segregated
Southern schools as compared with those in integregated Northern schools
(I. Katz, p. 35);

5   An inquiry into homogenous grouping (I. Katz, p. 37);

6   Motivational theories and approaches for the educationally disadvantaged
(T. Cothran, p. 44);

7   The perception of academic, general and vocational school curricula
(C. Pina, p. 54);

8   The influences of the social system on the success of the educational
task (E. Gordon, p. 136);

9 The role of teacher expectation in learning (T. Pettigrew, p. 72);

10 The effect of the child's perception of the opportunity structure on school success (I. Katz, p. 142);

11 The effect of parental perception of the relationship between school achievement and jobs (I. Katz, p. 143);

12 The home as an educational institution (T. Cothran, p. 150);

13 The school as an effective instrument of collective mobility as distinguished from individual mobility (T. Cothran, p. 152);

14 The related analysis of public school and higher education experience for occupational and mobility advantages, separate from formal requirements (R. Dentler, p. 165);

15 The results of fair treatment accorded to experienced but poorly trained teachers (E. Gordon, p. 182);

16 The extra-curricular activity of Negro pupils in desegregated schools and its relationship to academic achievement (T. Cothran, p. 188);

Desegregation Process

Desegregation process is used here to refer to activities involving interaction among community, school, parents, civil rights groups, researchers, and so forth.

17 The effects of desegregation *per se* without the inclusion of other factors (T. Pettigrew, p. 12);

18 Simulation studies of desegregation (T. Pettigrew, p. 14);

19 Has the Southern *de jure* desegregated school moved toward Northern *de facto* segregation? (T. Cothran, p. 45);

20 The process of desegregation in education compared with desegregation in other situations (T. Cothran, p. 67);

21 The desegregation process in each state department of education (T. Cothran, p. 190);

22 The desegregation process of the poor white child and the poor Negro child, including the attitudes, achievements and problems of each (M. Wolff, p. 65);

23 Civil rights groups as intermediaries between parents and schools (W. Record, p. 93);

24 The element of institutional trust enjoyed by schools (L. Levine, p. 162)

25 Site planning for new schools to facilitate desegregation (M. Wolff, p. 189);

26 The effects of coordinated compensatory education programs and integration plans (R. Love, p. 99);

27 An Office of Education definition of procedures for closing of Negro schools and subsequent placement of staffs (T. Pettigrew, p. 176);

28 The National Education Association approach to the admission of Negro members into the Southern Teachers Association; that is, open membership versus mergers (J. Blue, p. 186);

29 Pilot projects for Southern Negro teacher retraining as a paying city or area-wide program (R. Dentler, p. 171);

30 The patterns of evasion of desegregation in education (T. Cothran, p. 120);

31 The correlation between resistors to research and resistors to integration (L. Levine, p. 53);

32 Fear that action will follow research serves as a deterrent to certain research (M. Wolff, p. 239);

33 Research and evaluation of programs should not be subordinated to administrators or politics (W. Record, p. 245);

34 The effectiveness of the school as an instrument of mobility for groups as well as individuals (R. Dentler, p. 165);

35 The responsibility of education for non-education problems (D. Collins, p. 138);

36 The proposition that education is a drag on desegregation in employment, while housing is a drag on education (T. Pettigrew. p. 157);

37 The role, function and problems of desegregation advisors (J. Blue, p. 193);

38 Diagnosis and institutionalization for mental retardation among non-whites (R. Dentler, p. 187);

Attitude Change

Attitude change is used here to refer to alterations in beliefs and behavior.

39 The development of methods of attitude change generally applicable to boards of education, community organizations and home owners' associations (L. Levine, p. 53);

40 The process of social change, including the influence of organized pressure and influence thereupon (T. Cothran, p. 121);

41 The assessment of potential public reactions to decisions, possibly through models (J. Blue, p. 118);

42 The development of politically effective presentation of research findings to aid in desegregation and arouse community support (M. Wolff, p. 113);

43 Conditions limiting and allowing research on desegregation (L. Levine, p. 53);

44 The socio-political perceptions of civil rights leaders and their opponents regarding each other (L. Levine, p. 115);

45 The differing transitional conditions of desegregation and its effects --
already considered in another context [by I. Katz, p. 29] -- should be recon-
sidered in terms of attitude change; likewise, organizational research on
school systems including the role of innovations, power structure, influence
of principals (I. Katz, p. 37);

46 The effect of change in the parental perception of the relationship be-
tween school achievement and jobs; likewise, parental supervisory and coping
skills and their relevance to social perception about jobs(I. Katz, p. 143);

47 The possibility of the Office of Education broadening research to include
the whole aspiration program of the Negro, not just for employment and educa-
tion, but for life expectations and how these impinge upon the school (T.
Pettigrew, p. 146);

Teacher Effectiveness

*Teacher effectiveness is used here to refer to those approaches which seem
most likely to elicit the maximum learning potential of children.*

48 An analysis of the actual classroom situation as a social system, includ-
ing peer relations, the effect of group norms, the role of the teacher in in-
fluencing group norms, and teacher treatment of individual differences (T.
Pettigrew and I. Katz, p. 11);

49 The attitudes of white teachers toward Negro pupils (I. Katz, p. 34);

50 The role of teacher expectation in learning; also, the specific mechan-
isms of non-verbal behavior and communication occurring in the classroom
(T. Pettigrew, p. 72);

51 The selection and training of all school personnel (W. Record, p. 94);

52 The training and placement of non-professional teacher aides (L. Levine,
p. 162);

53 The development of intergroup education in line with democratic ideology
(L. Levine, p. 127);

54 The accomplishments of in-service training (I. Katz, p. 184);

55 A criterion of teaching effectiveness (L. Levine, p. 183);

56 The establishment of programs to compensate for the differential quality
of teacher competence throughout the country (E. Gordon, p. 181);

57 The causes of teacher resistance to integration (W. Record, p. 95);

58 The desegregation conditions of Southern Negro teachers in assignment,
tenure, retraining, displacement and retirement (J. Blue, p. 168);

59 The validity, interpretation and use of NTE tests in Southern retraining
(T. Cothran, p. 171);

60 The Florida practice of keeping Negro teachers out of subject areas
irrespective of experience or training (P. Messier, p. 179);

61 The fraternal relations between public education officers and education
school people (R. Dentler, p. 247);

Compensatory Questions

*Compensatory questions, as a term, is used here to refer to special approaches
indicated to redress the educational and cultural inequities affecting
children.*

62 The development of motivational theories and approaches for the education-
ally disadvantaged (T. Cothran, p. 44);

63 The selection and training of all school personnel (W. Record, p. 94);

64 The training and placement of non-professional teaching aides (L. Levine,
p. 162);

65 The coordination of compensatory education programs and integration plans
mutually with local districts and state education departments (R. Love, p. 99);

66 The differing transitional conditions of desegregation and their effects
(I. Katz, p. 29);

67 The special Indian Bureau High School and the general question of the
education of the American Indian (C. Pina, p. 190);

Methodological Questions

*Methodological questions, as a term, is used here to refer to those issues
that are primarily concerned with the procedural aspects of research.*

68 The definition of common problems in research needs, goals and objec-
tives (T. Cothran, p. 102);

69 The development of common guidelines for research proposals (T. Cothran,
p. 201);

70 The mutual establishment of research standards by school administrators
and researchers (T. Cothran, p. 76);

71 The inclusion of control groups in retraining studies (R. Dentler, p. 182);

72 The coordination of research in health, poverty, urban renewal and educa-
tion (T. Cothran, p. 150);

73 The utility and utilization of currently available data (L. Levine,
p. 117);

74 The need for emphasizing basic research (I. Katz, p. 205);

75. The inclusion of outside evaluation in governmental service programs
(L. Levine, p. 234);

76 The planning of evaluations at the start of programs (I. Katz, p. 76);

77 The development of a conceptual framework for the field of research en-
deavor in desegregation and integration in education (I. Katz, p. 257);

78 The inclusion of internal and external evaluation for all programs (T.
Cothran, p. 245);

New Approaches

New approaches, as a term, is used here to refer to ways and means of increasing research efforts.

79 The need for computer technologists with social science backgrounds

(T. Pettigrew, p. 198);

80 The need for political scientists, economists, anthropologists and

lawyers (W. Record, p. 205);

81 The development of unused talent in smaller schools and non-profit

institutions (T. Cothran, p. 202);

82 The recruitment of unaffiliated individuals (W. Record, p. 215);

83 The use of "grass roots" ideas (E. Gordon, p. 214);

84 The use of research corporations that are willing to take risks

(R. Dentler, p. 231);

85 The development of training institutes for junior investigators or those

new to the field (E. Gordon, p. 203);

86 The development of demonstration projects for action in specific situations, possibly through model building (J. Blue, p. 60);

87 The demonstration of the interplay of personal and social forces in a

single situation (T. Cothran, p. 62);

88 The development of meaningful research by genuine inquiry by policy

makers and/or those in conflict (R. Dentler, p. 210);

Action by the Office of Education

Action is used here to refer to steps the Office of Education might take to facilitate effective research.

89 The support and participation of the OE in meaningful research; also,

the arranging of access to schools (R. Dentler, p. 74);

90 The authorization for baseline data (J. Blue, P. 82);

91 The legalization of the collection of racial data; also, the establish-

ment of procedures for closing Negro schools and subsequent placement of

staffs (J. Blue, p. 89);

92 Greater coordination among Federal agencies in giving grants (T. Cothran,

p. 200);

93 The development of a procedure for treating research proposals from

social action groups (E. Gordon, p. 240);

94 A division of responsibility for research activity between OE and the

foundations (E. Gordon, p. 240);

95 The judgment of its actions or lack of actions by the OE itself (T.

Pettigrew, p. 179).

Omissions, Observations and Further Issues:

The conference on desegregation and integration in public education lasted

for two days and raised a large number of substantive issues for further re-

search, as well as several procedural ones. Not unnaturally, there are areas

for investigation which were not touched upon. Evidence is needed on the

causes of violence and its control in school desegregation situations. Peri-

odic checks on attitude in the population could pinpoint sources of resis-

tance. A look at various devices for implementing desegregation and their

relative usefulness in different settings; for example, bussing, pairing, re-

districting, educational parks, and so forth, would be available.

Chairman Edmund W. Gordon called for a division of responsibility be-

tween the Office of Education and the foundations for research in desegrega-

tion and integration. The response to this was somewhat caustic, indicating

that the active research interests of the foundations have been quite limited
in this area. Assuming wider activity by the foundations in the future, a
possible line of division might assign to the private groups a role as out-
side evaluators of public programs. -- There was no general response to the
question of research priorities, also raised by the chairman.

Some general sociological observations are necessary as a background
to the queries about social mobility. One of these is the extent of social
mobility in the United States in the 1960's. There is the related query
about the effectiveness of the most comprehensive integration programs cou-
pled with compensatory and other programs to overcome class differences of
the lower class child, be he white or Negro.

An examination of the universals of child development would be instruc-
tive. It would be helpful to be able to establish the critical point in the
child's life of his perception of the opportunity structure. The develop-
ment of self-esteem and its opposite should be looked at in the context of
desegregated schools both North and South. The perception of clear signals
of social acceptance and rejection by pupils in segregated and desegregated
schools should be investigated to include any relation to academic achieve-
ment. Similarly, the perception of ambiguous signals of social acceptance
or rejection by pupils in segregated and desegregated schools and their re-
lation to academic achievement might be studied. The social background of
Negro students in selected colleges should be viewed historically with a
follow-up on current residence, professional and community roles. If there
is not already, there should be research connected with the Ivy League and
prep school summer compensation programs to include analysis of admission

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procedures, pre-tests and follow-ups. The benefits accruing to white pupils
from desegregation and/or integration in wider awareness, knowledge, accep-
tance, tolerance, could use investigation. The setting of group achievement
goals as suggested by Coleman* and its effect on desegregation as well as
achievement ought to be studied in a laboratory school. Israeli experiences
with pupils from Arab countries might be instructive. We ought to look into
the accomplishments of peer group instruction in the context of desegregation.
The effect of intensive and frequent physical education programs on academic
achievement (similar to prep school study) should be observed in the context
of desegregation.

As part of organized research on the school the dynamics of faculty
meetings and department meetings should be included. White middle class
teacher attitudes toward white, lower class pupils and Negro lower class
pupils should be assessed together with Negro middle class teacher atti-
tudes toward the same two groups of pupils. The existence and origins of
grassroots ideas for school desegregation might be pursued. Participation
in school desegregation protests should be compared with those involving
such areas as voting, housing, transportation, accomodations, jobs, and
police brutality. Parental resistance to educational research should be
examined.

The attitude of the academic community toward schools of education
might be analyzed. The relationship between public education officials
and schools of education should be investigated focussing on both the tra-
ditional teacher training institutions and the newer MAT type programs.

The spectrum of opinion and social action in desegregation efforts

* Coleman, James S., "Academic Achievement and the Structure of Competition,"
chapter 5, in *Adolescents and the Schools*, Basic Books, New York, 1965.

should be observed among the researchers in the field. Are there any non-integrationists or anti-integrationists doing research in school desegregation outside of the South? Are researchers propagandists as well as scientists? Can they be both? An assessment of the initial involvement of desegregation researchers with the field might be of interest. In the realm of attitude change the leadership of the Office of Education is in a unique position to aid research. An analysis of the changes in outlook due to official position in such individuals as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Gardner, Assistant Secretary Keppel and Commissioner of Education Howe might be valuable.

Finally, in the realm of new approaches, simulation studies of the various issues proposed at the conference should be attempted, wherever applicable. The studies proposed should also be examined from the point of view of isolating independent variables.

INVITATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL CHANGE

AND THE ROLE OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENTISTS

*These proceedings were held May 4-6, 1966
at the Dinkler Motor Hotel, Atlanta.
They are adapted from the conference
sponsored by the Ferkauf Graduate School
of Education, Yeshiva University, and the
Southern Christian Leadership Conference.*

INVITATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL CHANGE

AND THE ROLE OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENTISTS

Friday, May 6, 1966

SYNTHESIS OF GROUP DISCUSSIONS

SYNTHESIS OF THE CONFERENCE

APPENDICES

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.:

THE SOCIAL ACTIVIST AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Throughout the last three and one-half centuries Negroes have occupied this
land we share today. Their occupation can be characterized chiefly by a
long and resolute struggle for freedom and human dignity.

In 1619 the first slaves were brought to America. The early 1860's saw
a civil war. This war, in a sense, brought emancipation to these slaves,
but an emancipation that is only now being faced up to by an aroused society.

A second, non-violent, civil war was necessary to begin this arousal of
the conscience of our nation. It has been called the "Negro Revolution" and
stems mainly from two pressures: one from without and one from within. The
one from without began with America's need to appeal to the rolling tide of
world opinion. As the leading conquering champion of democracy facing the
totalitarian cold war contender for world leadership, we needed allies from
among the colored peoples of the world. Even more did we need a less tar-
nished image of democracy as practiced here in these United States. The
eyes of the world were on us, some friendly, some hostile, and out of their
gaze grew the official necessity for a national conscience. The Judicial,
Executive, and Legislative branches of the Government at last became seri-
ously interested in the civil rights of all constituents.

Yet, the pressure from without would not have been enough. For some,
a way of life had grown up through decades and centuries of oppression -- a
way of life that assumed Negroes were a subhuman species and deserved sub-
servient status. While we had fought Fascism, racism, with a war, we failed

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to realize how deeply many of our citizens accepted its ideas. Nor was

this acceptance restricted to any single sun-soaked portion of the nation.

Historians long selectively neglected the role of Negroes in building America.

In fact, many Negroes built it with their minds as well as their backs. The

myth of the subservient, subintelligent Negro was perpetuated in our text-

books. Even Dick and Jane were always blue-eyed and fair complected. To

change as a stereotype, the people painted with that stereotype must break

it from within, which is exactly what happened. Racists had to reverse

their classifications. They had to because the so-called "subservient" Negro

was no longer taking orders. This so-called subintelligent Negro was com-

peting in college. The so-called subhuman Negro was showing more human

courage, compassion, and conviction than either race was accustomed to seeing.

Civil rights became rallying points for direct and strong non-violent action.

Non-violent courage was met with violence, and as the nation watched, a na-

tional conscience grew.

A pressure from within; a pressure from without. A Government comes

of moral age; its people grow with it.

The Need for Social Scientists

Today, the traffic light for freedom has changed from red to green, or so it

seems. But isn't it on amber still in too many places? For if it is, we must

be cautious here. With all the best intentions in the world, our light may

change back to red. Intent is not enough. A conscience with direction is a

conscience without a future. We need programs, directions, and plans for

carrying out the full realization of freedom for all people. For this direc-

tion, we, who have marched the streets for civil rights and for all of the

basic freedoms which we seek, now look to the nation's social scientists to
aid us in developing the specific programs, plans, and directions we must
have for social change.

We do not ask you to march by our side, although, as citizens, you are
free and welcome to do so. Rather, we ask you to focus on the fresh social
issues of our day; to move from observing operant learning, the psychology
of risk...to the test tubes of Watts, Harlem, Selma, and Bogalusa. We ask
you to make society's problems your laboratory. We ask you to translate your
data into direction -- direction for action.

It can be validly argued that during the past twelve years the findings
of social science have played a much smaller role than their potential might
lead us to hope for. Too many behavioral scientists have evinced little more
than esoteric, ivy-towered "after-the-fact" type concern with the civil
rights struggle. This lack of programmatic focusing of the spotlight of be-
havioral science's concern is all the more appalling in light of the fact
that this nation has been undergoing one of the greatest social transforma-
tions in its history. In the main, activists have been responsible for the
transformation of the past dozen years. Armed with their method of non-
violent direct action, social activists have changed many embedded customs,
provoked historic legislation, and have given new meaning to the American
dream of freedom for all men.

At the same time, however, it is true that the insights and findings of
psychological and sociological research have been crucial to the monumental
legal arguments exemplifed by the school segregation cases. The behavioral
data constituted an essential part of the Supreme Court's rationale in the

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Brown versus Board of Education decision of 1954. This decision, declaring
state-compelled segregation to be unconstitutional, came as an enlightened
pronouncement which ended the long night of legally-sanctioned racial injus-
tice, at least as far as education was concerned. The civil rights enthusi-
ast must be eternally grateful for the pioneering behavioral science work
which has been basic to that decision.

...Unfortunately, however, the ensuing years were not to see commensur-
ate contributions by students of human behavior despite the fact that the
next dozen years saw the civil rights issue catapulted to new and astounding
prominence. Presently, the Negro, both North and South, stands precariously
on the brink between fully taking his rightful place in American society,
and seeing his dream vanish amidst the subtle hard core prejudices and dis-
criminations that are less overt, but equally as damaging as the covert
discriminations and prejudices that were part of the Negro's life in the
South. The many subtle but firm social and economic barriers are leading
to frustration and smouldering resentment on the part of the Negro. This
resentment and frustration, prevalent wherever the Negro is attempting to
assume his rightful place in society, is at present even more pronounced in
the crowded urban centers and the ghettos of our larger cities. At such a
crucial time as this, then, the social scientist can render an invaluable
contribution to our social order by being a catalyst, by becoming an activist,
by stimulating, uplifting, reconciling, democratic change. In fact, in this
day of rapid change, the analytic work and recommendations of the behavioral
science scholar might well be indispensable to the salvaging of the American
democratic ideal of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" for all, re-
gardless of race, creed, or color.

Ways to Render Service

The social scientist might render such service by studying: (1) the civil rights struggle as a movement for social reform; (2) the nature and consequences of change brought about by the freedom movement for minority group activists and non-participants; (3) the attitudinal and behavioral consequences with the majority groups as a result of civil rights activity; (4) the implications of racial change for societal institutions and processes; (5) the hard core problem areas in the social fabric which remain pervaded by racial inequities. For example, let me posit some specific conerns and problem areas which I believe lend themselves to fruitful study by behavioral scientists and which may be touched on by one or more of the papers and comments of our participants during this conference. Study of such concerns could lead to programmatic recommendations which would hasten the dawning of racial justice and freedom in our land.

First, given the existence of fair employment laws and enforcement agencies in the North, what attitudes and actions within both the majority and minority groups are responsible for Negro unemployment being double that of white workers? To what extent is racial discrimination operative in employment hiring, firing, and promotion, and with what bearing upon the Negroes' disproportionate unemployment and underemployment? Most important -- what corrective steps can be taken?

Next, what courses of action are open in terms of institutional, attitudinal, and behavioral change which will ameliorate the impact that the stepped-up automation has in displacing thousands of persons weekly? (This, of course, means Negroes particularly, owing to their proportional preponderance in low and unskilled job categories.) How do existing attitudes and

predispositions of business and industrial personnel people, trade unionists,
governmental officials, impinge upon the prospects for amelioration?

Next, what steps are necessary to break down the ghetto walls and the
suburban curtain, especially in light of outbursts like those in Watts, and
how can racist conceptions, policies and practices of white residents, real
estate dealers and mortgage money institutions best be combatted?

Next, what is to be done about segregated education, northern style?...
What are the consequences of *de facto* segregation upon the "hearts and minds"
of Negro slum school pupils and white students in the cities and suburbs?
What can be done about the neighborhood school system, bussing, pupil trans-
fer plans, and with what consequences for learning? These issues do consti-
tute major concerns in the area of Negro education, and the resolution of
such problems is bound to have long-lasting effects, either advantageous or
otherwise, depending on the wisdom of the particular means taken.

The direction of resistance to current desegregation methods is often
dependent on geographical location. School bussing, for example, is strongly
opposed by those who can be categorized as segregationists in the North, but
is typically supported by segregationists in the South. This particular para-
dox does not reflect a difference in attitude but rather one of strategy.
In the North, neighborhoods are usually *de facto* segregated so that the
"neighborhood school concept" leads to school composition which reflects the
uniracial housing. On the other hand, southern neighborhoods are quite often
integrated racially. The South has no longer relied on tradition and law to
separate the races, since separate housing patterns were never widely needed
by segregationists to accomplish their goals. Now in these southern neighbor-
hoods, the "neighborhood" school concept is ignored. White children are

bussed to the more adequately equipped schools as a matter of course. Thus,
transporting children to distant schools finds support in Selma, opposition
in Chicago. The goals are the same, but the strategy varies with the context.

Can we not be as flexible in our approaches? Do we demand global approaches
to achieve our goals or must we also vary our approach to the circumstances?
Does the end justify the means? I think not. The means happen to be pre-
existent in the end. Yet we must vary our methods since resistance to change
always comes from more than one direction and, as exemplified by the bussing
attitudes, frequently stems from opposite directions simultaneously.

The Plight of Negro Schools, South and North

There is a problem to be encountered in the present state of Negro schools,
especially in the South, which is immediate and critical, and to which the
behavioral scientists might profitably turn their attention. Although we
realize that complete desegregation is an objective of many concerned citizens,
this cannot be accomplished in a day. Meanwhile, the present plight of
Southern Negro schools continues to forestall educational advancement of the
Negro generation for its eventual role in the American social, political,
economic, and cultural scene. Negro public schools in the South, and to a
great extent in the North, of which the city of Chicago is a classic example,
although desegregated in name, tend to remain Negro, with all of the previous
disadvantaging conditions still present. For example, a Prince Edward County
study of 1963 found that the schools provided for Negro children prior to de-
segregation were the same schools operative afterwards; virtually unchanged
tar-paper and broken-down frame shacks, possessing for their physical facili-
ties outdoor privies, wood stoves, and old-fashioned manual water pumps.

In most instances, the school buildings and furnishings were in disrepair.
Modern conveniences and teaching materials conducive to a healthy educational
environment were lacking. In Wilcox County, Alabama, much the same picture
is presented at the present time. There is a paucity of educational mater-
ials, and no library facilities. Many children complete their entire educa-
tional program without having the very minimum of library services available
to them. The entire school environment in Wilcox County is unconducive to
learning, and here, as elsewhere in the South (and often in the Northern
Negro neighborhood schools), the school child must become more concerned with
physical needs than with obtaining an education. Why? Because the means of
providing for these basic needs are so inadequate that he must concentrate
on their fulfillment rather than on education. The body feeds before the mind
and must be fed first. Therefore, while we need school desegregation, how can
we speak to the *immediate* problem of coping with the present terrible condi-
tions in the segregated "Negro" schools? However, we must keep in mind that
this is not an agreement for separate but equal schools, but a statement
that schools which have been reserved for Negroes need complete restructuring
during this transition period.

The southern sections of the United States are making rapid gains in
many areas that affect the poor and the formerly disenfranchised. The results
from some phases of the Alabama Democratic primary, for example, suggest that
the political nest of the South is in the process of being reconstructed.
However, our educational institutions which should be providing leadership
in this era of social transition are yet placing roadblocks in the path of
progress. The recent attacks on the Federal school desegregation guidelines
by southern educators and politicians, many of whom reside here in the State

of Georgia, strongly suggest that many southern educators are far more sensitive to the unfair biases of influential parents and local politicians than they are to the basic educational needs of all children. Educators in general, both North and South, have too long been quiet on integration and vocal in support of segregation. Many have also exhibited reluctance to accelerate the pace of school desegregation. Must it be necessary for social activists to once again take to the streets and demonstrate this time for quality-integrated education? Without a doubt, quality education is related to all of the objectives that concern social activists. Educators must once again use their training and skills to reshape unhealthy attitudes. Parents and educators must look even more objectively at the many positive benefits of school desegregation. Furthermore, meaningful programs that will benefit both the advantaged and disadvantaged must be established by skilled educators.

What About a Project Catch-Up?

This last year has seen government programs in special education of as high a caliber as Project Head Start come into existence. While covering the critical preschool years for disadvantaged children is a tremendously important first step, we must not forget about the disadvantaged teenagers and adults whose problem is even more immediate, more grave. Research has repeatedly demonstrated a *decline* in the measured intelligence of disadvantaged Negro school children as their age *increased*. The effects of neglect thus accumulate, leaving an even greater problem for those teachers attempting to educate children who have been ignored for a decade or more. By all means, let us expand Project Head Start, but isn't there also a need for a Project Catch-Up? The preschoolers have elder brothers and sisters, even mothers and fathers, who have suffered intellectual isolation even longer. Our responsibility

must be to the education of *all*. Our national integrity demands that his-
tory eventually show American intelligence to *increase* from full years of
environmental stimulation and challenge rather than to *decrease* from empty
years of frustation and boredom. That is another problem that must be dealt
with by concerned educators.

What about the Negro family, its too often matriarchal character, its
strengths, its weaknesses, the extended family, and welfare dependency?
What institutional changes can be effected to cope with discrimination in a
society leading to the so-called "breakdown" of the Negro family? Have Negro
families broken down in actual fact, or are they a major source of support?
Where this family support is lacking, how can social scientists assist in
overcoming this?

Next, what about the socio-pathological manifestations in the Negro com-
munity, the crime, the delinquency, the illegitimacy, the disease? What can
be done to eliminate the stereotypes so strongly held in the white community?
What can be done about the actual existence of Negro crime, disease, etc.,
that has been brought about by years of systematic oppression?

What are the socio-psychological implications of increasingly expanded
and awakening black communities in both northern and southern sections of the
United States, and with what possible political consequences for the social
order? What stifled needs are fulfilled by Black Nationalism? What are the
alternatives for political expression?

Next, what are the implications for the social order of the expanding
governmental commitment -- Federal, state, and local -- in such matters as
civil rights and anti-poverty programs? Should more be done, and in which
areas, and with what probable consequences?

Finally, what systematic action or research programs can behavioral scientists suggest to our educational institutions at large, and to the Federal Government, to cope with the massive socio-economic problems in Watts, Harlem, Southside and Westside Chicago, and all of the others. Do we need a domestic Marshall Plan? What specific roles can social scientists play in speaking to the problems mentioned above, from a programmatic point of view?

Activists have long been aware that the scientific world is concerned. Yet, we would like to encourage you to more actively translate this concern into programs that will address themselves to the many issues raised during this conference. May I say to you that, on the basis of what you have learned about human behavior, can you not give us some active guidelines for social change? That is what I have hopes we may accomplish here. Let us leave this meeting with some sound directions laid out. And I realize that your understanding of human behavior *and* the need for social change both grow from one year to the next. I propose an annual conference on the social science of social change. I propose it be built around behavioral activists and active behaviorists. I also propose, of course, that the year between meetings be filled with productive action. Let us meet every year, once a year, until we are fully satisfied with the society we bear responsibility for. Or, not achieving that, let us meet annually until the next generation, anxious for their freedom *now*, retires us to the sidelines.

We are marchers; we have begun to march; we cannot be stopped. Assist us in discovering the best route to our common goals.

Dr. Philip Hauser:

RESPONSE TO DR. KING'S REMARKS

...What would have happened had present methods employed by activists in behalf of civil rights -- the so-called Negro revolt -- occurred a half century ago, in 1910, or for that matter in 1920, and possibly even in 1930?

I would submit that the response of the American public, the President, and the Congress would have been considerably different, and the objectives would have been considerably different. I suggest that one of the reasons that the activist programs have achieved remarkable progress is, in part, attributable to the changes in the awareness, understanding, and education of the American public.

It is a significant thing that in 1940, when we first asked a question on years of schooling completed in the census of the United States, the average American adult had a grade school education. By 1960 -- within a period of 20 years -- the average adult American had achieved about two years of high school. By the time our next census is taken in 1970 the average American adult will be a high school graduate.

I would submit that a good many changes in the attitudes of the American public -- associated with not only the increased years of schooling but the content of that schooling -- has made the activist program an effective program in achieving objectives partly by reason of the contribution of the social sciences....For example, I think that the social sciences -- particularly social anthropology, sociology, social psychology -- have done a great deal

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to kill the myth of racial superiority. I think the average American in 1965 knows that this is just a lot of pish-posh and nonsense. And I think the average American in 1920 didn't know it.

I think the social sciences have contributed, also, in paving the way for an understanding of the significance of the social heritage as distinguished from the biological heritage; the fact that what determines the quality of a man is the opportunity he has for education, for the acquisition of skills. It's the kind of social heritage that is transmitted to him, and not the biological heritage through the genes and the genetic process. I think this has still got to permeate our population, our thought, our action much more widely than is the case.

But I think we have gained considerably in the last half century in this respect. Let me remind you that there has been and still is a large part of the American public that really believes differences are essentially due to a different genetic past....But it literally takes dozens of generations and perhaps millions of years to effect significan changes through the genetic process. However, we know that it takes only one generation to bring a people from complete illiteracy to the heights of education.

There's no nation on the face of the earth that has more definitely demonstrated that it is possible within one generation for people who are completely illiterate in any language to have offspring that reach the heights in the professions, in business, in politics. No nation has demonstrated this as well as we have. And I'm sure there are people in this room that have reached positions of eminence whose parents were completely illiterate.

The full significance of this has not yet sunk into the consciousness

of our society and into our body politic. We don't have to wait millions

of years to improve the quality of a population. What we need to do is

provide people with the opportunity for taking this quality on. It is my

conviction that the social sciences have contributed to an understanding

of this fact; to the responsibilities and tolerances that are required in

a pluralistic society; and to the great differentials in rates of change

in our cultural and social heritage.

William F. Ogburn's concept of "cultural lag" has given us much of an

understanding about the fact that social changes occur differentially, and

that some parts of our society can be way ahead of others. Now this has

implications for program. We have learned a good deal, incidentally, in

describing the characteristics and the roles of various components of our

population, including the Negro.

If you will forgive me, Dr. King, I have a personal anecdote here

that's quite relevant. In 1940 I was assistant chief of the United States

Population Census. In planning the census in 1938 and 1939, we not only

introduced the school question to which I have referred, but also a ques-

tion on wage or salary income. Those of us in the Bureau of the Census

who were responsible for this proposal were called on the carpet by com-

mittees on the Hill, including the census committee in the House of Repre-

sentatives. One of the committee members accused us of inserting these

questions because, if I may use his language, "It's designed by a lot of

New Deal radicals to get the niggers dissatisfied."

Now he knew whereof he spoke, because I think history has proved him

right. The fact is that successive censuses, which have been greatly in-

fluenced by social science, have carried information that has -- among

other things -- given the American people a faithful picture of the inequities and injustices....

Four Obstacles to Progress

Let me get to specific programmatic responses to the challenging questions and problems put by Dr. King....To my mind there are four major obstacles to progress on not only the race relations front, but on the American front with respect to improvements in education, with respect to improvements in levels of living, particularly for those elements that now do not have their fair share of the American way of life.

It's an ironic fact that the Negro revolt has disclosed not only the pathetic and tragic conditions of the Negro child, but it has disclosed the pathetic and tragic conditions of the inner-city child, white or Negro. The city child gets only half as much education as the suburban child when measured by per capita input, which -- in a monetary society -- isn't a bad measurement of the quality of education. And by the same standard, the child, white or Negro, in the inner-city gets not a second rate but a third rate education in metropolitan United States....

Opposition to Integration: First, I think we must face the fact -- and this has programmatic implications -- that there are large elements of the American people in the Federal, state and municipal governments, in the educational institutions -- including teachers' colleges -- who are definitely opposed to integration, or who are apathetic to making progress towards equality in educational opportunity.

Now, opposition and apathy to equal opportunity are facts of American life today. We must recognize these as facts, and the programmatic impli-

cations are to mount a campaign of corrective education to deal with them.
We need corrective education for the dominant majority of the white popula-
tion as much as we need compensatory education for the opportunity-deprived
Negro population.

Corrective education, among other things, would modify the distorted,
outmoded stereotypes of minority groups. It would be deliberately designed
to produce positive attitudes out of a basic understanding of the contribu-
tions of all minority groups to American life and to American society.
This might be done, not only through school materials, but through the mass
media of communication and other methods. In short, I think a program of
corrective education is a prerequisite to progress on other fronts.

The "Color Blind" Obstacle to Research: The second major obstacle is that
in setting up an ideal for a "color blind" society, we can afford to be
color blind en route. To attain a color blind society in the long run we
must have a color conscious society in the short run. The movement sever-
al years ago to strike Negro, race or color identification from all forms,
questionnaires and what not, has certainly boomeranged in a tremendous
fashion.

And its implications are clear from my anecdote about the House census
committee. When we get rid of identifying information we lose our ability
to get statistics, thus completely obscuring discriminatory practices and
frustrating any effort to ferret them out.

Actually what we need is a color conscious society in which deliberate
efforts are made to achieve the necessary admixture and integration in all
walks of life, and in which it is possible to audit what goes on so we have

the story of discrimination. Under the present situation any number of
scoundrels throughout the land are able, by reason of not having statistics
by color, to obscure what they're actually doing....

The Shortage of Money: A third obstacle is to be found in the pathetic
shortage of money on virtually all areas representing the objectives of the
civil rights movement. We are spending dollars where we should be spending
millions of dollars....

We have saved hundreds of millions of dollars in education, and have
literally been spending *billions* to mop up the failures of the educational
system in institutions concerned with delinquency and crime, with poverty,
with ADC, with high morbidity and mortality, with unemployment and so on
down the line....This affects white as well as Negro children.

On the educational front we see to it that the greatest per capita ex-
penditures in public schools are given to those children who need the least,
and that the lowest per capita expenditure for education is given to those
children who need it the most. If you set about to create an idiotic allo-
cation of resources, you couldn't do better than we've managed to do through-
out our national history. And this applies not only to education, but to
other fronts as well.

Inadequate Use of Federal Power: A fourth major obstacle to progress is to
be found in the inadequate use of federal power. Dr. King has given us one
good example in connection with bussing in the schools.

States rights is another example. What have states rights meant in
our history? States rights has pretty much meant -- "Keep the Federal gov-
ernment out of this and let us deal with our Negroes ourselves." It's a

very interesting thing, and again, an ironic thing, that the intrusion of the Federal government in urban renewal, public housing, transportation, civil rights, the schools -- in every case the sad fact is that the Federal government was forced to move into close collaboration with our municipalities because state governments have seen fit to become the fifth wheels of the American governmental system. State governments -- controlled by a dwindling rural minority have, in effect, forced Federal government intervention.

That situation still obtains. And as long as it obtains we must recognize that the way to resolve these problems is through more Federal government, not less Federal government, and that these 19th century stereotypes and slogans about keeping Federal government out of our affairs often turn out to be devices used to defend the status quo. They are not based on an analysis of the problems and consideration of what can be done to resolve them.

Economic Security and Welfare

Now apart from these four general obstacles, let me move to some specific areas. Let's look at the problem of economic security and welfare....Until we get a school system that transmits to every child a combination of basic skills, saleable skills and civic and social skills that enable him to stand on his own feet and assume the obligations as well as the rights of American citizenship, we're going to be forced to deal with the human failures of the educational system. It would be much more sensible to create the type of citizens we know how to create. It'll be another five years, ten years -- I hope not longer than that -- before our educational system

begins to produce a generation that can, in effect, stand on its own feet.

What happens in the meantime? Well, in the meantime we've got many human beings going through an inferior pipeline. We've got to do all kinds of patchwork and remediation to fix up what the schools haven't done right in the first place. We've got a generation without skills, increasingly incapable of standing on its own feet economically, in our kind of a technological order. And what do we do with them? We need to transmit to these victims of inferior education basic skills and saleable skills with which they, if still educable, can make their own living.

Then what do you do with the residue? And there will be a residue, by reason of age and the accumulated handicap of inferior education and training. What do you do with these handicapped people? Keep them on relief indefinitely? Programmatically, we need to adopt what I'd like to refer to as "intensive labor" programs. This is part of the transitional price we must pay -- the price we pay for our past mistakes, the sins we've inherited from our fathers. For this generation in transition, we are obliged as a society to create work. And there's a lot of useful work to be done. It can be done with whatever skills the handicapped residue may have....

The "Mass" and the "Elite" Negro

As recently as 1960, 78 per cent of adult Negroes had not completed high school; and 23 per cent had not completed fifth grade -- were "functionally illiterate." These data, along with other education and job statistics, present the problem of the mass Negro population.

But social scientists have unearthed another problem: that the greater the education and the higher the occupation of the Negro, the greater is the

disparity between his income and the income for whites with the same education and occupation. Thus we've got another kind of problem for the "elite" Negro -- who, in a sense, has broken through the barriers and acquired education -- that's quite different from the problem of the "mass" Negro. And this is the problem of discrimination. We need different programs to deal with the mass Negro problem, on the one hand, and the problem of the elite Negro -- the middle class, educated Negro -- on the other....

The Housing Problem

Let's look at housing. We know that housing problems are particularly hard on the Negro population. We know that the main reason we have slums is because in our free enterprise system it is possible to make a buck out of the slum. We will continue to have slums as long as we maintain a crazy-quilt situation in which it is profitable to produce and operate slums.

Yet even though we know how to get rid of the slums by taking the profit out of them, we fail to do this. Let me just give you one example: What happens if a landlord converts a property and greatly increases his income, then milks that property and doesn't maintain it? An obliging city decreases the property's assessed value and gives the landlord a tax cut for contri-buting to the deterioration of the city.

There are ways of dealing with this situation. We must redefine private property rights so that the rights of the society as a whole take precedence over the rights of individuals. We've been doing this throughout our national history. More of it remains to be done, so that there's no way to operate a slum profitably.

We must have a drastic revision of public housing. We realize now

that we've given hundreds of thousands of Negro families better physical

housing. But we have learned the hard way that we've created abnormal

communities. We have learned that high rise apartments have multiplied

many problems. In Chicago we have a public housing project down South

State Street as a monument to segregation for many decades to come....

The Negro Family

What about the Negro family? Here is an area that could stand much elabor-

ation. But let me make this quick, brief observation....I think the prob-

lem of the Negro family in a large measure is attributable to the fact that

in the history of this nation the Negro male has been systematically, so-

cially and economically emasculated. The Negro male has not been permitted

to perform the roles that are associated in our society with the male,

namely of being a provider and supporter of a family. He just never has

had the opportunity to make a living in any decent way and to earn a posi-

tion in his family and in society which was recognized as his own rightfully

gained position.

The target is clear enough. We need to adopt a whole series of mea-

sures that add up to a program of restoring the social and economic mascu-

linity of the Negro male. Nothing can do more in my judgment to restore

the Negro family than to give every Negro male some kind of steady income

flow that he earns by the labor force contribution he can make and not as

an inadequate dole.

The Role of Local Government

What about government? At the local level it is clear that many of the

problems that serve as barriers to progress on the civil rights front and to better living conditions for the Negro family are to be found in the fact that although we have metropolitan areas that are economic entities they are fragmented politically into literally hundreds -- in the two largest cases, over a thousand -- separate governmental units. In consequence there is little resemblance between the need for services -- including educational and other services within a metropolitan area -- and the ability to pay for them out of local tax resources. This is another reason why the Federal government has had to come in. What I'm saying is that a reconstitution of local government -- more specifically a metropolitan area approach -- must also be part of a program to help resolve a good many of the problems that afflict the Negro.

What Tasks for the Negro?

Now what about the Negro community itself? The Negro has come a long way in a relatively short time as measured by the time table of the past.

What does he do now? I would say there are many areas in which demonstrations are no longer accomplishing or going to accomplish anything. The Negro now has the tough problem of utilizing the doors that have been opened. It takes 18 years to become a high school graduate. It takes 22 years to become a college graduate. It takes more like 28 years to become an M. D. ready to practice. This means hard application over long periods of time for those who can get through the open door. It may continue to be very attractive to demonstrate as contrasted with, let us say, to buckle down to 22 years of hard school work. But there must now be developed the motivation and incentive to make use of these opening doors.

There are also other ways that the Negro can help himself. One of
the basic barriers to progress in the Negro community is -- in a sense --
the self-inflicted one of a high birth rate. It's really not self-
inflicted, for this is true throughout the world -- wherever there is
illiteracy, wherever there is great poverty, there are high birth rates.
Wherever there are high birth rates and limited savings, there can be only
limited investment per capita in what the economist is now calling "inves-
ment in human resources."

There has never been a people who didn't decrease their birth after
acquiring education and higher levels of living. And conversely, we've
yet to see the first demonstration of a mass population, steeped in illiter-
acy and poverty, that managed to cut its birth rate. And as long as the
birth rate is high, ceilings are set on education and other opportunities.

The Negro also must learn how to translate what he's done on the civil
rights front into political strength. Alabama and the South, in general,
are at present test cases. But in our large cities now the Negro has not
yet learned how to make local political machines *earn* the Negro vote instead
of *own* the Negro vote.

I think relatively little progress in many of our metropolitan areas
is directly attributable to the fact that the local machine feels it has
the Negro vote in its hip pocket. And until civil rights enthusiasm is also
demonstrated in political enthusiasm there's going to be relatively little
progress.

And finally, so far as the Negro's own program is concerned, it seems
to me there is going to be increasing need to distinguish between those ele-
ments of the establishment that aim to suppress the Negro, as distinguished

from those parts that are trying to help the Negro. And you don't bite those agencies and persons who are trying to help. This distinction should be easier and easier to make in the coming years.

What Tasks for the Social Scientist?

What about the social scientist? Significant problems were included in Dr. King's address. The most important conclusion is that the social scientist should, of course, increasingly devote his research to the relevant and significant problems.

The social scientist doesn't really qualify to be an activist. There are some social scientists you don't want to be activists. If some social scientists ever ran anything, you would regret it. But this does not mean that they cannot make a contribution. Those social scientists that are competent as activists should, of course, be free to work in activist roles as citizens. But I might respectfully suggest, that the social scientist who confuses the role of the citizen or the role of the social engineer with that of the social scientist generally ceases being a useful social scientist. It is possible to be both sometimes. But one must be aware of the fact that he's wearing a different hat in these different capacities.

My final observation is this -- and I think this has great programmatic significance. Pathetically ignorant as we are in the social sciences, I don't think I'm making a misstatement when I say that social science is far ahead of the social order in which we live. The reason for the many problems that afflict the Negro is not to be found in inadequate social science knowledge. It lies rather in the fact that society has not yet caught up; it is not yet ready to utilize existing social science knowledge.

And the programmatic implications here are clear. We certainly need much more knowledge, but we need also a mobilization of effort to use the knowledge we already have. We need mobilization on the political front. We need mobilization on the adult educational front and on the general attitudinal front to make society more receptive to using available knowledge. I'm convinced that if we use the knowledge we already have, we'll have a much better world in which to live.

Dr. Edmund W. Gordon:

RESPONSE TO DR. KING'S REMARKS

...Dr. King has delivered an eloquent plea for assistance from behavioral scientists. But let us not view his statement as a plea for help but as a call to action in the discharge by the behavioral scientist of urgent social responsibility. Periodically in the history of man the forces of social history combine to confront mankind with opportunities for advancing the cause of humanity at the same time that we advance the cause of science and knowledge.

The present period is such a time. The nation's advancement requires that we find solutions to certain problems in human relationships and democratic living. The nation's defense requires that we find solutions for certain problems related to the educational and social development of the total population and the achievement of intellectual excellence in a significant portion of that population.

The human rights values which are currently pursued under the banner of the civil rights struggle have forced this nation to give high priority to the resolution of these problems. Unlike any other period in our nation's history, substantial resources are now at least potentially available for the pursuit of these problems. Unlike any other period in our nation's history, organizational and institutional forms are emerging through which action and basic research directed at these problems can be pursued. And unlike any other period in the history of man, the technological capacity, the technological potential for solving some of the material problems which

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underlie the problems in educational and social development, this technology is available for implementation.

With proper planning and proper distribution and proper population control, we can produce the food, the commodities, the structures necessary for physical survival of man and only have to solve the problems related to the planning and distribution of these. The problems of physical survival are no long a major focus of attention for us. That is, they are no longer problems that require our major attention with respect to solution.

. The problems of social survival as opposed to physical survival now clearly confront us, and the forces of social history bid us come and apply our talents to their solution. There are many problems related to social action and social change, and particularly to educational and social development, which require attention.

Dr. King has called attention to some of these. However, in our search for help and for new ideas, it would be economical if we were to make better use of some of the ideas and knowledge currently available to us. While we wait for the researcher to develop new knowledge and more appropriate answers, the social activist cannot afford to devote so much time to action that time is not allowed for the systematic review of available knowledge, of available facts.

Each of you has received a summary statement prepared by Dr. Katz in connection with an earlier meeting in this series. Dr. Katz points to some of the ideas and findings from desegregation research, which are currently available. Social activists would do well to become conversant with these findings, to become familiar with this liter.ture.

On the other hand, those of us concerned with research development concurrently have the responsibility for conveying these ideas in a manner which is not only enlightening to our colleagues but which is of practical value to the activist. Dr. King has also called attention to some problems related to educational development. Among these are those which relate to school desegregation, to racial integration in education, to the improvement of educational opportunities in *de facto* and temporary situations of segregation.

However critical these problems may be, and they are urgent problems, long after we have solved those problems in education which relate to racial caste status, and the disadvantageous circumstances under which too many of our children exist, our society will be faced with problems of meeting the developmental and educational needs of people who vary along a variety of dimensions and who may require a wide variety of educational and developmental facilitation measures.

These problems will be complicated by changes in our society which will confront education with a monumental challenge. The new society will place demands on our citizens for competencies in information management, conceptual integration, human relations, creative self-management and self-expression, and in the nonviolent reconciliation of individual and national differences far beyond those which presently claim our attention.

As we pursue answers to urgent problems related to the initiation and achievement of social change, let us not be unaware of the need to begin to raise those questions which must be answered if we are to survive and advance with the products of change. It is history's challenge to the behavioral scientist to move man's discovery and knowledge of the facts of science suf-

ficiently ahead to lead the activist in the pursuit of change and to guide

man in the humanistic utilization of the products of change.

The pursuit of these facts is our unending task. Ivan Pavlov is re-
ported to have advised his students that ideas and theory are like the wings
of birds; they permit us to soar high up in the sky. But facts are the at-
mosphere against which these wings must beat, and without which the bird
plummets to the earth.

Dr. Lee S. Shulman:

RECONSTRUCTION IN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

A common interest has brought all of us here today. It is a concern with

the conditions under which we can most effectively change many forms of

human behavior. In fact, it is because we view as human *behavior* what many

others insist is human *nature* that we can discuss the topic of social

change. Somewhat paradoxically, it is in the nature of man to change

himself and others. This may be the essence of the difference between man

and beast.

As we move up the phylogenetic scale, we find that the period of child-

hood characteristic of the different species increases in length. Moving

from the less complex to the more complex organisms, the relative propor-

tions of instinct to learning as forces influencing behavior rapidly change,

until, with man, the role of learning is so central that the concept of in-

stinct becomes almost absent. The major discontinuity between our species

and all others lies in what McNeil has called this "systematic developmental

retardation."

> Indeed, the helplessness of human young must at first have been
> an extraordinary hazard to survival. But this handicap had com-
> pensations, which in the long run, redounded in truly extraordi-
> nary fashion to the advantage of mankind. For it opened wide
> the gates to the possibility of cultural as against merely bio-
> logical evolution...Biologically considered, the interesting
> mark of humanity was systematic developmental retardation, mak-
> ing the human child infantile in comparison to the normal pro-
> tohuman. But developmental retardation, of course, meant pro-
> longed plasticity, so that learning could be lengthened. There-
> by, the range of cultural as against mere biological evolution
> widened enormously; and humanity launched itself upon a bio-
> logically as well as historically extraordinary career...By
> permitting, indeed compelling, men to instruct their children

>in the arts of life, the prolonged period of infancy and child-
>hood made it possible for human communities to eventually raise
>themselves above the animal level from which they began.
>(McNeil, 1961; pp. 20-21)

Thus, the absence of instinct, the absence of prefabricated behavior patterns which program the organism and have him "ready to go" at a very early stage in his development, provide man with his most human characteristic; his educability.

So marked is the dependence of human young upon their elders that in our species we have come to create social and political institutions whose major role is that of optimizing the conditions under which our young can traverse this dangerous period and most fruitfully enter into adulthood. Such an institution is the school. This plasticity acts as a two-edged sword, for with plasticity comes not only the potential for limitless growth, but also the danger of inestimable damage.

Recognizing that man's education and the scope of his educability are the most uniquely human things about him, it seems only appropriate that those disciplines which purport to study man and his nature should concentrate rather heavily upon studies of his schooling. American psychology at the beginning of this century did precisely that. The great men of that period of American psychology, William James, E. L. Thorndike, G. S. Hall, Robert Woodworth, John Dewey and others, were vitally interested in studies of the educational process. Such investigations lay at the hear of American psychological thinking during that time. However, beginning with Lloyd Morgan's Canon ruling unobservable mental processes out of bound for psychological study, the discipline of scientific psychology in America was slowly transformed from James' 'Science of Mental Life" to Watson's "Science of

Behavior." And in that generally healthy antimentalistic revolution were

discarded, not only the bath-water of Titchener's introspectionism but also,

tragically, the baby of experimental educational research. Despite Thorn-

dike's continuing admonitions that the proper laboratory for the psycholo-

gist was the classroom, and its proper subject, the pupil, the study of in-

frahuman species and their behavior dominated psychology. It would be an

overstatement to assert that the study of school learning disappeared com-

pletely from the psychological map. Yet, it would be even more misleading

to deny that such studies now occupied a rather peripheral role in the de-

veloping tradition of American experimental psychology.

The only area of educational psychological research which remained

unscathed by this revolution was that of the then still infant investiga-

tions of mental measurement. This tradition, growing out of the work of

Binet and Simon, Cattell, Terman and others, continued to flourish and

received its greatest impetus from the success of mental testing during

World War I. The emphasis of this movement was quantitative and descrip-

tive. The objectives were the careful measurement of individual differences

in human abilities. The schism between the respective *Weltanschaungen* of

experimental psychology and mental measurement grew progressively wider,

and it was not totally inappropriate that for many years educational psy-

chology was identified with educational measurement, an observation whose

consequences we will examine a bit later.* It is only in the most recent

period that we have begun to see a reversal of these trends. The two tra-

ditions are once again beginning to coalesce. The major part of this paper

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* For a full discussion of the meaning and implications of this distinction,
cf. Cronbach (1957).

will be devoted to an examination of the most productive ways in which the aspects of each of these approaches to research that are most likely to yield fruitful consequences for education can be identified and acted upon.

A Model for Teaching and Transfer

It is somewhat disturbing to see how, in the history of education, so many promising ideas have become caricatures when carried both too far and too long. Probably the classic example of how a fine idea became caricatured when institutionalized was the progressive distortion of Dewey's original conceptions as they became institutionalized into Progressive Education. There is no need for me to go into a long description of the perversion of Dewey's ideas by progressive educators at this point. Suffice it to say that these kinds of distortions usually occur when we forget that the recommendation of changes must occur simultaneously at both an intellectual level and a rhetorical level. That is, while we recommend that practices change in a particular way, at the same time, since we want our audience to act on our ideas rather than just think about them, we must present these ideas in a manner likely to evoke the desired changes. In so doing, the principles of rhetoric demand of us that we overstate certain distinctions, set up as straw-men specific positions that we might otherwise view much less critically, and in general attempt to create an atmosphere which will most likely be receptive to our recommended changes. Too often, as was the case with Dewey, our listeners remember the arguments much better than the recommendations.

- A more recent example may be seen in one of the most pervasive themes in education, which is repeated in all text books and courses in the field;

the insistence upon behavioral definitions of objectives for instruction.
The emphasis of this position is upon "How do I want the observable be-
haviors of my students to change as a result of any given program of in-
struction?" On the whole, the effects of an insistence upon behavioral
statements of objectives have been very beneficial to education. They have
forced educators to think in great detail and with extreme precision about
the things they do and the results they seek. They have tended to discourage
the proliferation of platitudes and slogans as the basis for instructional
and currical decisions. They have also forced educators to consider much
more seriously the role of evaluation as an integral step in the instruc-
tional process.

In some ways, however, the emphasis upon the observable immediate be-
haviors of students has led to effects detrimental to clear thinking about
education. It has often led to thinking about instructional objectives
in terms of objective test items. We so often find ourselves asking not,
"What do you think these students ought ultimately to be able to do?", but
rather, "What kinds of items do you think these students ought to be able
to pass at the end of the instructional sequence?" Thus, instead of allow-
ing our major objectives to dictate the characteristics of the lessons pre-
sented and the assessments made, we have of late found ourselves in the
position of allowing the limitations of our evaluation instruments and our
measurement capabilities to delimit the scope of the objectives we raise.
This is somewhat parallel to the too-often exaggerated claim that test makers
are dictating the contents of the public school curriculum.

One of the critical things for teachers to recognize is that, except
in a few situations, the ultimate objectives of instruction are not to

change immediately observable behavior, so much as they are to modify the *likelihood* that certain of these behaviors will occur in certain other situations. Thus, the mother who slaps the hands of her infant when he approaches a hot stove is not only concerned with his immediate present actions. She is also interested in lowering the likelihood that he will subsequently approach, not only that stove, but other dangerous objects. The public school teacher who organizes 'citizenship' activities in her classroom, such as student government with meetings, elections and the like is, hopefully, concerned that the behaviors learned in that setting effectively transfer to the students' eventual political behavior as adults. Similarly, the observation that a teacher-in-training can, on an objective end-of-term test, give an appropriate response is significant only if her corresponding behaviors in the classroom are equally appropriate.

In the schools, we presently judge whether a given act of learning has taken place by examining whether, at a subsequent point in time within *essentially the same setting,* a pupil is able to respond appropriately to a given pattern of stimuli. Even though the particular test item we use is not identical to the learning task on which a given piece of instruction was transacted, the fact remains that the paper-and-pencil evaluation takes place in the same classroom under time pressure and in competition for goodies with other members of a group.

Ultimately, however, our objectives are to modify the likelihood that a given change in behavior will carry over to some situation *outside* the classroom. I think a simple formulation here would be in order. This formulation is that the likelihood that a given change in behavior will carry over from situation X, in which it was taught, to some other situation Y, is a direct

function of the similarity, both perceived and actual, between the teaching

situation (X) and the transfer setting (Y). To the extent that the teaching

situation is congruent with the desired transfer situation, the likelihood

will be high. To the extent that they are very dissimilar, the likelihood

of transfer is quite low. At least two factors are operating here. The

first is the extent to which the characteristics of the teaching situation

that call forth the desired pattern of responses are present in the transfer

situation. I may be perfectly capable of performing in a particular manner

when I recognize that I am in a situation which calls for such performance.

If, however, I am unable to recognize such a situation when it occurs because

it is so unlike the setting in which I was taught, the fact that I have

mastered that pattern of behaviors is irrelevant. I will not perform appro-

priately because I do not know that now is the time to do so.

A second factor interfering with appropriate performance in the trans-

fer situation is the presence of competing responses. As the transfer situ-

ation becomes less and less similar to the original teaching situation to

which we have been referring, the likelihood increases that it is becoming

more similar to some other teaching situation, whether formal or informal,

to which the student has been exposed. Growing out of these other teaching

situations are *other* sets of responses which can conceivably compete with

responses we have been teaching. For example, we understand that the lower-

class child is generally taught to speak a very different language in the

schools than he has learned at home. Which of these two kinds of language

emerge in a given situation will be a function of the competition between

these two total sets of responses. The winner of the competition is likely

to be that language pattern which was learned in a setting most similar to

the specific transfer situation at hand.

We must recognize that, in addition to the instructional setting and those to which the products of instruction must eventually transfer, there is yet a third setting which must be taken into consideration. There is that group of settings from which the student comes to us. Prior to any contact with formal instruction and coincident with that instruction throughout his school years, every student is being trained, albeit informally, to function in a matrix of home, family and peers which we might call his "primary environment." In this setting, he develops skills and strategies of learning, attitudes about himself and others, predispositions to react to a range of external demands, and all manner of other things which are directly parallel to the kinds of things we expect to teach him in the schools. It may be fruitful to view the likelihood that a given student will perform successfully in the classroom setting as a function of the similarity between his primary environment and that of the classroom. That is, just as the likelihood of successful transfer of learning to some ultimate outside pay-off setting is a consequence of the classroom-to-outside similarity, so the likelihood of successful performance in the classroom setting itself is a function of the similarity between that setting and the setting from which the student is coming, his primary environment.

Too often we view the students coming into our classrooms as examples of the classical *tabula rasa*, the blank slate of epistemology, upon which anything we write with the stylus of instruction cuts deeply and without interference. At best, we are willing to view the variability among students only in terms of individual differences in supposedly immutable characteristics, as exemplified by the usual interpretations of such

measures as I.Q. Thus, students are seen to differ in the speed with which this instructional stylus can write upon the wax of their minds and the amount of pressure we must apply to make a firm impression. Since such mental characteristics are 'obviously' not subject to instructional modification, we set up ability groups to which we assign these students and from which they are never likely to become paroled. That such groupings also, by some accident, happen to reflect the social and economic status differences among our students is considered of little interest. In such a manner does the school succeed in preserving the social and cultural *status quo.*

We thus see that success in coping with the demands of the school setting is a function of the similarity between primary and school environments. For some children, the school setting is simply a continuation of the kinds of demands, expectations and rewards which characterize their home environments. For others, the school and the primary environments are literally two different worlds with little chance of fruitful transfer.

In summary, we observe that adequately to examine the nature of instruction requires that we attend closely to more than the activities of teachers and students in the classroom, for this is but one of the three critical settings through which students are moving in the educational process. Instead, we must view education in terms of the complex interrelationships among the primary, the instructional and the transfer settings. The important questions of education are questions of how we can facilitate the movement of students among these environments.

The Study of Environments*

We are, as social scientists, dramatically impotent in our abilities to characterize environments. Generally, we do not even try. It should, by now, be a truism to point out that neither individuals nor groups can be adequately described without reference to some setting. Thus, for Dewey the starting point of his discussions, be they of education or aesthetics, was always 'some organism in some environment.' Henry Murray (1938) posited two equally important categories for his studies of personality: *needs* and *press,* i.e., person variables and environment variables. The language of the behavioral sciences is in great need of a set of terms for describing environments that is as articulated, specific and functional as those we already possess for characterizing individuals.

An example that is close to all of us is the continued use of such gross terms as "deprived" or "disadvantaged" to characterize the environments out of which come many of the children of the poor. Labelling the setting as "disadvantaged" does not, of course, tell one anything about the characteristics of that environment. Yet, we seem unable to progress beyond such simple dichotomies as "advantaged-disadvantaged." Reviewers and critics of research are finally beginning to realize that even those few categories which attempt to describe environments, such as *social class,* have been remarkably ineffectual in pinpointing the relevant differences in the backgrounds of individuals. (Karp and Sigel, 1965).

Imagine what the field of nutrition would look like if the nutritionist, in his attempts to characterize the nutritional status of the diets

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* Much of the content of the ensuing section has been greatly influenced by the thinking of Benjamin S. Bloom (1964).

of individuals, were to be limited to a distinction between well-nourished and malnourished individuals. We would be quite skeptical of the value of generalizations such as "malnourished individuals have a higher incidence of respiratory ailments than well nourished," or "well-nourished subjects were observed to run significantly faster than malnourished subjects." Yet, are our pronouncements about all the differences between culturally-deprived and culturally-advantaged children any more fruitful? And are the myriadic studies contrasting lower-class and middle-class youngsters of any greater value? Such descriptive studies do not begin to suggest the necessary in- gredients of experimental programs to change the conditions. Do we simply change all lower-class people to the middle-class?

The nutritionist can describe the nutritional environment of individuals in terms of caloric content, relative proportions of carbohydrates, fats and protein, the presence or absence of quantities of vitamins and minerals, etc. Possessing these kinds of precise terms allows him to plan ways of modifying the nutritional status of individuals in terms of highly complex, yet manageable patterns. Attaining such a level of facility in characteriz- ing the *educationally-relevant* facets of environments should be one of the major goals of educational research. Without such an understanding, we are clearly handicapped in any attempt to make intelligent comparisons among proposed educational programs, (such as Headstart models) for these programs themselves are no more than carefully planned environments.

A number of behavioral scientists have begun to study the character- istics of environments in a systematic fashion. Among these, the work of Bloom (1964) is of special interest. Bloom reports many instances of great

improvement in the effectiveness of academic predictions when measures of
the intervening environments are taken into account in the prediction equa-
tions. He emphasizes that we must replace our older, static terms for de-
scribing environments (e.g., social class) with dynamic, process variables
(e.g., achievement press). As evidence for this assertion, he cites the
research of Dave (1963) and Wolf (1964). The goal of all such predictive
research should be, Bloom maintains, not the inexorable stamping of unavoid-
able fates on helpless children, but the identification of the critical pro-
cesses contributing to those fates. Given an understanding of the process
variables most responsible for the ultimate status of individuals in some
growth area, we can begin to develop effective methods of modifying those
processes and, hence, destroying the accuracy of our own predictions.

The work of Roger Barker and his colleagues (1965) reflects a totally
different set of strategies for studying the environment; those of ecologi-
cal psychology. Pace and Stern (1958) have applied the tools of psychologi-
cal measurement to the task of characterizing the essential differences be-
tween college environments. Jules Henry (1963) has used the methods of an-
thropological investigations to study the home and school as elements of
culture. From his work has come the compelling concept of the "hidden curri-
culum" in the middle-class home. It is only through such environment-centered
research that behavioral scientists can develop adequate terms to describe
the relevant attributes of the three educational environments which were
discussed earlier; the primary, instructional and transfer settings.

From the still sparse literature on the relationships between environmen-
tal variables and behavior, I shall now discuss two areas that seem most cruc-
ial; the development of language and the development of motivational patterns.

Language

It is quite clear that one of the major ways in which those children whom we label 'disadvantaged' differ from other children is in their inability to use language effectively. Whereas for the middle-class child language is a flexible tool which broadens the range of activities he can perform effectively, for the lower-class child language more often acts as a set of limiting conditions, constricting his activities rather than opening them up. Jensen and Rohwer (1963) have reported that the superiority of a group of culturally advantaged youngsters in a paired-associates task is probably due to the availability to them of verbal mediators which are unavailable to disadvantaged children. Martin (1965) has demonstrated that mentally retarded subjects can perform as well on a paired-associates task as subjects of normal intelligence if they are supplied the verbal mediators necessary for effective performance. When these mediators, which Martin calls "associative strategies," are supplied to the retarded subjects, the learning curves for the groups coalesce. Hence, the language deficits manifested by children who learn less effectively can probably be reversed by proper training. But what is likely to be the reason for these language deficits?

Loban (1965) presents developmental evidence of the greater language proficiency of middle-class children. Milner (1951) and Strodtbeck (1965) suggest that, in addition to the models of language which the parents of these children present in the home, a major cause of language deficits among lower-class children is the general pattern of parent-child relations. Strodtbeck describes the absence of conditions in the lower-class home in which the child can use language as a bargaining tool. Language, in

these situations, is viewed as an intrusion rather than a tool. Thus, two

aspects of environment will require intensive study if we are better to

understand the language development of disadvantaged children: the nature

of the language models in the primary environment to whom the children are

exposed and respond, and the kinds of interactions among the family members

in which language plays a part.

Motivation

Discussions of motivation usually revolve around problems of action. Parents

and teachers express concern that pupils should want to 'do something' rather

than just 'sit there.' Ironically, the major motivational problem of the poor

speaker and learner may be the very opposite. He must be taught, not to act,

but to withold action. Dewey (1938) described the first stage of the process

of inquiry as the delay of action. One must stop before he can think. Recent

studies by Kagan, *et al* (1964) have contrasted impulsive children, who delay

but a short time before attempting to solve problems of high stimulus-uncer-

tainty, with reflective children, who wait much longer before making their

first response. The observed styles are extremely stable and the reflectives

make far fewer errors. Kagan (1966) has reported an additional study which

suggests that lower-class subjects are far more impulsive than middle-class.

This is confirmed by many other reported findings of less ability to delay

immediate gratification on the part of lower-class individuals.

There is a close relation, I believe, between the language problems

discussed earlier and the problem of delay. Those who study the relation-

ships between learning and language usually speak of the availability to

the learner of the appropriate 'mediators.' To 'mediate' is to be in the

middle of something. It is also the opposite of 'immediate.' Hence, the

problem of finding the appropriate language form to put into the middle

of something that must be learned is ultimately double-barrelled. One must

be capable of delay, which is the suppression of the impulse to respond *im-

mediately*, and one must possess the language tools with which the ensuing de-

lay can be utilized most productively.

The capacity to delay and the capacity to use language effectively are

bound up together as underpinnings of human intelligence and academic achieve-

ment. Our research responsibility is to discover those environmental process

variables that account for individual differences in those capacities and

to use that knowledge to modify the development of young children.

Reconstruction in Research Strategy

In order to cope with these and other educationally relevant problems, be-

havioral scientists will have to dispense with many of the comfortable ap-

proaches to science which have heretofore characterized their scholarly en-

deavers. The greatest part of education involves learning by children in

groups. I have no doubt that the classical theories with which we ply our

teachers-in-training and graduate students are quite poverty-stricken in their

abilities to illuminate such educational processes. The relationship we

discussed earlier between the situation in which something is taught and

the likelihood of its effective transfer to some other situation holds here

as well. To the extent that research is conducted in a setting similar in

its characteristics to the school situation, to that extent you will get

reasonable extrapolations and applications from it to the classroom milieu.

Given this information, it should be no surprise that the history of
behavioral science research in education is not particularly glorious. The
many differences between the human learning laboratory and the typical class-
room are numerous. Needless to say, the differences between the animal
learning laboratory and the classroom are far greater. Yet, we have been
all too quick to generalize from even the latter setting to classroom be-
havior. In discussing the inadequacy of psychoanalysis as a general person-
ality theory, Bruno Bettelheim (1960) cites quite parallel conditions. He
points out that psychoanalysis was doomed to failure as a general personal-
ity theory because all of its generalizations were extrapolations from that
most restricted of experimental settings, the psychoanalytic couch. In the
same manner, does it not seem presumptuous to expect that a learning theory
based upon evidence from the T-maze, the pigeon's press-bar or the memory
drum can effectively be used to direct the planning of that most complex
of human endeavors, the typical classroom?

The questions of education are ultimately experimental. We ask what
the optimal conditions are for evoking a desired set of behavior changes
in children. Yet, it is quite striking that whereas our major educational
problems are clearly experimental, the dominant psychological tradition in
education has been descriptive and correlational. The one consistent theme
in educational research for the past 65 years has been psychometric. From
Binet to Project Talent, the emphasis has been upon the measurement and
prediction of individual differences among children. And, though usually
not stated explicitly as such, a feeling about the immutability of these
characteristics accompanies this tradition. Even now, as we examine the
literature on education for socially disadvantaged children, we find that

the majority of the studies have been attempts to identify and describe the differences between advantaged and disadvantaged subjects. Gordon (1965) in his review of literature on education for the socially disadvantaged, finds it necessary to point out that the observation that a set of variables covary under a particular set of circumstances does not at all demonstrate that by modifying one we will necessarily cause a change in the other. Thus, these correlational studies give us not one bit of evidence about causation and hence no real help in planning strategies of interference for modifying the developmental paths of the children who are being studied. It is when such "experimental" answers are extrapolated from correlationally-studied questions that we contribute to the growing mythology which controls so much of our behavior as educators.

Examples of such myths surround us in poignant abundance. We are told that middle-class teachers are incapable of successfully teaching lower-class children. Yet, not only is there no experimental evidence to confirm that assertion, there is considerable evidence that becoming a teacher renders any ostensibly lower-class individual a member of the middle class. Another kind of myth pervades the reading area. We are told by countless teachers that no child can learn to read if he has not reached a mental age of six and one-half. Needless to say, here again the absence of experimental evidence is dramatic. Contemporary education has created its own massive Olympus upon which the multitude of pedagogical gods, equally devoid of empirical bases, constantly do battle. Our problem is to discover approaches to research in education that will remedy this shameful state.

Research in education will have to turn its back upon the safe and sterile surroundings of the laboratory and address itself to that most threaten-

ing of settings for the educational researcher, the classroom. Instead of
viewing experimental treatments in terms of single variables, such as "nur-
sery-school" versus "no nursery-school" or "discovery" versus "rote," we
must begin to contrast total educational approaches, e.g. curricula or their
parts. In so doing, however, we cannot simply bootleg in methodologies from
other disciplines on the premise that they will work for our problems as well
as they have worked for others. The story is told of the man who came upon
Calvary on that fateful day, and stopped for a few moments to witness the
crucifixion. As he turned to leave, he happened to spy, on a distant hill,
three more crosses with men being crucified upon each. He turned to another
man who appeared to be some kind of official and asked, "I have heard about
what is taking place here at Calvary, but can you tell me what is happening
out there on that other hill?" The official turned to him and replied, "Of
course. That's our control group!"

For our present purposes, the concept of a set of experimental groups
which are equivalent to each other in all matters save one dimension whose
effect is being studied, all of which are in turn compared to some 'control
group' is probably an anachronism. Cronbach (in press) has pointed out that
on those rare occasions when an expensive and slowly developed new curriculum
is subjected to intensive evaluation, the pattern usually looks something
like this. The new materials, which are the results of a team of scholars
and educators spending millions of dollars over a period of years, are con-
trasted with what Mr. Jones, the chemistry teacher, has been doing for the
last decade. To no one's surprise, the new materials come out smelling like
a rose. Yet, no one considers the possibility that an equivalent amount of
time expended upon improving whatever it is that Mr. Jones has been doing

for ten years might yield equally dramatic results for his methods. We must forget the conception of clean control groups and replace it with the notion of comparing, under reasonably controlled conditions, the best examples of educational conditions we can find which, in fact, are alternatives for us. In Cronbach's words, if you wish to compare a camel with a horse, find the best example you can of each and compare them. You don't get two camels and cut the hump off of one.

Because of the fact that educational programs are far more complex than the present psychological theories which purport to explain the teaching-learning process, it might be in the long range interest of both psychological theory and education to ignore those theories for the moment and proceed along an atheoretical path in the study of education. If we but look around, we will see that in contrast to our theoretical impotence, we do not lack for ideas and even numerous successes in the teaching of many things to a wide variety of children. In fact, were there not a fairly large proportion of successful teaching experiences with working class children, a strikingly large proportion of those of us present today would not be here. What we must do is construct new educational programs around the principles which we *think* are operating in presently successful educational programs, and then enter into the schools and begin engineering like mad. We must compare and contrast, not tightly controlled treatments whose differences are based upon psychological theories, but rather total programs, each of which is seen as the best example we can now present of some particular approach. We may find the myriad of existing descriptive studies useful in this endeavor, but probably only as general guides.

What ought to be the new characteristics of this new breed of research strategies with which I would replace our presently nonexistent or shopworn collection? Just as I previously delineated a few of the substantive research areas most likely to yield results relevant to effective social planning, I will now attempt to describe a few of the general research strategies which I feel have the greatest promise for effective educational research.

The three such strategies which I would like to discuss are (1) the experimental-longitudinal strategy, (2) the epidemiological strategy and (3) the engineering strategy.

Experimental-longitudinal designs are studies in which we examine the long-term effects of continued educational programs. As with experiments in general, we attempt to equate the groups of subjects at the beginning of the study. That is, either through randomization or careful selection, we identify equivalent groups of children for each of the treatment programs. Unlike the typical experiment, however, we are looking at the cumulative effects of ongoing programs rather than the one-shot effects of a single exposure. Hence, the educational program is something that continues over a period of months or years. The evaluation of these programs likewise is continuous. The criterion variables would be broadly stated to cover as wide a possible range of relevant behaviors on the parts of the children as possible. All attempts would be made to insure that the experimental purity of the groups would be maintained, just as in any experiment.

Epidemiological strategies grow out of the kind of research often conducted in the public health field. Often an epidemic of some disease will spread through an area very rapidly, affecting some parts of the population

and leaving others unscathed. An important question raised here is what distinguished those who were susceptible to the disease from those who emerged unharmed. Likewise, in studies of such social phenomena as delinquency, it appears that some people may come from a given environment and turn to crime while others, ostensibly from the same setting, turn to more socially acceptable activities.

I believe we are warranted in inferring that while, in either case, the two groups in question may appear to come from the same setting, there are some significant differences betweeen the two. Although we did not create these two groups experimentally, we can ask and find answers to a number of highly critical questions by identifying representative members of the two groups and attempting to analyze back and discover all of the differences between them. From such an analysis, hopefully will come working hypotheses about the kinds of purposeful differences in treatments we might develop either to raise the probability of immunity or the development of socially acceptable behavior patterns on the parts of future individuals. These hypotheses could, in turn, be tested experimentally in experimental-longitudinal designs.

Thus, instead of becoming satisfied with distinctions between lower and middle class, or advantaged and disadvantaged children, we should recognize the fact that whenever differences between such groups are discovered there is usually a high degree of overlap between the samples. For example, there are many lower-class children that do far better on intelligence tests than many middle-class children. In the epidemiological strategy, we would differentiate those lower class children who do poorly from those who do well and attempt to identify, in the much more precise environmental process terms

discussed earlier, the differences between these parts of our general lower-class group. We will probably find that those differences we discover are far more functional for the planning of educational interference programs than the kind usually generated by our standard lower-class/middle-class comparisons.

Engineering strategies are also the "try it and then analyze back" variety. One way of doing this is to go out into the field and identify teachers or programs that appear to give some consensual feeling that they are being successful with a given group of children for whom we have no systematic theories of instructional effectiveness. By careful analysis of what the teachers who appear to succeed with some groups do in contrast with those who do not, we might identify some principles which could subsequently be tested with experimental-longitudinal designs. Another variation on the engineering strategy is simply to go out and try, without any particular recourse to prior theorizing, a whole range of instructional approaches until we find a few that seem to be particularly effective. Having then identified those that are effective, we can subsequently reflect about them and analyze them to try to discover the principles which distinguished them from the ineffective methods.

The time has also arrived for educational researchers to divest themselves of the yoke of statistical hypothesis testing. Rather than set arbitrary levels of statistical significance against which our findings are tested, we must be prepared to identify the range of differences observed in an experiment that will have pedagogical or developmental significance. The appropriate research strategy here is not statistical significance testing wherein we demonstrate that our findings are unlikely to have occurred through

sheer good fortune, but rather the strategy of *replication*, wherein we demonstrate that we can reproduce our results, whatever their magnitude, whenever we feel so inclined.

The kinds of strategies I have just described are not noteworthy for their elegance or symmetry, nor for their parallel to the great and time-honored traditions of the physical sciences. Yet, the time has clearly come when we must stop using methodological preconceptions as the starting points for our research strategies and begin allowing the *problems* for which we seek solutions to dictate the most reasonable strategies for finding answers. If we wish to modify what happens in classrooms, we must study classrooms. If we are concerned with the cumulative effects of long-term programs, we must study programs over the long haul. Similar reappraisals of many of the major issues in psychology and education are currently taking place. (Shulman and Keislar, in press).

Studies of this kind are in vivid contrast to the type most often reinforced in academic circles. These latter studies are usually short, quick, and speedily analyzed. They are tightly designed with all variables well controlled. The experimental treatments can be administered in a matter of minutes or hours and the results are assessed immediately thereafter. They are as unlike the form of experiment we have been discussing as they are unlike anything that happens to children in real classrooms. Yet, on the grounds that the greater complexity of classroom activities constitute no more than a series of these more simple operations sequentially linked together to form a curriculum, the argument is made that such strategies of research are justified for educational investigations.

We must recognize, however, that there is also a network of institutions which work to reinforce this approach to research. As long as the academic setting is one where the patterns of reinforcement are contingent upon number of articles published by an investigator, rather than the relevance and quality of his investigations; as long as the overwhelming proportion of studies conducted in this country are one-shot doctoral dissertations designed to collect the most data in the shortest time, we will continue to encourage the type of research I have described. What is needed is more than a change in the way in which we train the next generation of researchers. We need a revolution in the kinds of criteria utilized by administrators who judge the quality of academic performance and parcel out the subsequent monetary and status rewards.

I can well imagine the following discussion between two pigeons in Skinner's laboratory:

Pigeon A: Say, how are you coming along on that novel you've been working on?

Pigeon B: I'm ashamed to admit it, but I've been so busy playing ping-pong lately, I haven't had a moment to write.

Pigeon A: Why, that's terrible. You told me that your novel was the most significant thing you would ever do.

Pigeon B: I know, and I still feel that way. But look, a bird's got to eat.

Note that this is not another repetition of the frequent complaints against "publish or perish" traditions in our universities. It is about time those who are active in research pointed out that the university professor's moral responsibility to further the growth of his discipline is at least as great as his responsibility to teach his students. In an era where social change stands out as one of the major goals of our society, the men who possess the skills necessary to identify the most effective conditions

for change must be encouraged to apply all their energies to such investigations. Research is not an indecent luxury enjoyed by the idle intellectual who wishes to be spared the burden of teaching undergraduates.

David Hawkins (in press) has suggested that the likely value of a piece of research is a direct function of the amount of preparation needed before it can begin. This is very true of the needed research in education. The designs we need are both experimental and longitudinal. We must look at the effects of long-term programs as they affect groups of students over relatively prolonged periods. Extrapolations from short-term studies to long-term programs are based upon additive notions about the effects of experience that are tenuous, at best. Yet, in order to reinforce the conduct of such investigations, the men who are in charge of passing out the reinforcements will have to modify their criteria.

Final Remarks

In this paper, I have attempted to discuss needed changes in the strategies and contents of educational research in terms of a model describing the processes of education. In this model, we suggested that the educational system in which the student functions is composed of three settings. These settings include his primary environment, the instructional environment and the eventual tranfer environments. To the extent that there is congruence among the elements of these settings, the educational process functions effectively. To the extent that the elements of these are discontinuous with each other, the process may break down at any one of a number of points.

Three specific research problem areas were examined because it was felt that these represented the most critical immediate areas for study in education.

These included careful studies of differences among environments, studies of the acquisition and use of language and studies of the modification of motivational patterns.

We then examined a number of research strategies which might yield more fruitful findings for educational application. It may be important at this point to indicate that I am not advocating here the conduct of only applied investigations. The purpose of research in the behavioral sciences is the acquisition of knowledge about human behavior. But knowledge can be of many kinds. Among these, a distinction can be made between "knowledge of" and "knowledge for." That is, it is possible to conduct truly basic research, yet select as the variables under investigation conditions that are amenable to change and hence can serve as input for educational programs and experimental study. I am suggesting that when an investigator embarks upon a study in which he will compare the performance of a number of groups in an area in which there are some important social ramifications to such differences, he selects for study variables that can be influenced. Instead of comparing in terms of white versus Negro or lower-class versus middle-class distinctions, can he not identify some meaningful process-terms and compare groups distributed along those dimensions?

This is still, I maintain, basic research. It need not suffer in some "status derby" because, though basic, it is also knowledge *for* some other purpose. In some circles, the very thought that the products of one's basic investigations might be trammeled by use in some practical setting traumatizes the researcher. Must we always fall back on allusions to Fleming-like serendipity as justifications of basic research? And must a basic researcher's planning of his investigations so that his findings might have relevance in

the "knowledge for" realm disqualify him as a *bona fide* basic investigator?

With Dewey, I feel strongly that the most basic questions of theory are also the most applied for students of human behavior. They all revolve around the question, "What are the optimal conditions for human growth?" He who asks and finds answers to that questions is making the most important contributions both to the behavioral sciences and to effective education.

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Dr. J. Kenneth Morland:

RESPONSE TO DR. SHULMAN'S REMARKS

Professor Shulman's paper is a creative, thoughtful, and at the same time,
provocative statement regarding the direction in which educational research
should go. There are many ideas with which I find myself in agreement, and
in my response I am tempted to add my support to them. However, I prefer to
turn to parts of the paper about which I have some question and on which I
would like clarification and discussion. This is in accord with what I feel
that a conference of this sort has as a major purpose; namely, the clearing
of ground and the giving of perspective.

Basic Versus Applied Research

The first of these questions concerns the role of the behavioral scientist in
implementing social change in the area of education and thereby involves us
with the title of the conference. Dr. Shulman does not deal with this ques-
tion of role directly, but he does touch upon it indirectly toward the end
of this paper when he states that in suggesting various types of research
he is advocating not only applied investigations but basic research as well.
He goes ahead to say that while the purpose of research in the behavioral
sciences is the acquisition of knowledge about human behavior, there are many
kinds of knowledge, including "knowledge of" and "knowledge for." However,
after making this distinction, Dr. Shulman then proceeds to blur it -- at
least for me -- by adding, "It is impossible to conduct truly basic research,
yet select variables under investigation conditions that are amenable to change
and hence can serve as input for educational programs and experimental study."

I'm not sure that I agree, although clarification of exactly what is meant would no doubt help.

I feel that a distinction needs to be maintained between the role of the behavioral scientist in carrying out basic research and his role in conducting applied research. My chief reason for taking this position is that I do not believe that theoretical and practical problems can be studied at the same time; furthermore, I do not feel that it is profitable even to try to do so. Basic and applied research have different goals and serve different functions. The goal of basic research is toward the refinement of theory. Of course the knowledge gained may be used to help with a practical problem, but this becomes application at a different time and in a different context. The goal of applied research is to solve a particular practical problem. It may draw upon knowledge and techniques from basic research -- indeed, if it does not, it would probably be ineffective -- and it may serve as a means of pragmatic testing of theory and of suggesting hypotheses for further study. In these ways applied research can make an indirect contribution to the building of theory. However, its primary aim is to solve a current, usually pressing problem.

There is another difference. The values that enter into the choice of doing theoretical research differ from those that enter into the choice of carrying out applied research. In the latter a value judgment about the desirability of a particular alteration in behavior is made, while in the former it is the value of the increasing of knowledge itself that is primary. These are two different kinds of judgment, in my opinion, and cast the behavioral scientist in two different roles. As has already been indicated, I think that both are important in implementing social change -- applied

research being directly related to such implementation and fundamental research, indirectly related. And I agree with Dr. Shulman that to get into a "status derby" in trying to determine which is more important is foolish and fruitless.

I believe furthermore that when behavioral scientists seek to implement social change, they are acting in their applied or practical role. This means they are making non-scientific value decisions to use their skills to help bring about a particular end they consider desirable in the society. I feel that such a value decision is made when we conduct educational research in order to bring about "optimal conditions for human growth." In fact, any goal of research other than the development of theory is not, in my opinion, basic or fundamental research. Now I warmly share this goal of educational research with Dr. Shulman, and most of the rest of what I have to say will talk about ways to obtain it. However, what I will be presenting later is applied research, directed toward the goal of developing the talent of all children.

Perhaps you will protest that I am trying to draw too sharp a line between the roles of social scientists in basic and applied research. But I feel that the distinction becomes especially important in the light of the disagreement among a number of behavioral scientists over the question of whether or not the behavioral scientist has any responsibility or obligation as a scientist to apply his research or use his skills in what he considers to be socially constructive endeavors. This issue continues to be a matter of lively debate.

The issue was discussed, for example, at the 1961 annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems at a session on the responsibilities of sociologists, and it was the chief issue in the presidential address

at that meeting by Alvin W. Gouldner of Washington University who spoke on "The Conception of a Value-Free Social Science as an Ideology." In addition, The Society for Applied Anthropology devoted most of a recent issue of *Human Organization* to presentations made at a symposium entitled, "Values in Action," which dealt with problems of the roles of anthropologists in applied fields. And the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues sponsored a symposium entitled, "The Roles of Social Science in Desegregation," the results of which were published in August of 1958. A recurring issue in these symposia is whether or not the social scientist has the obligation not only to contribute to his discipline as a scientists, but also whether through his discipline he should seek to implement values in his society. Thus, R. Nevitt Sanford of Stanford speaks of a major role of the social scientist to be that of a social reformer, but Conrad Arensberg of Columbia states that social scientists have no other end or purpose as scientists than devotion to science itself. Robert Bierstedt of New York University believes that normative judgments are outside the realm of science, while Robert Redfield, late of Chicago, states that value deductions are, in fact, drawn by social scientists from their science, and Alvin Gouldner believes that the concept of a value-free sociology is a myth.

I doubt that any consensus to this question can be reached. Each behavioral scientist must answer it for himself, and there will be differences in their answers. My own resolution of the matter -- as I've tried to do basic and applied work in the field of race relations -- has hinged in part on the insistence upon a distinction in roles. I find it hard to see how behavioral science as a discipline can either demand or forbid that its adherents apply their knowledge to practical problems or take part in directed change. This

is the sort of decision that takes us outside the realm of science. I feel that the behavioral scientist is carrying out the only job his discipline requires when he does basic research toward the end of developing sound theory. At the same time, the scientist has the option of working toward particular ends in terms of his values by applying his research or consultation skills without the restriction of that discipline.

I am frequently asked by colleagues -- as I am sure others of you in the behavioral sciences are -- "How can you conduct basic research in an area in which you have such clear-cut biases?" My answer is that these are two different kinds of jobs. When you accept the task as a consultant or you work for an organization to solve its particular problems, you are making the kind of value decision that is different from the one you make in conducting basic research....There seems to me to be two requests that those who are directly involved in bringing about social change can ask of behavioral science. (And I was somewhat concerned about Dr. King's remark last night: "At such a crucial time as this, then, the social scientist can render an invaluable contribution to our social order by being a catylyst, by becoming an activist, by stimulating, uplifting, reconciling democratic change." I am not so sure that this is what the activist should be asking of the social scientist.) But I think there are two things that can be asked. First, you can ask and expect from the discipline as a whole sound theory about human behavior; second, you can seek to enlist the skills of those behavioral scientists who share your cause to help to solve particular, practical problems.

The utility of basic research and sound theory in the implementing of social change can be seen in the testimony and decision of the Supreme Court in

1954. When those of us, invited by the NAACP to serve as expert witnesses, were asked on the stand whether or not legislation should actually change the way persons felt, we could cite the research of Samuel Stouffer, Morton Deutsch, Theodore Newcomb, and others to show that the most effective way to change the way people feel prejudice was to change the way people act. And in such witnesses as Dr. Kenneth Clark, the NAACP found persons who were willing to convey the knowledge and conduct the research that helped to convince the jurors. Perhaps what we need are liasion persons from both behavioral science and from activist groups.

Understanding the "Primary Environment"

...Turning next to some of the specific suggestions Dr. Shulman offers for the reconstruction of educational research, I find his emphasis on understanding of what he terms the "primary environment" especially intriguing. He reminds us that the effects of the primary environment are not sufficiently understood by most teachers. They tend to look upon their pupils as blank tablets upon which they can write anything, or as individuals who vary only in terms of supposedly immutable characteristics. I agree that we need to learn more of how this primary environment operates, and sociology and cultural anthropology can join with those in education to achieve this.

Dr. Shulman goes on to state that the greater the dissimilarity of the background between the primary environment and the classroom the greater the difficulty of the transfer of knowledge. I would state this with a different sort of emphasis....I'm not so sure that the homes from which even upper class children come are like a classroom. In fact, I think it is the school that makes the home adjust to fit in with homework and other assignments. I think

it is more to the point to state that some homes are ill equipped to give their children the kind of support and help they need when they enter school.

At least that was the case with white mill village children in a South Carolina town that I have studied on two separate occasions....Observation revealed that the background of the mill children did not make it likely they would succeed in school. Their parents could not help them with their studies and even had ambivalent feelings about schooling. There were few books in mill homes; no place to study. The language productivity of the children was low, and they tended to see their world in immediate, concrete terms.

I'm willing to use the term "culturally disadvantaged" to describe these children. I realize there are difficulties in using the term since it does not designate the degree or type of disadvantage. However, we can think of a continuum with greater and lesser degrees of being disadvantaged. In any event, it is incumbent upon us to examine the particular type of disadvantage. However, I'm concerned that some teachers continue to be unaware of disadvantaged primary environments and their consequences.

Self-Concept and Environment

Another aspect of the educationally disadvantaged that requires further study is the development of self-concept, and this is a matter that is related to the larger, societal environment, as well as to the primary environment. Among the social-psychological needs of all human beings, for mental and emotional well being, is the necessity to have others think well of us and the necessity to think well of ourselves. And the chief basis for thinking well of ourselves is what others think of us. Charles Horton Cooley many

years ago coined the expression "looking-glass self" as a means of demon-
strating this. Cooley stated that others become the looking-glass in which
we see ourselves. If we see ourselves as approved, we feel self-approval;
if we see ourselves as disapproved, we have similar feelings for ourselves.

We do see ourselves as others see us. When we gave the Rorschach and
other tests, they showed that the mill people looked down on themselves,
taking over the attitude of the dominant group toward them. But at least
they were white, and had the approval of the larger society. Negroes have
seen themselves in the looking-glass of larger society as persons of infer-
ior status, and this has affected their self-concept. Research among very
young Negro children, pioneered so effectively by Kenneth and Mamie Clark,
has shown consistently that these children prefer and identify with members
of the dominant white race and therefore reject their own identity. Research
shows that this happens before children can verbalize correctly about race
differences, demonstrating that such self-conception is the product of "ab-
sorption" from the environment rather than the result of any direct or speci-
fic teaching. We have sufficient research, particularly that of Wilbur
Brookover and Richard Morse, to show that self-concept of ability is directly
related to academic achievement -- the lower the self-concept, the lower the
achievement; the higher the self-concept, the higher the achievement.

These are among some of the knowledge that we have, of which Dr. Hauser
was speaking last night, and that we are not putting to effective use. A
next step in research in this area is to find out how to help teachers learn
to accept and to believe in the culturally disadvantaged. Few things are
more important to the success of the child in school than is the attitude of
the teacher toward him.

Effects of Standardized Testing

I would like for us to take a closer look at the effects of standardized
testing. I agree with Dr. Shulman that schools as they are now set up of-
ten, but certainly not always, perpetuate social distinctions and preserve
the status quo. I feel that one way this is done is through the program
of standardized testing which acts as a factor selecting the more advantaged
children for special attention. The Russell Sage Foundation is developing a
series of studies that could be read and pursued with profit by all concerned
with giving genuine equality of opportunity to American children. The first
volume, *The Search for Ability,* by David Goslin, cites evidence to show that
such testing provides a self-fulfilling prophecy. Those the tests select as
best are then given special attention and treatment and are, in effect, told
by their looking glass that they are especially able. This is not to ques-
tion that children have differences in capacity and in ability. But the ques-
tion is, how closely related is the testing to the actual experience of chil-
dren so it reveals the ability of children to learn? The mill children, for
example, were bright and quick on possum hunts and in joking relations with
their kinfolk....But the kinds of testing to which they were subjected to at
school revealed little of the ability required to learn these out-of-school
skills. Can tests of what is learned in coping with actual surroundings be
made in order to reveal more clearly the ability to learn? We can then avoid
the mistake, as Robert Green points out, that comes with the confusion of the
educationally retarded with the intellectually retarded.

Attitudes About Culture and Race

A final suggestion concerning educational research and practice has to do with
discovering what ideas about culture and race are held by teachers and school

administrators, and what transmission about these concepts are made to pupils.
I continue to be concerned about the highly damaging effects of racism in the
educational system. Perhaps I am particularly sensitive to this issue because
of where I live, in a town near Henry Garrett, and in an office near Audrey
Shuey. But I could also see the effects of racist ideology and the belief
that race is paramount in the development of culture on my assignments with the
Community Relations Service, particularly in Selma. What kinds of teaching
about race and culture can be most effective with teachers and their pupils?
I realize the difficulty of introducing scientific notions about race and
culture in some areas because of social and political attitudes. However,
behavioral scientists should begin now to develop materials and methods for
such teaching.

Let me add to Dr. Shulman's strategies for research one additional sugges-
tion that I made last month for Duke's Center for Southern Studies. This
involves the cooperative efforts of a inter-disciplinary team in the intensive
study of cultural transmission in selected communities. Such studies would
give the opportunity to observe and compare behavior in its full and natural
setting, or "in vivo" as Conrad Arensberg has phrased it. This would be
in contrast to studies "in vitro" which depend upon abstraction and statistical
comparison. I think that studies "in vitro" are continuously needed, but also
needed are those studies done in context. This would offer an excellent
opportunity for determining the effects of the primary environment and for
checking how well standardized tests reflect the actual learning ability of
children. I feel that cultural anthropologists and sociologists could profit
from the cooperation and coordination of their efforts with psychologists and
those in the field of education especially. Furthermore, this would give an

opportunity to carry out those epidemiological studies suggested by Shulman by comparing in the same environment children of varying achievement levels.

I think there is no more important problem for education and for the nation than to develop the full potential of the disadvantaged in our society. The President stated this forcefully in a talk at Howard University about a year ago when he said it is not enough to open the door to opportunity, we must be sure that all of our children have the chance to walk through it. The President went on to say that you cannot handicap people for generations and then expect them all at once to throw off those handicaps and compete equally with the more privileged. I think that the reconstruction of educational research that Dr. Shulman suggests can help to make that competition more equal and thereby help to create optimal conditions for human growth.

Dr. Herman H. Long:

RESPONSE TO DR. SHULMAN'S REMARKS

It is risky to re-state the conclusions and ideas of an author, and especial-
ly when the argument has been tightly reasoned and based upon careful sifting
of the pertinent bodies of knowledge, as in the case of Dr. Shulman's excel-
lent paper. Distortion is likely to occur -- and perhaps misrepresentation
as well, but the damage -- if there be any -- can be repaired as long as the
author himself is present to provide the necessary correctives.

I believe that Dr. Shulman has done this conference and the larger
educational community a real service in preparing this paper, for he has
thrown widely open the door of inquiry into a major direction of educational
practice of importance to social change and which only a few suspecting edu-
cators have peered through with expressed concern. I shall, undoubtedly,
over-generalize his ideas, but I hope that my doing so will serve the useful
purpose of sharpening the issues which are both explicit and implicit in Dr.
Shulman's paper.

I deduce from Dr. Shulman's presentation the conclusion that educational
practice, including the research which has either given origin to such prac-
tice or derived from it, has diverted from its original early-twentieth cen-
tury revolutionary course, provided by the truly great minds of American
psychologist-educators -- William James, John Dewey, E. L. Thorndike and
others -- toward a set of preoccupations which seriously limit its service-
ability to both human and social needs in these days of complex and acceler-
ating change.

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The major distortions which I discern are of two general and related
categories: a dominant preoccupation in educational strategy and attack with
measurement of the so-called mental abilities and with the extent of learning,
on the one hand, and consuming interest, on the other, with what Dr. Shulman
has called the insistence upon behavioral definitions of objectives for in-
struction. And I gather that he means by this, specific, discrete and limited
objectives as in the case of response measurements of test items, combinations
of items and even test batteries. The effect of this has been to allow instru-
mentation to supplant broad educational objectives as the controlling factor
in the educational process, a case not only of the tail wagging the dog but
also of the substitution of means for ends.

What eventuates is a situation in which the classification of human beings
in terms of ability, performance and potential has become a...dominant theme
of the educational process, and to the extent that human variability is taken
into account it is, as Shulman expresses it, largely in terms of "individual
differences in supposedly immutable characteristics." And to the degree that
educational programming and the instructional processes are based upon this
major departure, one can easily agree that it is a situation in which human
adaptability to the vicissitudes of social expectation is not only frustrated
but, also, one in which the school primarily succeeds in maintaining the
status quo.

While I do not agree with those aspects of Dr. Shulman's analysis which
treat laboratory experimental psychology as a sterile source of educational
theory and a substantial cause for the present state of affairs in the educa-
tional establishment, I concur with his prescription: making the central

focus of research and instruction the *processes* through which changes in
human responsiveness and motivation take place; making prior experience rele-
vant to formal school learning through meaningful knowledge of the nature of
the pre-conditioning environments, adopting longer-range longitudinal strate-
gies for the determination of educational objectives and programming; discard-
ing both methodological and classificatory preconceptions and allowing problems
to dictate strategy; and concentrating upon an engineering approach which,
instead of beginning with theory and principles, works back from the successes
and partial successes of rigorously designed programs to an analysis of the
probable determining factors.

Whether current educational practice can, in effect, reverse itself and
meet such demands is another matter. The strange and gnawing anomaly of our
day is that in the face of the most fundamental revolution in the status and
expectations of groups historically excluded from the opportunity in the
common society, as well as the economic, political and technological pressures
which are greatly enhancing and unprecedented and broadscale social mobility
for everyone, the vehicle best equipped to feed and sustain these processes --
the schools and institutionalized education -- seems to be tragically flounder-
ing in its own contrivances. It appears to me to have neither the direction
of attack or philosophical ground commensurate with the demands of social
revolution and new human expectations. The best departure which it has yet
been able to launch, to match these new demands, is a doctrine of compensatory
intellectual repairment, as best seen in the now widely, dogmatized versions
of so-called cultural deprivation. The difficulty I see here is that a concept
of useful functional significance to the learning process has taken on the

characteristics of an entity - and even more an entity of absolute and categorical dimension -- at least in its programmatic application by the educational establishment. What we have in this case is a new kind of quantity developed into a new educational formula, not unlike the limiting educational categorizations of I.Q. and racially-determined abilities. Indeed, I would argue that in its unduly popularized applications cultural deprivation has become a new, though benign, expression of the doctrine of racial inferiority.

Thus, as Dr. Shulman might express it, "educational rhetoric" reduces a potentially useful body of psychological insight to a form of education fadism. I see in this matter some rather deep and sensitive issues of social and educational policy of which we discern at present only a faint but disturbing glimmer.

Witness, for example, two very recent phenomena: the strike of Negro students at Northern High School in Detroit against a school administration and teachers whom they accuse of placing lowered standards of intellectual demand upon them because of assumptions of categorical cultural deprivation, and the case, in the second instance, of a liberal candidate for governor in Tennessee campaigning on a platform of positive support of school integration but with assurances to establish a uniform public school program of ungraded instruction.

The latter strikes me as a stop gap tactic, adopted certainly from the lexicon of enlightened educators, but used primarily to assuage the anxieties of both white parents and teachers still bound to the assumptions and expectations of a racial ideology. The issue, not yet joined in these terms exists on a wide front, whether it be the unmet challenge of *de facto* segregation,

the legislative omission of positive integration, the conflicting court decisions on racial balance, the legitimacy or illegitimacy of bussing for purposes of integration, or the selective integration of Negro students and teachers (largely middle and upper class) as over-against the application of uniform policy.

I suggest that we will need to look, always alertly and critically, at the assumptions which underlie educational programming for the revolution now at work. And whether it is a research and evaluative effort or an instructional innovation, we will need to see both the immediate and long-range implications for both public and educational policy. Otherwise our best efforts to engineer social and educational reform will be caught in unintended entrapment of basic policy conflicts. The lure of the expedient and popular vehicle is perhaps the greatest danger which we face in this respect.

Dr. S. M. Miller:

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROSPECTS OF THE POOR

First let me tell you something of my perspective on what is happening in
civil rights in the United States because this perspective covers many of
the points that I will be making. It seems to me that the civil rights
movement in our country has come to a turning point, or at least to a slow-
ing down. What it lacks to a large extent is a national program, including
a national economic program, a national educational program, a national so-
cial program, and a position on the poverty programs.

For example, I think that the poverty programs in the United States
would be quite different in content and effectiveness today if the civil
rights movement had taken the position of constant critic and monitor of
the programs. The absence of such a critical group has led to the watering
down of the poverty efforts.

More generally, it is important now for the civil rights movement to
generate national programs which will provide direction for the United States
today. We must begin to more carefully think through the kinds of programs
which are important for accelerating integration in American society.

Another problem is the failure of civil rights groups to organize low-
income Negroes, particularly in Northern ghettoes, as an active, articulate,
conscious and effective political group. Furthermore, I suspect that it
won't happen until we have national programs which begin to take root in the
communities, which have some concrete significance, and which are elaborated
in terms of community needs. And so I see a much closer connection between

the development of a national program and the development of community programs.

I think political power will grow out of a national program which musters some coalition strength from other groups, and out of Negro and white low-income groups' development as important new political constituencies in communities throughout this country. That's the perspective from which I will be talking today.

Let me add one point and then go on to a discussion of some current problems. I think most of us would agree that the civil rights movement has had an impact in our society which goes far beyond the issues of civil rights. The shakeup in education -- though inadequate -- has been pushed forward by issues raised by the civil rights movement.

The caliber, quality, adequacy and delivery of social services in the United States have been issues largely raised by the civil rights efforts. In one area after another, I think, important questions, long neglected, have been disinterred by civil rights activities. In attempting to improve the position of Negroes, the movement has borne the additional burden of simultaneously attempting to change American society.

The problem, to some extent, is that other groups have not been moving in the same direction as the civil rightists. I think what's going to become important in the future is the extent to which the movement can get support from other kinds of institutional forces toward large-scale change.

The "Rediscovery" of Poverty

Let me turn now to a discussion of poverty, then to issues of inequality, and then to some political implications of this analysis.

The rediscovery of poverty in our country was so overwhelming that we tended not to understand what it was that we were so disturbed about. It was enough to say that we hadn't realized the poor were in our midst; that twenty per cent were living in "Other America." It was enough to point out the horrors of living poor in an affluent society.

Yet we did not seem to understand what was new about poverty in this country, and what it reflected about American society. People from other countries have pointed out, quite correctly, that the poverty that we're talking about is quite different from the poverty they have known.

The poverty of the hundreds of thousands who sleep on the streets in India is not known in the United States. The incidence of people who are dying each year from malnutrition in many -- if not most -- countries in the world is relatively insignificant in our society.

Our poverty is not a subsistence poverty in the sense that people are dying because they are poor. Our poor have higher mortality rates than those who are more fortunate, but survival is not the essence of the problem.

The problem in American is that the standards of various groups have not kept pace with rising economic standards. When we speak about low income we are really talking about lagging income in American society.

The most striking economic fact of the last twenty years has been the spectacular achievement of affluence resulting from the great growth of the American economy. Fears of a depression which followed World War II have been dissolved. Instead, we fell into an euphoria of affluence, believing that we were solving our social problems while we were moving toward a higher gross national product.

The rediscovery of poverty made us aware that some groups in American

soceity were falling behind; they weren't moving as rapidly as other groups
in the society; the gaps within the social pyramids had widened for those
at the bottom.

From our present perspective we face the possibility that we can never
completely solve the poverty problem. We now view poverty as being relative
to particular standards. As these standards change we always face the pros-
pect that some groups are going to lag behind. Obviously those of low educa-
tion are much more likely to fall behind than those of high education. Vic-
tims of continuing discrimination are more likely to fall behind. Those who
live in depressed areas also are greater poverty risks.

Negroes are especially vulnerable to poverty because of their history
of discrimination as well as their economic and educational position. There-
fore, among our tasks, is the reduction of Negroes' poverty and the develop-
ment of a society which is much more sensitive to poverty issues; a society
which recognizes vulnerable groups and attempts to do something about reduc-
ing poverty.

The rediscovery of poverty was followed by an inadequate appreciation
of the scope of the problem. We have been deluded by the economist's talk-
ing about gross national product without adequately considering the composi-
tion of the product -- whether it consists of building war machines or in-
creasing the distribution of cigarettes and alcohol rather than building
public facilities.

Non-Income Factors Affecting Economic Security

Nowadays one's standard of living increasingly consists of things which are
not easily measured by annual income. A worker's economic position largely

depends upon fringe benefits. Twenty per cent of U. S. wages goes for such benefits as pension plans, health insurances or welfare programs of one kind or another. So, in comparing incomes, fringe benefits must be considered. A low-paid policeman, for example, may have a pension plan which can retire him at half-pay in 20 years, something nobody else can do in our society. Such social security benefits can be thought of as accumulative assets, an index of one's future status. In other words, those who have good pension plans are going to live better after 65 than those without them.

Another index of economic security lies in the realm of public services, such as the availability and utilization of schools, medical services and re-creational facilities. For example, if you live in a community which has bad public schools and someone else lives in a community with better public schools, you are worse off than the other person. Thus we have to get away from the old-fashioned notion of talking about income only in the narrow sense of the weekly pay check.

In sum, not enough attention has been paid to the poverty of pension and the poverty of public services as well as the poverty of income in Ameri-can society. The task will be to redress this imbalance and to recognize the poverty of public services as well as the inequality in public services.

Not enough research has been devoted to the barriers and resistances to the utilization of services. It is said that poor people are not interested in the various services offered to them -- that they are "hard to reach." Yet the experience of the poverty programs has indicated that every time a reason-ably meaningful service is offered -- and a real effort is made to get people to know about and utilize it -- the service has been flooded with demands.

Now why aren't there more fully used services? How do you prevent

differential utilization of services, such as the British health service which tends to be a subsidy to the middle class rather than a boon to the working class? Problems of this kind need much more attention than we've given them.

The Significance of Education

Implicit in our discussion is the significance of education because of the correlation between education and income. But more than that -- education is a passport to acceptance into the mainstream of the society. One's education increasingly determines how one is treated by neighbors, private employers, and public bureaucracies. Contrary to the popular view, Negroes have a fantastic interest in education, much greater than whites at anywhere near comparable income levels....Why do Negroes have so much interest in education? I submit that one of the reasons is that many Negroes recognize that education is protection; you have a better chance of being treated decently if you are educated than if you're not.

Another aspect of this: With education you learn how to operate more effectively in the vast development of bureaucracies in the society. Thus to live in America you have to be a "con" man to the extent that you have to know how to manipulate and how to react; how to apply pressure and how to resist various groups and professionals -- lawyers, accountants, school systems -- who often attempt to make decisions that should be made by the individual citizen. It follows that individuals who lack education are socially as well as economically deprived. Education, then, means something about a person's way of life, the goods he can get out of life, and the satisfactions and protections he can build around himself.

Political Participation

The issue of political rights exceeds the right to vote for public officials. It also involves the right of the individual to determine the extent to which other persons and organizations should impinge upon himself and his community. This broader meaning was seen in events following the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Three fateful words -- maximum feasible participation -- were slipped into the Act. These words were interpreted to mean that the poor should be involved in the development, operation and conduct of the programs which impinge upon them.

Now you can argue -- as I personally do not -- that participation by the poor does something for the poor. I am willing to accept that possibility, but it also seems to me that participation involves important political implications; poor people as well as middle class people have certain political rights in relationship, say, to the welfare system of the United States, to the social service bureaucracies of the United States, to City Hall, and to the education systems. In addition, the poor have certain rights of grievance, certain rights of determination, certain rights of decision making.

These are the new forms of political rights which are coming to the fore in our society. An individual is poor politically in the United States when he does not have these new political rights; when he does not have the rights that a person needs in a suburb to effect the kind of decisions which take place there.

The argument about maximum feasible participation, then, is not one of whether participation would make ghetto residents feel better about a poverty program. It's essentially a political issue of recognizing the changes which

have taken place in the United States and providing the 20th century equiva-
lent of the 19th century effort to enfranchise the working class, providing
new ways of protecting the poor against other groups in society and effect-
ing the kinds of decisions which the welfare state makes in relationship to
the poor.

I think the questions raised by maximum feasible participation -- and
the fantastic responsiveness to it in Negro ghettoes -- will result in one
of the great political issues of the next decade. That this process is un-
suspecting in its evolution indicates that Congress really did not have any
idea of what it was passing at the time.

I think eventually we are going to talk about what we mean by integra-
tion -- in terms of reducing social distances. To some extent, the poor are
poor because they are separated from the rest of American society. They do
not have a chance to relate to others. The inhumanity of social distance
based on race and class will eventually become a political issue.

I am suggesting that we have to have a much broader concept of the is-
sues, particularly those which concern the plight and future of Negroes in
the United States. In American society it will be inadequate, I submit, for
the income of Negroes to go up while the income of whites goes up more rapid-
ly making the gap between them greater than it has been before. World War II
reduced the gap in income between Negroes and whites in our country. In re-
cent years the gap has probably widened again.

The Development of a 'Diploma Elite'

In our society we have developed essentially a "diploma elite" of college
graduates whose income moves up more rapidly than any other group. All indi-

cators point to a widening of the division between college graduates and
the rest of society. The varied routes to success -- for example, working
one's way up through the ranks of business -- have been narrowed down to
one highway, the highway of education. And if you are a casualty along
this highway, your chances of getting a decent income or a decent position
are largely eliminated. That is a stark statement, but it reflects what is
taking place here.

Moreover, we have a society that has fallen into a credentials trap.
We do not evaluate people on the basis of performance; we rate them by their
educational credentials. Many people are automatically ruled out because
they lack credentials. School systems operate to sort people out rather than
to include people in. I suggest three ways to combat credentialism: The
first is to consider abilities other than a talent for managing the school
system in awarding a decent job. On-the-job training should be emphasized.
We should employ people first, then help them to learn the job.

The second way is to give people additional chances to stay in school.
It is assumed that the way to get an education is to go through 12, 16 or
20 consecutive years, picking up certificates and diplomas along the way.
Those who fall out are not helped to get back into the system.

Instead, we should allow people to leave and re-enter the system, rather
than permanently exclude those who are once out. So we have to talk about
real second chances, and real third and real fourth chances, by providing fi-
nancial subsidies for people to go back to school. We have to adapt the
school to meet the needs of returnees.

At New York University, for example, we are experimenting with a plan
for helping nonprofessionals -- some of whom have not finished high school --

get their credentials. First, they are given jobs as teacher's and social worker's aids. They are given classroom credits for experience, and they take courses related to their work. Ultimately, they receive diplomas and degrees.

If we consider some of the poverty programs as new routes to credentials, is is my guess that the employability of graduates of the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and Manpower and Development Training Act programs is not because of specific skills they picked up in their training, but because they have shown their willingness to go through this wringer of further training. Employers are accepting this as the equivalent of the socialization experience that a high school diploma mostly represents today. Thus, these poverty programs become new markers of social and educational acceptability; new routes for social mobility. Yet those who can not manage the new routes are further stigmatized.

The third way to combat credentialism is to restructure jobs. The continuing shortage of professionals and the increasing demands for their services would indicate that we are never going to produce enough of them by the conventional ways.

To provide neglected social services, non-professionals are needed to help such persons as teachers, nurses and social workers. In order to do this, we will have to restructure jobs now, so that lesser-trained people can move up into them and develop proficiency on the job. As rapid changes take place in job structure, training before the job becomes less and less meaningful.

Putting Pressure on "the System"

Let me return now to the political side of what I have been talk about. In

any kind of education or social welfare organization, you have an underground;
that is, you have some people within who are sympathetic to the idea of chang-
ing the organization, such as a teacher who knows that the children are not
getting a decent break, or a principal who knows that the school superinten-
dent has allocated funds so that Negro and low-income youth are not getting
a fair share.

These dissidents exert pressure within the system. For this pressure
to be maximized there has to be organized pressure from without.

One problem is that we have not developed critical publics of American
education. If civil rightists want to have a major impact upon school sys-
tems, I think that civil rights groups at local levels in the United States
should know more about what's going on in the schools than those inside; they
should know the local issues and know how to connect these with national edu-
cational issues.

On some issues it may be possible to develop fairly broad-based coali-
tions to effect better social services as well as schools. In the South,
the white poor and the Negro poor may eventually move together. In terms
of public welfare, whites and Negroes have common problems. On a program-
matic basis, social welfare professionals might be brought together to ef-
fect the welfare system.

The job of research would be to select issues which would bring to the
fore a diversity of groups to apply external political pressure.

These efforts, I feel, should increasingly center around the effort to
reduce inequality. Reduction of inequality means a redistribution of present
and future resources. That makes the struggle more difficult, because it
means someone's going to gain more than somebody else. If this redistribution

is to be realized, effective political organization becomes more focal than ever before.

In some ways the political possibilities of organization in the South may be greater than they are in Northern ghettoes. The politics of these ghettoes is often dominated by old-line political leaders, such as Congressman Dawson in Chicago. In the ghetto, it is difficult for new leadership to emerge that is more informed, more critical, more action-oriented than the old. In the South it may be possible -- although I do not really know -- for communities which had very limited political activity to be much freer in political outlook and organization than the ghetto wards, where politics is attached to old-line leadership and machines.

The South also may have the advantage of being less susceptible to credentialism than industrialized sections as the Northeast, where credentialism has become a widespread disease.

The Role of the Social Scientist

Let me turn finally to the role of the social scientist. It seems to me that by and large one of the things we fail to do is to teach professionals how to be effectively connected with action organizations, and to teach action organizations how to effectively use professionals. This may mean that the professional contribution is not so much a program as it is a way of thinking.

I am often called, for example, to places where I'm terribly embarrassed to go because I am very uninformed, as on the South. Then I get pressured and I go. I find that what I can contribute is a way of thinking about an issue, even though I may be uninformed about some important aspects. I can

usually say, "Shouldn't we think about at least this aspect of it?" And
I'm able to make a contribution because I've gone through a fairly systematic
experience of raising certain kinds of issues as a result of my personal
training, experience and outlook.

Similarly, I think a social scientist should not necessarily provide
an agenda or program, but offer a perspective or pose pertinent questions.
"What have we been neglecting here?" he might ask, or "Why are we paying in-
sufficient attention to a particular national program?" In this context,
the social scientist does not come in with a program and say, "Here, take
it." He has to win the acceptance of the activists.

Thus a part of the talent of being a researcher who can relate to ac-
tion organizations is to be accepted by them and to interact effectively with
them. The very act of winning confidence is an important aspect of the role
of the social scientist in action. I think that it is something that we must
look at from both sides -- from the side of the social scientist and from the
side of the activist.

What I have done in this widely ranging effort to relate today to tomor-
row is to point out the underlying assumptions of what is taking place today;
to relate our contemporary actions to the ultimate goals; to broaden our view
of economic, social and political factors; to turn from an examination of pov-
erty to the critical awareness of the issues of inequality; and to make us
recognize the significance of institutional changes in education and social
service organizations.

These views should be stressed because I think the civil rights groups
do not understand how significant they are in American society. If civil

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rights groups had played a stronger role in the poverty program, for instance, they could have magnified the impact of the program.

We are in a time of ferment -- a time of great excitement for social scientists. There has been a stalemate on a variety of fronts, but the potential for action is here. And my belief is that the great development of social science will come from its effort to learn and to inform people about the problems of poverty, inequality and civil rights.

We should try to freshly and critically examine these problems and begin to talk about them, not only in terms of the social science implications, but in their strategic possibilities for action.

The possibilities are great. The task is ours.

Dr. Hylan Lewis:

RESPONSE TO DR. MILLER'S REMARKS

...In preparing my comments, I was secure in the knowledge that I would likely confirm and, if permitted, echo most of what Dr. Miller would have to say about the economic and political prospects of the poor. I have heeded the conference planners' direction that my response should be programmatically oriented; that it should be in keeping with the major objective of the conference -- "to discuss various roles that social scientists can play in achieving social change that will lead to the full integration and democratization of our society."

I am pleased that the language says "various roles that social scientists can play" because (1) it suggests that there is a range of tasks that are appropriate to the social scientist as an intellectual in our society, and (2) because it covers the thought that the social scientist as an individual necessarily is called on to play a number of roles at the same time -- roles that are not necessarily compatible or that can be successfully compartmentalized. If the social scientist is at all alive, his existence and any designs for effectiveness he might have are necessarily marked by tension and conflict.

What Dr. Miller and practically all of the participants in this conference are saying is that social science, for whatever else it might purport to be, is now in the context of the current day problems we are talking about, probably more than ever, at once a set of activities and products with direct moral and political consequences. Probably the first task of the social scientist is to realize this, and to come to terms with the implications it bears for the

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discipline, his person, his career and the society, not to mention the people about whom he talks and with whom he attempts to do things. And this is not a research problem, although the scientist's orientation can be of help -- particularly these parts that stress examining the evidence systematically and a sense of responsibility for the uses made of one's brain children. It can be of help precisely where it counts most -- that is, in enhancing the ability of all people, poor and non-poor, to effect events.

The ability to effect events is basically a matter of politics and power -- defined both broadly and narrowly. Therefore, one question we have to address ourselves to is "What can social science tell us about?" -- What are social scientists doing about improving the ability of the poor, of the Negro and white poor in the cities, in the persistent pockets of rural poverty, to effect events, to increase their options, to increase their power?

I'd like to quote and paraphrase a bit from the observations of Jose L. Aranguren, a distinguished Spanish social scientist, about politics and morality in our time. He says:

> Experience has taught us that good wishes and good intentions --
> that is to say, morality -- are not strong enough in themselves to
> have an appreciable effect on the course of events...the manifestoes
> of intellectuals who are given to making appeals to collective cons-
> cience and so forth, serve as "tranquilizers"...A strictly ethical-
> intellectual point of view is generally blind to the sociological,
> economic, scientific, and technical forces which condition morality.

One of the roles of the social scientist, then, is to open our eyes to the forces which condition morality and importantly to the consequences of the social science "fact," and allegations that often have the force of invidious moral judgements.

Professor Aranguren adds:

> ...we may...broach the problem in terms of an essential tension
> between morality and politics...Politics has its roots in real-
> ity; and both as individual behavior and as a structure, it is
> made up of a series of data which are not static, but powerfully
> dynamic, a play of forces which it is necessary to abide by if
> one really wants to play the game of politics...[The relation
> between morality, politics, and social science] is a relation
> always filled with tension, a dramatic relation...the source of
> the problem, lies here...[We are dealing with a problem] not of
> tragedy, but of drama. Tragedy occurs when an unavoidable [fate]
> hovers over us and we can not escape it, cannot act in any other
> way. Drama, on the other hand, exists when it is possible to
> effect events, when there is room for sudden changes of circum-
> stances and for freedom...

We might say that an important transformation began -- or rather was
stepped up at Montgomery a decade ago. Montgomery was a watershed event that
brought a change in the status of the Negro, and of the contemporary poor,
from that of tragedy to that of drama -- from intricate defensive maneuvering
with fate, to doing something about freedom.

If social science and social scientists are to help us "to come to grips
with the forces which condition our lives politically, economically, socially,"
and in other ways as well, it must function inside their frame of reference.
We must have a social science "within the situation" rather than "of the
situation."

Social science research must help us take into account the concrete
forces which condition us and then help decide what actions are practicable.
Actions should always be carried out on a basis of an objective study, or
appraised of the situation we are in. Social science can help emphasize that
the various situations the poor find themselves in now are neither purely
arbitrary nor purely deterministic. It has been said, for example, that "it
is we ourselves (and importantly "we" includes the poor now more than ever)
-- acting within our given situation to change history -- who are history."

This dynamic and satisfying view of people being history when they act to change events comes forcefully through in the front page stories in last night's *Washington Evening Star*. The headlines and the secondary captions for the lead story said:

Mrs. Wallace Sweeps Alabama

Wins Primary Despite Record Negro Turnout

Flowers Loses, But Rights Drive Gaining in Some Local Races

The second feature by the prize-winning reporter, Haynes Johnson, carried these even more apt captions:

"Yes Sir, It's History" (a quote from a Negro voter)

Selma Was Extra Polite But Tense

And, significantly the story began:

Few surprises, no incidents of violence reported, but everywhere
an exaggerated politeness and underneath, tension. That was
Selma and the black belt of Alabama yesterday.

Now one of the key words here is tension. It suggests that another of the tasks of social scientists is to help people understand the differences between tension, as an accompaniment of change, and tension as a residual of frustration and despair. The relation of tension to personal awareness and to a heightened sense of personal identity and growth -- to mental health -- are related matters of importance. Related problems that are heightened and involve the resurgence of ethnicity and its relation to authenticity. Social scientists might be able to illuminate some of these problems without much, if any, additional conventional research.

And this latter observation suggests that in many instances the primary and most relevant task of the social scientist in the areas of race, poverty, and politics might be to help devise new and more efficient means of utilization

and dissemination of existing knowledge rather than to seek new data, and to design new research problems. And it might very well be that the most important attribute the social scientist has in this context is not so much his knowledge -- which by definition is a little suspect, is inclined to get stale, is sometimes surprisingly provincial and limited, and is always subject to distortion and misuse -- but rather his methodology; his orientation to process rather than conditions, his way of always asking questions about presumed facts about the situations he is in, and his habit of always seeking better answers. Why not apply this stance to practical as well as laboratory and more academic problems?

The social scientist can help understanding and the chances of change for the poor by emphasizing the importance of persons and their representatives knowing the system (or systems) -- developing a full systems view -- of how decisions are made, and asking such questions as these: What are the options? What affects the number and kinds of options the system offers? What are the levers that can be used to manipulate the system? The social scientist can also help induce understanding and change by stressing the view that the process rather than the condition is important, and that in making demands of the system the principle rather than the immediate gain is the important thing.

Dr. Miller has elaborated on this latter in the first of his "Informal Notes." [An outline which was distributed to respondents before the conference]:

> ...an important thing (is) to handle grievances so that they
> establish principles. This is the trade union outlook. In
> emphasizing the emergence of principles, we reduce the possibili-
> ties of being called out by an action that deals with an immediate
> situation but has no longer term or more general impact.

> The needed orientation is to deal with the grievances of the poor
> so that they lead to the enlarging of the legal rights of the

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poor, rather than only ameliorating the situation of those few
individuals involved...

Stressed here is the role of the social scientists as an intellectual in
helping people at all levels to look now at their lives, their situations,
their problems, the things that impinge on them in new and different ways.
New perspectives and stances are needed; stances that are not only consonant
with the realities of change, but that also promise more support to efforts
to change events.

In this context, comprehension of the effects of two related recent develop-
ments is of great importance as we consider what social scientists can do to
help affect the life chances and options of the urban and rural poor, Negro and
white. These developments are related to the emergence of the concepts of
expanding power and of the re-emphasis upon the effective local participation
as a means to power-sharing. These developments reflect the effects of far-
reaching recent changes in technology, and in political and economic processes;
they are now the over-riding factors that affect the chances of the poor,
for more goods, for more participation and more freedom where they are -- or
where they might want to go.

The best statement of the significance of this concept of expanding
power and the politics of it comes from the January 1966 article in *Fortune*
by Max Ways, "Creative Federalism and the 'Great Society'." He wrote:

> There's much more to L.B.J.'s domestic policies than meets the eye.
> Government is learning from modern business that, when it comes to
> problem solving, power belongs out where the know-how is...U. S.
> History is making a major turn from the politics of issues to the
> politics of problems, from an emphasis on need to an emphasis on
> opportunity, from struggle over the redistribution of what we have
> to the less crude and more intricate decisions about what we might
> become.
>
> Creative federalism starts from the...belief that total power --
> private and public, individual and organizational -- is expanding

very rapidly. As the range of conscious choice widens, it is possible to think of vast increases of Federal government power that do not encroach upon or diminish any other power. Simultaneously, the power of state and local governments will increase; the power of private organizations including businesses will increase; and the power of individuals will increase.

Aside from the new vistas for all citizens that are opened up by the concept and fact of expanding power, there is still the question of how to eliminate the differential needs and the differential access to many of the Negro poor. Expanding power immediately adds new dimensions and short-run implications to old problems of the Negro poor.

Lest we think the millenium is really at hand, rather than the end to a tortuous process, Martin Rein calls attention to one aspect of the problem in his comments on the dual delivery system of health, education, and welfare services. This too is something that needs monitoring and debate by social scientists and policy makers. Here is his statement:

> Melvin Glasser...charges that the new medical assistance program in Title XIX of the Social Security Act will segregate the poor by maintaining them in a "separate but less equal" medical care system. Few will deny the charge. But pragmatists have sought to neutralize the trenchant criticism by arguing in support of a politics of welfare incrementalism which exploits present political opportunities and seeks to change the deficiencies of the system with resources at hand...In the anti-poverty program we have established, as Tilman has perceptively observed, "separate and differential programs for the poor as a definable class" rather than channeling our resources "through established, socially approved, normal institutions." Those rejected by those programs (Job Corps, Head Start, etc.) may find it difficult to escape the invidious label of "non-deserving."

In seeking solutions to problems such as these, there is a need to reexamine the demand for an increasing measure of effective localism in relation to the Negro's and the poor's participation and sharing. The changes that we subsume under the phrase "Negro Revolution" and supported in part by new laws have helped change the intricate calculus of local and national

power and participation. One result has been the re-emphasis upon local, po-
litical and economic participation at the same time Federal action and inter-
vention has increased. The question of deciding which functions and activities
to centralize and which to decentralize is a tactical or operational rather
than a basic research question. Similarly the question of developing and
supporting the local political and business leadership among Negroes is now
coming to be as important as money or influence. Washington is essentially a
how-to-do-it problem. In Mississippi and Alabama and in urban ghettoes there
is considerable evidence that the people themselves are seeking ways of
achieving this -- and sometimes in desperation and quite frequently with
little or no help from social scientists.

One dimension of the problem is supported in Foster Davis' *Reporter*
piece: "The Delta: Rich Land Poor People." He wrote:

> Economics is supplementing race as the basic problem in the
> Mississippi Delta, a fact that was conspicuous in both last
> May's tenant strike and the January squat-in. The air-base
> demonstration was not after the right to eat in a white restau-
> rant. They in effect were saying that they had no money even
> to eat in a Negro restaurant.

If any research is needed here it is feasibility research that documents
or demonstrates new and imaginative ways of generating jobs and services, of
maintaining family stability, and providing local participation in political
and economic decisions.

In any event, social science attention needs to be given immediately to
interpreting and monitoring the effects of a new dynamic balance, or better
the quality of inter-action between a new emphasis upon effective localism for
low income Negroes and whites -- in rural and urban settings -- and what has
been called the new creative federalism -- to look at how the current expan-
sion of power and wealth is being experienced and shared at the local level.

Obviously, it is useless to talk about research without talking about better evaluation, storage of research results, retrieval, dissemination, and utilization of research products; it is also clear that it is necessary to consider such problems as research support, organization leadership, management and personnel. One of the most critical needs is to come up with ways of compensating for the serious lack of research manpower and resources available in that area.

There are many roles research can play in these matters -- tactical and operational, basic investigation, monitoring, evaluation, education and as a complement to other functions. The important point is that the role of the researcher in this area not only must be carried out in concert it must also be reflective of, responsive to, and have something to say about what goes on in the situation or system.

One possible way of providing and institutional setting or base for the complex of change-stimulating, change-guiding, change-monitoring, and change-interpreting functions and agents all of which research is but a part is to organize on or near some university campus in the South (Atlanta is a likely place) an institute, center or academy that might combine selected features of the Rand Corporation, the Center for Democratic Institutions, Washington's Institute of Policy Studies, and the University of Chicago's new Academy for Policy Studies, for example. Such a center would provide a base and setting for the association and effort of researchers and scholars, non-academic experts, and policy makers -- and a forum for the examination of major issues of poverty, race, power, and the new localism. Importantly, a center also would permit the use of the task force principle to achieve the most flexible and

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efficient use of scarce human talent.

To repeat, power is where the know-how is. One of the most important contributions some social scientists could make would be to come forth with efficient ways of organizing and deploying available know-how, particularly in and to local communities as needed. A series of task forces operating out of or in relation to a center is one way of getting the most out of a mobile, task-oriented unit; getting the most out of diffused specialized talents; and of getting a specific local focus. An effective local focus and application is the best guarantee that any preoccupation with process itself and with efficient economical organization are not more important than people. The purpose of all this -- and especially in the social sciences -- is to enhance the lives, the participation, the power, and freedom of people at the local level. In the short run, and in the context of this conference, this probably calls more for new systems of utilizing available social science talent, and disciplined experience and knowledge, than it does for new research. In the intermediate and long run it calls for a drastic revamping of social science training and research emphasis if they are to have relevance to people and the ways in which they acquire and use power and freedom.

Dr. Vivian W. Henderson:

RESPONSE TO DR. MILLER's REMARKS

Economic prospects of the poor are closely tied to other factors under dis-
cussion during this conference. There is one aspect of economic conditions,
however, which somewhat projects itself above other conditions. Without
economic viability and without some semblance of economic security individ-
uals and families are without options. This rather subtle fact is crucial
to the whole scheme of social processes. Without options individuals are
without opportunity, they are without hope, and there is little reason to
expect them to venture and to seek out what appears to the more fortunate
to be opportunities afforded by the expanding economy and affluent society.

...Economic prospects are part of a chain composed of several links, some
known and some unknown. Together they make up a circle of causal factors
that culminate in a condition of poverty. They function to generate change
in the social process and determine prospects for the poor.

To view prospects, it is necessary to talk in terms of time. There are
long-run prospects and there are short-run prospects. Likewise, it is neces-
sary to place the poor in components and disaggregate them in some measure
according to characteristics and factors which we know to be sources and
determinants of poverty. The data show, for example, that whites have better
prospects for moving out of poverty than Negroes; that the higher the level
of educational achievement, the greater the prospects of escaping poverty;
that households and families with female heads are more likely to remain in
poverty than those with male heads. Certain industries and occupations are

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conducive to generating and perpetuating poverty even where people are em-
ployed every day, full time in them.

I have one or two projections on prospects for the Negro poor; and,
second, I have one or two comments on the role of social scientists in social
change. Before mentioning these, I should like to make a quick comment on
Professor Miller's outline. In his outline, Professor Miller has addressed
himself primarily to an expansion of definition of poverty and its measure-
ment. He correctly states that the economic position should be defined not
only in terms of income, but should include other factors which offer an in-
dex of *command* over resources. These would include pensions, housing and
other types of assets; and, second, poverty should be defined by the availa-
bility, utilization and quality of public services of one kind or another
including health services, educational and transportation services. Further,
it is suggested by Professor Miller that we must extend the idea of economic
position to recognize the issue of personal autonomy and political control.

I see these facets of poverty in terms of disproportion in benefits de-
rived from the social and economic processes by individuals in the form of
income, wealth and access to services in contrast to disproportions in bur-
dens shouldered.

I do not argue with Professor Miller regarding inclusion of factors be-
yond income in the question of poverty. On the other hand I do question
whether it makes much difference as to what is included beyond income when
it comes to poverty. *Income is the most satisfactory statistic to indicate
the composite of economic condition. There is no other statistic which sum-
marizes so well in a single form individual or family economic status.* In

the overwhelming majority of statistical series, assets in the form of pen-
sions and housing will add only insignificantly to the measurement of pover-
ty....At the same time I am aware of the significance these factors may hold
for understanding the dimensions of the problem. But this point in Professor
Miller's paper does not disturb me greatly. A second point does.

Professor Miller suggests that we can never solve poverty for the reason
that as shifting lines change which define position in society some groups --
more so than others -- are likely to lag behind. I gather he ties this point
to the issue of inequality; therefore, prospects for the poor, economically
speaking, is not just a question of correcting poverty, but more important
correcting inequality.

There are relationships between poverty and inequality. They do overlap.
It seems to me, however, that for most purposes a rather sharp line should be
drawn between poverty and inequality. This is particularly true when con-
sidering objectives of corrective action and public policy.

Poverty questions address themselves to standards regardless of posi-
tions others may hold in the society. Inequality emphasizes distribution.
The question in one instance involves strategy for upgrading the poor to stan-
dards of decent living, generating improvements, and, even assuming shifts
in various income lines, sustaining the gains through time. Moving from in-
equality to equality on the other hand is a function of narrowing differences
between groups and how they share in the returns from production. I realize
that we have a serious problem of distribution in this country, and that a
route to correcting poverty is to correct inequality. I don't think, however,
correction of inequality is a necessary prerequisite to correcting poverty.

...For example, we know that today a job for every person in the work-
ing age population at a minimum wage of say $2 per hour would lift millions
out of poverty. I doubt, however, that such would correct problems of in-
equality in income distribution or inequality in the distribution of bene-
fits from the abundant society....In all probability a $2 minimum wage would
push all wages up.

I think in other words that when we look at prospects for the poor, the
issue is much less that of inequality and more that of poverty and failure
to generate conditions and implement policies to get at those forces which
tend either to perpetuate people in poverty or which impede the process by
which people leave poverty.

I suggest we can correct poverty whether we correct inequality or not.
While some poverty may be unavoidable in the short run; the greatest propor-
tion of poverty is unnecessary in the long run. The question is one of de-
veloping public and private policies which will generate conditions and im-
plement programs and action to get at poverty.

The economic condition of Negroes in the rural South and in urban areas,
North and South, in the 1920's and 1930's and the plight of the unemployed
during the Great Depression were tragic, but economically speaking we had
neither the technology, the know-how, nor the resources to effectively cope
with these conditions. Such is not the case in 1966. Today, we have both
the resources and the know-how to get at the problems of poverty and to en-
gineer new prospects for relief from poverty conditions.

Having said these things I should like now to look more closely at
economic prospects for the poor and the role of social scientists in social
change. In 1947 29 percent of the white families and 67 percent of the

Negro families in the country lived in poverty according to current standards (adjusted for differences in the two periods). By 1962 poverty among white families had declined by 27 percent. Among Negro families it had declined by only 3 percent. Thus, during the 15-year period white families moved out of poverty at the rate of almost 2 percentage points per year while among Negroes the rate was about 1 percentage point every 5 years or 1/5 of a percentage point each year.

With about 45 percent of the Negro families in the United States continuing to live in poverty, and based on the rate of change given for the 15-year period, it will take another century for poverty among Negroes to be reduced to insignificant proportions. The major mitigating circumstances would be acceleration in public policy and affirmative action by private groups to generate more and better jobs for Negroes while eliminating those factors such as racial discrimination that perpetuate Negro workers in an occupational and industry structure which make adjustments to changes in technology and new opportunities difficult to come by.

To improve upon these prospects, it will be necessary to quicken breakthroughs in the fusion of political and economic power in many parts of the rural South that resist change from their feudal structure; more and better jobs for Negroes will have to be created in the private sector. In the rapidly growing area of public administration in local and state government, more Negroes will have to be absorbed.

A fundamental alteration in the occupational structure of the Negro labor force will have to be achieved. In one study we projected Negro employment by occupation through 1975. Based on the current occupational structure of the labor force, if Negroes hold the same proportion of each occupation in

1975 that they hold today, unemployment among Negroes could go as high as 17 percent and under-employment would be even more widespread. Teenagers, for example, constitute a particularly disturbing part of the process. A 19-year-old Negro in 1966 will be 28 years of age in 1975. In all probability he would have married and started a family. Today, one out of each four Negro teenagers is unemployed and many of those who are employed are in occupations whose obsolescence in a relatively short-run period is guaranteed.

As previously indicated, the major hope for improvement in benefits for the poor and in particular Negroes, most of whom are poor, lies in the area of public policy. It is also in the area of public policy that I think one of the most important roles for the social scientist in social change exists. We need to reach and sustain a full employment economy which by definition in my view would mean a job for everybody at a decent wage. We need to understand and know many things about our human resources which we do not know at the present time. Some us have suggested the need for a comprehensive human resource and manpower program. Some 75 percent of all the Negroes in the United States live in 70-odd cities. Just as was the case with Watts -- that programs have been held up because we know very little about the human resources component of Watts -- the same is true for most of the human resources of this country. It seems to me that it is in the area of public policy that social scientists have recently come to exert a major influence. Research more and more is oriented toward influencing the development and implementation of policy which will induce and achieve social change.

Dr. Doxey Wilkerson:

SYNTHESIS OF GROUP I DISCUSSIONS

...Our discussion centered around three general areas.

The first is the problem content area: What are the problems that the behavioral scientis can make some contribution to that are of importance to the civil rights activists?

The second: What about the relationships between the behavioral scientist and the worker in the vineyard? How can they most effectively work together and what problems are there in terms of working relationships?

And third: What can be done or needs to be done, if anything, towards coordinating and stimulating a greater role for behavioral scientists in the civil rights field?

How Can Behavioral Science Content Help the Activists?

With reference to the problem content area, among the important things mentioned was the whole area of what can be called "catch up" problems after desegregation. Once we were concerned with cross-sectional studies showing differences in status and opportunities, whereas perhaps now there needs to be increasing emphasis upon longitudinal studies, tracing the process and progress from equality of opportunity to actual equality of results.

We find this need in the job field and many other fields, but especially in the field of education where there are achievement lags from the segregated schools which are not eliminated simply by desegregating. How do you offset the effects of years of discrimination in education and in

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other fields? What are some of the variables in schools and out of schools
which contribute towards closing the gap?

Here's one area of problems which is clearly within the realm of the
behavioral scientists, and of course of significance to the civil rights
movement. Another, also in the field of education, is that of teacher at-
titudes and perceptions. The assumption here is that a large proportion
of our teachers are inhibited from most effective work by distorted percep-
tions, attitudes -- especially around the question of race -- and the prob-
lem is, what to do about them and how?

Two types of problems really are involved here -- maybe more. One is,
what are their attitudes? We hear stories and accounts of teachers here
and teachers there who obviously or apparently have attitudes which are
harmful in achieving genuine integration and maximum achievement on the
part of white and Negro children in desegregated schools. I don't know,
however, of any systematic body of data involving a substantial population
which really tries to define precisely what are the attitudinal phenomena
that we're dealing with here.

For the behavioral scientist to gather such data would be a big con-
tribution in this area. But if we only know on the basis of present anec-
dotal data, there is still the problem of how to change teachers' attitudes
and perceptions.

There's the direct approach of giving information to teachers based
upon behavioral science findings. This probably makes a contribution of
some importance, but also has limitations. There is the approach, sugges-
ted by several people in our group, of involving teachers not in the direct
study of their attitudes but in the specific instructional problems that

they face in a desegregated school. This approach assumes that the attitudinal change will come as a by-product of tackling and solving instructional problems.

There is a suggestion that perhaps more attention should be given to group dynamic techniques which will enable teachers themselves to see themselves and to take off their masks, helping them to understand how they are affecting people, and how they have been affected by their past. The whole problem that we're talking about here is -- what are the problems, the attitudes that need to be altered, and especially the more difficult problem of just how do we go about significantly altering the attitudes of teachers to make them commensurate with the goals of democratic education and integration?

A third area, a problem content area, has to do with the perceptions and self-perceptions of pupils, also stemming in large measure from the past which is not all yet gone. What are they? What are their origins? How do they affect achievement in school? Here is a big area that clearly is in the behavioral scientist's field and is clearly significant to the activist movement.

A fourth content area centers around the question of teacher behavior which is effective and ineffective in furthering the catch-up process in scholastic achievement. One member of the group, for example, said that in every community there are teachers who have reputations of being very good in teaching disadvantaged children. Some of these teachers are really very good in terms of changing achievement levels, as opposed to many other teachers who are not good or very poor.

What are the distinguishing characteristics of teachers who are ef-
fective with disadvantaged children and teachers who are ineffective with
disadvantaged children? This is something that all of us have ideas about
but there has been no real systematic determination of the answer to that
question. If we had answers, they could provide us with some cues for
teacher education, in-service as well as pre-service. Clearly here is a
realm for the behavioral scientist's operations.

A fifth area has to do with the whole question of vocational education
and guidance, with special regard to Negro children. There are problems
here of student perceptions of their opportunities which may or may not be
valid in terms of the existing job situation. There are problems of teacher
perceptions of occupational opportunities available for Negro children which
may or may not be valid today.

There is the question of how effectively to break through some of the
apprenticeship programs which represent barriers. There are questions of
just what are the opportunities in the labor market in a given community
and its implications for programming in schools of that community.

There is the question of nonschool vocational educational opportunities
which are looming increasingly important. It was felt that the behavioral
scientists might discover information, and draw some inferences which would
be of help to those in the schools who are responsible for the vocational
education and guidance of children.

And finally, in the content area, attention was called to the wide
range of informal, out-of-school educational programs which are being
developed under many auspices. Among these are Head Start, the voter

education campaigns of the civil rights groups, the freedom schools, adult illiteracy programs and many others. There are many programs which are being developed to serve obvious needs in relation to the whole struggle which need to be looked at, evaluated, and their developmental stages charted. It was felt that the behavioral scientist could make an important contribution here towards laying a basis for enhancing the effectiveness of those programs.

How Can Social Scientists and Activists Work Together?

The second general area on the relations of the behavioral scientist to the activists posed problems and issues and many suggestions. One point -- which is echoed in the experience of many behavioral scientists who wanted to work in the civil rights field -- is that he must win his credentials for his advice and counsel to be accepted. And as our synthesizer commented, one way he won his credentials was to get arrested with them; then they believed him as a scientist.

Perhaps the behavioral scientist should take the initiative in trying to overcome the problem of convincing the activists that he's with the movement and not of the establishment. And recognition of this is important for the behavioral scientist who's going to do any effective work in this area.

A big question that developed around relations with the civil rights movement can be posed this way: Should the behavioral scientist accept the civil rights activists' definition of the problems that he is to attack, or should he help the activists understand and define those problems? And I gather from those actively working in this area that it's a very real problem.

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One point of view is that the activist is on the firing line; he knows
what's needed. The behavioral scientist comes from academe and he's more
detached, so he should follow the lead of the activists. It is suggested,
however, that involvement in problems on the firing line does not necessar-
ily assure understanding of those problems; that if all the researcher does
is to implement what the activist sees, his services are not effectively
used.

One member of the group, for example, called attention to the counsel-
ling problem in one of the big cities of the South where Negro students
nearing graduation began to get quite uneasy -- frustrated. What's ahead
for me? What can I do that's important for me?

The activist is likely to say to the behavioral scientist, "How can
you help me get more jobs for these kids?" as his definition of the prob-
lem. The behavioral scientist might suggest, however, that the problem is
better stated, "How can I help change public policy affecting jobs in the
community?"

Or to give another illustration: In a given county in the South the
civil rights forces are convinced that obtaining jobs for the people will
solve at least 80 per cent of their problems. Whereas the scientist prob-
ably sees those problems as being much more complex, recognizing that it
is not simply the question of finding jobs for people but also the prob-
lem of dealing with the effects of decades of unemployment among this Negro
population.

The question was resolved, naturally, by saying that there must be a
dialogue between the scientist and the activist; the important point being,
however, that the behavioral scientist probably has a contribution to make

to the activists -- as well as the other way around -- in the definition
of problems to which research technology should be applied.

A third question about relations with the civil rights groups has to
do with the programs and strategy of the movement itself. It was pointed
out, for example, that many of the techniques which were quite effective
in breaking down barriers at hamburger stands and theaters are not adequate
for future stages of the struggle.

One member of the group called attention, for example, to a problem in
Chicago. I think he said, "We can get a hundred thousand people marching
down State Street." But to what end? Around what program? And really what
is the program -- in long-time perspective, not with immediate action objec-
tives? What is the program by which the housing pattern in a community like
Chicago can be significantly and positively altered? What is the program by
which the most segregated Southern schools can be transformed to the point
of doing a really positive job with reference to the education of Negro chil-
dren particularly? We're dealing here with long-time issues which cannot be
handled by simple direct action techniques that used to work with some other
objectives.

And it was felt that the social scientist with his understanding of the
social organization and process ought to be able to make some contribution to
the civil rights movement in the definitions of program, the conception of
long-time comprehensive programs that will be effective when addressed to
some of these more complex problems that we now face at the current stage of
the movement.

Fourth, a very simple but important contribution the scientist can
make in his relations to the activist is that of making available to the
activist relevant research to the problems he faces. As was pointed out

in one of our general discussions, there is much information that we already have that would be helpful if used on the firing line.

Part of our job is that of communicating such information to the activist. Another is that of gathering simple on-the-spot information in relation to particular campaigns. If it's a job or voting campaign, or a school segregation question, the behavioral scientist obviously can be of service to the activist by utilizing his techniques and skills in information gathering, organization, interpretation, and putting it at the service of the activists.

Still another simple contribution the scientist can make is that of writing proposals to get money from the Federal government. This is an art, as many of us have learned, that is not often developed by people who have more important things to do in the struggle. But academicians are learning how to do it, and to make such skills available to the activists is important.

It was suggested further that academicians might well consider training programs specifically geared to the preparation of researchers who will be of service in the civil rights movement; not programs which require a doctoral degree in order to get out of them -- maybe no degree at all -- but selecting students who have orientations and interests in the civil rights movement, determining what kinds of experiences would most effectively prepare them for service in that movement, running them through those experiences and launching them into careers of service to the civil rights effort.

It was felt further that the academician can often serve as a "broker"

between the civil rights activists and various groups; between the civil rights groups and the boards of education and other officialdom, and even between behavioral scientists who have interests in this area.

There was a suggestion that whenever a program is established and developed by the civil rightists, that it's important for the scientist to try to have a built-in research component in that program, which would call for observing the process of its development, some measurement of its outcome -- and on the basis of such observations and measurements, evaluation and redefinition of program.

What Needs to Be Done to Stimulate Better Research?

Finally, with reference to the organization of activities in this realm, two or three suggestions were made. One was that it may be desirable to have the Office of Education give some leadership to the behavioral scientists who are interested in this area. At present the scientists expressed their interests in proposals which may or may not get a responsive reaction -- or rather a favorable response at OE.

If there are, however, areas in this general field which the Office of Education recognizes as important problems in which scientists should do some work, and would let this be known, there probably are many scientists whose interests would coincide with OE priorities.

A second general area concerning organization centered around the discussion of some decentralization of research activities related to the problems of the civil rights movement. It was noted, for example, that most of the money for research now available goes to a few monopolistic

institutions. But it was also stated that there's considerable research potential among many smaller institutions which don't get in on research grants, and that we're losing some important contributions by not somehow bringing them into the picture. The bigger institutions have so many programs and interests that the concern and attention they would give to some of the specific problems of the civil rights movement are not as marked as could be expected from smaller institutions.

It was felt that the behavioral scientists themselves might give technical assistance and stimulation to researchers and potential researchers in smaller institutions which would help overcome some of the barriers that now exist to productivity from such sources.

And finally there was the suggestion discussed -- not fully resolved -- of whether this conference might result in a "grand design" for research in behavioral sciences of service to the civil rights movement. If not a grand design, at least a plan, a perspective, an orientation. Probably this body today could not formulate such a scheme in final form.

But the idea seemed to be agreed upon that our discussions during these past few days have focused upon areas and questions that should not just end here, and that there should be some follow-up procedure by which the many ideas that come from this conference get organized into a structure of program, a plan, an orientation of what is needed in the field; some of the approaches which might be utilized in supplying that need, and then hoping that one or several agencies could serve toward the implementation of such a program.

Dr. Neil Friedman:

SYNTHESIS OF GROUP II DISCUSSIONS

...We began by listing some of the issues, then we moved to this question:
"How do you get into position to either study these issues or in some way
affect what is done about them?"

One of the issues was the general one of bringing the primary and the
school environments closer together in order to help the transfer of
learning, as was discussed in Dr. Shulman's paper. We looked at it from
both sides: the side of the home and neighborhood, and also the side of
the school itself. From the home side, there were suggestions of the need
for research on studying, language development, early language development,
values and child rearing practices so that we can tell something about
just what are the situations of this primary environment. There was also
discussion of studying the affects of Head Start programs on the parents
and older children in the homes of Head Start enrollees.

From the school side there was comment on the inadequate training
of much Head Start personnel, and the suggestion that we study and perhaps
try to develop programs around the training of Head Start personnel to be
sensitive to the disparity between the primary and the school environment.

Another general topic was a suggestion for changing the methods of
adult education programs. The specific suggestion was that we turn around
the usual pupil-student, pupil-teacher ratio by having more teachers per
student than students per teacher. This, I thought, was related to the
idea of changing the school environment from our usual model to take into

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consideration some of the special advantages and disadvantages of the primary

environment of the people involved.

Now from these two sides of home and school the next logical statement

was a suggestion that we have some kind of over-all package approach for

some specific areas, such as inner-city or small towns where both the school,

home and neighborhood environments are studied. This, perhaps, could lead

to programs for a demonstration area.

There also was some discussion of whether it is easier to change the

child to fit the school or to change the school to fit the different kinds

of children. This was all related to the question of relationship of the

primary and the school environment.

...There also was discussion of the problems of trying to do research

in the New York and other school systems where school administrators are

"color blind" at the present time, and so make it very difficult to get

the information necessary for the research. Out of this came a proposal

we make more use of the funds available for desegregation "institutes" and

desegregation "centers" so that perhaps social scientists can act in a

consulting role on the problems of social change involved with desegregation.

It was suggested that perhaps the social scientists haven't reached out

enough to school boards, and in some cases this might be welcomed.

Another question that came up was this: "What is the priority for the

social scientist? Are we primarily in a situation where we need to gather

more data in order to understand and influence the situation of social

change, or do we in effect have a great deal of data which is not being

put to use?"

So this was the question of whether what is primarily needed is going

out and doing research, or promoting the dissemination of research and

knowledge which is already available.

...The proposal was made that civil rights groups be urged to follow the lead of people like James Farmer in moving into literacy programs as a civil rights related activity. The proposal also was made that the United States government be urged to help civil rights groups to move in this direction....

The suggestion was made that we urge the diversification of the social scientist's activities and the clarification of his various possible roles so that research would not be his only contribution. Some of the possible activities mentioned were action research, the dissemination of research, and direct work as agents of social change. It further was suggested that social scientists agitate within professional organizations to get them to see the need for extra-research activities, and that we agitate the Office of Education, to promote this role diversification.

It was mentioned that teachers, in general, don't read the esoteric journals in which social scientists publish their results, and so it is not too surprising that these results don't have great impact on teacher behavior; that somehow we have to build bridges both to the activist, as was talked about before, and to people in programs where this knowledge could be used. Another question was that of bridging a gap between Southern colleges and those of other regions, so as to bring them into mutually helpful contact.

Specific suggestions included one for a new kind of graduate fellowship which would build into the graduate student's program some experience either in an antipoverty program or in going South. A second suggestion was making more use of automated teaching devices so that there can be faculty exchange

with no one leaving his particular area.

The third suggestion was that we encourage and find programs to bring about faculty exchanges so that researchers can move into those areas of dramatic social change -- to work themselves and stimulate others to work. The fourth general area that was discussed was recommendations for future conferences. It was recommended that our next conference be somewhat different in that this conference was modelled too much on A.P.A., A.S.A., and various other professional models in which people come together in hotels and listen to papers and then discuss.

And it was felt that to promote the aims of the conference, two suggestions were that we hold it first of all at one of the Southern colleges where there could be some direct experience of some of the things that we talked about. And secondly, that we build into the conference a visit to some of the antipoverty related programs where the things that we've been talking about actually take place.

Both of these suggestions I felt were to bridge the gap in actuality as opposed to talking about bridging the gap.

Dr. Robert Morgan:

SYNTHESIS OF GROUP III DISCUSSIONS

...In terms of the role of the behavioral scientist, we discussed the degree of involvement with applied research, the degree of involvement with activists, the concern for professional ethics, and the need to focus on strategic issues over attitudes or descriptive research issues.

One of the first questions that came up was the problem of cognitive dissonance between personal and program goals. This occurs when a personal interest is diverted or diluted by the specific interest of a larger program or the party that funds it.

Another problem raised, quite early, was the structure of the coalition between behavioral scientists and activists. One suggestion was that the activist must define and offer the issues of interest to the behavioral scientist as was the case with sociologists twenty years ago. This has been attacked by various organizations and journals, such as *The Journal of Social Issues*. But it still was suggested that the activists somehow define areas of special interest to them in terms of present needs. In response, a representative or former representative of CORE suggested how to achieve quality education as an immediate area of investigation.

We then discussed the need to define the population of the ghettoes, and -- echoing Dr. Shulman's talk -- the need to determine the traits that differentiate success and failure within the ghetto environment.

Another issue: It was felt that we should have more feedback from the local social agencies, or just local agencies that are funded from a

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central source for the purpose of reallocating funds properly.

A need for reevaluation of civil rights organizations also was expressed. Are they obsolete? Are they in need of extensive revision? One comment on these questions was that any social scientist who did this uninvited was a damn fool.

Another issue was the question of the diversification versus the decentralization of social scientists in their application to action. In other words, should social scientists organize more extensively, or should they work within existing professional organizations?

Two specific proposals: The first is that activist organizations should make some immediate effort to define, specify and circulate the issues important to them -- to the social scientists involved in this conference and perhaps in wider circumference. The second is that in some form an active functional coalition between activists and social scientists result from the conference....

The question was raised as to whether poverty is a socialization force with built-in resistance to change within the poor themselves -- and this resistance itself must be analyzed. Also, do we need a contemporary definition of functional leaders at the local level? Who are the real leaders?

There was a call for an exploration and possible expansion of the relationship between the poverty program and similar federal projects with the civil rights organizations. It was recommended that the concept of the guaranteed minimum annual wage should be assessed for its impact on the people, on consumers and their attitudes, and economically in terms of the effect this would have on buying power.

...It was stated that the teacher training programs in the nation's schools were insufficient in content areas such as social science. The response was that attitude change was a part of this problem. It was suggested that the resistance to change often occurs intraracially as well as interracially, and there was a serious need for objective diagnosis of these blocks, specifically in terms of segregation facilitated self-hate. An antibiotic or antidote to this should be developed, and more research was suggested into the self-concept of minorities.

A special area of interest was in terms of the rejection of the Negro middle class by the Negro lower class, and its corollary, the rejection of the Negro lower class by the Negro middle class -- for example, the rejection of Negro students by Negro teachers. To what extent does this obtain and what causes it? And what is the relation between this class rejection and the basis for black nationalism?

Another question involved the issue of whether education should support the existent self-concept of lower class children rather than to attempt to reshape their self-concept.

Another question: Should current or future programs be funded? That is, should there be a program orientation or a problem orientation? Do we need subsistence grants for current programs, or do we need "seeding" money?

Finally, there was a discussion of the extent to which advantage is made of available opportunities, such as the opportunity for integrated education. What factors prevent people from taking advantage of the opportunities that are now available? The final thing that came up, once again, was the need to structure an immediate coalition between the civil rights organizations and the social scientists.

Dr. S. M. Miller:

SYNTHESIS OF THE CONFERENCE

The Charge: *We are at a turning point for civil rights groups and at a
turning point for making social science relevant to today's
problems.*

Both Reverend King and Dr. Hauser pointed out that social science has contri-

buted much in the past to civil rights developments. On one hand, specific

knowledge was very significant in the legal briefs which led to the Supreme

Court decision on desegregation in the Brown case. Dr. Hauser noted how so-

cial science deeply affected general prejudiced American attitudes toward

Negroes and made people aware that the myth of inferiority of the Negro was

indeed a myth.

Today we are at a new turning both in civil rights and in the need for

effective social science. The civil rights movement has to turn from the

legal form of desegregation into the reality of desegregation and into the

development of integration in American society. Social science is needed

to develop the policies which will be instrumental in affecting the educa-

tional, economic, social and political position of Negroes. Social science

is needed to outline various strategies to make it possible for important

policies to be realized today. The task is especially significant with re-

gard to education and jobs. There is a need for new ideas and new lines of

action in policy, in strategy, and in developing institutions of education

to provide reality for the growing aspirations that mark Negro development

in the United States. We are at a turning point for civil rights groups

and at a turning point for making social science relevant to today's prob-

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lems. We are now at a point where it may be possible to build new kinds

of relationships between action organizations and researchers.

Among the educational problems that were discussed were:

1 Catch-up problems after segregation. It was suggested that we should

now move to longitudinal studies which would indicate whether or not we are

getting equality of results, which is our goal, rather than equality of op-

portunity. The study should be directed to an attempt to achieve desegrega-

tion and high quality education.

2 Teacher attitudes and perceptions may be significant. Little is known

about this and much attention should be devoted to the question of how to

change attitudes.

3 Repeatedly emphasized were the perceptions and self-perceptions of stu-

dents. The notion of "self-concept" was given much attention. It was stated

that a topography of self-attitudes should be developed; and that causes and

effects should be explored.

4 Teacher behavior and problems should be investigated. What are the charac-

teristics of "good teachers?"

5 Today vocational education and guidance could be very important to connect

one's education with available jobs.

6 Informed out-of-school programs are increasingly important. They involve

citizens' education and other adult education programs. The question of how

to conduct these programs is significant.

7 The relationship of in-school experience to out-of-school experience has

not been sufficiently explored. Language development and improved child

rearing need greater attention.

Other needs that were observed included the development of jobs, greater

community organization, the importance of leadership identification and development, and the relationship of poverty programs to civil rights groups. In addition, the possibilities of a guaranteed national minimum income needs greater attention. Another problem involves the tensions and strains among Negroes; their resistance to change and their inter-class challenges.

Diversity of Research Roles

It was pointed out that a variety of different kinds of research roles are needed. The pure research role of developing basic material without an eye to its specific application can turn up material of great significance. The general feeling was to move toward the kinds of research which were more specific to the needs of the civil rights movement. Here, there were some differences of opinion about the extent to which the problem should be specified by the civil rights movement and how they should be tackled. It was felt by many that the research problems posed by the civil rights movement would be the taking-off point but not the final frame for research.

It was suggested that in many cases it would be necessary to change traditional research methods. For example, in studying what makes a good teacher, it might be most useful to actually study good teachers inductively rather than to use a deductive paper-and-pencil test.

It also was suggested that studies be oriented toward action and change. The inherent bias in contemporary research is toward a stable and static model. Rather than having this kind of equilibrium or descriptive focus, studies should be oriented toward depicting elements which enhance the possibilities of change and describe the levers of action which might be available. In general, studies which focus on the pathology of a population tend

to veer away from picking out the levers of change.

In this connection, it was also pointed out that it might be necessary to recognize the possibility of indirect modes of change. If it is true that the self-concept is a barrier to learning, this does not necessarily mean that one has to work directly on the self-concept in order to improve learning. Phased experiences in school might make it possible for individuals to operate more effectively. This might have the indirect long-term effect of improving their self-concept as well as their schooling.

The whole emphasis upon self-concept can result in separation from the great problems of institutional change. If social science is to be useful to civil rights groups, social scientists must accept an orientation toward change in an institution. We must recognize that much of what we wish to have happen can only happen if we generate more effective changes in institutions. We may have many ideas about improving education, for example, but we have to learn more effective ways of dealing with the institutions so that innovations can actually be tried.

The heavy emphasis upon education, it was felt by some, let to neglect of important economic, political, and organizational problems. S. M. Miller emphasized development of new forms of legal rights and new research strategies which were not adequately handled in these discussions.

For the realization of these objectives, funding agencies need to be educated about the methodological diversification which is required today so that they will be more willing to permit and encourage a variety of research approaches.

Role Relationships of Research and the Civil Rights Movement

In attempting to build a new coalition between civil rights groups and social

scientists, there are many points of obvious convergence of interests, but there will always be some tension because of different perspectives. This tension can be healthy for civil rightists and social scientists. Both may gain by seeing problems from different perspectives without completely accepting the other's viewpoints.

In most cases social scientists as a group and as individuals have to have credentials in the civil rights movement. For some this may mean prior involvement in direct action programs. There must be some confidence on the part of civil rightists that social scientists are devoted to the movement's goals and are not attempting only to gather data for their own benefit. While it is reasonable that civil rights movement should look to social science, it is unlikely that the actionists will initiate an interchange because of the pull of their other activities. If there is to be a more effective relationship, the social scientists will have to take the initiative.

In relating social science to action, the social scientists cannot fully accept the civil rights movement's definition of problems. If they were to do so, the significance of their help would be attenuated. Therefore social scientists should be involved in helping to define the problems as well as in understanding the activists' definitions and concerns.

It is important to recognize that today part of the researcher's job is to communicate his data to the activist. We already know a good deal which would be useful, but we have failed to get this information across. It is inadequate to publish data in professional journals, which have a limited circulation and are frequently esoteric. Frequently, articles must be translated into terms which are meaningful to the activists.

There will be a need for various kinds of "broker" roles connecting social science to civil rights groups. In some cases social scientists can help secure funds for civil rights groups by writing their proposals. In other cases, civil rights activities might be enhanced by an effective "evaluation" component being built into their programs. This would permit a developmental analysis of their activities. The analysis could be fed back into the operation, providing a research basis for improved action techniques.

Plans for Action

1 Bring together the group of active social scientists working on policy issues with SCLC leaders. The possibilities for doing this will be investigated by S. M. Miller and Robert Green.

2 Funding agencies should more clearly indicate what they expect of social scientists in the way of proposals. Beyond that, it is important to stretch the boundaries which now limit the kinds of acceptable proposals. The Office of Education, in particular, should inform social scientists of its research interests.

Funding agencies should discourage the concentration of research funds in a few institutions. Smaller colleges should be encouraged to develop their research potential.

3 Social scientists should stimulate research by giving technical assistance to colleges. One way would be to send a panel of experts to various campuses to help develop research proposals.

4 Training programs might make it easier for the social scientists to work more effectively in the civil rights area. Civil rights fellowships might be offered to social scientists. Faculty exchanges between Northern and Southern

universities might be developed.

5 The "broker" concept might be useful in establishing a consortium of Southern colleges for a more effective relationship with potential funding agencies. Individuals also might help inform Southern schools about particular ways of securing funds.

6 "Seed" money would be useful in helping colleges develop programs. Small sums could have a high multiplier effect.

7 A "grand design" for research might be developed, but the likelihood is that a more limited plan will emerge. There is a great need for continuity of contact between actual and potential social scientists. From coordination, a sense of research priorities might develop.

8 Future conferences should be held to determine the next stages in the development of effective research. The next conference probably should have a less professional model. It might convene on a Southern campus with poverty problems as its theme. It should involve more civil rights activists.

9 There is an immediate need for coalition between social science and civil rights people.

Conclusion

We are living in an exciting time, which offers many new possibilities. Obviously the times will give shape to much of what we do. The relationship between social science and civil rights will always be marked by tensions. What we do about these tensions, and how well we develop effective links, both among social scientists and between them and activists, will determine the next stage of civil rights. Then we will attempt to help "fulfill these rights," which now have some legal backing, but are far from being realized.

BACKGROUND OF CONFERENCE SPEAKERS

EDMUND W. GORDON is Chairman and Professor, Department of Educational Psychology and Guidance at Yeshiva University. He is also Director of the Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged, a unit of the Educational Research Information Center of the U. S. Office of Education, and Director of Project Headstart's Division of Research and Evaluation.

PHILIP HAUSER is Professor of Sociology and Director of Population Research and Training Center and Chicago Community Inventory at the University of Chicago. Dr. Hauser's most recent publications include *Handbook for Social Research in Urban Areas* published by UNESCO in 1965, and *The Study of Urbanization* published also in 1965.

VIVIAN W. HENDERSON is the Acting Director of the Race Relations Department of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries at Fisk University. Dr. Henderson's most recent publications include: "Race, Regions, and Jobs," *Negro Employment*, published by Harcourt and Brace and Company in 1965, and "The Economic Status of Negroes," *The Problems of Poverty*, Michigan State University, 1965.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. is President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Dr. King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate in 1964 and was named "Man of the Year" by Time magazine in 1963. Among Dr. King's publications is *Why We Can't Wait* published by Harper and Row in 1964.

HYLAN LEWIS is Professor of Sociology and Director of the Center for Community Studies at Howard University. Dr. Lewis is also a member of the Head Start Research Advisory Committee. Among Dr. Lewis's many publications are: "Child Rearing Practices Among Low Income Families," *Casework Papers*, published in 1961 by the Family Service Association of America; and "Low Income Urban Negroes," *Employment, Race and Poverty*, Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967.

HERMAN H. LONG is the President of Talladega College in Talladega, Alabama, and was Director of the Community Self Surveys in Race Relations for San Francisco; Minneapolis; Burlington, Iowa; Kalamazoo, Michigan; Pittsburgh; Trenton, New Jersey; and Baltimore, Maryland. Among Dr. Long's publications are: *People Versus Property: A Study of Race Restrictive Housing Covenants* published by Fisk University Press and *An American City in Transition: The Baltimore Self-Survey of Human Relations*, Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations.

S. M. MILLER was recently appointed Program Advisor, Social Development Program, Ford Foundation. He was formerly Visiting Professor of Education and Sociology at New York University currently on leave from Syracuse University where he is Professor of Sociology, Maxwell Graduate School, and Senior Re-

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search Associate with the Youth Development Center. Dr. Miller's most recent book is *Applied Sociology: Opportunities and Problems* published by Free Press in 1965.

J. KENNETH MORLAND is Professor and the Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Virginia. Among Dr. Morland's many publications are: "The Roles of Sociologists in Southern Race Relations," *Sociology in Action* published by Dorsey-Irwin in 1966 (in press) and "A Comparison of Race Awareness in Northern and Southern Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* January, 1966.

THOMAS F. PETTIGREW is Associate Professor of Social Psychology in the Department of Social Relations at Harvard University. Dr. Pettigrew's most recent work includes *A Profile of the Negro American* published by Van Nostrand in 1964. Dr. Pettigrew's principal research areas are psychological and sociological factors in race relations, cultural influences on perception, public opinion, and cognitive processes.

LEE S. SHULMAN is Associate Professor of Educational Psychology at Michigan State University and the Director of two programs funded by the United States Office of Education: The Vocational Development of Mentally Retarded Adolescents and Inquiry Patterns of Students in Teacher Training Programs. Dr. Shulman's recent publications include "Seeking Styles and Individual Differences in Patterns of Inquiry," *School Review,* Fall, 1965, and *Learning by Discovery: A Critical Appraisal* published by Rand McNally (in press).

ATLANTA CONFEREES

Dr. Calvin Atchison, Tennessee A & I University

Dr. Edward Barnes, Northwestern University
Dr. Elias Blake, Howard University
Dr. John Blue, Office of Education
Dr. William Brazziel, Virginia State College
Dr. H. A. Bullock, Texas Southern University

Mr. Gordon R. Carey, Institute of Educational Research
Dr. Wilmoth A. Carter, Shaw University
Dr. Tillman S. Cothran, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.

Dr. Walter Daniel, Howard University (Journal of Negro Education)

Mr. Samuel Ethridge, National Education Association

Father Albert Foley, Spring Hill College
Mr. Robert J.R. Follett, Follett Publishing Company
Dr. Neil Friedman, Miles College

Dr. Charles E. Garth, Bennett College
Dr. Michael C. Giammatteo, U. S. Office of Education
Dr. Edmund W. Gordon, Yeshiva University
Miss Ann Goullaud, U. S. Office of Education
Dr. Robert L. Green, Southern Christian Leadership Conference,
   Division of Education

Dr. Thomas Hartman, North Carolina Fund
Dr. Phillip M. Hauser, University of Chicago
Dr. Vivian Henderson, Clark College
Dr. Louis Hofmann, New York University
Dr. Marvin Hoffman, Tougaloo Collegge
Dr. William Heid, Hampton Institute

Miss Sally James, Office of Education
Dr. Edward E. Johnson, Southern University

Dr. Irwin Katz, New York University
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Dr. Hylan Lewis, Howard University
Mrs. Edna W. Lockert, Tennessee A & I University
Dr. Herman Long, Talladega College

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Dr. S. M. Miller, New York University
Dr. Kenneth Morland, Randolph-Macon Women's College
Dr. Richard Morse, University of Delaware
Dr. Robert Morgan, Hawaii State Hospital

Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew, Harvard University
Dr. Paul L. Puryear, Tuskegee Institute

Dr. Harry W. Roberts, Virginia State College
Mr. Bruce Rosen, Anti-Defamation League
Mrs. Irene Rosenfeld, Yeshiva University

Miss Joan Schwartz, U.S. Office of Education
Mr. Paul Sherry, U.C.C. Board Homeland Ministries
Dr. Lee Shulman, Michigan State University
Dr. Robert H. Smith, Florida A. & M. College
Mr. Frank L. Stanley, Jr., National Urban League
Mr. Bennet Stalvey, U.S. Office of Education

Dr. R. Robb Taylor, U.S. Office of Education

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