The Institute to Assist Schools in Dealing With Problems Occasioned by and/or Incidental to Desegregation: Final Report. Changing Crisis to Challenge: an Approach to Equal Educational Opportunity.

Missouri Univ., St. Louis, Extension Div.; Missouri Univ., St. Louis, School of Education.

Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.

215p.

*Changing Attitudes; Educational Opportunities; Elementary School Teachers; Equal Education; *Institutes (Training Programs); *Integration Methods; Negro Attitudes; Negro Students; School Integration; Secondary School Teachers; Student Teacher Relationship; *Teacher Attitudes; Teacher Education

*Missouri

From June 1972 until June 1973, 57 school teachers in the St. Louis area took part in an Institute directed by the University of Missouri-St. Louis and funded by the Office of Education. The purpose of the Institute was to assist schools in dealing with problems occasioned by and/or incidental to desegregation. The strategy of the Institute to achieve this goal was to provide a number of structured and directed experiences for the participating teachers to sensitize them to a notion of equal educational opportunity. The evaluators constructed survey questionnaires and administered them to the participants and a comparison group at the beginning and end of the Institute in order to assess whether or not the goal of modified teachers' attitudes toward equal educational opportunity was realized. It was found that while all the participants agree that the potential of each child should be fully developed, the assumptions underlying their notion of potential (ability, endowment, innate capacity, and the like) changed as a result of the Institute. The teachers shifted their attitudes toward ability in a number of significant ways in response to the Institute. For example, the proportion of teachers who believe that native intelligence is not fixed genetically but is responsive to environmental influences during the first formative years increased. (Author/JM)
FINAL REPORT

THE INSTITUTE TO ASSIST SCHOOLS IN DEALING WITH PROBLEMS OCCASIONED BY AND/OR INCIDENTAL TO DESEGREGATION

The University of Missouri-St. Louis Extension Division practices equal opportunity in programming and employment.

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Section I

Introduction, Description of Program, Participants, and Leadership
INTRODUCTION

The Institute to Assist Schools in Dealing with Problems Occasioned by and/or Incidental to Desegregation grew out of concerns of community educators and leaders, Extension Division personnel, and faculty at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. The proposal was submitted by Dr. Marvin Beckerman, Extension Education Specialist, in the Spring of 1972 and was funded in June of 1972 under Title IV Civil Rights Act 1964.

The purpose of the proposal was to help sensitize school teachers, administrators, and counselors to inequities in the educational system and to give them tools and skills for working with their own schools and school districts in correcting problems and erradicating barriers to equal education for the pupils in their areas. Four school systems were chosen (described later in this report) that would benefit from such an experience.

The response from the districts was gratifying. As one superintendent wrote, "In light of the rapid social change experienced by our community, it is ever so apparent that we have considerable need for the kind of assistance we would anticipate as forthcoming from such a program."

The first session, a two-week institute for the participants, took place July 31 - August 11, 1972 at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. Fifty-three persons representing Berkeley, Normandy, Ritenour, and McKinley District in the St. Louis Public School System were involved. During this institute cognitive and affective input was given by faculty at the University of Missouri-St. Louis and community leaders and educators. Participants were then charged to work in their district teams the rest
of the school year to assess the needs, set goals, plan strategies, and implement projects which would affect their schools and district in bringing about change for equal educational opportunities. The groups met together in three weekend retreats during the school year, in October, January, and May. These were planning retreats and resource persons were provided to work with the groups—giving input and acting as facilitators.

Participants also met throughout the year in their individual district groups and in many cases planned and presented activities involving other teachers, parents, administrators, and students. The director of the Institute, Dr. Angelo Puricelli, and the field facilitators met with individuals, sub-committees, school teams, and administrators during the year acting as coordinators, resource persons, and facilitators.

**Equal Educational Opportunity**

For the purposes of this Institute, the following definition of "equal educational opportunity" was offered. *(Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 1954)*

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.
The task of the Institute was to make participants aware of the many types of discrimination in public school education. From the text by Fantini and Weinstein, the teachers, administrators, and counselors were exposed to such statements as, "If a child is poor and also a Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican, or Indian, the barrier of culture to self-worth and dignity is very high." They read of the difficulty of the task before them in bringing about change. "Our times demand that institutional changes be effected with the rapidity of revolution and rendered with the subtlety of evolution. At the same time our institutional structures have grown grotesquely large and inflexible." And they were given a charge to make changes far larger than that of the given content of the Institute, to the very philosophy of operation of the educational systems.

Education has always reflected the wants of society. Education has always reflected the existing social order and has consequently lagged far behind that social order. Yet, what society thinks it wants may not be what it needs, and schools should be granted sufficient scope to alter society itself. The situation is now quite different from what it has been; now the educator is being asked to lead in terms of societies' needs, not its wants. Society now expects education to assume a much more critical leadership role in the decades to come.

In the two-week session in the Summer of 1972 the participants were exposed to many different vantage points and resources. Speakers such as Dr. Ronald Sealey of Southern Illinois University, Carbondale presented the complexities of equal educational opportunity. He pointed out the varied forms of unequal and illegal educational practices in the United

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1 Fantini and Weinstein, The Disadvantaged: Challenge to Education. p. 6
2 Ibid., p. 218
3 Ibid., p. 420
States. He discussed "Equal Educational Opportunity: The Law" and suggested that the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment called for uniformity and nondiscriminatory treatment of persons in similar situations. He illustrated with cases involving race, unequal distribution of tax resources, culture and language, free education (requiring fees of students), special education, and sex.

In another session, a talk concerning the Coleman Report by Dr. L. Nicholson of Harris Teacher College, "Equal Educational Opportunity: The Coleman Report and Other Related Research," participants were given the facts of research on the problem. An example of this information was that white children average twenty-nine students per room; black students average thirty-three pupils per room.

Armed with these and many more understandings of the definition and ramifications of the problems involved in Equal Educational Opportunities, participants began the year of study and action.

The following report will detail the goals, planning, activities, and outcomes of the Institute. Included will be the method of operation, the process and format for achieving the Institute's goals, description of the content and activities in the plenary and group session, and the evaluation with comments. The appendix includes the materials which were used during the year. It is the hope of the Institute staff that this report will be of value to any future project using this format and/or content, as well as to the participants in the project as they continue the work they have begun in their school districts.
Institute Leadership

The Institute has been headed by the director, Dr. Angelo E. Puricelli, Assistant Dean of Extension for the School of Education, whose responsibility was to monitor the overall operations of the Institute.

The coordinator was D. Everett Thomas, Director of Credit Programs, Extension Division. His responsibility was management and coordination of Institute meetings.

Evaluation for the Institute was directed by Dr. David Rafky, Assistant Professor of Criminology and Education, City College of Loyola University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Field facilitators were Susan Becker, Carol Brun, and Joan Cole. They worked with school teams, as they met together, to provide resources and serve as liaison persons.

Instructors were selected from colleges and universities in the area and community educators and leaders. They were chosen for their interest, expertise, and experience in equal educational opportunities.

A list of the persons serving in leadership capacities is found in Appendix B.

Field Facilitator

The only facet of the project which was not written into the proposal, but was funded later, was the role of the Field Facilitator. With the consultation of Dr. Samuel Goldman, Syracuse University, the request for a budget change was made in order to place four field facilitators on the staff.

An elaborate booklet was designed by Dr. Goldman to help the facilitators with their work. The first part dealt with identifying needs and
beliefs. The field consultants were to work with each school team in assessing and identifying needs and the underlying assumptions behind them. Part two dealt with obtaining information. Group facilitators would help by identifying sources and ensuring that the right questions were being asked by the group. The third part was posing alternative solutions. By using brainstorming techniques and sub-groups, alternatives are carefully considered. Part four consisted of a selection process for the preferred solution; where the school teams would center down on one or several projects. Part five dealt with implementing the proposed solution during which a chart or plan of action would be created which would guide the team in its efforts. Part six was involved with helping the teams to evaluate their work in relation to the goals they had set for the group.

The forms used in this process and the description of the facilitator's role is found in Appendix D.

Involvement of the University of Missouri-St. Louis

One of the speakers during the two-week Institute leveled a charge which indicted the University of Missouri-St. Louis along with other universities in the area. He said

"Most of the universities in this particular area have done a tremendous job of studying the problem in East St. Louis. They have examined the industrial population, the educational system and the government structure. But no one to date has come forth from the university to say this is what you're doing wrong. Despite this great abundance of intellectual abilities on the college campuses, seemingly the university is traditional in its philosophy of non-involvement."

The charge, unfortunately, is often true. However, in this project, the staff and faculty of the University of Missouri-St. Louis have made an
effort to reach out to school districts and individuals within these districts. They provided resources, motivation, and procedures for change.

In doing so, off-shoots of this project have inspired more faculty than ever to become involved in working in a consultative or program capacity with groups and organizations in the community. Hopefully, this kind of involvement will continue to grow.

**Institute Participants**

The overall objective of the year-long Institute to Assist Schools in Dealing with Problems Occasioned by and/or Incidental to Desegregation was to sensitize school personnel to their perceptions about educational purpose, especially as related to the newly desegregated school.

The content of the program dealt with each of the four target schools identifying major issues and problems concerning their schools and developing and implementing strategies aimed at a beginning to a solution to the issues and problems.

In order to achieve the overall aim and to give substance to the content of the program, the Institute participants (see Appendix A), composed of teachers, counselors, and administrators, took part in a two-week workshop which provided a broad background and a springboard to future involvement and action.

Four school districts in the St. Louis Metropolitan Area took part in the Institute: Berkeley, Normandy, and Ritenour in St. Louis County and the McKinley High School District in the City of St. Louis. These districts currently have schools at various levels of desegregation.
Within Berkeley, Normandy, and Ritenour districts, one secondary school was to be selected for participation.* Within the McKinley district, McKinley High School would participate. Each school was asked to send a team of fifteen to the Institute, including an administrator, one second administrator or staff member, a counselor, ten classroom teachers, and two from any of the previous groups. The school district superintendent was also asked to participate as an ex officio member. Participants were paid stipends and, if desired, were granted 6 hours of graduate credit in the University of Missouri-St. Louis School of Education.

In addition to the above participants, observers from other school districts as well as a selected group of community leaders were invited to attend as resource persons.

*Director's Note: Due to late funding, the choice of school personnel for the participants in the Institute was left to the chief administrator of each school district, who in turn delegated the responsibility to others. It is my impression that there were a number of participants in attendance who were not there of their own choosing. My impression is based on verbal and written comments from the participants. Let me also add that the majority were excellent choices. However, in the future, it would be desirable to have time to implement a better selection process. Aside from individual problems in this method of selection, an even more crucial problem was that three of the districts had representatives not from one school, as stated in the proposal, but from two or more schools. This led to fragmentation and confusion in setting priorities and goals and in working together as a team.
Background Information

School districts involved in the Institute face desegregation problems or anticipate such problems in the near future. The names of these districts and relevant background information regarding each follow. In the case of the City of St. Louis, one high school within that jurisdiction participated.

McKinley High School

McKinley High School is located in the south-central section of the City of St. Louis. The population of this area can be characterized as being mainly lower socio-economic status. An interstate highway physically divides the area down the middle, with whites living on the south side and blacks on the north side. Large high-rise residences predominate in the black community, most of which are in varying states of deterioration. The white community is currently experiencing a rapid exodus of its residents. The entire area finds buildings boarded up and stores and businesses constantly being closed. The area has a high crime rate, although not the highest in the city.

McKinley High School itself is seventy years old. The student enrollment in September, 1970 was 1200. By Spring, 1971 the enrollment had declined to 1100. The anticipated enrollment for September, 1971 was 915. Approximately fifty-five per cent of the student body is black, with a continual decline in the white enrollment. Out of 400 freshmen entering the high school, about 200 drop out before the senior year. Most of the drop-outs are black.
The curriculum offerings at McKinley are limited. Because of a lack of sufficient numbers of qualified and interested students, there are currently no elective courses besides the required ones in the areas of physics, social studies, or English. Spanish is the only foreign language offered. The music program is also suffering.

Most students get along well with one another. The fights which do occur between black and white students are not usually racial in character. Black and white students, however, tend to sit separately in the cafeteria.

The McKinley High School faculty is comprised of seven black and forty white teachers. These teachers are presently concerned with such problems as the high drop-out rate among black students and the planning of programs in black history and culture. They are sensitive to the problems of the changing community and black-white relationships, but have benefited from additional training in how to deal with these problems as teachers.

Berkeley School District

Berkeley, Missouri is a suburb in northern St. Louis County. Once a rural area with a few scattered houses and a railroad station, Berkeley has grown into a large residential and industrial community. Berkeley was incorporated in 1937. Its population in 1940 was reported as 2,577. In 1950 the population had more than doubled and between 1950 and 1960 the increase was about 255 per cent, to 18,676 people. Since
1960 Berkeley's growth has slowed down, but school enrollment and other records indicate that the city is remaining one of younger families with children.

The existing public school facilities in Berkeley include six elementary schools, a junior high school, and a senior high school. During the 1970-71 school year enrollment for Berkeley was 954 black students, 6 Indian students, 8 Oriental students, and 4,432 white students.

The Berkeley School District, like many suburban districts, is in an area currently undergoing a transition from a white, middle income population. The adaptability and flexibility of schools in meeting changing conditions has often been pointed out as being crucial in effecting and maintaining stable communities, and the leaders of the school district have publicly stated their desire to improve their rather traditional program before the problems often associated with such transitions are magnified.

Normandy School District

A brief report of significant information related to problems of desegregation:

Description of District

A. Location - suburban area on the border of St. Louis
B. Population - approximately 51,000
C. Community - composed of all or part of 28 separate municipalities plus several unincorporated areas. Primarily a single family residential area plus several apartment complexes. Approximately 17,500 households.
Normandy School District (cont'd.)

D. Public Schools and Enrollment - there are eight elementary attendance areas, one junior high school, and one senior high school. In the past several years, certain of these schools have experienced a marked change in racial composition and an increase in enrollment. See Table 2.

E. Parochial Schools and Enrollment - there are eight Catholic and two Lutheran schools in the district. In the past several years their enrollments have been decreasing.

F. Census Data - a considerable amount of statistical and demographic data regarding the district has been compiled and is available for in-depth analysis.

Table 1
Posture of Professional Staff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figures include all classroom teachers, counselors and principals. Do not include district supervisors and administrators.

Tenure - For many years, the average length of service in the district by the staff has been very high. In the past several years, the average has perhaps dropped slightly due to an increased number of retirements. However, there remains a high percentage of staff members who have been in the district over ten years.
Table 2
Racial Change and Enrollment Survey
Normandy School District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bel-Nor</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>.3%</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>.6%</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bel-Ridge</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garfield</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>766</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>678</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>1058</td>
<td>35.9%</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>1056</td>
<td>57.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison</td>
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<td>407</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>.5%</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
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<td>485</td>
<td>.2%</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>71.9%</td>
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<td>Lincoln</td>
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<td>13.0%</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>568</td>
<td>36.1%</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>499</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>McKinley</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>709</td>
<td>27.9%</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>666</td>
<td>68.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
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<td>6th Grade Ctr.</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>68.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>177</td>
<td>1358</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
<td>997</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>1502</td>
<td>33.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sr. High</td>
<td>2443</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2479</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>2408</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>2592</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>2157</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>2706</td>
<td>20.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>251</td>
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<td>3.2%</td>
<td>7649</td>
<td>1195</td>
<td>8844</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>6490</td>
<td>2803</td>
<td>9293</td>
<td>30.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on September 30 each year
Ritenour School District

The Ritenour Consolidated School District is located in northwest St. Louis County and includes territory composed of a number of small incorporated areas. The largest communities are: Overland, St. John, and part of St. Ann. The district contains approximately 80,000 residents. Thirteen thousand two hundred students are enrolled in a senior high school (grades 10-12), two junior high schools (grades 7-9), and eleven elementary schools (grades kindergarten to 6).

The Ritenour District employs approximately 663 teachers and administrators and has an annual expenditure of about $10 million. The expenditure per pupil during the 1969-70 school year was $696.40.

The population of the district is similar to that found in St. Louis County. The mean income and education level of the residents of the district do not differ markedly from county averages. The best single characterization of the residents is "the more successful blue-collar workers."

The schools of the district serve a population that is about 95% white and 5% black. Three of the elementary schools have a considerably higher proportion of black students. During the last several years, there has been an increase in the number of black students enrolled in the district.

During the last two school years, there have been racial tensions in the junior and senior high schools of the district. These tensions resulted in a confrontation of serious proportion during the 1969-70 and 1970-71 school years.
The University of Missouri-St. Louis

The University of Missouri-St. Louis was established as an urban university, committed to providing academic experiences and services to individuals and other institutions in the metropolitan area. Geographically, the university is located in northwest St. Louis County, within close proximity to the county school districts involved in the Institute. Its location and avowed purpose in helping solve major urban problems make it a logical institution for cooperating with schools with respect to problems occasioned by and/or incidental to desegregation. Programs already in operation include the Center for Metropolitan and Community Studies and Project U.N.I.T.E.D. for disadvantaged students.
Section II

Description of Procedures, Activities and Reports of Institute 399
INSTITUTE TO ASSIST SCHOOLS IN DEALING WITH PROBLEMS OCCASIONED BY AND/OR INCIDENTAL TO DESEGREGATION

Objective I

Goal

Cognitive

Programs

1. Institute
2. October Retreat
3. January Retreat
4. May Retreat

Affective

Behavior

Objective II

Goal

Instructional Change

Community and/or Administration Involvement

Program

Changes in the University's Involvement with target schools and own policies and programs related to equal educational opportunity

Objective III

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY
The Program

To sensitize school personnel to their perceptions about educational purpose, especially as related to the newly desegregated school.

This objective is the major content of this report. The Institute was foremost and primarily concerned with the sensitization of the participants. Secondary objectives which involve the participants' acting out of this sensitization will also be discussed, but the focus is on the understanding and motivation of the teachers, counselors, and administrators.

The process of consciousness-raising of the participants was varied. Aside from the very important, but not formally scheduled rap sessions, support groups and individual study and learnings, the format was, as follows:

I. A formal two-week institute: July 31 - August 11, 1972

During this two-week period participating teachers, counselors, and administrators met together and listened to, discussed, acted out, and observed cognitive and affective input concerning equal education opportunity. Concrete real life situations and experiences of many different individuals were shared; theoretical and philosophical discussions and lectures were presented, and participants were involved in laboratory experiments. The schedule and description of each topic presented during this time included in Appendix C.

II. Retreats: October, January and May

On three weekends during the year, the teachers, counselors, and administrators met at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. The weekend retreats were for the purpose of receiving input and guidance
from faculty and community resources, and for planning and strategizing on the goals that each group had selected. The schedules are in Appendix C.

III. Meetings in separate teaching teams by district

All four districts met as units both during the regular Institute and retreats and in their own school districts throughout the year. Most of these sessions were planning and strategy meetings, but occasionally input from faculty or other resources was provided for growth of the members. Following is a description of these activities from the reports of the four districts.
The Berkeley School District identified as their first priority the need for better communication between the school and the community. Their strategies and projects are presented in the final report which follows.

I. Problems identified early last year
   A. Communication lines between the school and the community
   B. Meeting the needs of the students

II. Rationale
   A. Mobility of population, broken homes, both parents working, etc.
   B. Types of communication presently used relatively ineffective; i.e. apathy of parents; no response
   C. Inability of teachers to understand different life styles
   D. Realization that our curriculum is not meeting the needs of the students

III. Strategies used to begin to solve them
   A. Established a school board monthly newsletter
   B. Established two parent-teacher conference days
   C. Established evening discussion groups with small groups of parents
   D. Conducted an in-service communication workshop twice
   E. Employed a facilitator from UMSL to work with teachers not in the Institute
   F. Department heads continued to try and work with other teachers
G. Used Student Council members to facilitate communications of school problems to student body

H. More cooperative effort between the Juvenile Court and the schools to work with attendance problems and make home visits.

I. Established a peer counseling group with the aid of the Juvenile Court

J. Released time for faculty member with good student rapport to act as a liaison between student and teachers when problems arise

K. Adult education program coordinated with Juvenile Court to improve relations

L. Established a PTA workshop for parents concerning skills used in communicating with teenagers

M. Established a workshop involving teachers, parents, and administrators to determine problems in the areas of concern at the junior high level

IV. Revisions in goals and strategies

A. Once again placed emphasis on second goal, meeting student needs, as it seemed to help answer first problem

B. Used parent questionnaires, student surveys, and teacher surveys to point out strengths and weaknesses

V. Changes

A. Very good turn out of parents at first parent-teacher conference day; fewer the second day

B. Major curriculum changes being made for next year in social studies and math
The McKinley High School group centered rapidly on the issue of parent-community involvement. Many of the problems that they had experienced were due to the atmosphere surrounding the school and by the attitudes of the parents toward the school, rather than any real conflicts within the school.

Following are reports from the committee which describe their goals, plans, and projects.

I. The problems we felt we needed to delve into were:

A. Community involvement. We felt and still feel that this is the key to solving many of our problems.

1. Getting parents into the school so they don't believe all the "hearsay."

2. Preventing students in our district from transferring to a bigger school (Cleveland, Roosevelt).

3. Giving McKinley a better name by showing people all the attributes of our school.

4. Through more publicity and parent concern, getting more money into the school so that we can better update our standards.

B. Have a greater variety of courses offered. (Biology, Latin, Advanced English, Comp. Speech, Drama, etc.)

1. This would provide students with a better background and more incentive to come to McKinley.

2. Prevent permissive transfers to other schools.
C. Increased intramurals.
D. Established staff conferences among teachers, social workers, and counselors to solve student problems and conflicts.

VI. Plans for the 73-74 school year
A. Attempting to reschedule school day to provide more course choices, smaller classes--hence, more individual attention.
B. Attempting to increase extra-curricular activities to involve more students.
C. Two workshops planned to complete curriculum changes in social studies and math.
D. Attempting to send a representative to MCREL who, in turn, will train teachers in better methods of involving students in the total school program.
E. Plan to work on the survey recommendations presented by the University of Missouri at Columbia.
II. Rationale for problem established
   A. Parents feel school is only a place they come to when their child misbehaves, therefore, they feel uncomfortable in this situation.
   B. Parents do not know what goes on in school and are readily inclined to believe anything they hear, most of which is false information.
   C. McKinley is not getting parental support from the majority of area residents. If we had this support, school attendance might be better, cooperation of parents might be improved (their attendance in school activities and programs and cooperation with administration).
   D. The more support we get from the public, the more money we might be able to get from the Board of Education for McKinley.

III. Objectives
   A. Make the school a place for parents to feel free to visit.
   B. Educate the parents on the real McKinley High School.
   C. Showing them our concern--we hope to get their support.
   D. Work for large numbers of persons participating so that the impact will be greater.
   E. Expose black to white parents in order to desegregate.

IV. The strategies used to solve these problems, beginning with Community Involvement were:
   A. Mr. Greer and Mrs. Sebold met with mothers to discuss their feelings about McKinley. After about 4 months we decided
we were in a rut and had jumped the gun a little. We stopped meeting with mothers in order to start planning.

B. Tutoring program. Volunteer teacher aides and tutors have been requested. The aide will be a part of the tutorial program since the teacher aide (parent) will be working for the classroom teacher, as far as tutoring the child in a specific area.

1. To begin with, parents will be tutoring only S.T.E.P. students (those who are in the special education program), who graduate or test into the general curriculum. These students have special problems in trying to adjust to the change. Mr. Mestres is in charge of this tutoring and began the program in February, 1973. The teachers have been asked to donate one free period each week to tutor these students and Bell Telephone offered tutors to us also.

2. Hopefully, we can begin a tutor service for general high school students also.

C. Community Leaders

1. Mr. Shipp and his committee have compiled a list of community leaders from churches, Kiwanis Club, Kingdom House, 12th Street Businessman's Association, and the Southside Journal and will continue to enlist their help in getting community support for McKinley.
2. A luncheon was planned on March 30, 1973 for these community leaders and was held at McKinley. Luncheon was prepared by the Home Economics class. These kinds of activities will continue in the future.

D. Calling Committee

1. Dr. Adams and her committee presented a program to parents of students already involved in school activities. They notified parents by calling them on the telephone and inviting them. This, hopefully, was an effective method of making the parent realize that we are concerned about their child.

E. During this time McKinley worked in many activities which brought parents into the school as well as outside influences. Some of these were:

1. Open House which was October 25, 1972, and gave parents time to talk to teachers.

2. Many benefits held by our school and others for Herman Davis, a football player who was seriously injured in one of the school football games.

3. Parent Week--approximately 100 parents showed up to tour McKinley and sit in on their children's classes. These parents also volunteered to come to a parent orientation workshop at McKinley later in the year.

4. Football Banquet--parents and football players honored at banquet served by Home Economics classes.
5. Miss McKinley Pageant--several individuals from Florissant Valley Community College came out to help judge the pageant which brought more excitement to this gala event.

6. Honors Banquet--students which had been on honor list and their parents were invited to a banquet. The Home Economics classes served.

These were a few of the ways in which McKinley strived to get the community involved and into the school, which we feel were rather successful.

Some future plans for this year:

1. The parent orientation workshop, which the parents who attended parent week showed an interest in, is hopefully scheduled for June. The main purpose for this workshop is to enable parents to attend Town Hall and Church meetings to discuss and encourage participation in McKinley Fest, assign jobs to these parents for McKinley Fest, and serve a luncheon in order to get more to attend. There were 96 parents to sign up.

2. McKinley Fest is going to be more of a carnival (outdoor) displaying crafts, etc. that has taken place at McKinley this year. All the departments and clubs are doing something for the Fest; setting up booths or a game of sorts.

3. As far as variety of subjects, McKinley is starting Project Effect. Project Effect is a program which has been in the planning for a while and will be started in Fall, 1973.
In this program mini-courses are offered in a variety of subjects. These courses are 10 weeks long and give the student a chance to choose his interests in subjects and also, if he finds he is failing, it is just an "F" for 10 weeks and he can start all over again the next 10 weeks. The student's interest in the subject would not wear out as it does in the semester course, therefore, the student might do better in the subject.
The objective which the Normandy group initially set for themselves was to provide inservice opportunities for the teachers of the Normandy School District. The teachers felt that their colleagues needed the same kind of opportunities that they had had in the Institute. They felt that by doing this they could increase the sensitivity of teachers in the district and help equalize educational opportunities.

Their strategy was:

1. To present a workshop to the district on Curriculum Day, Nov. 2
2. To administer a questionnaire, getting the attitudes and needs of the teachers
3. To use the questionnaire as a basis of their planning for further inservice opportunities.

The group planned and executed the workshop at which they had Dr. John Morris of Parkway School District show slides and speak to teachers. The plan was a success, but the questionnaires which were to be returned that day were not. The group felt that they had no clear mandates (see progress report). They talked of various alternatives such as dividing responsibilities and visiting each school in the district to get feedback and support on inservice training.

In January the group reassessed their plans for inservice training and with the help of Dr. Charles Fazzaro came up with an alternate plan of writing a report. They also indicated a desire to participate in Normandy Involvement Day.
The group met again on February 10. They divided into subcommittees and took responsibility for the report.

Normandy, a district which has been confronted with problems "occasioned by and/or incidental to desegregation" for over five years, has employed many of the more "traditional" techniques for easing the transition: newsletters, parent advisory groups, school open houses, parent-teacher conferences, school-court-police programs, and use of peers in dealing with problems of fellow students.

Consequently, the group felt it necessary to look to the Normandy staff for problems of significance to them. To accomplish this task, Dr. Morris was asked to present a condensation of his original part in the Institute to approximately forty Normandy staff members (two-thirds of the staff). This presentation was offered on a November 1972 district-wide workshop day. The general feeling seemed to be that it filled an immediate need to sensitize the staff to cultural differences and to aid staff in handling problems of classroom management.

As part of the presentation, Dr. Morris directed the staff as they completed a questionnaire intended to identify specific problems of concern to the Normandy staff. Once specific problems are isolated plans for inservice programs for the Normandy staff will be developed to help in solving these problems.

Thus far it would appear that inservice programs in the following areas are indicated:

1. Curriculum both what is taught and what the physical plant limitations are.
2. Staffing  particularly the need for smaller class sizes and paraprofessionals to give greater attention to the culturally disadvantaged child.

3. Public Relations especially the need to inform parents about the school program and the needs of the schools.

4. Morale  especially as morale is affected by inadequate physical facilities and by discipline problems.

5. Humanizing the Program especially the problem of reducing the effective size of the junior high to several mini-schools within the larger school to provide students with a smaller group with which to identify.
EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY
IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How many years have you taught in Normandy
2. School
3. Male or female
4. A) White   B) Negro or Black American   C) Other
5. Generally speaking, how satisfied are you with teaching?
   A) Very satisfied
   B) Moderately satisfied
   C) Somewhat dissatisfied
   D) Not at all satisfied
   (Indicate letter)
6. How comfortable do you feel teaching students who are
   of a different race of socio-economic status than you?
   A) Very comfortable
   B) Moderately comfortable
   C) Somewhat uncomfortable
   D) Afraid
   (Indicate letter)
7. What per cent of all the students you teach would you
   classify as low achievers because of unequal educational
   opportunity?
8. How has desegregation resulted in unequal educational
   opportunity at your school?


9. List some adjustments you have had to make as a result of desegregation:
10. How has desegregation affected teacher morale at your school?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

11. In my opinion, to achieve equal educational opportunity in desegregated schools the greatest need is to

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

12. With respect to this need (#11) the following should be done:

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________
I. Problems identified early last year
   A. Lack of communication
      1. Teacher--teacher
      2. Student--student
      3. Teacher--student
      4. Parent--teacher
   B. Disciplinary problems related to desegregation
   C. Qualified personnel
   D. Curriculum
   E. Morale

II. Strategies used to begin to solve them
   A. Workshops (inservice programs and curriculum development)
   B. Extra curricular activities
   C. Inter-school relations
   D. Cultural Awareness Week

III. Revisions in goals and strategies
   A. In place of a specific project, the committee made
      an in-depth analysis of the problems incidental to
      and occasioned by desegregation. This analysis and
      recommendations are included in a formal report.

IV. Changes*
   A. Parent participation--more participation
   B. Change in curriculum days--program on desegregation
      was included.
   C. Teacher exchange program
D. District funded camping trip

E. Special classroom at junior high for disruptive students in the hopes of modifying behavior.

* These changes are not necessarily attributed to the training and ideas stemming from the Institute

V. Future plans for 73-74 school year

A. Our recommendations are included in a final report to the superintendent. Our future plans are incumbent upon the direction our superintendent deems appropriate.
Ritenour School District
Final Report

I. Primary need in the Ritenour School District as identified by the participants of this Institute

To gain equal educational opportunity by creating an awareness of the individual needs of students in the professional staff starting at the junior high level.

II. Strategies used in an attempt to meet our need

A. We invited Dr. John Morris to give a slide presentation depicting different school situations in various sections of the St. Louis area. Our purpose here was to show teachers the remarkable differences occurring from one school to another in the same locale hoping that seeing these differences they would, in turn, more deeply realize the vast differences in individuals within their respective classrooms.

B. We held a joint faculty meeting involving the total faculty from our two junior high schools, Hoech and Ritenour Junior. Communications expert, William Archibald was present to explain the need for and to demonstrate some communication skills. Our purpose here was to at least get people interested in developing better communication skills themselves. The underlying idea in having both faculties together was to widen channels for communication between members of the two groups--both schoolwise and socially.
C. One day was set aside at Hoech Junior High as a "Human Relations Day" involving a portion of the Hoech seventh graders. The purpose of this activity was to let the students concentrate on really getting to know and feel each other's humanistic qualities through role-playing, games, songs, and pictures.

D. We met as a group on a semi-regular basis to interchange ideas and feelings. We listened for feedback in general and especially in regard to the above mentioned presentations. As individuals in every day school activities we tried to meet the individual needs of our students, feeling that we had to start with ourselves if we expected our ideas to catch on with others.

III. Revisions in goals and strategies

Feeling a definite lack of communication between various groups within our school system, including our own two groups of participants in this Institute, we realized that in order to be aware of an individual's needs, we had to first be able to communicate effectively with that person. Consequently, we desired to provide incentive for developing improved communication skills among the faculty members and in turn the students. Thus we set this as a major objective to be met in attaining our primary goal.

IV. Status and change

This has been a good school year in the Ritenour District with a minimum of negative chaos. We feel the general attitude of administrators and teachers is that appropriate educational
opportunities for each individual student should be provided and that definite attempts are being made to reach this goal. Changes in curriculum and scheduling are occurring. A variety of mini-courses have been developed for next year in already established subjects as well as additional areas to allow the student more choice in the direction he would like his formal education to take. A seventh grade social studies textbook using a humanistic approach has been accepted for next year. We feel that the positive progress being made is due, in part, to the ideas which participants gained from or which were reinforced by this Institute.

V. Future plans

A. We have recommended that a Communications Workshop be held on one of the orientation days before the start of the 1973-74 school year this September.

B. We plan to promote the ideals thus far developed and to keep in mind that—-I am me, and You are you, and we just might be different, but "ain't we got fun."
Appendices

A - H
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Berkeley Junior High</th>
<th>Berkeley Junior High</th>
<th>Caroline Elementary School</th>
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**BERKELEY HIGH SCHOOL**

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**NORMANDY SCHOOL DISTRICT**

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<td>Ritenour Junior High</td>
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</table>
## RESOURCE PERSONS

### Consultants, Lecturers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marvin M. Beckerman, Ph.D.</td>
<td>Principal, Bishop Healey School, St. Louis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rev. Lucius Cervantes, S.J., Ph.D.</td>
<td>Professor, St. Louis University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henrietta Cox, Ph.D.</td>
<td>Assistant Professor, UMSL</td>
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<tr>
<td>K. Peter Etzkorn, Ph.D.</td>
<td>Professor, UMSL</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Charles Fazzaro, Ed.D.</td>
<td>Assistant professor, UMSL</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Samuel Goldman, B.A.</td>
<td>Professor, Syracuse University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilmer Grant, M.S.</td>
<td>Visiting Asst. professor, UMSL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jerome Himelhoch, Ph.D.</td>
<td>Professor, UMSL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arthur C. Littleton, Ph.D.</td>
<td>Research psychologist, Academy of Urban Service &amp; Urban Behavioral Research</td>
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<tr>
<td>David J. Mahan, Ed.D.</td>
<td>Asst. to Superintendent of Schools</td>
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<tr>
<td>Malvin E. Moore, Jr., Ed.D.</td>
<td>Professor, Southern Illinois University</td>
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<tr>
<td>John L. Morris, Ph.D.</td>
<td>Principal, Sorrento Springs, Parkway S.D.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lawrence E. Nicholson, Ed.D.</td>
<td>Professor, Harris Teachers College</td>
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<tr>
<td>Angelo H. Puricelli, Ph.D.</td>
<td>Associate professor, UMSL</td>
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<tr>
<td>David N. Rafky, Ed.D.</td>
<td>Assistant professor, City College of Loyola University, New Orleans</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ronald W. Sealey, Ph.D.</td>
<td>Executive Director, Jewish Community Relations Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>Norman Stack, M.S.</td>
<td>Director, Extension Credit programs, UMSL</td>
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<tr>
<td>D. Everett Thomas, M.Ed.</td>
<td>Associate professor, UMSL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paul D. Travers, Ed.D.</td>
<td>Associate Dean, Extension Division, UMSL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clive C. Veri, Ph.D.</td>
<td>Professor, UMSL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henry R. Weinstock, Ed.D.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Panel Members

- Thomas Batista
- Gordon Baum
- Virginia Beard
- Eric Blanchard
- Anita Blond
- Otis Bolden
- Douglas A. Booth
- Virgil Border
- Miller Boyd
- Billy Branscomb
- Lincoln Calvin
- Joseph W. B. Clark
- Mrs. James Downey
- Ellen Sweets Dunning
- Judy Herman
- Roy V. Hill
- George Hyram
- Fred Kimbrough
- Betty Lee
- Tansie J. Mayer, Jr.
- Dana Spitzer
- Vivian Womble
SCHEDULE

399 Institute on Educational Purposes and Desegregation

Session I

Friday, October 13, 1972
6:00 - 8:00 P.M.

**Berkeley**

J. C. Penney Building
Room 78

*Individualizing Instruction and Crisis Classroom -- Dr. Charles Fazzaro*

**Normandy**

J. C. Penney Building
Room 75

*Develop program or programs to inform and instruct Normandy school district teaching staff -- Dr. John Morris Dr. Marvin Beckerman*

**McKinley**

J. C. Penney Building
Room 72

*Develop techniques and skills to improve community relations -- Mr. Norman Stack*

**Ritenour**

J. C. Penney Building
Room 70

*Work on curriculum. Humanizing instruction -- Dr. Robert Starr Dr. Charles Fazzaro*

Session II

Saturday, October 14, 1972
9:00 - 11:30 A.M.

**Berkeley**

J. C. Penney Building
Room 222

*Communication in Crisis Situation -- Al Chappelle*

**Normandy**

J. C. Penney Building
Room 229

*Develop program or programs to inform and instruct Normandy school district teaching staff -- Dr. Marvin Beckerman*
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>McKinley</td>
<td>Develop techniques and skills to improve community relations -- Mr. Norman Stack</td>
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<td>Work on curriculum. Humanizing instruction -- Dr. Charles Fazzaro</td>
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<td>(one-half of group will attend this session)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McKinley</td>
<td>Communication in Crisis Situation -- Al Chappelle</td>
</tr>
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<td>(1/2 of group will attend this session along with Berkeley group)</td>
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Session II

Saturday, October 14, 1972
1:00 - 4:30 P.M.

Berkeley

J. C. Penney Building
Room 222

Communication in Crisis Situation -- Al Chappelle

Normandy

J. C. Penney Building
Room 229

Develop program or programs to inform and instruct Normandy school district teaching staff -- Dr. Marvin Beckerman

McKinley

J. C. Penney Building
Room 72

Develop techniques and skills to improve community relations -- Mr. Norman Stack Dr. Robert Starr

Ritenour

J. C. Penney Building
Room 78

Work on curriculum. Humanizing instruction -- Dr. Charles Fazzaro (1/2 of group will attend this session)

J. C. Penney Building
Room 222

Communication in Crisis Situation -- Al Chappelle (1/2 of group will attend this session along with Berkeley group)
SCHEDULE

Weekend Sessions
399 Institute on Educational Purposes
and Desegregation

Friday, January 12, 1973  6:00 - 9:00 P.M.

Session I
6:00 - 6:15  Room 222 J. C. Penney Building (large group)
Announcements and objectives, Angelo Puricelli, weekend session plus Phase II of desegregation '73-'74. Count off 1 to 4

Session II
6:15 - 7:00  Individual Groups
Berkeley, Room 229
Normandy, Room 225
Ritenour, Room 222
McKinley, Room 121

Choose a person to report to small cross group and a person to report to large group and leave session with a written report on the following:

1. Problem or problems identified (list)
2. Rationale for problem established (state) reason for priorities
3. Project objectives specified
4. Significant variables operationalized (what are you doing)
5. If applicable, related literature searched
6. If applicable, data collection tools identified
7. If applicable, data collection tools constructed
8. Project or projects schedule(s) developed
9. Means of evaluating project(s) have been determined

Session III
7:15 - 8:00  Cross groups to share and refine reports
All 1's meet in Room 229
All 2's meet in Room 225
All 3's meet in Room 222
All 4's meet in Room 121
Session IV
8:15 - 9:00
Large group -- Room 222

Saturday, January 13, 1973
9:00 A.M. - 4:30 P.M.

Session V
9:00 - 11:30
Ritenour Jr. High
Berkeley and Hoech Room 222 J. C. Penney

Communication Al Chappelle

Normandy Jr. High Room 225
Inservice programs for the total faculty at Normandy. Programs on desegregation and equal educational opportunity - Charles Fazzaro

McKinley High Room 229

Community Involvement Norman Stack, Marvin Beckerman

Session VI
1:00 - 4:30
SAME AS ABOVE

SIGN VOUCHERS BEFORE LEAVING
Institute to Assist Schools in Dealing with
Problems Occasioned by and/or Incidental to Desegregation

May 18-19, 1973

J. C. Penney Continuing Education Building

Friday, May 18, 1973

6:15 to 7:30 p.m. Whole Group
Room 222 General business meeting
(mileage vouchers, completion of questionnaires)

7:30 to 9:00 p.m. Individual groups
Room 72 Berkeley -- Dr. Sam Wood
"How to integrate the transfer student
into the district"

Room 225 McKinley -- Dr. John Morris
make presentation concerning equal educational
opportunity, assist group with plan for motivating
teachers at McKinley to solve in-house problems

Room 222 Normandy -- Dr. Charles Fazzaro
Assist group in writing final report to their
district. Report deals with problems and
possible solutions. Strategies to try in the
'73-'74 school year.

Room 75 Ritenour and Hoech
at large, may participate in any of the
individual sessions

Saturday, May 19, 1973

9:00 to 11:30 a.m. Individual groups same as Friday
11:30 to 1:00 p.m. LUNCH
1:00 to 3:00 p.m. Individual groups
Large group session

Sign vouchers, informal reports from individual groups. Verbal or written evaluation of institute sessions and process. Can the schools show any changes in curriculum, scheduling, PTA and student participation in programs, etc. that could be attributed to the institute.

The informal reports should use the following format for presentation. Group identify 1 or 2 members to present report before May 18, 1973. Have outline prepared to turn in to Puricelli at that time.

I. State the problems identified early last year.

II. Strategies used to begin to solve them.

III. What revisions, if any, did you make in goals and strategies during the year?

IV. What, if any, changes have occurred in your school or school district, i.e. increased attendance of parents and students at meetings, changes in curriculum, scheduling, etc. Were these changes due in part or completely by training and ideas stemming from the institute?

V. What are your future plans for the 72-73 school year?
Session I

An Historical Overview of American Education
in Social and Cultural Contexts

Dr. Paul Travers, University of Missouri-St. Louis
Dr. David Mahan, St. Louis Public Schools

Dr. Travers and Dr. Mahan presented an overview of the development of the concept of equality of opportunity as it has existed within the American educational framework. They pointed out that while equality and education have long been a basic concept to which most Americans subscribe, when this equality becomes subject to specific definitions and/or operationalized there is a divergence of opinion. Some authors hold that education has helped to bring about equality, carrying over from the educational system to all aspects of the American life. Others maintain that education in America has never approximated the concept of equality and has been extremely structured around the dimensions of the social classes.

A Philosophical View of American Education
in Social and Cultural Contexts

Dr. Henry Weinstock, University of Missouri-St. Louis
Dr. Charles Fazzaro, University of Missouri-St. Louis

In a series of lectures, Dr. Henry Weinstock and Dr. Charles Fazzaro presented three aspects of the philosophy of American education. The first talk was entitled "A Philosophical View of American Education in Social and Cultural Contexts." The second was "A Comparative View of Institutional Purpose: Schools and Other Institutions." A theme which ran throughout the three lectures was that decisions are made on the basis of some philosophy, goal, or purpose. Often these may not be
the same philosophies that are stated by the schools, but nevertheless, an examination of curriculum, administration, and other guidelines will reveal the philosophy behind the actions and events.

Drs. Fazzaro and Weinstock began with a discussion of the systems model, a way of viewing and conceptualizing. They discussed the philosophic basis for models. Questions were asked such as "What do we mean by a basic value, equal education, and how do we arrive at decisions?" They presented five different models of a philosophical basis of decision making. The first is a philosophical approach; second, pragmatic approach; third, scientific approach; fourth, behavioral approach; and fifth, analytic approach.

Session II

A Comparative View of Educational Purposes: American and Others

Dr. Henry Weinstock, University of Missouri-St. Louis

Dr. Weinstock used the analytical approach to look at the intrinsic value within equal educational opportunity centering on the question of the value placed on knowledge itself. Dr. Weinstock discusses the different schools in American philosophy of education. He speaks of realism and idealism as well as traditionalist and progressive approaches. This lecture series has a background in philosophy to prepare the participants for more specific elements in equal opportunity education.

A Comparative View of Institutional Purpose: Schools and Other Institutions

Dr. John Morris, University of Missouri-St. Louis

The lecture concentrated on the environment of the inner city school child, pointing out the very different background and home life of many
city children. Morris discussed the poor facilities, the poor start children have in life, and talked about how children need special help from the school if they are to get out of the circle of poverty. An impressionistic, emotional appeal to help teachers sense the inequities of life in the city of St. Louis.

Session III

Assimilation in American Life; Melting Pot, Pluralism, and Anglo-Conformity

Panel and Discussion

Norman Stack, Moderator; Jewish Community Relations Council
Eric Blanchard, Washington University
Otis Bolden, Forest Park Community College
Virgil Border, National Conference of Christians and Jews

Each person on the panel presented a different point of view--Jewish, Black, and White Anglo Saxon Protestant--and discussed their own encounters with American society and cultural barriers, as well as their knowledge of the experiences of others and the research they had done of the subject.

Equal Educational Opportunity: The Law

Dr. Malvin Moore, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Dr. Ronald Sealey, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

A discussion of the topic included all of the varieties and ramifications of the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment. Sealey pointed out that at any time persons are not treated uniformly under similar situations there is discrimination. This applies to racial, financial and tax resources, cultural and bilingual, free education, special education of the handicapped, and education of both sexes.
Dr. Moore spoke on the historical, sociological, and philosophical implications of equal educational opportunity. Western civilization, being white, has from its beginnings imposed white values and favoritism in all aspects of society. He traced the beginnings of legislation from the 1831 ruling that it is a crime to educate free men of color or a slave to the separate but equal ruling until today; the 1964 Supreme Court rulings and the cases which have followed. He related personal experiences of the extremes of discrimination.

Session IV

Equal Educational Opportunity: The School as a Sorting and Selecting Agency

Panel and Discussion

Dr. Peter Etzkorn, Moderator; University of Missouri-St. Louis

The panel discussed the direct and subtle ways in which a school determines the vocation, status, social class, and life style of the persons who are its students. The discussion ranged from the impact that poor facilities had on all the students in that institution to the impact of stereotypes of race and national origin on the channelling of students. Mental ability and aptitude are not the only determinants of success.

Equal Educational Opportunity: The Coleman Report and Other Related Research

Dr. L. Nicholson, Harris Teachers College

Dr. Nicholson gave a summary of the Coleman Report stating how the project was developed in response to section 402 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960. The survey was begun in 1966 and completed in 1968 by James S. Coleman and six associates. One of the biggest problems was that there was no single operational conceptual concept of equality and educational
opportunity. So work had to be done with no concise, singular understanding.

A new basic assumption was that education was the responsibility of the public school, not the parent or child.

There were six racial and ethnic groups tested and questions were asked on the basis of

- Extent to which racial groups were represented in the school
- Curriculum resources available, teacher, student types
- How much students learned on performance tests
- Relationship between the school and the achievement of the students

He reported on a number of inequities which were discovered.

Session V

Equal Educational Opportunity: The Psychological and Sociological Effects of Discrimination

Panel and Discussion

Dr. Arthur Littleton, Moderator; Academy of Urban Service and Urban Behavioral Research

Miller Boyd
Lincoln Calvin
George Hyram
Betty Lee

The panel members discussed the psychological effects that discrimination has upon the minority groups. The extremes of adaption, frustration, fear and hostility, and self concepts. Then they presented what this meant in terms of sociolization and status in today's society. The subtleties as well as the blatant manifestations, such as fewer opportunities and smaller salaries, were discussed.
Equal Educational Opportunity: The White Majority Adult View

Film: The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder

Panel and Discussion: The Adult View

Dr. L. Nicholson, Moderator; Harris Teachers College
Mr. Thomas M. Batista, KMOX-TV
Mr. Gordon Baum, Citizens Council of America (Missouri)
Mrs. James Downey, League of Women Voters, School Board Member (Parkway)
Dana Spitzer, St. Louis Post Dispatch

The focus was upon what responsibility adults have in terms of the equal educational opportunity. The decisions that affect their children and the young persons of the nation should be the responsibility of the citizens. Sometimes they even press for and cause racial tension and segregation. They are transmitters of the status quo.

Session VI

Equal Educational Opportunity: The Ethnic Minority Adult View

Panel and Discussion:

Dr. L. Nicholson, Moderator; Harris Teachers College
Anita L. Blond
Joseph W. B. Clark,
Ellen Sweets Dunning
Vivian S. Womble

The political aspects of segregation were discussed. "If laws can be made to enforce segregation, why can't they be made to enforce integration?" was asked. The last interest of some Blacks is segregation. What they are really after is quality education. On the other hand, one panel member suggested that there is more than just education, but learning to live together as human beings involved in integration. Talk, discussion, and maneuvers must stop and action begin.
Equal Educational Opportunity: The Subcultures of Youth

Reverend L. Cervantes, S.J.
Dr. Henrietta Cox, University of Missouri-St. Louis

The presentations were focused on the ramifications of equal educational opportunity and the job market. The statement was made that formal education was not preparing today's youth for the types of employment opportunity that is available.

Session VII

Equal Educational Opportunity: The Youth View

Panel and Discussion:

Dr. Wilmer Grant, Moderator; Project UNITED, University of Missouri-St. Louis
Douglas A. Booth
Billy Branscomb
Judy Herman

A panel which included youth representatives presented the topic of Equal Educational Opportunity from the eyes of the consumer--the young people who receive the education. The comment was made that often student's perspectives are not included in the planning process for their own education. The members talked of the discrimination which eliminates some students from getting quality education because of sex, race, or lack of funds.

Equal Educational Opportunity: Dropouts and the Schools as an Institution

Panel and Discussion:

Dr. Arthur Littleton, Moderator; Academy of Urban Service and Urban Behavioral Research

Virginia Beard
Roy V. Hill
Fred Kimbrough
Tansie J. Mayer, Jr.
The persons on the panel discussed the high dropout rate among metropolitan youth as being the schools' problem, not the problem of the student or his parent. They blamed the school for not being relevant to the needs and interest of the students. The faculty is not sensitive enough nor does it have an understanding of the culture and values of the poor minorities.

Session VIII

**Equal Educational Opportunity: The Criminal Offender, Other School Deviants, and the School as an Institution**

Dr. Jerome Himelhoch, University of Missouri-St. Louis

Dr. Himelhoch presented a paper on research that he had conducted for the past ten years on students, concerning the values, aspirations, and conduct of black and white high school boys, grades 9 to 11.

**Equal Educational Opportunity: School Policies and Administrative Practices**

Dr. John Morris, University of Missouri-St. Louis

Dr. Morris spoke of his experience in the St. Louis public schools as an administrator and a teacher. He stressed that discipline was very important in the school setting and that there was a need to see each student as an individual and as a product of his home environment. He stated the importance of keeping in touch with and involving parents in the educational process.

Session IX

**Equal Educational Opportunity: Its Testability in School Settings**

Dr. John Morris, University of Missouri-St. Louis

Dr. Morris related his experiences as a St. Louis public school administrator and showed slides of an innovative project of building
an airplane which involved many children in a school and taught them in an imaginative and creative way. He stressed that inequities in the educational system deprived children of opportunities to learn.

Equal Educational Opportunity: Development of Innovative School Programs at the Secondary Level

Dr. Charles Fazzaro, University of Missouri-St. Louis

Dr. Fazzaro presented a model of an innovative school which used the modual system, breaking the conventional secondary school system class structure into 15 minute periods. He reported on the experiment with education conducted by the University of North Carolina.
INSTITUTE TO ASSIST SCHOOLS IN DEALING
WITH PROBLEMS OCCASIONED BY AND/OR
INCIDENTAL TO DESEGREGATION

Objectives

1. To assist participants in developing greater awareness about equal educational opportunity through participation in a two-week study program.

2. To facilitate the development by each team of strategies for adapting and implementing "equal educational opportunity" activities.

3. To assist each team in implementing its strategies.

4. To provide opportunities for review and evaluation of the strategies and the results.

5. To assist the teams in developing follow-up plans.
FLOW CHART OF ACTIVITIES FOR INSTITUTE
TO ASSIST SCHOOLS IN DEALING WITH PROBLEMS OCCASIONED
BY AND/OR INCIDENTAL TO DESEGREGATION

SUMMER 1972

Selecting the teams

Study Sessions

Develop Strategies

Field Implementation

Field Visits by Institute Staff

OCTOBER 1972

Review & Refinement of Strategies

- Review & Refinement of strategies
- Proposals for next steps

JANUARY 1973

JUNE 1973

Evaluation & Follow-Up Plans

8/3/72
AN APPROACH TO ACHIEVING OBJECTIVE #2

To facilitate the development by each team of strategies for adapting and implementing equal educational opportunity activities.

Part 1: Identifying Needs and Beliefs

Introduction

1. Have each individual on his own complete FORM N-B (Needs-Beliefs)

2. Then form the teams and have each team discuss and develop a set of important needs and beliefs.

Caution

1. Needs and beliefs should be expressed in simple, clear, operational terms.

2. The final group list should show the rank order (1st, 2nd, 3rd) and this should determine the efforts of the group. The number and scope of needs should not be so great as to preclude success in any of them. A few easy successes are needed early to motivate the team.
Please complete each sentence below with specific reference to your school and equal educational opportunity.

Example: The most important need is for students to have comfortable place in the school where they could go to relax and be with friends. I believe that young people get to know each other better in informal settings.

1. The most important need is ________________________________

   With respect to this need, I believe ________________________________

2. The second most important need is ________________________________

   With respect to this need, I believe ________________________________

3. The third most important need is ________________________________

   With respect to this need, I believe ________________________________
Part 2: Obtaining Information

Introduction

After the list of needs and beliefs has been developed, each team should begin putting together as much information as possible for each need. FORM O - I (Obtaining Information) should guide this.

Caution

1. All sources of information should be checked including -- records, interviews with people, recollections, newspaper, etc.

2. Group facilitators should help here by
   a) identifying sources
   b) ensuring the right questions being asked
FORM 0 - I

Need

What do we know about it

What don't we know about it

How and when do we find out

What are some constraining factors

What are some enabling factors
Part 3: Posing Alternative Solutions

Introduction

1. Be sure that the teams know and understand the need they are dealing with. See FORM P.A.S. (Posing Alternative Solutions)

2. The group facilitator can be helpful here by creating a group exercise such as the following:

   a. Brainstorming - encourage creative and imaginative thinking about solution to a problem. Every person should feel free and comfortable to offer any solution no matter how "foolish" he may feel about it. Quantity not quality is important. After the brainstorming session is over, the quality of suggestions is considered.

   b. Advocacy teams - break a team into 2 or 3 sub-units. Each sub-unit independently works out a solution to the same problem and then tries to persuade the other sub-units as to its worth. After the exercise, a review is made of the alternatives and the discussion.

Caution

This part should be free and uninhibited. Creativity is important.
FORM P.A.S.

Need __________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________
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________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________

What should be done ____________________________________________
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How will we measure its effectiveness ______________________________
________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________
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________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________
Part 4: Selecting the Preferred Solution

This is the most critical step and should be approached seriously for it implies achieving team consensus and commitment to a course of action. The group facilitator should be alert to this and should make certain that the team understands what is happening.

Introduction

Each team completes FORM P.S. (Preferred Solution)
FORM P.S.

Need ________________________________

____________________________________

____________________________________

Preferred Solution ________________________________

____________________________________

____________________________________

Reasons ________________________________

____________________________________

____________________________________

Measures of effectiveness ________________________________

____________________________________

____________________________________

Benefits ________________________________

____________________________________

____________________________________

Liabilities ________________________________

____________________________________

____________________________________
Part 5: Implementing the Proposed Solution

The proposed solution is the guide here (not the need).

Introduction

1. Complete FORM I.P.S. (Implementing the Proposed Solution)

2. The flow chart should be completed carefully and reviewed by Institute staff. The chart should show:
   a) activity
   b) needed resources
   c) expected time of completion
FORM J.P.S.

Need

Proposed Solution

Needed Resources

Beginning Time
Ending Time

Draw a flow chart of activities and time. For e.g.

Activity (1) → Activity (2)

Activity (3) T3
Activity (4) T4
Part 6: Testing the Efforts

An appropriate testing vehicle should be designed according to earlier stated criteria and measures of effectiveness. (See FORMS P.A.S. and P.S.)
AN APPROACH TO ACHIEVING OBJECTIVE #3

To assist each team in implementing its strategies.

After the strategies have been developed, effort now goes into the following:

1. Setting the stage for implementation
2. Implementation
   a. Focus on need and design
   b. Appropriate resources
   c. Monitoring machinery
3. Role of team facilitators

I. Setting the Stage for Implementation

Developing the plan is but one step in the process. The next step involves preparing people for the implementation of the plan. (See pp. 7-9 of paper "Strategies for Consultant-Client Interface")

II. Implementation

Implementation should follow the identified need and designated solution (See Objective #2)

Appropriate resources should be designated and provided including materials, people and time.

Each team should designate a procedure for monitoring progress. (See FORM M-P/Monitoring Progress)

III. Role of Team Facilitators

a) Some imperatives to remember
   --gain acceptance by the group
   --solving the problem is the team's responsibility
   --be clear about the objectives of the Institute
   --assist in the process of problem solving
   --help find resources when appropriate

b) Attend all Team meetings
   --make sure team is organized (Chairman, etc.)
   --develop means whereby meetings are called (team facilitator should not call meetings unless he absolutely has to)

c) Help keep the Team on track
   --facilitate team discussion
   --ensure completion of forms
   --be sure Team "knows where it is"
<table>
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<tr>
<th>FORM M-P</th>
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</table>

Need ____________________________________________

Designated Solution __________________________________

Criteria of Effectiveness __________________________________

Checkpoint Dates | Where we are

Remarks ____________________________________________

Corrective action (where needed) __________________________________
AN APPROACH TO ACHIEVING OBJECTIVE #4

To provide opportunities for review and evaluation of the strategies and results.

There are two parts to this--

Part I - The team facilitators stimulate constant review and evaluation

Part II - Two formal meetings have been scheduled for this activity in October, 1972 and January, 1973

NOTE: It might be useful to ask each participant to keep a personal log of his reactions to what is going on. The information will be especially useful during the evaluation and review sessions. Assure everyone that no one will be asked to show his log to anyone else. The log is primarily for personal reference.
AN APPROACH TO ACHIEVING OBJECTIVE #4

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NOTE: It might be useful to ask each participant to keep a personal log of his reactions to what is going on. The information will be especially useful during the evaluation and review sessions. Assure everyone that no one will be asked to show his log to anyone else. The log is primarily for personal reference.
Note: Neither your principal nor the members of the Institute will see this questionnaire. They will be turned over to independent evaluators at Loyola University in New Orleans, and the answers will be combined to draw a composite profile of the teachers as a group. No individual teacher will be identified in the tabulation of the results.
Have you heard of the "Institute" which the University of Missouri is conducting for main teachers in your schools?
1. Yes
2. No

Are you taking part in the Institute?
1. Yes
2. No

If you know the full "official" title of the Institute, please write it here:

If you have heard of the Institute, how did you learn about it?
1. I am a participant
2. From a teacher not connected with the Institute
3. From a teacher connected with the Institute
4. From someone else connected with the Institute
5. From the media (TV, radio, newspaper)
6. From this questionnaire
7. Have not heard of the Institute

What do you believe is the purpose of the Institute?
1. I do not know
2. To fulfill federal guidelines so that certain schools will be eligible for additional funding
3. To sensitize teachers to problems related to desegregation
4. To sensitize teachers to the concept of equal educational opportunity
5. To give teachers additional training to meet state certification requirements for personnel in desegregated schools
6. To improve the image of the school system in the black community.

Do you think the work of the Institute should be continued?
1. I don't know
2. Stop it immediately
3. It should be completed but not renewed
4. Continue and renew the Institute
5. Let's wait and see how it works out

**Political Attitudes**

Often teachers' feelings about education are related to their political stance. The following questions will help us understand your political leanings. Please CIRCLE the ONE number for each question that best represents your position.

How do you think of yourself politically?
1. Democrat
2. Republican
3. Independent
4. Other
5. Not sure

Generally speaking, in politics would you describe yourself as a
1. Conservative
2. Moderate
3. Liberal
4. Radical
5. Not sure

Did you vote in the last Presidential election in 1968?
1. Yes
2. No

If you did vote, for whom did you vote?
1. Humphrey
2. Nixon
3. Wallace
4. Someone else
5. Did not vote

What "label" do you generally use to refer to black-Americans?
1. Black
2. Negro
3. Afro-American
4. Colored
5. Other

What per cent of your students would you classify as disadvantaged?
__ per cent
Directions

There are many points of view about how schools SHOULD deal with their students. We are interested in what you think about how YOUR SCHOOL should deal with its students. Please answer this question by CIRCLING the number that best represents your opinion.

The Question

To what extent do you AGREE or DISAGREE that your school SHOULD do the following things?

1 = Strongly agree
2 = Agree
3 = Not sure
4 = Disagree
5 = Strongly disagree

Screen out" students who do not have the intellectual abilities required for further study.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Fully develop the potential of each child, regardless of his intellectual endowment.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Concentrate efforts primarily on students who have done well in previous school work.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Do everything possible to help students overcome their learning difficulties.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Refuse to spend time on students who do not meet academic standards.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Continue educating students until they have fully developed all their potential.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Have various curricula (college prep, vocational, etc.) in order to fully develop the potentialities of pupils with different aptitudes and interests.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Grade students according to the extent to which they work up to their innate capacities.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

In evaluating students, take into account the amount of effort they put into their work.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Institute performance contracting (Give educational companies contracts to put in new methods to teach basic skills, such as reading. If children don't reach a certain level of achievement, the company does not get aid for those children who fail.)

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Give students national tests so that their achievement can be compared with students in other communities.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Institute a voucher system (The government allots a certain amount of money for each child for his education. The parents can then send the child to any public, private, or parochial school they choose.)

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Accountability (When some children do poorly in school, place the blame on the school rather than on the children's home life or some other factor.)

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
The following are attitude questions. Please circle the number which best represents your feelings.

1 = Strongly agree
2 = Agree
3 = Not sure
4 = Disagree
5 = Strongly disagree

1. Schooling should be provided to the level of education which is the principal entry point into the labor force.
   
   Though secondary education is "free," parents would be reimbursed for income lost because their child is not in the labor market.

2. Children should be enrolled in a single, common curriculum.

3. The school should increase the opportunities of a disadvantaged child by training him for a profession--even if this means that they are at the same time reducing his opportunity to enter a craft like his other.

4. Children should be exposed to a college-oriented curriculum.

5. Though the school may expose children to different curricula, it is the students' obligation to take advantage of these opportunities.

6. Children from different backgrounds should attend the same school.

7. Assuming the same amount of resources (teacher salaries, etc.) are devoted to schools with advantaged students as schools with disadvantaged students, disadvantaged students will not have equal educational opportunity. Disadvantaged students will still achieve poorly because they do not have a home environment that provides them with experiences necessary for learning.

8. Schools in a given locality should have the same resources (number and quality of teachers, pupil expenditure, etc.)

9. Aggregated schools are inferior even if they have the same resources as other schools. This is due to differences which are difficult to measure, such as low teacher morale, low levels of student interest, and so on.

10. Since disadvantaged students do not have strong educational resources in the home, the school should devote more resources to them than to other students to compensate for these deficiencies.
or equality of educational opportunity to exist, disadvantaged students must reach the same levels of achievement as other students.

Superior schools do not close the gap between advantaged and disadvantaged students. They raise the achievement of disadvantaged students slightly and increase the achievement of other students a great deal, thus widening the gap.

Schools must assume that native ability is distributed equally among all groups in the population, whether advantaged or disadvantaged.

School resources must be distributed independently of student backgrounds. Thus, advantaged and disadvantaged students must be exposed to similar programs.

School resources must not be distributed independently of student backgrounds. Thus, disadvantaged students should be given extra help and exposed to extra resources.

Native intelligence, which is an important factor in school achievement, must be recognized as not fixed genetically. It is responsive to environmental influences during the first formative years.

One way to equalize the achievement of advantaged and disadvantaged students is to lower the achievement of advantaged or high ability students.

The school can counteract the effects of environment by providing experiences enabling the disadvantaged child to catch up with other children.

Accompanying the development of effective schools for the disadvantaged, it will also be necessary to employ political measures to prevent the advantaged groups in society from maintaining their advantage.

A very small percentage of the population is capable of benefiting from higher education, and this group should therefore be separated from the rest and even special academic programs.

All children, except for a few born with neurological effects, are basically very much alike in their native ability. Their apparent differences in intelligence are due to rather superficial differences in their upbringing and family background.
Instructions

Please continue answering this question by CIRCLING ONE number which best represents your feelings.

1 = Strongly agree
2 = Agree
3 = Not sure
4 = Disagree
5 = Strongly disagree

The schools must recognize that there is no such thing as a general trait of intelligence or ability—only special abilities, such as verbal ability, mathematical ability, and so on.

When minimum standards are met, it can be said that the schools are providing equal educational opportunity. Thus, to teach all students to read is to provide equal opportunity. (As opposed to teaching all students to read well).

The school should only provide the technical and basic knowledge necessary for work and economic survival. Newspapers, books, and participation in family life should really educate people.

There should be a match between measured intelligence and length of guaranteed education. For example, all children with IQ's higher than 100 should be assured of a high school education up to the age of 18; and all young people with IQ's over 110 should be assured of a free college education for 4 years.

Each child should be encouraged to reach his fullest potential. Thus, he should be judged on his own terms and not compared to other groups. Grading and competition would consequently be de-emphasized.

Each child is different and thus must learn at his own rate. The school must provide a situation in which this learning is continually occurring.

Children in different groups may have different patterns of ability. For example, children from oriental backgrounds show good performance on tasks requiring mastery of spatial relationships. Thus, the schools should recognize the pattern of intelligence of disadvantaged children and design programs especially for them.
SESSION EVALUATION

Since this Institute is being offered for the first time, feedback from the participants taking it is extremely important.

Please be frank in your evaluations, for we would like to take your responses into account when we evaluate the form and substance of this Institute.

Session I

An Historical Overview of American Education in Social and Cultural Contexts

Dr. Paul Travers UMSL

Dr. David Mahan, St. Louis Public Schools

1a How worthwhile was being exposed to this session?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Pointless  Very worthwhile

2a How stimulating was the content?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Boring  Stimulating

3a How appropriate was the style presentation?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Poor  Excellent

4a How adequate were responses to questions?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Inadequate  Very helpful

5a Was the amount of time devoted to formal presentation and discussion appropriate?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   More lecture  More discussion

6a What would you recommend concerning this session for a future institute of this type?
   _____ 1. The institute would be cheated if they did not hear this.
   _____ 2. The institute would benefit from hearing this.
   _____ 3. The institute might find this session useful.
   _____ 4. This session and topic should be omitted.
SESSION EVALUATION

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Please be frank in your evaluations, for we would like to take your responses into account when we evaluate the form and substance of this Institute.

Session I

A Philosophical View of American Education in Social and Cultural Contexts

Dr. Henry Weinstock, UMSL
Dr. Charles Fazzaro, UMSL

1a How worthwhile was being exposed to this session?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Pointless  Very worthwhile

2a How stimulating was the content?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Boring  Stimulating

3a How appropriate was the style presentation?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Poor  Excellent

4a How adequate were responses to questions?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Inadequate  Very helpful

5a Was the amount of time devoted to formal presentation and discussion appropriate?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   More lecture  More discussion

6a What would you recommend concerning this session for a future institute of this type?
   _____ 1. The institute would be cheated if they did not hear this.
   _____ 2. The institute would benefit from hearing this.
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SESSION EVALUATION

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Session II

A Comparative View of Educational Purposes: American and Others

Dr. Charles Fazzaro, UMSL
Dr. Henry Weinstock, UMSL

1a How worthwhile was being exposed to this session?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Pointless Very worthwhile

2a How stimulating was the content?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Boring Stimulating

3a How appropriate was the style presentation?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Poor Excellent

4a How adequate were responses to questions?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Inadequate Very helpful

5a Was the amount of time devoted to formal presentation and discussion appropriate?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   More lecture More discussion

6a What would you recommend concerning this session for a future institute of this type?
   1. The institute would be cheated if they did not hear this.
   2. The institute would benefit from hearing this.
   3. The institute might find this session useful.
   4. This session and topic should be omitted.
SESSION EVALUATION

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Please be frank in your evaluations, for we would like to take your responses into account when we evaluate the form and substance of this Institute.

Session II

A Comparative View of Institutional Purposes: Schools and Other Institutions

Dr. Charles Fazzaro, UMSL
Dr. John Morris, UMSL

1a How worthwhile was being exposed to this session?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Pointless

Very worthwhile

2a How stimulating was the content?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Boring

Stimulating

3a How appropriate was the style presentation?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Poor

Excellent

4a How adequate were responses to questions?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Inadequate

Very helpful

5a Was the amount of time devoted to formal presentation and discussion appropriate?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
More lecture

More discussion

6a What would you recommend concerning this session for a future institute of this type?

_____ 1. The institute would be cheated if they did not hear this.

_____ 2. The institute would benefit from hearing this.

_____ 3. The institute might find this session useful.

_____ 4. This session and topic should be omitted.
SESSION EVALUATION

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Please be frank in your evaluations, for we would like to take your responses into account when we evaluate the form and substance of this Institute.

Session III

Assimilation in American Life; Melting Pot, Pluralism, and Anglo-Conformity

Norman Stack, Moderator

1a How worthwhile was being exposed to this session?

1. ____ 2. ____ 3. ____ 4. ____ 5. ____
Pointless  Very worthwhile

2a How stimulating was the content?

1. ____ 2. ____ 3. ____ 4. ____ 5. ____
Boring  Stimulating

3a How appropriate was the style presentation?

1. ____ 2. ____ 3. ____ 4. ____ 5. ____
Poor  Excellent

4a How adequate were responses to questions?

1. ____ 2. ____ 3. ____ 4. ____ 5. ____
Inadequate  Very helpful

5a Was the amount of time devoted to formal presentation and discussion appropriate?

1. ____ 2. ____ 3. ____ 4. ____ 5. ____
More lecture  More discussion

6a What would you recommend concerning this session for a future institute of this type?

______ 1. The institute would be cheated if they did not hear this.

______ 2. The institute would benefit from hearing this.

______ 3. The institute might find this session useful.

______ 4. This session and topic should be omitted.
SESSION EVALUATION

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Please be frank in your evaluations, for we would like to take your responses into account when we evaluate the form and substance of this Institute.

Session III

Equal Educational Opportunity: The Law

Dr. Melvin Moore, SIU Carbondale
Dr. Ronald Sealey, SIU Carbondale

1a How worthwhile was being exposed to this session?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Pointless Very worthwhile

2a How stimulating was the content?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Boring Stimulating

3a How appropriate was the style presentation?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Poor Excellent

4a How adequate were responses to questions?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Inadequate Very helpful

5a Was the amount of time devoted to formal presentation and discussion appropriate?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
More lecture More discussion

6a What would you recommend concerning this session for a future institute of this type?

_____ 1. The institute would be cheated if they did not hear this.
_____ 2. The institute would benefit from hearing this.
_____ 3. The institute might find this session useful.
_____ 4. This session and topic should be omitted.
SESSION EVALUATION

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Session IV

Equal Educational Opportunity: The School as a Sorting and Selecting Agency

Dr. Peter Etzkorn, UMSL, Moderator

1a How worthwhile was being exposed to this session?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Pointless Very worthwhile

2a How stimulating was the content?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Boring Stimulating

3a How appropriate was the style presentation?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Poor Excellent

4a How adequate were responses to questions?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Inadequate Very helpful

5a Was the amount of time devoted to formal presentation and discussion appropriate?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
More lecture More discussion

6a What would you recommend concerning this session for a future institute of this type?

_____ 1. The institute would be cheated if they did not hear this.
_____ 2. The institute would benefit from hearing this.
_____ 3. The institute might find this session useful.
_____ 4. This session and topic should be omitted.
SESSION EVALUATION

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Please be frank in your evaluations, for we would like to take your responses into account when we evaluate the form and substance of this Institute.

Session IV

Equal Educational Opportunity: The Colman Report and Other Related Research

Dr. Charles Fazzaro, UMSL
Dr. John Morris, UMSL

1a How worthwhile was being exposed to this session?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Pointless Very worthwhile

2a How stimulating was the content?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Boring Stimulating

3a How appropriate was the style presentation?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Poor Excellent

4a How adequate were responses to questions?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Inadequate Very helpful

5a Was the amount of time devoted to formal presentation and discussion appropriate?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
More lecture More discussion

6a What would you recommend concerning this session for a future institute of this type?

1. The institute would be cheated if they did not hear this.
2. The institute would benefit from hearing this.
3. The institute might find this session useful.
4. This session and topic should be omitted.
SESSION EVALUATION

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Session V

Equal Educational Opportunity: The Psychological and Sociological Effects of Discrimination

Dr. Arthur Littleton, Moderator

1a How worthwhile was being exposed to this session?

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5a Was the amount of time devoted to formal presentation and discussion appropriate?

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6a What would you recommend concerning this session for a future institute of this type?

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SESSION EVALUATION

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Session V

Equal Educational Opportunity: The White Majority Adult View

Dr. L. Nicholson, Harris Teachers College

1a How worthwhile was being exposed to this session?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Pointless

Very worthwhile

2a How stimulating was the content?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Boring

Stimulating

3a How appropriate was the style presentation?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Poor

Excellent

4a How adequate were responses to questions?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Inadequate

Very helpful

5a Was the amount of time devoted to formal presentation and discussion appropriate?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
More lecture

More discussion

6a What would you recommend concerning this session for a future institute of this type?

1. The institute would be cheated if they did not hear this.

2. The institute would benefit from hearing this.

3. The institute might find this session useful.

4. This session and topic should be omitted.
SESSION EVALUATION

Since this Institute is being offered for the first time, feedback from the participants taking it is extremely important.

Please be frank in your evaluations, for we would like to take your responses into account when we evaluate the form and substance of this Institute.

Session VI

Equal Educational Opportunity: The Ethnic Minority Adult View

Dr. L. Nicholson, Harris Teachers College

1a How worthwhile was being exposed to this session?

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3a How appropriate was the style presentation?

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4a How adequate were responses to questions?

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5a Was the amount of time devoted to formal presentation and discussion appropriate?

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6a What would you recommend concerning this session for a future institute of this type?

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SESSION EVALUATION

Since this Institute is being offered for the first time, feedback from the participants taking it is extremely important.

Please be frank in your evaluations, for we would like to take your responses into account when we evaluate the form and substance of this Institute.

Session VI

Equal Educational Opportunity: The Subcultures of Youth

Rev. L. Cervantes, S.J. (City Hall, St. Louis)

Henrietta Cox, UMSL

1a How worthwhile was being exposed to this session?

1. ___ 2. ___ 3. ___ 4. ___ 5. ___
Pointless

2a How stimulating was the content?

1. ___ 2. ___ 3. ___ 4. ___ 5. ___
Boring

3a How appropriate was the style presentation?

1. ___ 2. ___ 3. ___ 4. ___ 5. ___
Poor

4a How adequate were responses to questions?

1. ___ 2. ___ 3. ___ 4. ___ 5. ___
Inadequate

5a Was the amount of time devoted to formal presentation and discussion appropriate?

1. ___ 2. ___ 3. ___ 4. ___ 5. ___
More lecture

6a What would you recommend concerning this session for a future institute of this type?

___ 1. The institute would be cheated if they did not hear this.
___ 2. The institute would benefit from hearing this.
___ 3. The institute might find this session useful.
___ 4. This session and topic should be omitted.
SESSION EVALUATION

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Please be frank in your evaluations, for we would like to take your responses into account when we evaluate the form and substance of this Institute.

Session VII

Equal Educational Opportunity: The Youth View

Dr. Wilmer Grant, Moderator

1a How worthwhile was being exposed to this session?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Pointless Very worthwhile

2a How stimulating was the content?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Boring Stimulating

3a How appropriate was the style presentation?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Poor Excellent

4a How adequate were responses to questions?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Inadequate Very helpful

5a Was the amount of time devoted to formal presentation and discussion appropriate?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   More lecture More discussion

6a What would you recommend concerning this session for a future institute of this type?
   _____ 1. The institute would be cheated if they did not hear this.
   _____ 2. The institute would benefit from hearing this.
   _____ 3. The institute might find this session useful.
   _____ 4. This session and topic should be omitted.
SESSION EVALUATION

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Please be frank in your evaluations, for we would like to take your responses into account when we evaluate the form and substance of this Institute.

Session VII

Equal Educational Opportunity: Dropouts and the School as an Institute

Dr. Arthur Littleton, Moderator

1a How worthwhile was being exposed to this session?

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<td>Pointless</td>
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2a How stimulating was the content?

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3a How appropriate was the style presentation?

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<td>Poor</td>
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4a How adequate were responses to questions?

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<td>Very helpful</td>
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5a Was the amount of time devoted to formal presentation and discussion appropriate?

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<td>More discussion</td>
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6a What would you recommend concerning this session for a future institute of this type?

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<td>This session and topic should be omitted.</td>
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SESSION EVALUATION

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Please be frank in your evaluations, for we would like to take your responses into account when we evaluate the form and substance of this Institute.

Session VIII

Equal Educational Opportunity: The Criminal Offender, Other School Deviants, and the School as an Institute

Dr. William Harvey, Moderator

1a How worthwhile was being exposed to this session?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Pointless Very worthwhile

2a How stimulating was the content?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Boring Stimulating

3a How appropriate was the style presentation?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Poor Excellent

4a How adequate were responses to questions?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Inadequate Very helpful

5a Was the amount of time devoted to formal presentation and discussion appropriate?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
More lecture More discussion

6a What would you recommend concerning this session for a future institute of this type?

1. The institute would be cheated if they did not hear this.
2. The institute would benefit from hearing this.
3. The institute might find this session useful.
4. This session and topic should be omitted.
SESSION EVALUATION

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Session VIII

Equal Educational Opportunity: School Policies and Administrative Practices

Dr. John Morris, UMSL, Moderator
Dr. L. Nicholson, Harris Teachers College

1a How worthwhile was being exposed to this session?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Pointless                      Very worthwhile

2a How stimulating was the content?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Boring                       Stimulating

3a How appropriate was the style presentation?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Poor                         Excellent

4a How adequate were responses to questions?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   Inadequate                   Very helpful

5a Was the amount of time devoted to formal presentation and discussion appropriate?
   1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
   More lecture                More discussion

6a What would you recommend concerning this session for a future institute of this type?
   1. The institute would be cheated if they did not hear this.
   2. The institute would benefit from hearing this.
   3. The institute might find this session useful.
   4. This session and topic should be omitted.
SESSION EVALUATION

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Session IX

Equal Educational Opportunity: Its Testability in School Settings

Dr. Charles Fazzaro, UMSL
Dr. John Morris, UMSL
Dr. Henry Weinstock
Public School Teachers and Administrators

1a How worthwhile was being exposed to this session?
1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Pointless  Very worthwhile

2a How stimulating was the content?
1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Boring Stimulating

3a How appropriate was the style presentation?
1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Poor Excellent

4a How adequate were responses to questions?
1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
Inadequate Very helpful

5a Was the amount of time devoted to formal presentation and discussion appropriate?
1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
More lecture More discussion

6a What would you recommend concerning this session for a future institute of this type?
_____ 1. The institute would be cheated if they did not hear this.
_____ 2. The institute would benefit from hearing this.
_____ 3. The institute might find this session useful.
_____ 4. This session and topic should be omitted.
SESSION EVALUATION

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Please be frank in your evaluations, for we would like to take your responses into account when we evaluate the form and substance of this Institute.

Session TX

Equal Educational Opportunity: Its Testability in the Community

Dr. Charles Fazzaro, UMSL
Dr. John Morris, UMSL
Parents and Community Leaders

1a How worthwhile was being exposed to this session?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____

Pointless

Very worthwhile

2a How stimulating was the content?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____

Boring

Stimulating

3a How appropriate was the style presentation?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____

Poor

Excellent

4a How adequate were responses to questions?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____

Inadequate

Very helpful

5a Was the amount of time devoted to formal presentation and discussion appropriate?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____

More lecture

More discussion

6a What would you recommend concerning this session for a future institute of this type?

_____ 1. The institute would be cheated if they did not hear this.

_____ 2. The institute would benefit from hearing this.

_____ 3. The institute might find this session useful.

_____ 4. This session and topic should be omitted.
There is only one correct answer to the following questions. Please circle the 
letter of your answer, in each case.

Session I
An Historical Overview of American Education in Social and Cultural Context

1. The common school during the first half of the nineteenth century was viewed 
as providing equality of educational opportunity because:
   a. it was open without tuition to all students
   b. it was open without tuition to all except black students.
   c. it compelled the attendance of all students
   d. both "a" and "c".

2. Decentralization of education in America has resulted in:
   a. great differentiation in the expenditures for education in school districts.
   b. total exclusion of the Federal government in financing educational programs.
   c. grassroots control of the schools.
   d. greater quality of instructional programs.

3. Henry Steele Commager in his article "Our Schools Have Kept Us Free," discusses 
the major historic contributions of the public school to American society. Which 
of the following is not one of those contributions?
   a. Americanization
   b. an enlightened citizenry.
   c. high academic standards
   d. national unity
   e. prevention of special privilege and ethnic polarization

4. Colin Greer in his article "Public Schools: The Myth of the Melting Pot" argues 
that the public school has done which of the following?
   a. The public school has served society in the early twentieth century about 
as well as the political machine, the trade union or the factory
   b. The public school has historically served all members of the lower classes 
equally bad
   c. The public school has historically served the white members of the lower 
class fairly well but has discriminated against blacks.
   d. The public school has historically served well only northern and western 
European immigrants in the United States
Session I
A Philosophical View of American Education in Social and Cultural Contexts

1. In terms of the model for educational theorizing presented, which of these approaches is listed under the theoretical phase of this model?
   a. the scientific
   b. the categories
   c. the pragmatic
   d. the political

2. Education as a manifestation logically follows from which of these philosophical positions?
   a. idealism
   b. realism
   c. pragmatism
   d. from none of these

3. The essentialist views the school's role in dealing with a society's culture as a means of:
   a. transmitting it
   b. restoring it
   c. modifying it
   d. reconstructing it

4. In light of the three given analogies of the schools, which of the following values are compatible?
   a. competing -- sameness
   b. healing -- fairness
   c. valuing -- uniqueness
   d. each of these is

Session II
A Comparative View of Educational Purpose: American and Others

1. Valuing knowledge intrinsically (i.e. as an end) would be most compatible with:
   a. grades K-3
   b. grades 4-6
   c. the junior high school
   d. the university
2. Which of the following levels of education is least identifiable as to valuing knowledge predominantly as either a means toward an end (instrumentally) or as an end in itself (intrinsically)

a. the junior high school
b. the elementary grades, 4-6
c. the university (graduate level)
d. the elementary grades, K-3

3. According to the model for educational theorizing, the current conflict in American educational purpose is represented by which of these incompatible factions?

a. Pragmatism--Realism
b. Experimentalism--Essentialism
c. Council for Basic Education--Progressivists
d. by each of these

4. Valuing knowledge instrumentally is compatible with which of these positions on schooling?

a. competing
b. building
c. healing
d. none of these

Session II A Comparative View of Institutional Purpose: Schools & Other Institutions

Session IV Equal Educational Opportunity: The Colman Report & Other Related Research

1. The two photographs taken in the McKinley District were illustrative of the age-old educational concept:

a. you must start where the child is
b. to provide for individual differences is a prerequisite to education
c. start with the simple and move to the complex
d. learning is an individual process
e. before you seek to change others, you must have your own house in order

2. The discussion and lecture entitled, "Myths of Ghetto Teaching" and "Teach" illustrate which of the following:

a. the ghetto is a bad place to live
b. heredity, environment, and the schools have been responsible for
c. educators need to be aware of all factors influencing education and based upon this awareness, devise new means of solving the problems of teaching
d. teaching inner city children is like chewing rocks
e. compensatory education is a necessary approach for inner city children
3. The film/slide presentation of the Kennard Aircraft Corporation illustrated that in spite of a conservative school administrative attitude, teachers can be creative if:

a. they first seek complete administrative support
b. they have a creative leadership provided by the immediate administrator
c. they expend a vast amount of energy above and beyond the call of duty
d. they are willing to take reasonable risks and put forth the effort
e. they employ gimmicks

4. The slide presentation of the three types of schools found in our community should illustrate that:

a. education varies from community to community to meet local needs
b. equal educational opportunity resides in more than just the classroom teacher's abilities to change
c. money makes a difference in the quality of educational opportunity
d. state equalization of educational resources would resolve many problems
e. all children have equal opportunity in this community

Session VI
Equal Educational Opportunity: The Subculture of Youth

1. Mark the answer which seems to you to be least correct about the concept of subculture (applies to any social category such as socio-economic class, race, youth, sex):

a. there is always an overlap of behaviors and attitudes among those classified in different subcultures
b. there is no agreement among people using this concept as to what it means, how it is to be identified, and how measured
c. there is a danger that personal and situational differences will be ignored in ascribing the characteristics of the collectivity to individuals
d. it really explains nothing and is often used to stereotype groups and to evade searching for more adequate variables in behavior
e. it has no scientific utility whatsoever because of the lack of noncontroversial evidence to support it

2. One characteristic not included in the discussion of values was:

a. within the same culture or subculture, values are sometimes conflicting and inconsistent
b. values are organized into hierarchies, some values taking precedence over others
c. values occur in patterns, so it may be misleading to examine one value alone
d. values may be conceptualized at different levels of abstraction
e. values are only concepts and have no relation to real life
f. values are influenced by the situations in which they are positive
Session VI
Equal Educational Opportunity: The subculture of Youth (continued)

3. Check the answer which is least correct according to your understanding of the lecture presentation and discussion following:
   a. schools have no part in effecting social change
   b. schools are completely related to other institutions within the society
   c. schools are dependent upon the communities in which they are located
   d. schools are highly structured, bureaucratized, and stratified.

4. In the following paired list, underline the six psychological tendencies which you associate with the school dropout:

   calm           troubled
   hostile         friendly
   pessimistic     optimistic
   abstract        concrete
   affectionate    affectless
   hyperactive     alert
   sensate         idealistic
   proletarian     capitalistic
   narcissistic   alterocentric

Males: compensatory
       hypermasculinity  blended male-female traits

Session IX
Equal Educational Opportunity: Its Testability in School Settings

1. According to the analytical method used in examining the news articles on current educational values, the "evaluative phase" is also known as the:
   a. descriptive phase
   b. critical phase
   c. analytic phase
   d. speculative phase

2. In the sample news article, it is assumed that the defeat of school bonds was primarily due to the schools:
   a. being fact-oriented
   b. maintaining traditional values
   c. having lost traditional values
   d. inspiring confidence in parents
3. In the article analyzed by the group, it is stated that:
   a. research into the "basics" of education is bad
   b. being "new" always means being "good"
   c. behavior modification is aimed at the whole moral structure
   d. sociologists and psychologists need more classroom authority

4. The purpose of analyzing the two news articles regarding values and the schools was to:
   a. prove the articles to be false
   b. prove the articles to be correct
   c. make clear just what the articles say
   d. make the articles confusing to the public
Final Evaluation

Participants in the Institute were given a rating scale of one to five for the October, January, and May sessions. They were also asked to rate on a scale from one to five the director and the facilitator.

The mean rating for each item is, as follows:

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<td>January session</td>
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The composite rating of the participants on a scale of one to five was 3.63.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Section III
Statistical Evaluation
of
Institute 399

Director's Note:

Section III is complete with its own chapters, tables, and references. The references for Section III are separate from the references and bibliography of the other two sections.
TEACHER'S ATTITUDES TOWARD EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Statistical Report of Attitude Change
Among Participants in the Institute

The contractors undertaking this evaluation have been encouraged to express freely their professional judgment about the conduct of the Institute. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official policy of the University of Missouri-St. Louis or the Office of Education.
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Chapter 5: Political and Racial Attitudes

PART III: ATTITUDE CHANGE AMONG PARTICIPANTS

Chapter 6: Quasi-Experimental Evaluation Design

Chapter 7: The Findings--Introduction and Overview

Chapter 8: The Findings--Discussion and Content

PART IV: CONCLUSION

Chapter 9: Overview and Summary

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PART I: INTRODUCTION
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

From June 1972 until June 1973, 57 school teachers in the St. Louis area took part in an Institute directed by the University of Missouri-St. Louis and funded by the Office of Education. The purpose of the Institute was to assist schools in dealing with problems occasioned by and/or incidental to desegregation. The strategy of the Institute to achieve this goal was to provide a number of structured and directed experiences for the participating teachers to sensitize them to a notion of equal educational opportunity which holds that "education should attempt to move the student forward in his development to become all that he is capable of becoming."

The evaluators constructed survey questionnaires and administered them to the participants and a comparison group at the beginning and end of the Institute in order to assess whether or not the goal of modified teachers' attitudes toward equal educational opportunity was realized. We begin in Part II with a description of the backgrounds, careers, and attitudes of the Institute participants. This information is important for several reasons. First, it provides documentation of the characteristics of the people who took part in the project. Secondly, these chapters display baseline data which provide a context for the interpretation of the effects of the Institute. For example, intransigent attitudes toward equal educational opportunity may not be attributable to failure of the workshops but rather to certain characteristics of the
participants which are typically correlated with change-proneness, such as age, social class, and political leanings. Thirdly, it may be argued that the results of the Institute are not applicable to other subgroups of teachers or to teachers in different sections of the country because the participants are somehow "different" or not representative of others in the profession. Thus, a school superintendent in Louisiana may feel that the techniques and results of the Institute are inappropriate for the teachers in his state who may differ from the Missouri teachers on a number of attributes. However, a careful description of the Institute teachers will permit the Louisiana administrator and others to determine whether in fact the Missouri teachers are "representative." Finally, a description of the participants will permit (in some instances) comparisons with other Americans for whom comparable survey data is available. Thus, we can focus on such questions as, "Are the attitudes of the Institute participants different from those held by other Americans?" and, "How do the Institute teachers compare with other highly educated Americans?" If we find that the Missouri teachers are typical of Americans generally in their attitudes, we add a great deal of generality to the descriptive findings based on a limited (by size and geographical region) sample of professional people.

In Part III we examine the attitudes of the teachers toward equal educational opportunity both before the Institute and at its conclusion. In particular, the survey will assess change in the teacher's: conception of equal educational opportunity; support of particular strategies to achieve equal educational opportunity; and, the assumptions that underlie
their views. Finally, Part III will include some discussion of the implications of the teacher's beliefs. The paper concludes with Part IV which summarizes the findings, presents the participant's own evaluation of the Institute, and briefly considers future trends.
PART II: DESCRIPTION OF PARTICIPANTS: BASELINE DATA
CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND AND CAREER STATUS

The following discussion of the background and careers of the Institute participants is based on the data in Tables 1, 2, and 3 which appear at the end of this chapter. Typically the participants are young; 40 percent are under the age of 30. However, the group is representative of various ages since it contains sizable proportions of teachers in other age ranges; 16 percent are between the ages of 31 and 40, while 23 percent are between 41 and 50, and 21 percent are over 50 years of age. The background of the teachers is not particularly urban; in fact, they seem to be equally divided between those who spent the major part of their youth in rural communities (45 percent grew up in villages or farms) and those who grew up in cities (55 percent).

Almost 30 percent of the participating teachers are blacks (compared to 11 percent of the population). More than one-half of the participants are males (58 percent) and the majority are married (72 percent of the teachers are married compared to 77 percent of Americans generally).

The background socio-economic status (i.e. parent social class) was measured both objectively and subjectively. Objective measures of background social status include both the educational level and occupational prestige of parent or guardian. As Table 1 shows, approximately 35 percent of the teachers report parents in low status occupations—in semi-skilled and unskilled work, and farm labor. Another quarter report parental employment in the upper and middle status range (professionals,
managers, small business owners, and teachers). The remaining teachers are midway between upper (and middle) background socio-economic status and the lower class; they are in what might be called the working class. Thus, teachers as a group are decidedly not middle class in their origins. The majority are lower and working class. This does not mean, however, that the teachers are not middle class in their orientation and values. It is likely, as many observers have pointed out, that upwardly mobile teachers may be "more middle class" in their outlook that those from middle class backgrounds. We validated the measure of teacher social status with another question requesting the educational attainment of father or guardian. As Table 1 shows, the majority (63 percent) report that their father did not graduate from high school; this confirms the previous finding that approximately two-thirds of the teachers have less than middle class origins. Finally, we attempted to measure the teachers' perception of their background social status by asking them to describe the financial situation of their family while they were growing up. In agreement with earlier findings, more than one-half of the respondents indicated that they were able to have necessities only or recalled that they were not always able to make ends meet.

In summary, Table 1 shows that the institute participants are:

- generally young (under 30) but represent all ages
- both rural and urban in origin
- from lower and working class backgrounds
- generally white, with a sizable proportion (30%) of blacks
- male and female, with males somewhat over-represented
Table 2 examines the educational background and preparation of the Institute participants. In the estimation of the participants, they were typically "above average" students while in high school; only 17 percent claim to have been "average" students and none assert that they were "somewhat below average." Most are relatively committed to teaching as evidenced by their early decision to enter the profession. More than one-quarter decided on a teaching career either while in high school or before graduation. Another 50 percent decided on teaching as a vocation before graduation from college. Only 19 percent made the relatively "late" (late in their educational career) decision to enter teaching after graduating from college. Commitment to education is also shown by the high incidence of graduate work; more than one-half (60 percent) of the participants hold degrees or certificates in addition to the baccalaureate, and two teachers hold the doctorate. The graduate work of the participants is primarily in education.

One-third of the teachers attended a state teachers college or normal school while somewhat less (30 percent) received their bachelor's degree at a state university. The majority (two-thirds), therefore, were educated in state schools while a sizable minority attended private universities. This is in agreement with the earlier observation of parental occupations; only one-third of the parents were middle class and they apparently sent their children to the more expensive private schools and universities. Most of the teachers, whether in private or state schools, "majored" in education—that is, the majority (almost 50 percent) earned from 16 to 30 hours of credit in undergraduate education courses. It is interesting to note that fewer than two percent report less than 15 hours of undergraduate education courses. This means that
most earned their teacher certification as undergraduates. Stated another way, few began their teaching careers with liberal arts backgrounds. Since most of the participating teachers selected teaching as a vocation before college graduation perhaps some enrolled in education courses as "insurance" before they made their final decision to enter teaching. Commitment may have come after exposure to such courses. Finally, almost all of the participating teachers plan to continue their education, mostly (42 percent) by enrolling in courses not directed toward a specific degree, and secondarily by studying for a master's degree (28 percent) or the doctorate (18 percent). To summarize, the majority of the participants:

- indicate that they were good students in high school and college
- were committed to teaching early in their educational careers
- hold advanced degrees
- majored in education at the undergraduate and graduate levels
- plan to take additional graduate work

The Institute participants represent, therefore, a group committed to education, highly educated, and motivated toward seeking additional training. Their background thus leads the directors of the Institute to anticipate that they would benefit greatly from the experience.

Table 3 examines the current job status of the participants. The majority (three-quarters) are not new entrants into the profession, but have been teaching for more than four years. While they are distributed (somewhat) evenly in years of teaching experience, there are teachers at the two extremes--two teachers have taught for more than 30 years and nine percent of the group report one year or less of experience. Thus,
the Institute, while directed toward experienced teachers (the model participant has taught five to ten years), is restricted neither to the inexperienced nor to the highly experienced individual.

The data in Table 3 indicate that there does not seem to be a great deal of inter-school teacher mobility within their present school systems. For example, slightly more than 60 percent of the participants report that their present school assignment is the only school at which they have taught within their school system while another 18 percent indicate that they have taught at two schools within their present system. Furthermore, almost 80 percent of the teachers report that they have been at their present assignments two years or more, and one-half indicate that they have taught in their present school for more than five years. There is some movement from school to school, however, since one-fifth of the teachers have taught in three or more schools within their present systems, just how much mobility is adaptive is open to question.

The largest percentage of teachers in any of the salary ranges is 30 percent who earn 10,000 to 12,000 dollars per year. The majority of teachers (58 percent) earn less than 12,000 dollars per year; however, some of the Institute participants—notably administrators and people with non-teaching duties (such as counselors and principals who comprise approximately 17 percent of the institute members)—earn more than 16,000 dollars per year. In addition to people with non-teaching duties, the membership of the Institute breaks down into the following teaching areas: 18 percent teach English and an equal proportion teach history or social science; seven percent are in science; 12 percent are in mathematics; five percent teach business and commercial subjects; five
percent are in fine arts; five percent in industrial arts; three percent
are in home economics, three percent teach physical education; and two
percent are in foreign languages. Thus, the majority of the participants
are equally divided among the three major areas of English, history
(including the social sciences), and the natural sciences (mathematics
and science). Primarily (61 percent), the teachers are in junior high
schools; however, 19 percent teach on the high school level. We pointed
out earlier that the teachers were committed to teaching and this is
confirmed by the present observation that they devote relatively a great
deal of time to school activities at home; 12 percent spend on the
average of two nights each week on school activities, while an additional
third spend three nights per week on school activities, and 38 percent
devote more than three nights a week to school activities at home. It
is not surprising, therefore, that 87 percent of the participants are,
"generally speaking, satisfied with teaching."

Finally, Table 3 sheds light on the students of the participants.
One-half of the group report less than 20 percent non-white students.
Thirty-two percent report between 21 and 60 percent non-white students
while approximately ten percent characterize more than 81 percent of
their students as non-white. Similarly, the teachers are distributed
approximately in the same manner in terms of their estimation of numbers
of disadvantaged students. Thus, they tend to perceive their non-white
students as disadvantaged. The overlap between the two distributions is
not identical, however, and this suggests that not all black students
are perceived as disadvantaged. To summarize:

--the group is relatively experienced, however, new entrants
into the profession are included as well as experienced
teachers
--there is not chaotic movement of teachers from school to school within their systems; less than 40 percent have taught at more than one school in their present system

--the typical teacher earns 10,000 to 12,000 dollars per year while administrators are much more highly rewarded

--more than 80 percent of the participants are classroom teachers, typically on the junior high school level

--the teachers are committed to teaching in that they spend several nights each week at home on school activities and are "satisfied" with their work

--approximately one-half of the teachers report that less than 20 percent of their students are non-white

The implications of this last point should be emphasized. Approximately one-half of the teachers have relatively few non-white students, and slightly less report that they have the same proportion of disadvantaged students. This means that the Institute is aimed at a sizable number of teachers who have only a few disadvantaged students. It is anticipated that these teachers may shortly be dealing with greater numbers of the disadvantaged. Perhaps they need additional training to deal with them to compensate for their lack of "on the job experience" with this group. On the other hand, they may have developed few "bad habits" in dealing with this special group of students due to their relative inexperience. The other teachers who have large numbers of disadvantaged students should also benefit from the Institute. Most important, however, is the observation that the percentages of students perceived to be non-white and disadvantaged are not identical. Thus, some teachers distinguish between these two groups of students--they have some non-white students who are not believed to be disadvantaged. Thus, we should distinguish between teacher's racial attitudes per se and their beliefs about the disadvantaged student. We will examine these distinct sets of attitudes in the following chapters.
Table 1*

Percentage Distributions of the Responses of All 57 Institute Participants
(Pretest) to Demographic and Background Questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What is your age?</th>
<th>What was the major occupation of your father or guardian?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.5 under 25</td>
<td>8.8 Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.8 26-30</td>
<td>3.5 Professional (other than education) or scientific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.8 31-40</td>
<td>3.5 Managerial, executive or proprietor of large business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.8 41-50</td>
<td>8.8 Small business owner or manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.1 over 50</td>
<td>19.3 Farm owner or renter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.0 Clerical or sales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In what type of community did you spend</td>
<td>14.0 Skilled worker or foreman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the MAJOR part of your youth?</td>
<td>24.6 Semi-skilled worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.3 Farm</td>
<td>8.8 Unskilled worker or farm laborer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.6 Village or town (under 10,000)</td>
<td>1.8 Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5 Small city (10,000-50,000)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.8 City (50,000-100,000)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.6 Large city or metropolitan area</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(over 100,000)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is your race?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71.9 White</td>
<td>63.2 No formal education, some elementary school,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.1 Negro or Black American</td>
<td>completed elementary school, some high school, some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.0 Other</td>
<td>technical or business school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you:</td>
<td>24.6 Graduated from high school, technical school or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.9 Male</td>
<td>business school, some college</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.1 Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is your marital status?</td>
<td>12.3 Graduated from college, graduate or professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.8 Single</td>
<td>school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71.9 Married</td>
<td>How would you describe the financial situation of your</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8 Separated</td>
<td>family when you were growing up?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.0 Divorced</td>
<td>0.0 Well to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8 Widow or widower</td>
<td>47.4 Able to live comfortably</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36.8 Able to have necessities only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.8 Not always able to make ends meet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In this and the following tables, percentage distributions do not sum to 100 due to "missing data" or respondents who did not supply all requested information.
Table 2

Percentage Distributions of the Responses of All 57 Institute Participants (Pretest) to Educational Background Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In general, what was the quality of your work when you were in high school?</td>
<td>Way above average</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Above average</td>
<td>64.9</td>
<td>64.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Somewhat below average</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When did you make your final decision to enter teaching?</td>
<td>Before entering high school</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In high school</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After completing high school but before graduating from college</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After graduating from college</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the highest academic degree in which you have received?</td>
<td>Certificate</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bachelor's</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>40.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Master's plus 30 hours or certificate of advanced study</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Doctor's</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At what type of college did you do most of your undergraduate work?</td>
<td>State university</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>State teachers' college or normal school</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other public college or university</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Private university</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Private teachers' college or normal school</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other private college</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many semester hours of education courses did you have as an...</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-15 hours</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16-30 hours</td>
<td>49.1</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31-45 hours</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46-99 hours</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Over 100 hours</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In general, what was the quality of your work when you were in college?</td>
<td>Graduated with honors</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Above average</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>42.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Somewhat below average</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At what type of college have you done most of your graduate work?</td>
<td>I have not done graduate work</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>State university</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>State teachers' college or normal school</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other private college or university</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Private university</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Private teachers' college or normal school</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other private college</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many semester hours of graduate work have you taken?</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-15 hours</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16-30 hours</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31-45 hours</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46-99 hours</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Over 100 hours</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many hours of graduate work in education have you taken?</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-15 hours</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16-30 hours</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31-45 hours</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46-90 hours</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What plans do you have for future formal education?</td>
<td>I have no plans</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I plan to take courses, but not toward a specific degree</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>42.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I plan to study for a master's but not a doctorate</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I plan to study for a doctorate</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3

Percentage Distributions of the Responses of All 57 Institute Participants (Pretest) on Current Job Description Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How many years have you been a teacher?</td>
<td>First year teacher 1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One year 7.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2-4 years 21.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-10 years 26.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11-15 years 14.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Over 15 years 28.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many years have you taught in this school system?</td>
<td>First year 1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One year 15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2-4 years 31.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-10 years 15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11-15 years 15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Over 15 years 19.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In what school do you teach?</td>
<td>Berkeley 22.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Normandy 17.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ritenour 14.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hoech 12.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>McKinley 7.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other schools 7.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many years have you taught in this school?</td>
<td>First year 3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One year 19.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2-4 years 28.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-10 years 15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11-15 years 19.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Over 15 years 14.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In how many schools in this system have you taught?</td>
<td>One 61.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two 17.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Three 10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Four or more 10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is your current yearly salary?</td>
<td>7,000-9,000 28.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10,000-12,000 29.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13,000-15,000 21.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16,000-18,000 7.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Over 18,000 10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What grade do you teach?</td>
<td>Elementary (6th grade) 1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Junior High 61.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High School 19.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-teaching (administrators, counselors, reading specialists etc.) 17.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the major subject area you teach?</td>
<td>English 17.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>History, Social science 17.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Science 7.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mathematics 12.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Foreign language 1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home economics 3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Business, commercial 5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Physical education, health 3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fine arts 5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Industrial arts 5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-teaching duties 19.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the average, how many nights per week do you work on school activities at home?</td>
<td>None 5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One night 1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two nights 12.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Three nights 33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Four nights 12.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Five nights 14.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More than five nights 12.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally speaking, how satisfied are you with teaching?</td>
<td>Very satisfied 54.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moderately satisfied 33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Somewhat satisfied 3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not at all satisfied 1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What percentage of your students would you classify as non-white?</td>
<td>0-20 percent 50.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21-40 percent 15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41-60 percent 15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61-80 percent 8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>81-100 percent 3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What percentage of your students would you classify as disadvantaged?</td>
<td>0-20 percent 45.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21-40 percent 21.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41-60 percent 10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61-80 percent 10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>81-100 percent 7.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 3

INITIAL PERCEPTION OF THE PURPOSES AND GOALS OF THE INSTITUTE

During the first day of the Institute, we surveyed the participant’s perceptions of the purposes and goals of the proceedings. In addition, for comparison purposes, a group of teachers not connected with the Institute was also polled. The data appear in Table 4 at the end of this chapter.

While most of the participants have heard of the Institute, five percent of the group, or two teachers, have not. As we explained in the introduction, some of the questionnaires completed by the comparison group were inadvertently included with those of the participants. These instruments probably belong to the two respondents unaware of the Institute. Therefore, all of the participants had some idea of where they were and why they were there. In addition, one-half of the non-participants had some knowledge of the Institute prior to the proceedings, indicating some publicity.

The respondents were asked to write out in full, the "official" title of the Institute. Among the participants, almost 60 percent wrote a title judged to be correct by including the words "desegregation" and/or "equal educational opportunity." Seven percent wrote titles judged to be incorrect while an additional 35 percent did not attempt the task. Needless to say, while one-half of the non-participants were cognizant of the Institute, most of them could not reproduce its title. However, two of the comparison teachers were able to correctly describe the Institute.
The participants and controls learned of the Institute in quite different ways. The majority of the participants (84 percent) learned of the Institute through their recruitment and participation while the controls learned about the Institute from other teachers who may or may not have been connected with the workshops. Different sources of information apparently lead to different perceptions of the goals and objectives of the Institute. The majority (two-thirds) of the participants correctly believe that the Institute is intended to sensitize teachers to problems related to school desegregation while another third hold correctly that the Institute will strive to sensitize teachers to the concept of equal educational opportunity. It is this second purpose that the control group has discerned from other teachers.

Finally, the majority of the participants adopt a cautious "wait and see" attitude regarding the future of the Institute; in response to a question asking whether or not the work of the Institute should be continued, two thirds of the participants responded, "Let's wait and see how it works out." The remaining participants are almost equally divided between, "Don't know" and "continue and renew the Institute." Apparently, a sizable proportion (15 percent) of the participants optimistically anticipated the work of the Institute and desired to see it continued before their own participation. Since knowledge of the Institute by the controls is limited, it is not surprising that they simply do not know whether or not the work should be continued. It is surprising, however, that one-fifth of this group think that the work of the Institute is important enough to be continued and renewed. This group represents, therefore, potential participants and supporters of continued efforts in the area of equal educational opportunity and school desegregation. Apparently there is felt a need for such a training program among teachers generally.
Table 4

Percentage Distributions on Items Concerning Perception of the Institute For (1) All 57 Institute Participants (Pretest) and (2) All 55 Members of a Comparison Group (Comparison Group-Pretest)

| Have you heard of the "Institute" which the University of Missouri is conducting for certain teachers in your school? |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Yes                                              | 93.0            | 50.9            |
| No                                               | 5.3             | 49.1            |

| What is the full "official" title of the Institute? (please write) |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Correct description                                           | 58.0            | 3.6            |
| Incorrect description                                         | 7.0             | 0.0             |
| No answer                                                     | 35.1            | 96.4            |

| If you have heard of the Institute, how did you learn about it? |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| I am a participant                                           | 84.2            | 0.0            |
| From a teacher not connected with the Institute              | 5.3             | 20.0            |
| From a teacher connected with the Institute                  | 3.5             | 23.6            |
| From someone else connected with the Institute               | 3.5             | 7.3             |
| From the media (T.V., radio, newspaper, etc.)                | 0.0             | 0.0             |
| From this questionnaire                                      | 0.0             | 0.0             |
| Have not heard of the Institute                              | 0.0             | 45.5            |

| What do you believe is the purpose of the Institute?          |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| I do not know                                                | 1.8             | 69.0            |
| To fulfill federal guidelines so that certain schools will be eligible for additional funding | 0.0             | 0.0             |
| To sensitize teachers to problems related to school desegregation | 64.9            | 2.0            |
| To sensitize teachers to the concept of equal educational opportunity | 29.8            | 25.5            |

*Significantly different from participants at .05 level (2 tail test) using Davies (1962) Difference Between Two Percentages Test*
Table 4 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Comparison Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To give teachers additional training to meet state certification requirements for personnel in desegregated schools</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To improve the image of the school system in the Black community</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you think the work of the Institute should be continued?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not know</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>76.3(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop it immediately</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It should be completed but not renewed</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continue and renew the Institute</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>20.0(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let's wait and see how it works out</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>0.0(a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 4

TRAINING AND ATTITUDES VIS-A-VIS THE DISADVANTAGED

Disadvantaged students come from homes which do not provide the experiences necessary for success in school. Such students typically perform poorly on standardized tests of achievement and ability. In this chapter, we examine the training and attitudes of one subgroup of participants toward disadvantaged students and their parents. We begin in Section 1, by considering the students and in the second section we examine teacher's perceptions of parents of disadvantaged students. The relevant data appear in Table 5 placed at the end of this chapter.

Section 1--Disadvantaged Students

First we examine the training of the participants vis-a-vis the disadvantaged student. The data appear in Section A on the first page of Table 5. Teachers were asked how useful their teacher training was in helping them to effectively manage each of several aspects of their job pertaining to the disadvantaged student. While administrators viewed several of the job items as irrelevant—since they do not teach—all administrators and others with non-teaching duties are concerned generally with disadvantaged, in particular with their social and emotional problems and evaluation of their progress.

A majority of the participants—but by no means a plurality—indicate that their teaching training was effective in three areas: (1) evaluating the progress of disadvantaged students; (2) preparing lessons they can understand; and, (3) making lessons interesting and relevant to the
disadvantaged. Their preparation was less than adequate, however, in what might be called "human relations." That is, many participants feel that their teacher training did not help them effectively deal with aspects of their roles which involve the affective and empathic relationship between teacher and student, particularly: maintaining discipline; coping with social and emotional problems of students; dealing with their different value orientations; dealing with lack of respect; and, maintaining discipline. Thus, while the participants evaluate their cognitive training as adequate, their affective education has been neglected—they were not prepared to deal with the cultural and emotional "problems" of their students. Nevertheless (see Question B, page 1 of Table 5), the teachers generally positively evaluate the way they carry out most aspects of their jobs. Thus, while they perceive their training as less than adequate, the majority feel that they are performing both cognitive and human relations tasks in an "excellent" or "good" manner. A sizable minority, however, feels that they are not doing a "good" job in areas relating to discipline, overcoming learning difficulties, coping with the social and emotional problems of the disadvantaged, and lesson preparation. 

One row of data in this section of the table prove to be an exception to the above conclusions. These percentages refer to the item, "Dealing with the 'low' moral standards of the disadvantaged students." By putting low in quotations, we tried to convey the meaning of different cultural values which guide action and create behavior patterns which, while not repugnant in an absolute sense, nevertheless are seen by many teachers as antithetical to their own life styles and value systems. The data suggest that these teachers have difficulty in interpreting and understanding
the behavior of disadvantaged students—particularly behavior which embodies values different from those of middle class teachers. These negatively evaluated actions and values of the disadvantaged are particularly evident in the areas of personal hygiene, discipline of aggressive behavior, and language usage.

Finally, Table 5 (question C) assesses teacher satisfaction with the various aspects of their duties concerning the disadvantaged which we have been discussing. In areas where they feel well trained and where they believe they are doing an effective job, the participants express satisfaction. These satisfying tasks include: overcoming the learning difficulties of disadvantaged students; coping with their social and emotional problems; evaluating their progress; preparing lessons they can understand; making lessons interesting and relevant; and, dealing with disadvantaged students generally. This last point should be emphasized; 76 percent of the participant subsample report that they enjoy (i.e., derive "pleasure") from dealing with disadvantaged students generally. They are not reluctant participants in the Institute. Only 12 percent indicate some displeasure in this activity—and the degree of this displeasure is mild (i.e., they express only "some" displeasure).

For those tasks in which the participants perceive inadequate preparation and for which their self-performance evaluations are neither "good" nor "excellent"—disciplinary tasks and activities which emphasize the cultural "gap" between teachers and students—the participants tend to express dissatisfaction.

Section 2—Parents of Disadvantaged Students

Here we examine the training and attitudes of a subgroup of participants toward the families of disadvantaged students. The guiding
assumption of this section is that the teacher is not isolated from the community she (or he) serves, and that one of the most important links between teacher and community (and teacher and students) are the parents of the children in her charge. The data in Table 5, page 2, Question A reveal that indeed more than ninety percent of the respondents indicate that teacher and administrator contact with the families of disadvantaged students does occur in a wide variety of areas ranging from eliciting parent cooperation in the educational process to dealing with parent criticism of the school.

Teacher preparation for dealing with a variety of situations involving these parents is not judged as adequate by the participants. The degree of perceived usefulness of teacher training in eight areas is not judged "very" or "moderately" useful by more than a third of the respondents. In fact, the responding teachers are most unhappy with training in dealing with the lack of control of disadvantaged parents over their children and cultural differences between themselves and these parents. They also feel that they were not equipped to deal with "unfair" parent criticism of the school. Despite inadequate training in such areas as dealing with disadvantaged families generally, gaining their cooperation, talking with disadvantaged parents, and most importantly, dealing with parents lack of understanding in what they can do to help their children in school, a majority of the teachers give themselves "excellent" or "good" ratings in these areas. Apparently, many teachers obtained these interpersonal skills after their formal educational training--perhaps painfully through experience or by participation in workshops and other inservice activities like the Institute. The teachers feel that they are not performing adequately in such areas as dealing
with: parent's lack of interest in their children's work; parent's unfair criticism of the school; the lack of control of disadvantaged parents over their children; and, dealing with cultural differences between disadvantaged parents and middle class teachers. Perhaps teachers take on some tasks involving parents as a challenge which leads to enjoyment and job satisfaction; the teachers say they derive "great pleasure" or "some pleasure" from: dealing with disadvantaged families generally; gaining their cooperation; talking with disadvantaged parents; dealing with parent's lack of interest in their children's work; and, dealing with parent's lack of understanding of what they can do to help their children in school—regardless of inadequate training and only moderate success in these areas. Again, we conclude that the respondents are motivated to respond to an Institute which will help them succeed in relating to the community they serve.
Percentage Distributions of Responses of 34 Institute Participants (Stimulus group-Pretest) To Disadvantaged Students Inventory

**Instructions**
Disadvantaged students come from homes which cannot provide the experiences necessary for success in school. They typically perform poorly on standardized tests of achievement and ability. Below are listed several aspects of your job which relate to disadvantaged students and their families. Questions A, B, and C ask you to consider disadvantaged students in light of your (A) teacher training, (B) job performance, and (C) job satisfaction. Please answer Questions A, B, and C by circling the ONE number for each item which best represents your feelings.

**Question A**
In general, how useful was your teacher training in helping you to effectively manage each of the following aspects of your job?
- 1=Very useful
- 2=Moderately useful
- 3=Slightly useful
- 4=Not at all useful
- 5=My training did not deal in this aspect of teaching
- 6=These aspects of teaching do not occur in my situation

**Question B**
How would you evaluate the way you carry out the following aspects of your job?
- 1=Excellent
- 2=Good
- 3=Fair
- 4=Poor
- 5=These aspects of teaching do not occur in my situation

**Question C**
To what extent do you derive pleasure or displeasure from having to engage in each of the following activities?
- 1=Great pleasure
- 2=Some pleasure
- 3=Some displeasure
- 4=Great displeasure
- 5=I do not engage in these activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEALING WITH DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS</th>
<th>Question A</th>
<th>Question B</th>
<th>Question C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overcoming their learning difficulties</td>
<td>18 18 29 3 27 3</td>
<td>3 53 29 6 6</td>
<td>55 15 9 3 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintaining discipline</td>
<td>6 24 38 15 9 6</td>
<td>21 47 18 0 12</td>
<td>12 32 27 15 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coping with their social and emotional problems</td>
<td>15 12 41 12 18 0</td>
<td>9 41 41 3 3</td>
<td>27 50 8 9 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluating their progress</td>
<td>21 38 18 9 12 0</td>
<td>18 62 12 3 3</td>
<td>24 59 9 3 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with their &quot;low&quot; moral standards</td>
<td>3 6 12 18 50 6</td>
<td>6 24 41 12 12</td>
<td>6 29 35 12 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with their lack of respect</td>
<td>3 18 21 24 27 3</td>
<td>9 50 29 3 3</td>
<td>9 21 47 18 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparing lessons they can understand</td>
<td>12 38 21 6 12 9</td>
<td>18 47 18 0 15</td>
<td>44 32 6 0 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making lessons interesting and relevant</td>
<td>15 44 21 0 9 9</td>
<td>15 44 21 3 15</td>
<td>65 15 3 0 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with disadvantaged students generally</td>
<td>6 18 38 15 21 0</td>
<td>18 44 29 0 6</td>
<td>29 47 12 0 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

continued...
Please continue answering questions A, B, and C.

**Question A**
How useful was your training in helping you to manage each of the following tasks?
1=Very useful
2=Moderately useful
3=Slightly useful
4=Not at all useful
5=No training in this area
6=Does not occur

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with disadvantaged families generally</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaining their cooperation</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking with disadvantaged parents</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with parents' lack of interest in their children's work</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with parents' lack of understanding of what they can do to help their children in school</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with parents' unfair criticism of school</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with the lack of control of disadvantaged parents over their children</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dealing with the &quot;low&quot; moral character of some disadvantaged parents</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Question B**
How would you evaluate the way you carry out the following aspects of your job?
1=Excellent
2=Good
3=Fair
4=Poor
5=Does not occur

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with disadvantaged families generally</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaining their cooperation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking with disadvantaged parents</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with parents' lack of interest in their children's work</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>Dealing with parents' lack of understanding of what they can do to help their children in school</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>41</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dealing with parents' unfair criticism of school</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with the lack of control of disadvantaged parents over their children</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with the &quot;low&quot; moral character of some disadvantaged parents</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Question C**
To what extent do you derive PLEASURE or DISPLEASURE from having to engage in each of the following activities?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It gives me...</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great pleasure</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some pleasure</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some displeasure</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great displeasure</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not engaged in</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>Dealing with disadvantaged families generally</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gaining their cooperation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking with disadvantaged parents</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with parents' lack of interest in their children's work</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 5

POLITICAL AND RACIAL ATTITUDES

In this chapter we examine the political and racial attitudes of the participants. Our purpose is to assess their "liberalism" on two complexes of closely related issues--politics and race. The reader may ask how political and racial considerations are related to the consideration of equal educational opportunity. First, recall that the expressed purpose of the Institute is to "assist schools in dealing with problems occasioned by and/or incidental to desegregation." It is felt that a significant proportion of black students are disadvantaged and that the schools must make a major effort to ensure that no child is denied the opportunity of a "good" education--notwithstanding the lack of qualities in his home and in the schools which may not be congruent with this goal.

Secondly, the definition of equal educational opportunity which is the basis of the Institute proposal has racial and political overtones. The relevant paragraph from the proposal (Page 1, Revised Proposal, April 21, 1972, submitted to the Curators of the University of Missouri-St. Louis) is reproduced below:

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping
him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

The source of this explication of equal educational opportunity is the now famous case of Brown versus the Board of Education of Topeka which was reviewed by the Supreme Court in 1954. In this case, the "separate but equal" doctrine of separate educational facilities for blacks and whites was struck down. Thus, we must consider the racial attitudes of the participants since their sentiments may be barriers to dealing with all students on an equitable basis. In addition, it is desirable to analytically separate the issues of race and education, since we have found in an earlier chapter that some of the teachers do not see the two groups--black students and disadvantaged students--as coterminous, that is, from the teacher's perspective, not all disadvantaged students are black and not all black students are disadvantaged.

After assessing the racial and political attitudes of the participants it might be useful to compare their sentiments with those of a national sample of Americans. In this way, we can determine whether the teachers are representative of other Americans or are atypical in their attitudes. Toward this end, we obtained data decks of nationwide opinion polls conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) in Chicago, Illinois. Furthermore, it may not be equitable to compare a group of professionals with Americans generally. By making appropriate cross-tabulations of the NORC data, however, we were able to isolate a more appropriate comparison group: college graduates from the North Central States. Since Missouri is one of the North Central States, we are able to evaluate the political
and racial stance of the participants relative to a group with comparable education living in the same region. First we examine political leanings (Section 1) and then we consider racial attitudes in Section 2.

Section 1: Political Attitudes

Table 6 which appears at the end of this chapter compares the political leanings and behaviors of the participants with those of Americans in general and a comparison group of college graduates from the North Central States.

Compared to the population as a whole, Table 6 shows that while Republicans are greatly under-represented among the Institute participants, those who refer to themselves as "Independents" are greatly over-represented. Other college graduates from the Missouri region tend to be Republicans and thus the teachers seem to be quite atypical in their political leanings. Many more teachers than the general population or college graduates indicate their political party preference as "Independent" which suggests that the participants are generally divided between those loyal to the Democratic party and those who do not hold to any specific party line but who use other criteria to determine their stance on particular issues.

In addition to political affiliation, we asked the participants to describe their ideological orientation, whether conservative, moderate, liberal, or radical. Again, the respondents do not seem to reflect the attitudes prevailing in the general population or in a more closely matched comparison group. While the participants characterize themselves as Independents, they cautiously classify themselves as having predominantly "moderate" political leanings. They are not overly cautious, however,
since only 12 percent identify themselves as conservatives (compared to 35 percent of the general population and 39 percent of the comparison group).

Like educated people generally, the large majority of the teachers vote. In the 1968 presidential election, the Institute participants were equally divided between Nixon and Humphrey despite the fact that only nine percent of the teachers classified themselves as Republicans—testimony to the fact that they are truly Independents and not idealogues; they are flexible and not tied to party lines. Two-fifths of the teachers voted for Nixon compared to two-thirds of the North Central comparison group—indicating that while the teachers do not classify themselves as "liberals" they voted in large numbers (although not a majority) for a liberal candidate. Perhaps the teachers are more liberal than they themselves believe. We will investigate this assertion in the context of racial attitudes in the next session.

Section 2: Racial Attitudes

In this section we examine the attitudes of the participants and comparison groups of Americans toward the goals and methods of the civil rights movement. First we consider the data on civil rights goals which appear in Table 7 which is placed at the end of this chapter.

The items in Table 7 comprise the Guttman Scale of Prointegration. Each item measures on a specific issue the degree to which respondents will allow themselves to come into close contact with blacks—from "distant" relationships on street cars and busses, to moderately "close" occupational relationships, and finally to the quite "close" proximity implied by marriage.
Table 7 shows that the overwhelming majority of teachers support equal access to public accommodations and to jobs. The issue of public accommodations is important for two reasons. First, Missouri was a slave state with "Jim Crow" laws and some of the participating teachers may have had experience with discrimination in public places. Secondly, the denial of integrated transportation in Plessy versus Ferguson by the Supreme Court in 1896 provided the "separate but equal doctrine" which was the basis for later justification of segregation. It was also this issue which thrust Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. into national prominence in 1955 when he led the Montgomery bus boycott which resulted in the Supreme Court overturning its earlier ruling. On these issues--public accommodation and equal job access--the participating teachers are noticeably more "liberal" than Americans generally but comparable (although there are some statistically significant differences, the magnitude of these differences are quite small) to other highly educated people living in their region.

In terms of school integration (which we will discuss in more detail later), the large majority of teachers support this goal of the civil rights movement; however, approximately 12 percent of the teachers do not acquiesce. In this regard, they are more liberal than Americans generally, but somewhat more conservative than a matched group of professionals (almost 96 percent of the college graduates from the North Central states believe that blacks and whites should go to the same schools compared to 88 percent of the participants).

While the participants support the major goals of the civil rights movement, they are slightly less enthusiastic about some of the methods blacks have used to gain their rights. For example, approximately 80
percent of the teachers disagree with the statement that "blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted." While their support of black assertiveness does not match their support of some of the early civil rights goals, the participants are more supportive than Americans in general, and particularly more so than other educated groups.

Only two of the participating teachers object to these three statements:

I would object if a member of my family wanted to bring a black friend home to dinner.

There should be laws against marriage between blacks and whites.

White people have a right to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods if they want to, and blacks should respect that right.

On these issues, the teachers are more liberal than other professionals in their region and much more liberal than Americans generally. We would like to make a few comments about these data. First, although teachers do not support legal barriers against intermarriage, we did not assess their feelings about intermarriage—most likely, they would be less than enthusiastic supporters of such unions. Similarly, although the majority of the teachers support integrated schooling, we have no data on the degree of their support; that is, we do not know how much integration they would be willing to accept. On the one hand, their acceptance of integration may be more apparent than real in view of prevailing de facto segregation. On the other hand, they may feel that integration is necessary if their children are to grow up in a pluralistic society. In fact, recent surveys conducted by George Gallup (1971:40) support this interpretation. As the data in Table 8 (see the end of this chapter) demonstrate: "The national consensus judged by survey results is that integration has improved the
quality of education received by the blacks, that it has not improved the quality of education received by white students, but that, on the whole, it has improved relations between whites and blacks." The participating teachers are more in agreement with these sentiments than other Americans and their students.

Finally, education and housing are emotional issues for many blacks as well as whites. The teachers realize that blacks do not have adequate housing and educational opportunities. When the housing question becomes personal and whites are asked to accept black neighbors, many issues are raised which inhibit white acceptance. First, there is the problem of intimate social contact with members of another race. Secondly, there are the believed economic losses in home equity and property values. Thirdly, general ideological issues dealing with the sanctity of private property become salient. These issues are apparently less important for the participating teachers than for professionals in general and other Americans in particular.

Table 9 which appears at the end of this chapter deals with teacher perceptions of the methods of the civil rights movement and related racial sentiments. As the data show, the participants do not question the legitimacy of black demands; less than one-fifth say that black groups are asking for "too much." On this item they are considerably more "liberal" than the general population and an educated comparison group. Similarly, few of the participants disapprove of the actions blacks have taken to obtain their rights and do not feel that demonstrations have been counterproductive. Here again, the teachers are much more tolerant than Americans generally, and somewhat more tolerant than the matched comparison group. They probably feel that demonstrations have brought blacks tangible gains
In America—only one-half believe that most Americans want to see Blacks get a better break and one-third assert that black-white relations will always be a problem in the United States. As to possible solutions to these problems, education is of course paramount. They do not feel that the problem of black rights should be left to the states, however; rather, the Federal government (such projects as the Institute) together with local and personal efforts must solve these problems.
In summary, the Institute participants seem to have been selected (or selected themselves) on a number of criteria that distinguish them from the general population and from other intellectuals. If they had been randomly selected from intellectuals we would not have expected them to be more liberal on racial and political issues than a matched group of college graduates from the North Central states. However, for a majority of items, the participants take a more liberal stance than Americans in general, and intellectuals in particular. They do not label themselves as "liberals," however. In a sense, then, much of the work of the Institute has been accomplished simply by prior selection—perhaps less "liberal" teachers should have been selected. On the other hand, these teachers seem well suited to the sort of training the Institute will provide; perhaps this training would not be as acceptable to their more conservative colleagues. And finally, we should emphasize that the majority—but not all of the teachers—feel that generally speaking, school integration has improved the quality of education for blacks, and fewer of the participants feel that whites have reaped the same benefits. They support efforts for school integration, therefore, because of the potential benefits to blacks. The participants have a sense of social justice which is not based on such pragmatic considerations as white acceptance. And, as we pointed out earlier, they do not view themselves (self-righteously) as "liberals," but as "Independents" doing what is just.
Table 6

Percentage Distributions of the Responses to Political Items For (1) All 57 Institute Participants (Pretest), (2) A Probability Sample of 1490 Americans, and (3) 44 College Graduates from the North Central States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How do you think of yourself politically?</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>All Americans$^a$</th>
<th>College Graduates$^b$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>46.2$^c$</td>
<td>15.9$^c$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>22.9$^c$</td>
<td>40.9$^c$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>23.4$^c$</td>
<td>38.6$^c$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>4.7$^c$</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generally speaking, in politics would you describe yourself as a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radical</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Did you vote in the last Presidential election?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If you did vote, for whom did you vote?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Humphrey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nixon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone else</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^a,b$ Data from National Opinion Research Center Amalgam Study 4100 completed in 1970.

$^c$ Significantly different from participants at .05 (2-tail test).
Table 7
Per Cent Who "Agree" With the Goals of the Civil Rights Movement For
(1) All 57 Institute Participants (Pretest), (2) A Probability
Sample of Americans, and (3) College Graduates
from the North Central States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>All Americans</th>
<th>College Graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Generally speaking, I do not think that there should be separate sections for blacks on street cars and busses</td>
<td>96.5</td>
<td>73.4&lt;sub&gt;ae&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>97.7&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks should have the right to use the same parks, restaurants, and hotels as white people</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>72.1&lt;sub&gt;ae&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>97.7&lt;sup&gt;be&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks who are qualified should have as good a chance as whites to get jobs</td>
<td>93.0</td>
<td>71.0&lt;sub&gt;ce&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>90.9&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black and white students should go to the same schools</td>
<td>87.7</td>
<td>62.2&lt;sub&gt;ae&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>95.5&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>65.5&lt;sub&gt;ae&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>47.7&lt;sup&gt;be&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would object if a member of my family wanted to bring a black friend home to dinner</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>28.1&lt;sub&gt;ae&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>11.4&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There should be laws against marriage between blacks and whites</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>40.3&lt;sub&gt;ae&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>25.0&lt;sup&gt;be&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White people have a right to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods if they want to, and blacks should respect that right</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>36.3&lt;sub&gt;ae&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>20.5&lt;sup&gt;be&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Data from National Opinion Research Center Amalgam Study 4100 completed in 1970. Responses of 1247 whites only; data unavailable for blacks.

<sup>b</sup> Data from National Opinion Research Center Amalgam Study 4100 completed in 1970. Responses of 44 white college graduates from the North Central States.

<sup>c</sup> Data from National Opinion Research Center Amalgam Study 4050 completed in 1968. Responses of 1251 whites only; data unavailable for blacks.

<sup>d</sup> Data from National Opinion Research Center Amalgam Study 4050 completed in 1968. Responses of 44 white college graduates from the North Central States.

<sup>e</sup> Significantly different from participants at .05 (2 tail test).
Table 8
Per Cent Who "agree" with School Integration Items For (1) All 57 Institute Participants (Pretest), (2) A Probability Sample of 1500 Americans, and (3) High School Juniors and Seniors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>All Americans</th>
<th>H.S. Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Generally speaking, school integration has improved the quality of education received by black students</td>
<td>77.2</td>
<td>43.0&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>56.0&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally speaking, school integration has improved the relations between whites and blacks</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>40.0&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>59.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally speaking, school integration has improved the quality of education received by white students</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>23.0&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>35.0&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Data from Gallup Public Opinion Poll reported in *Phi-Delta-Kappan*, September 1971, pp. 33-48.

<sup>b</sup> Significantly different from participants at .05 (2-tail test).
Table 9

Per Cent Who "Agree" with Selected Racial Attitudes For (1) All 57 Institute Participants (Pretest), (2) A Probability Sample of Americans, and 3) College Graduates from the North Central States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Methods of the Civil Rights Movement</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>All Americans</th>
<th>College Graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In general, black power means to me that blacks advocate political-economic equality rather than violent revolution</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>36.2&lt;sup&gt;ac&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>43.2&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrations have hurt rather than helped the black cause</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>65.9&lt;sup&gt;ac&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>45.5&lt;sup&gt;bc&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I generally disapprove of actions which blacks have taken to obtain civil rights</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>74.2&lt;sup&gt;ac&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>68.2&lt;sup&gt;bc&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black groups are asking for too much</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>52.2&lt;sup&gt;ac&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>47.7&lt;sup&gt;bc&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Black-White Differences

| In general, blacks are as intelligent as white people—that is, they can learn things just as well if they are given the same education and training | 96.5 | 61.2<sup>ac</sup> | 84.1<sup>bc</sup> |
| The failure of black people to achieve equality is due to the restrictions imposed by white society rather than to lack of drive and initiative | 64.9 | 30.3<sup>ac</sup> | 52.3<sup>bc</sup> |

The Future of Race Relations

| On the whole, most white people want to see blacks get a better break | 50.9 | -- | -- |
| Black-white relations will always be a problem in the United States | 35.1 | -- | -- |
| The problem of black rights should be left to the states rather than to the federal government | 8.8 | -- | -- |

<sup>a</sup> Data from National Opinion Research Center Amalgam Survey 4050 completed in 1968. Responses of 1251 whites only; data unavailable for blacks.

<sup>b</sup> Data from National Opinion Research Center Amalgam Survey 4050 completed in 1968. Responses of 44 white college graduates from the North Central States.

<sup>c</sup> Significantly different from participants at .05 (2-tail test).
PART III: ATTITUDE CHANGE AMONG PARTICIPANTS
CHAPTER VI

QUASI EXPERIMENTAL EVALUATION DESIGN

The purpose of the Institute is to provide certain experiences—both didactic and interactive—which will enable the participants to modify their conception of equal educational opportunity (EEO). In order to evaluate change in attitudes toward EEO it is necessary to assess teacher's notions of EEO both before and after participation in the project. Toward this end, survey questionnaire items were written which express various conceptions of EEO and administered to the teachers prior to participation in the Institute in June, 1972 and at the conclusion of the project in June, 1973.

One major difficulty in interpreting attitude pretest and posttest comparisons is the effect of the test itself on the beliefs under consideration. In particular, it could be argued that any measured change in EEO attitudes is the result of the exposure to the items in the pretest, rather than to the Institute itself. In order to determine the effect of the EEO instrument, the participants were divided into two groups (with the aid of a table of random numbers): the stimulus group consisting of 34 teachers and a non-stimulus group of 23 teachers. Prior to the Institute, the stimulus group was exposed to the complete questionnaire including the EEO instrument while the non-stimulus group completed all attitude and background items except the EEO questions. Thus, the non-stimulus group was not "contaminated," i.e., had no prior contact with the EEO items. At the termination of the Institute, both the stimulus and the non-stimulus groups completed attitude and background items.
and the non-stimulus groups completed attitude and background items including the EEO instrument. First, we can assess the effectiveness of the Institute by comparing the responses of the stimulus group on the EEO pretest with the responses of the same teachers on the EEO posttest. Secondly, we can evaluate the effect of the test itself by comparing the EEO responses of the two posttest groups—the "contaminated" stimulus group and the non-stimulus group. That is, if the EEO items do not influence beliefs, there will be no significant difference in the responses of teachers who were (stimulus group) and who were not (non-stimulus group) exposed to the instrument on prior occasions. Of the 57 participating teachers who completed questionnaires at the inception of the Institute (34 in the stimulus group and 23 in the non-stimulus group), instruments were obtained from only 50 teachers at the conclusion of the study (30 in the stimulus group and 20 in the non-stimulus group).

Finally, there is another major difficulty inherent in the evaluation of attitude change over a long period of time. Although a reliable instrument may show attitude shifts during the course of the year-long Institute, change may be attributable to events taking place within that year which are independent of the Institute. For example, in addition to the Institute, during the past year the participants: were exposed to news stories of desegregation; learned of the assassinations of whites by militant blacks in New Orleans; and may have read reviews of the popular and newsmaking book on EEO, *Inequality--A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America* by Christopher Jencks (1972). Measured attitude change may result from knowledge of these incidents rather than from the Institute. Therefore, a comparison group of teachers aware of these and other events—but who did not participate
in the Institute--was selected. These teachers indicated their opinions both before (pretest) and after (posttest) the year-long Institute. If non-Institute events are responsible for changing the sentiments of the participants, these events should also modify the belief of the non-participants. On the other hand, the absence of significant differences in the EEO protocols of a comparison group of non-participating teachers over the course of the project indicates that measured EEO attitude change among the participants is not likely attributable to non-Institute events, but is due rather to the Institute itself. The comparison group is made up of 57 teachers matched with the participants on the following attributes: employing school, sex, race, and years of teaching experience (to the nearest three years). Of the 57 "comparison" teachers who completed the pretest, only 50 teachers were given the posttest since seven of the 57 participants did not complete the posttest.

This discussion of the evaluation design, time sequence, definition and composition of subgroups, and instruments is outlined in Figure 1 which appears at the conclusion of this chapter.
**Figure 1**

Quasi Experimental Design of Institute Evaluation: Time Sequence, Subgroups of Subjects, and Instruments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BEFORE INSTITUTE</th>
<th>AFTER INSTITUTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PARTICIPANTS</strong></td>
<td><strong>PARTICIPANTS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BEFORE INSTITUTE</strong></td>
<td><strong>AFTER INSTITUTE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>June 1972</strong></td>
<td><strong>June 1973</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stimulus Group-Pretest (N=34)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Stimulus Group Posttest (N=30)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-Demographic and background</td>
<td>4-Perception of Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-Educational background</td>
<td>*7-Equal educational opportunity inventory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-Current job description</td>
<td>5-Political and racial attitudes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-Perception of Institute</td>
<td>6-Disadvantaged student inventory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-Political and racial attitudes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-Disadvantaged student inventory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*7-Equal educational opportunity inventory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Stimulus Group Pretest (N=23)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Non-Stimulus Group Posttest (N=20)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-Demographic and background</td>
<td>4-Perception of Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-Educational background</td>
<td>*7-Equal educational opportunity inventory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-Current job description</td>
<td>5-Political and racial attitudes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-Perception of Institute</td>
<td>6-Disadvantaged student inventory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-Political and racial attitudes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Comparison Group</strong></td>
<td><strong>Comparison Group</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Comparison Group-Pretest (N=55)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Comparison Group-Posttest (N=50)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-Demographic and background</td>
<td>*7-Equal educational opportunity inventory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-Educational background</td>
<td>4-Perception of Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-Current job description</td>
<td>*7-Equal educational opportunity inventory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-Perception of Institute</td>
<td>5-Political and racial attitudes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-Political and racial attitudes</td>
<td>6-Disadvantaged student inventory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-Disadvantaged student inventory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*7-Equal educational opportunity inventory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Stimulus (Equal Educational Opportunity Inventory)
CHAPTER VII

THE FINDINGS--INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Table 10 which appears at the conclusion of this chapter indicates the percent of teachers who agree with various conceptions of equal educational opportunity (EEO) among several subgroups of participants and non-participants. Forty-two items were included in the EEO instrument designed to reflect current notions of equal educational opportunity and the assumptions underlying these definitions. In this chapter we present a brief overview of the findings. A more thorough examination of the items and teacher responses is presented in the following chapter.

In this overview, the reader should examine Table 10 and note the following comparisons. The first two columns of the table juxtapose the responses of the comparison group of non-participants before and after the Institute. None of the comparisons contain significantly different percentage-pairs, indicating that any observed modification of the EEO attitudes of the participants is not attributable to extra-Institute events. The second two columns of Table 10 compare the post-Institute responses of participants who were exposed to the EEO pretest to those who did not take the EEO pretest. None of these comparisons are statistically significant, suggesting that any alteration in the EEO beliefs of the participants is not due to the EEO instrument itself. Finally, the last two columns of Table 10 are composed of the pretest and posttest EEO responses of the participants. Of the 42 comparisons, nine are statistically different, indicating nine instances of attitude
change which are not likely spurious. These nine items are reproduced in Table 11 (see end of the chapter) for convenient examination.

Table 11 reveals a sizable shift in attitudes toward one of the "latent" functions of attempts to divert resources to schools in order to close the gap between advantaged and disadvantaged students. At the inception of the Institute, one-fifth of the participants believed that such programs raise the achievement of disadvantaged students slightly and increase the achievement of other students a great deal, thus widening the gap, compared to two-fifths of the participants at the posttest. Thus, teachers are cautious in accepting programs for the disadvantaged and appear to carefully consider the unintended consequences of such programs which sometimes negate their stated purpose.

How then should the gap be narrowed? The teachers shifted their sentiments against one solution during the course of the Institute. Whereas before the Institute almost one-third of the participants believed that students who do not have the intellectual abilities required for further study should be "screened out" of the educational system, only ten percent agreed with this strategy at the posttest. One major reason for this, as we shall discuss later in great detail, was their increased lack of confidence in the usefulness of the concepts "ability" and "endowment." An alternative strategy that gained wider acceptance is to concentrate efforts primarily on students who have performed well in previous school work; only six percent of the teachers held this view before participation in the Institute compared to 20 percent at the conclusion of the project. A majority of teachers, however, do not agree with this latter strategy. It is also clear that those who agree with this proposal do not want students without good records to have their
resources given to students with higher achievement; rather, the respondents want students with academic promise given "new" additional resources and materials.

Table 11 also shows an increasing awareness of the relativity of measured achievement in the attainment of equal educational opportunity. At the beginning of the Institute, more than 25 percent of the teachers agreed that, "For equality of educational opportunity to exist, disadvantaged students must reach the same levels of achievement as other students," compared to only ten percent at the posttest. Although many teachers conceive of final achievement level in relative terms when evaluating the attainment of equal educational opportunity, this view is not used to rationalize low expectations for disadvantaged students.

For example, as Table 11 shows, at the conclusion of the Institute, 40 percent of the teachers felt that disadvantaged children could--and should--be trained for a profession, notwithstanding their desire to emulate others and enter a craft.

We now turn our attention away from Table 11 for a moment in order to examine teacher's attitudes toward equal educational opportunity in light of the goals of the Institute. Page four of the Institute Proposal states the following objective of the project:

In terms of them having to deal with culturally heterogeneous populations, these schools must begin to interpret and accept the purpose of "equal educational opportunity" to mean that regardless of social class, race, or ethnic origin, the process of education should attempt to move the student forward in his development to become all that he is capable of becoming. (Underlines not in original.)

A number of items in the EEO instrument (see Table 10) are relevant to this "self-actualization" notion of equal educational opportunity.
They are reproduced below for convenient examination:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percent Who Agree</th>
<th>Pretest</th>
<th>Posttest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fully develop the potential of each child, regardless of his intellectual endowment</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continue educating students until they have fully developed all their potential</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Each child is different and must learn at his own rate. The school, therefore, must provide a situation in which this learning is continually occurring</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have various curricula (college prep, vocational, etc.) in order to fully develop the potentialities of pupils with different aptitudes and interests</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All children should be exposed to a college oriented curriculum</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Each child should be encouraged to reach his fullest potential. Thus, he should be judged on his own terms and not compared to other groups. Grading and competition would consequently be de-emphasized</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade students according to the extent to which they work up to their innate capacities</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In evaluating students, take into account the amount of effort they put into their work</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The items above show that the teachers are in almost unanimous agreement with the Institute objective that all students should have their potential fully developed regardless of their intellectual endowment. The Institute itself had little effect on this sentiment since the majority of the teachers subscribed to this principle at the outset of the project. The participants strongly agree that students should have their education continued until their potential is developed, although...
their sentiments are not quite unanimous on this point. This indicates that perhaps some teachers feel that other community agencies in addition to the school should have some influence in this developmental process. The participants perceive that each child has different needs and must therefore learn at his own rate. Consequently, they feel that it is the goal of the school to provide a situation in which this learning—and self actualization—is continually occurring.

How can the school provide such a learning climate? One method clearly is to provide various curricula (college preparation, vocational, career training, and so on) for children with a variety of needs and abilities. Thus, the teachers do not support the imposition of any single curricula track, such as exposing all children to a college oriented program. Since each child should be encouraged to reach his fullest potential and "become all that he is capable of becoming," evaluative and grading standards must be relative as children with unique needs and abilities cannot be compared with students of differing abilities. The participants say, therefore, that the students should be judged on his own terms and not compared to other groups. This would de-emphasize the competition for grades as each child would be evaluated according to the extent he works up to his innate capacity. Observed effort is one measure of this fulfillment and is therefore considered a relevant criterion for the assignment of grades.

It may seem, therefore, that the teachers entered the Institute with the very attitudes that their participation was intended to inculcate. They were in agreement with the objective of the Institute—namely, that "education should attempt to move the student forward in his development to become all that he is capable of becoming"—both before and after
their participation.

closer examination of the items in Table 11 which we did not discuss earlier reveals that this conclusion is a bit hasty. While all the participants agree that the potential of each child should be fully developed, the assumptions underlying their notion of potential (ability, endowment, innate capacity, etc.) changed as a result of the Institute. Furthermore, as we shall see in a more detailed examination of Tables 10 and 11 in the next chapter, the ways in which the teachers would like to see the goal of self-actualization realized are worth examining.

The last four items in Table 11 show that the teachers shifted their attitudes toward ability in a number of significant ways in response to the Institute. First, the proportion of teachers who believe that native intelligence is not fixed genetically but is responsive to environmental influences during the first formative years increased, so that by the conclusion of the Institute almost all of the participants agreed with this point of view.

Secondly, as a result of the Institute, the proportion of teachers who believe that native ability is equally distributed among all groups in the population (whether advantaged or disadvantaged) increased from 65 to 80 percent. In fact, not only is ability—whatever ability may be—equally distributed, but the very concept of ability as a unidimensional trait was questioned by additional teachers as a result of the Institute. Before participation in the Institute, 29 percent of the teachers agreed that schools must recognize that "there is no such thing as a general trait of intelligence or ability—only special abilities, such as verbal ability and mathematical ability;" 45 percent of the group espoused this belief at the termination of the Institute.
fore, while the teachers did not change their views about the goals of the schools (they all believe that the schools should enable students to develop their potential fully), the Institute modified some of the basic assumptions teachers hold about the meaning of ability, its distribution in the population, and its responsiveness to the environment. A more detailed examination of the teacher's notions of ability follow in the next chapter. An attempt will be made to tie in the teacher's perspectives with the massive literature on equality of educational opportunity.
Table 10

Percent Who "Agree" With Equal Educational Opportunity Items For
(1) Stimulus Group-Pretest (SG-Pre), (2) Stimulus Group-Posttest (SG-Post),
(3) Non-Stimulus Group-Posttest (NSG-Post), (4) Comparison Group-Pretest (CG-Pre),
and (5) Comparison Group-Posttest (CG-Post)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>CG-Pre vs CG-Post</th>
<th>SG-Post vs NSG-Post</th>
<th>SG-Pre vs SG-Post</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Screen out&quot; students who do not have intellectual abilities required for further study.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fully develop the potential of each child, regardless of his intellectual endowment.</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concentrate efforts primarily on students who have done well in previous school work.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do everything possible to help students overcome their learning difficulties.</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuse to spend time on students who do not meet academic standards.</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continue educating students until they have fully developed all their potential.</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Significantly different from CG-Pre at .05 (2-tail)

\(^b\)Significantly different from SG-Post at .05 (2-tail)

\(^c\)Significantly different from SG-Pre at .35 (2-tail)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Have various curricula (college prep, vocational, etc.) in order to fully develop the potential-</th>
<th>( N=55 )</th>
<th>( N=50 )</th>
<th>( N=30 )</th>
<th>( N=20 )</th>
<th>( N=34 )</th>
<th>( N=30 )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ities of pupils with different aptitudes and interests.</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade students according to the extent to which they work up to their innate capacities.</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In evaluating students, take into account the amount of effort they put into their work.</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute performance contracting. (Give educational companies contracts to put in new methods to teach basic skills, such as reading. If children don't reach a certain level of achievement, the company does not get paid for those children who fail.)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give students national tests so that their achievement can be compared with students in other communities.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute a voucher system. (The government allots a certain amount of money for each child for his education. The parents can then send the child to any public, private, or parochial school they choose.)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accountability. (When some children do poorly in school, place the blame on the school rather than on the children's home life or some other factor.)</th>
<th>N=55</th>
<th>N=50</th>
<th>N=30</th>
<th>N=20</th>
<th>N=34</th>
<th>N=30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Free schooling should be provided to the level of education which is the principal entry point into the labor force.</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Although secondary education is &quot;free,&quot; parents should be reimbursed for income lost because their child is not in the labor market.</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All children should be enrolled in a single, common curriculum.</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The school should increase the opportunities of a disadvantaged child by training him for a profession—even if this means that they are at the same time reducing his opportunity to enter a craft like his father.</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>40c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All children should be exposed to a college-oriented curriculum.</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=35</td>
<td>N=50</td>
<td>N=30</td>
<td>N=20</td>
<td>N=34</td>
<td>N=30</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
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<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG-Pre vs CG-Post</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG-Post vs NSG-Post</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG-Pre vs SG-Post</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the school may expose children to different curricula, it is the students' obligation to take advantage of these opportunities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N=35</th>
<th>N=50</th>
<th>N=30</th>
<th>N=20</th>
<th>N=34</th>
<th>N=30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children from different backgrounds should attend the same school.</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Assuming the same amount of resources (teacher salaries, etc.) are devoted to schools with disadvantaged students, disadvantaged students will not have equal educational opportunity. Disadvantaged students will still achieve poorly because they do not have a home environment that provides them with experiences necessary for learning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N=35</th>
<th>N=50</th>
<th>N=30</th>
<th>N=20</th>
<th>N=34</th>
<th>N=30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All schools in a given locality should have the same resources. (Number and quality of teachers, pupil expenditure, etc.)</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Segregated schools are inferior even if they have the same resources as other schools. This is due to differences which are difficult to measure, such as low teacher morale, low levels of student interest, and so on.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N=35</th>
<th>N=50</th>
<th>N=30</th>
<th>N=20</th>
<th>N=34</th>
<th>N=30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Since disadvantaged students do not have strong educational resources in the home, the school should devote more resources to them than to other students to compensate for these deficiencies.

For equality of educational opportunity to exist, disadvantage students must reach the same levels of achievement as other students.

Superior schools do not close the gap between advantaged and disadvantaged students. They raise the achievement of disadvantaged students slightly and increase the achievement of other students a great deal, thus widening the gap.

Schools must assume that native ability is distributed equally among all groups in the population, whether advantaged or disadvantaged.

School resources must be distributed independently of student backgrounds. Thus, advantaged and disadvantaged students must be exposed to similar programs.
Table 10 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N=55</th>
<th>N=50</th>
<th>N=30</th>
<th>N=20</th>
<th>N=34</th>
<th>N=30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CG-Pre vs CG-Post</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG-Post vs NSG-Post</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG-Pre vs SG-Post</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

School resources must not be distributed independently of student backgrounds. Thus, disadvantaged students should be given extra help and exposed to extra resources.

Native intelligence, which is an important factor in school achievement, must be recognized as not fixed genetically. It is responsive to environmental influences during the first formative years.

One way to equalize the achievement of advantaged and disadvantaged students is to lower the achievement of advantaged or high ability students.

This school can counteract the effects of environment by providing experiences enabling the disadvantaged child to catch up with other children.

Accompanying the development of effective schools for the disadvantaged, it will also be necessary to employ political measures to prevent the advantaged groups in society from maintaining their advantage.
Table 10 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N=55</th>
<th>N=50</th>
<th>N=30</th>
<th>N=20</th>
<th>N=34</th>
<th>N=30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CG-Pre vs CG-Post</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG-Post vs NSG-Post</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>48c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG-Pre vs SG-Post</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>45c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only a very small percentage of the population is capable of benefiting from higher education, and this group should therefore be separated from the rest and given special academic programs.

All children, except for a few born with neurological defects, are basically very much alike in their native ability. Their apparent differences in intelligence are due to rather superficial differences in their upbringing and family background.

The schools must recognize that there is no such thing as a general trait of intelligence or ability—only special abilities, such as verbal ability, mathematical ability, and so on.

When minimum standards are met, it can be said that the schools are providing equal educational opportunity. Thus, to teach all students to read is to provide equal opportunity. (As opposed to teaching all students to read well.)
The school should only provide the technical and basic knowledge necessary for work and economic survival. Newspapers, libraries, and participation in family life should really educate people. There should be a match between measured intelligence and the type of education a child receives. Each child should be encouraged to reach his fullest potential. Thus, he should be judged on his own terms and not compared to other groups. Grading and competition would consequently be de-emphasized.

The school should recognize the patterns of achievement and design programs for different groups. For example, children from oriental backgrounds show good performance on tasks requiring spatial relationships. Thus, the schools should recognize the pattern of intelligence of disadvantaged children and design programs especially for them.

New research shows good performance on tasks requiring spatial relationships. Thus, the schools should recognize the pattern of intelligence of disadvantaged children and design programs especially for them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CG-Pre vs CG-Post</th>
<th>SG-Post vs NSG-Post</th>
<th>SG-Pre vs SG-Post</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N=55</td>
<td>N=50</td>
<td>N=30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=20</td>
<td>N=34</td>
<td>N=30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=75</td>
<td>N=50</td>
<td>N=30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 (continued and concluded)
Table 11

Summary of Findings: Items With Significant Differences in Percent Agreement in Pretest and Posttest Administration to Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Percent Who Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pretest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Screen out&quot; students who do not have the intellectual abilities required for further study</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concentrate efforts primarily on students who have done well in previous school work</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The school should increase the opportunities of the disadvantaged child by training him for a profession—even if this means that they are at the same time reducing his opportunity to enter a craft like his father</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For equality of educational opportunity to exist, disadvantaged students must reach the same levels of achievement as other students</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior schools do not close the gap between advantaged and disadvantaged students. They raise the achievement of disadvantaged students slightly and increase the achievement of other students a great deal, thus widening the gap</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools must assume that native ability is distributed equally among all groups in the population, whether advantaged or disadvantaged</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native intelligence, which is an important factor in school achievement, must be recognized as not fixed genetically. It is responsive to environmental influences during the first formative years</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All children, except those born with neurological defects, are basically very much alike in their native ability. Their apparent differences in intelligence are due to rather superficial differences in their upbringing and family background</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The schools must recognize that there is no such thing as a general trait of intelligence or ability—only special abilities, such as verbal ability, mathematical ability, and so on</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Items ordered according to their relative position in the instrument
CHAPTER VIII

THE FINDINGS--DISCUSSION AND CONTEXT

As Corcoran and others point out (Corcoran, 1968; Evetts, n.d.) equality of educational opportunity (EEO) is a normative concept whose meaning has changed over the years and varies with the nature, experience, and objectives of the defining group. Almost all groups in our society--and indeed, other nations as well--advocate equality of educational opportunity in an ideal sense. The notion of equality of opportunity has been affixed to education by an increased realization of the importance of schooling in the allocation of social rewards to "educated" people. However, as we can see by a multitude of different educational policies and lack of consensus vis-a-vis the benefits and accessibility of education in the United States, the notions of EEO are as varied as the number of subgroups with distinctive experiences and ideologies.

Below, we present a rather lengthy quotation from Gordon (1972) which traces the history of the concept and places it in context of present day America:

One of the traditional roles of education in the U.S.A. has been to broaden opportunities for productive, influential, and regarding participation in the affairs of the society by developing those skills and entry credentials necessary for economic survival and social satisfaction. The idea of education for all grew gradually. In this country we extended this opportunity to more and more of our people, by a steady increase in the quantity of educational experiences available and the quality of the educational product. While the quantity of available educational experiences has grown, there also has been a marked increase in the quality of the skills and competencies demanded of those
who would achieve much. Similarly, the individual's goals are higher. He wants to be productive in the sense that the society sees his effort as resulting in a valued product; influential in the sense that his participation is viewed as having some influence on outcomes; and rewarded for his effort both materially and psychologically.

Increased perception of this role of education makes us want to equalize access to basic education of high quality. Spurred on by the civil rights movement of the 1950's and 60's, equal opportunity in education has become an issue of crucial national concern. By many, it is regarded as the base for all the rights, privileges, and responsibilities of membership in this modern democratic society.

Our country's desire to equalize educational opportunities is in part a product of advances in the organization and development of human societies during the past six centuries. In earlier periods when neither the need nor the resources for wide access to education existed, the ideal of universal equalization of educational opportunities also did not exist, certainly not in the public policy sphere. The concept itself and the concern for its implementation could not have emerged as an important issue, even now, if we had not earlier developed an awareness of the universality of educability. Human societies have always considered educable those categories of persons thought to be needed in the maintenance of the social order. Consequently, as the human resource requirements of social orders have changed, concepts of educability have changed. Educability in human subjects has been defined less by the factual potentials of persons and more by the level of society's demand for people capable of certain levels of function. In more simplistic and exclusive social systems most people were considered uneducable and effort was not "wasted" on their formal training. As long ago as the early Christian period and as recently as the early nineteenth century, it was only the religious and political nobility who were thought to be capable and worthy of academic learning. The social order was maintained by the machinations of these elite groups and the simple and routine gaming, farming, and crafting skills of illiterate masses. Under the triple pressures of the reformation in religion, mechanization in industry, and institutionalization in commerce, categories of persons thought to be capable of academic learning were greatly expanded. Opportunities for active participation in religious activities
and rituals made reading and writing more widely usable and salable skills. Similarly, the emergence of collective machine production shops and the expansion of commerce and trade through institutions made necessary the broader distribution of these skills. The combined impact was a greatly increased societal need for computational and communicative skills in larger numbers of people. As a corollary, previously illiterate people were drawn into the small body of literates and the mass of "uneducables" was reduced.

In the United States, where religious freedom and diversity became widespread, where democracy in government became the ideal, and where industrialization and economic expansion advanced most rapidly, more and more literate persons were required. In mid-nineteenth-century U.S.A., society's view of who could be educated quickly expanded to include all people in this country except for slaves. With the end of slavery and the incorporation of ex-slaves into the industrial labor force, ex-slaves gradually came to be regarded as educable. Through the exercise of briefly held political power, together with uneducated poor whites, they literally forced increased access to public education as a vehicle for their education. These indigenous poor were later joined by waves of immigrants who also saw the public school as their major route to economic and social salvation. In the metropolitan areas of the period, the school also became the major vocational training resource that prepared semiskilled and commercial workers for rapidly expanding industries. Although the school did not succeed in educating all of these new candidates, the once narrowly defined concept of educability was now nearly universal in its inclusiveness.

Our conception of education has also changed over the years. In Thomas Jefferson's view the school was expected to provide the technical skills and basic knowledge necessary for work and economic survival. It was from newspapers, journals, and books and from participation in politics that people were to be really educated. In reviewing Jefferson's position on education, Cremin (1965) has concluded that it never occurred to Jefferson that schooling would become the chief educational influence on the young. However, changes in the number and variety of persons served by the school, changes in the functioning of the society, and changes in the nature of the skills and competencies required by the social order have also changed the nature of education.

By the middle of the nineteenth century in this country,
public schools serving the upper classes had developed curriculums basic to a liberal education. In this period the secondary school was quite selective and was designed to prepare a relatively few young people for entrance into college where most of them would pursue studies leading to one of the professions. While this trend continued through the latter half of that century, the first half of the twentieth century was marked by a high degree of proliferation in the development of technical and vocational training programs. Preparation in the liberal arts was considered a luxury and was thought by some to be relatively useless. It was the Jeffersonian concept of utilitarian education which prevailed. And it was this utilitarian education which came to be the mode in the growing acceptance of universal educability. "Everyone can and should be taught to do useful work and to hold a job" was the prevalent view...

In this country the battle for equality of educational opportunity was first waged to establish public responsibility for the education of children in states where public education did not exist. This was followed by the struggle for adequate educational facilities and diverse educational programs. The twentieth century was one third spent before the struggle for equal though separate schools was engaged. By midcentury it was legally determined that in our society separate schools are intrinsically unequal. However, even before the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision was promulgated, it was becoming clear that racially mixed school systems do not automatically insure education of high quality. This observation was supported by data on minority group children from schools in the North where varying degrees and patterns of ethnic mix were extant. Although the performance of minority-group children in some of those schools was superior to that of such children in segregated systems in the South, differences in achievement and in the characteristics of their schools were notable.

The early 1960's brought campaigns for education of high quality provided in ethnically integrated school settings. Some school systems responded with plans for the redistribution of school populations in efforts to achieve a higher degree of ethnic balance. Some of those along with other schools introduced special enrichment and remedial programs intended to compensate for or correct deficiencies in the preparation of the children or the quality of the schools. Neither these efforts at achieving integrated education nor at developing compensatory education resulted in success. Ethnic balance and educational programs of high quality proved impossible to achieve instantaneously. Confronted with the failure
to obtain ethnic integration and high quality in education, and given the recalcitrant presence of segregation in schools North, South, and West, the goals for many minority-group parents shifted. In the late 1960's the demand is made for education of high quality, where possible, on an ethnically inte- grated basis. However, where segregation exists (and it does exist for the great majority of ethnic minorities in this country), the demand increases for control of those schools, serving such children, by groups indigenous to the cultures and communities in which they live. Hence the demand for "black schools run by black people."

Alongside this growing acceptance and promotion of ethnic separation, there continues to be concern for ethnic integration in education and compensatory education as complementary strategies in the equal- ization of educational opportunity. The introduction of the concept "compensatory education" grew out of the recognition that learners who did not begin from the same point may not have comparable opportunities for achievement when provided with equal and similar educational experiences. To make the opportunity equal, it is argued, it may be necessary to compensate for the handicaps if we are to provide education of equal quality. It may be necessary to change the educational method and create new models in order to meet the learning need and style of the youngster who comes to school out of a different background of experiences.

Thus, this Institute is an immediate outgrowth of campaigns in the early 1960's to implement quality education in ethnically heterogeneous (e.g., racially integrated) schools and a long run effect of general social, economic and educational trends. While there have been many suggestions as to how EEO may be brought about, the basic premise of this evaluation is that new policies and programs are implemented by people. Thus, programs designed to bring about EEO--such as compensatory education discussed by Gordon--are doomed to failure unless supported by those teachers who are to implement the innovations. Therefore, we will not only examine changing definitions of EEO among the participants, but we will also consider their support of various measures which may achieve EEO. Furthermore, as Kenneth
Clark (1965) points out, the success of many educational programs designed to improve the relative standing of black students is related specifically to teacher's racial sentiments and respect for all students regardless of such ascribed characteristics as race and ethnicity. Consequently, the Institute has endeavored not only to acquaint teachers with various notions of EEO, but also to sensitize them to the relativity and importance of racial differences. The reader will recall that we discussed this topic in an earlier chapter.

In this chapter the focus is primarily on teacher's conception of EEO. We must emphasize that we cannot consider the definition of EEO because the concept is so elusive. We do, however, elicit the reactions of the participants toward a variety of conceptions of EEO. Secondarily, we discuss such issues as teacher support of strategies to achieve EEO, the assumptions that underlie the teacher's view and the consequences of these beliefs. We begin with a general typology of EEO and then consider teacher's attitudes in detail.

Beginning our discussion on the broadest level, it may be helpful to point out that we have chosen one of three possible theoretical approaches to the question of, "Why are there disparities in educational participation and in the benefits of educational participation?" The first approach—which we reject—emphasizes the characteristics of the student's environment, such as parental values, language patterns in the home, and parental economic status. We reject this orientation simply because the school cannot effectively change these contingencies. A second, "structural" approach examines broad cultural and social constraints on educational participation such as the relationship between education and social mobility and income. We also reject this approach because the school has little direct influence on these processes. The Institute is based on a third more practical perspective
called by the Center for Educational Research and Innovation the "optimistic" approach. This puts the emphasis on the school and teacher characteristics and assumes that the effects of the school can be increased to overshadow the external influence of extra-school factors which are the concern of the other two theories. Thus, we focus our evaluative and programmatic efforts on teacher's attitudes toward EEO. While this may seem the obvious course to take, many writers in the area of EEO do not necessarily agree. Jencks (1972), for instance, argues that (1) since the major purpose of establishing equal educational opportunity is to equalize the distribution of income; and (2) since equalization of educational opportunity will not result in uniform adult income; therefore, (3) the government must attempt to equalize income using some other (i.e., non-education) policy. The use of non-educational programs—that is, political measures—to ensure equality of educational opportunity by redistributing the benefits of EEO (such as income) is not widely supported by the teachers as shown by their reaction to the following item:

Accompanying the development of effective schools for the disadvantaged, it will also be necessary to employ political measures to prevent the advantaged groups in society from maintaining their advantage

At the beginning of the Institute, 18 percent of the respondents agreed with this statement compared to 28 percent of the teachers on the posttest. The difference in percent agreement is not statistically significant. Most teachers, therefore, do not support the kind "political" intervention suggested by Jencks to reallocate the benefits believed to accrue to EEO—they place their hopes on education to do the job.

It is important to emphasize that the proposition that differences
In schooling can "make a difference"—a large difference—in the differential achievements of racial and ethnic groups is merely an assumption. It is open to challenge and has been questioned most recently by Christopher Jencks and earlier by James Coleman.

The question of the unequal distribution of income raised by Jencks suggests several other points. He emphasizes only one benefit of equalizing educational opportunity. Surely there are other attributes which are not evenly distributed in the population, such as cognitive skills, occupational status, and job satisfaction. White middle class children seem to derive these and other benefits from their participation in the educational system at the expense of the non-white and disadvantaged. Furthermore, the participation of white middle class children in the educational system appears to be greater than that of other children. This is the issue of accessibility to education as opposed to the issue of educational benefits.

These, then, are the two variant and opposing approaches to defining equality of educational opportunity. The first emphasizes the distribution of access to education, whereas the second focuses on the distribution of educational benefits. To the extent that either of these allocations is dependent on such ascribed criteria as sex, race, social class or ethnicity, equality of educational opportunity cannot be said to exist. There are many issues hidden in this seemingly simple definition; most important of which are the criteria defining access and benefits. For example, should access be limited to those with certain abilities, motivations, cognitive skills, etc? These concepts themselves are elusive. However, even if we could define them, there are certain philosophical issues raised. For example, who in a given society shall decide what
qualities will determine access to the educational system? Or, in case of benefits—what are the benefits of education? Is entrance into the labor market to be considered a benefit of education? It depends on your point of view. Perhaps an alternative benefit is entrance into a satisfying job or earning a high salary. What one person perceives as beneficial may not be agreed upon by others. The problems are endless and are not only empirical but philosophical (ethical) as well. Our purpose here is not to raise issues which we obviously cannot deal with, but only to (1) sensitize the reader to the more serious concerns which underlie the following discussion, and (2) present the two general parameters of access and benefits which structure our examination of the various conceptions of EEO below.

We begin our discussion by examining teacher's reactions to a number of items reflecting differing conceptions of equal access to education. The notion of access, as Coleman (1968) points out, represents the traditional view of EEO; the earliest conception of EEO in America identifies equality of educational opportunity with free and equal access to education—notwithstanding one's income, ability, locality, and so on.

Slightly more than one-half of the Institute participants believe that "Free schooling should be provided to the level of education which is the principal entry point into the labor force." However, there are many hidden costs involved in "free" education, such as the value of the labor lost to a family by a child attending secondary school who is thus out of the labor market. Nevertheless, hardly any teachers (only three percent) agree that "Although secondary education is "free," parents should be reimbursed for income lost because their child is not in the labor market." This loss of income makes a farce out of the idea that "free access makes for equal access."
Another early conception of EEO consisted of the idea that all children should be exposed to a common curriculum. Coleman (1968) indicates that in some ways this idea was—and still is—counterproductive to the provision of equal educational opportunity:

Apart from the economic needs of the family, problems inherent in the social structure raised even more fundamental questions about equality of educational opportunity. Continued school attendance prevented a boy from being trained in his father's trade. Thus, in taking advantage of "equal educational opportunity," the son of a craftsman or small tradesman would lose the opportunity to enter those occupations he would most likely fill. The family inheritance of occupation at all social levels was still strong enough, and the age of entry into the labor force was still early enough, that secondary education interfered with opportunity for working-class children; while it opened up opportunities at higher social levels, it closed them at lower ones. Since residue of this social structure remains in present American society, the dilemma cannot be totally ignored.

In order to "tap" this attitude in the respondents, we asked them to evaluate the following statement:

The school should increase the opportunities of a disadvantaged child by training him for a profession—even if this means that they are at the same time reducing his opportunity to enter a craft like his father

On this item, the shift in agreement as a result of the Institute was statistically significant. Prior to the Institute, 26 percent of the respondents agreed with the item compared to 40 percent on the posttest. Here again we see a dilemma; in taking advantage of "equality of opportunity" the child is prevented from following in his father's footsteps. Thus, equality of opportunity narrows the options available to disadvantaged students. We will make this point again in the discussion of curricula below.
All children should be enrolled in a single, common curriculum

Percent Who Agree

Pretest | Posttest

03 | 02

All children should be exposed to a college-oriented curriculum

06 | 07

Children from different backgrounds should attend the same school

82 | 74

School resources must be distributed independently of student backgrounds. Thus, advantaged and disadvantaged students must be exposed to similar programs

26 | 37

All schools in a given locality should have the same resources (number of teachers, pupil expenditure, etc.)

71 | 68

Have various curricula (college preparation, vocational, etc.) in order to fully develop the potentialities of pupils with different aptitudes and interests

97 | 100

The above statements represent another early conception of equal educational opportunity—namely that EEO occurs when each pupil receives an equal share of educational resources, notwithstanding his intellectual potential or ability. This suggests some form of standardization of education. The respondents do not support the notion of a standardized curriculum—whether or not it is college oriented. They do advocate, however, standardization in that all pupils should attend the same school, although there would be some differentiation of programs within the school. Coleman points out the way in which the availability of academic secondary curricula limit EEO: "An academic program in high school has the effect not only of keeping open the opportunities which arise through continued education, but also of closing off opportunities which a vocational program keeps open."
Furthermore, he goes on to critique the idea of curricula variety: it is assumed that "opportunity lies in exposure to a given curriculum. The amount of opportunity is then measured in terms of the level of curriculum to which the child is exposed." However, exposure is not enough to produce EEO. Opportunity is not necessarily provided by availability in that a child must be motivated to take advantage of the opportunities--i.e., curricula--available. In order to examine teacher's reactions to this hidden assumption in the notion of access, the following item was included in the instrument:

Although the school may expose children to different curricula, it is the student's obligation to take advantage of these opportunities.

Two thirds of the teachers hold this view, notwithstanding their participation in the Institute. Thus, the majority of the teachers define the child's role as "active" rather than passive; as Coleman (1968) points out "the responsibility for his achievement rests with him." Green (1971) indicates that these issues of individual responsibility and motivation effectively rule out the explanation of unequal achievements and unequal educational benefits by inequality of educational opportunity:

Given such a view, it can be argued that whether persons wish to benefit from the educational system, or whether they successfully secure the benefits of the system is a matter left entirely to the individual. The result will depend upon the talents, choices, and tenacity of the individual. Equal opportunity will have been provided although persons may not equally use such opportunities. Thus, the fact that certain social groups may not benefit equally from the system has nothing to do with the existence or non-existence of equal opportunity.

Coleman (1968) places these conceptions of EEO--the passivity of the school and common curriculum--into historical perspective:
The school's obligation is to "provide an opportunity" by being available, within easy geographic access of the child, free of cost (beyond the value of the child's time), and with a curriculum that would not exclude him from higher education. The obligation to "use the opportunity" is on the child or the family, so that his role is defined as the active one: the responsibility for achievement rests with him. Despite the fact that the school's role was the relatively passive one and the child's or the family's role the active one, the use of this social service soon came to be no longer a choice of the parent or child, but that of the state. Since compulsory attendance laws appeared in the nineteenth century, the age of required attendance has been periodically moved upward.

This concept of equality of educational opportunity is one that has been implicit in most educational practice throughout most of the period of public education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, there have been several challenges to it; serious questions have been raised by new conditions in public education. The first of these in the United States was a challenge to the common curriculum. This challenge first occurred in the early years of the twentieth century with the expansion of secondary education. Until the report of the committee of the National Education Association, issued in 1918, the standard curriculum in secondary schools was primarily a classical one appropriate for college entrance. The greater influx of noncollege-bound adolescents into the high school made it necessary that this curriculum be changed into one more appropriate to the new majority. This is not to say that the curriculum changed immediately in the schools, nor that all schools changed equally, but rather that the seven "cardinal principles" of the N.E.A. report became a powerful influence in the movement toward a less academically rigid curriculum. The introduction of the new nonclassical curriculum was seldom if ever couched in terms of a conflict between those for whom high school was college preparation, and those for whom it was terminal education; nevertheless, that was the case. The "inequality" was seen as the use of a curriculum that served a minority and was not designed to
fit the needs of the majority; and the shift of
curriculum was intended to fit the curriculum to
the needs of the new majority in the schools.

In many schools, this shift took the form of
diversifying the curriculum, rather than supplanting
one by another; the college-preparatory curriculum
remained though watered down. Thus the kind of
equality of opportunity that emerged from the
newly-designed secondary school curriculum was
radically different from the elementary-school
concept that had emerged earlier. The idea
inherent in the new secondary school curriculum
appears to have been: to take as given the diverse
occupational paths into which adolescents will go
after secondary school, and to say (implicitly):
there is greater equality of educational opportu-
nity for a boy who is not going to attend college
if he has a specially-designed curriculum than if
he must take a curriculum designed for college
entrance.

There is only one difficulty with this definition:
it takes as given what should be problematic—that
a given boy is going into a given post-secondary
occupational or educational path. It is one thing
to take as given that approximately 70 percent of
an entering high school freshman class will not
attend college; but to assign a particular child
to a curriculum designed for that 70 percent closes
off for that child the opportunity to attend college.
Yet to assign all children to a curriculum designed
for the 30 percent who will attend college creates
inequality for those who, at the end of high school,
fall among the 70 percent who do not attend college.
This is a true dilemma, and one which no educational
system has fully solved. It is more general than the
college/noncollege dichotomy, for there is a wide
variety of different paths that adolescents take on
the completion of secondary school. In England, for
example, a student planning to attend a university
must specialize in the arts or the sciences in the
later years of secondary school. Similar speciali-
ization occurs in the German gymnasium; and this is
wholly within the group planning to attend university.
Even greater specialization can be found among non-
college curricula, especially in the vocational,
technical, and commercial high schools.

The distinguishing characteristic of this concept of
equality of educational opportunity is that it accepts
as given the child's expected future. While the concept
discussed earlier left the child's future wholly open, this concept of differentiated curricula uses the expected future to match child and curriculum. It should be noted that the first and simpler concept is easier to apply in elementary schools where fundamental tools of reading and arithmetic are being learned by all children; it is only in secondary school that the problem of diverse futures arises. It should also be noted that the dilemma is directly due to the social structure itself: if there were a virtual absence of social mobility with everyone occupying a fixed estate in life, then such curricula that take the future as given would provide equality of opportunity relative to that structure. It is only because of the high degree of occupational mobility between generations—that is, the greater degree of equality of occupational opportunity—that the dilemma arises.

The majority of the teachers do not advocate the allocation of school resources independently of student backgrounds. Thus, neither curricula nor resources should be distributed independently of student background and potential. However, the teachers favor the distribution of resources on a regional basis. The effects of this belief, however, actually tend to insure an unequal distribution of resources which does not favor the disadvantaged. De facto segregation based on locality together with lower tax bases in predominantly black and lower socio-economic areas usually guarantee lower per pupil expenditure in these areas than in white, middle class localities. Hence, all schools in an economically disadvantaged locality would receive the same inadequate resources regardless of differences in pupil ability across schools. Evetts (n.d.) points out that standardization of resources and programs would:

ensure unequal outcomes partly because individuals vary in their general potential and partly because the school is only one of the important forces in the actual upbringing and development of children. The distribution of genetic potential in a group of children is best assumed to be random, at least
for the purposes of social policy, since in the case of a group, as opposed to individual comparisons, it is unknown. However, other social forces—motivation, parental interest, norms of aspiration, teacher quality, etc.—are known to be unequally distributed between social groups. Therefore, to equalize school facilities and leave the other forces untouched, as this interpretation implies, would not achieve equal opportunity.

Jarrett (1971) alludes to Plato's condemnation of this kind of "undiscriminating" democracy: "Indeed, he goes so far as to say that "equal treatment of the unequal ends in equality when not qualified by due proportion" and stirs civil discord."

Evetts makes several points; namely, that genetic potential varies and is distributed randomly within groups of children. While we will address the second point later, we now present data concerning teacher's attitudes toward the variability of genetic potential.

All children, except for a few born with neurological defects, are basically very much alike in their native ability. Their apparent differences in intelligence are due to rather superficial differences in their upbringing and family background.

On this item, there is a statistically significant shift in attitude attributable to participation in the Institute. Whereas only one-quarter of the teachers supported this statement on the pretest, almost one-half of the group agreed that "students are pretty much alike in their native ability" on the posttest. A second item on the same topic reads as follows:

Native intelligence, which is an important factor in school achievement, must be recognized as not fixed genetically. It is responsive to environmental influences during the first formative years.

Here again, is another statistically significant attitude modification resulting from participation in the Institute. Whereas before the
Institute 82 percent of the teachers supported the link between early environment and later intelligence, the percentage increased to 97 percent by the time of the posttest one year later. Thus, while one-half of the teachers feel that children are endowed with identical potential which is modified by superficial differences in their upbringing, almost all of the teachers recognize the fragility of intelligence as it is responsive to any number of early environmental differences in addition to those of upbringing and family background.

The idea that EEO is obtained when all students receive equal shares of educational resources regardless of their ability evolved into the following conception of equal educational opportunity: "treat all those children of the same measured ability in the same way, irrespective of environmental factors" (Evetts, n.d.). This notion is mirrored in the following items:

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<tr>
<th>Percent Who Agree</th>
<th>Pretest</th>
<th>Posttest</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concentrate efforts primarily on students who have done well in previous work</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>20*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Screen out&quot; students who do not have the intellectual abilities required for further study</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuse to spend time on students who do not meet academic standards</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only a very small percentage of the population is capable of benefiting from higher education, and this group should therefore be separated from the rest and given special academic programs</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>15</td>
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There has been a shift in sentiments attributable to participation in the Institute as measured by the first two items. As a result of the Institute,
the proportion of teachers who feel that high ability students (as measured presumably by high achievement levels) should be treated similarly—namely, with greater educational resources—increased. The percentage of teachers who favor this proposal, along with the proportion of participants who favor "special academic programs" for an elite group of high achievers remains small, however. On the other hand, the teachers do not want students with limited ability to stop receiving educational resources because they are screened out of the educational system. The teachers want high achievers to receive a greater number of resources (in an absolute sense), but surely not at the expense of students with lesser achievements. Evetts (n.d.) critiques this notion of EEO:

First, the social justice argument would contend that since environmental factors play such a large part in measured ability test scores, to separate children on the basis of measured ability is largely a question of separating them in terms of favourable and unfavourable environments, regardless of real ability. Second, the needs of an industrialized automated society are for high abilities of many different kinds in increasing quantities; we cannot afford, therefore, the tremendous loss of potential talent which ensues if we ignore environmental factors.

This view of EEO was further elaborated into the notion of compensatory education as a necessary condition of equal educational opportunity. That is, it was clear that equal treatment of students of similar abilities could not overcome unequal effects of environment on achievement and ability. Thus, it was but a short distance conceptually to the notion that EEO consists of the unequal distribution of educational resources in favor of the disadvantaged. The items below deal with teachers' attitudes toward compensatory programs for the disadvantaged.
The school can counteract the effects of environment by providing experiences enabling the disadvantaged child to catch up with other children

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<th>Percent Who Agree</th>
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<th>Posttest</th>
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<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>60</td>
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Assuming the same amount of resources (teacher salaries, etc.) are devoted to schools with advantaged students as to schools with disadvantaged students, disadvantaged students will not have equal educational opportunity. Disadvantaged students will still achieve poorly because they do not have a home environment that provides them with experiences necessary for learning

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<td>86</td>
<td>82</td>
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School resources must not be distributed independently of student backgrounds. Thus, disadvantaged students should be given extra help and exposed to extra resources

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<td>26</td>
<td>37</td>
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Since disadvantaged students do not have strong educational resources in the home, the school should devote more resources to them than to other students to compensate for these deficiencies

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<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>53</td>
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One way to equalize the achievement of advantaged and disadvantaged students is to lower the achievement of advantaged or high ability students

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<td>12</td>
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Tests of statistical significance reveal that the participating teachers did not shift their sentiments and beliefs concerning compensatory programs as a result of the Institute. Only a slight majority of the teachers believe that the schools can counteract the effects of environment in enabling the disadvantaged child to "catch up" with other children. A large majority believed before and after the Institute that merely applying the same resources to advantaged and disadvantaged students will not counteract the effects of environment. Again, the teachers do not strongly believe that the school can counteract the effects of an environment which
which does not provide the sorts of experiences which are congruent with success in school. One "way out" strategy to reduce the resulting gap between the advantaged and disadvantaged by diverting resources away from the advantaged received minute support from the teachers.

Perhaps one reason that teachers feel special programs for the disadvantaged will not work is that:

The general criticism of the American Compensatory educational programmes is that they have concentrated heavily upon the deficiencies of children, and neglected to give serious attention to the deficiencies of schools...Most programmes provide additional services which are supposed to make up for the cumulative effects of poverty and discrimination, but they leave the rest of the educational system unchanged. In that sense, one could say that they are piling wooden ploughs on wooden ploughs.

It may be added that the American programmes emphasize equality of educational opportunity between races and tend to lose sight of the gross inequalities of educational opportunity between one social class and another. European programmes will, of course, have to concentrate more on the latter aspect. (Center for Educational Research and Innovation, no date).

Evetts (n.d.) offers a more detailed critique of the concept of compensatory education and its underlying assumptions:

Such demands have been criticized on the grounds that there will be a levelling down of educational achievement—that bright children will be 'held back' for the slow children to catch up. It is claimed that such demands for positive discrimination are based on the belief that all children, except for a few born with severe neurological defects, are basically very much alike in their mental development and capabilities and that their apparent differences in these characteristics as manifested in schools are due to rather superficial differences in children's upbringing at home, their pre-school and out-of-school experiences, motivations and interests, and the educational influences of their family background. In other words, critics are claiming that demands for compensatory education are based on some sort of 'average child' guiding principle.
and the neglect of excellence, that equality of opportunity has been replaced by egalitarianism as an educational principle.

Such criticism misses the point, however. For, under the new interpretation of equal opportunity, attempts are being made to equalize environmental factors. This interpretation of equal opportunity is based on a redefinition of the pool of ability concept. Such a position would imply that there is a genetically determined pool of talent in the population. The distribution of talent is random in the population and, in addition, the distribution of talent is random in different groups within the population. Thus, there is a pool of talent to be found in every sub-group of the population.

The important point made here is that achieving equal educational opportunity by the compensatory education of disadvantaged children assumes that ability is randomly distributed in the population in general and among the advantaged and disadvantaged in particular. An item was included in the survey evaluation instrument which bears on this issue:

Schools must assume that native ability is distributed equally among all groups in the population, whether advantaged or disadvantaged.

On this issue, the respondents displayed a statistically significant shift in attitude. Prior to the Institute, 65 percent of the teachers agreed with this statement compared to 80 percent on the posttest. Evetts (n.d.) discusses the implications of such a belief:

If environmental influences are standardized, therefore, by positively discriminating in favour of some groups, this is the best we can do to equalize opportunity. In this way, environment is seen as a threshold variable in development of ability; environmental deprivation can keep a child from performing up to his genetic potential so the aim is to counter this deprivation as far as possible. Opinions vary as to the relative importance of genetic factors. Arthur Jenson (Harvard Educ. Rev., vol. 39, no. 1 (Winter 1969) employs an analysis of variance model to explain how IQ can be separated into genetic and environmental.
components; he then goes on to analyze several lines of evidence which suggest that the inheritability of intelligence is high (i.e. that genetic factors are much more important than environmental factors in producing IQ differences). However, whatever the relative importance given to genetic and environmental factors the assumption is that there is a randomly distributed pool of talent in the population.

If we assume that intelligence is randomly distributed in all social groups, then the largest resources of potential talent must lie in the largest social groupings, not the small ones. In other words, although the mean IQ of the professional class is 20-30 points above that of the unskilled labourer class, the range in any one class is as wide as the range in the general population. There are many more in the working classes than in the professional class, therefore as many as 60 percent of able children may come from the manual population. In addition, even taking account of the culture-bias criticisms of IQ tests, there is a considerable amount of evidence to show that a combination of IQ, English, and arithmetic tests have reached a fairly high degree of precision as selectors. Such tests will always underestimate the amount of potential talent, but they can be used if this is borne in mind. Thus, the difference between two sets of statistics, the statistics of achievement on the one hand and estimates of the pool of potential talent on the other hand gives some indication of the reserves of talent in the population, even though an underestimate; in other words, to what extent the second principle, of equal opportunity, has been achieved.

It is necessary to be clear just what our aim is in this respect. Implicit in the new interpretation of equal opportunity is the principle of equal or rather proportionately equal outputs, in terms of the achievements of groups not individuals. The working classes have the same proportion of bright children as the professional class, but because of their larger numbers there are many more bright working class children in absolute terms. The extent to which equal opportunity is achieved is the extent to which these groups do achieve proportionately equal success rates; the pool of talent consists of achievements plus reserves plus errors of underestimation.

Of course, the interpretations now put on these concepts are just as open to criticism as the interpretations that
came before. Do we know that the distribution of intelligence in the working classes is random as it is in the general population? Even more crucial perhaps is the question do we want equality of opportunity if it implies drastic 'manipulation of environments'?

Another conception of EEO suggests that equality of educational opportunity is obtained when:

There should be a match between measured intelligence and length of guaranteed education. For example, all children with IQ's higher than 100 should be assured of a high school education up to the age of 18; and all young people with IQ's over 100 should be assured of a free college education for four years.

This statement did not prove popular among the participants. Three percent advocated a match between intelligence and length of schooling prior to the Institute compared to ten percent at the conclusion of the project; the change in percent agreement is not statistically significant. The item was included to reflect one of many attempts at operationally defining EEO. Havinghurst (1944) suggested the item by advancing a position which matched measured ability and length of guaranteed schooling:

"We might speak of equality of educational opportunity if all children and young people exceeding a given level of intellectual ability were enabled to attend schools and colleges up to some specified level."

Gordon (1972) critiques this conception of equal educational opportunity. He suggests that Havinghurst's suggestion would be quite easy to implement--yet ineffective--since:

the schools already have IQ measures on all children above the 6th grade, it would only require that educational resources be made available to insure specified years in school or college for every child in each designated IQ range. The major problems involved would be financial and logistic, if it were not for the fact that the number of those who share this implied confidence in IQ tests is rapidly decreasing.
The fact that these scores often misrepresent the functional capacities of the persons studied and that it is the functional capacities of the very groups who are the target of our concern in equalizing educational opportunities that these tests underestimate, make the Havinghurst position unacceptable. It would not insure equality of opportunity except in a very limited sense. Everybody with the same IQ would be treated the same. However, it has been demonstrated that IQ is greatly influenced by social and school experience (Klineberg). The school and its society would then be providing education in relation to its success in providing previous education. If it did not provide good and adequate early education, it would be freed of responsibility for providing education at a later stage of development. This is the situation with which we are currently confronted and one which is strongly associated with inequality in educational opportunity. The Havinghurst position simply insures a certain period of schooling for those whom the school now succeeds in educating.

Another conception of EEO holds that:

Each child is different and thus must learn at his own rate. The school must, therefore, provide a situation in which this learning is continually occurring.

All of the teachers (100 percent) support this statement which is based on Tyler's (1967) position that because all children enter school with different potential, the learning process must proceed even though one student's rate may exceed that of other students. According to Tyler, children do not have equal educational opportunity until "the meaningfulness, the stimulation, and the conditions for learning are equal among the various children in the school" (Gordon, 1972). Furthermore,

One measure of equality is that every child is learning. Tyler hold the teacher responsible for insuring that some learning takes place as long as the child is in school. Negatively, equal educational opportunity is not provided simply by having materials there and time available for learning. Rather, the child himself must perceive the opportunities, feel confident that he can do something
with them, and find them within his ability to carry on. (Gordon, 1972)

Gordon (1972) offers a critique of Tyler's (1967) position:

The Tyler position places a greater responsibility on the school and teacher, insisting that some learning occur as long as the child continues in school. However, this position allows for too little from the school and the child. If the school's function is simply to insure that the child learns at his own rate and functions in his own way, whose estimate of the child's potential shall be used? Whose definition of the child's functional level shall be accepted? This laissez-faire approach to education lends itself to gross underestimation of the potential of youngsters from backgrounds unfamiliar or unappealing to the teacher and the school. Like the Havinghurst position, the Tyler position places too great a reliance on inadequate measures of intellectual potential. There are, nonetheless, excellent features in the Tyler position. His concern that the learning experience be meaningful for the learner, that the stimulation be effective, and that the conditions be appropriate are important and lead to the kind of individual consideration which may be necessary to the equalization of opportunity.

Tumin holds that EEO is obtained when:

Each child should be encouraged to reach his fullest potential. Thus, he should be judged on his own terms and not compared to other groups. Grading and competition would consequently be de-emphasized.

A large majority of the teachers agreed with this statement—both before and after the Institute. Tumin (1965) discusses equal rewards in the context of the full development of individual potential. As Gordon (1972) points out in his introduction to Tumin's definition of EEO, "Equal education does not mean the same education, according to Tumin (1965), but it does mean equal concern" that each child shall become the most and the best that he can become...equal pleasure expressed by the teacher with equal vigor at every child's attempt to
become something more than he was, or equal distress expressed with an equal amount of feeling at his being unable to become something more than he was...and equal rewards for all children, in terms of time, attention, and any symbol the school hands out which stands for its judgment of worthiness...Equal rewards mean...the elimination of competitive grades...One simply takes the child and teaches him for a given period of time what one thinks it is important to teach. When he learns that, he then goes on to the next thing...The maintenance of the highest standards in public education is achieved by getting out of children the most that each child has in him. Any other notion of high standards fails to take into account the different capacities for development and growth of large numbers of children. Equality of education...is the only device that I know of for the maintenance of high standards, as against the false measure that relies on the achievements of the elite minority of the school. (Gordon, 1972).

Gordon (1972) critiques Tumin's position:

In his effort at identifying equal education, Tumin also takes a laissez-faire approach in which individualization is stressed. He adds a concern with getting the most from each child, and avoids judging individual achievement on group norms. Competition is deemphasized. Teacher concern and reward are stressed. Despite the very humane elements in the Tumin position, he does not take into account the possibility of underestimation of potential or the fact of performance requirements in the real world against which achievement must be measured. He rejects sameness in educational method but accepts a common approach, sameness in reward or pattern of reinforcement. Like Tyler's position, Tumin's approach should improve education but will hardly equalize opportunity.

Jarrett (1971) discusses the two extreme points of view regarding the nature of intelligence (ability, potential, etc.) that are held by those who advocate equality of educational opportunity. Either educators deny any general trait of intelligence or believe that if intelligence is a concrete factor, it is primarily environmental:

But for the last several decades there has been a very strong tendency to take another tack—or rather one of two tacks. In certain circles today, it is popular to deny the existence of any such general
trait as intelligence, and to say instead that there is a considerable number of relatively independent traits that tend to get lumped together. This group would have us acquire the habit of always qualifying the word intelligence by a modifier, so as to speak of spatial intelligence, social intelligence, quantitative reasoning intelligence, verbal intelligence, and so on. If indeed, as is maintained in some circles, there is a sizable list of such abilities, with no very high positive correlation among them, this tends to leave open the possibility of compensating for a lack of ability in one respect by an above-average ability in another, and so seriously mitigate the stigma associated with the word unintelligent.

Another possibility is to say that intelligence is not, or not primarily, a genetically derived physical capacity, like height, but is a learned capability. Thus, with only rare exceptions every person on birth has the capacity to function within the so-called normal range of intelligence. This is a moderate environmentalist view. An extreme position is that any person is capable of being taught to become a "genius."

These issues are reflected in the following items:

The schools must recognize that there is no such thing as a general trait of intelligence or ability—only special abilities, such as verbal ability, mathematical ability, and so on.

Children in different groups may have different patterns of ability. For example, children from oriental backgrounds show good performance on tasks requiring mastery of spatial relationships. Thus, the schools should recognize the pattern of intelligence of disadvantaged children and design programs especially for them.

These methods of achieving EEO are based on the empirical research of Lesser (Lesser and Stodolsky, 1967) which found correlations between patterns of learning and ethnic group membership. Lesser and Stodolsky suggest that the school should, therefore, provide experiences which maximize the unique pattern of learning abilities of each student: when this occurs, presumably, equal educational opportunity can be said to exist.
The first statement above, which is the more general of the two, was supported by 29 percent of the teachers at the inception of the Institute and by 45 percent at the posttest—a statistically significant shift in attitude. Apparently many teachers before their participation in the Institute did not believe that such general abilities as verbal and mathematical ability were race or ethnic-specific and conceptually separate from a general ability factor. Approximately one-half of the respondents, however, felt that more concrete or specific abilities, such as that concerned with spatial relationships, might be race-specific and should be developed in school. As the data for the second item above indicate, approximately one-half of the respondents supported the item both on the pretest and posttest. Gordon (1972) critiques the concept of EEO suggested by Lesser:

The Lesser-Stodolsky view of differential patterns among ethnic groups may lead some educators to as limited a definition of potential as those positions advanced by Havinghurst and Tumin. Further, this position could lure many people into a racial and ethnic-group-determined view of behavioral characteristics and developmental expectations. Educators have too often assumed that because certain patterns occur in high frequency in certain groups, intrinsic or genetic factors are the best or sole examination. Insufficient attention has been given to the facts that the racial or ethnic groupings utilized are by no means pure, to the wide variation in functioning within these identified groups, or to the overlap in quality and character of function between the several groups studied. Nonetheless, we have used these factors and evidence from psychological performance and achievement data to assign individuals and groups to certain categories of educational service and anticipated achievement. Our determination of these assignments has been based upon stereotypes of status rather than analyzed educational need. There remain questions as to whether these differences in the characteristics of children are genetically determined, are peculiar to certain groups due to their cultural history, or are simply environmental-determined characteristics commonly encountered. No matter how these questions
are answered, however, the data showing how children with these characteristics function could be used to prescribe the kinds of educational experiences necessary to improve development learning. The possibility that certain characteristics may be intrinsic to the learner and that these characteristics are different from those of other learners leads to no clear conclusion relative to the modifiability of the characteristics. It is quite possible, even likely, that humans from different family stocks vary with respect to behavioral characteristics just as they do with respect to physical characteristics. It may also be true that certain behavioral characteristics are of greater value in the mastery of certain tasks. What is not known is the extent to which specific characteristics can be adapted or utilized under varied conditions. Questions related to the genetic basis of characteristics are important to our understanding of origin but are considerably less crucial to our understanding of mechanisms for change.

Happily, the Lesser-Stodolsky position has not been used to advance the case for genetically determined patterns of functioning. To the contrary, Lesser and Stodolsky proposed education which would maximize achievement in areas of special ability. For example, Lesser found that children from Oriental backgrounds tend to show good performance on tasks requiring mastery of spatial relationships; thus he would argue that the schools should be trying to build upon this special ability and possibly produce more architects or draftsmen among these youngsters. It would be even more appropriate if, following models from Special Education, the differential characteristics identified by Lesser and Stodolsky were used as a basis for optimizing total intellectual functioning. For example, the special spatial abilities of certain children could be used in the design of individualized learning experiences through which reading, writing, compositional skills are developed and humanities and science concepts are communicated.

Clearly, some children come to the school situation with a pattern of strengths and weaknesses and styles that may be somewhat atypical to the pupil ability patterns the school is most accustomed to work with. This may mean that the school is now more greatly challenged to design learning experiences that build upon these particular patterns. Opportunity is enhanced when we build upon these patterns in the formal learning experience. We move toward equalization of opportunity when these special patterns become guideposts around which learning experiences are designed to achieve common standards as well as unique achievements.
We are now ready to turn from a consideration of equal access to education to the benefits or effects of education as the criterion for equality of educational opportunity. Recall that we began with the notion that education must be free and that all children should be exposed to the same resources, including curricula. These were the first two stages in the development of the concept of EEO. According to Coleman (1968), the next stages emphasized the concept of benefits or effects of education in the context of racial equality:

The third and fourth stages in this evolution came as a result of challenges to the basic idea of equality of educational opportunity from opposing directions. The third stage can be seen at least as far back as 1896 when the Supreme Court upheld the southern states' notion of "separate but equal" facilities. This stage ended in 1954 when the Supreme Court ruled that legal separation by race inherently constitutes inequality of opportunity. By adopting the "separate but equal" doctrine, the southern states rejected assumption three of the original concept, the assumption that equality depended on the opportunity to attend the same school. This rejection was, however, consistent with the overall logic of the original concept since attendance at the same school was an inherent part of that logic. The underlying idea was that opportunity resided in exposure to a curriculum; the community's responsibility was to provide that exposure, the child's to take advantage of it.

It was the pervasiveness of this underlying idea which created the difficulty for the Supreme Court. For it was evident that even when identical facilities and identical teacher salaries existed for racially separate schools, "equality of educational opportunity" in some sense did not exist. This had also long been evident to Englishmen as well, in a different context, for with the simultaneous existence of the "common school" and the "voluntary school," no one was under the illusion that full equality of educational opportunity existed. But the source of this inequality remained an unarticulated feeling. In the decision of the Supreme Court, this unarticulated feeling began to take more precise form. The essence of it was that the effects of such separate schools were, or were likely to be, different. Thus a concept of equality of opportunity which focused on effects of schooling began to take form. The actual decision of the Court was in fact a confusion of two
unrelated premises: this new concept, which looked at results of schooling, and the legal premise that the use of race as a basis for school assignment violates fundamental freedoms. But what is important for the evolution of the concept of equality of opportunity is that a new and different assumption was introduced, the assumption that equality of opportunity depends in some fashion upon effects of schooling. I believe the decision would have been more soundly based had it not depended on the effects of schooling, but only on the violation of freedom; but by introducing the question of effects of schooling, the Court brought into the open the implicit goals of equality of educational opportunity—that is, goals having to do with the results of school—to which the original concept was somewhat awkwardly directed.

That these goals were in fact behind the concept can be verified by a simple mental experiment. Suppose the early schools had operated for only one hour a week and had been attended by children of all social classes. This would have met the explicit assumptions of the early concept of equality of opportunity since the school is free, with a common curriculum, and attended by all children in the locality. But it obviously would have not been accepted, even at that time, as providing equality of opportunity, because its effects would have been so minimal. The additional educational resources provided by middle-and upper-class families, whether in the home, by tutoring, or in private supplementary schools, would have created severe inequalities in results.

Thus the dependence of the concept upon results or effects of schooling, which had remained hidden until 1954, came partially into the open with the Supreme Court decision. Yet this was not the end, for it created more problems that it solved. It might allow one to assess gross inequalities, such as that created by dual school systems in the South, or by a system like that in the mental experiment I just described. But it allows nothing beyond that. Even more confounding, because the decision did not use effects of schooling as a criterion of inequality but only as justification for a criterion of racial integration, integration itself emerged as the basis for still a new concept of equality of educational opportunity. Thus the idea of effects of schooling as an element in the concept was introduced but immediately overshadowed by another, the criterion of racial integration.
Thus, the effects of education—such as achievement and final occupational status—are the criteria for the establishment of equal educational opportunity. This suggests a definition of EEO: equality of educational opportunity is obtained when individuals with similar backgrounds and abilities achieve equal results or benefits from their education. One problem with this conception (Coleman, 1968) is that individuals of similar abilities who are subject to equivalent educational resources, may still achieve differentially because of intangible factors, such as teacher morale, low motivation, and negative teacher attitudes. In order to assess teacher stance on this issue, the following item was included in the evaluation instrument:

Segregated schools are inferior even if they have the same resources as other schools. This is due to differences which are difficult to measure, such as low teacher morale, low levels of student interest, and so on.

The Institute had no statistically significant effect on this belief. Prior to participation, 38 percent of the teachers agreed with this statement compared to 47 percent of the respondents on the posttest. Thus, a sizable number of teachers—but by no means a majority—attribute lack of achievement of students in segregated schools to variables other than ability and resource input.

A second approach to the issue of equal benefits is to assume that EEO occurs when students with unequal (dissimilar) backgrounds and abilities achieve similar results or benefits from their educations. There are several ways in which this type of EEO might occur. First, students with unequal abilities and backgrounds may be brought to the same level presumably through the application of unequal educational resources or inputs. In order to assess teacher feelings on this issue,
the following statement was included in the evaluation survey:

For equality of educational opportunity to exist, disadvantaged students must reach the same levels of achievement as other students

On this issue, there was a statistically significant shift in teacher attitudes attributable to participation in the Institute. Prior to the Institute, slightly more than one-fourth of the teachers advocated equality of achievement for all students compared to ten percent at the conclusion of the project one year later. Thus, the proportion of teachers who favor equivalent achievement was not high prior to the Institute and dropped even lower as a result of the Institute.

Perhaps they feel that superior inputs and resources cannot effectively equalize achievement levels and close the gap between the advantaged and disadvantaged. The next item is relevant to this issue:

Superior schools do not close the gap between advantaged and disadvantaged students. They raise the achievement of disadvantaged students slightly and increase the achievement of other students a great deal, thus widening the gap

Here again, a significant modification in teachers' attitudes occurred as a result of the Institute. The proportion of teachers who felt that superior schools in some sense counteract the goal of equalizing achievements doubled. On the pretest 21 percent of the teachers agreed with the statement above compared to 42 percent on the posttest, a statistically significant difference.

The concept of equalizing achievements for results for students with unequal backgrounds has one final permutation; equality of educational opportunity can be said to exist when students from unequal backgrounds and with unequal abilities all reach some minimum or agreed upon benefit or result (see Anderson 1967a).
Below we present two items which illustrate this criterion of EEO:

When minimum standards are met, it can be said that the schools are providing equal educational opportunity. Thus, to teach all students to read is to provide equal opportunity. (As opposed to teaching all students to read well.)

<table>
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<th>Percent Who Agree</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pretest</td>
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<td>15</td>
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The school should only provide the technical and basic knowledge necessary for work and economic survival. Newspapers, books, and participation in family life should really educate people.

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<th>Percent Who Agree</th>
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<td>Pretest</td>
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<td>12</td>
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In these instances concerning achievement and occupational status few teachers advocate meeting "minimum standards" as a measure of the attainment of equality of educational opportunity.

We conclude with a brief consideration of some of the methods the Institute participants favor for the task of raising the achievement levels of disadvantaged students. Below we present four items suggesting several strategies which have been proposed for dealing with disadvantaged students and teacher reactions to these items:

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<th>Percent Who Agree</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pretest</td>
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<td>18</td>
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</table>

Institute performance contracting. (Give educational companies contracts to put in new methods to teach basic skills, such as reading. If children don't reach a certain level of achievement, the company does not get paid for those children who fail.)

Give students national tests so that their achievement can be compared with students in other communities.

<table>
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<th>Percent Who Agree</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pretest</td>
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<tr>
<td>32</td>
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Institute a voucher system. (The government allots a certain amount of money for each child for his education. The parents can then send the child to any public, private, or parochial school they choose.)


Accountability. (When some children do poorly in school, place the blame on the school rather than on the children's home life or some other factor.)

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<tr>
<th>Percent Who Agree</th>
<th>Pretest</th>
<th>Posttest</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Institute a voucher system</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountability</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was no measured statistically significant shift in attitudes attributable to the Institute on any of these strategies for raising student achievement. The teachers are particularly against the suggestions of accountability and performance contracting. Sizable numbers of the participants, however, do favor national testing and one version of the voucher system. While the voucher system represents an untested idea, it is surprising that more teachers do not favor national testing norms. They may perceive this as a condition for the establishment of accountability.

This completes our discussion of teachers' toward the methods, strategies, and assumptions related to the definition and inauguration of equality of educational opportunity.
CHAPTER 9

OVERVIEW AND SUMMARY

We begin by briefly summarizing the major findings. Of 42 statements concerning various definitions of equality of educational opportunity and their underlying assumptions, the respondents shifted their beliefs in nine areas. As a result of the Institute, the participants were less likely to favor:

Screening out low ability students from the educational system

Equalizing achievement for students of unequal ability

On the other hand, the participating teachers were more likely to assert agreement with the following ideas at the conclusion of the conference:

Extra resources or effort for students of superior achievement

Train disadvantaged students for all occupations including professions

Superior schools will not necessarily close the gap between the advantaged and the disadvantaged since their effects are greater for advantaged students

Native ability is distributed equally among all groups

Native intelligence is not fixed genetically

All children are alike in native ability--differences are due to superficial differences in environment

Intelligence is not a general trait or ability--but consists of special abilities, such as verbal and mathematical ability
How did the teachers react to their participation in the conference? Did they view the Institute as helpful, as something they would recommend to be continued? Data bearing on this issue appear in Table 12 which follows this chapter. Prior to the Institute, only 14 percent of the participants stated that it should be continued and renewed compared to more than one-half of the group at its conclusion one year later. By the final day of the Institute, the proportion of cautious, "wait and see" teachers declined considerably. At the pretest, two-thirds of the teachers indicated that their evaluation of the Institute would have to be postponed, as they asserted, "let's wait and see how it works out." At the year later posttest, this proportion had dropped to 22 percent. Apparently these teachers are waiting for the evaluation, for the reaction of their colleagues, and for the performance of their students to change before they commit themselves to the Institute. Only a few respondents did not consider the Institute a satisfactory experience; six percent of the respondents feel that the Institute should be stopped immediately and 12 percent would like to see it continued but not renewed.

What then is the future of the concept equal educational opportunity? For Evetts (n.d.) the future of EEO is rather dismal:

In many ways, then, the new interpretation of equality of educational opportunity is unsatisfactory. It is based on a notion of talent that cannot be defined, on the idea of a pool of inestimable size, and on testing procedures only partially valid. In a sense, equal opportunity can only be defined in negative terms: we know we have not got it; and in practical policy terms, it is very difficult to know whether we are moving towards or away from it. It assumes our present educational achievements are a good yardstick and this involves the further assumption of the appropriate environment for success in those terms. All we can say is that it continues to be based on a moral premise of social justice; beyond
this it is a principle ever-changing in its implications and its interpretations. The present interpretation will hardly be final.

On the other hand, Jarrett (1971) feels that the interpretation of the concept itself will change and that different emphases and programs will appear in the future. We close with a rather lengthy quotation from Jarrett which points to some new notions of EEO and their correlated educational policies:

1. The national concern for more effectively educating the culturally different and disadvantaged will increase rather than diminish.

This will be the continuation of the trend that superseded the prior trend of a decade ago, when there was great concern for giftedness, honors programs, advanced placement, and so forth.

2. The concept of equality of educational opportunity will come in for strong criticism and consequent de-emphasis or revision.

To too many people, "opportunity" has about it the conservative ring of passivity, a point made by political scientist John H. Schaar when he says that equality of opportunity "asserts that each man should have equal rights and opportunities to develop his own talents and virtues and that there should be equal rewards for equal performances. The formula does not assume the empirical equality of men. It recognizes that inequalities among men on virtually every trait or characteristic are obvious and ineradicable." But, he goes on to say, what this idea really means is that there will be "equality of opportunity for all to develop those talents which are highly valued by a given people at a given time. When put in this way, it becomes clear that commitment to the formula implies prior acceptance of an already established social-moral order."

Furthermore, the emphasis upon opportunity will seem to some egalitarians to give comfort to those who like to say, perhaps with a sigh in their voices, "Well, we gave them the opportunity (free schools, open enrollment, special tutors, and the rest) and they simply didn't take advantage of it, or only the really exceptional ones did." Blacks today often express resentment of the singling
out of exceptional blacks for commendation. This is sometimes called with withering scorn the "theory of supernigger"—that is, the supposition that only such blacks as Booker T. Washington and Martin Luther King are truly superior.

On the other hand, this concept is quite capable of being refurbished in such a way as to furnish a criticism of merely passive "opportunity." It can be further argued that vast attention needs to be paid to more effective motivation for youngsters who are immobilized, as many seem to be, by a combination of indifference toward the prevailing values of a school and a sense of helplessness with respect to the society at large.

3. Following upon such a criticism and possible re-interpretation of the concept of equality of educational opportunity, there will be a reexamination of various kinds of compensatory programs.

4. Colleges and universities will become more aggressive in seeking out more blacks and chicanos.

5. As the ideal of educational opportunity is extended, there will be a turning away from equality of input toward equality of output.

The shift from equality of input toward equality of output can be given either a minimal or maximal interpretation, neither one involving a levelling down. That is, some critics of the school have long believed that the typical teacher is already too much inclined to minimize differences. Very different however, is the decision to achieve, in a given class, uniform success with respect to certain minimum standards. A good example is learning to read. But all the students equally must learn to read. It is to be noticed that this is not to say that all the students must be taught to read equally well.

6. There will be a growing awareness of the dangers implicit in high competitiveness in the classroom and a search for ways of motivating students by individual goals.

In the late 1950's and early 1960's, critics of American schools lashed out at dead-level mediocrity, heterogeneous grouping, automatic promotion, universal graduation of the merely persistent, and other school practices and attitudes they found to be stifling of "excellence." The
reaction took the form of a new and heavy emphasis upon honors programs, enriched curricula, ways of identifying superior and talented pupils, and so forth. But with the rediscovery of widespread poverty, the outbreak of urban rioting, and the increasing recognition of the extent of early school dropouts and of functional illiteracy among underprivileged groups, attention shifted to the iniquities of educational inequality. One consequence has been a certain de-emphasis upon competitiveness in the schools and a suspicion of tests and measurements that purportedly reveal "natural" inequalities.

It appears probable that this tendency will continue, with increasing attention being paid to sharing, cooperation, and the attainment of whole groups, in sharp contrast to publicizing rank in graduating class and other such hierarchical ordering, especially as determined by culturally biased tests.

It would be unfortunate in the extreme if the ideal of equality of educational opportunity should blind teachers and others to the right of every child to have his distinctive interests, abilities, prospects, and aspirations—and those he may share with an ethnic group—taken sensitively into account.

7. As students increasingly reject the paternalism of the schools and press for more autonomy, teachers and administrators at every level will have to find ways of "involving" students—not in a token or pro forma way, but deeply in what, after all, is their education.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do you think that the work of the institute should be continued?</th>
<th>Before N=57</th>
<th>After N=50</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I do not know</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>6.0(^a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop it immediately</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It should be completed but not renewed</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>12.0(^a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continue and renew the Institute</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>54.0(^a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let's wait and see how it works out</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>22.0(^a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Significantly different from teachers before Institute at .05 (2-tail)


Cremin, Lawrence A. The Genius of American Education. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965.)


Tyler, Ralph W. Personal correspondence, October 9, 1967.