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December, 1967 - January, 1968

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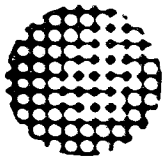
Published bi-monthly by
INTEGRATED EDUCATION
ASSOCIATES, 343 South
Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois 60604
Telephone 922-8361

INTEGRATED EDUCATION
Vol. V, No. 6

Subscription rate:
$4.00 per year for six issues;

Indexed in:
Public Affairs Information Service

Index to Periodical Articles By and About Negroes



THE COLEMAN REPORT

Deborah W. Meier

The author teaches in a Harlem grade school.

"Altogether the sources of inequality of educational opportunity appear to lie first in the home itself and the cultural influences immediately surrounding the home . . . It is important to replace this family environment as much as possible . . . This suggests that internal changes in the Negro, changes in his conception of himself . . . and have more effect on Negro educational achievement than any other single factor . . ."

This interpretation of the findings of the so-called Coleman Report is that of James Coleman himself.[1] While the report, largely is a compilation of statistical tables, can be interpreted in other ways as well, it is this emphasis which it most readily lends itself to, and which, one suspects, underlies the *way* in which the study was conducted. This, in my view, constitutes one of the most pernicious attitudes we have to face today, even when it is held by people of enormously good faith and equalitarian views. It is much more than a mere academic dispute over cause and effect: which comes first, personality or environment.

Strangely enough, this attitude is held both by pro-integrationists such as Coleman and by anti-integrationists whether of the Black Power or the white racist variety. All hold in common the view that the Negro must *first* change himself, divorced from the larger social setting (Coleman thinks the Negro can only make this change if he has as little contact as possible with others of his kind, and the Black Power advocates urge as little contact as possible with any *but* his "own kind.")

As a whole, the Coleman Report, despite its incidental usefulness in documenting certain aspects of student and teacher attitudes and in compiling data and correlations on student achievement tests, will prove a disservice to those interested in both quality and integrated education. It will do so because it not only asks the wrong questions but asks them in the wrong way, and even more important, because it avoids examining and exploring certain facts about our school system and its social setting, facts which are essential to an understanding of what is going on.

Serious critiques of the Coleman report have been few indeed, and this scarcity has given this report, with its massive and impressive complex of statistical data, a reputation in general educational circles which will complicate future action. This hesitancy to publicly criticize or examine the Coleman report lies partially in the fact that it *has* come up with some much desired conclusions, and therefore varying groups, with different interests and different axes to grind, want to utilize it, at least in part, until it can be replaced with something even more to their liking. Me, too! I've utilized Coleman's pro-integration conclusions in my own disputes with school principals who practice internal school segregation (through tracking, etc.), or in trying to influence timid middle class parents who are fearful of lower class Negro students' effect on "their" children. In other words, I've used, perhaps a little deceitfully, those sections of Coleman's data which coincided with my own interests and views.

Yet in the long run we are better off basing our positions on arguments, analysis and statistics that make a

coherent and well-rounded case, and thus on thoroughly examining both the methods and conclusions of the Coleman report. (Which I only undertake to begin here.)

Two major contentions are made in the report which are, I believe, most questionable.

I

Coleman claims to prove that educational achievement is unrelated to the expenditure of money, the nature of the physical facilities available, or any other budgetary factor.[2] He claims, furthermore, that, contrary to expectations, Negro schools in the northern metropolitan areas are not inferior to white schools and that differences in achievement between white and Negro pupils cannot be approached by means of money or more equal facilities.[3] And since the suburbs appear to be included in Coleman's definition of the urban area, the virtually all-white rich suburban schools are apparently lumped with the center city schools in his statistics. It follows that if suburban schools were removed from the figures we would find indeed that white schools within the city proper are considerably below Negro schools in quality!

It seems to me obvious that when a researcher finds his data so at variance with all previous research and

> *I have often wondered . . . what would be the reaction of the business community if it were reported that the "proletariat" were rioting in Los Angeles, or Cleveland, or Rochester, or wherever, instead of Negroes. Would there not be a deeper tremor of concern? It is a vicious but persisting fact of American life that white Americans accept as almost natural the fact that Negro Americans are mistreated and that in response they misbehave. And somehow whites continue to dislike Negroes on both grounds.*
>
> —Daniel P. Moynihan, December 13, 1966

observations, he would explore more cautiously the possible reasons for this. He would at the very least stop to explain why his method of data collection was superior to others, why the widespread mirage has appeared. When so-called hard data (in fact Coleman's data is impressive mostly because of its quantity and statistical sophistication rather than its "hardness" as data) runs counter to other well-known facts we have reason to question it. What kinds of facts, observations and information do we possess?

1. No major northern city that I know of has not for years been complaining about a shortage of teachers in ghetto schools. Certainly this has been publicly documented the Boards of Education of Philadelphia, Chicago and New York. (Philadelphia was several thousand teachers short in 1965-66, mostly in Negro elementary schools.)[4] Are these three cities atypical? Were they excluded from Coleman's study?

2. Studies conducted by the Urban League in Chicaao,[5] the NAACP in New York[6] and by Patricia Sexton in *Education and Income*[7] take note of many other school and particularly teacher inequalities. A higher percentage of ghetto teachers, for example, teach on substitute licenses. While not always proving lesser competence, it certainly means they are less well paid!

3. A higher percentage of ghetto teachers are inexperienced, and the turnover rate among staff is much higher—which again means a smaller payroll and probably a less desirable learning environment.

4. There is a special shortage also of per-diem substitute teachers willing to cover temporarily vacant classes in ghetto schools. In Philadelphia and Chicago, for example, new subs are no longer allowed to sign up to work in the white districts because they are over-subscribed.

5. As a result of the above factors, the ghetto school finds itself in a position where it must use its librari-

an, if it has one, as a substitute teacher. The gym teacher is more likely to be in a classroom than in the gym, etc. The New York Board of Education has also recently documented the fact that teacher absenteeism is much higher in Negro ghetto schools than in white schools. This chronic cycle of teacher shortage (less teachers to begin with, more absenteeism among those teaching, and greater teacher turnover, and fewer subs to replace teachers who are absent or have resigned or been transferred) leads to a "misuse" of the special service teachers, distribution of children from one class to other teachers (often to other grades even), the use of older children to monitor classrooms, etc.

6. It is a common phenomenon in ghetto schools to have one or two classes—generally low track rooms—which have several—3, 4, or 5—teachers in one year, plus per diem subs in-between these so-called regularly assigned teachers.[8] These are often classes which were originally assigned to a new teacher who "couldn't take it" and was replaced by another of the same kind, etc.

7. While the complaint is less frequent now, certainly until the recent civil rights furor over schools and the advent of Federal Poverty funds, ghetto schools WERE underequipped and lacked books, audio-visual materials, etc. common in middle class schools. Or those books that did exist were irrelevant to the subject, level or type of students (and to a large extent the unequal treatment of Negroes in our books remains true).[9]

8. And while Coleman's data was collected only a few years ago, the students he is gathering data *on* have been in school for many more years. When most of them were in the early grades, double and triple shifts were common in the ghettos of New York and Chicago (they are still in existence, but less frequent). There were double shift schools in Chicago immediately adjacent to all-white under-utilized schools only 4 and 5 years ago in Chicago's south side.[10]

9. There are also real but intangible inequalities within the school community. The atmosphere within Negro schools is different. It is more demoralizing for both teachers and students. There is widespread hostility to parents, down-grading of children, harsher school discipline alternating with greater chaos (indifference, despair). These factors produce a learning situation within the school which is a factor in the inequality of the learning that occurs in school. The alternative to more money is not merely better student-parent attitudes, but also better school attitudes.

> *Compensatory programs to be effective must have an emergency quality about them; they should be at the same time preventive programs and salvage programs, with great emphasis placed on the urgent need for action and results. In Milwaukee the urgency and emergency factors are missing ingredients.*
>
> —Alvin E. Eurich and others, Academy for Educational Development, *Quality Education in Milwaukee's Future* (1967)

10. Ghetto children also are shortchanged in many small ways that only one familiar with the minutiae that make up a good school may be aware of. There are fewer trips—in part because parents cannot afford them and mothers are not available to accompany children. There is an absence of certain kinds of materials supplied to the better class schools out of the pockets of parents—donated by some parents, paid for by rich PTA's in other cases. These include special films, tapes, musical instruments, etc.

One could go on endlessly and perhaps needlessly. The bi-monthly publication of Urban American, *City*, reports on a critique of the Coleman report which has not been published but circulated in "inner" circles.[11] This critique, written by economists Samuel Bowles and Henry Levin of Har-

vard and the Brookings Institution respectively, apparently also viewed this part of the report dubiously. They suggest that it may be due to the fact that he gathered his information by districts rather than by schools. Yet, they suggest, within a single district there are schools serving both well-off and poor neighborhoods, and the distribution of the funds within a district was not reported on. It may be, they suggest, that we are not getting a real breakdown on how the funds are distributed as between the richer and poorer communities. Furthermore, it is possible that the method of compiling information, solely by asking administrators, I gather, was inadequate. Certainly the civil rights groups in Chicago found out that administrators were often incorrect on simple matters of counting the number of rooms in a school, over- or under-reporting in order to refute charges of discrimination. Thus there were cases where storerooms were called classrooms and other cases where classrooms were called storerooms!

Interestingly enough, Coleman's data has not perturbed either white reactionaries or black power militants. Both are eager to prove that it is *attitudes alone* that are at fault—either the lack of get-up-and-go by Negro students or racism by white teachers and administrators. And some first class educators, interested in experimental and progressive innovations in teaching methods, also saw this conclusion as evidence that new methods of teaching, not new money, is the main issue. While no one should deny the importance of non-monetary factors—including community participation, curriculum modernization, new kinds of teacher training, new styles of teaching, and new approaches to organizing the classroom—most of these changes also rest on obtaining considerably more money.

The rare and wonderful creature—the "natural and gifted teacher"—can produce results without additional funds. Sylvia Ashton-Warner didn't need the latest materials, good supervision, or a modern room with proper equipment. Thus we know that money is not THE answer. But to attract more of the kind of people into teaching who might have such gifts, to help others to obtain something that might pass for natural talent, and to create the conditions in which mediocre teachers can produce their best, all of this everyday work will need for monetary resources.

II

Even more newsworthy was Coleman's second point—that racial integration is an important factor in improving the achievement of Negro students.[12] But no matter how welcome this seemed, it may turn out to be less than a favor.

Bowles and Levin in their report ap-

"Black Power" as it is defined — rather vaguely — by SNCC, is an attempt to provide psychological solutions to problems that are profoundly economic. Classes on African history or outcries for "self-determination" can bolster the morale of Negro intellectuals. The Negro masses — the poor of all races — cannot achieve dignity or freedom or feelings of self-worth merely by adopting a militant posture or ideology; the very conditions of their existence brutally remind them that they are still not equal to others. They will achieve real dignity by involvement in astruggle that will change their environment and thus change their feeling about themselves. And Negroes cannot change the environment that oppresses them by going it alone or retreating into the ghetto which has neither the economic resources nor the power to profoundly change the system that exploits us. And the poor cannot be organized around any concept of taking local power because even if it could be taken, it cannot provide the leverage for the enormous economic reform that is needed.

—Bayard Rustin, December 14, 1966

parently argue that the slight additional achievement found in integrated schools may be due to a difference in the aspirations of those Negroes attending these schools to begin with, and to their different class backgrounds, a difference that would not show up in the kind of data which Coleman uses to determine class.[13] Thus their higher test scores might not be the result of having associated with white middle class peers, but having a really more "middle class" family background.

Furthermore, the improvements that Coleman reports on are not very substantial, and certainly not of the order to effectively close the gap between white and Negro students![14] Negro parents in Harlem are not going to be satisfied with such token improvements. And, as some have noted, the report does not compare the effect of these successful integration experiences with such recent "compensatory programs" as the MES (More Effective Schools) in New York.[15] Nor does it attempt to compare the results of particular programs such as the Banneker district in St. Louis (which under new direction from an unusual and dynamic administrator substantially increased achievement in an all-Negro district) with integrated schools in the same city.[16]

The role of integration in learning in a crucial issue today. Many liberals and civil rights activists, including many militant Negroes, have changed their emphasis, if not their goals, and no longer profess an interest in integration. Integration is a little bit "passe." For those still pursuing the goal of an integrated society, and those still believing that the goal requires continued pressure for integrated education, this report was a welcome vindication at first, and it arrived at a moment when there were set-backs in every direction. And it would, for the integrationists, seem bitter indeed if it turned out that the report was based on flimsy data not suitable for export to our modern cities.

The arguments against integrated schools, put forward recently by some liberals, and even radicals, rest on the assumption that while it may be true that integrated schools will lead to improved academic achievement for those Negroes attending them, it is simply no longer politically feasible to expect large-scale school integration. Therefore, we *have* to find ways to improve the educational system for the mass of Negroes, who remain segregated. Still others go further and claim that the emphasis on integration is actually deleterious to the morale of those Negro students who are left in ghetto schools, that it tends to write them off as unteachable, and therefore to increase their sense of worthlessness and racial shame.

But if it turns out that integrated education is not too much of an advantage academically, anyway, and, furthermore, that it can only "work" where white middle class students are in a decided majority (which on careful reading it appears Coleman also claims), then any efforts toward school integration in our cities is surely set back even further!

Alas, the whole argument has originated in the wrong issues. There were, and are, only three important reasons why school integration is important to our society—and the commonly stated view that Negroes can't learn to read or add properly without whites present (and without, for that matter, whites predominating), is not one of them! The three reasons are:

1. We are obliged to make it clear to Negroes that society is repudiating its historic and well-enforced attempt to separate white from black for the purpose of keeping blacks in an inferior position. At the very least, this requires permitting, and even assisting, Negroes who wish to send their children to any of the schools they were previously excluded from, whether because of outright racial segregation or housing segregation, and which they believe provide su-

> We need to say to the [U.S.] Office of Education: "We want you to be just as concerned about ending discrimination in Chicago as in Alabama."
> —Rep. Edith Green, May 23, 1967

perior facilities. This might not in itself produce massive integration—and it hasn't where it has been tried—but it is a minimal step toward removing the "sting" behind de facto segregation.

2. As long as Negroes are politically less powerful than whites (both because they are poorer and a racial minority in a race conscious nation), the threat of integration, or better yet actual integration, forces whites to make improvements in the quality of Negro education. If all children are suffering from the *same* poor teachers, crowded classrooms, inadequate materials, etc., then all will work to make improvements. (Black power advocates claim their methods can also blackmail whites into improving the quality of all-Negro schools. It may blackmail them into agreeing to a complete separation, but as for providing money, teachers, and materials, it is more dubious still. And whether, through such methods, the Negro community can police and maintain the standards they want over the long haul is even more doubtful.)

3. Fundamentally, our insistence on integrated education should rest on the contention that an integrated school and classroom is an important tool for producing the kind of learning that is most needed in our society today. Certainly, given genuine equality of school facilities and a mutually respecting school environment, with increased community involvement, additional funds for personnel and school plant, and so forth, black children could learn to read—or at least make the kind of improvement Coleman sees in integrated schools—regardless of the number of whites who do or don't sit next to them. To imply otherwise IS insulting, and moreover, untrue. But for a society—*not* particularly or especially for Negroes—the real crisis lies not in our scarcity of good readers, spellers or adders, not our shortage of mathematicians or scientists, nor of college graduates or even skilled craftsmen. *Our crisis lies in whether or not we can produce human beings who can confront social issues squarely and resolve them mutually.* And the school system cannot properly play its role in *this* educational task if it is segregated.

It is better that such a confrontation occur in our classrooms, and not on our streets. It will not always be smoothly or happily resolved within the school and we have to examine ways of using integrated schools for this purpose. But as long as we have such confrontations within the school, we will be in a position to develop means of using our schools for this vital task. The mere fact of going to school together hardly insures peace and harmony. But it is a necessary step.

Thus the educational function of integrated schools is not to patronize Negroes, not to be kind to the underpriviledged, not to facilitate learning the ABC's, nor to achieve false picture book harmonies and balances, but to confront within the framework of the school some of the crucial issues facing society. We need to provide a somewhat sheltered and safe meeting ground for students to deal with their angers, doubts, fears, self-images and observations. The true purpose of education, and the greatest motivation for learning, is to help make sense of life. Jerome Bruner, important educational theorist, reminds us that the school ideally is a laboratory to explore reality.[17]

To engage in such joint explorations of reality, we will need improved techniques and facilities, better trained and supervised teachers, higher paid teachers, better working relations with the family and community and the patience and willingness to risk experimentation. We must begin to alter the school itself so that what goes on within it has greater meaning for the world around it. It must become less of an agent for

fostering anger and bitterness and more of an arena for honest risk-taking in the area of ideas, feelings, human relationships.

The report also contains some dubious material on other minor issues. Coleman's contention, for example, that the academic gap between white and Negro students in the North remains constant from kindergarten through high school is questionable, and has certainly been misunderstood[18] He demonstrates his claim by using the concept of "standard deviation"—a perfectly respectable one. When taken out of context or used by laymen (non-sociologists), it is often a source of confusion. In saying the gap remains "constant," Coleman means that a Negro student who is a year behind in third grade will be two years behind by sixth and four years behind by twelfth. By high school, that half year range of first grade has become a four-year spread so that the two groups are no longer in the same league. Furthermore, even these figures do not stand up if we take into account dropouts (between a fourth and a third of all Negro boys drop out during high school) and grade hold-overs. And if we compared only the figures for white and Negro *boys*, who are the basic breadwinners in a community, the impact of the school years on academic achievement would look even frightening.[19] While white boys seem to lag behind girls in elementary school, they leap ahead by high school. For Negro boys the lag increases in high school! All in all the school years rather than making up for so-called family deprivation, actually increase the impact, and what began as a small difference ends up as a vast gulf.

Another problem in the Report lies in Coleman's manner of reporting on the answers which students gave to a variety of questions about their attitudes toward school and teachers, playing hooky, going to college, summer reading, etc. In all areas Negro students had "better" replies (more positive, pro-school, optimistic) than whites.[20] Negro student answers are entirely at variance to other known facts. Coleman himself recognizes this in a paragraph somewhere in the report. But in a thoroughly useful piece of research this meaningless collection of responses would have been removed entirely, or used only in connection with an inquiry into the reasons for its inaccuracy. Coleman's failure to do so has made it possible for some commentators (such as Christopher Jencks in the *New Republic*)[21] to conclude that Negro students and parents are less hostile toward the schools than previous low-income immigrant groups. Nothing could be more misleading. The recent hot war between school and community may be something new, but the cold war has existed for a long time.[22]

The most important result of Coleman's study, which he is less famous for, was his documentation on the relationship between a student's achievement in school and his feeling that he had "control" over his own future.[23] Coleman, as usual, fails to point out that this "sense of control" is not merely an internal character trait, an aspect of personality, but rather it is a response to a real environment and to a real absence of presence of control, *i.e.*, power.

Learning occurs best when students, parents, and I might add teachers, have not merely a "sense of" control but some real control over their destiny. The "feeling of" control, however, can best be fostered when young men and women can reason-

> So many commissions and programs begin with the assumption that what the [American] Indians should and must have are houses with flush toilets. So many Indians I know want, instead, jobs that pay fair wages, and employers that treat them with some consideration, and this in the context of their native communities where they can live modestly with their kin.
>
> —Murray L. Wax, *Commonweal*, June 2, 1967

ably look forward to decent jobs, good housing, and a world of peace and mutual respect. In the short run, within the school, it can only be sustained by increasing the control which students, teachers, and community have over all areas of their joint educational experience.

My own feeling is that the sources of inequality of educational opportunity lie within the basically frightened attitudes of the white majority toward dealing with the social realities we face, and with the institutions they therefore permit to exist.[24] The anger and/or apathy of the minority, in face of this resistance to change, may compound the problem but does not produce it. It is not internal changes on the part of the minority that are required, but basic changes in the way our life and our schools are organized.

FOOTNOTES

[1] James S. Coleman, "Equal Schools or Equal Students," *Educational Dilemmas* (2), pp. 70-5.
[2] *Equality of Educational Opportunity,* by James Coleman (hereafter referred to as Coleman Report), Office of Education, 1965. P. 316.
[3] Coleman report, p. 122, Coleman refers to differences in Negro and white schools but stresses that they are not large and should not be "overemphasized." A careful examination of his statistics on class size for northern metropolitan areas, on p. 70, shows a marked degree of overcrowding in all-Negro high schools (almost double). On p. 68 he shows, but does not emphasize, that all Negro schools are more than twice as likely to be ancient buildings, at least in northern metropolitan areas. On the other hand he claims that faculties of northern metropolitan Negro schools are MORE stable, and that the staff is MORE likely to have chosen to teach there, and that teacher absenteeism in Negro schools is lower than in white schools. On the basis of these kinds of findings, and his conclusion that class size anyway has little effect on achievement, he concludes that at least in northern metropolitan areas Negro schools are equal and often superior to all-white schools!
[4-8] There are a myriad of sources of information on the existence of inferior learning conditions in urban ghetto schools—inadequate plants, overcrowded schools and classes, inadequate libraries, double-shift schools (which Coleman finds not much more prevalent in Negro vs white schools and insignificant in gneeral), rapid staff turnover, staffing problems in general, etc. The following are just a few sources of such information.

Chicago Urban League. *An Equal Chance for Education.*

U.S. Congress, House Education and Labor Committee Report. De Facto Segregation in Chicago.

Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc. (Haryou). *Youth in the Ghetto, A Study.* Excerpts appeared in *Integrated Education,* Issue 9, June-July, 1964, on staffing problems on pp. 16-17, on more intangible problems of morale, etc., on pp. 17-18.
Gottlieb, David. "Teachers and Students," *Sociology of Education,* Summer 1964. Report covering a study of teachers and teacher morale in ghetto schools which concludes with quite a different emphasis than Coleman's report.

Urban League, New York. *A Study of the Problem of Integration in New York City Public Schools Since* 1955. December, 1963. Brings up to date the Public Education Association study of 1955. See especially Section III on school staffing and school buildings.

Public Education Association. *The Status of Negro and Puerto Rican Children and Youth in Public Schools.* 1955. Documents inequalities.

Chicago, Advisory Panel on Integration in Chicago Public Schools. 1964. Report of study conducted by Philip Hauser into segregation in the Chicago public schools. Excerpts appear in *Integrated Education,* October-November 1964. See especially p. 46 on staffing problems in ghetto schools.

Holmgren, Ed. "Baltimore Begins to Integrate Schools," *Integrated Education,* Issue 8, April-May 1964, p. 41. Report of a study on Baltimore which indicates that while only 12% of all elementary school children were going to school part-time (double-shift) in 1962, 80% of Negro children were. And almost *all* the Negro elementary schools had double shifts at least 5 out of the previous 8 years, while no predominantly white school had such a record. Contrast this with Coleman's data on part-time attendance, Coleman Report, p. 93.

Bell, Dr. Odessa K. "School Segregation in Gary," *Integrated Education,* June, 1963, pp. 34-5. Reports on the ratio of tenured vs nontenured teachers on building facilities and on the extent of double shift in Negro

vs white schools. Not surprisingly it demonstrates the inferiority of conditions in Negro schools.

Chicago Sun-Times study. Reported on in *Integrated Education.* Shows 562 empty classrooms in Chicago elementary schools, almost all in white schools although there are approximately the same number of Negro schools. These figures contrast sharply with those given out by the then Superintendent of Schools, Benjamin Willis, and indicate the difficulties involved in obtaining accurate information through questionnaires to school authorities rather than actual on-the-spot independent checks.

Sexton, Patricia. *Education and Income.* New York, Viking, 1961. Primarily concerned with breaking data down by economic class, not race. Documents inferiority of facilities, teachers, etc. available to low-income groups, among whom Negro communities are most likely to be found.

In addition there is considerable data on the nontangible factors affecting the quality of learning conditions in Negro and white schools—expectations of teachers, attitudes of principals, school secretaries and staff towards children and families, etc. The "inequality of schooling" received by Negro children can, as Coleman claims, be the result of the intangible impact if community and parental "attitudes" and "morale," but it is also possible that it is related to the "morale," tone and style of the school to which Negro children go.

9 *Integrated Education,* October-November, 1964. This issue is devoted largely to a study of some standard textbooks dealing with Negroes, etc.
10 Hauser study, *op. cit.* Sun-Times study, *op. cit.*
11 Bowles and Levin study.
12 Coleman Report. See p. 330 for a summary statement.
13 Bowles and Levin, *op. cit.*
14 Coleman Report, p. 220, "It appears that the educational disadvantage with which a group begins remains the disadvantage with which it finishes school."
The *United Teacher* (UFT) Vol. 8, 1967, has many articles on the MES schools and their achievements. The Center for Urban Education also conducted a study which the New York Board of Education claimed proved the questionable value of the MES (More Effective Schools) program of saturation compensatory service in ghetto schools. While the Center study seems questionable in some areas (its control group, for example), in fact it still demonstrates an increase in academic achievement as measured by standard test scores which is very similar to those that Coleman reports on for integrated schools. The improvements made in test scores in MES schools may not be dramatic enough to satisfy the Board of Education, but by such measures neither are the results of the test scores in the so-called integrated schools.
16 Harold Baron, "Samuel Shepard and the Banneker Project," *Integrated Education,* August, 1963.
17 Jerome Bruner, "The Will to Learn," *Commentary,* February, 1966, pp. 41-6. "The school's task is to nourish the long course of learning by which man slowly builds . . . a serviceable model of what the world is and what it can be."
18 Coleman Report, *op. cit.,* p. 220.
19 Ferrel, G. "A Comparative Study of Sex Differences in School Achievement of White and Negro Children," *Journal of Education Research,* 1959, pp. 116-21.
The Negro Family: Case for National Action. U.S. Dept. of Labor. March, 1964. (Known as the Moynihan report.)
20 Coleman Report, *op. cit.,* pp. 275-88.
21 Christopher Jencks, "Education: The Racial Gap," *New Republic,* October 1, 1966, pp. 21-6. In examining Coleman's data, he suggests that the hostility of previous lower class immigrant groups toward American schools no longer applies. "The USOE survey suggests that while the old stereotype may still apply to lower class Puerto Rican youngsters, it does not apply to lower class Negroes."
22 For example, the events at the New York City I.S. 201 during 1965-66, the drive for decentralization and parent control in parts of Harlem, upper west side Manhattan and Brownsville, New York, and the reaction, overplayed by the newspapers, but nevertheless symptomatic, of many minority parents and parent groups to the teachers' strike of September, 1967, in New York.
23 Coleman Report, *op. cit.,* pp. 288-90. See excellent article by Tom Kahn, "The Riots and the Radicals," *Dissent,* September-October, 1967, on "powerlessness" and a "sense of" control (p. 522) vs having a real stake in society, access to its resources vis a vis jobs, housing, good schools, etc.
24 Lest it be misunderstood—I am *not* saying that low-income children, their parents, and their community do not have *attitudes* that handicap them in getting the most out of school. I *am* saying that it is hard to tell today just how large a factor such *attitudinal* or *motivational* handicaps are and furthermore that attitudes are best changed as the circumstances that produce, perpetuate, and reconfirm them are altered.