Teacher Training Designs for Improving Instruction in Interracial Classrooms

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Teacher training programs are among the variety of efforts utilized to meet the challenge of school desegregation and to improve the quality of interracial education. This article details some of the underlying assumptions of teacher retraining efforts—both in-service and preservice—and ties them into ongoing problems of racism in public schools. In addition to delineating targets of change or retraining, the article provides examples of various strategies for change, including the presentation of written and audiovisual materials, laboratory training sessions, diagnostic studies and feedback, formation of internal confrontation and problem-solving teams, and others. The strategies cannot stand by themselves, however; in use they must be integrated into other attacks on the structures of racism in our schools.

Perhaps the most important instructional issue in racially desegregated schools is how best to improve students' academic learning and social relations within this particular context. It is a task which requires continuing confrontation and change toward the elimination of personal and institutional racism in schools, as well as new instructional styles and content that serve better the hopes for a pluralistic society. If desegregation is a viable alternative to low-quality segregated education, it must be made to work and work well for all students. If we cannot make it work, it is an unfeasible priority that should give way to other designs.

Some recent studies (Hansen, 1960; Stallings, 1959; U.S.

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Commission on Civil Rights, 1967) suggest that black students' achievement scores rise in newly desegregated situations. However, it is also clear that many special barriers to academic growth are present in these changing classrooms (I. Katz, 1964; Katzenmeyer, 1963). A newly desegregated school thrusts black, brown, and white youngsters alike into those "threatening" environs which their peers and parents (even the media) have warned them about. The range of potentially threatening phenomena present may include: pressures attendant on students leaving one educational environment and moving into another, and the need to adjust to new travel routes, buildings, and peers; pressures generated by white, black, and brown students' feelings of anxiety about being with persons of another race, and the need to deal with a reality from which they have been sheltered by geography, economy, and mythology; pressures generated by black and brown students' expectations that the new school will be "better" and more exacting; pressures on white students and teachers to see blacks and browns as less competent and able in academic spheres; and antidesegregation pressures created by increasing white emigration from urban areas, and movements for ethnic pride and control in the black or brown community. These issues are present in interracial classrooms in cities of different sizes and in schools of urban and suburban character.

The phenomena above not only illustrate problems; they also suggest areas of challenge and potential growth in an interracial classroom. The possibility exists that through guided classroom interaction students' interracial attitudes may become more positive and accepting. We speak of guided interaction because it is clear that one cannot depend on "natural" contact and relations to improve school racial patterns—certainly not immediately.[1] Most of what is natural in American race relations is distrustful, oppressive, and separatist; desegregation itself is a departure from our natural social patterns, and other breaks with tradition are vital.

1. Some of the early research in housing and summer camp situations which supports this proposition is summarized in Selltiz and Cook (1963).

Recent reports of newly desegregated classrooms verify some of the negative views (or changes in views) of race relations that may accompany interracial experiences. The sudden entrance of black students has caused some white students to be unfriendly and hostile to persons they perceived to be interlopers or sources of threat. This may have been especially true among white students who are themselves socially or academically insecure. Some black students have come away from desegregated experiences with more pessimistic and/or negatively realistic views of the potential for racial harmony.[2] Surely there are instances of positive change as well, but to accomplish it requires great skill, energy, and patience on the part of all members of the school or classroom social system.

Teachers' responsibilities for guiding and promoting positive learnings in an interracial situation are very clear. In a number of ways, teaching in the interracial classroom is like teaching in any other classroom; similar problems of instructional competence, diagnostic knowledge of one's students, relations with students, management of peer relations, and effective evaluation arise.[3] A teacher who is a skilled and fully competent professional has a good start on being successful in an interracial situation. But the interracial classroom is different from other more homogeneous situations. Although there is insufficient research to state them boldly and to rank these differences in importance, the following list seems reasonable:

1. Since the cultural heritage and reality of mutual ignorance and distance—if not antagonism and fear—between the races probably are present in the minds and views of all Americans, the teacher must wrestle with his or her own preconceived views of people of another race.[4]
2. In a similar fashion, student peer relations are likely to be

2. Some of these students' changes in Northern and Southern situations are reported in Chesler and Segal (1967); Lombardi (1963); and Webster (1961).

3. A more detailed discussion of some of these issues appears in Schmuck, Chesler, and Lippitt (1966).

4. The proposition that teachers often hold low estimates of minority youngsters' abilities and communicate them to these students is presented in Bloom, Davis, and Hess (1965); HARYOU (1964); and Niemeyer (1962).

constrained and affected by the same set of racist attitudes and behaviors.

3. Since few schools of education offer courses focusing on racial aspects of education, most teachers are not prepared by their preservice experiences or training for this instructional challenge.

4. There may be few professional peers who have had experience in teaching an interracial class, and thus few colleagues with whom to share fears, hopes, tactics, successes, and failures.[5]

5. There may be few available sources of special expertise relevant to the particular problems faced by teachers of interracial classrooms. Most schools that have and will have desegregated facilities find themselves experiencing new "pains," without a body of tradition and experience to call upon to help handle problems.

6. The structure and content of American education presents a white-dominated institution whose racism surrounds and constrains all antiracist acts individual teachers may try to invent.[6]

7. Militant advocates of racially distinctive and/or separate education continually raise doubts, for students and educators, about the viability and stability of desegregated classes and curricula. White teachers especially may have to cope with the local community's desire to replace them; black and brown teachers may face demands to be loyal to new definitions of ethnic pride.[7]

Clearly, teachers are in a position to affect, positively or

5. "Sharing" as used here refers to more than information exchange; it also implies the establishment of a professionally helpful and reciprocal interpersonal relationship. The positions that many problems and fears are not shared, that teachers often do not exchange and critique colleagues' styles and techniques, and the importance of such sharing for professional growth and competence are discussed by Chesler and Barakat (1967) and by Fox and Lippitt (1967).

6. The structure of institutional racism in schools is largely overlooked in educational literature. It is addressed in Citron (1969); Ortego (1971); Rossi, Berk, Boesel, Eidson, and Groves (1968); and Wilcox (1967).

7. *See* the positions outlined in Pettigrew (1969). Linkage to issues of local community control is provided by Wilcox (1969).

negatively, the results obtained from working on these special problems. But because of their training, experience, and perhaps inclination, they will not be able to contribute to positive outcomes without some special instruction. In these circumstances, it seems most appropriate to consider ways of helping teachers change their behavior and teach more successfully in interracial classroom situations. In the remainder of this paper, we examine retraining programs that may provide such help and we try to suggest the particular advantages and drawbacks of each program or method. We do not focus on the content of "how to teach," but on "how to prepare or train teachers for teaching."[8] Moreover, our concern is with designs that could be used in most school systems as they are currently organized. We do not discuss here more radical and embracing proposals for structural reform in schools, such as revision of certification standards to permit the utilization of paraprofessionals or nonprofessionals, suburban-urban amalgamation, decentralization of urban school systems and transfer of decisions directly to the community, power confrontations with the educational establishment, involvement of students in making major school decisions, curriculum restructuring, or time sharing with free or freedom schools.

In this discussion of teacher retraining, we delineate change targets and describe training methods or strategies. *Targets* are persons or relations representing the foci of teacher change efforts; they include forces which, when altered, could permit or induce teacher change about racial matters in the classroom. *Strategies* represent ways of proceeding to encourage, permit, or create teacher change. The chart in Figure 1 presents a matrix composed of a number of potential targets and strategies, and the delineation of these constitutes the discussion in this paper.

TARGETS Each of the aspects of persons or relationships on the horizontal axis in Figure 1 can be the target of efforts to change

8. There is little research and few efforts at the derivation or retrieval of instructional practices directly relevant to the particular problems of the interracial classroom. Several useful books that have begun these tasks include Beck and Saxe (1965), Giles (1959), and Noar (1966).

FIG. 1.   *Targets and Strategies for Teacher Change in*
            Interracial Situations

STRATEGIES   TARGETS

	Knowledge of Students	Teachers' Own Feelings	Teaching Practices	Peer Relations	Relations with Administration	Community Relations
Books						
Other Materials						
Laboratory Training Groups						
Survey Feedback						
Peer-Sharing Sessions						
Team Formation						
Confrontation–Search						
Problem-Solving Exercises						
Derivations from Behavioral Science Research						
External Consultants						

teachers. Some focus on teachers very directly; others focus on the professional and organizational environment within which teachers function. None of these targets is mutually exclusive, and any program should conceivably include several at once.

Knowledge of Students   One of the necessary foci of a teacher training program is a clarification and explanation of the characteristic attitudes and behaviors of youngsters in the classroom. Haubrich (1963, pp. 246-247), for instance, probably understates the problem as he points out that "there seem to be gaps in the orientation and preparation of teachers for urban schools which leave the new teacher 'at sea' with respect to methods, curricula, and approaches to the 'discipline' problem." One aspect of knowledge to close these gaps could be a review of the different cultural styles in the youngsters' (or group of youngsters') families or backgrounds. The attempt to provide general information must avoid the traps of vagueness and stereotyping, a difficulty magnified by scientists' typical concern for making generalizable statements. Another form of knowledge is data regarding the current attitudes and values of youngsters in class, including assessments of attitudes toward self and

school, toward classmates and teacher, and toward specific racial issues in school or community.[9]

Schmuck (1968) in particular stresses the importance of student peer relations, or classroom group processes, as a crucial target of teacher retraining efforts. Detailed and specific reports or locally collected data on how white and black classmates, or future classmates, view the prospects or realities of an interracial classroom are very relevant here. Teachers working in predominantly black or brown schools will need to be especially cognizant of community pressures and movements which affect students' views of the school and racial relations. Teachers who understand different racial groups' expectations and discrepancies in perceptions of each other and the school can develop a better sense of how they themselves affect such groups, and therefore, have a sounder base for classroom planning. In some cases, knowledge of students may also help teachers plan their careers and roles. Whites must reconsider their utility in all or mostly black and brown schools, and those without special skills and roles may need to transfer.

Teachers' Own Feelings   Another necessary target of plans for teacher change is a self-examination of each individual's personal feelings and values about racially potent matters. Persons—white, black, or brown—who teach in public or private school classrooms are all part of American society; this society has been built and is maintained upon racially separate living, working, and schooling patterns. The racist views and behaviors of white Americans have been analyzed in several recent books (Knowles & Prewitt, 1969; Terry, 1970). Teachers can be expected to have the same racist feelings as do most white Americans; a few articulate white teachers have carefully documented their own and colleagues' confusion and fear in largely black classes and schools (Kaufman, 1964; Kendall, 1964; Rubinstein, 1969). Certainly, we can expect that these views affect the kinds of alternatives that these teachers are able to invent or modify for use in the classroom. The common expectation that open

9. For a broad range of examples of variables and instruments classroom teachers may find useful in this regard, *see* Fox, Luszki, and Schmuck (1966).

confrontation of racial feelings is a Pandora's box of destruction and chaos, for instance, inhibits many teachers from dealing with students' real feelings in class.

Haubrich (1963) notes prospective teachers' desires to be located in a good school, where students are like themselves, and Becker (1952) describes this concern as the basis for many teachers' career mobility patterns. In addition, Foley (1965) discusses the negative expectations many teachers hold of disadvantaged or minority group youngsters and speculates upon the development of a self-fulfilling prophecy.[10] The teacher who expects poor student performance often may create it by his or her own fear or lack of enthusiasm. The student senses this judgment and is not motivated to exceed or exert himself—thus confirming the teacher's worst expectations. White teachers often hold low expectations for their black charges, but this is by no means merely a racial phenomenon. Black or brown teachers who are in stable professional roles also often underestimate the ability of lower-class students. The stereotyping of black, brown, and white and rich and poor youngsters happens across the board and in a vicious circle.

For some teachers, these views are held consciously and are close to the surface; for others, they are submerged deeply and seldom recognized. Serious examination may not lead always to changed views, but it may help teachers to understand the potential effects of their views in the classroom and to control their expression of them.[11]

Teaching Practices Many educators and designers of educational change efforts take it for granted that more adequate knowledge of oneself, one's role, and one's youngsters will lead directly to improved classroom practice. But there are many teachers who fail to bridge the gap between increased knowledge or new intentions and new behavior. For them, the gap may be caused by lack of motivation, lack of skill, or other barriers present in

10. *See also* Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) and U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1967).
11. Coles (1963) reports ways in which Southern white teachers wrestled with the control of their antidesegregation views in order to fulfill their professional commitments to equal educational treatment.

the school system. Among the most important of these is the professionals' élitist assumption of unilateral control of students and of the processes of instruction. Students and parents have many new ideas for schools, and their inclusion in the educational process can create and encourage a wider repertoire of more effective practices and resources.

We do not wish to suggest that teachers need a detailed cookbook for classroom use, but some specific focus upon the development of teaching procedures and concrete and feasible suggestions is needed in any training program. Translating theoretical propositions, research findings, or new insights about oneself into behavioral implications relevant for the classroom is a highly developed skill, and most teachers do not have it.[12] Moreover, changes in teaching are not merely mechanical adjustments. They typically require change in complex behavioral patterns and the examination and alteration of values as well. The difficulties involved in deciding to teach differently—and actually teaching in new ways—are by no means simple to overcome.

Peer Relations   Another crucial change target is relationships with professional peers. Many teachers who generate exciting ideas for use in their own classrooms never have the opportunity to share these ideas with their colleagues. Without this opportunity for sharing, and without the possibility of giving or receiving feedback, the potential resources and assistance of peers may be lost. In fact, as Chesler and Fox (1967) point out:

> Peers and friends help in many ways to define the situation for the individual. They define possible and permissible personal and organizational behavior and provide social rewards and punishments. In addition, colleagues' positive reactions help the individual to perceive himself as a respected and valued professional . . . such a setup fosters a continuing cycle of change and support, invention and sharing of ideas (p. 26).

Collaborative work on school committees and associations and more informal networks of social and travel arrangements appear to be related positively to a willingness to be public

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12. This position is amplified and remedial suggestions are offered in Jung and Lippitt (1966).

about new classroom ideas. These issues may be especially poignant on an interracial staff. A segregated staff or an interracial staff fearful and unwilling to confront and counter its racism establishes a negative model of race relations for students. Efforts of teachers to be helpful in the advancement of one another's professional competence may require new structures and styles of organizational management. We may need to move away from schools as they are now structured, with an educational leader (principal) who manages a staff of teacher-workers; we need to explore instead more decentralized and plural forms of peer initiative and responsibility. Several other perspectives on the need for organizational changes to support individual retraining efforts are described in Buchanan (1967) and Schmuck (1968).

Relations with Administration The character of the school administration is clearly another potential change target in efforts to improve classroom racial relations. Principals and superintendents of schools can obviously play key roles in facilitating and supporting teacher change. Administrators can help by providing extra resources to relieve teachers from some daily routines and funds and positive support for training programs. Moreover, they can help set a systemic atmosphere that encourages extra training and generates institutional support for later efforts to try out new things with youngsters and with peers. It is clearly not enough for principals to "feel" a certain way about these matters; teachers are constantly attuned to the nuances of administrator reward or punishment, and supervisors must publicly and obviously demonstrate their concern (Chesler, Schmuck, & Lippitt, 1963).

The tone set by administrators influences not only teachers but students. For instance, consider these black youngsters' reports from newly desegregated schools in the Deep South:

The principal never brought up the question of integration; if he did, he tried to hide it. So the kids kind of rejected us. I didn't have any friends; maybe this was because of the principal also.

The atmosphere this year is very different from last year, I guess, because of the change in principals. . . . I guess the new principal doesn't try to hide the situation that is involved, like the old one. You who came in this year are fortunate because he will talk

to you about anything you want. He is trying to get the two races to come together. I think that may be what changed the atmosphere. When you hide things it makes people go around not saying things to each other. Now everybody can talk to one another (Chesler, 1967, pp. 6-7).

Sometimes the principal acts as a model for teachers and students to follow in their efforts to decide how to behave in new and threatening circumstances. The creation and maintenance of an effective desegregated teaching and service staff is obviously an important step in this regard.

The white principal in a largely black community faces special problems, just as do white teachers. Community pressure for black professional leadership is natural in such circumstances, and educators unprepared for impersonal attacks on this basis will be unable to exert any effective leadership in school affairs. Some white principals can and do work well in largely black communities, and some cannot. One's self-regard, anticipation of staff, student, and community reactions—and skill in responding to them—are relevant training foci. Black principals leading interracial staffs in largely white neighborhoods may have similar needs and corresponding approaches.

Community Relations A final focus for change efforts is the community within which the particular school or school system operates. Perhaps a more delimited aspect of this topic, one that is more manageable within the context of this report, is school-community relations. In understanding and modifying youngsters' classroom behavior, teachers need to consider how youngsters can change apart from related change in their social surroundings: if new peer relations are explored and created in class but not realized in extra-classroom situations, the resultant discrepancy may be painful for everyone involved. Some students will not be able to experiment with new classroom behaviors because of restraints, inhibitions, or admonitions by parents and neighborhood leaders. Moreover, teachers who attempt classroom changes may have to deal with resistance and opposition from their own families and social community. Several creative teachers and administrators have reported experiences of community vilification as a result of their efforts to better intergroup relations in and out of class. White, black, or brown

pressures for separatism, whether couched in rationales of fear and defense of standards, or of ethnic pride and protection, will undoubtedly adversely affect the classroom situation. Although these forces are different in suburban, barrio, and ghetto environs, they similarly strengthen student distance, weaken teacher resolve, and threaten massive school disruption.

Many educators try to preserve their own autonomy by keeping the community ignorant about what they are doing in the schools. One result of this posture is that both community and school system are systematically deprived of mutual resources and potential help. Parent-teacher organizations represent one easily accessible institution that might constitute a forum to discuss issues relevant to school change and to build support for new ideas and programs. Other community organizations and leaders can facilitate the success of change programs. Reciprocally, the school can enter into community affairs by championing positions on economic and legislative matters that support a quality desegregation effort. The major problem seems to be one of enabling teachers and the school system to see and use the community's members and agents as collaborators and potential helpers, instead of as perennial enemies.

The mere existence of a white-staffed school in a largely black neighborhood is evidence of institutional racism. Whether this can be overcome by different staffing patterns or by active community connections is unclear. At the very least, the staff should solicit the desires and goals of the community and involve parents in the design and conduct of in-service programs.[13]

Many of the targets outlined in Figure 1 have been reported by teachers as constituting barriers to their own personal and professional invention and growth efforts. The horizontal axis of that figure can be illustrated in greater detail by the forces experienced and reported by several groups of teachers in Figure 2.
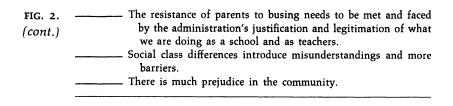
The distinction between barriers internal to the person and

13. This need is articulated, although with no practical suggestions for satisfying it, in Haubrich (1969) and Hogan (1969).

FIG. 2. *Teacher-Reported Barriers to Effective Sharing of Desegregation Plans*[a]

Within Oneself

———————— I lack conviction about the need or value of desegregation.

———————— I lack knowledge or background about Negroes, the community, or the decision to transfer students.

———————— I have high and/or inflexible standards for classroom performance and expect that Negroes won't meet these.

———————— I am a young teacher and therefore am reluctant to tell older teachers what to do; or as an older teacher I feel that young teachers hesitate to suggest their plans to me.

———————— I lack confidence about what I am doing in class and fear incompetence in knowing answers.

———————— I resent the extra energy required to go to planning meetings, to share with colleagues, and the like.

Within Others

———————— Some of my colleagues will criticize my leadership.

———————— Some of my colleagues don't recognize the problems.

———————— Some of my colleagues want to be left alone; they feel the proper role of a professionally trained teacher is one of self-sufficiency.

———————— Some of my colleagues are prejudiced.

———————— Some of my colleagues resent extra time required for meetings or to share with colleagues.

———————— Some of my colleagues express resistance in ways I do not know how to handle.

Within the Administration

———————— The policy about school desegregation isn't clear.

———————— Policy about my role as influencer of staff leaders isn't clear.

———————— There is a lack of strong support for a staff-sharing program.

———————— There is a lack of direction for change efforts; someone should tell us what to do and how to do it.

———————— There is a lack of support for teacher initiative in the classroom or to share with colleagues.

———————— There is a lack of money for extra time, school meetings, and so on.

Within the Community

———————— There is a great gap between the school and most of the community with regard to standards for education, values about desegregation, and the like.

———————— White parents resist desegregation.

———————— Negro parents resist desegregation.

[a] This list was originally created and reported in Chesler and Wissman (1967).

FIG. 2. —————— The resistance of parents to busing needs to be met and faced
(cont.)   by the administration's justification and legitimation of what
                        we are doing as a school and as teachers.
            —————— Social class differences introduce misunderstandings and more
                        barriers.
            —————— There is much prejudice in the community.

those located in the social and organizational environment is
an important guide for change efforts. Teachers' specification
of such barriers lends added complexity to the columns of
Figure 1; data on these barriers can help designers of change
efforts focus on real and delineated targets. Clearly these bar-
riers must be reduced and/or converted into facilitative forces
to produce professional growth and change that will extend
from the classroom through the school. How to accomplish
this is the concern of the next section of this paper, a review
of strategies for teacher retraining.

STRATEGIES   The list of strategies on the vertical axis of Figure 1 does not
exhaust either the actual or potential range of current re-
training methods. Moreover, as noted with regard to the tar-
gets above, several varied strategies can and should be com-
bined or used sequentially in a particular change program.

Books   The traditional strategy most frequently relied upon for in-
creasing educators' skills involves new written materials. Every
year staffs are virtually inundated with books expounding
every conceivable type of message. To date, there have been
few that have focused explicitly on interracial relations in the
classroom. The most useful works are probably the pioneering
volume by Giles (1959) and the more recent effort by Noar
(1966). Among the tremendous variety of recent books on dis-
advantaged or deprived youngsters, those by Beck and Saxe
(1965) and Kontos and Murphy (1967) seem to be particularly
useful to teachers. These works give attention to theoretical
issues and include a selection of fairly pragmatic and concrete
articles. Noar's work deals with many classroom problems
realistically but fails to provide any conceptual or operative
scheme that would enable the teacher to go beyond these ex-
amples to future efforts on his own. Since racism continues to
be a fundamental dynamic of our society, materials exploring

race relations should be useful for anyone seeking change in self or school.

But almost all books are just that—books. They are verbal distillations and abstractions of experience that are rarely provocative, and not necessarily generative of change efforts. There is no clear evidence that such stimuli can, in any serious way, help create instructional change. The best we can hope for is to use such material as reference guides in a more provocative program or as jumping-off points for other strategies.

Other Materials   Films, photographs, and recordings represent another variant in the general category of material resources for retraining teachers. One of the greatest dangers in utilizing such materials is the temptation to let them speak for themselves. Material resources do not and cannot stand alone; they should be accompanied by some kind of discussion or practice. Such resources must be seen and used as tools by teachers and discussion leaders; they should become part of a comprehensive training program and not simply used as additive material or separate experiences. Used in these ways, audiovisual materials can communicate findings or phenomena more directly than can books and other resources.

An interesting series of mixed-media packages is currently being prepared and published by Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.[14] This entire cluster of units containing recorded and printed materials on the problems of youth is designed to stimulate discussion around critical questions, to disseminate innovative practitioner efforts, and to present research findings and theory. The units also provide skill training exercises, to enable teachers and discussion leaders who are listening and watching to adapt the materials to their particular situations and concerns. These materials do not focus explicitly upon interracial interaction but would engender a more sophisticated understanding of youth in general. Several provocative

14. *The World of Troubled Youth*, Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley. Units in this series include *The Vicious Cycle*, 1966; *The In-Betweeners*, 1967.

Laboratory Training

new films and programs on race relations and education may also have value for retraining programs.[15]

A third strategy for teacher change is the use of laboratory training methods, particularly sensitivity training groups. T Groups come in all shapes and forms, with a variety of foci, ranging from concentration on intrapersonal or interpersonal dynamics through concern with task- or skill-centered learning and organizational development. What seems common to all such groups is the members' attempts to give and receive feedback with peers and to consider making changes in their own interpersonal styles through an analysis of what they feel and see occurring in their small groups.[16] Advocates of this technique hope that sufficient interpersonal trust can be developed for persons to be honest and open about their racial views. Such openness is probably a precondition for testing one's views with others, for getting feedback and clarification, and for trying out new behavior. Since one of the key issues in most change programs is the confrontation and exploration of whites' views of racism, antiracist training has become a part of some recent laboratory training programs.[17]

Most reports of the design and use of such methods in the retraining of school teachers and administrators are documentary commentaries, but they are rich in illustrative detail.[18] The general lack of well-designed research, however, especially when coupled with the zeal and fervor sometimes artic-

15. For example, the films *High School* by F. Wiseman (Cambridge, Mass.: OSTI Films) and *The Way It Is* (New York: National Educational Television Corporation). *See also* Venditti's (1970) simulation game on multi-ethnic problems.

16. More elaborate discussions of the theory and practice of laboratory learning methods and sensitivity training groups can be found in Bradford, Gibb, and Benne (1964) and in Schein and Bennis (1965).

17. Among the organizations providing such training are the NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science ("Program for the Reduction of Individual and Organizational Racism") and New Detroit, Inc., with Detroit Industrial Mission ("Conference on New White Consciousness").

18. An especially interesting and sensitive report is by Keen and Wagner (1968). TV documentaries of training group processes have been prepared under the direction of Knowles, M. *T Group 15* (Boston: WBZ [Group W] Radio, 1969); and Birnbaum, M. *Where Is Prejudice?* (New York: National Educational Television Corporation).

ulated by laboratory participants, has led some observers to doubt the method's utility for change in personal prejudices about race. But research is being developed; Rubin (1967) reports one instance of the use of T Groups to increase racial insight and reduce prejudice among adults.[19]

Most adherents of laboratory training now go well beyond the use of T Groups as the sole device in a reeducation program. Role playing and skill practice exercises are among those techniques also used in more comprehensive efforts to help people achieve change. Under the protection of playing out an "artificial" drama, players can take risks in experimenting with new behaviors that ordinarily might be threatening. Skill practice exercises also utilize a deliberately structured situation and a norm of experimentation to support learning and trying out new behavior. Ellis and Burke (1967) and Heller (1971) report their success in programs involving such techniques to help prepare teachers for interracial schools.

Survey Feedback   Another strategy that has been used successfully in a variety of change programs is the feedback of survey results. Essentially this strategy involves collecting data about the performance or processes of a client system, and then feeding back those data, with interpretations, into the client system. The assumption is that under appropriate conditions persons who can now see their own performance data may be able to make changes in a direction more fulfilling and satisfying for them. This method most often has taken the form of social scientists' collecting data and sharing findings with practitioners. Survey feedback techniques have been utilized extensively with industrial and educational organizations (*see* especially Mann, 1962; Miles, Calder, Hornstein, Callahan, & Schiavo, 1966; and Neff, 1965), and there are also several reports of its utility in retraining classroom teachers (Flanders, 1965; Gage, Runkel, & Chatterjee, 1963). The teacher's personal views and behavior in regard to racial matters in school may be assessed and shared via a series of tests or checklists recently devel-

19. For excellent reports discussing and annotating research in the general area of human relations training *see* Harrison (1971), and Durham, Gibb, and Knowles (1967).

oped for educators' use (Winecoff & Kelly, 1969). As with some of the other change strategies examined here, there are several reports of programs using feedback techniques but relatively few well-designed research studies showing whether change has occurred, or just how these programs may have contributed to that change.

Peer Sharing   The establishment of opportunities for productive sharing of views and practices may also encourage teacher change. By sharing we mean more than mere information exchange; although teachers often talk together they seldom make use of those conversations to focus on the development of professional skill and expertise.[20] Especially with regard to racial matters, it will be necessary to develop a climate supportive of meaningful personal exploration and the establishment of new staff norms.

The traditional notion that a teacher is (and should be) a fully autonomous professional increases the personal risk involved in asking a peer or supervisor for help. Moreover, this conception of the teacher's role also operates to inhibit some teachers from sharing their ideas with others, lest they appear arrogant and omniscient rather than helpful or curious. These barriers to sharing, and those already presented in Figure 2, may be reduced by creating both conditions of high priority for professional growth and high trust in colleagues. These conditions are most likely to be generated when school administrators themselves place a high priority on professional growth and can communicate a respect for peer resources and expertise. A program to encourage sharing among teachers probably can best be built upon (a) the articulation and recognition by peers and authorities of a superordinate "need to know" what others are doing—a need to fill the gaps in common ignorance; (b) the creation of a climate of interpersonal intimacy and trust among colleagues, where difficulties can be admitted and resources shared without competition and judgment; (c) the reorientation of professional role rela-

20. Fox and Lippitt (1967) do, however, provide several examples of sharing (see especially Chapter 7). Another example of sharing between schools or school systems is reported by Shepard and Hunnicut (1966).

tions to include the view that teachers are learners and that colleagues are partners in a learning process; and (d) extra payment or other rewards for teachers committed to and engaged in the leadership of such activities.

The greatest amount of teacher innovation and adoption seems to occur in schools that deliberately provide opportunities for peer professional exchange, enhancement of feelings of involvement and influence in school policy making, and support from teachers' peer groups and principals. These support systems greatly facilitate the sharing of ideas with colleagues, and teachers who learn about new practices under these conditions are more likely to adapt or to adopt them for use in their own classrooms (Chesler & Barakat, 1967). Failure to organize, publicize, and use teachers' own expertise constitutes a waste of key educational resources, as well as a further diminution of teachers' perceived competence and esteem.

Team Formation   A corollary to the encouragement of peer-sharing processes is the formation of small groups or teams that have some formal professional responsibility. Research from a number of industrial and governmental settings stresses the relevance of such groupings for feelings of social cohesiveness, for a sense of adequacy of performance, and for satisfaction with one's work.[21]

In educational systems these teams can work together to deal with important school organizational, as well as instructional, issues. For instance, teams of teachers can plan parent-school meetings, can represent a staff to the superintendent's office, can make decisions about school racial policy, and can advocate a meaningful professionalism that encourages expertise without control; they can also plan and support the kinds of peer-sharing sessions discussed above. Nonteacher team members, such as students and community members, can add relevant perspectives that go beyond the biases of professional educators. Some of the most relevant skills that could facilitate teacher planning in this regard include: (a) helping a peer identify classroom racism, (b) diagnosing organizational

21. This literature is reviewed and conceptualized quite clearly by Katz and Kahn (1966) and by Likert (1961).

problems, and (c) establishing colleague and community support for change. Clearly these skills can be taught; with such expertise at hand, school administrators may be influenced to provide the opportunity for their practice in new forms of school organization.

Some organizational change experts suggest starting a renewal or change process with a "confrontation-search" design. Essentially, this involves a real, engaging presentation of a dilemma or serious problem. In this context, many recent teacher training designs include the presence of black and white youngsters as experts or co-trainees. Relevant materials might also include tape recordings and reports of comments made by black and white students describing their feelings about teachers, race relations, or life in a newly desegregated classroom.[22] Then participants are provided with a range of resource materials potentially applicable to an elaboration, investigation, and/or resolution of the confrontation. The individual or collective search through such materials reflects and defines the direction of members' major interests. Search or resource materials for teachers might include colleagues who have had such experiences; a compendium of potentially useful classroom practices; social science reports; and parents, community leaders, and youngsters themselves.

Another approach to confrontation strategies in training situations has utilized the phenomena of race pride, fear, and separatism as positive learning devices. Within a training design, time may be set aside for meetings of racial caucuses. These caucuses often occur spontaneously in interracial settings, but they can be preplanned as well. Caucuses of all black, all brown, or all white teachers, students, or parents may define their collective interests, perceptions, or grievances and then present them to other caucuses. Such a strategy reduces the tendency to see racial or status differences as personal idiosyncrasies, and it stresses collective differences. Moreover, when whites are forced to work in caucuses with whites they

22. *See* examples of such materials in Chesler (1967) and Fuchs (1966). A similar resource used in college classes involved a series of brief essays written by white and Negro collegians about their feelings toward people of another race (Chesler, 1966).

are more likely to deal with themselves, and less likely to fantasize about or project onto blacks and browns. These designs also duplicate some of the highly confronting events that now occur in schools.

Problem-Solving Exercises One particularly useful strategy for retraining classroom teachers which may grow out of such a search focuses on the use of personal or organizational systems of problem solving. Schmuck, Chesler, and Lippitt (1966) list a five-phase problem-solving process: (1) identifying classroom problems, (2) diagnosing classroom problems, (3) developing a plan, (4) taking action, and (5) feedback and evaluation. This empirical-rational approach places a premium upon step-by-step analyses of contemporary states of affairs preliminary to action-taking. For teachers who often operate on purely intuitive or traditionally authoritative grounds, there is every possibility that classroom teaching can be dramatically improved through the learning of this self-training methodology. A similar model for use with members of an entire school system has been suggested by Jung, Fox, and Lippitt (1967); *see also* Shaevitz (1967) and Watson (1967). The major hope of most problem-solving strategies is that once skills of this sort have been taught, teachers or administrators can continue to apply them to new situations. Continued systematic practices or ongoing retraining events are probably needed.

Derivations from Behavioral Science A variant of the problem-solving process has recently been proposed by scientists concerned with ways in which behavioral science knowledge and methods can be utilized to improve social practice. A focus on the process by which practical suggestions can be derived from research findings has been suggested by Jung and Lippitt (1966, pp. 25-29). These authors stress the fact that "research findings seldom provide direct answers about what the educator should do in dealing with a problem." Teachers have to go beyond the data or empirical generalizations to derive implications relevant to their own classrooms.

An example of a useful research finding might be: persons from divergent ethnic or task groupings may be able to collaborate if a situation encourages them to commit themselves to superordinate goals that are of a higher priority than per-

sonal goals or fears.[23] The problems of deriving classroom practices from this finding include specifying what such terms mean for the classroom and then devising instructional problems that operationalize such terms. For instance, what are some naturally diverse goals or group formations in the classroom? What could be a superordinate goal? A class that decides to take communal responsibility for raising funds for a war orphan or for poor people might so commit every person to this work that other problems in social interaction could become secondary. Boys and girls, rival club members, blacks and whites, students and teachers, may all be able to forswear intergroup bickering and distance in their attempt to attain this embracing goal. In the process of this work they may also discover the possibility of collaboration that might affect other elements of classroom life.

Undoubtedly it would be useful if scientists were able to present a list of educational and social scientific findings considered relevant for the interracial classroom.[24] But even if this were done, it would only be the first step in the derivation process. School people would then need to specify and program these findings to create classroom strategies. Most appropriately, these alternative strategies should be clarified again with the scientist, in order to check the accuracy of their derivation from the original findings or conceptual model.

It is possible to begin this derivation process from the practitioner's point of view as well. In this variant a teacher may identify a problem and articulate some needs for knowledge relevant to it. When the scientist brings his expertise to bear on these inquiry areas, the derivation of action alternatives can begin again. In either case, this strategy of educational change requires the development of a new collaborative form—a new marriage between scientists and practitioners.

External Consultant   In any of these strategies, it is possible to employ an external

23. Just such a finding results from several experiments with adolescent social organizations, reported in Sherif (1966) and Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, and Sherif (1961).

24. A good start on a list dealing with classrooms in general has been prepared by Schmuck (1966). The fact that most educational researchers are white may help to explain the gaps and biases in available literature.

consultant to help deal with the problems attendant upon racial change in the schools. Unfortunately, many educational leaders request such temporary and external agents, hoping these persons will *solve* their problems for them. Most of the time this is an impossible task—a judgment in which even the most casual observer would concur. But the need to be helped may be so great as to overcome rational considerations.

Consultants committed to a person's or a system's continuing ability to grow and develop must teach clients ways of *solving their own* problems.[25] This clearly cannot be accomplished by a quick meal of all the "right" answers, even if such a menu were available. Perhaps a helpful activity in this regard might involve a short course for educational practitioners on "how to use a consultant." Such an experience might assist school systems to build key external resources into their on-going educational change strategies in more meaningful ways. Consultant expertise might well focus on the more refined or precise design of teacher programs, such as those discussed here. If a panel of consultants from various institutions or disciplines were collected, they would bring a rich and varied set of resources to bear on the critical problems of designing teacher learning and relearning experiences.

SOME CONCLUDING DESIGN PROBLEMS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
Many of the educational change strategies described in this paper have been tried and reported without benefit of clear research on their actual effects. Moreover, some of the particular combinations of possible targets and strategies may not even have been attempted. It is clear, however, that the problems of racial change and improved educational management cannot wait for long-range research and evaluation efforts. Educators must, on the basis of the best intelligence they can muster, make this leap to action, partly on the basis of rational speculation and partly on faith.

A number of the strategies discussed here have not been tried with specifically interracial populations or concerns. That they have not is testimony to the reluctance with which even forward-looking educators have heretofore dealt with matters

25. Reports relevant to problems incurred in such efforts include those by Chesler (1970), Gouldner (1961), G. Lippitt (1959), and R. Lippitt (1959).

of race relations in the schools. But those principles and strate-
gies which have facilitated other forms of school and teacher
change should be relevant to race relations problems as well.
Although some problems take on a peculiar hue, and some
new priorities and problems undoubtedly arise, the fact that
teachers are dealing with interracial issues should not mitigate
seriously the value of sound designs originally used for other
purposes of educational change.

Neither list of targets or strategies is mutually exclusive;
in fact, the most effective retraining designs may include mul-
tiple targets and strategies. The combination of several rows
and columns in Figure 1 and the simultaneous use of several
boxes is probably most effective. To take the first target as an
example, a *teacher's knowledge about youngsters* may be im-
proved by reading, by receiving survey data on his own class,
by engaging in research retrieval activities, and/or by talking
with other teachers working with similar students. Given
teachers' probable resistance to publicly admitting their own
views of racial matters, the second target—a *teacher's own
values*—may be best dealt with through laboratory training,
confrontation episodes, or survey feedback strategies; books,
other teachers, and consultants may not be particularly help-
ful in this instance. Of course, any particular design utilized
by a school system will need to be a unique blend of targets
and strategies that best meet that system's special character-
istics and goals. It might be well for any school system starting
out in these directions to experiment with a variety of designs
and a variety of ways of creating designs. The creation of a
program is a task for which an external consultant's expertise
may be especially important and useful.

Another important feature of the designs and strategies dis-
cussed here is their implicit reliance upon long-term involve-
ment. Some of these designs have been tried in one-day, two-
day, one-week, or one-month programs. Longer programs per-
mit more extended inquiry and practice, but they are not al-
ways feasible within the normal operating and financial con-
ditions that predominate in schools. Regardless of the specific
strategy, one-shot efforts and isolated training institutes have
very little chance of enabling changed attitudes and roles or

the best of new intentions and desires to be translated into new classroom behaviors or new organizational forms. Teachers attempting to change need the continuing support that can be provided by a series of meetings and a total system commitment to change efforts. In this sense, the improvement of teaching is only one component in a system's effort to be more responsive to the demands of a racially heterogeneous society. To focus overmuch on teachers may detract attention from other change targets in a school system.

Finally, all of the designs outlined here can be implemented within the context of the contemporary educational establishment. There is every reason to believe that community members and educators of various persuasions can collaborate somewhere within this context. Attempts to alter educational roles and structures through desegregation, decentralization, or other means will succeed only if we can train and retrain more sympathetic, skillful, and effective teachers. However, there is no reason to assume that all the initiative and planning for such change can and will come from school administrators and faculties. Educational change often does not occur until collaboration is induced by community- and student-generated confrontations and power politics. Teacher training programs built on that base may take different forms but be implemented more quickly and with a greater sense of commitment. Until school systems successfully plan, refine, and utilize designs for teacher retraining, student and community protests will continue to press coercive and justified demands for dramatic change in the teaching profession.

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Case Studies of
Behavioral Science Intervention

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