

***A Brief Survey of the
Major Agencies in the Field of
INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION***

1950

American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

A BRIEF SURVEY
OF THE MAJOR AGENCIES
IN THE FIELD OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

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To all of them, and especially to the workers in the agencies listed on the following pages, go our thanks for patient cooperation.

March, 1950

Samuel H. Flowerman
Director, Department of Scientific
Research
American Jewish Committee

INTRODUCTION

The American Jewish Committee has for some time been concerned with agencies which try to promote better group relations of children and young people in public school settings, and this interest corresponds with the major trend of the largest agencies in the total field. As some AJC chapters became interested in the possibility of taking a more direct part in intercultural education matters, the national office, through its Department of Public Information and Education, suggested a brief survey of on-going programs in order to guide it in future planning. For this reason, the Committee on Intercultural Education was formed, in the fall of 1948, with Mr. James Marshall, member of the New York City Board of Education, as chairman, and the following educators, psychologists and specialists in the field of group relations among its members:

Dr. Edward J. Bernath
Assistant Superintendent of Schools, New York City

Dr. C. Leslie Cushman
Associate Superintendent of Schools, Philadelphia

Dr. Lawrence K. Frank
Director, Caroline Zachry Institute of Human Development

Dr. Willard E. Goslin
Superintendent of Schools, Pasadena, California

Dr. Benjamin B. Greenberg
Assistant Superintendent of Schools, New York City

Dr. Otto Klineberg
Associate Professor of Psychology, Columbia University

Dr. Morris Krugman
Assistant Supt. of Schools, Educational and Vocational Guidance Div., NYC

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
Executive Director, Society for the Prevention of Crime

Miss Truda T. Weil
Assistant Administrative Director, New York City Board of Education

Mr. Alfred L. Bernheim

Head, Special Areas Division, American Jewish Committee

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A working draft of this brief survey was prepared by the Department of Scientific Research of AJC in December, 1948. After thorough discussion within the Committee on Intercultural Education and reaction to the working draft by the agencies listed, the survey was revised. This report is the second version of the brief survey.

Since the 1948-1949 Directory of Agencies in Intergroup Relations¹ lists 385 agencies with 749 branches, the request for a brief survey necessitated some limitation. We were guided in our selection by the Committee's interest in agencies that work with young people in public school settings, and the fact that the major agencies in intercultural education operate in such settings. Therefore, when we speak of intercultural education in this brief survey, we limit it to the following definition:

Any organized attempt to educate young people in public schools and colleges, through their teachers, toward a better understanding:

- of themselves, in relation to one another;
- of culture groups in which they are socially rooted;
- of intergroup relations as they develop out of their membership in their families and communities, and
- of the way in which these factors apply to groups and individuals who are different from themselves in personality structure, economic background, religion, race or culture.

By definition, then, we eliminate a great number of agencies that practice good human relations: local branches of national organizations and sub-

¹American Council on Race Relations, Chicago

committees on race relations of local organizations; federal agencies and all social service agencies - in brief, all organizations that do not emphasize the educative process in public school settings. Eliminated also are such outstanding examples of intercultural practice as the National Maritime Union, with its militant interracial policies, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and many others. Nor have we included the thousands of small groupwork and recreation agencies, synagogues and churches that stress intercultural practices in their daily programs.

We have divided the selected agencies into two major groups:

Primary agencies, where intercultural education is the fundamental concern,

and

Secondary agencies, where intercultural education is but one of many functions - or a by-product of other areas of work - in a multi-functional agency.

Within the secondary agencies we have not listed a great many activities such as work with labor, or with youth groups in recreational, non-school settings; thus we have eliminated, even within the secondary agencies, any activity that does not properly fall within the definition listed on the preceding page.

The material for this survey was selected from the following sources: direct interviews with agency representatives and practitioners; a study of material published by the agencies; correspondence; a study of the general literature in the field, especially research material, and a study of original manuscripts not yet published. Throughout this report, footnotes indicate the specific source of a quotation.

In order to keep the survey brief, we have described in the body of the text what seemed to us to be the most significant information. Following the description of the agencies' program is a section called Related Research. This section is not to be construed as an appraisal of any agency's program, but rather as a pulling together of some of the significant material that is available in the fields of research pertinent to this topic. No evaluation has been attempted anywhere in this survey, and no analytical description is to be taken as a judgmental appraisal.

The working draft, as has been indicated, was shared with all the agencies mentioned in this survey, with a request for changes or additions. Almost all the agencies responded, and the suggested changes of respondents are incorporated in the text.

SOME COMMON ELEMENTS
IN THE APPROACH OF ALL THE AGENCIES

Before describing the programs of the agencies, we have attempted to pull together those elements that seem to be common to all of them, regardless of size, scope of operations and division of function.

There seem to be at least four common elements in the approaches of the agencies included in this survey:

1. The major agencies hope, in the last analysis, to change people; more specifically, according to our definition, young people.

The following three quotations, from primary and secondary agencies, seem to illustrate this:

"The program is one of trying to change people..."¹

"The changes which must be brought about in people are..."²

"The way you really change people is..."³

2. The majority of agencies are attempting to "educate for better human relations".⁴ While in program statements and statements of objectives the emotional factors in the learning process are fully recognized, there seem to be two operational assumptions which may be roughly stated as:

¹

H. H. Giles, Bureau for Intercultural Education, NCRAC meeting, Jan. 21, 1947. Dr. Giles in a letter of July 11, 1949, emphasizes that "changing people involves changes in institutions and the administration of them. This is so important and so difficult that it has been a major focus from 1944 to the present in the Bureau for Intercultural Education."

²

Hilda Taba, NCRAC meeting, May 23, 1947

³

Lachman-Litter-Trager, B'nai B'rith, National Program Committee Report at 35th Annual Meeting, May 5-11, 1948

⁴

NCCJ statement of purpose, Directory of Agencies in Intergroup Relations, 1948-1949

"Facts change values; ideas shape conduct"¹ and

"Changes in attitudes come much more easily to people who are doing things together."²

The most universal method used in trying to reach this goal, based on the underlying assumptions, is through the audio-visual presentation of factual material. The majority of agencies, in their attempt to change children and teachers, provide them with facts, either through textbooks, newspapers, magazines, or through filmstrips, festivals, pageants, exhibits.³

3. While the majority of agencies speak of "group" as a medium through which to reach people, it appears that the term is most frequently used in an arithmetical, rather than a dynamic sense: as an aggregate of people, a conglomeration of individuals, instead of a process in which individuals with different needs interact with one another. That there is insufficient concern with the group process seems to be borne out by the fact that we find practically no material -

¹ Lloyd Allen Cook in College Study Bulletin PR-6 (Social Education, Feb., 1948)

² Hilda Taba, NCRAC meeting, May 23, 1947. Other illustrations of this same point are:

"...We will have to have people working with other people to eliminate the emotional base on which prejudice feeds." (Lachman-Litter-Trager, loc. cit.)

"Prejudices are gradually overcome by friendliness." (Rachel DuBois, Workshop for Cultural Democracy, in New York Times, April 29, 1947)

³ Dr. Giles states in a letter of July 9, 1949, that the Bureau for Intercultural Education is "a striking exception", since "it adopted in 1944 a program which put the emphasis on experience, emotion, and self-understanding through individual participation."

Dr. Cole of the Pacific Coast Council, in a letter of July 5, 1949, emphasizes that there are no "typical methods" used by his agency: "We resort to various procedures to meet the diversity of pupil needs and learning situations."

which describes this interaction of individuals or the techniques used by a leader to direct this process toward socially constructive goals.¹

4. While the majority of agencies have shown concern with evaluating their work, most evaluation has been in terms of verbal assertions by the respondents, rather than in terms of the effect of education on emotional and underlying unconscious motivations.² Since the original goal is to change people, any evaluation would have to take into consideration both verbal and non-verbal reactions.³

¹Dr. Giles states in a letter of July 11, 1949, that the Bureau for Intercultural Education has been concerned with this problem, that "the files have quantities of records dealing with group process and the interaction of individuals and the techniques of group leadership."

Dr. Cole of the Pacific Coast Council writes that "I use the concept 'group' dynamically rather than numerically", seeing "the pupil or teacher roles as persons-in-relations, which are at the same time rooted in relations to culture groups..."

²"Until recently, fact-finding on intergroup relations has been largely dominated by surveys. There is a growing realization that mere diagnosis - and surveys are a type of diagnosis - does not suffice. In intergroup relations as in other fields of social management the diagnosis has to be complemented by experimental comparative studies of the effectiveness of various techniques of change." (Lewin, Kurt, "Action Research and Minority Problems", J. Soc. Issues, V. 2, No. 4, Nov., 1946)

³In commenting on this point, Dr. Edwin Embree, in a memorandum of June 24, 1949, gives an example of non-verbal evaluation by the Bureau for Intercultural Education:

"The evaluation of results in Gary, Indiana, is based on such non-verbal items as the fact that segregation was wiped out of the Gary schools in the course of the Bureau's work there, and since that time segregation has been abrogated by state law for the entire State of Indiana." (For more material on Gary, see pp. 11-12.)

PRIMARY AGENCIES

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
157 West 13th St., New York 11; Dr. Louis Rath, Executive Director

The Bureau can be considered the pioneering organization in the field. Established in 1934, the Bureau is today the most specialized of all the agencies, functioning both in terms of program and research. While it began on a local basis, it is today national in scope, and in 1944 set itself this goal:

"To look toward the day when every school official and teacher in America will be sensitive to intergroup tensions, informed regarding their causes and skilled in their prevention and treatment."¹

The Board is comprised of a wide range of outstanding laymen and professionals from all related fields. The staff includes field workers, specialists in publicity and writing, a specialist in evaluation, librarians, and research consultants.

The budget of about \$130,000 is made possible in the main by contributions and donations. Nine thousand dollars is derived from the sale of literature and lecturers' honoraria.

Purpose:

"Essentially, the program of the Bureau is one of trying to change people... Changing one textbook or putting on one or more intercultural plays will not do the job... The program is not meant to treat symptoms, but deals with causes, and such treatment requires time;... in one community the school system was made to understand that 10 years might be required..."²

The objectives of the Bureau as stated by the former director, H. H. Giles, have been:

- "1. To investigate the extent of the problem of group antagonisms and efforts to overcome them in the public school systems (a three-year investigation).
- "2. To create a professionally competent reservoir of people who can locally carry out the program of the Bureau.
- "3. To test and develop the best materials for teachers and administrators in the school system and for children." (Thus far, most of the materials have been for the adults. The Bureau is starting on the preparation of material for children.)

¹Quadrennial report, 1944-1948

²H. H. Giles, NCRAC meeting, January 21, 1947

- "4. To ascertain what is going on in public school systems and in other community agencies; to try to coordinate the work of the schools and such community agencies for a parallel effort between the school and the community. (Because of limitations of staff the Bureau is only investigating and exploring the possibilities in this phase of its program.)
- "5. To keep track of what the Bureau is doing as well as what is being done by other agencies engaged in the same kind of program."¹

In 1949 a new administration was established, which has redefined the objectives of the Bureau's work. This new approach is an attempt to incorporate the principles of action research within the Bureau's program:

"The Bureau program (1949-51)² is based on an assumption common to all action-research programs: that as people become involved in a project, many if not all will tend to change their attitudes and behavior in conformity to the desired objective - the improvement of human relations in the classroom; the assumption is that as teachers work on programs with this stated objective, they will come to contribute to it. The further assumption is made that as teachers change, their new behavior will produce a similar desirable change among the children in their classrooms. Evidence of such change can be obtained by means of existing techniques; and the content, process and results of such programs can be recorded for use by others.

"As the teachers begin to explore the attitudes, feelings, behavior, and relationships of the children in their classrooms - by means of instruments and techniques provided by the Bureau - they begin to achieve new insights and understandings. More important, they begin to discover, usually painfully, that their own attitudes and behavior contribute to or detract from good human relations. This is a discovery that they make themselves, not something they are told by somebody else; and they make it as a group, so that there is group support for each individual to change. And this change will necessarily be of such character as to lead to the improvement of relations among the children, according to present theory.

"Meanwhile the Bureau staff, in addition to providing consultation service to the group, has been compiling data as a basis for evaluating the program. Records are made of what teachers say and do at the group meetings and in their classrooms. They are asked certain questions, and their answers reveal their attitudes toward children of different groups and toward their jobs. Teachers and staff gather the data that reveal the relationships among the children. This compiling the data on both teachers and children goes on throughout the course of the program and at its end. The assumption is made that there will be a significant change in the direction desired by us, because of what we do; and that this change can be proved.

¹H. H. Giles, NCRAC meeting, January 21, 1947

²Mimeographed Report

"Areas for Work:"¹

"There are a number of reasons why the following areas are the ones we expect to use. They seem less abstract and vague than just 'human relations' or 'intercultural education'. Any one of them does not appear too big to tackle to an inexperienced group.

"Emotional Needs: As teachers learn to understand and meet the emotional needs of children, human relations will improve in the classroom.

"Many emotional needs of children can be met or can be frustrated in the school and in the home. Need for belonging, approval, achievement, affection, sharing, a world outlook, freedom from guilt and fear - these the teacher and group can help children to satisfy in school...

"Group Dynamics: As teachers learn to understand group dynamics and acquire skill in group leadership, human relations will improve in the classroom.

"Many factors in group situations adversely affect behavior and feelings: rivalry, cliques, personal tensions, fear, feelings of inadequacy, resentment, aggression, etc. Ability to participate, to communicate in group life, to affect the outcome of group effort is determined by group process. Intelligent understanding and skillful engineering of group process can be learned and shared by leader (teacher) and group (children).

"Difference: As teachers learn to understand that the fact of difference is often a source of conflict, they can help children learn to accept the fact of difference.

"Value Conflict: As teachers learn to understand value conflicts, they can help children to examine and understand the values that motivate their feelings and behavior."

The Bureau maintains a number of field centers (see next two pages). The ideal arrangement is a total community plan, of which the schools are but one aspect. Ideally, the community committee would not only advise the schools, but also do the over-all community job. Actually, the pattern varies in different cities, and none is engaged in an optimum program. Although there have been examples of outstanding community cooperation, the Bureau believes that these do not serve as short-cuts for other communities, and that each community must go through its own processes of learning.

Field Centers: The quadrennial report of the Bureau, 1944-1948, gives a brief picture of the field centers for the past year, from which we take the following excerpts:

Kalamazoo: "A new curriculum council was established with student, parent, labor and business representatives. This is a milestone in American educational procedure. The new council quickly established committees on human relations and democratic teaching techniques. A hundred and fifty teachers have volunteered for work on this council... The board of education appointed two members of minority groups to positions where none had previously been - one as head of the public library and the other as teacher in an elementary-junior high school... The board of education made its first grant of funds to help teachers pay their expenses in our human relations workshop... The Kalamazoo public schools and Western Michigan College have now established a formal relationship and joint steering committee to cooperate in in-service and pre-service training in human relations work..."

Battle Creek: "Distinct progress has been made toward solving intergroup problems in Southwestern Junior High School, which has a large percentage of Negro students... In two schools where club activities had been segregated, all such segregation was abolished..."

Philadelphia:¹ "The Philadelphia 'Early Childhood Project' was the joint project of the Philadelphia public schools, the Bureau for Intercultural Education, the Research Center for Group Dynamics of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission. The major aim was to find ways for the school to deal with prejudice, to combat and prevent it... Work was carried on in the kindergarten and the first and second grades of five schools." Major time in 1948-49 was devoted to tabulating, analyzing and reporting the data gathered in the course of this three-year study. Some of the articles published or accepted for publication which deal with this study are listed under Publications.

White Plains: "The White Plains Human Relations Center grew out of a project conceived by the State Commission Against Discrimination. It was set up, in conjunction with the State Department of Education and Westchester County superintendents, in the Rochambeau School in White Plains. The stipulated purpose is:

- "1. Developing in-service education for teachers in the techniques and content of democratic human relations education.
2. Developing school-community cooperation."

Three Midwest field centers - Gary, Indiana, East Chicago, Indiana and Detroit, Michigan - have been discontinued. The decision to discontinue service to Gary and East Chicago was made during the summer of 1949, in part because of a need to reduce the load of the field staff and also because these two cities appeared to offer least hope for further progress.

¹MacKenzie, Catherine, "Prejudice Can Be Unlearned", New York Times, July 25, 1948

The Detroit Center was discontinued in the spring of 1949, because the cooperation of the local school administration was absent, despite attempts to achieve a more satisfactory relationship.

The Gary Center was discontinued despite certain successes achieved by the Bureau there: "...Resolution of Froebel School strike, 1945-46; adoption of democratic intercultural policy by school board in 1946; the process of building support for a non-segregation policy, culminating in the adoption of such policy in 1947 and its successful implementation despite the school strike in opposition to it at Emerson in the fall of 1947; employment of first Jewish school administrator in 1947; substantial expansion of activities in Child Welfare Department to bring increased human understandings..."¹

Publications: The best-known of the Bureau's publications are:

Intercultural Education in the Making, by W. E. Vickery and Stewart G. Cole

Probing Our Prejudices, by Hortense Powdermaker

They See for Themselves, by Spencer Brown

Minority Problems in Public Schools, by Theodore Brameld

(All are published by Harper & Bros., New York)

Some of the articles based on the results of the Philadelphia Early Childhood Project are:

"Social Perceptions and Attitudes of Children", by Marian Radke, Helen Trager and Hadassah Davis, Genetic Psychology Monographs, late 1949

"Is Prejudice Poisoning Our Kids?", by Howard Whitman, leading feature in Woman's Home Companion, Nov., 1949

"Children's Perceptions of the Social Roles of Negroes and Whites", by Marian Radke and Helen Trager, Journal of Psychology, to appear early in 1950

Still in preparation, and also on the Philadelphia project, are two articles and a book-length report.

In addition to this, there are three books about to be published:

Race Relations in a Democracy, by Ina Corinne Brown

Democracy Demands It: A Resource Unit for Intercultural Education in the High School, by William Van Til and others

Becoming American: A Unit on Immigrants and Their Children, by Irene Jaworski

Evaluation: Dr. H. H. Giles, former executive director of the Bureau, made this statement regarding evaluation at the NCRAC meeting of February 26, 1946:

"There are no scientific methods or approaches either as to the intercultural education program or its evaluation. No one knows how you

¹Quadrennial report, 1944-48

can evaluate the results in this field. The Bureau maintains a continuing analysis and interpretation of its records, and these records are used to show what actions by the Bureau bring what results. The social cancer of group prejudice is influenced by manifold factors and no one can guarantee a cure which we are seeking. The difficulties of making an evaluation do not however render worthless the using of every known medium for evaluating the work in this field."

In the above-mentioned quadrennial report the following statement is made regarding research:

"It would have been a proud boast if we could have said that in four years we have learned to ask the right questions for the beginning of research and action on the age-old problems of prejudice and hate. However, the directives of the Board, the pace of events, and the limitations of money have forced us to engage in practice at the same time as we sought to formulate our exploratory hypotheses and assumptions."

THE CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
(New York University; Dr. H. H. Giles, Director)

The New York University Center for Human Relations Studies was established by the Bureau for Intercultural Education in 1947, with the two major functions of research and training of professionals. It was under the same administration as the Bureau until September 1, 1949, and is now operated under the auspices of New York University and headed by Dr. H. H. Giles, former executive director of the Bureau.

Dr. Giles states that:

"Two inclusive goals of the Center have been the development of a unifying theory of human dynamics and a method for clinical analysis of field practice."

The Center is at the present time training 50 students intensively, but is attempting to reach the 10,000 education students through department heads, who have asked the Center for a channel to their student body. In its educational program, the Center has been aided by its connection with the Bureau for Intercultural Education, by the increasing interest of social agencies in securing its aid, and by the whole-hearted cooperation of many department heads and professors in the School of Education.

In addition to Dr. Giles, it is staffed part-time with eight specialists - in child development (Dr. Alice Keliher), research (Dr. Daniel Dodson), psychoanalysis (Dr. Sol Ginsburg) and others. The Center student body includes officers and volunteer workers in a wide range of social agencies. Thus among students as well as staff a wealth of practical field experience was furnished, and many Center seminars were exchange sessions based on these experiences.

One of the minor functions of the Center is a consultation service to industry, business and schools, as well as publication and interpretation of findings to communities.

Dr. Giles writes, on October 4, 1949, that:

"The Center hopes to become a major source of both primary and secondary studies and research. During the past two years, its students have been largely occupied with the other requirements for their degrees. However, in addition to the Public Education Association study on Released Time for Religious Education in the New York City Public Schools, the following projects represent a partial list of those which have been initiated:

1. Effect of the state program of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on 12 New York State cities
2. Sociometric studies of school segregation
3. Evaluation of projective techniques in measuring attitudes of human relations workers
4. Techniques for adult intergroup education
5. Effects of child care center experience on personality

6. Industrial accident prevention as related to human relations
7. Civil rights in Great Neck, Long Island
8. Use of human relations film excerpts
9. The Urban League as a social force"

General Seminars: For the first-year students, the Center offers an orientation seminar in which social institutions and values which help and hinder the development of democratic human relations are discussed and related to educational action programs. Second-year students attend the seminar on human dynamics and clinical analysis of field work. The effort here is to build toward a theoretical framework which would facilitate use of all the human sciences including the variety of schools of psychological thought, and to develop as well the beginnings of a truly clinical procedure for presenting and analyzing diagnosis, treatment and prognosis in the handling of social conflict.

General interdisciplinary seminars for first- and second-year students are supplemented by professional seminars for staff, Center graduate students and selected guests who report on their work and its relation to the human relations professional program.

American Council on Education
INTERGROUP EDUCATION IN COOPERATING SCHOOLS
(Dr. Hilda Taba)

(NOTE: This and the following project were both ventures in the field of intercultural education. While treated separately, they were both sponsored by the American Council on Education and both financed by the National Conference of Christians and Jews (see Secondary Agencies).

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION (744 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.; New York office, 437 West 59th St.; George F. Zook, president) was founded in 1918 by national educational organizations to federate the educational resources of the country during the war emergency. It is now composed of national educational organizations, universities, colleges, city school systems, state departments of education and other groups concerned with education. It has no individual members. The Council is financed by membership dues and by grants from foundations, including the General Education Board and the Carnegie Corporation of New York. In recent years the Council has accepted grants from governmental agencies to carry on special activities related to education.)

One of the Council's major projects, Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools, was begun in 1944 and completed in 1948. The 1948 budget was \$45,000, with a staff of eight professional workers. (While the ACE phase has come to an end, the Center for the Study of Intergroup Relations continues in the Department of Education at the University of Chicago.) It has been an experimental program of in-service teacher education originally begun in Cleveland, Milwaukee and Pittsburgh and later extended to 18 school systems, scattered geographically from Massachusetts to California, in a variety of schools.

Goal: In a letter of November 20, 1948, Dr. Taba says:

"I think our experiment tried at first to extend the definition of intercultural education to encompass all group differences whether the dimensions were that of age, nationality, religion or what not.

"Secondly, we tried to analyze some of the psychological sequences by which the so-called prejudice and intolerance are arrived at, and to set patterns for work at the basic spots - in place of hounding at all places - at the prejudice itself.

"Third, we tried to develop some of the educational techniques both for the diagnosis of the kinds of group differences that do exist, and the kinds of value-patterns and attitudes that create them.

"Finally, of course, it was our obligation to work out patterns of instruction, ways of reorganizing the school social life so as to be more contributive to democratic human relations rather than in the reverse, as it often is, and perhaps to lay out some tentative pathways towards leadership training in group processes as well as towards strategies for community action."

The project operated in three areas:

1. Instruction
2. Group relations in the school
3. Community relations

In the instructional area, the emphasis was on integrating intergroup education into all subjects rather than making intergroup problems a special or isolated focus of study; for example, emphasizing the use of fiction for developing sensitivity to human relations, and material which eliminates stereotypes; in history, an attempt was made to get away from the "contribution-of-the-various-nationalities" theme, and to emphasize participation of the various groups in American life.

Under the second heading, group relations in the school, programs were carried on from the sixth grade up. The programs dealt with the discriminatory aspects of sorority life, the patterns of exclusiveness which prevent participation on the part of many students, etc. According to Dr. Taba,¹ the procedure was "first, to ascertain what are the patterns; secondly, how to attack the problems."

In the third area, community relations, community support was enlisted for the experimental program, frequently through the PTA, for such projects as employment, recreation, housing, setting up of community centers in tension areas.

"In every school system, if not in every school, the following types of exploration were carried on:

- "1. Revision of existing curriculum to provide opportunities for intergroup education. Experimentation was carried on in the following areas: American history on all grade levels; American culture, combining history and literature on the 8th and 11th grade levels; civics and citizenship programs; biology, with special emphasis on heredity and genetics; elementary programs on community helpers, studying the community, and school living; use of literature for sensitizing purposes throughout all grades.
- "2. Study of and reshaping of school activities for creating a better laboratory for democratic human relations. These included studies of participation by all children in school life, of association patterns among the students, of leadership and prestige patterns, of cleavage and isolation and their causes. Special attention was devoted to student government, club structure, including social clubs (fraternities and sororities), and examination of the ways in which these structures help or hinder adequate and democratic human relations in schools. Special attention was also devoted to the effects these structures have on students from minority groups or from the economically disadvantaged groups. Many schools experimented with new patterns of school organization and orientation.
- "3. Planning school-community relations and studies of the community. Among these ventures were attempts at cooperative projects for improvement of group relations in the community, the development of community centers, cooperative analysis of cleavages and difficulties

¹NCRAC minutes, May 23, 1947

in the community, and in some cases the realignment of organizational patterns for greater effectiveness for action.

- "4. Experiments in school-wide approach in selected schools which have special problems in group relations.
- "5. Spot experiments along special lines, such as studies of stereotypes in literature, vocational guidance of Negro students, development of social skills on the part of students in segregated neighborhoods or segregated schools."¹

Dr. Taba suggested that:

"Changes in attitudes come much more easily to people who are doing things together."²

The readiness of the school was considered a crucial factor.

"The strategy must be in terms of long-range attack capable of meeting fundamental problems of economics and psychology, rather than short-term, one-shot attacks on superficial problems which do not cope with the basic issues."²

Publications: In the area of teacher training and developing methods of sound curriculum construction, the organization published a great deal of reading material. Printed booklets include the Reading Ladders for Human Relations, Literature for Human Understanding, Sociometry and Group Relations, and Curriculum for Intergroup Relations, as well as the bulletins to cooperating schools, workshop papers with annotated bibliographies for adults and young people and selective bibliographies on intergroup relations for adults.

Evaluation: Some effort has been made to develop instruments and methods for appraising the changes in attitudes of teachers as well as of students as a result of this program. Some school systems have developed batteries of tests to use with their new programs. All teachers are using sociograms, "free reactions" and observations to record changes. One school system has made a comprehensive report on effects of the program on teacher growth.

"All of these programs have certain common features:¹

- "1. Most of them are based on studies of the community needs and the backgrounds and needs of the students in order to determine the most effective, realistic, and most needed emphasis.
- "2. It has been assumed that the programs in this field will be integrated into the on-going program and not treated as separate areas or separate courses or separate and isolated undertakings.

¹ "What Is the Intergroup Education Project?",
mimeographed brochure

² NCRAC minutes, May 23, 1947

"3. All have as their points of orientation the following objectives in mind:

- a. The development of needed knowledges and concepts
- b. The development of needed patterns and techniques of thinking
- c. The development of needed attitudes and value patterns and sensitivity
- d. The mastery of skills and techniques for effective group living

"4. While most projects are directed towards a long-term program, immediate alleviation and adjustment of such conflicts and tensions as may exist in schools or in the community is emphasized also.

"5. Most projects are set up so as to transfer them to local responsibility as soon as the exploratory stage is over and the local leadership is ready to take over.

"Teacher training is an important aspect of the program. Much of it takes place in connection with program planning: developing curriculum materials, studying children and the community, exploring resources, working with the community. Some schools have felt a need for special training sessions and have planned institutes and lecture series. During the summer, workshops are held for intensive study and production of plans and materials. Such workshops have been held at the University of Chicago, Mills College and Syracuse University; the first of these has been repeated every year."

American Council on Education
THE COLLEGE STUDY IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS
(Dr. Lloyd Allen Cook)

(NOTE: This, like the preceding project, was sponsored by the American Council on Education (The Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education) and financed by a grant from the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The 1948 budget was \$30,000, with a staff of eight.)

The College study was begun in September, 1944, and concluded in February, 1949, when the field work phase came to an end. It was charged by its sponsors to find out, under test, how "to effect changes in the behavior of prospective teachers".¹ In 1945 a detailed plan for the conduct of the study was worked out and college applications were solicited. From among the 132 colleges and universities making application 10 were selected and work begun. Two colleges were unable to develop a program, and withdrew. Six months later 20 more colleges were added. In 1946-47 the number of colleges was reduced to 10. For the final year of the study a total of 24 colleges were included, ranging from Atlanta University and the University of Florida to Southwest Texas State Teachers' College, Denver University and San Francisco State College, the University of Pittsburgh, Wayne University (Detroit) and Roosevelt College (Chicago).

The College Study goals, in their most recent version, were spelled out in the College Study Bulletin No. 5 of October, 1948, as follows:

- "1. To discover and appraise the role in child and adult life of race, creed, national heritages, rural-urban and class level differences.
- "2. To provide college and school environments in which all peoples are viewed, valued and treated in terms of their personal worth.
- "3. To teach prospective teachers a better understanding of and a deeper concern for human relations, and to increase their work skills in this area.
- "4. To make basic and lasting improvements in teacher training programs in line with the above goals, and to diffuse these changes within the profession.
- "5. To work directly, and to cooperate actively, with local and non-local intergroup agencies for the increasing democratization of our common life."

While each of the colleges formulated its own study action projects, and even defined intergroup relations in different ways (race relations, intercreedal differences, immigrant cultures, income levels, age-sex conflicts), all colleges accepted a central goal: "to effect changes in the behavior of prospective teachers."²

¹Cook, Lloyd Allen, "The Frame of Reference in the College Study," Journal of Educational Sociology, September, 1947

²Education for Better Human Relations, NCCJ

The programs vary accordingly: classroom instruction, small-group discussion techniques, planned community action, fact-finding studies dealing with student attitudes, faculty viewpoints and class contents. Other studies have experimented with group work techniques in order to better integrate interaction; several studies tried to build a theory of intergroup education, but it is conceded in the NCCJ publication¹ that such efforts did not meet with success. The basic reason for this, according to Dr. Cook, seems to be the resistance to change in people.

Methods: In the publication Social Education for February, 1948, Dr. Cook classifies the methods by which "our colleges sought to reach their goals:²

"1. Intellectual Approach

Assumptions: that facts change values, ideas shape conduct.

Examples: textbook-oriented course, lectures, readings.

"2. Community Study-Action Approach

Direct participation, concrete and at times intimate.

Examples: field trips, agency experiences, inter-college visitation, community action and coordination.

"3. Vicarious Experience Approach

Taking the role of another, an outgroup member, via imaginative projection. Examples: movies, plays, current fiction.

"4. Exhibits, Festivals and Pageants

Display of heritages, customs and contributions. Seeks to create outgroup acceptance and in-group self-respect.

"5. Small Group Process Approach

Use of the group as a teaching-learning instrument.

Examples: cultural informant technic, sociodrama, group discussion, group therapy."

In another publication³ he illustrates one of these methods by describing an acute conflict situation in a school, and advises:

"...the director must reach out and grab the group processes, bring it under control by any tactic that he knows."

Evaluation: Available Data: In "Education for Better Human Relations", Dr. Cook lists three kinds of available data, which, he states, must be related to the original goal: "to effect changes in the behavior of prospective teachers":

- "1. Experimental studies, the object of which was to secure measurable behavioral changes made with pre- and end-tests.

¹ Education for Better Human Relations (from the July, 1947, Educational Record, p. 10)

² College Study Bulletin PR-6

³ College Study Bulletin PR-2

- "2. Fact-finding studies which would describe what people are like. The State Teachers' College at Moorhead, Minn., for example, has assembled more 'human relations' data on its campus population than any other teacher-educating institution in the nation.
- "3. Teacher self-education in the group process." The data regarding the group process experiences, Dr. Cook feels, are highly subjective, however. (He designates two types, the teacher as a participant-observer and as a group manager.)

"Tentative plan for summarizing evidence:¹

- "1. Number of persons involved in College Study projects and activities, time spent, nature of participation.
- "2. Student learnings in ideas, attitudes, value commitments and group process skills.
- "3. Changes in college professors in information, viewpoints, knowledge about students, ways of teaching, research activities.
- "4. Changes in teacher-educating programs - courses of study, student activities, campus groupings, library resources, interdepartmental cooperation.
- "5. Development of study forms, testing instruments, teaching materials, bibliographies, etc., and use by the profession.
- "6. College and community relations - cooperation with schools, inter-cultural agencies, state and national bodies.
- "7. Contributions to knowledge about intergroup relations - fact and value norms, group behaviors, personality patterns, group work technics."

¹College Study Bulletin PR-6

PACIFIC COAST COUNCIL ON INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

1250 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 14; Stewart G. Cole, Executive Director;
R. B. Haas, Associate Director; W. E. Vickery, Director of College Project

This organization, which is an outgrowth of the Bureau for Intercultural Education, is mainly operated by three full-time workers and functions in the main in the San Diego public schools as well as in seven California state colleges. The 1948 budget was \$35,000, of which \$10,000 was a grant from the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council; the remainder, private donations. As of September, 1949, the Council was incorporated into the Western Division of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, as its educational arm. Dr. Haas and Dr. Vickery are no longer associated with it.

Purpose of the agency is:

"To supplant prejudice with understanding, tolerance with appreciation, antagonism with good will, and build of many racial and cultural groups one America through education."¹

"The Council conducts school and community leadership workshops, serves as consultant to school personnel and PTA groups; prepares bibliographies and pamphlets; it is conducting a three-year experiment in intercultural education with the San Diego city and county schools."²

Program: At the present time the Council is engaged in these three tasks:

1. It is finishing the third year of advisory service in interpreting and evaluating the intercultural education program in the San Diego city schools.
2. It is continuing with the pre-service teacher project in the seven state colleges of California, under the joint direction of the state Department of Public Instruction (Dr. Vickery).
3. The Council is sharing with the University of California at Los Angeles in the direction of a project studying minority group teaching personnel, policies and practices in public education in California. This work is being directed by Dr. Frank Tait

In addition to this, the 1947-1948 review of the Council reports that it has expanded its services to 18 local school systems and to 13 local city schools.

It is maintaining its annual workshop at UCLA, consisting of six weeks of graduate study by some 50 students from all over the country, and advisory service at a number of local workshops on the West Coast. In 1949 the Council is planning to advise in the rewriting of the San Diego public school curriculum and to evaluate and write up the three-year project. It is also planning to conduct the College Project (Vickery) in San Diego State and San Francisco State colleges.

¹PCC fund-raising folder

²Directory of Agencies in Intergroup Education, 1948-1949

(According to Lawrence Bloomgarden, former West Coast representative of AJC, "the program that the Council has been carrying out consists mainly of workshops for teaching staff in Los Angeles and some other communities, particularly in San Diego, that have no direct relationship with the school system in putting on an intercultural education program (as of November 3, 1948). There is no official intercultural education program in Los Angeles, but there is now a concerted effort to have one adopted, coinciding with the coming of Dr. Stoddard of Philadelphia as the new superintendent of schools in Los Angeles...")

(In this connection we learn that intercultural education programs on the West Coast are also sponsored by Jewish Community Relations committees in Oakland, Portland and Seattle.)

Publications of the Council include:

Charting Intercultural Education 1945-55, by Stewart G. Cole, I. James Quillen and Mildred J. Wiese (Stanford University Press, 1946)

The following manuscripts are being completed for publication:

The Cutting Edge of Democracy, by Stewart G. Cole (awarded second prize by the Institute for Religious and Social Studies)

Role Playing for Social Literacy, by Robert B. Haas

Report of the College Project, by W. E. Vickery

Report of the San Diego Program, by Stewart G. Cole and William J. Stone

Attitudes of High School Youth, by Mildred J. Wiese

Other publications include a number of manuals based on the workshop experience, the publication of quarterly Council Bulletins, and the collection and preparation of miscellaneous new teacher-aids for use with groups.

Evaluation: Regarding the San Diego school project, Dr. Cole states on November 15, 1948:

"We are trying to appraise the project through the use of evaluation questionnaires to selected staff members; the anecdotal diary account kept by the project director; use of specialized evaluation techniques in selected school situations, and an appraisal through committee procedure of the work accomplished in the three-year period in terms of quantity, variety and quality. These are over-all methods. More specific, and with reference to selected situations, we are using the following: attitude scales; social distance scales; reaction to described positions; sociometric techniques and sociodrama; evaluative criteria applied to a particular situation; anecdotal records, and production tests."

State College Project¹

"The California State College Project, sponsored jointly by the Pacific Coast Council on Intercultural Education, State Department of Education

¹Memorandum by Dr. Vickery of October 5, 1949

and the presidents of the state colleges, had as its main objective the experimental testing of courses and units of work in intergroup relations introduced into pre-service teacher education programs. At three of the cooperating state colleges - Fresno, San Jose and San Francisco - a separate course in democratic human relations was offered. At San Diego, units were introduced into existing courses offered by the department of education: principles of secondary education, child growth and development, growth and development of adolescents, philosophy of education, tests and measurements and methods of teaching social science. The project director, William E. Vickery, organized and taught all of the courses and units.

"The first objective of instruction was to provide opportunities for students to explore their own attitudes and feelings in a permissive group atmosphere, leading to a ventilation of emotions and a catharsis of prejudice. A second goal was to expand the students' knowledge about people who belong to various racial, religious, national and socio-economic groups, and to strengthen their grasp of such concepts as race and racism, culture, in the anthropological sense of that term, community status systems, and the psychological roots of prejudice, with special emphasis on the multiple factors involved in intergroup relations. The third objective was to develop an understanding of the steps essential in planning action programs for schools in intergroup relations, and of the relation of these steps to each other and to the purpose the teacher has in mind. Finally, an effort was made to develop the students' skills in using the group process to analyze intergroup situations, plan programs, and function as a democratic leader in the classroom.

"The subject matter to attain these ends was selected from a variety of subject fields, with special emphasis on cultural anthropology. Research in other social scientific fields, notably sociology and social psychology, as well as studies in political theory and philosophy, were selected and organized to develop a sequence of ideas such as the essential similarity in the human species in organic structure and basic physical and psychological needs; the variation in individual and group behavior traceable to differences in cultural background; the relation of displaced aggression and projection to prejudice, and the individual's ability and responsibility to choose among moral values and act in accordance with those chosen. Research in education was used to suggest ways of integrating and applying the findings of the other social sciences in building the school curriculum.

"In order to evaluate the effects of the experimental class, two sorts of data were collected. Records of the students' work, such as book reports, term papers and examinations, case studies and biographical sketches, a diary of class activity kept by the instructor, students' written evaluation of the work both in informal spontaneous reports and in systematic questionnaires, and a few observers' reports of class discussions constituted the first type of data. In addition to the Index of Intercultural Knowledge prepared by Burton Henry and used in the survey of teacher-training institutions in various sections

of the country, the University of California Public Opinion Study scales,¹ measuring political and economic conservatism, ethnocentrism and anti-democratic trends in the personality, and a personal data questionnaire were also utilized. A follow-up study is planned to discover whether the students who participated in the project applied what they had learned when they began their teaching careers."

¹The University of California Public Opinion Study scales were prepared under the sponsorship of the Department of Scientific Research of the American Jewish Committee and will form part of a forthcoming book, The Authoritarian Personality, by R. N. Sanford, T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswick and D. J. Levinson, published by Harper & Bros., N.Y. in March, 1950.

YOUTHBUILDERS, INC.

This private agency, established in 1938, operated on a budget of \$20,000 obtained from private donations and was staffed by three full-time professional volunteer workers and two paid clerical workers. Although it is not operating any longer, this agency has always measured its effectiveness by the degree to which the program has been taken over by school systems. Since at this time two major school systems are operating programs which can be said to stem directly or indirectly from Youthbuilders, Inc., the agency is listed here for historical and interest reasons.

Purpose of the organization was:

"To help public schools set up as part of the regular curriculum... activities designed to give children an opportunity to acquire the skills of social action through experience in school and neighborhood projects. The Youthbuilders technique consists of discussion, selection of a problem important to youth, reducing it to a situation with which the group can deal, and developing a program for action to improve the situation."¹

Program: The main goal, to teach children the skill of civic action, was pursued by this organization from 1938 with the school systems in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago. Mrs. Sabra Holbrook and her staff viewed intercultural education as a tool in the growth process of young people. The emphasis was on program, and it was felt that in pursuing a common goal young people discover that they will need cooperation with other groups. It was pointed out that if a group of youngsters is concerned with a neighborhood gang, they will need to work with the gang and other groups, a process in which reduction of prejudice is a by-product. It was never postulated as a goal by itself.

The organization encouraged such projects as the removal of stereotyped figures in comic books, and succeeded in eliminating the Negro villain, "Steamboat", from the Captain Marvel comic books (Fawcett Publications). This project originated with P.S. 120, Manhattan, where the children were concerned with discrimination. (New York Post, 4-24-45)

Another project was the textbook research carried on by the children in Frederick Douglass Junior High School. Another was an attempt to improve the reputation of East Harlem, which had been under attack by several newspapers. This was a large project, involving a total community survey and undertaken with the cooperation of public school, business and social organizations, and city departments.

While interpretations of the program differed with each school system, the organization succeeded in having three independent boards of education adapt the program to their needs. A brief chronological history of the development of the Youthbuilders by the New York City Board of Education follows:

¹Directory of Agencies in Intergroup Relations, 1948-1949

"The integration began in 1938, when volunteers from Youthbuilders were sent into public schools to conduct after-school activity as one means of implementing a resolution passed by the Board of Education to promote the teaching of democracy and tolerance.

"In 1941 a training course in Youthbuilder techniques for teachers was authorized as part of the Board of Education's in-service program. In 1943 the superintendent designated one associate superintendent to be in charge of the program of Youthbuilders, and released one teacher for this purpose. The following year two more teachers were released and assigned to this work by the superintendent and the Board of Education. In 1946 the superintendent of schools indicated in a memorandum to all junior high and elementary school principals that the program had passed the experimental stage and had become a school activity. Seven more teachers were released and assigned to the Youthbuilders supervisory staff and special headquarters set up in P.S. 41. The following year an assistant superintendent was designated by the superintendent to assist the associate superintendent in the supervision of the program. In 1948 the superintendent of schools received an increased budget."¹

In May of 1949, the New York City Board of Education set up a separate organization called the Schools-Civic Club. It works out of P.S. 41 as a central headquarters, with 10 teachers stationed in the offices of the assistant superintendents. This makes possible adaptation of the program within the framework of the school districts. The basic program of discussion, investigation and action has been retained. The budget is approximately \$60,000; director of the Schools-Civic Club is Mr. Alex H. Lazes.

Mr. W. Byron Lukens, curriculum assistant of student-community activities of the Philadelphia Board of Public Education, describes the Youthbuilder program in a letter of December 1, 1949, from which we quote the following:

"The Philadelphia approach has been and will continue to be that of a pioneering experiment in helping our students to face realistically the existing school and community problems and to apply democratic techniques in their solution through three major steps; i.e., investigation, discussion and action. Our best efforts at present are to introduce this technique into classroom methodology. In general, the following pattern of club activity illustrates these objectives:

"Club members, composed of a cross-section of the individual school, select a current problem which is disturbing society. After the pupils have chosen the problem which they feel is most interesting to them, the sponsor, by means of provocative questions, guides the children into open-minded discussions of the issues involved. Committees of pupils are chosen by club members to obtain any further information that the group requires. Instead of going to secondary sources, these pupils interview persons in the community who are authorities in the field being discussed. So far, over one hundred civic leaders have cooperated in this enterprise and have welcomed

¹From mimeographed statement released by Youthbuilders, Inc.

the youngsters into busy offices, judges' chambers, board rooms, or around conference tables. After several interviews, a Youthbuilders group makes the transfer from the broad problem to a specific, related need which exists in its own school or neighborhood. The remainder of the term is then spent by the club in organizing itself and the rest of the school or community to solve the local situation.

"The program within the schools is on a volunteer basis. One teacher has been released for duty in the central office to service the sixteen clubs that are functioning at this time. His job is one of liaison between community and club sponsor. He maintains existing contacts for interviews and is constantly seeking new ones. He visits Youthbuilders club meetings, conducts in-service courses on the technique, and establishes contact for the creation of new clubs.

"Through the Youthbuilders program, sponsors and members of this club activity are brought into contact with the current concerns of our society and with the people who are grappling for solutions to these problems. Interviews are arranged with key community persons in order to have students acquire information and, at the same time, to make these persons recognize the importance of the problem which the boys and girls have selected to study and discuss. Firsthand experiencing rather than vicarious study allows the pupils to engage actively in a real life situation."

WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

204 East 18th St., New York 3; Rachel Davis DuBois, Director

The Workshop for Cultural Democracy is a small agency that has been concerned with intercultural education for more than 25 years. In spite of the small budget of \$7,000, Dr. Rachel Davis DuBois - who essentially carries the agency, with the help of part-time workers and many volunteers - has been attempting to develop methods toward a "creative approach",¹ through training of teachers and experimentation.

Purpose:

"To further the understanding and enjoyment of America's cultural diversity in order to build among the people a more harmonious community life. This is done by bringing small groups together in face-to-face contacts...during regular school hours, selected pupils being assigned to the field trips and they bring back reports to the school rooms, to be followed by discussion."²

Program: Dr. DuBois states in a manuscript as yet unpublished, Cultural Democracy in Action (A Tension Area Becomes a Neighborhood) that:

"It is our conviction that the problem of prejudice will be solved not in huge mass meetings, nor even by the technique of mass communication, though they have their place, but in thousands of small, emotionally satisfying face-to-face meetings of mixed groups of neighbors... (with the aim to) make friendships across intergroup barriers."

A more recent project, at P.S. 165, Manhattan, is described in a New York Times article of April 29, 1947:

"The school is in one of the city's so-called tension areas, with the population mainly Puerto Rican, Jewish, Irish, Negro, Italian, Oriental and Turkish... The group reenacted the 'Parranda', which had been held in Easter week. It was under the direction of Dr. DuBois... The Parranda was suggested by a Puerto Rican mother. It is somewhat similar to a progressive party, with guests taking a different course in each others' homes... The Parranda group came to the finding that American families are alike in what they do, though they do many things differently. The comparisons of family customs centered around work, play, love and worship, Dr. DuBois reported.

"The first home visited was that of an old-stock American. Old pewter, glassware and a handwoven spread were on display. The old-fashioned hop-up-and-down two-step was demonstrated as a form of recreation. The group next visited an Irish-American home. The grandfather was a Gaelic scholar. He read in Gaelic and sang a lullaby. The music of the war pipes was demonstrated. A pupil thought there was a resemblance between Gaelic and Hebrew. They next visited a Puerto Rican-American family. Samples of embroidery were exhibited. A record of

¹Workshop letterhead

²Directory of Agencies in Intergroup Relations, 1948-1949

Latin-American rhythms was played and native dances were demonstrated. The last was a Jewish home. The visitors were treated to Passover food. Prayers were said, with the lighting of candles.

"The soundest psychological principle asserts that the only effective way of getting rid of a bad habit is to supplant it with a good one', Dr. DuBois said. 'Thus prejudices are gradually overcome by friendliness.'"

Besides the program described, the Workshop has operated in a number of different settings besides P.S. 54 and P.S. 179 in New York City. With the help of an executive committee and groups of volunteers, the agency has sponsored numerous training courses for workers in intercultural education, under the auspices of the New School for Social Research, Teachers' College of Columbia University and in workshops in Philadelphia, Johnstown and York, Pa., and other communities on the eastern seaboard.

The agency's consultation services are used by students of Columbia University, NYU and interested volunteers.

While anecdotal records are kept and some sociometric before-after testing has been done, perhaps the most effective evaluation is the fact, as reported by Dr. DuBois in a letter of June 29, 1949:

"...that mothers and teachers at P.S. 165 have continued all the activities of the project without help of our staff is the best indication for the success of the program."

Publications by Dr. DuBois:

Get Together Americans (illustrations of the "Neighborhood Festival"; Harper & Bros., 1943)

Build Together Americans (Hinds, Hayden and Eldredge, 1945)

Democracy's Children (Hinds, Hayden and Eldredge, 1945)

A forthcoming report to be published by Harper & Bros. of "the various adaptations of our group conversation method in an all school-home-community project."

SECONDARY AGENCIES

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, INC. (1928)
381 Fourth Ave., New York 16; Sterling W. Brown, General Director

The specific intercultural projects of this large national organization can be divided into these areas, according to Dr. Willard Johnson, director of the national program:

1. Large projects:

- Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools (Dr. Hilda Taba)*¹
- College Study in Intergroup Relations (Dr. Lloyd Allen Cook)¹
- The American Council on Education Textbook Study (Dr. Howard Wilson)
- Intergroup Relations Centers:
 - The Columbia Teachers' College Project (Dr. Martin Chworowsky)
 - The Department of Human Relations, University of Miami (Dr. G. W. Lovejoy)
 - The Center for Intergroup Education, University of Chicago (Dr. Hilda Taba)* (The Center is a continuation of the above-listed project)

- 2. Preparation of reading material for national educational bodies such as the American Association of School Administrators, the National Council for Social Studies, the National Council for Teachers of English, etc.
- 3. Workshop and in-service training courses and institutes for teachers.
- 4. Formation of educational committees in some 100 communities.
- 5. Sponsorship of the Pacific Coast Council.²

Two of the major projects, Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools (Dr. Hilda Taba) and the College Study in Intergroup Relations (Dr. Lloyd Allen Cook), financed by NCCJ, have been described previously. However, the separate descriptions do not indicate the degree to which these studies are integrated with NCCJ. It needs to be pointed out that NCCJ, with its full-time professional staff and fully equipped national offices, has been simultaneously working with the same communities in which Dr. Taba, Dr. Cook and their respective staff have carried on their studies. This two-pronged attack was planned for more effective community impact.

The textbook study, "A Survey and Appraisal of Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials", consists of a four-year analysis of 315 textbooks and 60 study courses, to determine how intergroup relations are handled through written material in the public schools. The director of the study, Dr. Howard Wilson, states in conclusion that textbooks are not guilty of planned derogation of groups, but of failing to come to grips with basic issues. Alterations would involve careful scrutiny of casual assumptions lying behind value judgments.

¹ See listing under Primary Agencies, pp. 16-19, 20-22

² See also pp. 23-26

Intergroup Relations Centers: Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, the president of the NCCJ, states the philosophy behind the Intergroup Relations Centers in a book by the same title, published by Farrar Straus & Co., Inc., in 1949. In essence, he states in a mimeographed document:

"...the plan calls for the establishment of centers at universities and colleges that will stimulate and coordinate research and teaching in intergroup relations in all college departments and put the knowledge and talents of social scientists and educators to work in the community through industrial, educational, religious, civic and other agencies."

We refer to this report in order to illustrate briefly the projects set up by NCCJ:

University of Miami: The NCCJ established its first full-fledged university program in intergroup relations at the University of Miami. During the spring of 1947 a staff member of NCCJ's Commission on Educational Organizations spent more than a month on campus, conferring about the program with representatives of the administration, faculty and student body. In the fall of 1947 a professorship in human relations was established. The objectives of the program, directed by Dr. G. W. Lovejoy, professor of human relations, with the assistance of a university-wide committee of nine, have been: 1) to bring emphasis on human relations into teaching in all parts of the university; 2) to offer course work in the field of human relations; 3) to improve intergroup relations on campus; 4) to serve the community of Miami in the solution of its intergroup problems, and 5) to encourage research and graduate study in the field of intergroup relations.

Columbia Teachers' College: Another major project, which got under way in the fall of 1948, is the Interdivisional Program in Intergroup Relations, headed by Dr. Martin P. Chworowsky, at Teachers' College, Columbia University. This newest venture is conceived to reach various disciplines by preparing carefully selected teachers (16) for coping more adequately with intergroup relations. It is a course for post-graduate students, with provisions for field work in settlement houses, college councils and schools.

University of Chicago: Another Center for Intergroup Education has been established with NCCJ assistance at the University of Chicago. This project, headed by Dr. Hilda Taba, takes up essentially where Dr. Taba's study on Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools left off. While this Center, too, is designed to increase the supply of top-notch leaders in the field, main emphasis here is placed on field projects in school systems. Consultant services are provided to school systems and community workers by the Center's staff. There is a three-fold purpose: 1) to provide competent training for field workers; 2) to bridge the gap between research and its practical application with published material and with its consultant service, and 3) to undertake research in crucial areas which will diagnose intergroup tension and develop effective strategy to combat intergroup problems. During the first year, field projects were conducted in Denver, Hinsdale, Ill., South Bend, Ind., St. Louis, Wilmington, Del., and several Wisconsin school systems.

Preparation of material for national educational bodies: Some important publications have been developed as a result of some of the large projects. An example of this is "Literature for Human Understanding", a cooperative project of a great many teachers from a variety of communities. Other Human Relations pamphlets are: "The World We Live In", "Primer in Inter-group Relations", "Declaration of Interdependence", "The Seelisberg Conference", "The Growth of Good Will", "Building Bridges".

Other publications are the Manuals for Educators:

"Democratic Human Relations, a lengthy book, is now in use by 8,000 social studies teachers. From Sea to Shining Sea, a 64-page manual, is now being used by thousands of school administrators as the basis for human relations education. The English Teacher's Journal and Harvard Educational Review, among other publications, have devoted entire issues to intergroup education. These and similar publications have been prepared and distributed by recognized bodies on the initiation and funds of NCCJ."¹

Workshops: All the 45 regional directors of the agency, as well as 22 part-time directors, conduct workshops for teachers (such as the Chicago Workshop, 1945-46-47). According to Dr. Irwin V. Shannon, acting educational director, the students attending the workshops are "hand-picked" teachers who have demonstrated their concern with promoting a better understanding between groups in the classroom. The self-evaluation discussions at the end of each workshop, as well as the written statements by the students on the value of the experience, are cited as indications of effective work in the field. According to Dr. Willard Johnson, national program director, the agency is not concerned so much with individuals as with reaching the teacher, who in turn would affect the individual.

In addition to the intensive workshops, two of which are conducted for a whole summer, there are the in-service training courses, lasting from one to fifteen weeks, with two hours each week.

Formation of educational committees: The NCCJ has chapters ("round tables") in some 310 communities, of which about 100 have formed special educational committees consisting of cross-sectional representation of leading community figures and designed to affect the community and school. The New Haven Neighborhood Project, described by Gertrude Hart Day in Building Today for Tomorrow in Our Neighborhoods, was an example of this kind of cooperation.

¹From Men at Work, NCCJ pamphlet

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE (1906)
386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16;
John Slawson, Executive Vice-President

In many aspects of its program, the American Jewish Committee is concerned with the advancement of intercultural education. In addition, the Committee plays an "enabling" role through support of the Bureau of Intercultural Education, making a financial contribution to the Bureau and taking an active part in its affairs by means of professional and lay membership on the Board of Directors.

Many American Jewish Committee chapters promote intercultural education programs within their local communities. For example, the St. Louis Chapter, working with the Social Relations Council in St. Louis, distributed through the Board of Education attractive phonograph recordings for classroom use.

Another approach is the project known as Panel for Americans, developed by the University Religious Conference of the University of Southern California at Los Angeles. The Panel dramatizes the unity of America's varied religious, racial and ethnic groups while underscoring individual value. This is done by gathering on one platform young, attractive representatives of different groups - Protestant, Jewish, Catholic, Negro, Mexican, Chinese, etc. Panel members, in informal talks, describe their own backgrounds and relate them to the American scene. Panel audiences, for the most part, are student bodies of high schools. Sponsors are sectarian and non-sectarian local groups, many of which are affiliated with colleges or universities. AJC Chapters have brought Panels to Cincinnati, St. Louis and Cleveland, where they have been established as permanent projects. To date, there have been over 100 presentations in both urban and rural districts. Chapters are currently developing Panels for additional communities on the West Coast, in the Midwest and Northeast.

Through the efforts of the Intergroup Relations Committee of the New York Chapter, after-school community centers have been established, in addition to a youth recreation program and an evening center for adults, both of which cater to a mixed clientele - Negro, Puerto Rican, Italian.

The Intergroup Relations Committee has also helped to establish community councils for school districts. One of these has grown to a membership of more than 2,000 persons, actively working to expand recreational facilities, promote adult education and stimulate civic action in support of better housing and increased job placements. The overall objective is the improvement of intergroup relations.

The New York Chapter's Public School Affairs Committee, through a grant to the Community Activities Department of the Board of Education, is using an existing organ of the public schools to promote intercultural education. This grant has made it possible to assign a trained group work supervisor, who is working with four graduate students from the New York School of Social Work in a tension area. Progress reports are being kept, with emphasis on how racial tensions arise and how they are dealt with.

In 1949, the Public School Affairs Committee undertook a survey of public school text books. The results indicate that many history books in current

use perpetuate stereotypes of racial, religious and ethnic groups. The Public School Affairs Committee also supported Youthbuilders in its effort to remain a functioning agency, responsible to but separate from the Board of Education. This Committee has steadfastly opposed censorship in the acquisition of publications for school libraries.

The New York Chapter's Committee on the Art of Democratic Living, in order to encourage art, drama and literature which promote intergroup understanding, is sponsoring a contest for the selection of 20 paintings and pieces of sculpture to be exhibited at leading museums and art galleries throughout the country as a travelling show under the auspices of the American Federation of Arts. This Committee also sponsors an annual award for the book best promoting intergroup understanding among boys and girls, aged 7-16.

In the considerable volume of materials prepared by the AJC for newspapers, magazines and radio, and also in numerous pamphlets, speeches and other special materials, intercultural education is one of the major themes. It also represents an important program objective in work carried on with such groups as veterans, youth, labor unions and the churches.

In the religious area, the Committee, for some years, has been cooperating with Catholic educational authorities in several leading archdioceses for the two-fold purpose of assisting in the development of educational policy in Catholic parochial schools, with particular emphasis on Catholic-Jewish relations, and in the preparation of background material for use in intercultural education courses and in the revision of textbooks. In the Protestant field, a study of officially approved church school curriculum materials used during the year 1946-47 was made by the Department of Religious Education of Drew University under the aegis of the American Jewish Committee. This study analyzed several treatments that would tend to develop or intensify undesirable attitudes, with special emphasis on Jewish-Christian and Negro-white relationships. The results were presented to editors and lesson writers of the various Protestant denominations.

The International Council of Religious Education, an association of more than 40 leading Protestant denominations, recently consulted the AJC's representative - a leading Protestant theologian - in the preparation of the official statement of philosophy governing Protestant leadership. This statement endorsed the principle of including interfaith and inter-ethnic material in official leadership education texts, and the use of competent persons of different faiths and races as instructors.

In order to encourage popular magazine fiction designed to strengthen intergroup relations, a contest for fiction writers was initiated under the sponsorship of the Bureau of Intercultural Education. This contest, which was of three years' duration and applied only to published magazine stories, attracted great interest among editors and writers alike.

A close and mutually cooperative relationship with the Bureau for Intercultural Education, and also with other agencies, is maintained in connection with the AJC's service to local communities. Through local Jewish Community Relations Councils, non-sectarian civic unity committees, mayor's committees

and the like, local communities are supplied with intercultural materials, including recordings, films, film-strips, exhibits, and large quantities of books, pamphlets, reprints from leading magazines and newspapers, etc.

Intercultural education kits are also prepared which include announcements of new literature in the field, bibliographies for teachers and many other materials published by various agencies.

A large correspondence, totaling hundreds of individually written letters each year, is maintained with teachers, librarians, adult education leaders, graduate-students, ministers, writers and individuals interested in this field, for the purpose of assisting in their problems, giving information, or providing for their needs whether these call for advice, materials, audio-visual aids, bibliographies, speakers, or the like.

Intercultural Education Institutes and Workshops, which the AJC assists by setting up program and supplying pertinent materials, are also given widespread publicity among students, teachers and others who wish to attend.

As a service to schools, a School Calendar was published in 1949, indicating the days when children of various religious groups were likely to be absent and enabling supervisors and teachers to guard against scheduling examinations and events on such occasions. Designed for easy reference, this highly popular calendar is being revised yearly and distributed either through the school systems themselves or through other cooperating agencies.

Another example of service to local communities was the distribution of photographs of window-displays held in New York during the holiday season, showing children of different cultural and racial groups participating in common activities, leading to similar displays in other cities.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
212 Fifth Ave., New York 10; Benjamin R. Epstein, National Director

Many of the activities of the ADL Program and Community Service Divisions can be subsumed under a rounded concept of intercultural education.

There is within the Program Division an Education Department set up specifically to work with educational organizations and institutions. The principles guiding the work of this department are the same as those of the Bureau for Intercultural Education, in which the ADL has been actively represented for many years and whose work it helps financially to support.

"The national director of the Program Division has served as a member of the Bureau since it was organized in 1933 and as an officer for the past 11 years. The ADL Department of Education interprets intercultural education as 'curriculum revision and teacher education and school-community relations. Intercultural education is being evolved by the participants in the process, so that it has come to be increasingly synonymous with education working for broad-gauged democratic relations in a fabric of progressive democratic social reconstruction.'"¹

The underlying assumption of this department, and one that affects the thinking of the whole agency, was expressed at a recent annual meeting:

"We are convinced that the way you really change people is by having them work in common enterprises, in daily life, and that fundamentally, if we are ever going to affect the feelings about Jews, we will have to have people working with other people to eliminate the emotional base on which prejudice feeds."²

This general assumption is specifically buttressed by five additional ones within the Department of Education. They are:¹

- "a. That teachers in respective curriculum fields will tend to make a better contribution to intercultural and intergroup understanding as they become acquainted with the best techniques and materials in their respective fields, so that it becomes our job to help work for better pre-service and in-service training of teachers in social studies, language arts, curriculum supervision, guidance, etc.
- "b. That intergroup and interpersonal values, materials and techniques can have enduring character only insofar as they are integrated into the fabric of the school curriculum and become an organic part of this curriculum.
- "c. That these values, materials and techniques must be integrated into the atmosphere of the genuinely democratic school in which

¹From a letter of December 9, 1949, by the National Program Director of ADL

²Lachman-Litter-Trager, National Program Committee report, 35th Annual Meeting, May 5-11, 1948

democratic relations are obtained between teacher and pupil, pupil and pupil, administrator and teacher, etc.

- "d. That these materials, values and techniques must be integrated within the fabric of a democratic community in which permissive relations are encouraged between school and community, parents and teachers.
- "e. That our approach must be based on sound techniques of research and investigation, and should properly proceed from the best knowledge currently available."

The Education Department functions through various channels:

1. Through participation or consultation with various national and regional educational associations - e.g., the American Council on Education, the National Council for the Social Studies, the National Council for Teachers of English, the Bureau for Intercultural Education.
2. Basic articles in this field of education are published in official educational publications such as School and Society, NEA Journal, etc.
3. Consultation for workshop programs on various campuses throughout the country. This and other forms of "in-service" training are carried on as regular functions and are coupled with other work in the form of "pre-service" training.
4. The planning and preparation of a variety of audio-visual aids used in connection with intercultural education.

An illustration of the combined work of several departments and of regional offices can be seen in the following:

The Tri-State office in Denver has worked effectively with the Association for Childhood Education, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, American Council on Education, etc. In cooperation with the Department of Education, the Denver office has been an important resource agency for institutions like the University of Denver, University of Colorado, Colorado State College of Education in Greeley, University of Arizona, etc.

Some of these work sessions have dealt with questions like stereotypes in children's literature, the treatment of minority groups in textbooks, the feelings of identification among children with literature materials used in their classrooms, administrative procedures to coordinate intercultural activities in a school system, programs of cooperation between school and community.

COMMISSION ON AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP (1939)
Catholic University, Washington 17, D. C.

(NOTE: We have stated in our introduction that the definition of intercultural education as used here eliminates a great many agencies, including the churches. We have, however, made one exception by including the activities of the Commission on American Citizenship, which represents those intercultural activities under the leadership of the Catholic Church that seem to belong in this survey. Since a great many of the secondary agencies, notably the NCCJ, are vitally concerned with promotion of interfaith activities, the inclusion of this Commission seems pertinent, inasmuch as the trends described have been in line with the major goals of the secondary agencies.)

The Commission on American Citizenship has been preparing for school use texts and study guides which try to integrate social, interracial and intercultural information and attitudes with all curriculum studies. A series for primary schools is used in many parochial schools and other organizations throughout the country. The Commission is now working on similar materials for secondary schools.

In addition to volumes for teachers' use, the Commission has put out a series called Faith and Freedom Readers, for different ages of school children, which are being used extensively in parochial schools and for home reading by children.

The Faith and Freedom Readers are attractively printed and illustrated primers for elementary school readers, with such titles as "This Is Our Town" and "This Is Our Family", written by the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Patrick McCormick or Sister M. Thomas Aquinas. The books bear the imprimatur of the Catholic Church. The treatment of community does not differ from that found in the average primer, nor does the treatment of home life show any significant differences. Since they are written for parochial schools mainly, teachers are always depicted as nuns, but there are a minimum of religious references throughout the text.

The implication of this kind of reader is that people are essentially alike, and in this sense the material has been considered a contribution toward intercultural education.

It is considered significant that there have appeared in the Catholic literature recently trends which indicate a modification of the traditional crucifixion version (by some Christian leaders, which implicated all Jews in the crucifixion). Even occasional modifications of this version are being regarded as steps in the direction of intercultural and interfaith education. One illustration of this more recent trend is found in Theological Studies, V. 8, No. 1, March, 1947. In this article, "The Hatred of the House of Annas", the author, Paul Gaechter, S. J., states on page 14:

"For the sake of power and wealth, Caiaphas and, through him, Annas, in cold blood shouldered the responsibility of the murder of Jesus, the Messiah of God."

This puts the responsibility on a few individuals and not on the Jewish people, a view also held by Mr. Brunini, a contributing editor of Commonweal.

Catholic Interracial Councils: According to the Directory of Agencies in Intergroup Relations, the two largest Catholic Interracial Councils exist in Detroit and in New York City. The Detroit Council arranges lectures, distributes books and sponsors joint meetings and religious exercises with white and Negro Catholic lay people. It also produced a film, The Negro and Economic Security. The New York Council publishes a monthly magazine called Interracial Review, edited by George K. Hunton. It promotes a great many intercultural activities.

Publications: My Book About God and other books for children, to be used at home and in school, are published by the Maryknoll Mother House at Maryknoll, N. Y. According to information from the Catholic University, these books are particularly concerned with a small child's conception of the brotherhood and dignity of all men.

Corpus Christi School, at 529 West 121st St., New York (Father George B. Ford, pastor; Sister M. Richardine, O.P., principal) is an attractive progressive school and concerned with "growth and critical thinking". Its walls are covered with murals done by eighth-grade children showing people of various nationalities and cultures at work and at play. This school, which has been cited as an outstanding example of progressive parochial education, issues no report cards but substitutes interviews with parents. The children work in small informal groups in modern attractively furnished classrooms with round tables and movable chairs and represent a wide variety of cultures (Irish, Puerto Rican, Negro, Greek, French). The children run their own projects -- clubs, stores, banks, Scouts -- on a completely interracial basis. According to the principal, there is no intercultural friction of any kind and the problems are described as problems of growth of individuals rather than of group tension.

RELATED RESEARCH IN THE FIELDS OF EDUCATION, GROUP WORK AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

The fundamental question in the mind of the reader concerned with human relations is the degree of effectiveness of the activities described. Depending on the particular aspect of human relations work, the questions will vary. The teacher in the public schools is most concerned with answers to his questions on content of material, on teaching methods. Administrators will ask about the most effective way in which the material can be integrated into the curriculum. Workers in intercultural education agencies are looking for more effective measuring rods of their performances. This brief survey is of course not geared to answer any of these pertinent questions. Perhaps all we can do is to bring together some social research findings, hoping that their tentative conclusions will be of help to the practitioner.

Pertinent to any research in the field of intercultural education is a great body of material developed during recent years around the general topic of reduction of intergroup tension. In 1923, seven associated professional societies organized themselves into the Social Science Research Council, for the purpose of planning and promoting research in the social sciences. Besides the work of this council, each of the professional societies, such as the American Psychological Association, American Anthropological Association, American Political Science Association and others, has sponsored research, much of which has a direct bearing on our topic.

It is of course out of the framework of this brief survey to include summaries of such findings. We are attempting instead to give a brief condensation of a publication by the Committee on Techniques for Reducing Group Hostility (established September, 1945), Social Science Research Council. The findings of this committee are embodied in a report, called the Reduction of Intergroup Tensions.¹ The report questions the assumptions underlying many programs aimed at bettering intergroup relations, and makes a number of research proposals directed at testing the effectiveness of techniques used by action agencies.

The committee found that underlying the approaches of most of the agencies aiming to reduce intergroup tensions (which would include agencies listed in this survey) are a number of "untested assumptions":

1. Give people the facts and prejudice will disappear.
2. Contact brings friendliness.
3. Experience in intergroup relations changes behavior and promotes a transfer to a more accepting type of behavior.

¹Williams, Robin M., Jr., Social Science Research Council, 1947

The following seem to be the main approaches used in the attempt to change people's attitudes:

1. Show that people of other backgrounds are not necessarily different.
2. Stress the common elements among people.
3. Weaken unfavorable stereotypes by emphasizing individual differences.
4. Appeal to social codes, religious values, legal precepts.
5. Emphasize the achievements of a specific group (as, Negro art).

The techniques most frequently used cover a wide range of activities. The techniques employed under the general heading of "Education" seem to be the following:

1. Stimulating, organizing and furnishing materials for teacher training through the usual educational channels.
2. Providing workshops, seminars and special courses for teaching volunteers, community workers, teachers, policemen, etc.
3. Influencing curricula, influencing teaching techniques and materials in intergroup courses in public schools and other educational institutions.

Previous studies which attempted to appraise action programs had the following weaknesses, according to Williams:¹

1. Most studies tested the short-term effects of stimuli.
2. The stimuli and the context of the applications were not adequately described. (Frequently a stimulus is described in this way: "Students were given a 10-weeks' course in race relations.")
3. The measurement devices, such as certain widely used attitude scales, are no longer considered adequate instruments; they are suspect, except for very limited purposes.
4. There has been a preponderance of measurement of verbalization (opinion) in isolation from other behavior.

¹ Ibid.

These weaknesses make a conclusive evaluation of the effects of the work of agencies in the intercultural field impossible, but some clarification of the problems may be achieved.

In order to better understand and evaluate the merits of the various approaches used by these agencies, it is necessary to be clear about the kind of intergroup tension for which modification is sought. Depending on the definition of the kind of intergroup tension, the approach will change.

Williams clearly distinguishes three kinds of negative interaction:

1. Group prejudice: "A group prejudice has been defined as a common attitude of hostile nature whose manifestations conflict with some aspects of the basic value framework of the society in which they occur."¹
2. Discrimination: This may be defined as the differential treatment of individuals considered to belong to a particular social group.
3. Intergroup conflict: While prejudice and often discrimination are frequently present in a conflict situation, "conflict" is not necessarily co-extensive with the other two. (For example, there was prejudice against the "terrible Turk" when there was no actual opportunity for direct conflict, and a caste system which represents prejudice may operate with little open conflict.)

Conflict is a struggle of values in which the immediate aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. Conflict results from the conscious pursuit of exclusive values.

There are at least three major types of "realistic" conflicts, which differ in their bases of origin: conflicts of interest, of values, of personality types.

In addition to these three main bases of "realistic" conflict, group hostility typically involves certain "unrealistic" components: ignorance and error, deflected hostility, historical tradition.

Of these three bases of "unrealistic" conflict, the Influence of Ignorance is One of the Major Objects of Educational Efforts.

In order to arrive at some specific possibilities of social research, it is necessary to consider a number of generalized propositions or principles.

¹P. 37

The monograph listed above states 100 propositions, from which we quote proposition number 48, which seems particularly pertinent to this brief survey:

"The reduction of intergroup conflict depends upon:"¹

- "1. Reduction of hostility, which depends upon minimization of frustrations and insecurities and their attendant anxieties.
- "2. Proper canalization of existing hostilities, through sanctions, diversions, redefinition of situations, etc.

'Thus the anxiety and frustration which our social order continually generates can be reduced to manageable proportions only if at least two conditions are fulfilled: first, if our physical and economic situations are reasonably comfortable and secure and, secondly, if we derive adequate security and gratification from satisfactory interpersonal relationships. If people are anxious and frustrated by society and if, moreover, they live in social isolation... many of them will try to discharge their aggressions explosively through acts of violence.' (Bettelheim) 6, p. 36)

'In attacking many specific phenomena of social pathology one is attacking "symptoms" - not "causes". The result, if successful at all, will be merely to shift the currents of hostility - not to eliminate them. An attack upon "causes" must consist: (a) in ameliorating basic situations which are productive of "realistic" worries and hostilities; (b) in devising improved techniques of child socialization and of subsequent interpersonal relations so that the total amount of "free-floating aggression" is decreased.' (Kluckhohn)

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The following two sections deal with general research findings that are meant to throw some light on those two basic and broadly stated assumptions which (according to the above-quoted monograph) underlie the programs of "most of the agencies aiming to reduce intergroup tensions".

A. What changes take place if you give people facts?

1. Do people perceive facts which contradict their own opinions, or do they select only those facts which support their existing beliefs?

This question is answered by several studies, of which we quote the following three:

- a. In an article called "The Evasion of Propaganda", Eunice Cooper and Maria Jahoda¹ examined the results of several studies dealing with the psychological mechanisms involved in the reactions to anti-prejudice propaganda.

They conclude: When prejudiced persons are confronted with anti-prejudice propaganda, they may, theoretically, fight it or give in to it. Research shows that many people are unwilling to do either, but prefer not to face the implications of ideas opposed to their own. They evade the issue psychologically by not understanding the message.

- b. In a study called "The Learning and Forgetting of Controversial Material", J. M. Levine and Gardner Murphy² describe how five pro-Communist and five anti-Communist students were presented with anti-Soviet and pro-Soviet paragraphs and tested for recall. The learning and forgetting curves over a nine-week period show that each group excelled in learning and retaining the ideas of the paragraph fitting the attitudes of their group, and the memory divergence between groups increased with time.

- c. An outstanding study is a book called The People's Choice by P. F. Lazarsfeld, B. Berelson and H. Gaudet.³ This volume is a study of

¹"The Evasion of Propaganda: How Prejudiced People Respond to Anti-Prejudice Propaganda", J. Psychol., V. 23, 1947, pp. 15-25; these studies were conducted by the Scientific Research Department of the American Jewish Committee

²Abnorm. Soc. Psychol., V. 38, 1943, pp. 507-517

³N. Y.: Columbia Univ. Press, Second Edition, 1948 (First Edition, 1944)

the formation, change and crystallization of opinion during a Presidential campaign in Erie County, Ohio, in 1940. A sample of 3000 people was chosen; from this sample a representative subsample of four groups of 600 persons each was selected. The groups were closely matched in such background factors as age, sex, socio-economic status and education. Of the four groups, three were reinterviewed once, while the fourth group was interviewed once each month from May to November. The following generalizations drawn from the study back up the contention that people select, out of the stream of propaganda, those facts which support their existing beliefs.

"Despite the flood of propaganda and counter-propaganda, the voter was reached by very little of it. And when we examine what exactly does reach him, we find that he elects to expose himself to the propaganda with which he already agrees, and to seal himself off from the propaganda with which he might disagree."

This stability of belief gives the individual a sense of security and permits him to keep in tune with his friends and the members of his groups.

It was found that at the height of the election campaign, as interest increased, even the very apathetic voter began to select:

"His selective attention reinforces the predispositions with which he comes to the campaign." (p. 76)

The authors conclude:

"Exposure is always selective; in other words, a positive relationship exists between people's opinions and what they choose to listen to or read." (p. 164)

"Voters somehow contrive to select out of the passing stream of stimuli those by which they are more inclined to be persuaded. So it is that the more they read and listen, the more convinced they become of the rightness of their own position." (p. 82)

2. What proportion of people show changes in verbal responses after exposure to teaching material aimed at change of attitudes?

- a. A study by D. H. Russell and J. V. Robertson, "Influencing Attitudes Toward Minority Groups in a Junior High School",¹ subjected a group of 737 California students (Negro and White) to planned assembly programs and the reading and discussion of printed materials designed to induce more favorable intercultural relations. Attitudes toward Negroes were favorable in the case of 41.2% of the students initially, and increased to 48.4% on the retest.
- b. In the previously quoted book, The People's Choice, we find additional data bearing on this question:

"Were people actually convinced by campaign propaganda to renounce their original choice in favor of the opposition or to decide upon a vote contrary to that ordinarily associated with their social characteristics?... The first thing to say is that some people were converted by campaign propaganda, but that they were few indeed." (p. 94)

"...The people who were most open to conversion... read and listened least... The people who did most of the reading and listening not only read and heard most of their own partisan propaganda, but were also most resistant to conversion because of their strong pre-dispositions." (p. 95)

3. Are the effects of propaganda aimed at change lasting?

We offer the following three studies out of many in answer to this question:

- a. A four-volume study by Stouffer et al, on the American soldier, includes an evaluation of the effects of an anti-prejudice film on attitudes toward Negro troops.²

¹Psych. Rev., V. 55, 1947, pp. 205-213

²Hovland, C. I. et al, Studies in Social Psychology in World War II, V. III, Experiments in Mass Communication, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1949

The aspect of this study that dealt with retention of opinion changes induced by the film tested attitudes one week after the showing, and again nine weeks later.

The results on retention of effects were somewhat confusing in the case of opinion (rather than factual) changes. Contrary to expectations, opinion changes were, on the average, somewhat larger after nine weeks than after one week, and in some cases they were very much larger.

"...The slight average increase in the opinion changes during the nine-week interval did not reflect a general trend for all opinion changes to increase with the passage of time... Analysis indicated that the increases in opinion changes with the passage of time were most likely to occur in the case of 'uninformed' opinions - i.e., opinion more prevalent among the less well educated - and that the changes occurred more frequently among the less well educated and among individuals who seemed predisposed to accept a particular opinion prior to the film showing... The overall impression is definitely suggested that some 'projective' factor is at work - that over a period of time the individual utilizes the material shown to modify his opinion in a direction toward which he is already predisposed."¹

- b. For a study by H. H. Remmers, "Propaganda in the Schools - Do the Effects Last?",² three articles which could be read in 15 minutes were read by high school pupils a week apart. The investigator used the Thomas-Remmers Scale to measure the attitudes of the pupils before and after each reading. There was a marked and consistent change in the direction intended by the social stimulus on some issues and not on others.

An attempt to determine the permanent effect of the propaganda was made by giving the attitude scale two days later, two and six months later. There seems to be an original effect, a regression toward the attitudes held before indoctrination, and a wavering of the attitude for many months.

¹Ibid., p. 274

²Public Opinion Quarterly, V. 2, 1938, pp. 197-211

c. Conclusions of a study by W. K.-C. Chen,¹ "Retention of the Effect of Oral Propaganda" - a study of the amount of retention of the effect of 10-15 minutes of oral propaganda on the Manchurian problem in 1932-33 among American college students - were:

1. With a lapse of about $5\frac{1}{2}$ months after exposure, the international attitudes tend to swing back to their original positions.
2. The effect of propaganda upon a few statements may be retained after this period.
3. Those who apparently react against propaganda show greater negative after-effects of propaganda after the $5\frac{1}{2}$ -month interval.

4. Granted that the intellectual acquisition of facts may sometimes change verbal responses, what effect does this have upon behavior or attitudes?

Evidence on this question is extremely sketchy and, in fact, we have found no study that bears directly on the point. However, inferences may be drawn from some of the theoretical articles on intellectual versus affective learning:

a. An article by Daniel B. Leary² points out that:

"Learning is a highly emotionalized procedure and is subject to the laws which govern emotional affects... Acquisition of knowledge is only a phase towards purposeful social utilization." (Italics ours)

b. Edward Liss, M. D., in "Emotional and Biological Factors Involved in Learning Processes",³ sketches the defense mechanisms sometimes used by individuals when the acquisition of knowledge is conceived of as a threat:

¹J. Soc. Psychol., V. 7, 1936, pp. 479-483

²"Learning", in Harriman, Encycl. Psych., pp. 341-352

³Am. J. Orthopsychiatry, V. 7, No. 4, Oct., 1937

"Learning is a psycho-biological phenomenon. It involves libidinal components... The acquisition of knowledge implies a change in the status quo of the libido; with growth there is of necessity change, and with change, anxiety is released in varying amounts... In a steady cycle, each acquisition of knowledge implies a new state of equilibrium which in turn undergoes reorganization with each new experience... In the effort to restore a state of ease without tension, the psyche responds in either one of two techniques, flight or combat."

The above-quoted theoretical contributions would seem to indicate that intellectual learning in itself does not necessarily affect desired changes in behavior or attitudes, but may even lead to flight or combat on the unconscious level.

④ An empirical study which gives us some inferential material on this problem is the previously mentioned report by Hovland et al on the effects of films designed to increase soldiers' motivations to serve.

The ultimate objective of these films was to make soldiers more highly motivated to fight. Ideally, the films' effectiveness should have been gauged by comparing the performance, on the battlefield, of soldiers who had seen the films with those who had not. Since this was not possible, an index was prepared of items designed to measure effects on motivation. The authors found:

"The films had no effects on items prepared for the purpose of measuring effects on the men's motivation to serve as soldiers, which was considered the ultimate objective of the orientation program... Certainly it was to be expected that the amount of men's motivation which could be influenced by a film was very small in relation to the other motivational factors present in their immediate and total life situation... It is possible that the lack of effects may be due simply to the fact that the attitudes and motivations investigated in these studies cannot be appreciably affected by an information program which relies primarily upon 'letting the facts speak for themselves'. It may be that such a program will prove effective with only a small segment

of the population, whose attitudes are primarily determined by rational considerations. For most other individuals, motivations and attitudes may generally be acquired through non-rational channels and may be highly resistant to rational considerations."¹

5. To what extent are the effects of propaganda limited by the role of the culture and the community in the formation of attitudes?

- a. The following statement, from an article by Dr. T. Parsons called "Propaganda and Social Control",² will serve as framework for the studies chosen to answer this question:

"Propaganda is defined as one kind of attempt to influence attitudes, and hence directly or indirectly the actions of people, by linguistic stimuli. It is to be differentiated from enlightenment, which permits the individual to formulate his own understandings."

However, propaganda must be developed in relation both to the individual and the social situation in which it is to be effective. Hence, it becomes in large part a sociological problem, since the essential components of the social situation are: the institutional structure, the concrete situation of action and the cultural tradition.

- b. The role of the cultural factor as contrasted to that of facts is pointed up in a study by E. B. Bolton, "Effect of Knowledge Upon Attitudes Towards the Negro".³ The experiment was conducted at the Georgia State College for Women in 1933, among some 160 students who were mostly

¹Op. cit., pp. 255-256

²Psychiatry, V. 5, 1942, pp. 551-572

³J. Soc. Psychol., V. 6, 1935, pp. 68-90

Anglo-Saxon native Georgians. They were first given a knowledge test (to determine how the subjects had acquired an acquaintance with the Negro), and then the Hinckley Scale of Attitudes toward the Negro. At the end of a course on Negro education in the South, both tests were repeated for both the experimental and control groups.

Conclusion:

"...Neither intelligence nor knowledge of the social problems of the race has been an important factor in determining the attitudes of these students towards the social rights of the Negro. They seem to be determined by a cultural pattern of social organization which is accepted by the individual members in the group."

8. A four-year study of the student body of Bennington College, "Community Role in Attitude Formation", by T. M. Newcomb,¹ suggests the following theory of attitude formation:

"This channeling of unique, diverse personalities into a limited number of patterns, in respect to attitude formation, is the result of the limited number of roles for which the community makes allowance. It is the community role which mediates between social attitudes and total personality organization. But the processes by which individual personalities are led to make such patterned adaptations become clear only as we conceive of role as a dually enforced limitation of behavior. As here employed, the objective limitation corresponds to degree and manner of community participation, which is recognized within the community; and the subjective limitation corresponds to the individual's perception of his own relationship in a given context (i.e., social attitudes) to such norms as he recognizes."

B. What changes can take place by association with unlikes?

1. Closeness per se does not lead to a reduction in social distance.

If we mean by "association" simply being together with people of a different ethnic background, there is no reason to assume that the mere association,

¹
Am. Sociol. Rev., V. 7, 1942, pp. 621-630

the eating lunch together, the sitting around a table or in the same club-room, will affect anybody's behavior. Several studies seem to bear this out further:

"Closeness of contact, or familiarity as such, between groups, will not necessarily lead to a reduction in social distance between the individual members, unless it is accompanied by the discovery that there are elements shared in common. Otherwise such familiarity, by enhancing the differences that divide the two groups, will only lead to an increase in social distance."¹

Studies made over a period of time show that something more than mere association is needed. For,

"Contact between members of groups holding very different economic and social status (or between members of groups equally deprived of status; e.g., the poor whites and poor blacks) intensifies rivalry and the desire to establish status at the expense of one another."²

A study was conducted in 1945-46 in New York and Pittsburgh as part of a larger survey on voluntary associations among adolescents. The behavior of 301 subjects, aged 9 to 16, in changing neighborhoods, was compared with that of 179 subjects in neighborhoods where ethnic or racial composition remained stable. Conclusion:

"The evidence is overwhelmingly against the hypothesis that the day-to-day contact with unlikes that the changing neighborhood affords in any way predisposes greater inter-ethnic tolerance."³

On the other hand, we find from a study of attitudes toward Jews made in Baltimore, Md., in the winter of 1947 by the Department of Scientific Research of the American Jewish Committee, that:

¹ MacCrone, I. D., Race Attitudes in South Africa, London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1937

² Allport and Kramer, "Some Roots of Prejudice", J. Psychol., V. 22, 1946, pp. 9-39

³ Deutschberger, Paul, "Interaction Patterns in Changing Neighborhoods", Sociometry, V. 9, 1946

"People who had been friendly with Jews when they were children are very likely to continue associations with Jews after they have reached adulthood, and to be among the least prejudiced... There is good evidence that childhood association with Jews has a favorable influence upon later attitudes towards Jews."¹

While this evidence might seem to make a good case against segregation in housing, it does not necessarily make a case for the assumption that "association changes attitudes".

While the evidence is contradictory and not yet conclusive, we can say that the association or the contact has to be of a certain kind. If even a young child meets only Negro maids and no white maids, only white doctors and no Negro doctors, he is likely to identify Negro with menial occupations, and in spite of his daily contacts have definite prejudicial patterns in later life. And there are other factors which contribute toward the formation and the change of prejudice.

2. Change is most marked where contact is incidental to some common, purposeful activity.

A forthcoming study conducted by a group of Columbia University social scientists under a grant by the Lavanburg Foundation analyzes race relations in a bi-racial public housing project² and points out the conditions under which frequent contact can bring about a change in attitude or behavior.

The authors describe race relations in three areas of the "Hilltown project": the one mixed building (where Negro and white families live next door to

¹ Baltimore study, mime. report, p. 73

² Merton, Robert K., West, Patricia S. and Jahoda, Marie, title not yet known, to be published sometime in 1950; the section from which this material is taken is "Race Relations in Hilltown"

each other); the section of the project where, although buildings are segregated, about half the buildings are occupied by Negroes and the other half by whites; and finally, the section where all buildings are tenanted only by white families. This division into three buildings does not represent a desirable pattern, but introduces a chance-factor into the study. As the authors state it:

"Hilltown's particular occupancy pattern makes a concession to the dominant cultural values..."

In the all-white area, tenants have markedly few acquaintances or friends among Negroes, and few of these people approve of non-segregation.

Race relations are good in the section where, although buildings are segregated, there is frequent opportunity for contact. The greatest degree of tension exists in the one building where Negro and white families live next door to one another.

Although this study is cited here to highlight the hypothesis that "change is most marked where contact is incidental to some common, purposeful activity", this might be construed as an argument against interracial housing. It is necessary to remember that what is needed above everything else is a change in the norm of the community pattern, so that non-segregation no longer is considered an oddity.

The authors point this out when they state that:

"The clue to an understanding of why the one mixed building has turned out to be a failure from the point of view of race relations lies in the fact that it is an exception. It appears like a break with a generally approved principle to which people have become accustomed; it sticks out from the rest as a much commented upon 'experiment'; it provokes discussion centered around race relations; it is an oddity in the community."

And they conclude:

"Thus we can, at least, define one condition of increased frequency of routine contact which has undesirable effects; when such contact occurs against the accepted norms of the community and when it draws attention to race relations, the two races do not benefit from the chance of more intimate knowledge of each other."

This further supports our previous thesis, that closeness per se does not lead to a reduction in social distance.

The authors find that in the area where the buildings are segregated, but about half are occupied by each race, relations are good because people

"...are not made aware of the specific composition of their unit. They go about the business of life without being continuously reminded that they ought to have good human relations... White people are not compelled to meet Negroes as Negroes; it just happens that in going about their routine tasks they meet more tenants with dark faces, and have an unobtrusive chance to correct their stereotyped and preconceived ideas...

"If contact between the races incidental to some other purpose is indeed a condition of improvement of race relations, then the tenants who participate in an activity with a purpose independent of good race relations, in which there happen to be more members of the other race, ought to manifest improved race relations. Such an activity occurs in Hilltown in the eight laundry units... The laundry, of course, is the domain of the women... Women, therefore, ought to have better race relations than men. This is actually the case for both races... The women of either race have more friends of the other race in Hilltown than their menfolk... When the residents were asked where they met the person they knew best of the other race, the importance of the laundry in shaping race relations comes into full focus: 58% of the women name the laundry, with the community center as a poor runner-up (15%)."

And in conclusion, the study states:

"When there is more opportunity for contact with the other race, more changes for the better will occur; but contact in and of itself is only a necessary, not a sufficient, condition for improvement. Where the contact occurs incidental to some other common, purposeful activity, the change will be most marked. Under such conditions, people are capable of discarding their tendency to avoid the other race." (Italics ours)

This extensive study, together with the experience of community organizers, points up one of the very important variables which contribute highly to the prejudice-hostility level in any group involving members of different ethnic groups.

The aforementioned monograph by Robin Williams lists other variables:

- "1. The general status of the minority group in relation to the majority groups; e.g., the fact that Jewish persons tend to occupy higher occupational positions than Negroes will influence the results of specific types of contacts.
- "2. The class positions of the various individuals within their own group, and the comparative status of individuals in the one group relative to the other.
- "3. The initial prejudice-hostility level of the individuals involved.
- "4. The character and extent of prejudice in the total social milieu within which the contacts occur; e.g., the effects of Negro-white contacts in Mississippi may be expected to differ from those occurring in Maine.
- "5. The actual and anticipated duration of contact.
- "6. The 'intimacy' of contact (actual and anticipated).
- "7. The extent to which contact is explicitly defined in terms of intergroup relations, or only with reference to other activities of common interest.
- "8. The strength of competitive and non-competitive factors in relations between members of the two groups.
- "9. Number of persons involved.
- "10. The degree to which the situation of contact is defined as 'real'; that is, the extent to which the participants expect it to affect their personal relations within their accustomed group associations."¹

Implied in the variables listed above is a broad implicit assumption which we will have to extract in order to consider our next thesis. This hidden

assumption represents one of the basic laws of human interaction. Perhaps the most succinct way in which this can be expressed is by recalling that the individual from the beginning of his existence is a member of a group, the primary group, the family. He begins life by "associating" in certain ways with people who are different from himself. The way in which he resolves his conflicts about the surrounding differences, the way in which he sees himself in relation to others in the primary group, determine to a high degree his ability to adjust to other groups and their members. Or, as Cartwright puts it:

"Group membership is a basic source of both security and insecurity for the individual."¹

3. In a group, change comes about through the group process.

Because group membership is a basic source of satisfaction for the individual, he can under certain conditions give up prejudices in order to be accepted by the group. This development may come about as the individual attempts to establish his role in the group through a process known as interaction, or the group process.

Since a conflict of loyalties often exists, arising out of membership in many different groups, the individual may be ready to change in certain directions and at certain times, with certain people, and not with others. Multiple group membership has been described by the group dynamics school:

¹Cartwright, D., "Emotional Dimensions of Group Life", paper read at the Second International Symposium on Feelings and Emotions, Oct. 29, 1948

"All people are simultaneously members of more than one group, and this multiple membership produces personal conflict when group demands are conflicting. [At the same time] ... a group demands of its members some degree of conformity in behavior, attitudes, beliefs and values..."¹

An individual belongs to his primary group, the family, from which he derived his fundamental group attitudes. If he is married and has children of his own, he belongs to the family group of which he is the head. He belongs to the group in his place of employment. He may also belong to a church or synagogue group, the group in his union and possibly a recreational group. Each of these six groups puts him in a different role. In one he is the son, in the other the father; in still another his role depends on his professional or work status and might vary with economic trends. Each social role may be dynamically different. And, while change in individual behavior can be effected through one or more of these basic group affiliations,

"Participation in the activities of a group calls for certain skills in individual behavior for which all people are not adequately equipped, sometimes leading to emotional tensions, aggressiveness, or withdrawal from participation in group life. But people can be trained to diagnose required roles, to perform them and to modify their roles as required by group functioning."¹

Let us now consider some studies supporting the main thesis: In a group, change comes about through the group process.

- a. Marrow and French carried out a study designed to bring about change of opinion in a group situation:² The opinion to be changed, held by both management and workers in a factory, was: "Women over 30 years are inferior workers." The experimental groups were the employees, both young and old, and management.

¹Ibid.

²Marrow, A. J. and French, J. R. P., Jr., "Changing a Stereotype in Industry", J. Soc. Issues, V. 1, 1945, pp. 33-37

In spite of the fact that women workers over 30 had high production records and low absenteeism, management and many co-workers continued to believe that older workers were slower, took longer to learn new tasks - in brief, were not as efficient. Older and younger workers had been "together" for a long time, but the faulty opinion persisted, showing once again that association per se does not necessarily produce desired changes. From the point of view of the research workers, the purpose of the project was to discover ways in which this prejudice could be changed. Aware of the fact that a given attitude meets some needs of the individual and that he will give up those satisfactions only if he can substitute a more satisfying experience for them, they began to motivate management from the very beginning by suggesting that the study be made in order to determine "how much money the company was losing through the employment of older women".

The all-important aspect of this project lies in the fact that management from the very beginning and throughout the project was an active participant and helped to shape the process of this study: after they were soundly motivated, they worked out their own criteria and the specific problems to be tested, step by step. Or, in the words of the authors, management became "thoroughly involved in the project". The emphasis here was on the process that takes place. Management had set up four criteria and to their own surprise found that the older women were better workers than the younger ones. The significance of this finding lies in the fact that facts which had previously been available to management did not serve to change their stereotypes, but only became significant to them through their participation in the survey; that is, through their participation in the group process.

In order to prove that merely giving people facts, even in groups, may not change attitudes, the above-mentioned research group set up a second part of their project; they had management report to the workers their own research findings. It was found that even this report, made with authority, did not have any effect. It was then decided to set in motion a re-educative process on a group basis. Group discussions were held around the origin of the attitude towards older women workers and the possible motivations for believing in it.

"In the course of these meetings, insights into the original bias gradually developed... Group decisions were reached, recommending that an experiment be made in the training of older workers. In this way the idea of hiring older women workers was gradually established."

The authors ask:

"And why did group involvement and decision succeed in overcoming resistance where other methods failed? Apparently it is the manner in which the experience is introduced which seems to be the decisive factor in producing a change in attitude. The stereotype withstands prestige suggestions [singly or combined]... It is impervious to all facts, be they specific examples drawn from the individual's own experience, or general arguments and theories, or the results of scientific research. It should be noted that the resistance to change existed despite the fact that all individuals concerned had a strong need for more workers. Facts are useful only when the stereotype bearer himself is reoriented in his search for a new solution... Thus, through a process of guided experiences which are equally his own, a person may be reoriented so that he gradually takes on within himself the attitudes which he would not accept from others."

Implied in this study are also two other findings which are closely related to this category of operational assumptions.

In working with groups, it is considered important to point out, through discussion methods, the inconsistencies between our knowledge and our actions. Data on the inconsistencies between knowing and acting in regard to prejudice reveal:

"that: 1) facts presented are rejected as not valid, and 2) the awareness of the inconsistency leads to guilt, but not to change in behavior."¹

- b. In a study attempting to change food habits,² as in the study to change stereotypes regarding older women workers, it was found that the group decision method was more effective than a lecture method in which the facts were given.

Two groups of women were selected from each economic level, one for the lecture method and one for the group decision method. One pair of groups came from the best residential areas, one from substantial middle-class homes, one from a lower economic stratum, but still above subsistence level. In this study an attempt was made to change people's habits with regard to eating kidneys, brains and hearts. These "...were chosen because of the known resistance to these foods. There are definite indications that this resistance is a rather deep one, frequently combining elements of physical aversion, social status and superstition."

The one group received a lecture and copies of recipes from a nutritionist. The other group had the same nutritionist and were given the same recipes at the end, but with the following differences - a group leader introduced the problem of the war effort and nutrition and mentioned the difficulty the government was having changing food habits, and then asked the women, "as a representative group of housewives, how successful a direct appeal to groups of housewives like themselves would be". In the ensuing discussion, the specific objections to the meats were the cue for the nutritionist-expert to tell of the various ways of getting around the difficulties. The group had been led step by step "to taking over the responsibility to do something about it".

Results: All the women were interviewed seven days after the experiment. Of the 41 women in the lecture group, only four served at least one of the three meats within the last seven days. Of the 44 in the group decision group, 23 served at least one of the meats.

"The check-up after seven days showed that when the nutritionist functions in a group setting, the changes are definitely greater than when this same nutritionist functions in a lecture setting. Considering the short time (30 minutes) used to insti-

¹Lippit and Radke, The Annals, p. 171.

²Lewin, K., "The Relative Effectiveness of a Lecture Method and a Method of Group Decision for Changing Food Habits", prelim. rep., Natl. Res. Council, 1942 (mimeo.)

gate the change in food habits, the results seem very satisfactory as compared with other methods."

4. The way in which the group process is directed determines to a large extent the degree of change within the group.

Because the role of the person who directs the group process is of such significance, the fields of group work and group dynamics have devoted a great deal of thought to the definition of the problem and have developed a specialized literature based on constantly developing practice. From this practice has come the concept of the "enabling role" of the leader of the group, in contrast to the older notion of a leader as a person who has status, power, authority and can be imitated. In this concept the leader of a group is not necessarily a "leading citizen", but more often is a person who has considerable skill in understanding people, who has learned to read the language of behavior in order to enable people to help themselves, to respect themselves and so to respect others, different from themselves.

The role of the leader has been most specifically defined in the fields of social group work and group dynamics. A brief definition of terms might be in place:

Both fields begin with the group process; that is, the interaction that takes place among the individual members of a group. We speak of "group" only if there exists a relationship between various individuals which seems to influence the behavior of a given individual and which permits his behavior to affect other members. We speak of natural or small face-to-face groups where the being-together is the common element that binds the group; we speak of interest groups where an activity (photography, dramatics, a cause) represents the common element. Any given group may represent a combination of both elements.

Group dynamics connotes an understanding of the "adjustive changes occurring in the group structure as a whole, as produced by changes in any part of the group."¹ The field is best known for the research into the structure of the group. (Experiments by Research Center for Group Dynamics at MIT and Bethel.)

Group work considers "relationship" as the transmission belt between leader and the group. It is the all-important aspect through which a leader may direct a group and accomplish "change".

"In brief, relationship is the transmission belt without which the dynamo of human energy cannot reach its objective. It is expressed in feeling tones and is more significant than skills. Skills are tools, relationships are the heart. Without relationship, skills will be of little or no value.

"Essentially, the building of relationship is a natural talent, a gift which cannot be acquired by knowledge only."²

Because of the confusion existing in the concept of "leader" of a group, in connection with the assumption that "association changes attitudes", it might be useful to look at some of the criteria used by group workers for evaluating the use of the group work method:

We speak of the "group work method" when the leader enables the group to:

- "1. Meet certain needs of its individual members.
- "2. Develop individual and group potentialities.
- "3. Clarify and move toward the attainment of common goals.

¹Krech and Crutchfield, Theory and Problems of Social Psychology, N. Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1948

²Wittenberg, R., So You Want to Help People, N. Y.: Association Press, 1947, p. 21 (this work lists some of the more important factors affecting relationships)

- "4. Develop within a group a growing awareness of social responsibility and the ability to move, through cooperative action with other groups, toward the attainment of socially desirable goals."¹

This very brief statement of goals and criteria of course only suggests what is involved in the leadership of the groups which we hope to utilize in our fight against prejudice. We are not able in this brief survey even to touch on the vital distinction between the group leader's needs and the needs of the group: between leader and community, between leader and individuals; we cannot devote any space here to the difference between the use of program as a means versus the common practice of using the program as an end.

Some Concluding Remarks

This section ends the brief survey.

It is quite possible that it has raised more questions than are answered. But it might also have shown that there is a body of knowledge which can provide a starting point in the search for answers.

The reader might find some comfort in knowing that he shares his frustration with the best workers in all the agencies in intercultural education. The need for evaluation of their programs is universal and has been expressed over and over again. It is also recognized that this is a vast undertaking and no one agency has been able to afford the time or the money to carry on a large-scale investigation. Until such a study is made, a number of things could be done. Agencies might want to begin to pull out

¹ "Basic Qualifications for Professional Workers Using the Group Work Method", paper prepared by Committee on Training, Conference Group on Group Work and Recreation, Welfare Council, NYC

of their work the basic assumptions and objectives and compare them with existing research findings, as we have tried in this survey in a very broad, general way. It would certainly be useful to begin the building up of a backlog of process records so that one would have a body of raw material from the field, which will be needed once a large-scale study is undertaken.