

MARYLAND	30.3	.8	35.4	67.4
MASSACHUSETTS	1.7	4.5	50.4	52.6
MICHIGAN	51.0	3.0	22.5	70.6
MINNESOTA	0	.2	69.9	84.1
MISSISSIPPI	36.7	6.8	29.2	56.7
MISSOURI	44.2	.5	34.1	72.7
MONTANA	.2	0	90.2	85.5
NEBRASKA	1.9	.1	65.5	84.0
NEVADA	5.8	.4	68.4	75.3
NEW HAMPSHIRE	0	0	95.5	95.9
NEW JERSEY	50.0	34.9	26.4	29.6
NEW MEXICO	4.7	17.1	49.6	32.6
NEW YORK	56.2	56.8	23.0	20.8
NORTH CAROLINA	4.8	.8	54.0	66.2
NORTH DAKOTA	0	0	89.6	93.7
OHIO	14.7	.9	43.2	68.8
OKLAHOMA	7.7	1.6	57.6	71.8
OREGON	0	0	66.6	83.9
PENNSYLVANIA	49.0	28.8	29.3	43.4
RHODE ISLAND	0	0	65.8	61.5
SOUTH CAROLINA	14.3	1.0	42.7	67.9
SOUTH DAKOTA	0	0	89.9	88.8

TENNESSEE	29.8	.5	38.0	82.4
TEXAS	33.9	39.8	35.2	27.7
UTAH	0	0	77.9	82.8
VERMONT	0	0	98.5	98.5
VIRGINIA	4.9	0	47.4	75.1
WASHINGTON	1.4	.1	66.9	63.5
WEST VIRGINIA	0	0	78.7	91.8
WISCONSIN	21.2	2.2	44.5	65.2
WYOMING	0	0	77.8	82.8



Appendix B. Districts percentage of white enrollment, 1968-1980.

<u>District</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1974</u>		<u>Total change in percentage points, 1968-1980</u>
NYC	44%	31%	26%	-18%
LA	54	42	24	-30
Chicago	38	28	19	-19
Dade	58	44	32	-26
Philadelphia	39	33	29	-10
Detroit	39	26	12	-27
Houston	53	39	25	-28
Broward	80	76	72	- 8
Dallas	61	45	30	-31
Baltimore City	35	27	21	-14
Fairfax	97	95	86	-11
Prince Georges Co.	85	67	46	-39
Hillsborough	74	74	75	1
Memphis	46	29	24	-22
San Diego	76	72	56	-20
Montgomery	94	89	78	-16
Jefferson KY	80	94	72	- 8
Duval FL	72	67	63	- 9
Baltimore Co.	96	93	86	-10
Washington DC	6	3	4	- 2
Milwaukee	73	62	45	-28
Clark Co. NV	--	81	77	- 4
Pinellas	83	83	82	- 1
New Orleans	32	19	12	-20
Orange Co Fl	93	78	72	-21
Cleveland	43	39	28	-15

Percent White

B-2

<u>District</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>Change</u>
DeKalb	94%	84%	66%	-28%
Jefferson Co CO	98	94	93	- 5
Albuquerque	60	56	53	- 7
Charlotte NC	71	66	60	-11
Columbus	74	69	59	-15
Atlanta	38	15	8	-30
Palm Beach	70	66	63	- 7
Nashville	76	71	65	-11
Ann Arundel MD	86	86	84	- 2
Boston	68	52	35	-33
Fort Worth	67	55	44	-23
Indianapolis	66	57	49	-17
Mobile	58	55	56	- 2
Denver	66	54	41	-25
East Baton Rouge	--	60	57	- 3
St. Louis	36	30	21	-15
El Paso	42	37	28	-16
Jefferson Parish LA	78	74	66	-12
Granit UT	97	96	93	- 4
San Antonio	27	17	11	-16
Polk Co. Fl	--	77	77	0
Virginia Beach	88	88	85	- 3
Newark	18	11	9	- 9
Long Beach	85	74	53	-32
Cobb Co. GA	97	97	96	- 1
Tucson	66	65	62	- 4
Austin	--	63	53	-10
Cincinnati	57	49	42	-15

<u>District</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>Change</u>
Portland	89%	84%	76%	-13%
Jefferson Co AL	--	80	83	3
Tulsa	83	77	69	-14
Seattle	82	74	57	-25
San Francisco	41	28	17	--24
Oakland	31	20	14	-17
Buffalo	61	52	47	-14
Fresno	70	66	54	-16
Brevard	--	87	84	- 3
Birmingham	49	37	24	-25
Caddo	--	48	45	- 3
San Juan	--	94	91	- 3
Toledo	71	66	62	- 9
Charleston	54	50	45	- 9
Wichita	85	78	72	-13
Pittsburgh	60	57	48	-12
Ysleta TX	--	30	23	- 7
Omaha	80	77	70	-10
Minneapolis	89	81	68	-21
Escambia	--	71	70	- 1
Winston Salem	72	68	63	- 9
Oklahoma City	78	67	55	-23
Kanawha WV	--	93	92	- 1
Sacramento	66	59	46	-20
Garden Grove	89	84	69	-20
Akron	74	69	64	-10
Davis	95	95	94	- 1
Kansas City	53	38	28	-25

Percent White

B-4

District	<u>1968</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>Change</u>
Norfolk VA	57%	47%	39%	-18%
Corpus Christi	--	39	28	-11
Richardson TX	95	--	90	- 5
St Paul	91	86	74	--17
Pasadena	94	87	71	-23
Anchorage	--	89	80	- 9
Volusia	--	79	78	- 1
Fulton	89	--	67	-22
Cumberland	--	69	62	- 7
Gwinnett	95	--	97	2
Prince William Co	94	91	88	- 6
Fort Wayne	--	81	77	- 4
Montgomery AL	94	52	47	- 5
Calcasieu	--	73	73	0
Mt Diablo	94	93	86	- 8
Aldine TX	71	--	63	- 8
Shawnee	--	98	96	- 2
Gary	29	19	8	-21
North East Tx	92	--	76	-16
Dayton City	61	52	43	-18
Flint	62	49	38	-24
Northside	82	--	57	-25
San Jose	68	71	64	- 4
Henrico Co	92	87	78	-14
Colorado Springs	--	84	82	- 2
Spring Branch	99	96	81	-18
Jersey City	44	30	19	-25
Santa Ana	63	--	21	-42

Appendix C. Percentage black enrollment in the nation's largest school districts, 1968-1980.

<u>District</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>Total change in percentage points, 1968-1980</u>
NYC	31%	38%	38%	7%
LA	22	25	23	1
Chicago	53	58	60	7
Dade Co. Fl.	24	26	30	6
Philadelphia	59	62	63	4
Detroit	59	72	86	27
Houston	33	42	45	12
Broward Fl.	20	22	24	4
Dallas	31	43	49	18
Baltimore City	65	72	77	12
Fairfax Co.	3	4	7	4
Prince Georges Co.	15	31	50	35
Hillsborough Co	19	19	20	1
Memphis	54	71	75	21
San Diego	12	14	15	3
Montgomery	4	8	12	8
Jefferson Co. Ky	20	5	27	7
Duval Fl	28	33	36	8
Baltimore Co.	4	6	12	8
Washington DC	93	96	94	1
Milwaukee	24	33	46	22
Clark Co. NV	--	14	15	1
Pinellas	16	16	17	1
New Orleans	67	79	84	17
Orange Co.	7	19	23	16
Cleveland	56	57	67	11
Dekalb Co. Ga.	8	15	32	26

Percent Black

C-2

<u>District</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>Change</u>
Jefferson Co. CO	0%	.2%	.6%	.4%
Albuquerque	2	3	3	1
Charlotte NC	29	34	38	9
Columbus	26	31	39	13
Atlanta	62	85	91	29
Palm Beach	28	29	29	1
Nashville	24	29	34	10
Ann Arundel MD	14	13	14	0
Boston	27	37	46	19
Fort Worth	25	33	37	12
Indianapolis	34	43	50	7
Mobile	42	45	43	1
Denver	14	18	23	9
East Baton Rouge	--	39	42	3
St. Louis	64	70	79	15
El Paso	3	3	4	1
Jefferson Parish LA	22	22	28	6
Granit UT	0	.3	.4	.1
San Antonio	15	16	15	0
San Francisco	28	30	27	- 1
Polk Co. FL	--	21	21	0
Virginia Beach	12	10	11	- 1
Newark	72	72	71	- 1
Long Beach	8	13	19	11
Cobb Co. GA	3	3	3	0
Tucson	5	5	5	0
Austin	--	15	19	4
Greenville SC	22	24	26	4
Cincinnati	43	51	57	14

Percent Black

C-3

<u>District</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>Change</u>
Norfolk VA	42%	51%	58%	16%
Corpus Christi	--	6	6	0
Richardson Tx	4	--	5	1
St. Paul	6	8	13	7
Pasadena	0	0	2	2
Anchorage	--	3	6	3
Volusia	--	21	20	- 1
Seminole Co.	--	--	14	--
Fulton Co.	11	--	32	21
Cumberland Co NC	--	26	33	7
Gwinnett Co. GA	5	--	2	- 3
Prince William Co.	6	7	9	3
Fort Wayne	--	17	20	3
Montgomery Co. ALA	--	48	53	5
Calcasieu	--	27	27	0
Mt. Diablo	0	1	2	1
Aldine TX	21	--	17	- 4
Shawnee Mission	--	1	2	1
Gary	62	73	87	25
Gaston NC	--	--	16	--
North East	0	--	3	3
Dayton City	38	48	57	19
Flint	37	49	59	22
Northside Tx	0	--	4	4
San Jose	1	2	2	1
Spring Branch	0	0	4	4
Des Moines	--	9	11	2
Jersey City	--	47	48	1
Henrico Co. VA	8	12	20	12

<u>District</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>Change</u>
Portland	8%	12%	14%	6%
Jefferson Co ALA	--	20	16	- 4
Tulsa	12	17	23	9
Seattle	11	16	22	6
Oakland	55	66	66	11
Buffalo	37	43	47	10
Fresno	9	10	12	3
Brevard	--	12	14	2
Birmingham	51	63	76	25
Caddo	--	51	55	4
San Juan	--	1	2	1
Toledo	27	30	33	5
Charleston	46	49	54	8
Wichita	13	18	20	7
Pittsburgh	39	43	52	13
Isleta Tx	--	3	2	- 1
Omaha	18	20	25	7
Minneapolis	8	13	21	13
Escambia	--	28	27	- 1
Winston-Salem	28	31	36	8
Oklahoma City	28	28	35	7
Kanawha WV	--	7	7	0
Sacramento	14	18	22	8
Mesa	--	--	22	--
Garden Grove	0	1	1	0
Akron	26	30	35	9
Davis City UT	1	1	1	0
Kansas City	47	58	67	20

<u>District</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>Change</u>
MUScogee Co GA	--%	36%	43%	7%
Fayette Co.	--	18	20	2
Richmond City	68	76	84	16
Colorado Springs	--	6	6	0
Santa Ana	7	--	6	- 1

TECHNICAL NOTES

The basic computer work for this report was done by DBS Corporation under subcontract to Opportunity Systems Inc. which prepared data then submitted for analysis by the Joint Center for Political Studies.

The regions used for analysis in this report include the following states:

SOUTH: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia
BORDER: Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia
NORTHEAST: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont
MIDWEST: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin
WEST: Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming

EXCLUDED: Hawaii and Alaska, because of unique ethnic composition and distance from other states assigned to regions

Exposure Indices-- the tables reporting the racial average composition of schools attended by blacks, Hispanics, and whites are determined by calculations using the following algebraic formula, producing a figure commonly called an exposure index:

Exposure Index Showing Typical Exposure
of White Students to Blacks in a
School District

$$E_{W/B} = \left(\frac{\sum_i W_i}{W_D} \right) \times \left(\frac{b_i}{W_i + b_i} \right) \times 100$$

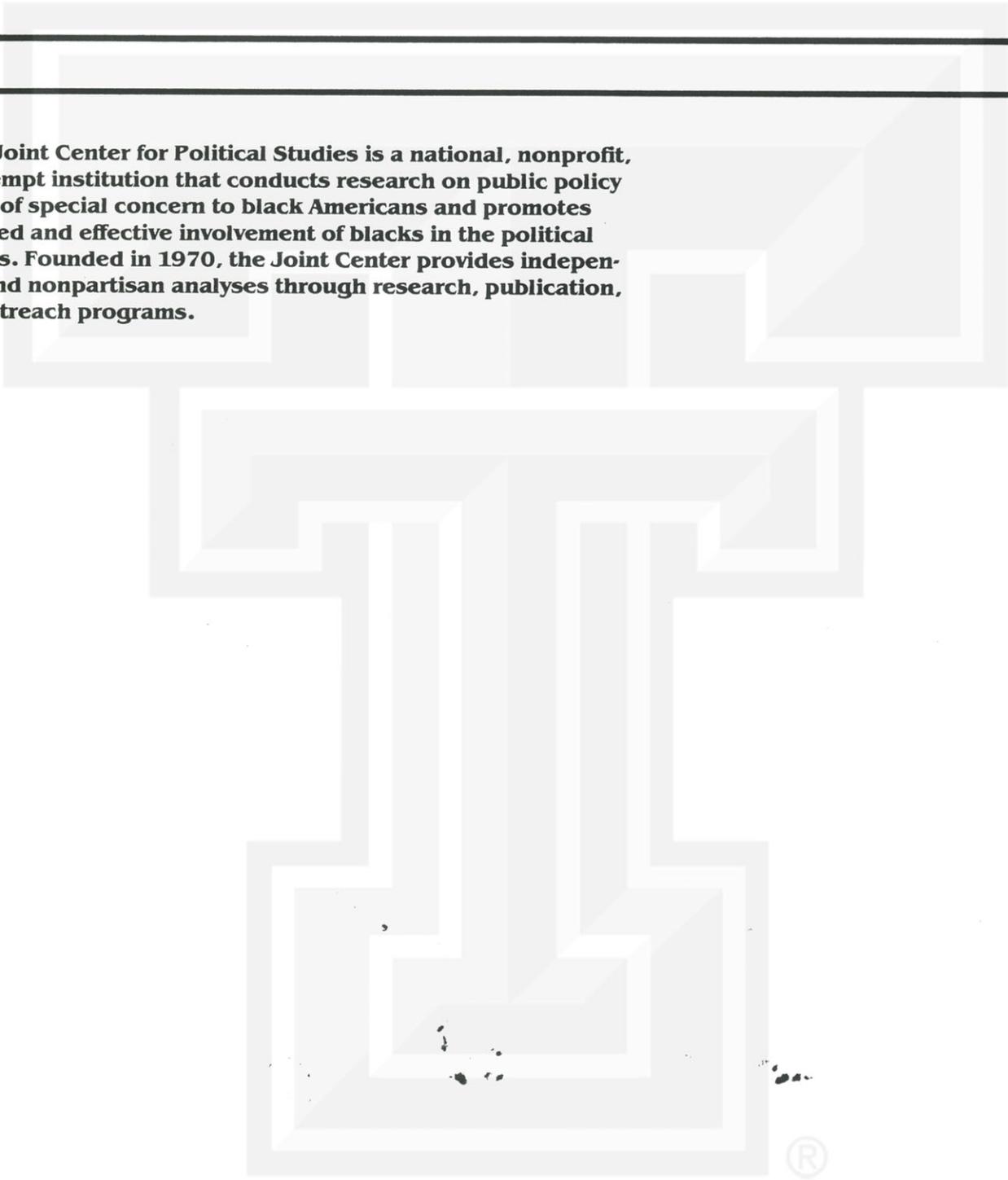
W_i is the number of white students in the i th school

W_D is the number of white pupils in the district

b_i is the number of black pupils in the district



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CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE THIRD WAVE

by Alvin Toffler

Does the fast-arriving future point toward intensified racial and religious violence in our communities? Must today's brutal economic dislocations, which affect some groups more painfully than others, trigger social upheavals on the scale of the 1930s or the 1960s? Are we entering a new age of fanaticism? Such questions gnaw at the consciousness of millions as we read each day's headlines.

In thinking about future relationships among minorities, it helps to ask a critical question at the very start: Are we all becoming more uniform, more standardized, more alike? Or are we becoming more diverse, individualized, more unlike one another?

For at least a century, convention has held that, under the onslaught of technology and other "modernizing" forces, we are losing our differences. If this is still true, then the future of minority and intergroup relationships will look one way. If, however, we are becoming more heterogeneous, the future will look very different.

Here I must immediately declare my own bias. I strongly believe that the great age of massification—the industrial era—has come to a screeching halt. This means that, instead of growing more alike, we are rapidly diversifying. And if I am right, it follows that all our accustomed ways of thinking

about minorities and rights will have to be reconsidered.

The Historical Steamroller

The industrial revolution, which began about 300 years ago, tended to steam-roller out the differences among people. Local and regional differences in speech, culture, politics, and life style gave way before the standardizing impact of mass production, mass consumption, mass education, mass communications, mass entertainment and mass movements. The mass society needed workers who were willing to resign themselves to rote and repetitive toil, who accepted orders from the top down, who showed up on time, who were semi-educated, who were willing to defer gratification, who thought alike and conformed to the rules of the system.

In the Third Wave society our usual way of thinking about minorities and rights will have to be reconsidered.

Vast rural populations were uprooted and seduced—or driven—into the cities, where they learned the new industrial way of life and became part of the mass society.

In such a system, the emphasis was

on the suppression of ethnic, religious and other differences. "National unity" was supposed to supplant local or regional loyalties. Political institutions were theoretically founded on majority rule. Minorities were suspect, if not persecuted. This tremendous, almost gravitational, pressure toward uniformity was (and still is) present in all industrializing societies, although it took different forms in each.

Early industrialization in Europe was marked by chronic labor surpluses—massive unemployment and misery. In the U.S., by contrast, the frontier drained populations away from the sweatshops and urban centers of the Northeast, leaving employers faced with frequent labor shortages. Wages, therefore, tended to be higher in the U.S. than elsewhere. This, in turn, encouraged employers to substitute machinery for labor, and the rate of technological innovation in the U.S. accelerated. High wage costs also led industry to substitute cheap energy for human labor—and even today the U.S. still uses more units of energy per units of output than many European countries.

Nevertheless, employers still needed cheap labor, and the response of the political system were laws that encouraged mass immigration. Lured by tales about "the gold-paved streets in America," driven by hunger and repression, millions of poor people from all over flooded across the Atlantic and Pacific. But these workers spoke different lan-

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guages. They ate different foods. They took days off on different ethnic or national holidays. They dressed "funny." They spoke "funny." They had unpronounceable names. They held different values and maintained different lifestyles. They were colorful, varied, idiosyncratic people.

Moreover, most came from peasant backgrounds that ill-prepared them for an urban industrial existence that required predictable behavior, synchronized effort, smooth coordination. In short, they were not uniform—and, as such, they were not yet an efficient factory work force. They had not become "the masses" required by the mass society.

The response to this was a vast educational and cultural campaign to filter out the differences—to homogenize them, to "Americanize the foreign born," to assimilate them into "the American Way of Life," to fuse them in the "melting pot." Note the words. They do not speak of diversity—of many acceptable ways of life. They speak only of "the" American way, as though there were but one socially acceptable life-style. And throughout nearly a century, assimilation into this way of life was the goal of the immigrant populations.

Blacks, of course, faced a special problem in the U.S. Unlike other immigrants, they had come against their will, and they came before the industrial era began, manacled in the verminous holds of slave ships, sold at the auction block, kept ignorant, and later, after the Civil War and Reconstruction, terrorized by the KKK and segregated by force. Despite this history, they, too, struggled not to destroy the system, but to enter it—to become "integrated." Apart from a few "Back to Africa" groups like the Garveyites, blacks, too, tried desperately to "fit in." Many straightened their hair, even whitened their skins to reduce

their differences from the mass of white Americans.

One can theorize as to why, in societies going through this process of "massification," some groups were singled out for discrimination and persecution, despite their earnest efforts to become part of the system. Competition for limited economic opportunities and ingrained racism no doubt play a part. Nevertheless, the basic thrust of the entire industrial system was toward "massification."

The De-Massified Society

Today the high technology societies have changed direction. We are not racing toward further homogeneity, but toward vastly increased diversity. We are rapidly de-massifying the mass society. It is impossible in the space allotted here to present all the evidence, but if we systematically examine the emerging America, we find a simultaneous shift toward heterogeneity occurring at many levels.

We are not racing toward further homogeneity, but toward vastly increased diversity.

Production: Mass manufacturing industries are in trouble. In the new industries—electronics, computers, information, for example—we see the application of numerical controls and computers that permit product customization. Instead of millions of identical objects, we produce 58 of this model and 400 of those, followed by 17 of another. We are moving toward de-massified production.

Work force: This is accompanied by a corresponding rise of diversity in the skills required by the labor force, itself. Instead of millions of blue collar

workers doing routine, interchangeable jobs, the new society requires greater specialization of skills, an even more refined division of labor, with constantly changing skill patterns.

The old-style worker was rewarded for mindless obedience and routine; the new-style worker in the advanced industries is expected to be resourceful, questioning, and individualized. She or he is expected to be adaptive, to function in a less hierarchical, less neatly structured environment. Whether seen in dress codes, in flextime, in cafeteria-style fringe benefits, the emerging industries permit a higher degree of individuality and social diversity than the old.

Communication: This shift is encouraged by the restructuring of the media. Instead of a few big networks, we are moving toward 100-plus channel television, toward cable, cassette and other forms of electronic communication. Different religious groups, both Protestant and Catholic, have or will have their own satellite-based networks. The Black Entertainment Network, the Spanish-language Galavision network, and many others point to a new communications system for the country in which minorities have their own media.

Ethnicity: As de-massification occurs, demands for integration give way, at first, to demands for Black Power (Italian Power, Jewish Power, Polish Power, etc.) and later to a search for "roots," as different groups reevaluate their past and reconsider the assimilationism of the earlier period. Instead of rejecting racial, religious or national origins, we begin to take pride in our differences.

Family: The same move toward diversity is evident in family life. The nuclear family—mainstay of the mass society—is now, in fact, a minority form, rather than the standard for the whole society. Many types of family



are springing up and gaining social approval, from two-career couples and childless couples, to remarried "aggregate" families and single parent households. There is no norm any longer.

Such moves to a higher level of differentiation in family life, the media and the economy are matched by diversification of our energy technologies, by greater market segmentation in the consumer market place, and by rising evidence of regional diversity—regional magazines, regional art, regional cuisines are all on the upswing.

Politics: We are seeing the break-up of consensus, the fading of allegiance to the mass parties, the increase of independent voters and stay-at-homes, the rise of single-issue groups, the increasing emphasis on localism and grassroots activism. In a political system that is rapidly differentiating, it becomes harder and harder for any group to mobilize mass support—even within minority communities. The Black community, the Latino or Hispanic community, the Oriental community, the Gay community, the Feminist community—all communities are, in fact, increasingly breaking up into smaller and smaller sub-groupings. Even when mass support can be organized around an issue, it seldom lasts. The pace of change is so rapid, the flux so intense, that old alliances break up and re-form along new lines at high speed.

Put all these—and many other tendencies—together and we begin to glimpse a new kind of social order—no longer a mass society, but a high-change, high-diversity, de-massified civilization.

The startling new political fact is that it is now extraordinarily difficult to organize a majority. Short of war and few other issues, it is hard to unite nations behind any policy. Elections, because of the way they are structured, sometimes give the illusion

of majority control. But even where a majority is forced into being by the voting rules, it usually dissolves the morning after the election. In this society, everyone is a member of a minority group. Even the Moral Majority is in no sense a majority. It is, in fact, just one more deeply alienated minority group in our society, frightened by the collapse of a traditional industrial society and the emergence of a bewildering diversity of values and lifestyles.

Tomorrow's Civil Rights

The agricultural revolution of 10,000 years ago launched the first great wave of change on the planet; the industrial revolution triggered the second. The de-massification process occurring today is part of the Third Wave of global change.

The worldwide transformation is marked by the decline of "Second Wave" industries like auto, textile, or steel, and the rise of "Third Wave" industries based on information, the biological revolution, space, ocean and environmental technologies, new forms of agriculture and new services. It involves the transfer of certain jobs out of the office and into homes equipped with personal computers, cheap video equipment and the like—the spread of electronic cottage industry. Also important is the rise of "prosuming"—self-help and do-it-yourself activities.

For those concerned with civil rights, this massive economic restructuring presents enormous problems. The emerging industries need highly skilled workers. But because of the heritage of discrimination, and for other reasons, job skills are not evenly distributed in society. Thus blacks, Hispanics, and other minorities are least prepared to take advantage of the new opportunities. Most non-whites are employed in declining Second Wave occupations, rather than the Third Wave

growth sectors.

In addition, millions of chronically unemployed and underemployed members of minority groups have never cut loose from their First Wave, rural origins. They have never successfully become part of the urban industrial culture. Yet we already face the need to adapt to something dramatically different from both.

Social upheaval, even violence, are probable, unless we take steps to help prepare both groups for the changed conditions of tomorrow. Equality of opportunity is meaningless in the absence of widespread training and retraining facilities. The emerging Third Wave society involves more than jobs, however. A variety of new cultures are evolving, with new life-styles, values, and beliefs. Those who still do not adapt will be excluded. For others, the arrival of the future holds unusual opportunities.

The civil rights struggle to provide quality education must be completely reconceptualized as education itself.

For example, as certain white collar jobs move into the home, new opportunities open up for handicapped workers, for the elderly and especially for women. The traditional labor union response to work-at-home schemes is flat opposition on grounds that it makes possible various sweat-shop arrangements. Surely, we need to protect ourselves against that. Yet the electronic cottage will also open entirely novel—and liberating—options for individuals, and even for whole families.

The same holds true for education. Today, we think of education as something that occurs in classrooms, and

much of the history of the civil rights movement has revolved around our schools. Yet today large numbers of youngsters are getting an important education in computer stores and in their own kitchens. What happens in school is secondary. As home computers proliferate, kids who know how to use them will have an edge over those who don't, and this means that, unless conscious steps are taken, white middle class children will start out, once more, with an edge that the less affluent lack.

An important sign of the times is a bill introduced by Rep. Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., that would offer tax credits to any family that buys a home computer to use for work or education. Says Gingrich, "I want every American to have access to the same opportunities that computers provide for General Electric and AT&T. That's why working Americans should have the same kind of tax breaks corporations get automatically." Gingrich's "Family Opportunity Act" is an innovative, significant step in the right direction. A similar initiative is Apple Computer's proposal to put an Apple in every American school, provided certain legislation were passed.

Do all Americans have a right to literacy? If so, that right must now be expanded to include computer literacy and media literacy. The civil rights struggle to provide quality education must be as completely reconceptualized as education, itself.

What about other issues arising from use of the computer? Do civil rights include the right to privacy? And if so, how do we resolve the conflict between this and the society's need for certain information?

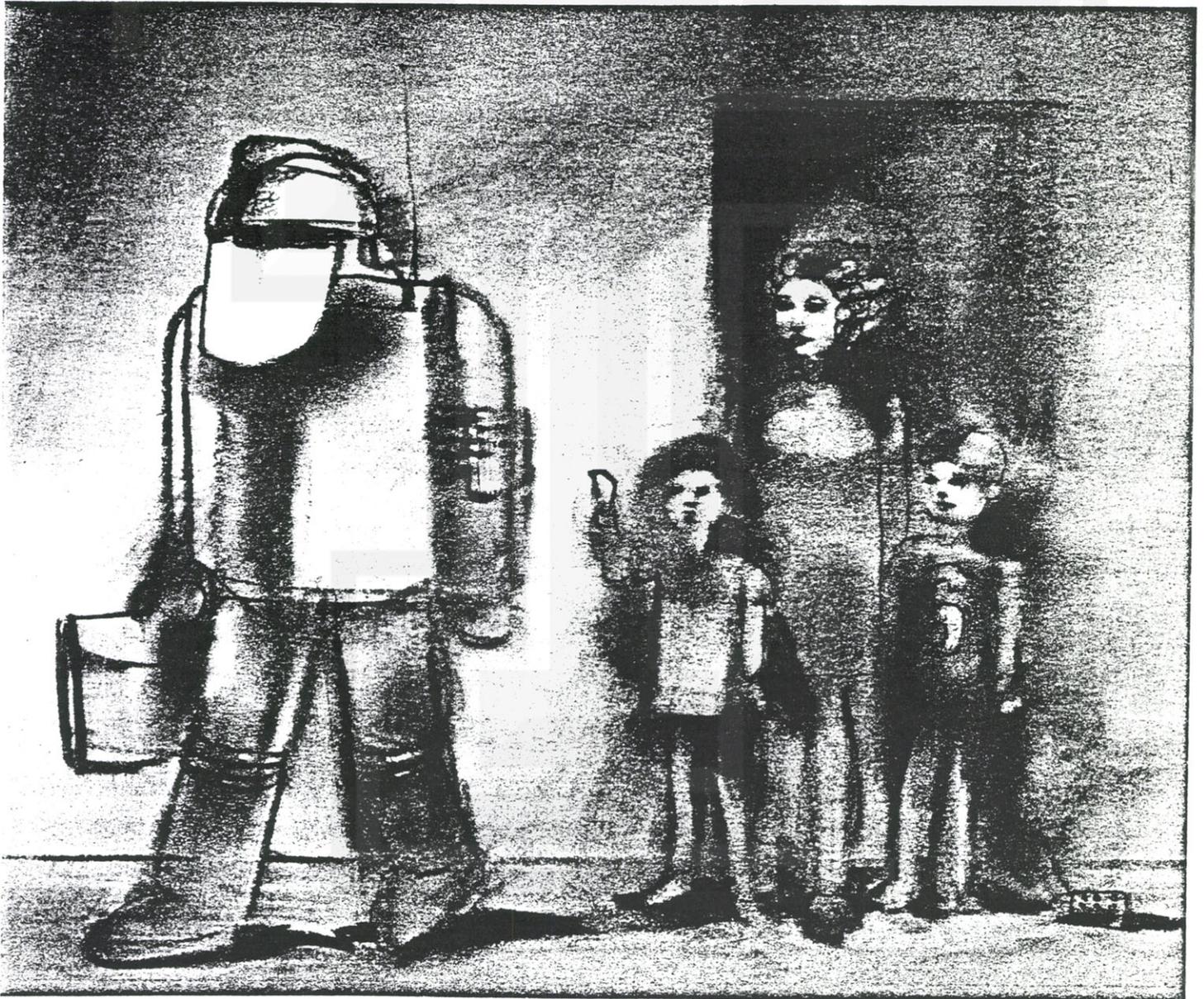
Information will be at the very heart of tomorrow's politics. Access to information may mean the difference between becoming part of the shared culture and being excluded from it. To-

day, for example, we are witnessing a rapid spread of cable television and Pay-TV. Everyone who favors diversity in our society should applaud this development. The spread of interactive TV, direct broadcast satellite, cassette and other new media also have the potential for expanding minority power in the society. But if the only homes

cabled up are affluent middle class homes, and the only homes with VTRs and computers in them are those of the affluent, we will deprive millions of a most fundamental right: access to the culture itself. The new importance of information in all its forms—symbolic, visual, alphanumeric, microform, etc.—will make the issues of ac-

cess central to civil rights in the future.

What about sexism? In societies that depended on muscle-power—whether in the field or the factory—women were often at a physical disadvantage. I do not know whether this explains the emergence of patriarchy and male domination. I don't think anyone



knows. But, as we move into a society in which muscle matters less than mind, and in which work is increasingly part-time, in which many prosume—i.e. produce goods and services for their own use, rather than for sale—the entire relationship of women to production is altered, and along with it the basic roles of men and women.

While the women's movement has fought for equal pay and equal access to jobs, it has also recognized that homemaking, itself, is a form of productive labor (even if Second Wave economists ignored it). And if so,

As "prosuming" becomes more common, our gender roles are likely to change.

shouldn't certain rights attach to the status of housewife (and, for that matter, househusband)? As prosuming becomes a central part of the Third Wave economy of tomorrow, and the role of the home itself changes, our gender roles are likely to change and the rights attached to them reformulated.

What are the rights attached to motherhood, for example, in a society in which cloning and birth technologies redefine motherhood itself? If an embryo is transplanted from a mother who conceived it to a mother who bears it in her womb and then gives birth, who is the mother? Other issues will emerge—out of brain research, genetics, transplant technology, and other new fields. Indeed, how will we define human rights in an age when the very definition of human may undergo revision?

I raise such questions not because I have the answers to them, but merely to underscore the fact that the civil

rights movement, like all other social movements, is now entering a new stage—a Third Wave era. Second Wave solutions and strategies cannot suffice.

Finally, the move to a Third Wave civilization based on high diversity will require basic changes in our increasingly obsolete political institutions. Today's political systems—in all Second Wave countries—are overloaded. They were designed for low-diversity societies, for an agricultural or early industrial age, not a world of computers, instant communications, smart bombs, and ever-accelerating complexity. Some people wish to suppress the new social diversity. Some are fanatics who would like to re-impose a Second Wave uniformity on us, so that the old Second Wave political institutions could work once more. But this retreat into the past is impossible.

Rather, we are going to have to restructure our political and legal institutions to accommodate the new, higher levels of social diversity. We shall need to invent new local, national and even international arrangements for managing conflict, for resolving disputes, for turning zero-sum conditions into non-zero sum cooperative arrangements.

The more diverse we become, the more de-massified the society, the more individuality is possible. But for this new civilization to flower it will require a commitment to diversity—the toleration, even the encouragement, of diversity, instead of an attempt to re-create the monolithic character of yesterday's mass society.

Those committed to the expansion of civil rights must begin thinking now about the new political institutions of tomorrow—an expanded democracy designed for a Third Wave world. ♦

by Charles Ericksen

WANTED

Several years ago *Nuestro* magazine warned its readers that the surge of attention being given to the Hispanic presence by big circulation newspapers and magazines didn't necessarily herald "better treatment of Latino life by the U.S. media." The editor went on to characterize such coverage as being "like a false pregnancy—a flush indicating major changes which never materialize."

Parade magazine is one of the most widely circulated Sunday newspaper supplements. The editor's introduction to *Parade's* March 14, 1982 cover article, "Stories of Promise and Pain about Our Newest Immigrants—An American Struggle," informs its readers: "In Los Angeles..., Hispanics are so numerous that they have tipped the political scales to dominate the local government and schools."

So far, wrong on two counts. Indo-Hispanics were here before the Mayflower dropped anchor. And today, in Los Angeles, Hispanics hold zero out of 15 seats on the City Council and zero out of 7 on the Board of Education. Hardly domination.

"*Parade*," continues the editor, asked former White House domestic policy adviser John Ehrlichman "...to travel throughout the nation...and share what he learned about the various and remarkable people whom our society calls Hispanics." Ehrlichman is an authority on Hispanics, the editor explains, because he did time with "Mexican aliens" and felt sorry for them.

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Thereafter, repentant Watergate felon Ehrlichman describes five people he met in his *Parade*-subsidized travels: a Cuban millionaire in Miami, a Mexican American janitor in El Paso, an 88-year-old Spanish matron in New Mexico, a Puerto Rican teacher, and a Puerto Rican dishwasher, both in New York. The Cuban tells him that Cubans have different customs, language, and skin than do Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. The New Mexico Spaniard doesn't like the terms "Hispanic" or "Chicano." Through selective use of subjects, information and quotes, Ehrlichman carefully recreates Hispanic American stereotypes, placing special emphasis on differences among the nation's 20 million residents of Hispanic descent.

The *Parade* article, unfortunately, isn't unique. Stories like it appear daily in the U.S. press. They do because many U.S. print media owners and executives apparently don't bother to question the crude stereotypes which John Ehrlichman reconstructed and because they haven't hired more Hispanic reporters and editors to cover the nation's Hispanic communities the way they should be. Hispanics constitute eight percent of our population. Yet, based on figures collected in a 1982 survey commissioned by the American Society of Newspaper Editors, only about 1.3 percent of the reporters and editors working on the nation's general circulation dailies are Hispanic. The ASNE survey projects that out of nearly 50,000 newsroom professionals (reporters, copy editors, news executives, photographers and artists), 650 are

Editor's Note: This second of two articles about Hispanics in the news media deals with employment of Hispanics by the media. The first article, which appeared in the Winter 1982 issue of Perspectives, focused on coverage of Hispanics by the press.

Hispanics in the Newsroom

Hispanic. That's an increase of 74 percent since 1978, when it projected 374.

The breakdown of Hispanic newsroom professionals, compared to non-Hispanic whites, for 1982 shows, by percentage:

	Reporters	Photo-graphers & Artists	Copy Editors	News Executives
Hispanics	63%	16%	14%	7%
Non-Hispanic whites	53%	11%	20%	17%

Today, minorities, including blacks, Asian Americans and American Indians as well as Hispanics, comprise 5.5 percent of the professional work force in the newsroom. The '82 newsroom census, which included data from 705 daily newspapers (40 percent of the nation's dailies) concludes:

- Minority employment continues to progress in daily newspapers, but the rate of progress is slowing. The 1982 increase (0.2 percent) was the smallest since the study began.
- Minorities are least represented in the "news executive" category and are underutilized in positions where decisions are made on how the news is selected, edited and displayed.
- Three-fifths of all daily newspapers still employ no minority journalists.

ASNE's survey offers the following box score on progress of minority professionals (barely a fifth of whom are Hispanic) in the newsroom:

Year	Minorities	Increase over previous year
1978	4.0%	—
1979	4.5%	0.5%
1980	5.0%	0.5%
1981	5.3%	0.4%
1982	5.5%	0.2%

Nancy Hicks, president of the Berkeley, California-based Institute for Journalism Education, which sponsors the Job-Net minority journalist placement service, sees editors, particularly in the West and Southwest, as more receptive to hiring Hispanics during the past few years "just as it was happening with blacks 10 or 15 years ago. The perceived need to cover Hispanics is greater now." By showing that there's awesome Hispanic purchasing power out there,

Spanish-speaking radio is pushing newspapers to become more aggressive in tapping that market, she adds. "So is the fact that ad agencies like J. Walter Thompson have created Hispanic divisions within their organizations."

The 1981 ASNE survey indicated a major hurdle still to be crossed, however. About half of the editors stated flatly that they found minority applicants to be "less qualified" than their "white" counterparts. About 20 percent of the editors actually stated that hiring minorities would lower the standards of their newspapers.

ASNE, through a series of workshops conducted jointly by Jay T. Harris, assistant dean at Northwestern University's Medill School of Journalism, Christine Harris, director of the Consortium for the Advancement of Minorities in Journalism Education housed in the Medill School, and Albert Fitzpatrick, executive editor of the Akron *Beacon-Journal* and chairman of ASNE's Minority Affairs Committee, has been attempting to deal with such attitudes among senior editors.

I attended one of the day-long workshops, conducted in Washington, D.C., along with Frank Cota Robles Newton, executive director of the California Chicano News Media Association. The top editors from about 20 Eastern papers participated and unquestionably gained a lot from the sessions. There was an initial prevailing attitude which struck both Cota Robles Newton and me, however. For the first two hours of discussion, the issue of minority hiring was dealt with by the editors as strictly an "affirmative action" question. No editor suggested that his or her paper stood to gain professionally by hiring Hispanics or other racial or ethnic minorities. Until Cota Robles Newton and I reacted to the dialogue, there seemed to be a reluctance to admit that bilingual, bicultural journalists bring essential expertise to the newsroom—cultural awareness and an extra language.

In cities where significant monolingual Spanish and English populations exist, bilingual journalists are absolutely necessary if a newspaper is committed to covering the community it professes to serve. How else can it find out first-hand what's going on, and make intelligent news judgments? Editors and reporters who lack second-language skills, or have insufficient knowledge of the cultures of their constituent communities, are less adequately equipped, less competent professionally to do their jobs.

"Reporters with medical or legal or business knowledge get 'editor' appended to their byline and in most cases, some extra dollars in their paychecks to compensate them for their additional expertise," says Dolores Prida, former senior editor of *Nuestro* magazine. "Should reporters who speak Spanish, understand Hispanic culture, and are expected to use those acquired assets on the job, be compensated, too? Of course they should be—but it's a rare editor who would admit that. More rare are papers that actually pay for this additional expertise."

A simple example of the value of having bilingual, bicultural writers on staff in all editorial units comes with the press's experience with the Los Angeles Dodgers' Fernando Valenzuela. The English-speaking, culturally-limited sports-writers and reporters who covered his arrival onto the

American sports scene created, because of their own communications trammels, a one-dimensional man-child—half L.A. Abner, half Billy Carter.

Quotes from three non-Hispanic sports reporters illustrate the point:

- "Valenzuela had flicked aside the Houston Astros like so many flies on his plate of tortillas."
- "He speaks just enough English to order a beer."
- "A kid from Etchohuaquila, Mexico, with little or no formal education, a non-citizen who cannot speak the language, wants \$1.4 million a year for a job where he works only every fourth day, and then for no more than an hour and a half. He doesn't contribute a jot to the gross national product.... And he doesn't do windows.... Even the man on the street thinks he should get on his knees and thank Our Lady of Guadalupe he's got a job."

"The very basis for the Latino's hiring is used as a penalty because his or her cultural sensitivity is construed as a lack of professional objectivity."

By contrast, Jaime Guerra, now with the *Houston Chronicle*, wrote some highly informative, sensitive magazine and newspaper articles on Valenzuela, in both English and Spanish, which showed the man's dimensions. Guerra also scored a national beat on all competition in March when he reported that the southpaw pitcher had returned to Mexico to protest the Dodgers' inflexibility during contract negotiations.

Sports columnist Rodolfo Garcia has offered many insights on Valenzuela in Los Angeles' Spanish-language daily, *La Opinion*, and Eddie Rivera, a free-lance writer from San Fernando, Calif., wrote an exceptional piece for *Inside Sports* magazine. In his article, Rivera explained how he got the assignment:

In 1965 the L.A. *Times* sent black copyboys to the front lines of Watts; in 1981 they and the *Herald Examiner* and the rest of the media scoured their staffs for Spanish-speaking reporters to interview Fernando. *Inside Sports* found me.

But getting on board with a newspaper or magazine editorial staff is not the only hurdle facing Latino journalists. Cota Robles Newton notes that Hispanics encounter a special problem when they make it into the newsroom. "A Latino journalist is expected to be fluent in Spanish and have a special sensitivity to Latino issues, but at the same time, is tacitly judged by editors to be biased in favor of Latinos and against Anglos. Thus, the very basis for the Latino's hiring is used as a penalty because his or her cultural sensitivity is construed as a lack of professional objectivity." One facet of "this clever trap," says Newton, is the assignment of the Latino reporter to cover the Latino community—

exclusively. "This," he points out, "severely limits the Latino's chances for professional recognition and upward mobility."

Felix Gutierrez, associate professor at the University of Southern California's School of Journalism, concurs that professional advancement is a real problem. "The battle to get up is tougher than the one to get in," he says. "Our biggest hurdle is moving into decision-making positions." According to Gutierrez, "Latino men have a toe hold, but not a foothold. But Latinas are much worse off. They don't seem to be getting hired until at least three or four men get hired." The pool of excellent Hispano reporters—possessing solid journalistic skills and secure in their own identities—is large and growing, he says.

Gerald Garcia, recently named publisher of the Tucson *Daily Citizen*, agrees. Garcia, former assistant to the publisher of the Kansas City *Star*, has aided dozens of Hispano journalists in locating positions around the country. He rejects out of hand the frequent excuse of editors that they can't find "qualified candidates." "They're out there," he says. "If you're sincere enough about looking for them, you can find them."

Yet, the disparity remains. New York City, with 1.3 million Puerto Ricans among its residents, has less than half a dozen Puerto Rican reporters among its three major newspapers. In Philadelphia, only one Hispanic reporter is currently on the job with a major daily. Numerous large cities in areas of major Hispanic population concentration in the Southwest and elsewhere have no more than one or two Latinos on their reporting staffs.

At a Los Angeles ASNE minority workshop this spring—attended by five Anglo editors and a dozen Latino reporters, the reporters expressed a common concern that there was more "distance" between them and their editors than there was between Anglo reporters and the same editors. Some of the Hispano journalists complained about being "pigeon-holed." The editors may unconsciously have admitted why: Without Latinos on their staff, they said, they would have a difficult time reporting on the Latino community.

Some major media also tend to "smother" their Latino reporters, contends Cota Robles Newton. "They're definitely judged more harshly by their bosses. The biases of non-minority reporters aren't questioned, but theirs are. They know they're walking a tightrope, and as a result, some of them bend over too far to prove themselves. Or they try to get as far away from covering the barrio as they can."

Last summer, the Philadelphia *Daily News'* Juan Gonzalez was elected president of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights. The paper immediately saw a conflict between his continuing as a reporter and serving as the Congress' president.

"The *Daily News*, and other Philadelphia papers, too, allow other writers to hold leadership and policy positions with such organizations as the United Way, the NAACP, and the Red Cross—but the *News* told me flatly that I could not be a reporter and be active in my community at the same time," says Gonzalez.

"I volunteered to cover no assignments involving the

Puerto Rican community—even to work on the copy desk. I met with all five editors. I was told that that was unacceptable, that I must either resign as president of the Congress or face dismissal. So I asked for a one-year leave of absence, and they granted me one—joyfully.”

Daily News Executive Editor Zachary Stalberg responds: “We had a lot of conversations with Juan before we hired him as a reporter [in January 1979]. He had to choose between reporting and taking an advocacy position. When Juan became head of the Congress, we came back to essentially the same situation. His value to us was as a reporter to whom we could give any assignment. What he could do best for us was work as a cityside reporter.”

Stalberg says he has no one on his staff who has a position “with any organization—political or otherwise” comparable to that of Gonzalez with the Congress.

Gonzalez, whose 1981 *Daily News* series on Philadelphia’s “hot spot” cancer neighborhoods won a major state journalism award this spring, stepped down as president of the Congress and returned to the paper this summer. His relationship with his editors remains professional and cordial. “Each side understood where the other side was coming from,” says Stalberg.

“A man is as many men as the number of tongues he speaks.” Gutierrez finds the modern meaning to be “Hispanic reporters can do everything Anglo reporters can do—PLUS.”

USC’s Gutierrez conducted a study on journalistic bias in 1978, analyzing stories on immigration issues. He found that Latino reporters working for establishment media presented more objective, balanced reports than did their non-Hispanic counterparts. “The Latinos didn’t stop with public agency sources,” he said. “They added dimensions which considered and included views from Mexico, from immigrants themselves, from Latino and legal assistance organizations, as an example. Today, I know of no cases of biased reporting by Hispanic reporters. But I can show you a lot of them on the other side.”

“A man is as many men as the number of tongues he knows,” the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V observed. Gutierrez puts the observation in a modern newsroom context: “Hispanic reporters can do everything Anglo reporters can do—PLUS!”

The “plus” was readily evident in the coverage provided by competing U.S. reporters at the 22-nation “summit” conference held in Cancun, Mexico, last October. When President Reagan made reference to the tardiness of his lunch companion on October 21, the *Washington Post*, with three reporters on the scene, ignored it in its main story. The only reference was buried in a sidebar piece by Christopher Dickey, who wrote: “Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang, meanwhile, arrived 15 minutes late for lunch with Reagan, so the

American president instantly seized the opportunity to be gracious by noting that such tardiness is common in Latin America.”

That the President’s Mexican hosts saw nothing at all “gracious” about his remark was developed into a major page one story in the *San Diego Union* by correspondent Ricardo Chavira. In a lengthy piece quoting a Mexico Foreign Ministry official and an aide to Mexican President Lopez Portillo, Chavira wrote: “With a remark that reminded his Mexican hosts of Jimmy Carter’s comments about ‘Montezuma’s revenge’, President Reagan yesterday angered Mexican officials here by saying lateness is a Latin American custom....”

The *Washington Post*, which has no full-time Hispanic American reporter or editor on its staff, according to Thomas Wilkinson, the paper’s assistant managing editor for news personnel, ran two pieces in the first week of March 1982 implying that the violence in Central America was the result of the influence of Hispanic culture.

The writer of one piece wrote that the United States “is pushing uphill against the culture.” A second writer outdid that statement with this comment about Salvadoran soldiers: “Trained by their traditions, their culture, and some of their officers to use brute force as a solution to any threat, or in some cases to satisfy any whim, they are attempting to adapt virtually overnight to Anglo-Saxon values as alien to most as tea and crumpets.”

Such reporting would not have gone untouched by a Hispanic editor. The Forum of National Hispanic Organizations protested to Publisher Donald Graham that “The spurious allegations, treated as fact by both writers, are dangerous to persons of Hispanic heritage throughout the world.”

As the powers guiding the nation’s establishment print media move slowly to assess and address their inadequacies in hiring and coverage of Hispanics, Latino journalists and major Latino national organizations are moving at a much faster pace.

Within recent months, at least half a dozen new groups of Hispanic media professionals have either incorporated or started the process. Most are in Southwest cities. The first Hispanic Professional Journalists Conference, coordinated by Cota Robles Newton, will be December 2–5 in San Diego. It is expected to attract more than 400 Hispano print and broadcast journalists from throughout the U.S.

The Forum of National Hispanic Organizations, which encompasses more than 30 of the country’s largest and most broadly-based Hispanic organizations, has started talks about newsroom bias and hiring of Hispanic editors and reporters with the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the American Newspaper Publishers Association. Its goals are to get such professional bodies to address the value of hiring Hispanic journalists at their national conventions and to develop joint strategies to improve the hiring record of establishment print media in a hurry.

The American Society of Newspaper Editors has set the Year 2000 as its target date to complete the “integration” of the nation’s newsrooms. Hispanics wonder if the nation can really wait that long. ♦

SECTION 5

Effective Schools and High Schools Literature

1. Too Soon to Cheer? Synthesis of Research on Effective Schools
Stewart C. Purkey and Marshall S. Smith
2. Effective Teaching and Schools Bibliography
3. Effective Schools: Accumulating Research Findings
Michael Cohen
4. Analysis: Effective Schools: What Research Tells Us
Michael Cohen
5. Learning from Past Efforts to Reform the High School
Thomas James and David Tyak



Too Soon to Cheer? Synthesis of Research on Effective Schools

The recent literature on school effectiveness concludes that differences among schools do affect students' academic achievement. This literature challenges previous research that had found unequal academic achievement to be primarily a function of family background and related variables (Coleman and others, 1966; Jencks and others, 1972). Easily measured differences among schools—class size, teacher salaries, number of books in the library, the reading series, the age of the school building, or whether or not the school had a compensatory education program—were found to bear little relationship to achievement (Averch and others, 1972; Coleman and others, 1966; Jencks and others, 1972; Stephens, 1967; Hanushek, 1981; Mullin and Summers, 1981; Murnane, 1980).

Studies on the determinants of achievement have been concerned with variables relating to (1) how schools and school districts are structured and make decisions, (2) the process of change in schools and school districts, and (3) the way in which classrooms and schools can increase the amount of time spent on productive instruction. Although these variables are less susceptible to mechanical changes in policy, they are alterable (Bloom, 1981)—generally with difficulty, but often for little money.

Our attention in this article is directed to the literature on school-level factors. Following Barr and Dreeban

(1981), we view school systems as “nested layers” in which each organizational level sets the context and defines the boundaries for the layer below (though there is a reciprocal influence). If the locus of the educational process is at the lowest structural level, the classroom, it is nevertheless the adjacent layer, the school, which forms the immediate environment in which the classroom functions. The quality of the process at the classroom level is enhanced or diminished by the quality of activity at the level above it.

Review of the School Effectiveness Literature

We have clustered the studies that have received the most attention in the school effectiveness literature into four groups—outlier studies, case studies, program evaluation studies, and “other” studies. The lack of empirical data in many of the studies precluded us from carrying out a quantitative synthesis. Following the review of studies we examine the growing literature on the implementation of change in schools and recent research on theories of organization in order to gain an understanding of academically effective schools.

Outlier Studies. One major strategy of school effectiveness research has been to statistically determine highly effective schools (positive outliers) and unusually ineffective schools (negative outliers). Most such studies employ regression analyses of school mean achievement scores, controlling student body socioeconomic factors. Based on the regression equation, an “expected” mean achievement score is calculated for each school. This “expected” score is subtracted from the actual achievement level of the school to give a “residual” score for each school. The researcher then selects the most positive and the most negative residual scores and labels the schools they represent as unusually

effective or ineffective. Characteristics of these two types of schools are then assessed by surveys or case studies to determine the reason for the outcomes.

Studies that have adopted this general approach include three carried out by the New York State Department of Education (1974a, 1974b, 1976); a study conducted for the Maryland State Department of Education (Austin, 1978); Lezotte, Edmonds, and Ratner's study of model cities elementary schools in Detroit (1974); Brookover and Schneider's (1975) study of Michigan elementary schools; and the study of Delaware schools by Spartz and others (1977).

The similarity among these studies is striking in two areas: the means of school identification (four used regression analysis to identify outliers) and the selection of only elementary schools as study sites. Quality and conclusions, however, vary considerably. For example, the first New York study (1974a) found that methods of reading instruction varied greatly between high and low performing schools. A follow-up study (1974b) found the opposite—the method of reading instruction did not appear to make any difference. A third New York study (1976) again found salient differences in classroom instruction, although it did not highlight the same instructional features as the first study. The Maryland study (Austin, 1978) concluded that effective schools are characterized by strong instructional leadership, while Spartz and others (1977) found that effective schools had principals who emphasized administrative activities. The Spartz study identified at least seven general variables relating to achievement. Brookover and Schneider's Michigan study (1975) found six. Moreover, Brookover and Schneider did not mention ability grouping, while the Delaware and two of the New York studies considered this a significant feature. Finally, although

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it is cited by many in support of various lists of critical factors, we could find no discussion of the substantive findings of the Lezotte (1974) study of Detroit's model cities schools.

While the studies do correspond in several respects, the variations in their findings should serve as a caution to those who would reduce such disparate literature to five or six variables. Similarly, those variations suggest that no variable in particular is crucial. Nonetheless there is some consistency in the results. The more pervasive common elements are better control or discipline and high staff expectations for student achievement. Each of these variables showed up in four of the seven studies for which there are data. An emphasis on instructional leadership by the principal or another important staff members was found to be important in three studies.

Although outlier studies vary in quality, they commonly suffer from the following weaknesses.

1. *Narrow and relatively small samples used for intensive study.* Though they often sift through a fairly large population, researchers who used a statistical procedure followed by a case study approach had a final sample ranging from 2 to 12 schools. The small sample sizes suggest that the characteristics that appear to discriminate between high and low outliers are chance events. The lack of representativeness of the samples also raises issues about their generalizability. On the basis of these studies alone we might make tentative claims about what constitutes an effective lower grade reading program in an urban elementary school with a predominantly low-income and minority student population. The evidence will not take us beyond that with any certainty.

2. *Error in identification of outlier schools.* The strength of the outlier approach depends on the quality of the measures used to distinguish the effects of social class and home background. If these measures are weak or inappropriate, differences in school characteristics between high and low outliers will be confounded with student background differences. Two of the studies—the New York State study (1976) comparing 148 “positive” schools with 145 “negative” schools and the Maryland study

(Austin, 1978)—suffer from this problem to such an extent as to render their conclusions meaningless.

3. *Inappropriate comparisons.* In a brief note Klitgaard and Hall (1974) recommended comparing positive outliers with average schools rather than with negative outliers. We were struck by the tendency of outlier researchers to ignore this good advice. The important differences between effective schools and average schools may be very different from the differences between “ineffective” and “effective” schools. Unless schools are capable of making quantum leaps in effectiveness, it will probably not greatly profit a very poor school to compare itself to an exceptionally fine school. None of the studies addresses this issue.

Case Studies. We carefully studied five school case studies cited in various school effectiveness reviews (Brookover and others, 1979; Brookover and Lezotte, 1979; Rutter and others, 1979; Venezky and Winfield, 1979; Weber, 1971) and three recent additions to the literature (California State Department of Education, 1980; Glenn, 1981; Levine and Stark, 1981).

Six case studies in this group looked at urban elementary schools. The studies varied in quality of methodology and clarity of reporting. Taken together they looked closely at a sum total of 43 schools, an average of a little over seven schools per study. The inherent weaknesses of the case study approach and the small samples seem a frail reed upon which to base a movement of school improvement. Yet the commonality of findings among the case studies and their similarity to other kinds of studies increase their credibility.

Five factors stand out as a common to most, but not all, of the six case studies. These are (1) strong leadership by the principal or another staff member, (2) high expectations by staff for student achievement, (3) a clear set of goals and emphasis for the school, (4) a school-wide effective staff training program, and (5) a system for the monitoring of student progress. An emphasis on order and discipline showed up in two of the studies, and a large number of factors were specific to a single study.

The authors of the other two case studies took a more complex look at the nature of effective schools than did the

previous six. Brookover and others (1979) observed two matched pairs of elementary schools. One school in each pair was high-scoring, the other low-scoring. The researchers theorized that student achievement was strongly affected by the school social system, which varied from school to school even within similar subsamples with SES and racial composition controlled.

The school social system was said to be composed of three interrelated variables: (1) social inputs (student body composition and other personnel inputs), (2) social structure (such as school size, open or closed classrooms, and so forth), and (3) social climate (school culture as the norms, expectations, and feelings about the school held by staff and students). While school social inputs affect academic achievement, they are “modified in the processes of interaction” with the school social structure and school social climate (p. 14).

An effective school was described as one “characterized by high evaluations of students, high expectations, high norms of achievement, with the appropriate patterns of reinforcement and instruction,” in which students “acquire a sense of control over their environment and overcome the feelings of futility which . . . characterize the students in many schools” (p. 243).

The study by Rutter and others (1979) stands out in four respects: it was a longitudinal study carried out from 1970–1974; it examined secondary schools; it looked at 12 inner-city schools in London; and it attempted to measure school outcomes in terms of students' in-school behavior, attendance, examination success, and delinquency. The general argument is that secondary schools vary in outcome in the four areas above, that these variations are associated with the characteristics of schools as “social institutions,” and that it is a school's “ethos” that influences students as a group. School ethos includes the “style and quality” of school life, patterns of student and teacher behavior, how students are treated as a group, the management of groups of students within the school, and the care and maintenance of buildings and grounds.

A troubling aspect of this study, however, is that the more effective schools had higher percentages of middle-income students than did the less effective

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“School governance was found to be of critical importance in creating safe schools.”

schools. If academic achievement, attendance, and delinquency are strongly linked to social class integration, then the possibility exists that the significant difference between schools is not in school processes but in school composition. This problem is magnified by the fact that only two of Rutter's 12 schools can be considered to be academically effective.

Program Evaluations. A third category of school effectiveness research is program evaluation. We looked at six evaluations that examined school-level variables: Armor and others (1976), Trisman and others (1976), Doss and Holley (1982), and three studies carried out by the Michigan Department of Education (Hunter, 1979).

Armor and others identified “the school and classroom policies and other factors that have been most successful in raising the reading scores of inner-city children” (p. v) who attended schools participating in the School Preferred Reading Program in the Los Angeles Unified School District. The Trisman study examined reading programs in elementary schools throughout the nation. The researchers surveyed a large

number of programs and carefully studied the characteristics of a few schools that had especially successful efforts. Doss and Holley summarized data from an evaluation of Title I programs in Austin, Texas. The three Michigan studies were conducted from 1973–1978 in an attempt to understand what kinds of schools can carry out effective compensatory education programs.

By and large these studies are methodologically stronger than the preceding two types of research. However, their common findings are remarkably consistent with the outlier and case studies. Most schools with effective programs are characterized by (1) high staff expectations and morale, (2) a considerable degree of control by the staff over instructional and training decisions in the school, (3) clear leadership from the principal or other instructional figure, (4) clear goals for the school, and (5) a sense of order in the school.

Other Studies. The comparative study of public and private secondary schools by Coleman and others (1981) makes an interesting contribution to the analysis of effective school characteristics. Their basic contention is that private schools are academically superior to public schools. While the methodology leading to this conclusion is currently the subject of considerable debate, of particular interest are those features of private schools that were hypothesized as accounting for their academic superiority.

On the school level, private schools were more likely to exhibit characteristics that seem to encourage academic performance: better attendance; more homework; more required, rigorous academic subjects; and overall “more extensive academic demands.” Private schools were less likely than public schools to possess characteristics thought to harm academic achievement: disruptive behavior (fights, cutting class, threatening teachers, and so on); student perception of discipline as being ineffective and unfair; and student perception of lack of teacher interest in student achievement, behavior, and so forth.

NIE's *Safe School Study* (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1978) was concerned with identifying the elements that make

schools safe, nonviolent, orderly institutions of learning. Though the study did not evaluate the academic effectiveness of schools nor focus on school characteristics that were linked with academic success, many of its findings regarding the difference between safe schools and violent schools are relevant to the discussion of effective schools.

School governance was found to be of critical importance in creating safe schools. The central role in school governance is played by the principal. Those who served as firm disciplinarians, strong behavioral role models (for students and teachers alike), and educational leaders were crucial in making the school safe. Also contributing to school effectiveness is the strong relationship indicated in the study between a school's “structure of order” and academic success. Moreover, “one of the measures associated with the turnaround [of a violent school] seems to have been improving the academic program and stressing the importance of academic excellence” (p. 169). The implications of this study for building academically effective schools are intriguing.

General Critique

Specific criticisms of particular studies and methodologies notwithstanding, and disregarding a number of inconsistencies in findings, there remains an intuitive logic to the results of the research. Flaws in the original research should not discredit the notion of discovering effective school characteristics—seeds for school improvement that can be sown elsewhere. However, blanket acceptance would be dangerous.

For example, there has been no systematic sampling of different types of schools. The existing research tends to concentrate on urban elementary schools with successful reading and/or math programs in the lower grades. Given that, the generalizability of the research is limited. There is also a dearth of longitudinal studies. It is not clear that the reading scores of a third-grade class in an effective school will look the same when that class is in the sixth or eighth grade. Similarly, it seems reasonable and prudent to expect an effective school to have been so historically before raising the banner of success over its doors. Few studies require schools to be consistently effective. Nor

“There are many possible approaches to turning an academically inferior school into a more successful one.”

have researchers examined schools that are systematically trying to improve.

Finally, the implicit assumption of many reviews of the literature and the press seems to be that once aware of a set of 5—or 7 or 12—key features, schools can simply decide to adopt them. (The further implication is politically loaded: schools that do not acquire these characteristics lack the will or desire to effectively instruct all their students.) Even if these “easy-to-assemble model” features were necessary for effective schools, they would not be sufficient.

The history of education reform demonstrates that, no matter how well planned, systematic interventions in schools are not always successful either in form or outcome (Berman and McLaughlin, 1977; Elmore, 1978, 1979–80). In fact, current theories of school organization suggest that there are structural and procedural characteristics of schools that militate against this sort of top-down change. For example, if schools are indeed “loosely coupled” systems (Weick, 1976) having weak linkage between administration levels and the relatively autonomous classroom, then notions of effectiveness that depend on strong and dogmatic admin-

istrative leadership are immediately handicapped.

Having expressed our reservations about the available research and writing on school effectiveness, we nevertheless find a substantive case emerging from the literature. There is a good deal of common sense to the notion that a school is more likely to have relatively high reading or math scores if the staff agree to emphasize those subjects, are serious and purposeful about the task of teaching, expect students to learn, and create a safe and comfortable environment in which students accurately perceive the school’s expectations for academic success and come to share them.

Toward a Theory of School Improvement—The Importance of the Culture of the School

A different approach to school improvement than the recipe model rests on a conception of schools that links content with process to arrive at a notion of school culture (Brookover and others, 1979; Rutter and others, 1979). Content refers to such things as the organizational structure, roles, norms, values and instructional techniques of a school, and the information taught in the curriculum. School process refers to the nature and style of political and social relationships and to the flow of information within the school. It is a school’s



Highlights from Research on Effective Schools

Two elements in particular appear to be common to effective schools: high expectations for student achievement on the part of school staff members, and strong instructional leadership on the part of the school principal or another staff member. Other elements that are common to a significant number of effective schools include:

- Well-defined school goals and emphases
- Staff training on a schoolwide basis
- Control by staff over instructional and training decisions
- A sense of order
- A system for monitoring student progress
- Good discipline.

In addition, private schools with high student achievement have good attendance, assign more homework, offer a strong academic program, and emphasize high standards. Schools that are safe for students also stress academic excellence and program improvement, and have strong leadership.

However, schools should not blindly accept or attempt to institute all of the characteristics associated with effective schools. The studies undertaken thus far have not been longitudinal, nor have they concentrated on other than urban elementary schools that already have successful programs. In some schools, structural or procedural factors may simply preclude the successful implementation of certain characteristics.

While one approach to improving achievement is based on a highly structured model that imposes change from higher levels of administration, most successful change results from collaborative efforts that involve schoolwide reforms, the participation of staff members on all levels, and a focus on the overall culture of the individual school.

Resource Information Service (RIS) provides ASCD members access to research and sources of information on selected topics. The information is available through RIS-sponsored research syntheses, the RIS column in *Update*, and the quarterly publication *Curriculum Update*.

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culture resulting in a distinct climate composed of attitudes, behaviors, organizational structure, and so on, that is influential in determining the school's effectiveness. An academically effective school would be likely to have clear goals related to student achievement, teachers and parents with high expectations, and a structure designed to maximize opportunities for students to learn.

The appropriateness of the school culture notion is supported by ideas derived from organization theory and from research on the implementation of education innovation. Recent research and theory have rejected a notion of schools as classical bureaucracies, hierarchically structured, susceptible to rational control, and with high responsiveness at the lowest level (the classroom) to the goals set by the administration. A competing and more persuasive description of schools is that they are "loosely coupled systems" in which teachers are largely independent of the principal's immediate supervision (March and Olsen, 1976; Weick, 1976). If schools are indeed loosely coupled, then attempts to increase their effectiveness through imposing discrete policies by fiat are unlikely to bear fruit. Schools by their nature may not prove amenable to command structure approaches, especially given the vested interests of the various groups of relatively autonomous professionals involved in the day-to-day operation of a school. Furthermore, teachers may not agree with the principal (or with each other) on essential variables, and the recipe models say nothing about overcoming or avoiding that resistance.

The school culture model begins to resolve the dilemma posed by loose coupling. It assumes that changing schools requires changing people, their behaviors and attitudes, as well as school organization and norms. It assumes that consensus among the staff of a school is more powerful than overt control, without ignoring the need for leadership.

Studies of implementation efforts reinforce the validity of the school culture perspective and highlight the importance of forging consensus in the process of improving schools. Of particular importance is the fact that change (and presumably maintenance thereafter) will not take place without the support and commitment of teachers who must

come to "own" new educational ideology and techniques (McLaughlin, 1978).

Though specific tactics may vary, the general strategy is best characterized as one that promotes collaborative planning, collegial work, and a school atmosphere conducive to experimentation and evaluation (Deal and others, 1977; Hargrove and others, 1981; Hawley, 1978; Little, 1981; McLaughlin, 1978). Miller (1980) suggested it is an approach that sees teachers as part of an entire school organization engaged in development activities that take place over time. Successful change efforts are therefore more likely to be realized when the entire school culture is affected.

The literatures on school organization and on innovation implementation lend strength to the school culture approach to improving academic achievement. Both stress the importance of acknowledging the interplay of factors that compose the school culture and emphasize the need to address all facets of the school when attempting change. Finally, both underline the significance of staff agreement about the norms and goals of the school and suggest ways of forging that consensus in the real world of public education.

Conclusion

We have argued that an academically effective school is distinguished by its culture: a structure, process, and climate of values and norms that channel staff and students in the direction of successful teaching and learning. In that regard we lean in the direction indicated by the research of Rutter and others (1979) and Brookover and others (1979). The lists of effective school characteristics compiled by other researchers and reviewers are also helpful to the extent that they have captured those factors that are likely to have cumulative impact on pupils' achievement.

A cultural approach to school improvement also has the advantage of being equally applicable to elementary and secondary schools. The logic of the cultural model is such that it points to increasing the organizational effectiveness of a school building and is neither grade-level nor curriculum specific. Certainly the greater complexity and size of secondary schools indicate that attempts to change their culture will prove more difficult, and the greater diversity of secondary schools' socially

mandated goals further complicates efforts to improve academic effectiveness. However, research by Rutter and others (1979), Coleman and others (1981), Hargrove and others (1981), U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (1978), and others suggests that the culture of secondary schools *can* be manipulated to promote academic effectiveness. The same research also suggests that schools effective in one area tended to be effective in other areas (a theme often repeated throughout the effective schools research, though supporting data are generally not provided).

There are many possible approaches to turning an academically inferior school into a more successful one. One approach is based on a tightly structured hierarchical model in which change is decreed from the top (the district or at least the principal). Administrative fiat can announce clear goals, organize planning meetings, and institute model evaluation systems. There are other places where such direction may be absolutely critical to upsetting an otherwise firmly established pattern of "ineffective" operation. Our sense, however, is that there are few schools in which mandated changes will be enough to encourage the development of a productive school climate and culture. Most successful school change efforts will be messier and more idiosyncratic than systematic and will need to focus on collaborative, whole-school reform.

In summary, the data indicate that school-level factors can promote learning in the classroom. By studying academically effective schools we can identify characteristics that together create a school culture conducive to student achievement. However, in attempting to build more effective schools we must abandon our reliance on facile solutions and the assumption that fundamental change can be brought about from the top down. Instead, a more promising notion rests on the conception of schools as functioning social systems with distinctive cultures in which the improvement effort is directed toward incremental, long-term cultural change. □

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Effective Schools: Accumulating Research Findings

First in a series about recent education research to find out what effective schools actually do to raise achievement levels

By Michael Cohen

Since the mid-1960s public concerns over how to use educational resources effectively and to open up educational opportunities for poor and minority children has led to a concentrated effort by educational researchers and other social scientists to identify characteristics of schools and classrooms that help improve learning and achievement. This 15-year effort, largely supported by federal research funds, has led to a body of research findings that the practicing teacher or school administrator should find useful. It also has improved the ability of researchers to ask the appropriate questions, thereby increasing the prospects for further progress.

The landmark study in this area is the *Equality of Educational Opportunity Report* done in 1966 by James Coleman and his colleagues.¹ Based on a national survey of principals, teachers, and students in some 4,000 public elementary and secondary schools, the study examined characteristics of schools (e.g., physical facilities, curriculums, and instructional materials), their staffs

(e.g., teacher training, experience, ability, and attitudes), and their students (e.g., socioeconomic and racial or ethnic background). The most frequently cited finding from this study has been that, when compared to the influence of family background, these different school characteristics have relatively little influence on the measured achievements of pupils.

The data actually showed that, first, there was an association between family background and pupil performance—that is, middle and upper class students did better in school than their peers from less well-off backgrounds. Second, students' achievement test scores depended more on their family background than on whether they attended a school with more or less of the kinds of characteristics and resources measured in the study.

This finding was widely misinterpreted as meaning that "schools don't make a difference"—that there is nothing that schools can do to overcome the educational disadvantages produced by minority group status and poverty. And this misinterpretation ran counter to the prevailing beliefs of educators, researchers, and the public, for it directly challenged the belief that

schools could serve as a vehicle for social mobility, by providing the necessary skills to enable the disadvantaged to achieve success in the labor market.

Paradoxically the Coleman Report's findings and their popular misinterpretation were themselves a direct result of another set of prevailing beliefs. This belief was that the educationally relevant characteristics of schools could be described by reference to such characteristics as the number of books in the school library, the age of the building and its facilities, the availability of science laboratories, the presence of certain types of specialists such as school nurses and psychologists, and, at the secondary level, the availability of a range of curricular offerings. While library books, specialists, and curricular offerings are important features of schools, we have learned from subsequent research that other aspects of the schooling process make powerful contributions to student learning.

At the time, however, the research caused considerable controversy and resulted in a number of attempts by researchers to re-analyze the study data, and to replicate (or refute) the findings in other

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studies.² While it is unnecessary to go into the details of the scholarly debate in this article, it is useful to understand how the criticisms raised in the ensuing debate helped point to more productive directions for subsequent research.

What About Schools is Important?

Specifically, two major problems were identified in the Coleman Report and other similar studies.³ First, the types of school factors measured in these studies refer primarily to the types and levels of resources *present* or *available* in the school—human resources (specialists, teacher ability, experience, and training), instructional resources (textbooks, library books, science equipment, etc.), and financial resources (per pupil expenditures). In reality, comparing schools on the resources available to them is not as meaningful as comparing schools on how well they *organize* and *use* their available resources—on how well teachers and specialists coordinate their work together, how well teachers and students make use of the time available to them for instructional activities, and on how well teachers motivate their students and reinforce their efforts.

This is not to suggest that the level of resources available to schools is unimportant—for it is difficult to imagine a good school without the necessary resources to pay for books and supplies, teacher salaries, etc. Further, there is growing evidence to indicate that the supplies and services purchased with compensatory education funds have been effective in increasing the achievement levels of low income students.⁴

Second, the Coleman Report and other studies made comparisons among schools on their *average* achievement level. Overlooked was the fact that within a typical school there is a wide range of achievement levels. At elementary schools, for example, some fourth graders might be reading at the sixth grade level or above, while other fourth

graders read at the first grade level. Additionally, by attempting to explain differences among schools in their average level of student achievement, researchers assumed that all school resources were equally available to, and utilized by, each of the students in the school. Yet we know that within a school, a student does not experience the "average teacher," but, rather a particular set of teachers, who differ from one another in regard to teaching styles, competence, and effectiveness. Similarly, some students benefit from contact with particular specialists, courses, or library books, while other pupils in the same school may never come into contact with these resources. Also, students are often grouped into classes, tracks, or ability groups, and thus are exposed to varying teacher skills, curriculum materials, and social environments.⁵

Consequently, the combined result of these problems was that much of the early research was not sufficiently sensitive to important things that happened to individual students within the school. Therefore, the research was only partially effective at identifying and describing things that really mattered for improving the instructional effectiveness of schools. Nonetheless, these early studies and the debates surrounding them were useful in sharpening the strategies employed in subsequent studies to learn what about schools may make a difference. More recent inquiry differs from, and improves upon, previous research in a number of respects.

First, in addition to comparing different schools and their influence on student learning, the differences among classrooms within a school have been studied.⁶ By making the classroom the unit of analysis, researchers were able to get closer to the educational environment actually experienced by a student.

Second, rather than studying relatively static *characteristics* of educational environments (e.g., the level of training and certification of a particular teacher), researchers be-

gan to examine much more complex and dynamic *processes* in schools and classrooms (e.g., what a teacher actually does in the classroom over a period of time). So, for example, studies were conducted which examined how teachers organized and managed their classrooms, and the ways in which teachers managed and minimized disruptions in their classrooms.⁷ Other inquiry focused directly on the nature of teacher-student interactions and communications, examining the ways in which teachers presented information, asked questions, and communicated goals, expectations, and rules to their students.⁸ And, importantly, investigators began to conceive of time as an important school resource, and studied how time was used in classrooms.⁹ For example, researchers have learned that some teachers may allow 45 minutes of classroom time each day to teach reading, while others may allocate as much as 75 minutes. Further, some teachers will be more efficient in their use of time, so that their students will spend 80 percent of the time for reading actually reading. Other teachers, however, are less efficient at managing the classroom so that students are actually engaged in appropriate learning activities only 50-60 percent of the time.

Third, the focus of this recent research has increasingly been on identifying and describing practices, at both the classroom and the school level, which are particularly effective at improving the achievement levels of students from poor and minority backgrounds.¹⁰ Doing so involved identifying teachers or schools which, over a period of years, consistently produced students scoring well on achievement tests. These teachers or schools then were carefully matched with other teachers or schools also serving students from predominantly poor and minority backgrounds, with less success at realizing high levels of student achievement. Through contrasting instructional approaches, learning environments, and the behaviors of

teachers and administrators, it was possible to identify those educational practices that contribute to instructional effectiveness.

Research in the Schools

Fourth, as a result of adopting the strategies described above, researchers have come to rely increasingly on first-hand observation and concrete descriptions of educational practices. They are more likely to conduct in-depth interviews with teachers, principals, and students, rather than to rely exclusively on survey questionnaires typically administered in large groups or through the mails. A corresponding change was a general shift to studies with smaller samples—studies of fewer schools or classrooms, but with the advantage of being able to provide richer and more thorough descriptions and analyses of the complexities of daily life in these settings.

Finally, researchers increasingly are collaborating with practicing educators in conducting their research. In many studies teachers and other practitioners play a significant role in framing research questions, shaping useful research designs, and interpreting research results. For example, a team of teachers, staff developers, and researchers in a California school district jointly planned, designed, and conducted a study to identify strategies and techniques classroom teachers could use to cope effectively with distractions from instruction.¹¹

The Picture Now

Especially since 1972, when the Congress created the National Institute of Education, the Education Department's principal educational research agency, these strategies have increasingly characterized studies conducted to identify characteristics of schools and classrooms which contribute to instructional effectiveness. By now, enough research has been conducted, and enough findings have been successfully replicated, to per-

mit a synthesis. A number of Effective Schools studies suggest that differences in effectiveness among schools, defined in terms of student performance on tests of basic skills, can be accounted for by the following five factors:¹²

- Strong administrative leadership by the school principal, especially in regard to instructional matters;
- A school climate conducive to learning; i.e., a safe and orderly school free of discipline and vandalism problems;
- School-wide emphasis on basic skills instruction, which entails agreement among the professional staff that instruction in the basic skills is the primary goal of the school;
- Teacher expectations that students can reach high levels of achievement, regardless of pupil background; and
- A system for monitoring and assessing pupil performance which is tied to instructional objectives.

While this is not an exhaustive list of the practices that promote school effectiveness, they seem quite sensible. They imply that a school in which the principal and instructional staff agree on what they're doing, believe they can do it, provide an environment conducive to accomplishing the task, and monitor their effectiveness and adjust performance based upon such feedback, is likely to be an effective one. Confidence in these factors is strengthened further by the similarities between these school level factors and several features of effective practice identified by research focusing specifically at the classroom level.¹³ More specifically, research at both the classroom and the school level highlight the importance of commitment to basic skills as instructional goals. This research stresses the need for an orderly, businesslike environment which permits teachers and students to devote their time and energy to teaching and learning academic content. The need for mechanisms for systematically and frequently assessing student per-

formance in the basic skills, which provides feedback to both teachers and pupils regarding their success, is identified in both sets of studies. And finally, the notion that successful instruction is, in part, a function of teachers' beliefs that such success is possible for themselves and their students, is supported by both lines of inquiry.

The Current State of Knowledge

Of necessity, the preceding paragraphs have provided only a brief outline of the major research findings. Any one of the factors described above is the result of a large number of research studies, and is simply a shorthand device indicating a highly condensed version of a much larger and more detailed story about effective educational practices. In order to provide readers with a more thorough understanding of our current knowledge base, as well as the areas in which additional research contributions are needed, subsequent issues of *American Education* will include a series of five articles that describe the research in greater detail. Each of these articles will summarize the current state of knowledge for its respective topic, will illustrate recently completed or ongoing research studies, and will spell out in greater detail the implications of research findings for educational practice. Each of the articles is based upon, and illustrative of, research projects recently funded by the National Institute of Education.

Based on the findings of research on effective schools and effective classrooms, five topics have been selected for this series. While these topics don't perfectly mirror the five factors from the Effective Schools research described above, they are consistent with those factors and, by drawing on a somewhat broader range of research studies, both deepen and extend their meaning and application. The first article in this series will review and summarize recent research on classroom management, summariz-

ing the best of what is known about how teachers can most effectively manage their classrooms and create educational environments most conducive to learning. The next article will focus explicitly on teacher expectations, describing what has been learned in this area. It will describe how teachers communicate their performance expectations to students, as well as discuss how students form their own expectations for how well they can do in school. The third article will describe a recently completed study of successful schools which identifies strategies principals can use to provide

effective instructional leadership. A fourth article will describe ongoing research on testing, indicating what has been learned about the use of achievement tests to improve instructional effectiveness. Finally, the fifth article will describe research conducted in an effort to translate the findings of classroom management studies into an effective staff development program for teachers.

Though much has been learned from recent research, our understanding of what constitutes effective practice, and of what conditions are necessary in order for

practices identified as effective to work in particular school settings, is incomplete. Additionally, there is still work to be done in identifying the most useful applications of research findings for educators. The challenge now will be to find the most effective ways of enabling schools to take advantage of new knowledge. Just as the early studies of school effectiveness provided the groundwork for generating our current research findings, so too will the existing knowledge base provide a helpful point of departure for addressing these additional research questions. ★

NOTES

¹ James S. Coleman et al., *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966).

² For example, see Frederick Mosteller and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds., *On Equality of Educational Opportunity* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), and Christopher Jencks et al., *Inequality: A Reassessment of Family and Schooling in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1972).

³ Michael Cohen, "Recent Advances in Our Understanding of School Effects Research," invited address presented at Annual Meeting of American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education, Chicago, Illinois, March 1, 1979.

⁴ For example, see Phyllis Levenstein et al., *Summary Report: Lasting Effects After Preschool* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979); National Institute of Education, *The Effects of Services on Student Development* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1977).

⁵ For example, see Richard A. Rehberg and Evelyn R. Rosenthal, *Class and Merit in the American High School* (New York: Longman, 1978); James E. Rosenbaum, *Making Inequality: The Hidden Curriculum of High School Tracking* (New York: Wiley, 1976); and Aage B. Sorenson, "Organizational Differentiation of Students and Educational Opportunity," *Sociology of Education* 43: 355-376, 1970.

⁶ For example, see Thomas Good, Bruce Biddle and Jere Brophy, *Teachers Make a Difference* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975); Richard J. Murnane, *The Impact of School Resources on the Learning of Inner City Children* (Cambridge: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1975); and Anita Summers and Barbara Wolfe, "Equality of Educational Opportunity Qualified: A Production Function Approach," *Philadelphia Federal Reserve Bank Papers*, 1974.

⁷ For example, see Edmund T. Emmer, Carolyn M. Evertson and Linda M. Anderson, "Effective Classroom Management at the Beginning of the School Year," *Elementary School Journal* 80: 219-231, 1980; and Carolyn M. Evertson et al., *Organizing and Managing the Elementary School Classroom* (Research and Development Center for Teacher Education: The University of Texas at Austin, 1981).

⁸ For example, see Jere Brophy and Thomas Good, *Teacher-Student Relationships: Causes and Consequences* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974); Jere Brophy, "Teacher Praise: A Functional Analysis," Occasional Paper No. 28, Institute for Research on Teaching, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1979; and Jere Brophy and Carolyn M. Evertson, *Student Characteristics and Teaching* (New York: Langman, 1981).

⁹ For example, see Carolyn Denham and

Ann Lieberman, eds. *Time To Learn* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1980); and David E. Wiley and Annegret Harnischfeger, "Explosion of a Myth: Quantity of Schooling and Exposure to Instruction, Major Educational Vehicles," *Educational Researcher* 3:4, 7-12, 1974.

¹⁰ For example, see Wilbur Brookover et al., *Schools Can Make a Difference*, College of Urban Development, Michigan State University, 1977; and George Weber, *Inner City Children Can Be Taught to Read: Four Successful Schools*. Occasional Papers, No. 18 (Washington, D.C.: Council for Basic Education, 1971).

¹¹ William J. Tikunoff, Beatrice A. Ward and Gary A. Griffin, *Interactive Research and Development on Teaching Study Final Report* (San Francisco: Far West Laboratory for Research and Development, 1979); Grant Behnke et al., "Coping with Classroom Distractions," *Elementary School Journal* 81:3, 135-155, 1981.

¹² For example, see Ronald Edmonds, "Some Schools Work and More Can," *Social Policy*, March/April 1979; and Michael Cohen, "Effective Schools: What the Research Says," *Today's Education* 70:2, 46-49, 1980.

¹³ Jere Brophy, "Advances in Teacher Effectiveness Research," *Journal of Classroom Interaction* 15: 1-7, 1979.

Analysis:



Effective Schools: What Research Tells Us

by Michael Cohen, team leader, *Effective Schools Team*, National Institute of Education.

The rich knowledge base for improving schools now being built through recent school effectiveness research covers a wide range of areas. We are learning what works for instructional practices, classroom management and organization, teacher planning and decision making, teacher and school change, staff development practices and school organization and climate.

This large collection of research findings holds great promise for the improvement of the nation's schools. If state and local leaders are willing to examine the concepts, theories and frameworks inherent in the research, and then to apply them — carefully tailored to fit state and local circumstances — schools will surely be on the road to becoming more effective. The research does not promise "overnight cures"; it only offers some grounds for optimism.

These exciting research findings paint the following picture of conditions for more effective schooling:



Effective Teaching Practices

Teachers using effective instructional practices systematically present new information, provide opportunities for teacher-supervised as well as independent practice by students, provide frequent feedback, provide periodic review of content already taught and make sure that students are working at appropriate levels of difficulty. While many good teachers have employed these practices for years, research findings suggest that many other teachers do not.



Conclusions being drawn from the research show that, first, these instructional practices need to be carefully structured, sequenced and paced in actual classroom use. It is important, especially for slow learners, that this instruction proceed in rapid, small steps, include detailed explanations and allow for frequent practice until high levels of mastery are achieved and sustained. This contrasts with other approaches that place more emphasis on discovery or independent experiential learning.

Second, these instructional practices need to be accompanied by effective *classroom management practices*, to produce a learning environment that is business-like, relatively free from noise and disruption and that provides for more student time-on-task. Teachers should establish a systematic approach to classroom management by clearly telling students what kind of behavior they expect and explaining the procedures and routines for classroom activities during the *first two*

weeks of the school year. Again, these classroom management practices are not new; they have been employed by good teachers for a long time. But research findings reveal that not *all* teachers are such effective classroom managers. For example, estimates of student time-on-task vary from a low of 30 percent in some classrooms to a high of 85 or 90 percent in others, a range largely attributable to differences in classroom management practices.

Third, providing effective instruction and classroom management practices requires teachers to plan and make interrelated decisions about the goals, content, materials and activities of instruction. These "scripts" are plans of action to maintain an orderly flow in classrooms with minimum disruptions and management problems. This description of how successful teachers plan contrasts with the techniques offered in preservice education, which limit teachers' attention to a narrow range of objectives, learner-skill levels and learning activities. This suggests a mismatch between preservice training and the more complex demands of actual classroom instruction.

Instructional Management

Student achievement is improved when instructional practices and curriculum are well articulated and adequately reflected in every classroom in the school. Such coordination is especially important in schools where students are pulled out of regular classes for remedial instruction or other special programs, because these students often have the most trouble learning classroom participation rules and are therefore in greater jeopardy if they have to move from setting to setting.

School effectiveness is improved when there is considerable overlap between the content of instruction and the content of tests used to assess student performance. This requires a careful match between textbooks, other instructional materials and the actual items on tests. Available evidence, however, indicates that often there is as little as 50 percent overlap between



instructional materials and test items. As a result, school effectiveness is underestimated.

Research results increasingly suggest, too, that good instruction management requires active participation by the building principal. (See *Schools Can Be Improved*, page 1.) While virtually all principals agree that they should be primarily instructional leaders, few report that they spend much time at it. Rather, much of their time is taken by administrative and other noninstructional matters. Additionally, available evidence suggests that current practices for training, certifying and selecting principals, as well as school district practices for evaluating and rewarding them and supporting them in their work, typically do not offer support and motivation toward good instructional leadership.

Shared Values and Culture

Effectiveness in schools also depends, according to research evidence, on values, norms and relationships — in short, the culture that characterizes schools. Improving schools entails changes in peoples' behavior, attitudes, roles and relationships and in the schools' norms that govern people's behavior and work. The findings suggest that effective schools generate a strong sense of community, with common goals and high expectations for student and staff performance and with mechanisms for sustaining common motivation, commitment and identification with school goals.

Two work norms among faculty are especially important: collegiality, or shared work, and continuous improvement during teachers' careers. These norms are instilled in schools through continuous analysis, evaluation and experimentation with instructional practices by teachers working *together*, not in the isolation of individual classrooms. The likely result is the development of shared values and commitment.

Norms and interactions among students are also powerful determinants of school effectiveness. Peer groups provide important role models and informal rewards for students, and often shape and influence individual students'

beliefs about the importance of school work, as well as influence the extent to which students commit time and energy to academic work. Further, peers are capable, under certain circumstances, of providing tutoring and other forms of help to their classmates. There is growing evidence that peer-group norms and interactions in schools are, in part, responses to the structure and climate of the school and classroom, as these are shaped by the behavior and practices of teachers and administrators. For example, research findings indicate that various school practices for grading and evaluating student performance can influence academic norms and the frequency with which students help each other on academic tasks.

Finally, the symbolic aspects of school life appear to be important, largely because they visibly reflect the values embedded in the school culture. Therefore, schools that make it a point officially and publically to recognize academic achievement and stress its importance through the appropriate use of symbols, ceremonies and the like are likely to encourage students to adopt similar norms and values.

External Support

Limited and mixed evidence suggests that school effectiveness can be enhanced by strong support from the superintendent, central office staff and parents. District support appears important in terms of leadership and guidance, technical assistance and help, provision of sufficient resources and the creation of a stable, supportive environment that limits intrusions into the work and culture of the school.

Parents need to be informed of school goals and responsibilities, especially with regard to homework. And they need to be informed of ways in which they can most productively help their own child in school work and learning activities.

Careful Judgment Needed

While the findings offer an optimistic view of the knowledge base for improving school effectiveness, there are limitations as well as strengths in the research. American education is often characterized by fads and reform efforts that rapidly gain popularity, and almost as rapidly are discarded after they fail to live up to the often overblown promises that accompany them. In order to avoid this all too common experience, a balanced view of the research and an appreciation of its potential role are important. The strengths of the research are considerable. They derive essentially from the fact that numbers of reasonably carefully designed and conducted studies, on a series of interrelated and important topics, have produced findings that are convergent, consistent with the best of conventional wisdom and the experience of educators and point in similar directions for school improvement. The limitations are also important to bear in mind, particularly the following:

- Nearly all of the research has been conducted in elementary schools, and only on instruction in basic reading and math skills. With the exception of a few studies, the research base on effective junior or senior high schools is extremely limited.
- The research on effective teaching practices highlights pedagogical and classroom management practices as prerequisites to good teaching, while not at all addressing the levels of teacher subject-matter expertise required. This picture is likely to change, however, as we become concerned with other subject areas (e.g., science, computer literacy) and higher grade levels.
- Most of the studies drawn upon are correlational in nature — they document an association between certain schooling practices and student learning, but do not demonstrate causality. Those experimental studies that do provide evidence for strong causal inferences al-

most always rely on volunteer teachers who are generally interested in improving their skills and are open to suggestions for change. Strategies for improving the skills of less willing teachers have not yet been clearly identified.

- Finally, the research findings do not, and will not, provide a simple checklist of what a school should do in order to become more effective. Rather, they begin to provide sophisticated concepts, frameworks and theories that explain how, why and under what circumstances certain educational practices are more effective than others. Such frameworks are important because schools and classrooms are highly complex, dynamic social systems whose features will influence the implementation and use of any instructional or management strategies identified as effective. Additionally, because particular local circumstances will vary from district to district, school to school and classroom to classroom, the successful applications of findings will depend, in part, on our ability to make sensible interpretations of such findings — interpretations that highlight relevant features of effective practices and of local conditions, and that aid in the development of policies and strategies likely to improve local practice. ★

The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the position, policy or endorsement of the National Institute of Education or the U.S. Department of Education.



John Brademas Will Receive Conant Award

John Brademas, president of New York University since July 1981, has been selected by ECS to receive its James Bryant Conant award for achievements that will have a lasting impact on American education. Brademas has had a distinguished career as a U.S. Congressman from Indiana. He served for 22 years in Washington, the last 4 of them as majority whip. His tenure in politics was characterized by an active and effective interest in education. He was principal sponsor or cosponsor of most major legislation enacted during the last 20 years concerning elementary/secondary and postsecondary education, services for the elderly and handicapped, libraries, museums, the arts and humanities.

His contributions as a Congressman have been augmented by service on the boards of the Gannett Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the American Council for the Arts, the American Association for the Advancement of the Humanities, the Board of Overseers at Harvard, the National Commission on Student Financial Assistance, the National Academy of Science's Committee on Relationships Between Universities and the U.S. Government, the Council on Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission.

The award, named for the man who conceived the idea for ECS, will be presented to Brademas at the ECS Annual Meeting in Portland, Oregon, August 17-20, 1982. He will deliver an acceptance address to meeting participants. ★

STUDIES OF SCHOOLING



Learning from Past Efforts to Reform the High School

by Thomas James and David Tyack

Another wave of studies of the high school appears to be upon us. Messrs. James and Tyack tell us that the giving of advice to save the schools has a long tradition. Recommendations for reform are not empty rhetoric, they maintain.

People who work in high schools have never lacked advice about how to do their jobs better. Lately, high school reform has become a growth industry, while other parts of the educational enterprise seem to be declining. In the last year we have heard of some three dozen studies of secondary education taking place across the U.S. Although the number and variety of these studies may reveal new fragmentation in educational purposes and constituencies, the giving of advice to

save the schools has a long tradition behind it.

We can appreciate the skepticism of many seasoned educators about whether a new generation of reports will produce fundamental change. Writing in the *Kaplan* last October, Larry Cuban argued convincingly that patterns of classroom instruction have changed little despite the plethora of conflicting reforms that have been advocated over the years.¹ It is easy to find discerning analyses that have gathered dust on library shelves, utopian calls to remake society through better education, and efforts at consensus that themselves became the targets of reform in the next generation. Does this mean

that it is time to dismiss recommendations for reform as empty rhetoric — mere swings of the ideological pendulum while the real business of schooling remains unchanged?

We think not, for two reasons. First, enormous changes have taken place over the past century in the American political economy, in the scope and social purpose of the high school, in the clientele it has served, in its finance and governance, in the complexity of its bureaucratic structure, and in its links with the later careers of high school graduates. Second, the reports advocating high school reform have typically served to interpret for the general public and for educators the

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educational implications of such changes in the society and in the schools. Think of these reports as position papers in the continuing debate over the interactive principles of liberty, equality, and efficiency in a rapidly changing society. Such a perspective forces the observer to take a step back from the particulars of the individual reports, their prescriptions and descriptions, and to ask questions, the answers to which aid in understanding educational responses to social change. Who are the writers of the reports, and what are their interests? What are the political and economic contexts within which they are working? What new conceptions of the educational process animate educators? What concerns agitate the public? In short, what aspirations and anxieties underlie the reports?

To treat reform in this manner goes beyond asking what should be done about the problem of the high school in any particular era. We ask instead why secondary education periodically has been considered a problem in the first place and what underlying tensions were generating policy issues. One feature of reform quickly becomes apparent under such scrutiny. Certain positions, certain familiar diagnoses and prescriptions, ebb and flow like the tides: mental discipline and life experience, excellence and equality, professional autonomy and popular participation, to name only a few. Now that the tide of reform rises anew, what can we learn today from past efforts to change secondary schools?

Before examining some of the historic reform efforts and relating them to recurrent policy dilemmas, let us first look briefly at how the high school has changed since the 19th century. The most striking feature of American secondary education, the characteristic that most sharply distinguishes it from secondary education in many other nations, is its rapid growth into a nearly universal institution. From 1890 to 1978 the total enrollments in public and private secondary schools rose from 359,949 to 15,654,000. During that same span of time the percentage of 14- to 17-year-olds who were attending school grew from 6.7 to 94.1, and the retention rates of schools paralleled this increase. Following another trajectory, we find that, whereas in 1890 only 3.5% of all 17-year-olds in the U.S. graduated from high school, by 1970 that figure had risen to 75.6% of all 17-year-olds. Clearly, high school has become a major socializing institution for American adolescents; the median years of formal schooling increased from 8.6 to 12.2 for the entire U.S. population between 1940 and 1970.²

Table 1 displays these increases side by

side. But we must add another dimension — money — to understand the full extent of educational expansion. Although the number of school districts shrank from 127,531 in 1932 to 17,995 in 1970 and the total number of secondary schools remained constant at just above 29,000 institutions, the figures on school expenditures tell a different story. Between 1920 and 1970 the yearly per-capita expenditures for public elementary and secondary education combined rose from \$20 to \$200 in constant 1970 dollars. The yearly expenditures per pupil in average daily attendance climbed from \$127 to \$955 (again figured in constant 1970 dollars) during the same half-century.³

Two important reasons, one demographic and one economic, explain this dramatic expansion of secondary education. The post-war baby boom, a generation that has now passed through high school, obscures a long-term demographic trend that fostered greater high school attendance prior to 1940. Between 1840 and 1940 the number of live births per thousand in the population fell from 51.8 to 19.4, and, after soaring for a few years following World War II, the rate continued its decline. By 1970 it was 18.4 per thousand. Fewer children per family and a wider spacing of their births made it easier for parents to support their children for more years in school and to defer the children's earnings. A related economic factor was a rapidly rising gross national product (GNP) and an increasing share of that wealth devoted to public education. More and more communities found it financially possible to create local high schools.⁴

Fewer children per family and more wealth per capita were necessary but not sufficient conditions for the popularity of the high school. Two other related factors provided incentives for high school at-

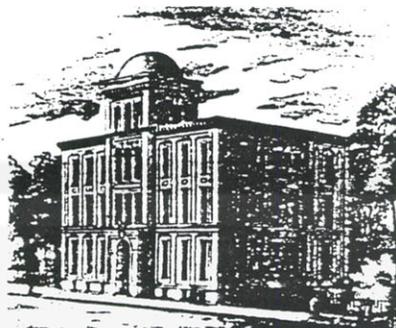
tendance. One was the gradual disappearance of a strong demand in the labor market for teenagers as full-time employees. The second was that parents, employers, and youths themselves began to believe that secondary schooling counted in obtaining a good job. Of course, the vocational boost given by the high school differed invidiously by gender, race, and class. For boys from prosperous families, the academic course led to college, which in turn was becoming increasingly important as the gateway to prestigious careers. Girls, who have made up the majority of students in high schools in every epoch on record, often entered lower-status but respectable white-collar jobs after taking the commercial course. Some working-class youths gained job skills in the vocational tracks. So thoroughly had the public accepted the notion of vocational preparation in high school that, when George Gallup included in his 1972 poll on attitudes toward education an open-ended question on why respondents wanted their children to be educated, the top-ranked reply was "to get better jobs" and the third-ranked response was "to make money."⁵

Preparing for work was only one of the many functions urged on the expanding high school. There was hardly any social problem that did not move someone to propose adding a new course to the curriculum — from venereal disease (try a course on sex education) to carnage on the highways (install driver education) to the poor physical condition of draftees (require physical education) to unassimilated immigrants (teach respect for the Constitution and an inspirational version of U.S. history) to alienated or refractory workers (create vocational education). The high school reflected a popular desire to reform society without changing its basic structure or restricting the freedom

Table 1. The Growth of the American High School

Year	High School Enrollments	14- to 17-Year-Olds In School %	17-Year-Olds Graduating from High School %	Median Years Of Schooling In the U.S.
1890	359,949	6.7	3.5	--
1900	699,403	11.4	6.3	--
1910	1,115,398	15.4	8.6	--
1920	2,500,176	32.3	16.3	--
1930	4,804,255	51.4	28.8	--
1940	7,123,009	73.3	49.0	8.6
1950	6,453,009	76.8	57.4	9.3
1960	9,599,810	86.1	63.4	10.5
1970	14,418,301	92.7	75.6	12.2
1978	15,654,000	94.1	--	--

Adapted from *Digest of Education Statistics 1980* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980), p. 44; and from *Historical Statistics of the United States: From Colonial Times to 1970, Part I* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), pp. 379, 381.



The authors of *Cardinal Principles* reflected John Dewey's interest in using secondary education as an instrument for transforming the everyday lives of citizens in an industrial democracy. They touted "social efficiency."

of action of adults. The way to improve the society was to make the young better than their parents. And thus the reports of the high school reformers became a screen on which were projected the hopes and fears of successive generations of Americans.

The tradition of high school reform began in the U.S. in the late 19th century. By the 1890s the schools had a new world on their hands. America was becoming the most powerful industrial nation on earth. Vast corporations were gaining power undreamed of only a decade or two earlier. As the nerve centers of an increasingly interconnected network of institutions of all kinds, the cities were drawing millions of recruits from the farms and from abroad. Labor was growing restive; increasingly antagonistic to new social relationships of production, workers in many locales launched violent strikes. Massive numbers of immigrants arrived and formed virtual colonies in most population centers of the North. First the Populist crusade and then the momentous election of 1896 challenged in the political arena the emergent economic order. Social philosophers wondered whether such institutions as the family and the church could continue their traditional function of socializing the young in a social order that was unimaginably more complex and specialized than the worlds of Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, or even Horace Mann.

The authors of the first major national report on the high school, the Committee of Ten, wrote in 1893 as if these major transformations were largely irrelevant to their task. In this respect, they differed from most of the other reformers we will discuss. For the most part, the members of the Committee of Ten were college presidents and professors who wanted to

bring some order to the hodgepodge of the high school curriculum and to improve and standardize preparation for higher education. The colleges lacked students, especially well-trained students. For their part, high school officials were confused and angered by the highly diverse admissions requirements of the colleges. The problem, then, was to devise sequences of courses in different tracks — classical, Latin/scientific, modern languages, and English — that would adequately train secondary students for college. The subcommittees appointed by the Committee of Ten specified what would be desirable scholarly content, in order of difficulty, within each academic area. The job of the subcommittees was simple though rigorous: to provide a coherent model of excellence in college preparation. The members had no doubts about their qualifications, for they were experts in education, which meant the imparting of knowledge and the development of intellectual powers.

Charles William Eliot, president of Harvard University, was chairman and the guiding spirit of the Committee of Ten. He looked down on secondary education as "the gap between the elementary schools and the colleges," a chaotic non-system. Public high schools were almost entirely an urban phenomenon, which meant that the rural three-quarters of the student population had little opportunity to attend secondary schools. Even the city high schools served only a tiny fraction of teenagers; in 1890 only 3.5% of all 17-year-olds graduated. Typically, urban high schools were ornate buildings, often modeled on Renaissance palaces or fortresses, with mezzotint pictures of the Apian Way or of characters from Sir Walter Scott's novels on the walls — reminders that the "people's college" was a world apart from everyday life.

Eliot worried that there were so few

high schools and that those in existence had unsystematic curricula. He and his colleagues thought that high schools should be designed for those few students of high intellectual ability "whose parents were able to support them" while they attended school. He was frankly elitist, but he had a democratic conscience. "If a patriot were compelled to choose between two alternatives," wrote Eliot shortly before the release of the Committee of Ten Report, "one, that the less intelligent half of his countrymen should be completely illiterate, the other, that half of the select children capable of receiving the highest instruction should be cut off from that instruction, which would he choose?"⁶

Eliot and his fellow scholars wished to reach as many of that talented group of students as possible, offer them an updated and standardized academic curriculum (including such modern subjects as science, history, and English), and prepare them as if they planned to attend college. What was good for Harvard and the other elite colleges was good for the country. Eliot and his colleagues saw the high school as an agency for honing intelligence for the challenging careers emerging in a complex and interdependent society. But they did not foresee that in the next generation secondary education would begin to become a mass institution with a significantly broadened mission.

A generation later, in 1918, another group of authorities with quite different conceptions of education wrote a position paper on the high school titled *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. Even in the 1890s, alternate conceptions of the functions of the American high school had emerged to challenge the premises of the Committee of Ten. In 1895 John Dewey had observed that the high school "must, on the one hand, serve as a connecting link between the lower grades and the college, and it must, upon the other, serve not as a steppingstone, but as a final stage" for those directly entering the life of the society.⁷ It was with this second group of students that the authors of *Cardinal Principles* were chiefly concerned, and these reformers reflected Dewey's interest in using secondary education as an instrument for transforming the everyday lives of citizens in an industrial democracy. They were enthusiasts for what was often called "social efficiency" (which meant preparing different kinds of pupils for different kinds of social destinies), but they generally lacked Dewey's profound and subtle understanding of the processes that made democracy real both in the classroom and in the larger society.

Although both committees had been sponsored by the National Education Association, the authors of *Cardinal Principles* were a group quite unlike that which wrote the Committee of Ten Report. The authors of *Cardinal Principles* were primarily members of the newly emerging professional specialties in the field of education, which were just then finding a place in universities and in federal, state, and local school bureaucracies. This new committee included three education professors, a university president who had recently been an education professor, the U.S. commissioner of education, two state high school supervisors, a normal-school principal, a representative from a private school, and a YMCA secretary.

These high school reformers did not take the existing academic disciplines as the starting point for their position paper on the high school curriculum. Indeed, they actually omitted academic skills and knowledge in an early draft of their principles, later adding the three R's disguised as "command of fundamental processes." They focused their attention on the other six of the seven key objectives of the secondary school: preparing the young for health, worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure time, and ethical character. In their view, the high school should become a total socializing institution — one that supplemented, if not replaced, the older functions of the family, church, apprenticeship, and other shaping agencies of society.

Cardinal Principles reflected both the generalized anxieties of the progressive era of the early 20th century and the extraordinary hope of a confident profession that schooling could ameliorate social ills. It was a classic statement of the possibility of a new form of social engineering — of creating deliberate and positive change through education. The report stressed "activities," "democracy," and "efficiency" and seemed to relegate traditional academic subjects and pedagogy to the scrap heap. Its authors based their blueprint for a reformed high school on their analysis of the transformation of a society, the changing character of an enlarged student body, new scientific theories of education, and a new social role for the school. They pointed to major changes in the larger society that dictated changes in education: the development of the factory system, which subdivided labor and eroded the apprentice system; the atrophy of traditional socialization of children by parents in urban settings, where families no longer lived and worked in the same place; and the arrival of masses of immigrants unfamiliar with American institutions.

These reformers called attention to the

high dropout rate among high school students and to the increased enrollment of students with "widely varying capacities, aptitudes, social heredity [by which they meant ethnic background], and destinies in life." They argued that educational science had discredited the older notions of "general discipline" (i.e., training the faculties of the mind) and had demonstrated the importance of adapting the curriculum to individual differences in ability. Students must learn, they said, those things that they need to know in order to become healthy, ethical, worthy citizens who know how to behave on the job, in the home, and in their leisure activities.⁸

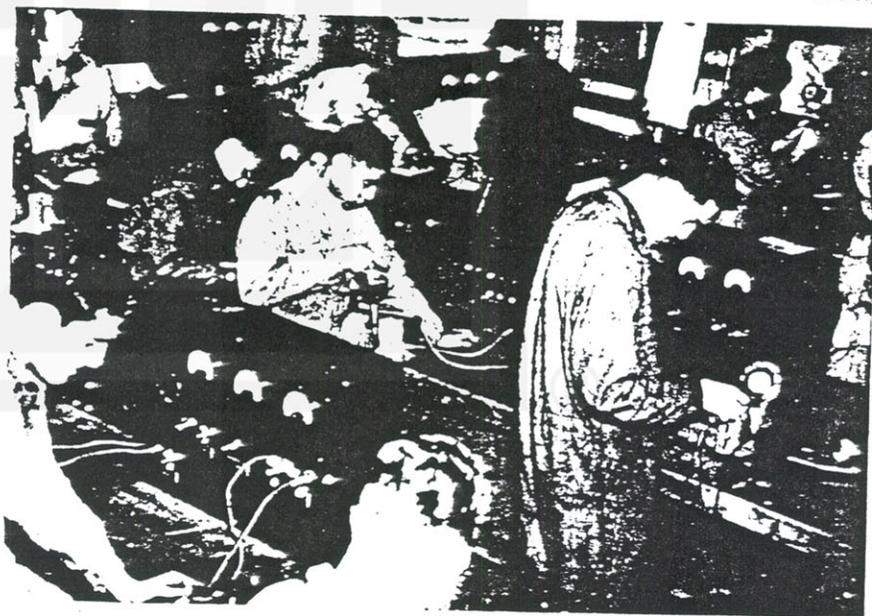
This report put educators at the very center of efforts to reform the society, and, by a rhetoric of scientific management and social efficiency, it sought to justify the enlarged power to which professionals aspired. The report was the curricular correlative of a political campaign to "take the schools out of politics" that marked the dawn of the age of expertise in school administration. Those who shaped the new "science" of curriculum displayed a peculiar blend of optimistic faith in democracy and serious doubts about the academic potential of a large proportion of the students. They saw differentiation and specificity of training for social adjustment as the key to progress. The new intelligence tests gave educators confidence that they could determine who would succeed in academic training and who would need a slower pace and a vocational emphasis. A bureaucratized school, designed and administered by experts, would then fit pupils for their probable future destinies.

In all of this planning, educators showed little appreciation of ethnic dif-

ferences, for they were convinced of the appropriateness of their middle-class "American" values and unconscious of the bias in their supposedly universal science of education. Their confidence in that "science," their optimism about the power of education to correct social ills, and their search for professional autonomy led them to intervene, with an arrogance that was typically unwitting, in the lives of people different from themselves.

Even more important, few educators were alert to the serious inequities, both in the social order and in the secondary schools, that made basic reform through education an implausible dream. The facts of racism, of unequal distribution of wealth, of gender bias, of alienating social relationships in the new mass-production industries — these realities contradicted the hopes of educators in the conservative 1920s that schooling could be a vast engine of social progress. It was not until the stock market crash of 1929 and the ensuing Great Depression that educational policy makers began to address the full dimensions of the problem of achieving a just society. Nonetheless, the authors of *Cardinal Principles* and their adherents won significant public support for a broader view of the high school as an institution for training the young for vocations; thus they refashioned an older faith in schooling by extending the scope and character of secondary education at a time when society was obscuring the older boundaries of social agreement and changing the rules of human association.

In the next great wave of reform, during the Depression, the issue of schooling seemed inextricably tied to the larger question of whether American society





In the 1950s, critics wanted rigor, a demanding adult world of discipline, and high cognitive expectations for the otherwise dull and disorderly young of the nation.

would be able to survive in its present form. In the current age of economic uncertainty, it is encouraging to recall that hard times during the 1930s became an opportunity for creativity and courage in school reform. Throughout that decade a monumental effort took place to redefine the role of education in a dislocated society. This effort involved both the education profession and such New Deal agencies as the National Youth Administration (NYA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), and the Works Progress Administration (WPA). School personnel called for better guidance of youths and for a host of social services and a more appealing curriculum to meet the needs of the new kinds of students then crowding the high schools. The CCC developed an educational program in the corpsmen's camps, while the NYA funded work-study programs for high school students and provided on-the-job training in its youth employment program. Above all, educational policy makers began to advocate a new ideology: that society owed *all* youths either an education through secondary school or guaranteed public service jobs. So severe was the impact of the Depression on teenagers that it forced policy makers to question the whole operation of a market economy.

Dare the school build a new social order? This was the challenge that George Counts of Teachers College, Columbia University, directed to educators in the 1930s. His question forced educators to consider whether they would continue to legitimize a social order that generated suffering and inequality or whether they would commit themselves to building a new socialist order from the ground up. Counts professed an old faith — that educators could indeed reshape society — but he advocated a new form of that dream in radical language that portrayed the age of individualism as dead and a new era of collectivism as an alternate blueprint for society.⁹ This was a strong potion, when administered in large doses to a habitually cautious profession.

Many educators were entranced for a

time with Counts's millennial language and with the central role he gave to teachers in reconstructing society. Such views, however, made little headway with conservative school boards. Counts and his fellow "social-frontier thinkers" did succeed in raising new questions for educators to consider, and his radicalism made liberal views of governmental responsibility for aiding the poor seem reasonable and a reinvigorated concern for the downtrodden seem an essential aim for education.

The 1930s were a watershed for reform in ways that help us interpret our present crisis. Hard times forced educators to reexamine and reinterpret the historic functions of public schools. The reports of the Educational Policies Commission represent the most famous of such efforts, for they helped to build an ideological case that unified the profession and helped educators to state their position to the public. During the Depression, the problems for youths of unemployment, apathy, unrest, and despair became issues of intense concern in the increasingly national culture of public life. The American Youth Commission sponsored many insightful studies of black and white youths, the labor market for young workers, necessary changes in the educational system, and national policies to give youths a chance to participate in an economic system that seemed to have no place for them. Innovative New Deal youth programs put millions of young people to work, helped them to attend school, and generated a sense of public responsibility for the correction of inequalities and the alleviation of suffering.

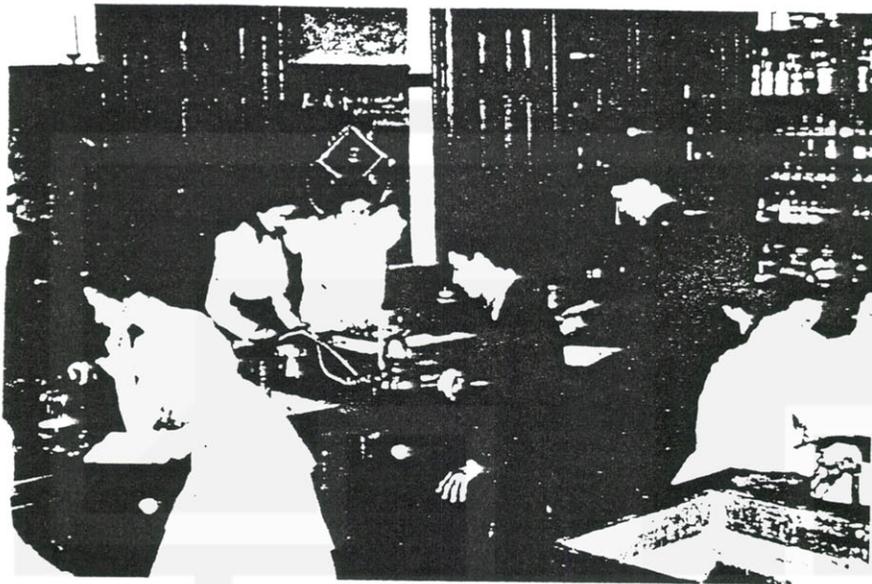
Schools proved to be quite resilient during the Great Depression. Although the gross national product was nearly cut in half during the early 1930s, schooling paused only temporarily in its pattern of growth and then proceeded to expand noticeably (especially at the secondary level) throughout the rest of the decade. When the private economy was collapsing, when familiar beliefs about success were being challenged, when government

was entering new domains, people retained an older trust that public education was an important key to the preservation of treasured values and to social stability. School reform was a way of saying things that people wanted and needed to hear: that society was going to survive, that people who worked were going to be rewarded, that education would again lead the way as it had in the past. The high school was as legitimate as ever in the minds of educators and the public, even in the hardest of times.

In the 1950s, however, it was as if the Committee of Ten had awakened from a long sleep to return to the secondary school and view with horror what had happened since the 1890s. A variety of critics — academics, administrators, and an admiral — reviled the lackluster and anti-intellectual character of the high school in the 1950s. They attacked the low standards of academic performance in the schools, blaming the influence of progressive education — life adjustment, child-centered learning, and the like — for all the problems they saw eroding the excellence of American society. These critics decried a watered-down curriculum, incompetent teachers, neglect for the gifted, and a takeover of the schools by people who had no business being there, because they were not teaching anything. The diatribe grew more shrill with the deepening of the Cold War, as fears of external security in an unstable world became cause for a domestic backlash against liberal social and economic views. No longer symbols of progress, high schools had become instead a portent of national failure and defeat, according to the critics.

The solution, these reformers contended, was to place much greater emphasis on science, mathematics, foreign languages, and the traditional liberal arts. They wanted rigor, a demanding adult world of discipline, and high cognitive expectations for the otherwise dull and disorderly young of the nation. Turning back from preparation for life and vocation to the earlier goal of strict mental discipline as the sole outcome of schooling, these critics demanded a revamping of curricula, tougher selection and training of teachers, greater regimentation in the classroom, fewer frills and extras beyond the basic subjects, and greater attention to patriotic instruction.¹⁰ If the pendulum was swinging away from *Cardinal Principles* in the reasoning of these reformers, it was hurtling even further and faster away from the new social order that George Counts and other reformers of the 1930s had envisioned.

The launching of Sputnik I by the So-



viet Union in 1957 heightened the urgency of such traditionalist demands. In the public imagination, school performance and national prestige became coordinate aspects of the same crisis. Someone was bound to come up with a reform that would blend these concerns to affirm rather than to demolish the identity of the high school as a public institution.

Building upon the conservative inclinations of the critics while reaffirming the broad social purposes of the high school, James Bryant Conant completed his report on the high school in 1959.¹¹ Conant's report was probably the last authoritative statement about reform of the U.S. high school — the last to elicit a strong reaction from the entire education profession, the last to defend in traditional and reassuring ways the symbolic relationship between the high school and the ideals of American society.

The reform he suggested was authoritative in part because it reinforced existing practice while celebrating the exalted goals of the high school. Moderately conservative and influenced deeply by the Cold War mentality, Conant attempted to maintain the high school program in competitive equilibrium, using the institution to bring all youths together under one roof for common experiences, while at the same time sorting them for different destinies. Such an institution promised opportunity and some degree of social mobility, though the promise was illusory for all but those whose exceptional performance entitled them to greater rewards in a social order that would remain unequal.

Conant argued that the best strategy would be to retain but improve the comprehensive high school as the predominant means of socializing U.S. adolescents. He urged educators to enlarge the

institution and make it more efficient in serving its dual functions — educating the many while preparing a smaller number for postsecondary education. All in all, Conant saw the high school as a basically sound institution in need of specific improvements: in counseling, in serving the gifted, in providing a high-quality academic education, and so forth. He followed in the tradition of Eliot (both had been chemists and presidents of Harvard before turning to educational reform) by specifying the standards by which he thought a high school could be judged as satisfactory: Conant was effective among educators because he insisted that the American high school was a unitary conception despite differences in schools, communities, clienteles, ideologies, and practices. He had no doubt that the high school was a mainstay of American democracy.

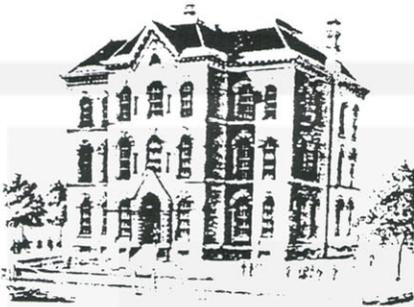
After Conant, reforms came fast and furiously from all sides. The 1960s and 1970s were a time of massive change in the larger society and in education. Blacks, Hispanics, women, the handicapped, and other groups too long ignored in educational policy now demanded a say in shaping the high school. Reformers turned to the courts and to legislatures to bring about changes in school finance, in ways of classifying students, in student discipline and student rights, in segregated schooling, in rights for linguistic minorities, in entitlements for the handicapped, and in a host of other matters previously left to the professionals. Scholars created rigorous new academic curricula, while a new generation of progressive reformers called for alternative schools, electives, and experience-based curricula. Libertarians and

radicals attacked schools as unnatural and rigid, while average citizens year after year told the Gallup pollsters that there was not enough discipline in the classroom. As more actors with divergent views entered the fray of school politics, the older idea of governance by experts seemed to be a thing of the past; everyone, and no one, was a leader.

Under such conditions, those who sought to create a comprehensive program of reform for the high schools in the 1970s faced a Herculean task. A common theme of some of these studies was to look beyond the high school to the larger society for the salvation of youths — to break down the insular culture of the high school and to foster better links with community life and the world of work. The problems the reformers addressed were largely a result of the success of earlier reforms. As educators succeeded in attracting an ever-growing proportion of teenagers into the high school, they faced the task of keeping this heterogeneous population orderly and occupied. As inconsistent reforms accumulated side by side, programs and curricula grew increasingly incoherent. Isolated from work and other contacts with adults, young people seemed to be forming a hermetic youth culture whose features alarmed older citizens. This isolation had been exacerbated by the continuing addition of new social service functions to the high school over the years, which further cut off students from community activities and from networks of support and nurture outside the institutional environment.

The Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee despaired in 1974 of the high school as an agency of socialization and urged that more out-of-school opportunities be made available to youths, such as employment, public service, and other community activities that would bring the young and adults together. Little more than a decade after Conant's report, the Panel on Youth contradicted him by recommending specialized, rather than comprehensive, high schools and by advocating smaller, rather than larger, secondary schools. The panel members argued that more young people should work, and they sought to motivate employers by recommending a lower minimum wage and incentives for training young workers. The panel also took a long-range view of education by suggesting a lifelong education voucher, for use through the end of college regardless of a student's age. In essence, the panel responded to the achievement of universal education in comprehensive high schools by suggesting that the result had become a burden, rather than a triumph.¹²

Although more moderate in its criticisms and eclectic in its recommendations,



Calls for change in both liberal and conservative periods reflect the anxieties and the aspirations of the time.

a commission sponsored by the Kettering Foundation reinforced the panel's critique of the comprehensive high school. The Kettering commission called compulsory attendance laws "the dead hand on the high schools" and argued that no one should be forced to attend school after age 14. Its members outlined alternatives to current high school programs, emphasizing informal sources of learning that could break down the rigidity and uniformity inherent in these programs. This mood of disenchantment with the status quo was shared by a number of other reformers in the mid-1970s; their reports also called for youths to spend more time in out-of-school learning activities.¹³

It now seemed conceivable to policy shapers and even to many educators that there should be less schooling, rather than more, and intermittent, rather than continuous, instruction. But the alternative structures of socialization for which the reformers called did not materialize, save in a few government programs such as the Job Corps, which served only a small portion of the youths who needed work or training. In the meantime, parents and students continued to see the high school, with all of its faults, as the chief place to spend the years of adolescence.

David Cohen and Barbara Neufeld argued recently that the problems of the high school today "are in good measure the result of past successes." Our interpretation of the reform tradition corroborates this view. Surely the school is one of the few U.S. institutions that is genuinely committed to increasing social equality. And, to a limited extent, the school has achieved this goal — admirably in recent years in comparison with earlier eras — but this victory has set up the con-

ditions of its own defeat. Past a certain point, equalizing tendencies in education run counter to the ethos of competitive inequality that shapes a hierarchical society such as ours. As Cohen and Neufeld point out, when schools press for greater equality at a time when many citizens feel that they are losing private advantages, one result can be a decline in public support, for "equality is at once an achievement to be celebrated and a degradation to be avoided."¹⁴

Consider the phases in the proposals for reform that we have examined. In conservative times — in the 1890s, the 1950s, and the 1980s, for example — the keynotes of "reform" have typically been a focus on the talented (often justified by outdoing the Russians or outperforming the Japanese), calls for greater emphasis on the basics and greater stress on academics in general, and concern about incoherence in the curriculum and a lack of discipline. The editorials and articles on public education in popular magazines of the 1950s might be reprinted today without any substantial change and be fashionable once again. By contrast, in more liberal eras — the progressive decades, the 1930s, the 1960s, or the early 1970s — attention shifted to the "disadvantaged" and to broadening the functions of schooling. In times of liberal reform, people worry less about consistency and more about overcoming past rigidity. Calls for change in both kinds of periods reflect the anxieties and the aspirations of the time and an image of a preferred future. Seen in the long perspective of history, reformers seem to wear blinders, to see only part of what constitutes a healthy education system — a system in which the persisting reality is that such values as equity, excellence, and liberty are always in tension.

While changes in the rhetoric of reformers' reports swirl over their heads, teachers in classrooms have probably gone about their business in fairly similar ways, changing only slowly over time, as Cuban has said. They may see the immediate educational situation in more balanced ways than do reformers. It may be well that many proposed changes are slow to gain admission to the classroom. But this does not mean that reports suggesting reform serve no function. Nor does this mean that it is useless to reexamine the high school today.

Reform commissions on secondary education serve an important function that goes well beyond changing everyday practice in the schools. At best, they make broad social changes intelligible by focusing on policy in one institution: the high school. Although the impulse to solve major social problems through the secondary school may be naive, desirable social consequences may nonetheless flow from it.

In this society the school is a familiar and omnipresent institution. By thinking about what consequences today's transformations in society have for education, Americans can think concretely about how to shape the future of their children. Even if problems cannot be solved through the public high school alone, Americans can avoid fatalism and a retreat to education in the private sector by considering how they want the next generation to grow up. The most memorable high school reports have been directed to issues that affect public assent and the morale of educators, key ingredients for a strong social contract to sustain the life of the institution.

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SECTION 6

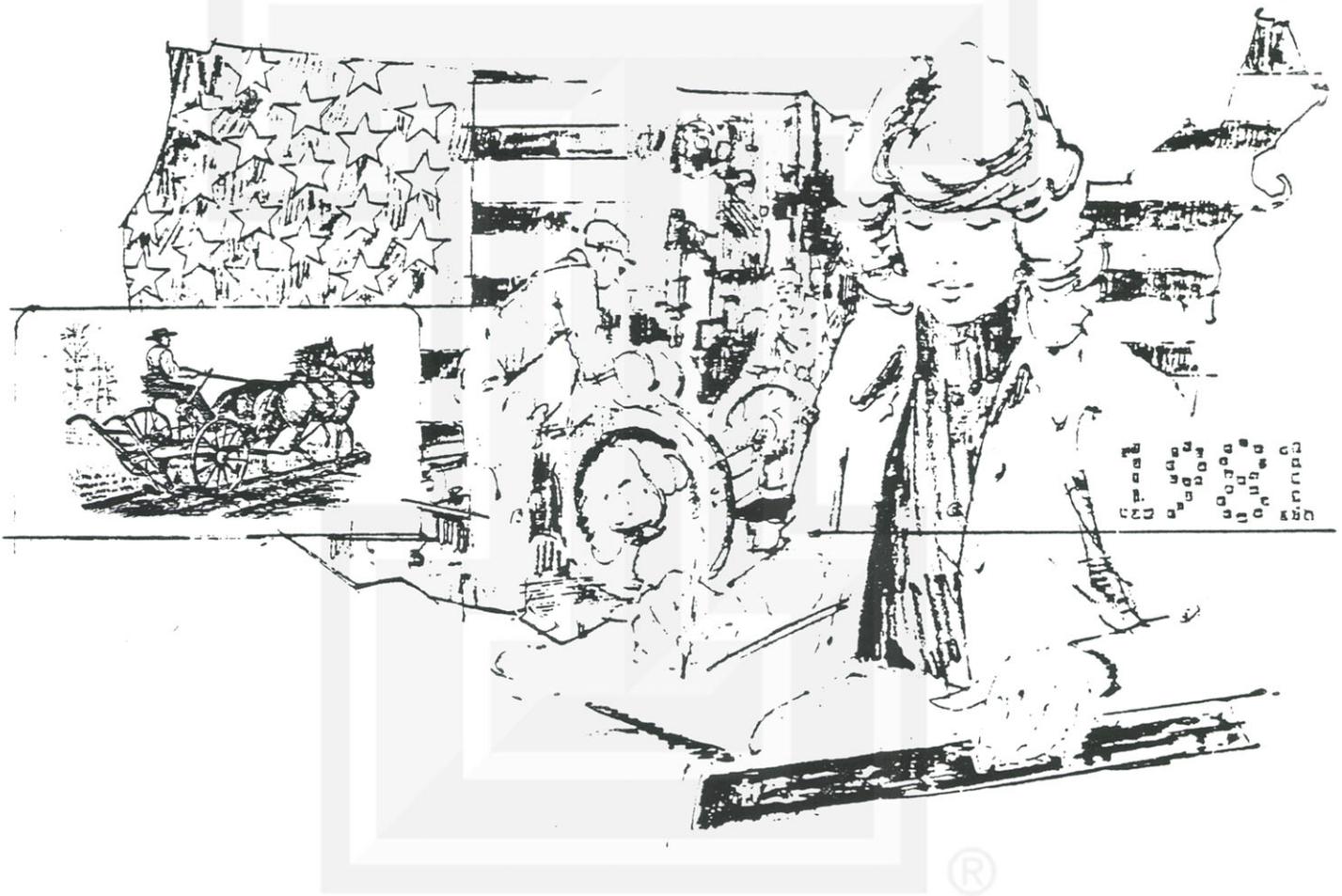
Megatrends

1. The Restructuring of America-High Tech/High Touch
John Naisbitt
2. Search for Tomorrow
John Love
3. Conspiracy for a New World
John Naisbitt



The Restructuring of America- High Tech/High Touch

"We live in turbulent times. We live in an interesting time. In times of turbulence, people look for things to hold onto. Some people hang onto the past, and that is why we have waves of nostalgia, revivals of old movies and musicals, and so on. Others look for structure and that is why so many people are joining cults these days. They are buffeted about by change and want to cling to something." - John Naisbitt, of The Naisbitt Group.



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The following article was adapted from a speech given by John Naisbitt, senior vice president of Yankelovich, Skelly & White, at the International Conference of Wang Users, in November, 1980.

We are an incredibly event-oriented society, and helped by our friends in the media, we just seem to go from event to event, not noticing the process going on underneath. I want us now to notice that process. I want us to notice the context—the changing context—in which we are operating today.

Despite the conceits of some of us who live in Washington or New York, things don't start there. Things that restructure the society start out in the society, not in the largest metropolises in the country.

A Bottom-Up Society

A constant theme today is productivity. The old way of looking at productivity is in terms of the output per person per hour. I believe productivity must be held and viewed in a much larger context. We must see it in the context of the great structural shifts that are taking place in our society, the profound trend toward decentralization, the new entrepreneurial revolution in this society, the reality of this new "information society."

In analyzing societal trends in the United States, my firm's work is based on a profound conviction that this is a bottom-up society. Despite the conceits of some of us who live in Washington or New York, things don't start there. Things that restructure the society start out in the society, not in the largest metropolises in the country. In our work over the last decade or so, we discovered that there are just five bellwether states in the American society, that is five states where most of the social invention takes place.

Basic Restructurings of Society

The premier bellwether state of the United States is California. Florida is second and we also have Washington and Colorado in the West, and Connecticut in the East. We watch these five states closely, but do not ignore the other 45, paying special attention to what is going on locally, because that is what is going on in this country.

I mentioned productivity. In connection with productivity, we must look at these larger restructurings. We must hold productivity in a much larger context. So I am

going to describe five basic restructurings that are occurring in our society.

ONE: Industrial-Information Society

The first is the restructuring from an industrial society to an information-based society. Inherent here are changes that are surely as profound as those encountered when we moved from an agricultural society to an industrial society. The most dramatic way to look at how quickly this has occurred is to look at our changing jobs and the changing character of our jobs.

In 1900, 35 percent of the work force was involved in industrial occupations. This situation crested in 1950 when 65 percent of the work force toiled in industrial occupations. But since 1950, that 65 percent has dropped to 27 percent—a dramatic change. In the meantime, information-knowledge occupations, which claimed about 17 percent in 1950, now hold 58 percent, and the figure is still climbing. Included here are all of us who create, process and distribute information. Naturally everyone in publishing and the media qualifies. But so, too, does everyone in banking, the stock market, insurance companies, and so on. It is important to realize that those of us who are information workers help shape our society.

The Changing Labor Force

Essentially, a brief labor history of the United States is "farmer-laborer-clerk." In 1800, when 95 percent of all workers were farmers, the social arrangements and social instrumentalities of the society reflected agricultural attitudes. Those attitudes fell out of tune as we became a mass industrial society and the laborer dominated the work force. Two years ago, the number one occupation in the United States became "clerk," and industrial-based social instrumentalities and arrangements are now out of tune.

Most noticeable here is the status of labor unions. In 1950, at the height of the mass industrial society, 32 percent of the work force in this country was unionized. That figure has been sliding downward ever since; last year, it was 19 percent and still falling. National political parties also had their heyday during the mass industrial society. Today, they exist in name and theory only.

A Shift in Resources

We have an important shift here in strategic resources. In a mass industrial society, the strategic resource is capital. The strategic resources in an information society are knowledge, data, experience and information.

Access to the economic system is much easier when the strategic resource is information rather than capital, and what you would expect to happen is happening. There is an explosion of entrepreneurial activity in the United States to create small information-based firms. Much of this activity is going on in the computer/word processing industry.

We have a shift also in time orientation. In an agricultural society, the time orientation is to the past. We knew from the past how to plant, how to harvest, how to store. In an industrial society, the time orientation is the present. It is now—"Get it done, ad hoc. Get it out." In an information society the time orientation is towards the future. That is one of the reasons we are so interested in the future, and we must learn from it in precisely the ways we have learned from the past.

The Recession That Never Came

When you have such a basic restructuring of a society, the old traditional groupings of goods and services don't work anymore. That is why for three and a half years, seemingly every other Monday morning, economists predicted a recession. We never got it, because their work is rooted in the old indices. And we did not have a recession in 1980. What we had was a new phenomenon—parts of our country in prosperity and parts of our country in depression. The economists put the two pieces together and said, "This is a recession."

We need new concepts and new data if we are to understand what is going on today, let alone understand what might go on tomorrow.

TWO: Centralized-Decentralized Society

The second restructuring of America is from a centralized society to a decentralized society. The two great centralizing events in our history were the Great Depression and World War II. Another contributing factor was the powerful centralizing impact of industrialization. We are now receding from these influences as we decentralize and as we diversify.

The people of this country have done an extraordinary thing – we have given up the myth of the melting pot. And, this is good, if you think about it, because our great ethnic diversity accounts for our great creativity and our great strength. For decades, we had been teaching in fourth and fifth grade civics that we were a great melting pot. We all went into some sort of giant Waring Blender and came out homogenized Americans. In 1969 or so, we started to say that is not so, and we began to celebrate ethnic diversity. The phenomenon of the seventies was jurisdictional diversity or geographical diversity. What we saw as almost chauvinistic regionalism is a part of that, and it continues today.

I see national network television – ABC, CBS and NBC – as the Life, Look and Post of the eighties.

National Urban Policies Disappear

We don't have, for example, a national urban policy because the old top-down master plan is completely out of tune with the times. It is an inappropriate question, for example, to ask, "Are we going to save our cities?" We are going to save

some of our cities. We are not going to save others. We are going to save some parts of cities and not other parts, and it is all going to be a product of local initiative, not a national mandate.

The political process provides another example of the move to localization. We are participating in the political process in this country at more and more a local level. While vote totals for national office are going down, the totals for local consideration, local initiatives and local referenda are going up – to as high as 75 percent turnout, and in some cases bumping up against 80 percent.

What is happening in America is that the general purpose, "umbrella" instrumentalities are folding everywhere. And a new analog of this was signalled when the great general purpose magazines, Life, Look and the Saturday Evening Post folded nine years ago. The year they ceased publication, we saw the creation of 300 special interest magazines, almost all

of which are still being published. Then we created more, and we now have 5,000 special interest magazines and no general purpose magazines. That is the analog.

I see national network television – ABC, CBS and NBC – as the Life, Look and Post of the eighties as their audiences are drawn away by the new options in this increasingly multiple-option society. The tremendous array of cable television is helping to promote this long downward slide of the national networks. Cable is the analog of the special interest magazines. There are all new networks, the Spanish language network, the older people's network, the black networks, the American network, the ail-sports network, the all-news network. There are two children's networks, not to mention the gavel-to-gavel coverage of the House of Representatives. My own guess is that by the end of the eighties, ABC, CBS and NBC will have half the impact they have today.

The old New York-to-Chicago economic financial corridor is being replaced by a new Los Angeles-Houston corridor.

THREE: North-South

The third basic restructuring is from North to South. We have read endless articles about the Sun Belt versus the Frost Belt. But, I still don't think what is going on has been sufficiently underscored. The last census revealed that for the first time in our history, there are more people living in the South than are living in the North. During the seventies, a stunning 36 percent of the growth in this country occurred in the South, and such a city symbol of northern industrialism as Chicago lost 20 percent of its population. Pittsburgh lost 21 percent of its population, and with the deindustrialization going on as we move to an information society, that shift from North to South is irreversible in our lifetimes.

The old New York-to-Chicago economic financial corridor is being replaced by a new Los Angeles-Houston corridor, and among those cities that are the real growth cities and cities of great opportunity, most are in the South. My own list of the 10 are: three in Texas – Houston, San Antonio and Austin; two in Arizona – Phoenix and Tucson; two in California – San Jose and Los Angeles, and then Miami, Denver and Salt Lake City.



FOUR: World Economic Interdependence

Now, I want to enlarge on the fourth restructuring of America – the growing economic interdependence in the world. Recently it has been said, "There are no passengers on spaceship Earth. We are all crew," and I think we are all more and more getting a sense of that. Arthur Clarke said the two great inventions that really moved the United States economically were the telegraph and railroads. Similarly the two great inventions that are making us a global village today are the jet airplane and the communications satellite. We are, for the first time, a truly world economy because of instantaneously shared information.

As a result, this globe is in the process today of re-sorting who's going to make what. We are involved in a redistribution of labor and production, and as part of that process, all developed countries are deindustrializing. The United States and the rest of the developed countries of this world are on their way to losing the steel industry, automobile industry, railroad equipment industry, machinery industry, textile industry, apparel industry, shoe industry, and the appliance industry. The Third World is taking up these old tasks.

Since 1960, the United States' share of the export pie has dropped from 18 percent to 12 percent. That is dramatic change. Meanwhile, the United Kingdom managed, in a couple of generations, to transform herself from the world's wealthiest society to a relatively poor member of the Common Market. And Japan this year became the number one automaker in the world, displacing, in the process, the United States as the world's leading industrial power.

Exciting Time on Earth

In Japan it takes 11 hours to make a car. It takes 31 hours in America. And in the new Zama plant with its robots, Japan is making cars in nine hours. It is in this environment that we must view the Chrysler bailout. The direction of the bailout is in the direction of turning the automobile industry into an employment program, the way Britain turned its automobile and steel industries into employment programs.

It has been part of the conceit of the automobile industries that they never

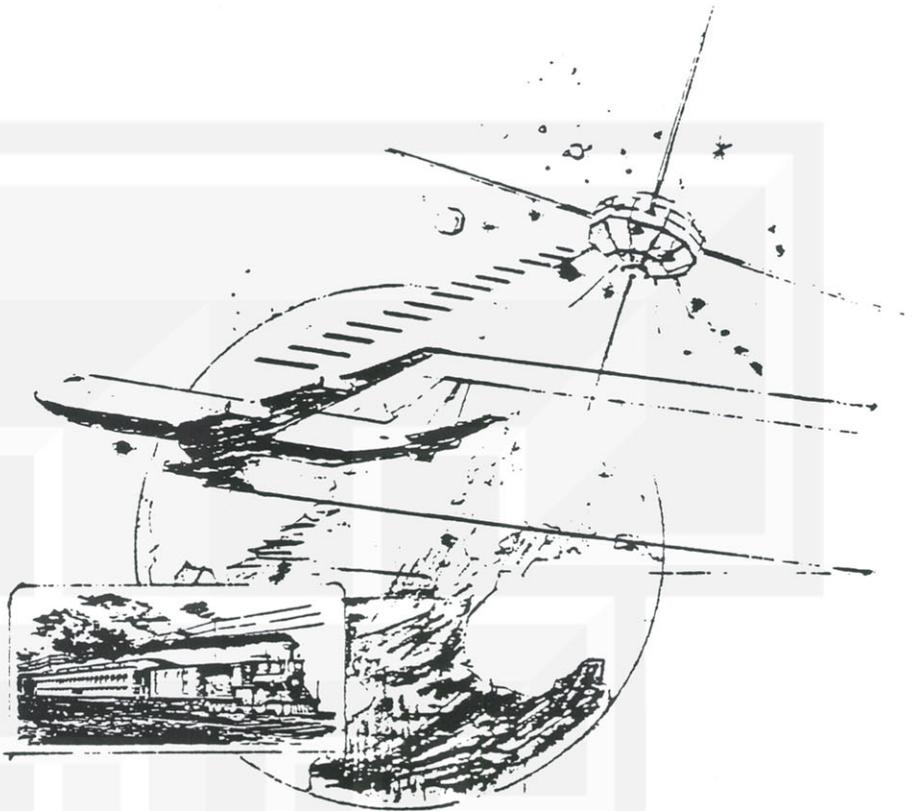
diversified. They thought they would go on together, and now even Henry Ford is getting out while the getting is good. Not many automobile companies are going to survive. Through mergers, joint ventures and cooperative agreements, we are going to create transnational automobile companies, and the process is well under way. This will be the first industry to globalize, and will then be a model for other industries. The 30 automobile companies that are now operating on an international scale will, by the end of the 1980's, be reduced to as few as seven or eight companies, or alliances of companies.

Yesterday is over. We have two economies in America today, one falling and one rising. We have a group of sunset industries and a group of sunrise industries, and we must get on with the new tasks as the Third World takes over the old tasks. It can be an exciting time, however. A global economy will tend to assert our differences, to assert our distinctiveness. I would look for a renaissance in cultural assertiveness of languages and so on.

FIVE: High Tech/High Touch

Lastly, we are moving in the dual direction of what I call High Tech/High Touch. What I mean by that is that the introduction of any high technology into a society, particularly this society, must be accompanied by a compensatory human response – a balancing – or the technology will be rejected.

For instance, introduction of television in the United States was accompanied by a group therapy movement that led to the personal growth movement, which led to the human potential movement, which is today extraordinarily widespread in America. These two things, television and the human potential movement, were



developed almost in lock step, and much of both of them in the bellwether state of California.

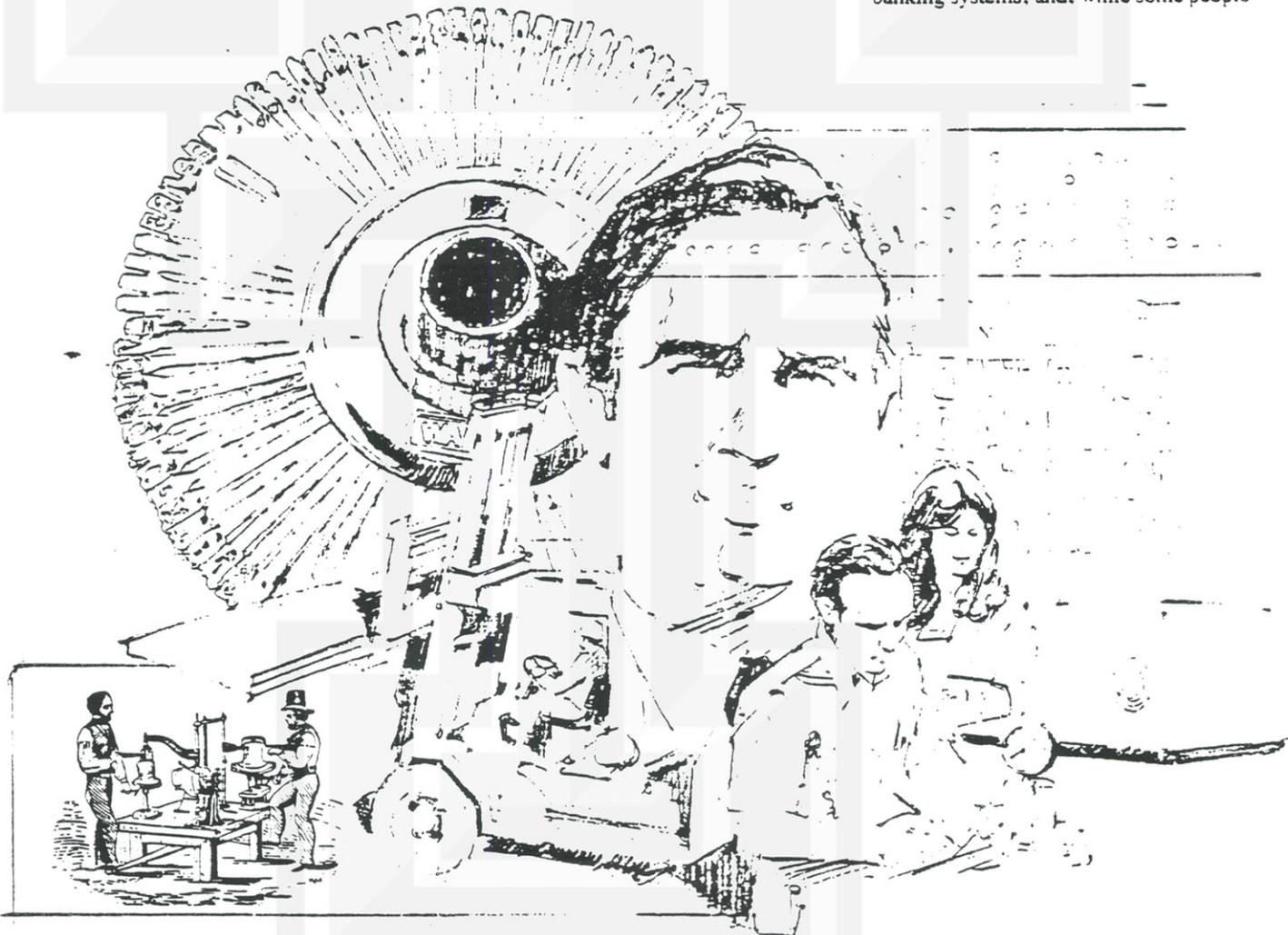
A very poignant example of High Tech/High Touch is the high technology of life-sustaining equipment in hospitals. This led to an interest in the quality of death and to the hospices movement. The high technology of heart transplants and brain scanners led to a new interest in the family doctor neighborhood clinics. The birth control pill is a terrific example of High Tech/High Touch, where the high technology of pharmacology and chemistry created the pill, which then led to a revolution in lifestyle. Notice that it moved from either/or to multiple option.

People don't go to the movie just to go to the movie. They go to the movie to laugh or cry with 200 other people.

One example of a technological advancement that was not followed by a compensatory human response is the home video movement. Arthur D. Little, a research firm, in 1975 issued a report that summed up by saying because of wide-screen home television "There will be no movie theaters in the United States by the

year 1980." The next year the attendance at movie theaters broke all records. The succeeding year, it happened again. It is because of High Tech/High Touch. People don't go to the movie just to go to the movie. They go to the movie to laugh or cry with 200 other people. It is an event. So, because people continued to attend movies, the high technology of home video did not draw the necessary human response and did not put the movie theaters out of business as predicted. People go to restaurants and shopping malls partly for the same reason.

A similar problem occurred with the evolution of Electronic Funds Transfer Systems (EFTS) used by banks. The bankers decided to implement electronic banking systems, and, while some people



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wanted to do their banking using this new technology, many more still wanted to see a teller — a human being. Many even prefer to see the same teller every time. Because the human response was not favorable in this case, lots of people are losing money on EFTS.

We will not have electronic cottages. Very few people are going to be willing to stay at home and tap out messages to the office. People want to go to the office, to be with people. And, the more technology we have, the more they are going to want to be with people.

Computer as Liberator

The more we insert technology into the society, the more people will want to be with people. We will not have electronic cottages. Very few people are going to be willing to stay at home and tap out messages to the office. People want to go to the office, to be with people. And, the more technology we have, the more they are going to want to be with people. For a while I thought there might be some sort of rebellion against the computer. But now I

see the computer as liberator, and I think we are just beginning to understand how liberating the computer is in a High Tech/High Touch sense.

For example, if you have 40,000 employees, you probably treated those employees pretty much the same for generations. That is how you keep track of them. With the computer to keep track, you can treat each of those employees differently. You can have a different, unique contract for each of the 40,000 employees. We are moving very much in the direction of having a different and individual contract with each of our employees, whether we have 2000, 4000 or 400,000.

Opportunity/Uncertainty

Several hundred years ago, we created the hierarchical managerial pyramid because we needed to keep track of things. With the computer, we don't need that pyramid anymore. Those institutions that survive are going to reconstitute themselves in smaller and smaller entrepreneurial units, horizontal organizations with thousands of profit centers. And we can do that

because we now have the computer to keep track of these diverse centers.

This is a signal of a very basic change in this society. We are going to start to experience a shift to what Anthony Smith calls "sovereignty over text." Sovereignty over text has been in the hands of authors and editors and producers forever. They decided how to package this and that, and then we picked one of the packages that they arranged. As more and more of us experience calling up only the specific information we want, as more and more of us collectively experience this shift in sovereignty over text, over a period of time, the more the computer as liberator is going to have a profound effect on us all.

Man creates tools, and then those tools shape man, and I think none does this so profoundly as the computer.

I would say, the coming decade will be a time of great excitement and great adventure. It is the time of the parentheses. It is the time between eras, and that is always the time of great opportunity. It is also a time of great uncertainty, and we must make uncertainty our friend. Among other things it is one of the few certainties we really have. □



John Naisbitt is chairman of The Naisbitt Group, a firm that analyzes societal trends in the United States, and is the publisher of *The Trend Report* — a research project sponsored by 50 major corporations in the U.S. Before forming The Naisbitt Group, Naisbitt was Senior Vice President of Yankelovich, Skelly & White. Naisbitt has also held the position of Chairman of the Board of the Center for Policy Process in Washington, D.C. He has also served on the White House Staff as special assistant to President Lyndon Johnson, and has held various positions at IBM Corporation and Eastman Kodak Company. He has written several books. The latest, *The Restructuring of America* will be published next year.

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Will John leave the Organization to become an entrepreneur? Will Sarah have her operation by 9 and be out by 5? Will Ralph harvest his Jerusalem artichokes in time to corner the new-fuel market? For these and other developments stay tuned to *The Trend Report*.

By John Love

SEARCH *for* TOMORROW

THE FUTURE IS THE place where we'll be spending the rest of our lives, so there's a natural human curiosity about what kind of future it will be. From the pronouncements of the Delphic Oracle to the syndicated horoscopes of Jeane Dixon, people have found ingenious ways of making a buck—or a career—out of that curiosity.

The corporate forecasters of the Eighties, who do the fortune-telling for the *Fortune* 500, are a new breed of soothsayers. Though their predictions can shock and surprise, they're not the stuff of banner headlines in supermarket tabloids. In fact, corporate future-watchers aren't interested in crystal-ball predictions of any kind—whether it be the width of next year's ties, the rise and fall of the Dow Jones or the size of the prime rate.

Instead, they're engaged in a risky, high-stakes enterprise that replaces show biz and mysticism with research and analysis. Using computers and data bases instead of ouija boards and tea leaves, they track the broad movements of social change, looking for the *Zeitgeist*.

"Nobody knows what weird varieties of natural disasters, happy coincidences, love affairs, ax murders or financial shenanigans will occur between now and dinnertime," one forecaster admits. "Hell, I can't even beat the point spread on Sunday's football game. But we *can* look very closely at

John Love is a frequent contributor to these pages. He last wrote for us on "celebrity brokers"—a trend, of course.

what's happening in the society today and make fairly accurate guesses about the quality of life in the next decade."

Corporate forecasters try to answer the Big Questions: How will institutions—families, governments, corporations—change over the next few fiscal years? How will people use their leisure time and disposable income? What does the rise of inner-directed values mean for productivity? Which businesses will fail in the Eighties and Nineties, and which will boom? Beyond that, they try to discover the new questions we don't yet know enough to ask.

The Futures Group, a research organization based in Glastonbury, Connecticut, is one leader in the forecasting field, providing a series of customized policy-analysis services to major companies. Its consumer PROSPECTS studies, for example, describe the specific futures of 100 different socioeconomic trends, and its FUTURSCAN is a subscription-service interactive computer system that gives clients access to "policy-analysis models." The Futures Group says that it "describes possible futures and the opportunities and threats they may present," adding, "We're not in the business of random speculation. We provide foresight to improve decision-making in the present."

SRI International, the mammoth non-profit research organization based in Menlo Park, California, conducts scores of futures studies for businesses and governments around the world. The largest SRI futures-research program is VALS, the Values and Lifestyles Program. An ongoing study of changing American values and lifestyles, VALS is sponsored by over 70 American corporations. For a \$9,000 annual fee, the VALS program provides clients with "data,



John Naisbitt

"Evidently, societies are like individuals: we can juggle only so many problems at any one time. We measure the changing 'share of the market' of competing societal concerns."



insight and techniques required for members to profitably apply values and lifestyles information in marketing, planning, product design and other business activities." That translates into highly detailed information about how Americans are changing *inside*, and how those changes will affect their behavior *outside*—at the workplace, in their leisure hours and in the marketplace as consumers.

These and other trend-spotting research groups rely on time-honored methods of obtaining information and statistics: public-opinion surveys, polls, in-home interviews, questioning select demographic groups over the phone or through the mail. But some experts are now beginning to question the applicability of these standard methods in an era of rapid social and technological change.

Morris Janowitz, Distinguished Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago,

argues that traditional survey techniques are becoming awkward or inaccurate and that alternatives to polling ought to be explored. In an article in the *Journal of Communication*, Janowitz cited the steady growth of both polling costs and the nonresponse rate—the "increased suspicion of householders" who are already besieged with salespeople, con artists and collection-agency heavies. Many people, Janowitz wrote, feel that endless questions from a stranger are an invasion of privacy. In addition, "a growing intellectual criticism of the mechanical survey research strategy is that it does not adequately chart the dynamics of explosive social movements that fashion contemporary society."

One forecaster has spent a decade developing an alternative method of finding out what kind of future we'll be living in. John Naisbitt, a senior vice-president of Yankelovich, Skelly and White, and publisher of *The Trend Report*, tracks social change by saving old newspaper clippings.

That may seem an unusual way to find out where civilization is going, but Naisbitt clips articles with such monumental precision that he may be America's most trusted

forecaster. Since 1970, his *Trend Report* staff has clipped, coded, filed and evaluated over a million-and-a-half local news items. *The Trend Report*, as a result, draws its conclusions from one of the world's richest data bases.

Naisbitt's unique research methodology—it's called "content analysis"—relies almost exclusively on monitoring local events and behavior. "The basic premise of the research," reads the introduction to the latest *Trend Report*, "is that the best source of continuing information on what actions people are taking in their communities is the daily newspaper. What is reported each day as 'events' becomes a continuing stream of information on the shifting priorities, values, expectations and demands of the community. As we become increasingly preoccupied with one aspect of our lives, we pay less attention to other things. *The Trend Report* monitors the local-news content of daily newspapers of more than 120 cities and towns to gauge these shifting priorities."

Naisbitt and his staff are engaged in a kind of domestic espionage, spying on trends, smuggling out the blueprints of tomorrow's society. So it should come as no surprise that the inspiration for this technique of tracking change by monitoring local events and behavior came from the intelligence community. In World War II, the OSS (Office of Strategic Services), under the leadership of Harold Lasswell and Paul Lazarsfeld, kept an eye on what was going on inside Japan and Germany by doing a continuing content-analysis of their daily papers.

"Although this method of monitoring public thinking continues to be the choice of intelligence agencies—the United States spends millions of dollars doing newspaper content-analysis in various parts of the world—it has rarely been applied commercially," Naisbitt says. "In fact, *The Trend Report* is the only research service utilizing this concept for analyzing our society. The reason content-analysis works so well is that the 'news hole' in a newspaper is a closed system. For economic reasons, the amount of space devoted to news does not change over time. So, when something new is introduced into that news hole, as it is called, something or a combination of things has to be omitted. The principle involved here can be classified as a forced choice within a closed system.

"In this forced-choice situation, societies add new preoccupations and forget old ones. *The Trend Report* keeps track of these changes. Evidently, societies are like individuals: we can juggle only so many problems and concerns at any one time. We measure the changing 'share of the market' of competing societal concerns."

Management expert Peter Drucker once said that "long-range planning does not deal with future decisions, but with the future of present decisions." *The Trend Report* works

on the same principle: Naisbitt steadfastly refuses to make any swami-like predictions and doesn't even like to call himself a futurist. He insists he is looking for signals of change in the present, and is in the business of alerting his corporate clients to the future consequences of what's happening here and now in key areas of the nation.

"We are overwhelmingly impressed with the extent to which America is a from-the-bottom-up society, so we monitor what's going on locally rather than what's going on in New York or Washington," Naisbitt explains. "Things start in Tampa, Wichita, Los Angeles, Hartford, Portland, San Diego and Denver. In the past decade, we've discovered five 'bellwether states'—the real grassroots where social invention takes place first; the other 45 states are, in general, followers. Social change tends to begin in California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida and the state of Washington, slowly moving into other parts of the country and finally filtering up to the so-called power centers of New York and Washington, D.C. All five of these bellwether states are currently characterized by a rich mix of people, a strong sense of fiscal conservatism, and a real devotion to experimentation.

"Here's a good example of how a trend began in a bellwether state and was later adopted by the rest of the nation: by watching local behavior in California, we were able to anticipate the national trend against mandatory retirement at age 65. We were able to tell our clients about it two years before it became a national phenomenon."

EVERY DAY, 206 newspapers arrive at *The Trend Report's* data-base office in Stamford, Connecticut. The papers represent every metropolitan area in the nation with a population of 100,000 or more and every state capital. This sampling of America's 1,700 dailies is designed to include the "better" papers as well as a number of radical, right-wing and minority publications.

The Trend Report staff then attacks the papers, armed with scissors and degrees in library science. Excluding wire-service dispatches and soft-news features, the staff clips all the local news items and divides them into eleven coding categories: education, energy, environment, employment, government and politics, consumer affairs, health, housing and urban renewal, law and justice, social relations, transportation.

The items are then broken down into 150 subtopics, down to what a library-science whiz would call "the fourth level." An article about education in the Madison, Wisconsin, *Capital Times*, for instance, might be coded on the second level to the subtopic of uni-

versities, on the third level to faculty concerns, and on the fourth level the article would be broken down even further in an array of subtopics ranging from collective bargaining to tenure and recruitment.

The staff arranges the clippings chronologically, transfers them to microfiche, and numerically classifies them to include all the content categories, the time frame and the city of origin. The result is a treasury of easily retrieved, localized, highly specific data.

Why don't major corporations keep in-house staffs busy clipping papers and doing all this so that their top honchos will know where America is headed? For the same reason that most of us don't take up brain surgery as a hobby. Naisbitt's *Trend Report* staff has a system so well wired that they can, on a daily basis, absorb and organize gargantuan amounts of information, far faster and more efficiently than any corporation could do on its own.

After the data is categorized and microfiched, Naisbitt and his staff begin the process of interpretation. "At our office in Washington," Naisbitt says, "we conduct a quarterly analysis of the articles, both quantitative and qualitative. First we measure the changing amount of space devoted to the different categories—the actual lineage or column inches."

To make it easier to read the quantitative side of changing trends, *The Trend Report* established a standard index against which fluctuations can be measured. Just as the Consumer Price Index uses a value of 100 based on the year 1967, *The Trend Report* tracks the nation's shifting concerns indexed to a base of 100 in 1974, based on newspaper lineage. Housing, for example, fell to 72 in 1976, but in 1977 it jumped up to 110.

In this way, Naisbitt's report can create slice-of-the-pie charts and graphs that show exactly how much attention the nation is giving to specific issues within the eleven major categories. The latest *Trend Report*, for example, indicates that coverage of innovation in the public schools (the invasion of computers, new motivational techniques) has increased to 43 per cent of all education items, while articles concerning the problems of teachers have decreased from 22 to 14 per cent.

But these figures, interesting as they may be as weathervanes of the national mood, are simply the superstructure of *The Trend Report*. Naisbitt and his staff also work up a detailed qualitative analysis of what's happening in America.

"We actually read 15 million lines of news from 50,000 individual daily papers every year," Naisbitt says. "Members of our staff concentrate on the eleven different categories. From their reports we can identify how certain trends are developing, and their dynamic relationship with other trends. America is now undergoing a major restructuring that is changing every element of soci-

"A year ago, the number-one occupation in the United States became a clerk — replacing the laborer and the farmer before that. Farmer, laborer, clerk: a brief history of the U.S."

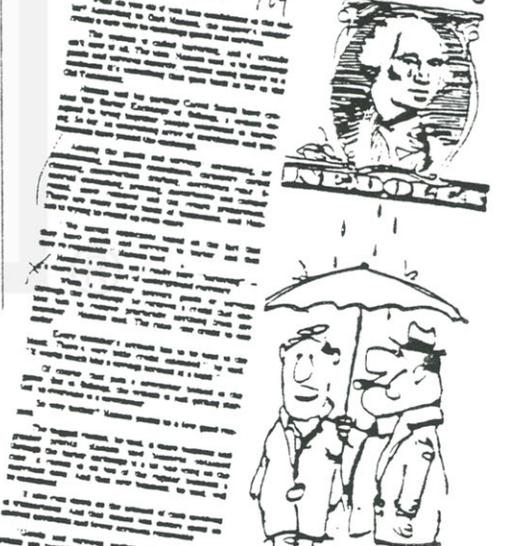
What do the 1980s hold for America's workers?



The New Journalist
Living Today

Kids' computers fun (plus!)
There's a chance for learning, too

Quid pro quo
Businessmen revive bartering



tables.

"Everyone I speak to," Naisbitt says, "knows they are operating in a context of profound change. But there is a natural tendency in all institutions and bureaucracies to disregard the first blips on the screen, the earliest vibrations that something new is on the way."

For example, he says the auto industry has regarded change the same way a stunned deer freezes at the sight of oncoming headlights: "The trend toward small

cars was always there for us to see—the success of Volkswagen in the Sixties, the invasion of the Japanese imports in the Seventies. The signals were there. But it's just like in our personal lives; when we sense strongly—or are told outright—that something's coming, we tend to postpone doing something about it. Procrastination holds back giant corporations just as it does individuals.

"The trick is to really anticipate changes, to have confidence that they're going to oc-

"The trick is to really anticipate changes, to have confidence that they're going to occur and then to do something really creative before your competition does."

THE FIVE TREND-SETTING STATES

Remember, You Lived It Here First

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ACCORDING TO John Naisbitt, "Five states—California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida and Washington—are consistently trend-setters for the rest of the nation.

When we trace back new trends, positions on issues

eventually adopted by most of the 50 states, these five are again and again the places where new trends began. It's difficult to say why, other than to observe that all five are characterized by a rich mix of people. And the richness of the mix always results in creativity, experimentation and change."

California, of course, is famous as a trend-setter. "The whole 'Granola Ethic' started there: the vitamin and nutrition craze, most of the human-potential groups, and the physical-fitness trend—which is not a fad, by the way, but an important and enduring change in lifestyles. . . . Proposition 13 in California was really a subset of a larger trend toward citizen-initiated referenda. Now that trend has spread across the nation—people are leapfrogging the political apparatus to make quality-of-life decisions themselves at the ballot box."

California's next wave of the future may be its Health Plan for 1980-85. It proposes a drastic change of emphasis from doctors and hospitals to improved environmental and living habits. Tactics toward this end will include increased water fluoridation, tax breaks for companies with exercise facilities, more school health and nutrition education, tougher pollution controls, "economic disincentives" to medical specialists who settle in cities that already have filled the quota for their specialty, and greater support for health maintenance organizations (HMOs).

"Inclusionary housing" is another California innovation. In Palo Alto, for instance, a large builder must sell ten per cent of his new housing units to moderate-income fam-

ilies below cost. Prices are controlled by a public agency, which must clear both the initial buyer and subsequent purchasers. The California Housing Department says that about a dozen communities have adopted inclusionary plans, and that at least 45 towns and counties are now drafting them.

Also in California: The Public Utility Commission has decided to force utilities to fund alternative energy sources and conservation plans; they have already been required to provide no-interest loans and pay capital costs for the installation of solar hot-water heaters for over 175,000 customers. University of California professor Arthur Luehmann is a leader in trying to focus attention on "computer illiteracy," which he says will be the most urgent problem of the Eighties: only one per cent of the population now feels comfortable with computers, but millions will have to use them.

Colorado initiated "sunset laws," requiring new agencies to have their existence continued by legislative action rather than by inertia. Along with Florida and California (all of which acted within a two-month period), Colorado passed laws limiting growth—of population, highways, shopping centers, housing units. "That sudden occurrence in three trend-setting states encouraged us to predict a national trend," Naisbitt recalls. "In fact, those seemingly unrelated events did mature into the important and pervasive trend toward managed growth."

Connecticut, along with Washington, was one of the first states in recent years to elect a woman governor. With Florida, Connecticut was a leader in requiring minimum competency standards for high-school graduates. "This is part of the accountability trend moving across the whole country," Naisbitt notes. "Teacher standards will be next."

Now Connecticut is setting the trend in the workplace. It passed the nation's first "workers' right-to-know law," requiring manufacturers who use suspected carcinogens to identify the ingredients and give

new employees information on hazardous substances they would come in contact with; New York has already followed with a similar statute.

The Connecticut Supreme Court, in a precedent-setting decision, ruled that "whistle-blowers" can't be fired. The court said employees without a specific contract can't be dismissed for complaining about a company practice that violates state law or creates a public hazard.

Connecticut has also begun an apparent trend toward eliminating monthly minimum utility charges for poverty-level customers. And, in line with California's health plan, Connecticut is the site of several "surgicenters"—outpatient surgery clinics.

Florida, of course, started the boom in condominiums. "Sunshine laws"—requiring public agencies to hold open meetings—also began in Florida, and have since spread to almost every state.

For the future, Florida is leading the way on cracking down on gas-guzzling cars. Governor Robert Graham has proposed a plan to add a two-per-cent sales tax to cars rating less than twenty mpg. (A similar proposal by California governor Jerry Brown, to tax gas guzzlers \$300 a year, is still idling in the state legislature.) Florida is pioneering time-shared vacations, under which homes in pricey vacation areas are purchased under divided ownership; it was also the first state to adopt rough guidelines governing time-sharing.

Washington's largest city, Seattle, was the first place in the nation to outlaw mandatory retirement laws, a trend that has since spread across the nation. Now Washington is a leader in the development of gasohol fuel. The state Gasohol Commission has declared the Jerusalem artichoke the vegetable of the future—the "weed that whips OPEC." It's a weed so full of sugar that it produces twice as much alcohol as corn does: it grows like wildfire on marginal lands with little rain and no fertilizer. The commission has proposed that farmers form 1,000-acre cooperatives to distill Jerusalem-artichoke alcohol.

—J.L.

cur, and then do something really creative before your competition does. We have to restructure our institutions to be more responsive to constant uncertainty and discontinuous change."

JUST WHAT DOES JOHN

Naisbitt see happening in America? In the Executive Summary to the current *Trend Report*, he outlines ten transcending "megatrends" that are moving across the country:

Decentralization—"The single most dominant trend we find in our research is the rapid and extensive process of decentralization. All of the major social, economic and political forces of the period from 1900 to 1960 supported the centralization of power, authority and responsibility within our private and public-sector organizations. The Great Depression, the World Wars and the dynamics of a growing industrial economy made hierarchical, top-down structures appropriate and effective for those times. But now the society is creating decentralized alternatives to almost every centralized form of organization. Problem-solving, particularly in the field of energy, is becoming increasingly localized."

Naisbitt practices what he preaches: in 1981 he'll begin publishing six regional editions of *The Trend Report*. A trial edition of an *Upper Midwest Trend Report* has already appeared, based in Minneapolis and covering Minnesota, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana and Wyoming; it adds about 100 papers to Naisbitt's coverage. The other five regional, "decentralized" editions will come from Naisbitt's five trend-setting states.

North-to-South Shift—"The recent process of shifting the American center of gravity from North to South is nearly completed. The implications of the shift will be increasingly felt in all quarters. In fact, our current research indicates that the North and the South, generally speaking, are undergoing two very different sets of experiences as we struggle through our current economic dislocations."

Deinstitutionalization—"Many of the institutions that were created to organize the delivery of private and public goods and services are being dismantled and reshaped. Increasingly, the basic assumptions which once described the responsibilities of the institution are being changed. This is best illustrated by the continuing evolution of what we once knew as the Post Office, the telephone system, the airlines, the health-care system, the higher-education system and the utility systems."

The Information Economy—"More profound than the shift in the nineteenth century from an agricultural economy to an industrial economy is our current shift from an

industrial base to an information base. In 1950, 65 per cent of people working in this country were working in the industrial sector. That figure is now 30 per cent. Today, 55 per cent of American workers are information workers: paid to process data or information. The strategic resource in the industrial society was capital; the strategic resource in the information society is knowledge, data that is not only renewable but self-generating.

Organizational and managerial systems that were effective in an industrial setting are no longer appropriate. The dominant skills, attitudes, expectations and motivations of our new workforce are not those held by workers we have known as 'blue collar.' Starting a year ago, the number-one occupation in the United States became a clerk—replacing the laborer and the farmer before that. Farmer, laborer, clerk: a brief history of the United States."

Biology as the Dominant Science—"As knowledge from physics and electronics dominated our technological economic activity, the innovations of biology, fueled perhaps by a decade of environmental/ecological concerns, promise to generate an entirely new set of technologies and systems to support them. We will witness the unimagined emergence of new products and industries as a result."

Multiple Options—"We are expressing our individuality and pluralistic nature to a greater degree than ever before. Fashion, entertainment of all kinds, eating habits, religion all show developments that are contradictory, with plenty of multiple options for meeting our needs and desires. This trend reaches to most products: there are 173 different brands of cigarettes. In the workplace, employees will ask for a range of options about when, how, how often and for what compensation they will work."

High Tech/High Touch—"This trend is one that *The Trend Report* observed several years ago cutting across all categories of our research and it continues to be evident. In simplest terms it reflects what appears to be a continuing attempt to maintain a balance between technological developments and human/personal contact and relationships. As technology interrupts, replaces or alters our social relationships we tend to either reject it or to find intensified human contact somewhere else. Computers are now rapidly entering the home only because they allow us to become involved, to play games with them. Some studies predicted the decline of movie theaters with the advent of home video—yet people like to go to theaters, because part of the film experience is being with other people. We accept high technology when it allows human response. CB radios were accepted; Electronic Funds Transfer is having a tough time."

Computer as Liberator—"Suddenly, the old fears of the computer as a tyrant are

being balanced by experiences where the computer is acting as liberator, freeing people from a range of inhibiting restraints. Business organizations can now shift into smaller, less hierarchical groupings because computers can help them keep track of things; companies can now have individual contracts with thousands of employees."

"Organization Man" to Entrepreneur—"Long-established managerial patterns are being replaced by those that seek and reward entrepreneurial efforts. We are restructuring our corporate hierarchies to accommodate a horizontal organization of many small, innovative entrepreneurial groups."

Toward a Truly Global Economy—"With the national media enthralled by Iran, surely NATO partners, the Soviet Union, Japanese imports and issues of nationalism around the globe, we tend to miss the growing reality that we are part of a very interdependent global economy. What happens in other countries has a very direct impact on what happens here because of an intricate web of economic interrelationships and not because of the politics. Information is now instantaneously shared around the world and all economies act and react on a continuing basis to developments as they occur."

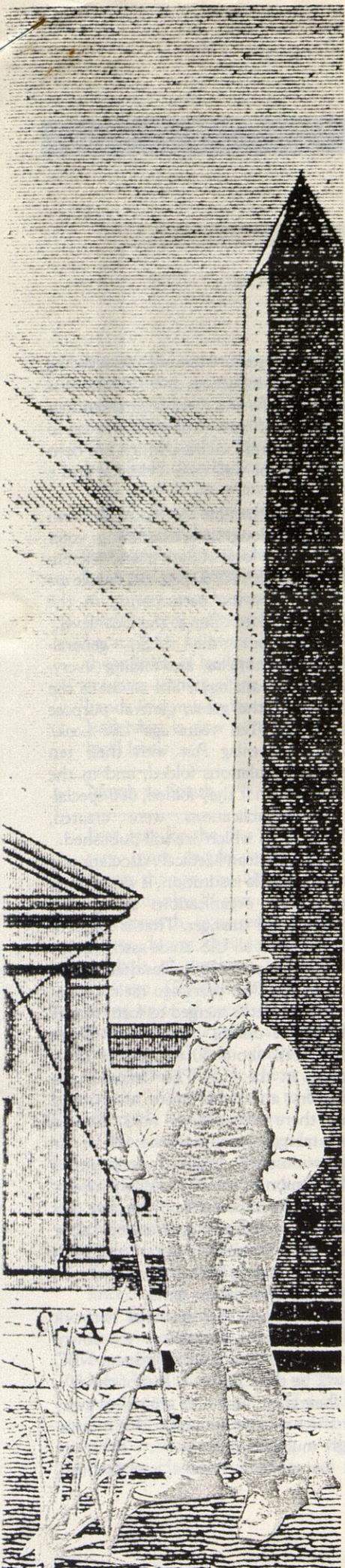
Because Naisbitt is a generalist, his clients and audiences feel free to quiz him on topics as wildly varied as energy scams and the Ku Klux Klan; mini-office commerce; condos and Brazilian shipyards; white-collar crime and the effectiveness of interferon.

What about cults? "They're here to stay," he answers. "Religious cults and growth groups of all kinds are an expression of the need to belong, to identify with the readily identified values in a turbulent time."

What about American attitudes toward law and justice? "We moved, in the Seventies, from a rehabilitation mode to a punishment mode."

The future of corporate responsibility? "Companies will continue to be more profoundly involved in social responsibilities formerly conducted by government: employee training will replace some schools, preschools for employees' children will be set up next to factories, corporate-organized social programs will replace government social programs. Government will begin to take on the cost-conscious management techniques of business."

John Naisbitt might sound as though he has all the answers, but he is the first to admit that he doesn't. "The second most difficult thing in the world," he says, "is to anticipate what is going to happen in the society. The most difficult thing is to explain why it happens. The research we do is a process of finding out how much we don't know. Every new trend simply raises new questions about individuals and the society that we weren't asking before." □



Conspiracy for a New World

by John Naisbitt

We live in turbulent times. And in turbulent times people join cults; they join fundamentalist religious movements; they need structure, something to hang onto.

Some people hold onto the past as they are buffeted by change. That's why we are seeing waves of nostalgia, the old movies, and so on. We are also an incredibly event-oriented society, going from one event to another. Helped by our friends in the media, particularly television, the more we watch, the less we see. Still we don't seem to notice as we go from one event to another, the process that is going on underneath.

This process, or basic restructuring of society, is dynamic. Each step influences all others, but on balance. Below I explore some of the essential restructurings that the U.S. has been experiencing.

Industrial to Information Society

Just as the U.S. moved from an agricultural society to an industrial society earlier this century, we are now undergoing a shift from that industrial society to an information state.

The most dramatic way to look at this is to see how U.S. occupations have changed over the years. In 1950, the height of U.S. industrial society, 62 percent of the populace was in industrial occupations. Since 1950, that 62 percent

has dropped to 27 percent, an incredible change. In 1950 17 percent were in information/knowledge occupations, and that is now up to about 60 percent and climbing. It will easily hit 80 percent by the end of this century. This is critical, because we are what we do.

Two years ago the number one occupation in the U.S. became clerk, replacing laborer, which replaced farmer. Farmer, laborer, clerk; that's a brief course in U.S. history. What comes next is either soldier or poet, depending on how we treat the rest of this century.

And now that we are moving into an information society, a lot of the social arrangements and instrumentalities that we created during the industrial period are completely out of tune. Labor unions, for example: in 1950, 32 percent of our work force (and that was as high as it got) was unionized, and then it started to go down. It passed through 20 percent last year; and this year only 19 percent of the work force was unionized, and that will continue in irreversible decline. National political parties, which had their heyday in the mass industrial society, are in name only today. National network television is on a long downward slide.

"Time orientation" changes. In the agricultural society orientation is to the past—learning from the past how to plant, harvest and store. In an industrial society the time orientation is now: get it out, get it done, ad hoc, bottom line. But the time orientation in an information society is the future, and that is one of the reasons we are so interested in it.

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Lori Barra

“Farmer, laborer, clerk; that’s a brief course in U.S. history”

We must learn from the future in precisely the ways we have been learning from the past.

Very importantly, we see a shift in the basic resource, the strategic resource. The strategic resource in an industrial society is capital, but in this new society we are well into, the strategic resource—not the sole resource—is information. And when information is the strategic resource, rather than capital, access to the economic system is much easier. What you would expect to happen is happening: There is an explosion of entrepreneurial behavior in the U.S. The number of new firms being created is incredible, and women are very much a part of this entrepreneurial revolution.

The figures are stunning. In the 1950s the U.S. created new companies at a rate of 93,000 a year. Today, companies start up at a rate of more than 600,000 a year. When you restructure a society so basically, the traditional groupings of goods and services don’t work anymore. That’s why economists have served us so poorly recently, because their judgments are rooted in the old, industrial indices. We need new concepts, new data, if we are to understand what’s going on today—let alone what might happen tomorrow.

I have also noticed a very important anomaly. And that is: Just as we are moving into a literacy-intensive, data-drenched society, our schools are giving us an increasingly inferior product. It is a powerful mismatch. The generation graduating from U.S. high schools today is the first generation in national history to graduate with fewer skills than their parents. This is something we have to attend to.

National to Global Economy

This restructuring is not, of course, happening in a vacuum. It is happening as part of a much larger global context, as the U.S. moves from a national economy to part of a global economy.

As part of this restructuring, the globe

is profoundly in the process of redistributing production and labor. All of the developed countries are deindustrializing. We see it very clearly when we look at the United Kingdom, but even Japan is transitioning out of the ship-building business (Japan is world leader) because it knows that the new ship builders of Spain, Brazil and Poland are going to build ships better and cheaper. Japan is even transitioning out of steel because the South Koreans and others are going to make steel cheaper and better. The point is that the U.S. and all of the developed countries of this world are losing the automobile industry and the steel, railroad equipment, machinery, apparel, shoe and appliance industries, as Third World countries take up many of these tasks. By the year 2000 as much as 30 percent of the world’s manufactured goods will be manufactured in the Third World.

Two Economies: Rising and Falling

There are two economies in the U.S. today: sunrise industries/companies and sunset companies/industries. We are not in a recession and we have not had a recession. We have a new phenomenon. Some parts of the U.S. are experiencing prosperity; others are in depression. The economists have averaged that out as a recession and lost all the intelligence in the process. Macroeconomic models are plain silly because the only economic model that makes any sense is a global one; there are no more self-sustained countries in this world. We have got to get on with the new tasks: electronics, bioengineering, alternative energy sources and mining the seabeds. I think our only hope for peace is if we get so economically interlaced with each other, we won’t, in short, bomb ourselves.

Centralization to Decentralization

The great, powerful centralizing events in U.S. history were the Great Depression, World War II and the impact of

industrialization. Now we are receding from those influences as we decentralize and diversify, and there is a tremendous political shift away from Washington to the states and localities, which has been going on for well over a decade and a half.

At the same time that votes for President and Congress are declining, voter turn-out for local initiatives and referendums is up 60, 70, 80 percent. People are voting; they are participating in the political process. But at the local level.

Throughout the U.S., general-purpose umbrellas are folding everywhere. An analogy I like to use is the folding of the great, general purpose magazines. Ten years ago *Life/Look/Saturday Evening Post* with their ten million circulations folded, and in the same year that they folded, 300 special-interest publications were created, almost all of which are still published.

The American Medical Association, a great umbrella institution, is weakening, yet county organizations are getting stronger and stronger. That is happening to almost all U.S. trade associations.

There are some umbrellas that are getting larger. Two years ago meat cutters and retail clerks merged to form one of the largest unions in the U.S. There have been about 50 mergers of labor unions in the U.S. The United Auto Workers and Machinists announced that there were merger talks. Should they merge, the appearance will be the formation of the largest, most powerful labor union in the U.S. But the reality will be the sunset effect: the sun gets largest just before it goes under. Labor unions are completely out of tune with the times, partly because they insist on treating everyone the same.

I mentioned that national network television—the centralized, top-down, out-of-New York ABC, CBS and NBC—will be the *Life/Look/Post* of the 80s, as their great audiences are pulled away by the new alternatives in this increasingly multiple-option society. There are all the special networks, e.g., Spanish,

black, BBC, country/western, all-news, all-weather, all-sports, gavel-to-gavel coverage of the House of Representatives. My own sense of it is, by the end of this decade, ABC, NBC and CBS will have fewer than half of the viewers than they have today, even while there will actually be more television viewers.

I think we have to notice also what has happened to leadership. We don't have any great captains of industry anymore, any great leaders in the arts, universities, civil rights, politics. And that is because we followers are not creating those kinds of leaders anymore. We are creating leaders along much narrower bands and much closer proximity. U.S. leadership is now concentrated at the local level.

North to South

Last year for the first time in U.S. history, more people were living in the South than in the North. During the 70s a stunning 86 percent of the population growth occurred in the South, where during that same period such symbols of northern industrialism as Chicago, Cleveland and Buffalo, were losing up to 28 percent of their populations. If you add to that the decline of the industrial base, which is mostly in the Midwest and Northeast, restructuring the U.S. from North to South is irreversible in our lifetimes.

But it is not an either/or. It is multiple options. Lowell, Massachusetts, the birthplace of the U.S. industrial revolution, has lost its industrial base but is the headquarters of Wang, one of the leaders in the information society. New York City is growing as it hasn't grown since the 60s and it will continue as a very important, international, information switching station, while the four boroughs around it continue to decline. New York City lost two million of its population in the 70s. The old New York/Chicago financial economic corridor is being replaced by a new Los Angeles/Houston corridor.

Force-tech to High-tech/High-touch

One of my favorite U.S. restructurings is the transformation in the dual directions of what I call high-tech/high-touch. I've noticed that if the introduction of high technology is not accompanied by a compensatory human response or ballast, the technology is rejected. We keep pumping a tremendous amount of technology into this society and the more we pump in, the more we create compensatory human ballast.

An example: television. Its introduction was accompanied by the group therapy movement, the personal growth movement, the human potential movement. Television and the human potential movement developed almost in lock step in the bellwether state of California.

The pill is another example. High technology, pharmacology and chemistry created the pill, which led to a whole revolution in lifestyles. The high technology of heart transplants and brain scanners led to a new interest in the family doctor and the neighborhood clinic. And the introduction of word processing into our offices has led to a revival of hand-written notes and letters.

A poignant example of high-tech/high-touch is the life-sustaining equipment in hospitals, which has led to a new concern about the quality of death and the hospices movement. We just couldn't handle the intrusion of technology into that sensitive area without creating some human balance, so we got thinking about the quality of death. The hospices movement is widespread and moving. The more technology we introduce into our hospitals, the less we are being born there, the less we are dying there and the more we are trying to stay out of hospitals in-between.

I thought for a while that there was going to be a rebellion against the computer—the way it dehumanizes us, turning us into numbers and so on. Now I see the computer as a liberator. With a

computer to keep track of large numbers of employees, we can reconstitute our institutions, particularly our large ones, on more horizontal planes, in smaller, more productive units—more entrepreneurial units. And that's the direction it's going.

Now and Tomorrow

Let me summarize the ways in which internal and external forces are restructuring U.S. society: The nation is moving from an industrial society to an information society . . . from centralization to decentralization . . . from North to South . . . from a national economy to an integrated, global economy . . . from force technology to high-tech/high-touch . . . from either/or to multiple option . . . from managerial to entrepreneurial . . . from "left brain" emphasis to "right brain" influence . . . from hierarchy to network . . . from representative democracy to participatory democracy . . . from short-term to long-term . . . from broadcasting to narrow-casting . . . from department and chain stores to boutiques . . . from families as the basic unit to individuals . . . from a machismo society to an androgynous society . . . from quantitative information to qualitative knowledge . . . from hired laborer to contract laborer . . . from institutional help to self-help . . . from a top-down society to a bottom-up society.

We are living in "the time of the parenthesis"—a time between eras, fraught with great uncertainty. But we must also recognize that it is a time of great opportunity. If we can get a clear vision, a clear sense of the road ahead, it's a fantastic time to be alive. ■

John Naisbitt is publisher of Trend Report and Chairman of the Naisbitt Group in Washington, DC. He has been monitoring worldwide social trends for a decade. His latest book, Megatrends, will be published in the fall of 1982.