

Educational reform, theoretical categories, and the urban context

Jean Anyon

ABSTRACT

This paper will assess a recent reform attempt in an inner city school by looking at how the social manifestations of race and social class impinged on efforts to improve a K-8 school in Newark, New Jersey, a large city district in the northeastern United States. The paper ends with a preliminary analysis of forces and historical trends that a materialist analysis would implicate in attempts to understand the etiology of failed educational reform.

One of the important contributions of marxist thinking to theory and research in education is that materialist categories lead you to see the social context - the structural underpinnings - of educational events. This paper will discuss a recent attempt to assess school reform by looking at the social context of educational events in a school undergoing extensive attempts at reform. One social context that marxist thought in education highlights is the educational consequences in urban areas of the racial marginalization and economic impoverishment of the student and parent population.

In an article published in *Curriculum Inquiry* recently, I argued that theory, as used in education in the last few years by postmodern and poststructural theorists, is void of politically progressive social analysis, and is therefore not particularly helpful in the struggle for more equitable schooling and a more just social order. I made the case that educational theory ought to be socially useful:

By 'useful', I intend that such a theory would make usable recommendations to those who work for a more humanitarian, more equitable society, and consequently, this theory will have a progressive effect on society itself. I concur with Brian Fay when he argues that social theory can be a 'catalyst for social change' (1975: 110), and that such a theory is one which 'attempts to provide a means whereby social actors can solve the problems which are facing them'. Moreover, a politically useful theory is not judged primarily by epistemological criteria. For, as Fay argues, 'the truth of this theory is judged partially on whether or not the satisfactions which it promises are forthcoming'. (1994a: 108).

In my empirical work since that article was written, I have attempted to use materialist/marxist categories of analysis, with the long-range intent that action derived from the analyses will in fact provide a catalyst for social change and a means by which social actors can solve the problems which are facing them. In the present essay, I want to demonstrate one use of some of these materialist categories of analysis in the study of educational reform.

One of the important contributions of marxist thinking to theory and research in education is that materialist categories lead you to see the social context - the structural underpinnings - of

educational events. This paper will discuss a recent attempt to assess school reform by looking at the social context of educational events in a school undergoing extensive attempts at reform. One social context that marxist thought in education highlights is the educational consequences in urban areas of the racial marginalization and economic impoverishment of the student and parent population.

This paper, then, will assess a recent reform attempt in an inner city school by looking at how the social manifestations of race and social class impinged on efforts to improve a K-8 school in Newark, New Jersey, a large city district in the northeastern United States. The paper ends with a preliminary analysis of forces and historical trends that a materialist analysis would implicate in attempts to understand the etiology of failed educational reform.

A ghetto school

The school to be described is located in an inner city minority ghetto. I call on the concept of 'ghetto' in this paper to highlight the extreme poverty and destitution of children in America's inner cities. The definition of ghetto that I will use throughout the paper is that recently proposed by William Julius Wilson (1987, 1991): A ghetto is an inner city neighborhood in which more than 40% of the inhabitants are poor. Most inhabitants of such neighbourhoods are black, (with increasing percentages of Hispanics) and are economically, culturally, and politically isolated from the mainstream, despite their usual proximity to city hall and downtown shopping districts.

The school that is to be discussed in this paper exists in such a neighbourhood. Census data from 1990 show that, in the census tract in which the school is located, 45% of all persons have incomes below the poverty level; of female headed householder families with related children under 18 years, 66% are below the poverty level; of female headed householder families with related children under 5 years, 82% are under the poverty level. According to the 1990 census, the per capita income in the census tract in which the research site is located was \$7,647. (The per capita income in 1990 in the city was \$9,437. Per capita income in the state was \$24,936, which was 33% higher than the national average. New Jersey, the state in which the school is located, was in 1990 the nation's second wealthiest state.)

Ninety nine percent of the students in the school and 78% of the students in the district are poor, and qualify for free lunch. During the period of the study (1991-1993) between 10 and 20 percent of the students in the school were officially unhoused. Teachers stated that many more were unofficially homeless, bunking with relatives or friends. The student body of the school is 71 % black, 27% Hispanic, and 2% Asian and white. All but three of the 500 students in the school are from families with incomes below the poverty line, and qualify for free lunch.

The social context of this school then, is of an impoverished minority ghetto, with all the attendant problems of unemployment, underemployment, drug abuse, child neglect and abuse, stressful, danger-filled, often chaotic lives lived close to the bustle of the downtown business district, but far from the mainstream of American white middle-class society.

Attempts to implement educational reform

Preceding, as well as during the period of the study, the school was a focus of a massive effort at reform, with 28 improvement projects underway in the building between 1989 and 1993. Almost all of these projects were carried out in the school by white professionals or managerial representatives of the city's corporate giants.¹

In 1992-93, 51 % of the certificated full-time teachers in the city were African American, and 8.5% were Hispanic. In schools (such as the research site) where African American children are the majority, there are more black teachers than at the relatively few district schools where the majority

of the children are white. In the school discussed here, of twenty-five classroom teachers, sixteen (64%) are black, six (24 %) are Hispanic, and three (12 %) are white.

During 10 months in which I worked with teachers in their classrooms as one of the 'reformers', I observed that every day life in this school was characterized by the following four attributes.²

Sociocultural differences/distances between white, professional or executive reformers and the teachers and parents. These differences led to miscommunication and mistrust, and only minimal success on joint efforts at reform. For example, a series of meetings between two retired white executives (who had volunteered to assist the parent group improve their efforts to get more parents involved) and the school's parent group came to naught. The leader of the parent group said, "They're just white men tryin' to tell us what to do." And one of the executives said, "Nobody here [in the school] wants to do anything [other than what they're doing]."

Sociocultural differences between the language spoken by the students and a white, middle class curriculum presented in textbooks written in standard English, a dialect not spoken by the students (marginalized from the mainstream in a ghetto neighborhood) or many of the teachers (themselves reared in working-poor or poor minority neighborhoods of this or other cities). This disjunction between the languages spoken and that in the texts contributed to mathematical and scientific confusion between math and science textbooks and classroom dialect and, in reading, led to alienation on the part of students from much of the reading material. The confusion and alienation reduced student comprehension and therefore academic performance as well.³

An abusive school environment in which teachers' and administrators' interactions with students were commonly characterized by degrading comments and outright psychological (and sometimes physical) abuse - degradation which the parents did not have the social power to prevent. This environment is apparently not confined to the school I observed. Last year -the district as a whole - with only 4% of the state's students - reported over 40% of all incidents of abuse by school employees reported by school systems to the state. The abusive school environment created an oppositional student culture and a refusal by many students to cooperate during class - and often, during standardized testing.⁴ This opposition to instruction and evaluation led to diminished academic accomplishment on the part of the students.

An almost universal feeling of resignation on the part of school personnel regarding student failure because of the enormity of the students' social predicament (a s staff stated in interviews), and because of the history of failure of reform in the district in the last 30 years (Trachtenberg, 1978). The expectations of failure were accompanied by explanations expressing the belief that even if the students did learn to read and write, or even if the reforms did work, it would not be enough to "do any good", and "there would be no jobs" available for the students later anyway, so what was the use? The emiseration of the students' lives and the lack of a receptive economy impinged on reform by producing a profound antipathy to the effort needed to make curricular and other educational changes.

These four phenomena, which I attribute in large part to the social context of poverty and racial marginalization in which the school is embedded, impinged on educational reform attempts, and made the successful implementation of reform extremely difficult.

Historical foundations of failed educational reform

As the above summary suggests, I believe the consequences of racial and class characteristics of the social context of a school impact on educational improvement efforts in the inner city. To understand how this happens, we need to assess every day economic and political phenomena for their normally unremarked educational consequences. It also means that we need to understand which economic and social trends have caused the ravishment of the environment in which the inner city ghetto school is located. In the following section I sketch a brief, preliminary analysis of

this history. To this end I will take the four characteristics of school life during the recent reforms I studied, and show, historically, how each problem derives in important ways from 'non-educational', that is economic, political and other social (e.g., cultural) phenomena and trends.

Sociocultural differences, mistrust and suspicion between white professional/executive reformers and low-income black parents and black teachers form the first of these characteristics. This cultural distance results from the separation and alienation in U.S. society between blacks and whites, and between poor people of colour and whites from professional and corporate backgrounds (Orfield and Ashkanze, 1991; Hacker, 1992). There are historical reasons why this great gap in experience, language and beliefs exists. In the city I am studying, for example, as in most other older American cities, important history includes the following: During the last several decades of the 19th century, wealthy industrialists, and owners of businesses lived nearby their factories and shops, in the downtown areas of developing cities. Nearby lived immigrant workers - from Ireland, Germany, and the British Isles.

Between 1900 and 1920 the elites moved to the surrounding countryside, and with the installation of a network of trolleys connecting the city and the countryside around 1890, the middle classes began to follow. European immigrants continued to pour into the inner cities and moved into the older wooden houses now in disrepair. After World War II, many business and manufacturing firms left the inner city for the developing suburbs, and large numbers of white skilled workers and middle-class families abandoned the cities to work and live in these suburbs. During the same years hundreds of thousands of rural impoverished southern blacks - most of whom were sharecroppers idled by the mechanization of agriculture - arrived in the northern and midwestern cities. The only places that were available to them for rent were the deteriorated dwellings in the central cities, abandoned by the last wave of white immigrants.

As Kenneth Jackson has shown in his book, *Crabgrass Frontier (1985)*, the creation of the roads sewage lines and new homes in the new suburbs was heavily financed by the federal government - while the cities received few improvement funds. Blacks could not get the federally guaranteed home mortgage loans in the suburbs, and were forced to remain in the deteriorating cities. The federally sponsored redlining of city neighbourhoods in which blacks lived (and of neighbourhoods in which whites and blacks lived together) led to the refusal of federal and real estate companies to grant insured mortgage or home improvement loans to people in these neighbourhoods. This resulted in huge areas of America's inner cities in which home owners could not get loans to buy or improve the property. These properties soon became rentals with absentee landlords and black tenants, as the white owners removed to the suburbs.

From 1937 and until the middle 1960s housing rehabilitation (urban renewal) of the resulting slums created low and middle income housing - all of which was completely segregated. All of these federal and local policies resulted in extreme residential segregation in the older northern and midwestern cities.

When combined with the history of job segregation in the American economy (to be discussed below), housing segregation has resulted in blacks and whites living in different places and not knowing each other. The minority inner city resident (usually poor) is completely alien to the white resident of suburbs (in which nationally only 17% of residents are black).

The media increases fear in suburban whites and resentment in city blacks by reporting black crime but not white collar crime, which is mostly by middle-class and upper-middle-class whites. Suburban whites fear the inner city minority residents and the inner city minority residents resent and are suspicious of whites for their alleged and real privileges. This suspicion and mistrust is expressed in educational improvement projects when - as in the reform effort I participated in - former corporate executives attempt to tell low income parents from the projects how to attract other parents to the reform effort, or white 'preppy-looking' psychologists from an affluent suburb try to tell black teachers (most of whom are from working-class or working-poor families) how to 'cooperate' with each other. Inevitably parents resent and ignore the advice offered.

The sociocultural differences between curricular reforms and students' language and experience arises from the same distances discussed in number 1, except that these curricular disjunctions are also a manifestation of the fact that, as I and others have shown, white upper and middle-class experience is represented, catalogued, and transmitted in the texts, because that is the culture and experience of the dominant group.⁵ That this story of world war, the expansion of the railroads, industrialization and the Carnegies and Rockefellers, does not reverberate with the experience of children and youth in the ghetto does not need elaboration. Ghetto youth - for all their alleged bravado and showmanship - have often never been outside of the neighbourhood, never been on an elevator, never been on a train, to a restaurant, or a doctor's office.

Similarly, the texts are written in white standard English. However, inner city dialect (practically synonymous with black dialect) is spoken by almost all the children in the inner city school I studied - blacks, Hispanics, and the few poor whites. It is also spoken by most of the city's black teachers. There are cultural attitudes of difference and pride involved in speaking black dialect (when, for example, one is fluent in standard dialect, too). But a good deal of the pronounced use of inner city dialect by the students results from their not knowing how to speak standard English, because of their extreme marginalization from the mainstream.

The abusive classroom and school environment, in which both white and black teachers and administrators often degrade and otherwise psychologically abuse the students also arises from complicated causes, and can have various meanings. However, it is my view that the systematic degradation of the impoverished minority ghetto students, wherein they are treated as if they were of little or no worth - as if they were dispensable - arises in part because of their perceived low social status. Perceiving low status persons as if they are barely human has roots not only in the social and economic facts of little social power, but also in characteristics of past colonial relationships.

Albert Memmi, Franz Fanon and Paolo Freire have demonstrated how in colonial societies the white colonists generally view natives (colonized people of colour) as subhuman or substandard in an unconscious way of keeping them the 'other' and separate from the colonial self. This view of the native permeates social interchange among the groups. It serves to maintain the white colonialists' sense of superiority, and the natives' belief in the validity of their own situation of oppression. (Memmi, 1956, 1968, 1991; Fanon, 1967; Freire, 1970; Said, 1979).

Memmi, Fanon and Freire have also pointed out that in many cases natives who have climbed from the bottom of the class or caste structure into the lower-middle or middle classes view those natives still on the bottom as subhuman or degraded, or of very little worth. This phenomenon, it seems to me, operates in ghetto schools like the one discussed here where black teachers systematically abuse the 'natives' - the impoverished minority students. For white teachers, it is the dominant view they express - poor kids are difficult, not good at school, and of little social value.

Another factor contributing to the view of impoverished ghetto students as worthless is the dependency that poverty in modern America enforces. Unable to be self-supporting and self-sustaining, an impoverished family may crack under the weight of despair, drugs and alcohol. In the absence of other options (such as decent jobs, non-dehumanizing medical care) dependency on government programs ensues. Many in the middle class (both white and black) view this dependency with disdain and disgust. Teachers' comments to children that they are "disgusting" or like animals are evidence of this view.⁶

When teachers blame poor black parents for the disarray in their lives and blame the poor performance of their students on this dysfunction (ignoring the chaos and dysfunction of the school) they are messengers from the dominant belief system which devalues the children because they are black and poor. Because the impoverished families do not rise with one voice or action to gain power, they do not have the social clout to demand decent treatment. So the teachers and administrators continue the abuse.

Teachers' and administrators' expectations that the reform will fail arise in part from past experience in the school system. The district has been attempting to upgrade the achievement of students in its inner city schools since 1970. (Trachtenberg, 1978). School personnel are cynical about the efforts of the Board of Education which they state is "chaotic", "full of graft", and "doesn't really care about the kids". The history of the city is, like other older American cities, one of extensive patronage from old ward-based machines and "patronage mills" (in operation since the late 19th century). Because of this history of patronage (begun before the turn of the century with the Germans, whose dominance gave way to the Irish machine, then to the Jewish mafia in the thirties, the Italian machine aided by the Italian mafia in the sixties, and the African-American's domination of the patronage and graft at the Board of Education since 1980), and because of the large number of political appointees, there are unqualified workers at all levels of the system, as there were in 1900. A recent state evaluation found that incompetence, lack of qualification, and mismatched skills were rife at all levels of the school system (NJ Department of Education, 1993).

Moreover, many current employees at the board and in the schools are long-time residents of the city and themselves attended the city's schools. In the absence of other employment opportunities in the city (to be discussed below) these employees depend on the Board of Education for their jobs. In this way the system, with all its faults, becomes 'their' system, and they defend and support it for the various reasons that dependency on an employer creates.

There is a further dimension to the expectations of failure of reform, namely that, as many teachers and administrators state in interviews, even if the reform were to succeed, it would not positively affect the students' futures, because their students have overwhelming life problems that the reforms "don't touch". Moreover, as noted above, a pervasive attitude expressed by both students and staff is summed up in the following quote: "Even if they [the students] do learn to read and write, there aren't any jobs [for them] ."As a 10-year old told me, "There aren't no jobs. That's why kids drop out [of school]."

The economic reality of no future jobs for the students is painfully apparent to both students and adults. Why try? Why work hard? There will be no reward for such effort.

The economic history of the development, decline and recent isolation of America's cities is a root cause here. Between 1880 and World War II the American economy was primarily an industrial economy in which a factory worker could leave poverty behind on a hard-earned "family wage". These substantial industrial wages for skilled workers helped white working-class families move into the middle class, and into the burgeoning suburbs during the forties and fifties. When rural blacks moved to the northern and midwestern cities on mass after World War II, most of the industry- and most of the skilled jobs -had already left the cities for the surrounding areas.

During the last several decades, the economy has changed fundamentally in other ways. Deindustrialized, heavily based not on manufacturing but on service, and newly financial, technical, and global, the economy has yielded a bifurcated wage structure that reflects the bifurcated structure of available jobs: most new jobs are either very low-wage unskilled service jobs or very high income financial/technical professional jobs. One result of the fact that the vast majority of jobs are now low income service jobs is that almost 20% of American full-time workers' wages are below the poverty line. As *Business Week* (Koretz, 1995) among others has noted, income is increasingly unequally distributed in the United States. The trends discussed here have increased inequality in the distribution of income and in available work. Even the middle-classes are beginning to feel the results of the economic developments, as their positions become increasingly vulnerable to corporate downsizing.

So, trends begun in the 1930's (but temporarily halted during World War II) as manufacturing and skilled jobs relocated in the suburbs, and recently to other countries, has left skilled and unskilled workers in the inner cities with no jobs. Currently in the cities there is no employment for high school graduates that pays a wage that is significantly above the poverty cut-off. The students in the city schools seem to know this, and the teachers know it too. The knowledge of what kind of

economic future the inner city students are highly likely to have produces a culture of resignation that overpowers good intentions, good deeds, and educational improvement projects.

Conclusion

It seems to me that assessing school and school reform by the use of materialist categories generated by marxist analysis (e.g., in this case by looking at the social context of race and social class) reveals that educational reform is affected in significant ways by the 'noneducational' events and processes originating in the political, economic and cultural environment. When you trace the history of a school system such as the one I am studying, you can see that during the period of industrialization (1850-1917) when the city was producing substantial profits for its financial classes, and when the students were perceived as having a potential contribution to that profit as workers, even though the population was poor and immigrant, the schools were bristling with nationally renowned administrators and nationally known innovations.⁷

This city, as are most others in our country, is now economically moribund and separated from the skilled and high-paying jobs; the city is no longer a source of profit to capitalist firms, whose profits now come from other countries or from high finance; and, importantly, the student population is perceived as having no potential profitable economic role. The schools reflect these perceptions and conditions. The fact that the parent and student population is perceived as deficient, as impoverished, or dysfunctional minorities, lends a legitimacy to the condition of the schools and the failure of reform to reverse the educational decline.

I am suggesting that the structural basis for failure in inner city schools - and the failure of educational reform there - is political, economic and cultural, and must be changed before meaningful school improvement projects can be successfully implemented. Thus, I think the only solution to educational resignation and failure in the inner city is the ultimate elimination of poverty and racial degradation. The solution to the problem of educational failure in the ghetto is ultimately dependent upon elimination of the ghetto.

Notes

1. I (one of the white professionals) participated in the reform during 1991-1993 primarily as staff developer. I carried out workshops in cooperative learning in several of the eight target schools and subsequently assisted teachers in their classrooms. I carried out the workshops at the school under discussion here between January, 1992, and February, 1993, and worked at least one full day a week during the ten school months in teachers' classrooms, providing coaching in the new methods (see Anyon, 1994b and 1995) for further description of this work).

In addition to the more than 200 hours spent with teachers in their classrooms, I also attended reform team meetings during school years 1991-92 and 1992-93, and spent numerous hours talking with teachers at these meetings. In my year at the school I spent approximately half (21) of the lunch periods "hanging out" with the students in the cafeteria and on the asphalt yard; I also chatted with them frequently in classrooms and halls. I became well acquainted with the Assistant Superintendent responsible for the reform, commuted on the train with her on numerous occasions, and often discussed the reform efforts with her, and with members of her staff. Between 1991 and 1993 I formally interviewed the Assistant Superintendent, her staff, 24 of 25 classroom teachers at the school, the members of the school's school-based support team, both School administrators, the school's drug counselor, 15 parents and 25 students. I read numerous school and district reports and other documents (such as state reports) pertaining to the schools and the reform initiative. I examined all curriculum materials - those in use, and those prepared by the district but not much used.

2. For details and substantiating data, see Anyon, 'Race, Social Class, and Reform in an Inner City School', *Teachers College Record*, in press (Fall 1995).

3. In 1987 Eleanor Orr demonstrated fundamental ways black dialect can interfere with mathematical thinking in educational contexts, where mathematical thinking is governed, in textbook and in most pedagogy, by standard English language and forms of thought. She argues that not only does the subtlety of differences and the lack of familiarity with terms impede mathematical understanding, but also the outright conflicts of black dialect terms with standard English terms interfere. Orr demonstrates that the grammars are distinct, the lexicons overlap; and - significantly - the unconscious rules that govern syntax in black dialect often conflict with and cause interference with standard English, which uses different rules. See Orr, 1987. (cont'd.)

For interference of black dialect with reading standard dialect, see Baratz, 1970; Wiener and Cromer, 1967; Labov, 1969; Baratz, 1974; and Cullinan, 1974.

4. For the importance of student assent in learning, see Kohl, 1991.
5. See, among others, Anyon, 1979.
6. See Anyon, 'Race, Social Class, and Educational Reform in an Inner City School' (*Teachers College Record*, in press) for examples of the degradation heaped on students by both white and black teachers and administrators.
7. See Anyon, J. *Social Class, Race, and School Reform: A Political Economy of Education in the Inner City*, book in preparation, for further history of the school system.

References

- ANYON, J. (1979) 'Ideology and U.S. History Textbooks'. *Harvard Educational Review*, 49, 361-386.
- ANYON, J. (1994a) 'The Retreat of Marxism and Socialist Feminism: Postmodern and Poststructural Theories in Education', *Curriculum Inquiry*, 24, 115-133.
- ANYON, J. (1994b) 'Teacher Development and Reform in an Inner-city School', *Teachers College Record*, 96, 14-31.
- ANYON, J. (1995) 'Inner City School Reform: Toward Useful Theory', *Urban Education*, 30, 56-70.
- ANYON, J. (in press) 'Race, Social Class, and Reform in an Inner City School', *Teachers College Record* in press, Fall 1995.
- ANYON, J. (in preparation) *Social Class, Race, and School Reform: A Political Economy of Education in the Inner City*.
- BARATZ, J. (1969) 'Teaching Reading in an Urban Negro School System', in J. Baratz and R. Shuy, *Teaching Black Children to Read*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics, 92-116;
- BARATZ, J.C. (1970) 'Beginning Readers for Speakers of Divergent Dialects'. In J. A. Figurel (Ed.), *Reading Goals for the Disadvantaged*. Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association, 77-83.
- CULLINAN, B. E. (1974) *Black Dialects and Reading*. Urbana, ILL: National Council for Teachers of English.
- FANON, F. (1967) *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove.
- FAY, B. (1975) *Social Theory and Political Practice*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- FREIRE, P. (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Herder and Herder.
- JACKSON, K. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- HACKER, A. (1992) *Two nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- KOHL, H. (1991) '*I Won't Learn from You': The Role of Assent in Learning*. Minneapolis, Minn: Milkweed Editions.
- KORETZ, G. (1995) 'Why Incomes Grew Less Equal', *Business Week*, March 20, 24.
- LABOV, W. (1969) 'Some Sources of Reading Problems for Negro speakers of Nonstandard English'. In J. Baratz and R. Shuy, (Eds.), *Teaching Black Children to Read*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- MEMMI, A. (1965) *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- MEMMI, A. (1968) *Dominated Man*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION (1993) *Newark Public Schools: Level III External Review*. Trenton, NJ: Author.
- NEWARK BOARD OF EDUCATION (1992) *Restructuring urban schools in Newark, NJ: An Evaluation of the Cluster Program*. Newark, NJ: 1992.
- ORFIELD, G. and ASHKNAZE, C. (1991) *The Closing Door: Conservative Policy and Black Opportunity*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- ORR, E.W. (1987) *Twice As Less: Black English and the Performance of Black Students in Mathematics and Science*. New York: W.W. Norton.

- SAID, E. (1979) *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon.
- TRACHTENBERG, P. 'Pupil Performance in Basic Skills in the Newark School System Since 1967'. In S.B. Winters (Ed.), *Newark, 1967-1977: An Assessment*. Newark, NJ: New Jersey Institute of Technology, 235-243.
- WIENER, M. and CROMER, W. (1967) 'Reading and Reading Difficulty: A Conceptual Analysis', *Harvard Educational Review* 37, 620-643.
- WILSON, W.J. (1987) *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- WILSON, W.J. (1991) 'Public Policy Research and "The Truly Disadvantaged"'. In C. Jencks and P.E. Peterson (Eds.) *The Urban Underclass*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 460-482.