

HEARING
BEFORE THE
UNITED STATES
COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

HEARING HELD
IN
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

October 4-5, 1966

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Members of the Commission

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UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1966

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights met at 12 noon in Faneuil Hall, Dock Square, Boston, Massachusetts, Dr. John A. Hannah, Chairman of the Commission, presiding.

PRESENT: John A. Hannah, Chairman; Frankie M. Freeman, Commissioner; Erwin N. Griswold, Commissioner; The Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., Commissioner. Also present: William L. Taylor, Staff Director; Howard A. Glickstein, General Counsel.

PROCEEDINGS

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. This hearing of the United States Commission on Civil Rights will come to order.

(Miss Judith Derenberger was sworn in as Official Reporter. Mr. Lawrence Kaplan was sworn in as Clerk.)

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. I am John Hannah of East Lansing, Michigan, the Chairman of the Commission.

At my immediate left is Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, President of the University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana. At my immediate right is Mrs. Frankie Muse Freeman of St. Louis, Missouri, who is Associate General Counsel of the St. Louis Housing and Land Clearance Authorities. At the far right is Dean Erwin N. Griswold from Cambridge, Massachusetts, Dean of the Harvard University School of Law.

Mr. Eugene Patterson, of Atlanta, Georgia, is not here this morning because of serious illness in his family. He may be with us later in the hearing.

Dr. Robert Rankin of Durham, North Carolina, Professor of Political Science at Duke University, is not here today because he underwent surgery yesterday afternoon at Duke University Hospital in Durham.

In addition to the Commissioners here, at the far left is Howard Glickstein, General Counsel of the Commission, and seated next to Mr. Glickstein on his right is William L. Taylor, Staff Director of the Commission.

As the first order of business, I wish to express the Commission's appreciation to the officials and the many private citizens and organizations who have cooperated with us in the preparatory stages of this hearing.

This hearing is being held under the authority of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, as amended. As required by law, notice of the hearing was published in the Federal Register of September 1, 1966, and a copy of this notice will be entered into the record of this hearing.

The Commission on Civil Rights is an independent, bipartisan agency of the United States Government, established by the Congress in 1957, and its duties are, 1: To investigate sworn allegations that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion, or national origin.

2: To study and collect information concerning legal developments which constitute a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution.

3: To appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws.

4: To serve as a national clearinghouse for information in respect to denials of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion, or national origin.

5: To investigate sworn allegations of vote fraud in Federal elections.

Under the law, the Commission submits reports to the President and to the Congress containing its findings and recommendations for corrective legislation or executive action.

To enable the Commission to discharge its duties, the Congress has empowered the Commission to hold public hearings and to issue subpoenas for the attendance of witnesses and the production of documents, and I know of no better way to explain the functions and limitations of this Commission than to quote briefly from a decision of the United States Supreme Court issued early in the Commission's life, when the Court said, and this is a quote, "The Commission does not adjudicate. It does not hold trials or determine anyone's civil or criminal liability. It does not issue orders, nor does it indict, punish, or impose any legal sanctions. It does not make determinations depriving anyone of his life, liberty or property. In short, the Commission does not and cannot take any affirmative action which will affect an individual's rights. The only purpose of its existence is to find facts which may subsequently be used as the basis for legal or executive action." That is the end of the Supreme Court quotation.

To carry out its legislative mandate, the Commission has held hearings in many parts of the country, including in the States of Alabama, Arizona, California, the District of Columbia, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Tennessee, and, now, Massachusetts.

The Commission has made detailed studies in the fields of voting, public education, housing, employment, and the administration of justice.

Much of the civil rights legislation enacted in the past five years, and several Presidential Executive orders, reflect acceptance of findings

and recommendations resulting from Commission hearings and reports. Commission hearings are designed to explore in one city or area, the civil rights problems that are representative of problems elsewhere in the Nation. This hearing in Boston results in large part from a request that President Johnson made of the Commission on November 17, 1965 when he asked that we study the problems of race and education in all parts of the country. He observed that despite substantial progress in ending formal segregation in schools, racial isolation persisted in the schools both North and South. Such isolation, said President Johnson, presents serious barriers in quality education. He asked the Commission to gather the facts and make them available to the Nation as rapidly as possible. The President added that the Commission's findings could provide a basis of action, not only by the Federal Government, but also by the State and local school boards, which bear the direct responsibility for assuring quality education.

In response to the President's request, the Commission is studying racial isolation in the schools of about 50 cities, large and small, where there are significant Negro populations.

The study is inquiring into the extent of racial isolation in the schools and its effect on children. We are examining the structural pattern of racial isolation in the schools and its relationship to inequities in housing and employment. We are evaluating educational policies and practices which influence the quality of educational opportunity and we are exploring the impact of governmental programs and policies upon equal educational opportunity.

Of critical importance to our study is the examination of programs and plans which various communities have devised for remedying racial isolation and providing quality education. We will be hearing testimony about programs that have been proposed or are being conducted in the Boston area and we hope that what we learn here will be of value to other communities in the Nation.

While securing information is the major purpose of Commission hearings, they frequently have had the very important collateral effect of stimulating discussion and increasing understanding of problems among responsible community leaders. Our hearings also have encouraged remedial effort at the State and local levels. It is our hope that this hearing may serve this creative purpose.

Education is today—as it always has been—vital to the well being of this Nation. The Supreme Court in its historic decision of the school segregation cases accurately described the role of education when it said, "Education is perhaps the most important function of State and local government" and that education, "is the very foundation of good citizenship." In its 1954 decision the Court said further that education, "is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment" and that, "In

these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education”

When President Johnson asked this Commission to study racial isolation in the public schools he observed that, “The future of our Nation rests on the quality of the education its young people receive.” “For our Negro children,” the President said, “quality education is especially vital because it is the key to equality.”

Dean Griswold will now explain the rules governing this hearing.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. At the outset I should emphasize that the observations I’m about to make on the Commission’s rules constitute nothing more than brief summaries of the significant provisions. The rules themselves should be consulted for a fuller understanding. Staff members will be available to answer questions which arise during the course of the hearing. With only a few exceptions, all persons who are scheduled to appear at this public hearing have been subpoenaed by the Commission.

All testimony at the public sessions will be under oath and will be transcribed verbatim by the official reporter.

Everyone who testifies, submits data, or evidence is entitled to obtain a copy of the transcript on payment of costs. In addition, within 60 days after the close of the hearing a person may ask to correct errors in the transcript of the hearing or his testimony. Such requests will be granted only to make the transcript conform to testimony as presented at the hearing.

All witnesses are entitled to be accompanied and advised by counsel. Counsel may subject his client to reasonable examination. He also may make objections on the record and argue briefly the basis for such objections.

If the Commission determines that any witness’ testimony tends to defame, degrade, or incriminate any person, that person or his counsel may submit written questions which in the discretion of the Commission may be put to the witness. The Commission in its discretion may strike such evidence from the record.

Persons subpoenaed to the public session may request that witnesses be subpoenaed on their behalf. All requests for subpoenas must be in writing and must be supported by a showing of the general relevance and materiality of the evidence sought.

In addition, all witnesses have the right to submit statements prepared by themselves or others for inclusion in the record, provided they are submitted within the time required by the rules. Witnesses at Commission hearings are protected by the provisions of Title 18 of the United States Code, Section 1505 which makes it a crime to threaten, intimidate, or injure witnesses on account of their attendance at Government proceedings. Copies of the rules which govern this hearing may be secured during any recess from a member of the Commission staff. Persons who have been subpoenaed have already been given their copies.

Finally, I would point out that these rules were drafted with the intent of insuring that Commission hearings be conducted in a fair and impartial manner. In many cases the Commission has gone significantly beyond Congressional requirements in providing safeguards for witnesses and other persons. We have done this in the belief that useful facts can be developed in an atmosphere of calm and objectivity.

We hope that such an atmosphere will prevail at this hearing.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Thank you very much, Commissioner Griswold.

Next we will have remarks by a representative of the city of Boston. Commissioner Daniel J. Finn, of the Housing and Code Enforcement Section is here to represent the city. Is Mr. Finn in the room? Apparently, he is not.

Mr. Taylor, will you introduce the members of the State Advisory Committee for Massachusetts who are here.

MR. TAYLOR. As you know, we have a very active Advisory Committee here in the State of Massachusetts. These are citizens of Boston and of other communities in Massachusetts who serve without compensation and help to find facts and to make recommendations to the Commission. Here to represent the Committee today is its Vice Chairman, Mr. Robert Segal, and a member of the Committee, Paul Parks, and they will introduce the other members of the Committee.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Segal, will you introduce any other members of the State Advisory Committee who are here?

MR. SEGAL. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

If you care for a statement, we will be glad to make it but—

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. How long is your statement?

MR. SEGAL. Pardon?

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. How long is your statement?

MR. SEGAL. Three minutes.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Go ahead, sir.

STATEMENT OF MR. ROBERT E. SEGAL, VICE CHAIRMAN, MASSACHUSETTS STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

MR. SEGAL. For two and a quarter centuries, Boston's Faneuil Hall has, like a stalwart and sagacious old citizen, welcomed to its rostrum and galleries a long succession of outward and resolute Americans stirred by the recollection that this venerable structure is truly "our cradle of liberty".

Today, the members of the Massachusetts State Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights are honored to greet in this hospitable shrine the distinguished representatives of the Federal Government now meeting here, as the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

Your Advisory Committee in Massachusetts has submitted to you its 1963 report on housing in Boston and its 1965 report on racial imbalance in the Boston Public Schools. Those documents were prepared under the energetic direction of The Reverend Robert F. Drinan, S.J., Dean of the Boston College Law School and Chairman of the Massachusetts State Advisory Committee who deeply regrets his absence from today's proceedings due to a prior commitment as visiting professor at the University of Texas Law School. Were he here, he would have wanted, of course, to introduce the members of the Massachusetts State Advisory Committee. As Vice Chairman, I do have the pleasure of presenting those of our colleagues who are here: Mrs. Bruce D. Benson of Amherst, former president of the Massachusetts State League of Women Voters; The Right Reverend John M. Burgess, Suffragan Bishop of Massachusetts; Mr. Noel A. Day, an associate of the Organization for Technical Innovation; Mrs. James Fenn of Newton; Mr. E. Thomas Murphy of Barnstable and, at my right, Mr. Paul Parks, who will be with you in just a moment. I am sorry that certain other members of the Committee are not here. Mr. Julius Bernstein, who is the Secretary; Mr. Thomas Hennessey, Vice President of the New England Telephone Company, who I don't see here; Mr. Roger L. Putnam, the former Mayor of Springfield, and Professor Victoria Schuck of Mount Holyoke College who is presently on assignment in Saigon.

Mr. Chairman, the facts and case histories, the insights and observations we set forth on housing and on school racial imbalance have been widely disseminated for the use of many students and public officials. Objective readers of those reports are certain to note how deeply rooted the practice of housing discrimination has been in the Metropolitan Boston Area. It is clear that bias against Negro home seekers establishes a framework for public school segregation. When ghettoization is left free to intensify in public housing, it seems reasonable to conclude that Government funds go in part to produce a residential pattern that locks Negro children into a segregated school system. The wealth of factual findings made available in our studies and others has helped to spur improvement in the area of housing.

A few days ago, the General Court of our Commonwealth enacted and the Governor signed legislation setting up a Massachusetts Finance Agency, empowered to make low interest housing loans to developers of non-profit and limited dividend housing through the sale of bonds. At the same time our legislature made Massachusetts the first State in the Nation to establish a rental assistance program for low income families; and a third measure authorized the expenditure of \$37½ million for 3,000 scattered public housing units. We are not saying here that the revelations of our report on housing led directly to these advances, but the expanding Massachusetts fraternity of the concern was supplied with the useful medium for achieving this purpose.

In March and April of this year, the Massachusetts Advisory Committee conducted productive meetings in Roxbury and the South End. We listened patiently to the voice of the Negro ghetto and we are forwarding our findings, our conclusions, and our recommendations to you. Throughout this report, you will note the validity of our prime conclusion that the quality of life in these areas is deplorable and is certain to continue to breed unrest, anger, and alienation.

We know that your mission, as well as ours, is to try valiantly to change that quality of life as resolute men and women in a free society can and must do and we wish you every success.

May I add, I neglected to mention Professor Clark Byse, who is a member and a very valuable member of our Committee and I am not sure he is in the room yet.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Is Mr. Byse here?

Thank you, Mr. Segal. Mr. Parks.

STATEMENT OF MR. PAUL PARKS, MEMBER, MASSACHUSETTS STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

MR. PARKS. In 1964 the Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission held an open meeting to ascertain whether or not *de facto* segregation existed in the Boston public schools. The open meeting was held because of the series of confrontations that had been going on since early 1963 between the Boston School Committee and various civil rights groups. The Advisory Committee found that the children in these predominantly Negro schools were not receiving an education equal to the children in predominantly or all-white schools. We found that the reading scores were almost to a school lower in the racially imbalanced schools than in the all-white schools.

We heard school administrators purport the theory of separate but equal through the vehicle of religiously adhering to the neighborhood school concept and the desire to provide Negro children with more compensatory education. In 1964 we also saw the then Governor of the Commonwealth take the lead in trying to solve the problem of racial imbalance through his sub-committee on education to his civil rights committee working with Dr. Owen Kiernan, State Commissioner of Education, to institute a study of racial imbalance in the public schools of the Commonwealth. The body, now known as the Kiernan Commission, pulled together some of the most outstanding educators, clergymen, civic leaders, and business men. After an extensive study this commission found that severe racial imbalance existed in some 32 schools in Boston and recommended ways to start to approach a solution to this problem. The Boston School Committee rejected and denounced this report as being irresponsible.

In 1965, under the joint effort of the civil rights groups, clergy, and community groups, we were able to gain the passage of a Racial Im-

balance Act by the State Legislature which outlawed the racially imbalanced school and provided a blueprint for their elimination. The Boston School Committee has, as of this time, failed to meet the requirements of this law in the opinion of the State Board of Education, and State funds earmarked for schools are now being withheld from the city of Boston.

As a result of the long fight on the part of the various civil rights groups, and as a result of the Massachusetts Advisory Committee report on the effects of segregation, an active interest in the educational problems of the Negro child in the Boston public schools has been taken by the citizens of Roxbury and many of our suburban citizens in trying to solve the school problems of the Negro child. Therefore, many programs have been started that are helping to bring about a better educational climate for the Negro child in Boston.

Operation Exodus is a program designed to bus children to the unused seats in the predominantly white schools outside the Negro neighborhoods; the Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity (METCO) is a program paid for by Title III of the Elementary and Secondary School Act Funds and this program (METCO) provides for children from the Negro community to attend schools in some eight suburban towns within the Boston Metropolitan Area. "The Bridge" provides for children from the Negro areas attending private preparatory schools throughout our Greater Boston Area. There is a new integrated private school that has been started in the Roxbury section of Boston which is our Negro district. There are all kinds of tutorial programs in the Negro community, guidance programs, etc. It is unfortunate that the Boston School Committee has not seen fit to change its intransigent position, for through all of our efforts we have only affected the education of some 2,000 of the 24,000 Negro children in the Boston public schools. A solution must be obtained to assure a decent and meaningful education for the unaffected 22,000 Negro children.

It is ironic that, as we stand in this place where America was born and where the men of that day made a commitment to the men of this day that every citizen would forever have the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that we must report, ladies and gentlemen, that these freedoms cannot be obtained by our children who happen to be Negro because 22,000 of them cannot obtain a quality education in the Boston public schools. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Thank you very much, gentlemen. The Commission on Civil Rights is very grateful to the Massachusetts State Advisory Committee and the Advisory Committees of all 50 States that render us very real assistance. Thank you. We will next have greetings extended from the city by Daniel J. Finn, Commissioner of Housing and Code Enforcement. Mr. Finn.

**STATEMENT OF DANIEL J. FINN, COMMISSIONER OF HOUSING AND
CODE ENFORCEMENT, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS**

MR. FINN. Mr. Chairman and members of your Commission, in representing the mayor, I am certainly cognizant of the extremely compact schedule you will be facing this afternoon and tomorrow. However, on a social note, I hope that those of you who have not come to the city before will take an opportunity to see the new emerging Boston as it is rising out of the old. Those of you who are coming back again to our fair city, I think you will be pleased with the new designs and structures and I will not transgress upon your tight schedule further, but to extend the greetings of John F. Collins, mayor of the city of Boston, and all my fellow citizens. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Thank you very much, Mr. Commissioner. We appreciate your greetings from yourself and from the city.

The Junior Senator from Massachusetts will be here shortly but, because of the time schedule, we will proceed and get the hearing underway and then break the schedule when he arrives which will be in approximately 15 minutes. Counsel, will you call the first witness?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The first witness is Mr. Roy Littlejohn, Assistant General Counsel on the staff of this agency.

(Whereupon, Mr. Roy Littlejohn was sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

**TESTIMONY OF MR. ROY LITTLEJOHN, ASSISTANT GENERAL
COUNSEL, U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS**

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to request that a document entitled "Staff Report on Issues Related to Racial Imbalance in the Boston Public Schools" be marked as Exhibit No. 2.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. It is so marked.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Littlejohn, is this a copy of the report you participated in preparing?

MR. LITTLEJOHN. Yes, it is.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to request that this document be entered into the record as Exhibit No. 2 and that Mr. Littlejohn summarize the report for us.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. The report is received.

(The document referred to above was received as Exhibit No. 2.)

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Proceed, Mr. Littlejohn.

MR. LITTLEJOHN. According to the 1960 census, the population of Boston was more 640,000 persons. Negroes made up 10 percent of the city's population. Within the city Negroes are concentrated in the South End, Roxbury, and North Dorchester areas. In the Boston Metropolitan Area there are about 2,600,000 persons—four-fifths of the Massachusetts population—and about 3 percent of this number is nonwhite.

The overall unemployment rate for the Boston area in 1960 was

3.8 percent. The unemployment rate for nonwhites was 6.9 percent. The greatest percentage of nonwhites employed in Boston worked as craftsmen, machine operators, or foremen.

While the median income for white families in the Boston Metropolitan Area was \$6,687 in 1960, the nonwhite median was \$4,447.

More than three-fourths of the white households occupied sound housing in 1960 but less than half of the nonwhite families were this well housed. Approximately 39 percent of the nonwhite population occupied housing classified as deteriorating.

Of the 93,055 students enrolled in the Boston public schools in the 1965-66 school year, 25.8 percent were nonwhite. Since Boston follows the neighborhood school policy, the majority of Negro children attended elementary school in the Roxbury, North Dorchester, and South End areas of the city where they live. Approximately 80 percent of the Negro children in the city attend 40 elementary schools which are more than 50 percent nonwhite. One hundred elementary schools in Boston have enrollments less than 20 percent nonwhite. Approximately 6 percent of the Negro children in Boston attended these schools. There are 19 elementary schools in Boston which have enrollments between 20 and 50 percent nonwhite. About 14 percent of the Negro children in the city attended these schools.

At the junior high level 70 percent of the nonwhite students attended schools with enrollments over 50 percent nonwhite. Only one high school has an enrollment over 50 percent nonwhite.

In June 1966, there were 4,133 classroom teachers in Boston; 234 of these teachers were nonwhite. Most of these teachers teach in schools with enrollments more than 50 percent nonwhite. For example, of the 152 Negro elementary school teachers, 107 of them teach in schools which are from 50 to 100 percent nonwhite. There is a greater proportion of provisional and temporary teachers at elementary schools which are predominantly nonwhite. In addition, the teacher turnover rate is higher in those elementary school districts which are predominantly nonwhite.

Scores on standardized tests indicate that students at predominantly Negro schools score lower than students at predominantly white schools. For example, seven of the 27 schools which have an eighth grade had reading scores below the sixth grade level. Six of these schools had nonwhite enrollments greater than 69 percent.

At present, Boston has one major compensatory education program, Operation Counterpoise. This program has received over \$2 million in Federal funds under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Thirty-eight schools with an enrollment of more than 12,700 are participating in the program this school year. Twenty-nine of these schools are in predominantly Negro areas of Boston. This program attempts to bring special features, special personnel, and enrichment activities to participating schools.

Boston also is receiving Federal funds for an innovative sub-system

program. This program permits the school system's Office of Program Development to supervise the operation of one predominantly Negro elementary school and one junior high school in an attempt to introduce innovative techniques which will raise the level of student achievement.

There currently are several programs involving Boston school children which have some effect on the racial balance in the schools. In the 1965-66 school year 5.8 percent of the elementary school enrollment transferred under open enrollment. Most of the students left predominantly Negro schools. The majority of the Negro children who transferred left through the "Operation Exodus" program which involved Negro children from the Roxbury-North Dorchester areas. This program was privately organized and financed.

Boston currently is providing bus transportation for elementary children from overcrowded schools to schools with vacant seats. Although the School Committee has prohibited the busing of children within the city for the purpose of relieving racial imbalance, the busing has that effect since the 811 children being bused because of overcrowding this term are being bused from predominantly nonwhite schools to predominantly white schools.

In addition, 220 children are being bused from the Roxbury area to attend school in certain suburban communities under the Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunities (METCO) program. The tuition, transportation costs, and evaluation are being funded by the Office of Education under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act; \$259,000 for the current school year.

In 1965 the Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education of the Massachusetts State Board of Education published a report which found, among other things, that a racially imbalanced school is detrimental to sound education in that it does serious educational damage to Negro children by impairing their confidence, distorting their self-image, and lowering their motivation. It also presents an inaccurate picture of life to both white and Negro children and prepares them inadequately for a multi-racial society, and it too often produces inferior educational facilities in the predominantly Negro schools.

Boston was found to be the city in Massachusetts with the most serious imbalance problem.

In response to this report, the Massachusetts Legislature enacted the Racial Imbalance Act in August 1965. This Act declares it to be the policy of the State of Massachusetts to encourage all school committees to adopt as educational objectives the promotion of racial balance and the correction of existing imbalance. A school is considered imbalanced when it is 50 percent or more nonwhite. The Act requires school committees to submit an annual census. Based on this census, the State Board will determine if imbalance exists. Upon notifications of such imbalance, a school committee is required to prepare and

file a plan to eliminate imbalance. The Act provides that the State Board is to provide technical assistance to the local school committees.

In February 1966, the State Board rejected Boston's plan as unacceptable. The Board found that Boston had failed to utilize remedial methods, such as redistricting, to alleviate imbalance. In April the State Board voted unanimously to withhold all State financial assistance from Boston. In May, technical assistance in the form of a plan for redistricting to alleviate imbalance was prepared by the Joint Center for Urban Studies of Harvard and M.I.T. This plan was submitted to the School Committee. On June 13, 1966, Boston submitted a revised plan to the State in an attempt to comply with the law. The Joint Center's proposals were not included in this plan. This plan also was rejected by the State Board and this rejection was affirmed in July 1966. On August 5, 1966, the Boston School Committee filed suit against the State Board challenging its action and on September 23, 1966, a second suit was filed by the School Committee challenging the constitutionality of the Act. Both cases still are pending.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Thank you very much, Mr. Littlejohn. Before you leave the stand, do the Commissioners have any questions? No? Thank you very much. You are excused. Ladies and gentlemen, Senator Kennedy has not yet arrived. We will call the next witness with the intention that we will break his testimony to permit the Senator to speak briefly and then we will resume with the witness because Mr. Kennedy must get a plane for Washington and we agreed to accommodate him when he comes. Counsel, will you call the next witness?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The next witness is Mr. Rollins Griffith.

(Whereupon, Mr. Rollins Griffith was sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

**TESTIMONY OF MR. ROLLINS GRIFFITH,
ROXBURY, MASSACHUSETTS**

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you please state your full name and address for the record?

MR. GRIFFITH. My name is Rollins Griffith, 32 Hutchings Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What is your occupation and place of employment?

MR. GRIFFITH. I am the assistant principal of the Lewis Junior High School, Roxbury, Massachusetts.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How long have you held that position?

MR. GRIFFITH. Just for one year at the Lewis School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you also teach at the Lewis School?

MR. GRIFFITH. Yes. I teach two classes in English.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. In English?

MR. GRIFFITH. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What other administrative or teaching positions have you held in the Boston School System?

MR. GRIFFITH. Prior to my arriving at the Lewis Junior High School, I was the assistant principal in the Higginson District for some three years, and prior to that I taught for 10 years in other sections of the city.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What grades did you teach?

MR. GRIFFITH. The Higginson District in Roxbury, of course, is on the elementary level. All of the other areas were junior high school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Griffith, how many students are there at Lewis School?

MR. GRIFFITH. I believe, at the present time, we number somewhere between 530 and 535 students.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How many of these students are Negro?

MR. GRIFFITH. How many are Negro?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Yes.

MR. GRIFFITH. I would say 99 percent of the student body.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. About how many students are there in the Higginson District?

MR. GRIFFITH. I don't know the facts on the Higginson District, but at the time that I was a member of that district, I believe, it numbered somewhere between 1,000 and 1,100.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. About how many of those were Negro?

MR. GRIFFITH. I would say, 99 percent, easily.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What was the racial composition of the other schools that you taught in?

MR. GRIFFITH. Years ago I taught in Gavin Junior High School in South Boston and when I arrived at that school there weren't any Negro students. I then taught at the Woodrow Wilson Junior High School in Dorchester, and when I first arrived at that junior high school we had two Negro students, and after five years there, upon my leaving, I believe we had somewhere in the neighborhood of possibly, six to 10 students who were Negro.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. In other words, you have taught at schools that were almost all-Negro and at some schools that were almost all-white.

MR. GRIFFITH. I would say the majority of the schools I have taught have been principally white schools as such.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you please describe for the Commissioners the neighborhood and the home environment from which most of the students from Lewis School come?

MR. GRIFFITH. It is a rather difficult question to answer and a rather difficult statement to make because we find that Roxbury, relative to the composition of the make-up, is quite varied. We have, naturally, many students who would come from what we would call the lower socio-economic level. We have many youngsters who could easily be classified in the upper middle-class level. I would say the majority of them, however, would be of the lower income level.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Griffith, I have just noticed Senator Kennedy walk in and I am very sorry but perhaps we could interrupt you to permit Senator Kennedy to make a statement.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Griffith, would you step aside for a few moments?

Senator Kennedy, we are delighted to have you here this morning. We understand you have a very tight schedule and the witness understood when you came in we would break his testimony for you to proceed. The Commission is happy to be in your State. We are very grateful to you for coming.

Senator, I assume you know the Commission. Father Hesburgh, Mrs. Freeman, and Dean Griswold. We have two absentees, one due to an illness in his family and the other is in the hospital at Duke University. Mr. Taylor and Mr. Glickstein.

**STATEMENT OF THE HON. EDWARD M. KENNEDY, U.S. SENATOR,
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS**

SENATOR KENNEDY. Let me first of all apologize and express my appreciation to your previous witness for extending the courtesy to permit me to testify here today. It is necessary for me to return to Washington. We are addressing ourselves to the poverty program and we expect votes on the floor of the United States Senate and I feel it is my obligation to be there. I want to extend my appreciation to you and, particularly, to the Commission for the courtesies which have been extended to me in permitting me to speak on a question and issue which I know is of the deepest concern to the members of the Commission and which is of very deep, personal concern to hundreds of thousands of the citizens of Massachusetts and I am deeply honored to have a chance to make this appearance before the Commission.

I appreciate the opportunity to testify before the Commission on the subject of racial isolation in the Boston schools.

I am glad you have come to Boston and I welcome you here. Your work has already made substantial contributions to the cause of equal opportunity and justice for all Americans. The hearing you are holding today, like the hearings you have held in many cities around the country, makes it possible to air publicly before a distinguished and impartial tribunal civil rights issues which are controversial and often misunderstood.

De facto school segregation in Boston is just such an issue and I am, therefore, particularly delighted that you are conducting these hearings here at this time. Twelve years have passed since the Supreme Court declared segregated public schools to be unconstitutional. Yet progress toward desegregating public schools has been shamefully slight. In the South, fewer than 3 percent of the Negro children last year attended integrated schools and, largely as a result of residential segregation, school systems of almost every major city in the North are as effectively segregated on the basis of race as they would have

been if segregation by race were an officially enforced policy. This is the situation here in Boston where more than half the Negro population of Massachusetts lives. There is no need for me to go into detail, statistical detail. The Kiernan Report documents the existence of racial isolation in the Boston schools. There is virtually unanimity among education authorities that school segregation by color, whether *de jure* or *de facto*, is harmful to school children and as long as Negro children are racially isolated in schools, they will be denied the equality of educational opportunity which should be their birthright as American citizens. That is why the Commonwealth of Massachusetts passed a law requiring local school boards to take action to correct racial imbalance. As you know, the failure of the Boston School Committee to come up with a satisfactory plan has resulted in the withholding of vitally needed State funds from the Boston schools.

I have followed the negotiations between the State Board of Education and the Boston School Committee closely. I have been impressed by the reasonable and the moderate tone, the practicality of the suggestions presented to the Boston School Committee by the State Board. And I've been disappointed by the School Committee's failure to come up with a plan to comply with the State law. But because the question of rejection of the plan is *sub judice*, I prefer not to comment further on the details of the plans and recommendations exchanged over the last nine months. Instead I would like to express my feelings about the importance of this question to the future of race relations in this city.

In my judgment, Boston, like other American cities and, indeed, like our Nation itself, is at a crossroads in human relations. Our future will be determined as much by the ability of our people to learn to live together better as by our material progress. For so long as we live in separate societies, one rich, one poor, one black, one white, one complacent, one despairing, we will not be the city we could be. We will never realize our full potential until we assimilate our Negro citizens into the mainstream of American life.

Thus the problem of ghetto schools is not just the educators' problem. It is our problem. The Negro American, if he is to have faith in any of America's institutions, must have faith in our schools. The school is the only institution which, by its very nature, involves a daily effort to give to its students something they did not have before and make of them something they were not before.

President Kennedy said that "The human mind is our fundamental resource." Providing equal opportunity for all Americans to develop this resource through education is thus the key to equal opportunity in the fields for all men.

But there is more involved as well. The willingness on the part of the white community to take the action necessary to provide this equal opportunity has a value of its own. This willingness, this largeness of vision and purpose can give to our Negro citizens the hope and the

faith in America's institutions that they must have to sustain their struggle for a better life.

Some misguided Negro militants and malcontents, acting out of frustration and alienation, have turned to violence this summer—a violence we all condemn—a violence which has hurt the cause of the Negro and which has hurt our Nation by encouraging the forces of reaction.

But the great majority of Negro Americans continue to have faith in America despite a century of bigotry and deprivation. A great many of them are fighting and dying for this country and for freedom in Vietnam right now.

Here in Boston, the Negro community is displaying commendable patience and discipline under excellent leadership. We have not had the racial violence in Boston. Instead, we have seen the emergence of spontaneous self-help community organizations such as the Opportunities Industrialization Center Program and Operation Exodus, which are dedicated to the improvement of the job and educational opportunities of the Negro community.

Operation Exodus, organized in September of 1965 by residents of Roxbury and Dorchester to transport children from crowded, racially imbalanced schools to Boston schools where seats are available, is now in its second year. It is operated entirely by parent volunteers and is funded entirely by private donations. It deserves much broader community support. Despite enormous financial difficulties, it continues to operate and expand. It has become a powerful force for improvement in the Negro community, bringing to its members a heightened sense of dignity and self-respect. Operation Exodus could become the base for a wide-ranging program of self-help activities which could transform the Boston ghetto into an attractive urban neighborhood, fully assimilated into the life of the Greater Boston community. I believe this vision could become a reality but the dedication and hard work that will be required can only be maintained by faith.

It is up to us to bolster that faith by tangible evidence of our good will—our willingness to make the extra effort which is necessary to bridge the gap we have created between the races. In some cities, racial concentration is so heavy that the elimination of *de facto* school segregation can only be accomplished by massive programs involving severe dislocations. But in Boston, the problem is far more manageable and, in my judgment, could be dealt with satisfactorily if the white community and the School Committee would only make the extra effort of which I spoke earlier.

It was with cities like Boston in mind that I introduced legislation to afford Federal financial assistance to local boards who want to act to reduce racial imbalance. My idea was to offer an added financial incentive and to provide the leadership at the national level that passage of such legislation would imply. My bill has been reported favor-

ably from the full, Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee and I intend to continue to work for its enactment.

But, even if it is passed, it would still be necessary for a local board to initiate the action to obtain funds to support a program to reduce racial imbalance. It would still be up to the local communities to decide to make that extra effort which I think is so important. Some communities can be proud of the efforts that they have made, as I am proud of the Massachusetts towns involved in the METCO Program. On their own initiative these suburban towns have joined together to bring disadvantaged Negro children to their schools, to give them the benefits of integrated, high quality education. They have made the effort and it is working out well. But I do not think that Boston can be proud because I do not believe that Boston has yet made that extra effort.

Throughout the period of this controversy, I have been confident that a good start would be made through the voluntary action of the School Committee. I consider it highly unfortunate when State intervention to cut off funds becomes necessary. I would consider it still more unfortunate if Boston's continued failure to act should result in Federal intervention as well.

Gathered here as we are today in Faneuil Hall, the cradle of liberty, and as aware as I am of this city's great heritage of freedom and enlightenment, I still have faith that the citizens of Boston will make plain their desire to solve this problem without the need for State or Federal intervention, and to solve it with dignity, tolerance, and understanding. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Thank you very much, Senator. We are grateful to the Senator for being with us this morning. Mr. Griffith, will you resume the witness chair. Mr. Glickstein, will you proceed?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Griffith, you were telling us about the neighborhood and home environment from which the Lewis children come. I believe you said that you thought most of the children were from lower middle-class families.

MR. GRIFFITH. Yes, I would agree with that.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Is the student turnover at Lewis Junior High very large?

MR. GRIFFITH. Last year it was quite high. It is difficult to say perhaps just what the situation might be this year. However, in terms of turnover, I would automatically have to think in terms of the renewal program in the city.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Renewal program?

MR. GRIFFITH. Renewal program in the city, yes, and the fact that many buildings in the city were razed and, as a result of that, of course, people were forced to move and I would dare say that has possibly had some effect on pupil turnover, the ratio of it.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. But the turnover was considerably higher than at some of the other schools you have taught in?

MR. GRIFFITH. Well, of course, I didn't have any figures, I was not in a position to know figures relative to turnover in other areas of the city.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. At other schools you have taught in?

MR. GRIFFITH. At the other schools I was not in a position to really know.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How many classroom teachers are there at Lewis?

MR. GRIFFITH. At the present time, we have 35. However, we have somewhere in the neighborhood of 8 to 10 additional teachers under the Office of Program Development.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How many of the teachers at Lewis are Negro?

MR. GRIFFITH. At the present time, I would say, that we have six.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Griffith, what have you observed to be the attitude of teachers at the Lewis School toward the school and toward the students?

MR. GRIFFITH. I would say the attitude of the teachers from the standpoint of the school is a very good attitude. I would say that the attitude of the teachers from a general standpoint toward the student body is a good attitude. I would also say this, that I don't think that in any situation, any given situation, we will ever have 100 percent participation in any area.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you find that the teachers at your school have very high expectations of their students?

MR. GRIFFITH. Well, it would be difficult to say exactly what the individual thinking of each particular teacher is. I would say that from what I have observed and from what they have been attempting to do, I would say they are attempting to get the maximum amount of achievement from the pupils within the building.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think that the teachers at Lewis feel a great deal is expected of them?

MR. GRIFFITH. Yes, I do.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think the teachers at Lewis are very much aware of the home environment from which Lewis children come and are very sympathetic and sensitive to the background of the students?

MR. GRIFFITH. It would be my feeling that perhaps in the areas of background, perhaps in the area of more information relative to the community and what it has to say and what it proposes that the teachers in general could stand more information, but from the standpoint of the teachers themselves—and I must make this statement because we have many teachers who and I may make the point—were there when I attended that school and are still there. I would have to say there are many who are quite aware of the area and the sensitivities of the people in the area.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think that, by and large, the teachers are adequately prepared to deal with the type of problems they encounter in the Lewis School?

MR. GRIFFITH. I would not attempt to question the abilities of the

teachers because, after all, this is a point of the administration and I would assume any teacher who is a permanent teacher in the city of Boston has been so accredited and, therefore, is in a position to teach. The only point that I would make is that I feel that perhaps something could be done in the area of a broader background for teachers who must teach in the urbanized ghetto areas.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Don't you think, Mr. Griffith, that teachers who teach in inner-city schools face problems different from teachers who teach in Newton, for example?

MR. GRIFFITH. I've never taught in Newton but I have heard a lot about Newton, naturally, and I am familiar with the area. But I would assume, yes, the problems would be quite different.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. And you feel your teachers would require some additional training to be able to deal with the problems they encounter?

MR. GRIFFITH. Definitely.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Griffith, at the Lewis School, is student motivation a problem?

MR. GRIFFITH. Yes, I would feel that it would be a problem. My observations of the building and of the students in the building is the fact they do not seem to have the amount of desire—I am speaking generally now—they do not seem to have the amount of desire, the will to achieve that I, personally, would like to see. However, I must also mention the fact that the Lewis School is a school which has been labeled by the community as an inferior school, which means, therefore, that many of our Negro youngsters who, we could say are highly motivated, do not attend this school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Why has the school been labeled as an inferior school?

MR. GRIFFITH. This was the reaction of the community. The community itself seemingly has lost confidence or had lost confidence in the building itself.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think a predominantly Negro school generally has a stigma attached to it and is considered inferior by the community?

MR. GRIFFITH. In the present day, I would say, yes. At the present time, yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How do the students at Lewis seem to feel about their teachers?

MR. GRIFFITH. Well, of course, that is quite a question and it would vary from student to student. I would say the relationship as I have observed in the building, from a general standpoint, is a good rapport more or less between the students and the teachers. I don't know whether we should specify the urban school or the suburban school. I imagine in any teaching situation you will find there will be situations which will not be most congenial relative to students and to the administration.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What are the attitudes of the Negro students at Lewis, in general, toward white persons?

MR. GRIFFITH. Well, of course, this is something which has not been taken up in the school, certainly not as a part of our curriculum. However, from time to time, on an individual basis, I have attempted to assess the attitudes of our young people because I feel that not only am I an administrator in the building, but I am a part of that community and I must say I am not pleased with the attitudes or the thinking of our youngsters in the area of the white community.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What effect do you find that community tensions have on the attitude of your students toward white persons?

MR. GRIFFITH. I don't believe there is any question but that it is reflected in the school. It comes out in many ways: hostility, sullenness, lack of cooperativeness. These areas in particular, quite noticeable.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. I believe that some of the students from your school had either participated in open enrollment or in METCO. What effect have these programs had? Have they taken away some of your very good students?

MR. GRIFFITH. There is no question about that. Prior to attending the Lewis School, becoming a part of the staff at Lewis School, I was in the Higginson District which was kindergarten through 6 and I was quite familiar with the graduating, or the group that left in the sixth grade, and I know that better than 75 percent of them went outside of the district. So, I would say, very definitely, that open enrollment, METCO, and Operation Exodus have had an effect on the student body because, generally speaking, I would reason this way, that persons are taking the children away from the school because they are not satisfied or they feel the child is not going to receive a proper type of education. This, of course, is a prerogative of the parents.

Now, the parents who take this much time and who would feel as strongly as they do, naturally would be the type who would inspire or attempt to inspire their children, hence, of course, raising the level of motivation. Now, if you constantly siphon away from your neighborhood school as such, I don't like to speak of it as the cream, but certainly our very high achievers, and in many cases this is the instance, then it has to have an effect on the achievement level, generally speaking, of the school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Griffith, your school is one of the schools participating in the innovative programs that are being experimented with in the Boston schools?

MR. GRIFFITH. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You mentioned before that you felt that there was a stigma attached to predominantly Negro schools. Do you think the stigma associated with a predominantly Negro school increases when compensatory education programs or innovative programs are introduced into that school?

MR. GRIFFITH. No, I do not because I have a lot of faith in innova-

tive programs, creative programs, and it is my feeling that if a program of this nature is successful, that perhaps we will have the reverse of what we now have, perhaps students from other areas will attempt to attend this particular school because of the curriculum, because of what this program offers.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think the reputation of Lewis affects the motivation of the students attending that school?

MR. GRIFFITH. Yes, I do.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think that these innovative programs will be able to deal with the motivation of the students, will be able to overcome the reputation of the school?

MR. GRIFFITH. I'm certain that they will. I have noticed some changes in the school itself and this is a relatively short time that the program has been in operation.

Perhaps let me tell you why I would make such a statement. It was either in April or May—I believe it was April of last year that I went back to my old district, Higginson District, and I asked the principal of the school or the principal of the district, rather, for an opportunity to speak to the sixth graders because I knew that the Office of Program Development was about to put into implementation this program in our building and I felt that many of the things which would be done would be of benefit to the students in the community. However, if they continue to move away from the area they would not be in a position to take advantage of this. I spoke to a combined groupings of sixth graders who were about to enter the seventh grade and I noticed immediately from the attitude of the children even though I was telling them the many good things, the expected outcome of this program, that my ideas were not necessarily going across.

I hoped they would take this information back to their parents.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did you attend school in Boston, Mr. Griffith?

MR. GRIFFITH. Yes, I did.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Which school did you attend?

MR. GRIFFITH. I attended the Boardman School which is now the elementary sub-system experimental school. I also attended for two years at Julia Ward Howe, which is in the neighboring district. I attended and graduated from the Lewis Junior High School, of which I am now a part.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Was Lewis School, when you attended it, predominantly Negro?

MR. GRIFFITH. No. I would say that perhaps less than one-third of the student body were Negroes at that time.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did it have compensatory and innovative programs at that time?

MR. GRIFFITH. You are really stretching my thoughts, I would say, no, not that I know of.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Griffith, do you believe some of the problems

you have encountered in the Lewis School can be dealt with adequately in a predominantly Negro school?

MR. GRIFFITH. I think when we deal with problems of desire, problems of acceptance, problems which call forth from an individual child to achieve because he or she should achieve in order that they may contribute, I am not necessarily of the opinion that this can be achieved in an all-Negro school because I feel that in the climate in which we now live that this is unrealistic from the standpoint of curriculum and from the standpoint of the facilities, from the standpoint of all the various aids which may be offered citywide, I feel yes, quality education can be obtained in the school. But I think at the present time we are dealing with a problem that is far greater. I want the children to achieve, quite naturally, but I, as an individual, do not want them to step forth into life with a distorted picture, with a distorted view of what lies ahead of them and I feel that this is what is going to happen or what is happening by being a part of an all-Negro school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Thank you. I have no further questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh, any questions?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Would you agree motivation is one of the most important factors in a student getting an education?

MR. GRIFFITH. I would agree with that, Father.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I was wondering what proportion of motivation normally do your youngsters get from school and their families' background? I am speaking about your own high school now.

MR. GRIFFITH. I would feel that is a great problem in our section. We know from our school records that the backgrounds of many of our children are very difficult backgrounds. We know from the standpoint of the prior district of which I was a part and the district in which I am now a part that we have students who have been moved around and have been shunted from pillar to post and we know this is a problem. We know that many of our youngsters do not receive what we would consider to be the proper amount of guidance, the proper amount of push from the persons at home and we know this is necessary.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Do you think it is possible in a school run normally to overcome this lag on the part of student motivation?

MR. GRIFFITH. Then that becomes a far greater problem because it means we have to move beyond the area of just our children. We have to move out into the community and we must deal with the adults in the community and I would not for one moment suggest that this is not necessary. A tremendous program must be done on the community level to impress this fact upon the parents of our children that an education is necessary, that it is vital today.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Perhaps we need something new in the way of communication between parents and schools.

MR. GRIFFITH. I would agree with that. I have long felt that from the standpoint of communications between the home and the school that something new is necessary. We do not have the proper amount of communication and we do not receive the proper amount of response from our parents that we would like to have.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Thank you, Mr. Griffith.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. I notice you have been a teacher for 14 years and you were formerly an assistant principal. Are there any Negro principals in the Boston School System?

MR. GRIFFITH. Yes. We have one now.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. You have one.

MR. GRIFFITH. One.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Following up Father Hesburgh's point about motivation, one of the best ways to motivate children is by image and by conduct. We heard testimony that less than 5 percent of the teachers in the Boston school system are Negro. What happens to the child if he cannot even see a Negro teacher? Do you believe, and you stated that you were displeased with the attitudes of some of the students, to what extent would this kind of image adversely affect the child?

MR. GRIFFITH. I would feel that it would have a tremendous effect on the attitude of the Negro students. I certainly feel that from a proportionate standpoint there should be greater representation of Negro leadership, administratively, yes. I certainly feel this because we are constantly telling the children that they should achieve and we are constantly telling the children that they need these skills in order that they may lead a better life and a fuller life, but yet, when they look around them and look at the various images and the images are constantly a white image, then, perhaps, in their own way they question the credibility of these statements.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. That is all.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Lewis School is a junior high school?

MR. GRIFFITH. Yes, it is.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Do you have any knowledge or any information at all that would permit you to guess as to what percentage of your Negro graduates will eventually go on for some education beyond high school?

MR. GRIFFITH. No. I would have no knowledge of that.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Is there any program in the school that tends to identify the promising young Negroes with educational potential to give them, to sell them the idea they ought to go on and get all the education that is required to develop whatever potential God gave them?

MR. GRIFFITH. We have an advanced work class in our building which is designed for children who are not over-achievers but certainly capable of achieving above grade level. We have three guid-

ance advisors for our student body and this certainly plays a major part in the instruction which they give to the children. Also, in the area of the compensatory programs, from the standpoint of enrichment, this has been brought into the building, because persons have been brought to the building to speak to the children and, in this way, to stimulate them to broaden their perspectives.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Do you have any unusual disciplinary problems in your school?

MR. GRIFFITH. Unusual?

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. More than normal.

MR. GRIFFITH. I would say no, because I taught at another section of the city. Of course, the student body there was practically double the size of my present student body and I would say discipline in that area was extremely difficult.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. I think you have already indicated, but I have forgotten if you did respond to the question, what is the breakdown of teachers in your school, Negro versus white?

MR. GRIFFITH. I believe we have 35 permanent members of our staff and six of the 35 are Negroes.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Six Negroes and 29 whites?

MR. GRIFFITH. Yes. Approximately, one-sixth of the staff.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. But the students are 99 percent Negro?

MR. GRIFFITH. Yes, they are.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold, do you have any questions?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. No.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Taylor?

MR. TAYLOR. Mr. Griffith, you told Mrs. Freeman that there was one Negro principal in the school system?

MR. GRIFFITH. Yes.

MR. TAYLOR. When was the Negro principal appointed?

MR. GRIFFITH. I believe that appointment was made in June of this year.

MR. TAYLOR. What percentage of the students at Lewis would you say goes on to high school like Boston Latin or schools like that?

MR. GRIFFITH. That would call for figures and I do not have figures of that nature at my disposal and I would be reluctant to even guess, because unless I had these facts I could not state with any degree of accuracy.

MR. TAYLOR. Could you say whether it would be a large number or a small number?

MR. GRIFFITH. From the standpoint of the Latin School, I would say, no. To the best of my knowledge possibly we might have had one last year.

MR. TAYLOR. Have you had enough experience with compensatory and enrichment programs at Lewis or other schools to be able to say whether it has any lasting effect on the achievement of the children?

MR. GRIFFITH. Well, I have always felt and was led to believe that

a compensatory program was designed to raise the educational level or the educational level of achievement of the individual student. I was part of the Counterpoise Program when it was first initiated in the Higginson District and now I am part of the pilot program of the Office of Program Development. I feel that there is a very definite need in our areas for these compensatory programs.

MR. TAYLOR. Do you think that perhaps by taking children out of their environment and having them attend schools in another environment they would get the enrichment experiences that way, or is it preferable that they get these experiences in the schools that they are now in?

MR. GRIFFITH. Are you asking me whether I would prefer an integrated school or a segregated school with compensatory aid?

MR. TAYLOR. Yes. I will accept your formulation of the question.

MR. GRIFFITH. I would prefer an integrated school. I attended an integrated school and I feel that it certainly added to the particular strength which I hope I possess, and I would wish this opportunity for each and every student in the Boston school system, regardless of where he or she may live and I feel that this can be achieved through a closeness, perhaps not through a oneness, but certainly through a closeness for working and living, and striving toward particular or peculiar objectives that we can learn to associate one with the other and this would have its lasting effect hopefully in later life and I feel this could be achieved through an integrated school.

MR. TAYLOR. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Any further questions?

Thank you, Mr. Griffith. You are excused and we will take a 10 minute recess and reconvene at 28 minutes to 2.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Ladies and gentlemen, the hearing will come to order. We have a new reporter. Mr. Peppler, will you please rise and be sworn?

(Whereupon, Mr. Lyles Peppler was sworn in as Official Reporter.)

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Counsel, will you call the next witness?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The next witness is Mr. John Callahan.

(Whereupon, Mr. John Callahan was sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

**TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN CALLAHAN,
BRAINTREE, MASSACHUSETTS**

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you please state your full name and address for the record?

MR. CALLAHAN. My name is John Callahan. I live at 11 Claremont Street, Braintree.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What is your occupation and place of employment?

MR. CALLAHAN. I am assistant principal at Dearborn School in Roxbury.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Are you involved in school affairs in Braintree?

MR. CALLAHAN. I am a member of the Braintree School Committee.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How long have you been assistant principal at Dearborn School?

MR. CALLAHAN. I have been assistant principal for approximately eight years at the Dearborn School. Before that I was a classroom teacher for eight years at Dearborn School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You have been in the Boston system for about 16 years?

MR. CALLAHAN. Twenty years. I had three other years' experience beside the Dearborn School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What grades are taught at Dearborn?

MR. CALLAHAN. In the Dearborn District we have kindergarten through the eighth grade.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. And in your school is that kindergarten through eighth, also?

MR. CALLAHAN. In our particular school, it is the fourth grade through the eighth grade.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How many students are there in your school?

MR. CALLAHAN. In the district there are just about 1,400 pupils. In the Dearborn School, there are perhaps 625 or so pupils.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. In Boston, I am correct, am I not, there are school districts which have within them a number of schools. Is that right?

MR. CALLAHAN. That is correct. Within our district we have four schools, the Dearborn, the Dearborn Annex, the Aaron Davis, and the Albert Palmer, these latter two being primary feeder schools for the Dearborn School itself.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. And in the particular school that you are assistant principal of, there are about 600 students?

MR. CALLAHAN. That is correct.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Is the school crowded?

MR. CALLAHAN. In the fifth grade it is running about 34 to a classroom on an average. There are either four or five—I believe five. For fifth grades they average 35.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Is that considered crowded?

MR. CALLAHAN. The seventh grade would run to 32; the eighth grade 28.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What proportion of the student body at Dearborn is Negro?

MR. CALLAHAN. I would approximate between 80 and 85 percent; perhaps closer to 80 percent at the present moment. It was 65.8, but this was, I believe, two years ago and I think it has risen.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. About 80 percent now?

MR. CALLAHAN. Or more.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. I think figures that we have indicate that non-white enrollment is 77.3 percent.

MR. CALLAHAN. That is for the district?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. No, that is just for your school, that was in 1965.

MR. CALLAHAN. I think it has risen since then.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. When you first came to the Dearborn School, what percentage of the student body was Negro at that time?

MR. CALLAHAN. I would say between 20 and 25 percent.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How many classroom teachers are there at Dearborn School?

MR. CALLAHAN. Twenty-one.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How many of them are Negro?

MR. CALLAHAN. One. We are speaking here strictly of classroom teachers. In the Dearborn District we have 63 teachers of whom nine are Negro. Our principal is Negro.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The principal of the district is Negro?

MR. CALLAHAN. The principal of the Dearborn School and the district is Negro.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. This was the principal who was appointed in June or August. Is that correct?

MR. CALLAHAN. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How would you evaluate the achievement level of students at your school?

MR. CALLAHAN. Well, I would have to, as I did, examine the achievement tests that were given last year and I think I can generalize and say that in reading they were two to six months behind the citywide norm; arithmetic, one to two months below the city norm.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What factors do you attribute to this lag?

MR. CALLAHAN. One, I would say that lack of desirable class size at the lower levels, at certain levels.

Two, I would say the high rate of mobility of the pupils, that 70 percent of the pupils in the seventh grade in the Dearborn District did not begin in the Dearborn District. Some children have been to almost a score of schools.

I would say, also, the fact that presence in the classroom of—in the normal classroom—of children who have a weakness in educational adaptability and I would also say the fact that 70 percent of the teachers of the Dearborn District are non-tenure teachers. The figures I gave you are for the entire district, not for the Dearborn School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What percent are non-tenure teachers?

MR. CALLAHAN. Seventy percent, I think.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Are these temporary, provisional teachers?

MR. CALLAHAN. No, these are teachers who have not had three years' experience in the Boston system.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You mentioned that some of the students had weaknesses in educational adaptability. What do you mean by that?

MR. CALLAHAN. I think that they are sent to school or go to school ill-equipped for education. Perhaps this could be because of the ravages of poverty which we certainly have in the district. Perhaps it could be because of those who are in school that there is a mobility among the children.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you say, then, that when children enter school there are some children who are more ready to learn than other children?

MR. CALLAHAN. I would say so, yes. I think Head Start conceived on this idea and I do hope it is continued.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Has there been an increase in the educational problems at Dearborn during the 16 years you have been there when the population has changed from 20 to 30 percent to about 75 percent or so Negro?

MR. CALLAHAN. An increase in the educational problems? I do not have the figures of the achievement of students at the school, say, 16 years ago, or 10 years ago. Those are not available. I haven't seen them so that I could not answer this, comparing it back then.

However, if you were to ask me is there an increase in problems of an educational nature, I would say that there is. I have noticed that there is an increase in the disciplinary problems within the school, emotional problems within the school.

Do you want me to explain why I think—this is just my observation—why I think this is so, because I think as the school has grown to be more and more imbalanced that the Negro child has had his self-concept negated or lowered, shall we say, so that after unsuccessful experiences in the lower grades, the fact that perhaps—this is a child who comes ill-equipped to school now—that perhaps after several retardations in the lower grades that he reaches the seventh grade at the age of 14 or 15 and prospects of becoming a high school graduate dim. I think he realizes this. I think that together with his own self-image and concept that he more or less is not too happy with himself, and a person who is not too happy with himself is not happy with the world and this becomes an educational problem.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. This negation of self-concept became more and more of a problem as the school became more and more Negro?

MR. CALLAHAN. This is my opinion. This is based on observation of denigrating terms used by one child to another, bickerings, quarrels—

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How has the reputation of the Dearborn School in the community changed over the years, or has it changed over the years that you have been there?

MR. CALLAHAN. The Dearborn School was always, since I have been there, been considered a difficult, multi-problem school. When I was appointed there, many veterans advised me to get out as soon as possible. However, what would you say causes these problems in these schools, is that your question?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Yes.

MR. CALLAHAN. I would say it is caused by the fact that there is a high rate of teacher turnover. In my 16 years there I have seen many teachers transfer out of the Dearborn School to less difficult districts. I have never seen another teacher transfer from another district into the Dearborn School.

In my 16 years I have seen four principals transfer out of the Dearborn School to less difficult schools. I am now working under my sixth principal.

This period of transition is a difficult one for all concerned, so there is a lack of continuity there. When these teachers who do transfer from the Dearborn School, these teachers of some experience, to less difficult schools, they are usually replaced by beginning or recently appointed teachers. I think this had led to problems, many problems, in the school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think you would have been able to keep your more experienced teachers longer if they were paid an extra salary or were paid for working in the Dearborn Schools?

MR. CALLAHAN. Not only Dearborn School but, say, the schools of Roxbury, the schools that are considered difficult. This would be up to the administration to make this determination. I have been an advocate of this, of more pay. Perhaps that is the answer. Perhaps there are some other benefits that could accrue to teachers in these districts. This would be up to the administration to determine just what they could do to contain the teachers there, to keep them there.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You think there is something that could be done?

MR. CALLAHAN. I think it could be done, yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What effect has open enrollment had on the Dearborn School?

MR. CALLAHAN. At the present time in the seventh and eighth grades of the Dearborn School, in each grade there are 30 children outside the district coming into the school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You have children transferring into the school?

MR. CALLAHAN. Yes, children from outside the district, so that we must be doing something to have this happen. I do not have the figures of those who have taken advantage of the open enrollment program and gone from the Dearborn School to other districts.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Are the kids that are transferring in white or Negro?

MR. CALLAHAN. Mainly Negro.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Have any white children transferred out under open enrollment?

MR. CALLAHAN. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You have indicated to us that with the increasing Negro enrollment, negative self-concept has developed in the children. Beside that, are there any educational problems at the Dearborn

School that you would attribute to the fact that the school is predominantly Negro?

MR. CALLAHAN. The type of child who attends Dearborn School cannot be categorized. We have classes that are well motivated, receptive, eager to learn, who would compare favorably with most suburban schools.

We have, however, classes where we have pupils who have not demonstrated an adaptability to education and who lack motivation—we do try to motivate them—and who are not achieving as they should.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Callahan, what advice would you give a parent of a child at your school who asks you whether her child should take advantage of open enrollment?

MR. CALLAHAN. This would depend upon the school chosen, this would depend upon the parent, whether the parent was sincere. It would also depend upon the child. If I thought the child could adapt and would benefit from another situation, if I thought it were beneficial to the child, I would advise transfer under the open enrollment. If I did not think it was, I would say perhaps retention at Dearborn School would be desirable.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. In general, do you think that Negro students would benefit from an integrated education?

MR. CALLAHAN. I do.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. I have no further questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Mr. Callahan, it seems to me that one thing clearly emerges from your testimony and that is that while the situation is very complicated that you described, one thing is not too complicated, you do need better teachers in your schools, teachers with more experience, teachers with more continuity within the school situation understanding the type of students you have. Is that a fair statement?

MR. CALLAHAN. That is a fair statement. We do not have a desirable number of experienced teachers in our school.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. You say 70 percent of them aren't tenure teachers?

MR. CALLAHAN. Yes.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Do you have any ideas, after your years in education at these levels, how one might go about motivating good experienced teachers to teach in a difficult situation rather than an easy situation?

MR. CALLAHAN. This problem, I imagine, has plagued the administration. The office of teacher placement is not happy about this situation. The administration is aware of it and not happy about it.

The fault is that here we just do not have enough people, experienced teachers, who will come into areas like this. The Boston system has tried to get people to come in here, but there are none or there are not

too many, shall we say, available. They prefer the greener pastures of the suburbs or the outer fringes of the city.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. But do you believe that until we do get first-rate teachers in these schools, they don't have much hope at all?

MR. CALLAHAN. This is my main point that I am trying to make here that to have an effective school, the school will only be as effective as the teachers. You may have programs introduced into your schools. If they are not administered by capable teachers, they do not go across. This is the crying need. We cannot use schools such as Dearborn School as the training ground for the beginning teacher. You must have capable, earnest teachers, you must have teachers who are more than just the ordinary teachers, teachers who care, teachers who are interested, teachers who have devotion, above all teachers who want to come into this area.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Thank you very much.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Mr. Callahan, you suggested that efforts had been made to recruit teachers. Would you describe some of those efforts?

MR. CALLAHAN. Efforts have been made?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. You said there have been efforts made to get more teachers. Is this correct?

MR. CALLAHAN. How extensive the recruitment has been, I don't know. Teachers who apply into the Boston system have their names put into a pool and which the office of teacher placement draws. If you are going to get experienced teachers, you will find that many of these experienced teachers are supplementary income people. They can afford to be selective in their choice of schools and Roxbury is not on their selected list.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. You also said that the longer the pupil at the Dearborn School stays at the school, the more unhappy he becomes with himself. I would want to ask if the school has any programs in terms of involvement of the parent; and the second question is to what extent does the school identify with the community or recognize the needs of the community?

MR. CALLAHAN. I said also, that we have classes which are well motivated, which do achieve and that this is not typical of all the children of the Dearborn School that they feel more or less frustrated as they go on in the school. Some adjust very nicely and to them, and this is one-fourth to one-third of the pupils, school is a very rewarding experience. What particular programs do we have in the school to compensate for those in the Dearborn School? We have Operation Counterpoise which more or less has as its aim to raise the levels of aspiration of the pupils within the school, to raise their own self-concept. We have people in the community come in, mostly Negroes, talk to the pupils, try to motivate them. We have field trips in which these children can go out and see Negroes working at useful occupa-

tions. We have programs designed to more or less buttress the ego the sagging ego, of some of these children.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Does the curriculum include any tools or books that will give the child a better knowledge than the usual textbook does about the contributions of the Negro to history?

MR. CALLAHAN. In recent years this has happened, in the past one or two years, say, at the junior high school level with which I am most familiar. There were no books at the time available on, say, the social studies. Now practically all the books that are coming into the school are multi-racial texts, are integrated texts which show the realistic multi-racial world in which these pupils must live.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. You spoke of the need of sensitivity as far as the teacher is concerned. Are there any programs whereby the teacher can get this kind of sensitivity?

MR. CALLAHAN. Speaking for myself, in 1963 the Boston school administration made it possible for me to attend the Bank Street College in New York City to study the problems of integration. Last year I attend the Tufts' Lincoln Filene Center to study problems of teaching the disadvantaged and the past summer was spent at Harvard University working on problems similar to this. Two years ago the Boston School Administration set up a series of lectures by nine different outstanding people in the field of education who explained—at perhaps an hour and a half or two hour programs, very worthwhile lectures—gave the teachers working in disadvantaged areas some background, some understanding of the child raised in poverty and also of the Negro child.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Mr. Callahan, I would like to pursue two related lines of questions: one, why you don't have more experienced teachers at the Dearborn School and, two, what could be done so we would have more experienced teachers? Now let me just ask you about the first. You say, as I understand it, that a very high proportion of your teachers are beginning teachers and as soon as they get experience, they go someplace else. Is that correct?

MR. CALLAHAN. Yes. I would like to say in 1963-64, focus was put on the schools of Roxbury, on the school buildings themselves, and on the caliber of teachers in the Roxbury schools and that the school buildings came under attack, the caliber of the teachers came under attack. There is one editor of a newspaper, a well-known newspaper, who conducts a panel show, who on separate occasions referred to slum schools with slum teachers. This rather enraged the teachers who have been at our school for quite some time. They felt that this was not fair treatment. They did not want to be considered a slum teacher and, as a consequence, many left. And let's not kid ourselves, Dean, it is difficult work teaching in a school similar to the Dearborn School and there is perhaps a limit to some people's endurance.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Mr. Callahan, I didn't say anything about slum schools or slum teachers, I just said inexperienced teachers and I understood your testimony to be that a very high proportion of the teachers in the Dearborn School were inexperienced and by the time they got some experience they went on someplace else.

MR. CALLAHAN. I understand that. I'm saying, Dean, so you will understand me, teachers of many years' service or several years' service at the Dearborn School left because of perhaps this treatment in the news media and were replaced by non-tenure teachers.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. This, I take it, is one of the reasons why you lost experienced teachers but what I am coming to next is: is there some sort of a school selection system by teachers in the Boston school system that depends on seniority or something like that?

MR. CALLAHAN. That is correct.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. When you get a certain amount of experience, then you are able to select another school?

MR. CALLAHAN. The more experienced, the more selective you can be.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Then the other facet of my question is, what can be done to keep more experienced teachers in this school? Is there any sort of incentive offered by the Boston school system to teachers to stay in these more difficult schools?

MR. CALLAHAN. At the present time, there is none.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Do you think it would be desirable if some sort of incentive were provided for that purpose?

MR. CALLAHAN. Highly desirable.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. I take it you have considerable seniority in the Boston school system.

MR. CALLAHAN. I have some.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. You could have elected out of the Dearborn School if you had wanted to?

MR. CALLAHAN. That is true.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. And I take it there are other teachers who have stayed there although they could have gone elsewhere?

MR. CALLAHAN. We have two who have been there over 40 years in the same school.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. So this could be presented as a real challenge and a real opportunity and has so appeared at least to some teachers?

MR. CALLAHAN. That is how I view it.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Do you think that more steps could be taken to increase the attractiveness of this challenge, to make teachers feel that here is work which is really worthwhile?

MR. CALLAHAN. We need younger teachers coming into the school with a Peace Corps zeal. Perhaps they could work as auxiliary teachers with these motivations.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. That was the next question I was com-

ing to. Is the teacher-student ratio about the same in the Dearborn School as in other schools in the Boston system?

MR. CALLAHAN. I would say that we have more auxiliary teachers at the Dearborn School in recent years due to Operation Counterpoise.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Then steps have been taken to try to provide aids for teachers who are staying there?

MR. CALLAHAN. That is correct.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. And this is desirable but you think perhaps even more could be done?

MR. CALLAHAN. I think so, yes.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Two very quick questions, Mr. Callahan. You mentioned earlier that one of your problems was that by the time some of your Negro students become 14 years of age and they are in the sixth or seventh grade it begins to look to them as though they will have difficulty getting through high school and they become dispirited and discouraged with themselves and that that may be the genesis of some of your problems. Just one question: these youngsters who are 14 years old and begin to get discouraged, do you have any opinion as to whether this discouragement is due to lack of native potential or are they youngsters who, if they had the appropriate motivation or inspiration somewhere along the line, might not have found themselves in that position?

MR. CALLAHAN. What I would like to see to head this off, Mr. Hannah, is an ungraded elementary setup. This is where most of these children get bogged down in Grades 1, 2, and 3, so that they would not be kept back in these grades, so that they could progress along. In the Counterpoise program, we are making an attempt at this in Operation Recap where, after three years, if a child is not achieving in the reading and arithmetic levels, he is not advanced but kept in a half-way house and will, later on, if he shows adaptability, move on into the fourth grade. These classes are small, no more than 20. So what I would suggest is an ungraded elementary setup and then moving these children within a definite period of time into a class setting that is more in keeping with their chronological age.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. The point I'm trying to make is that we are not all equal in any race, the Negroes aren't all alike and the whites aren't alike, we don't have an equal potential. If the situation that develops is due to an innate lack, there isn't too much we can do about it. If the situation that develops is due to some fault of the system or of society, this is something we had better be concerned about, and I gather you think we can do better in the system.

MR. CALLAHAN. We can do better.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. One more question. A good deal of discussion has gone on with reference to the gain that comes to the Negro in being educated in the integrated school. You have long experience in the school which was originally much less nonwhite than it is now.

Do you have any personal opinions whether it is good for the white student to be in a school where there are considerable numbers of Negroes?

MR. CALLAHAN. I have very strong convictions on this point.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. What are they?

MR. CALLAHAN. I mentioned I was a school committeeman in Braintree. I am proud to say that Braintree is the only community on the South Shore that has METCO, that is, Negro students bused into the town. It was my tie-breaking vote that made this process possible. I think the reason I did vote as I did was that I thought the children of Braintree were growing up in a completely unrealistic setting. They had perhaps no more than a dozen Negro pupils in the school and it would be helpful for them to get to know more Negroes, get to know them, and also the fact it would do away with prejudice, and from prejudice comes ignorance and fear.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. What you're saying is, from your point of view, it is a good thing for whites to associate with some Negroes from the primary school up on through?

MR. CALLAHAN. I am firmly convinced of this. They have to live in a multi-racial world.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Taylor?

MR. TAYLOR. You said earlier what advice you would give a parent transferring out of Dearborn School would depend on a number of factors including the adjustment the student would make. I wonder if you could comment on whether there would be a problem for under-achieving Negro students in being placed in a competitive situation with higher-achieving students.

MR. CALLAHAN. You mean would this lower his self-concept if he could not make it, as the term is, in a different situation?

MR. TAYLOR. Yes.

MR. CALLAHAN. Well, along with this I would also recommend massive remedial work. Perhaps it would be—METCO has offered far more than the per pupil cost, the grant is paying more money than the per pupil cost, so in making available massive remedial work, perhaps it would be more desirable to have it carried on in another setting than from the one in which some attribute caused this need for remedial work.

MR. TAYLOR. Do you think that programs such as Counterpoise that are designed to improve self-concept and achievement would operate better in an integrated setting than in the setting they are now in? Is that what you're saying?

MR. CALLAHAN. I am saying this also and I think once an integrated school situation was reached that there would no longer be any need for these compensatory programs.

MR. TAYLOR. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Thank you very much, Mr. Callahan. You are excused. Call the next witness, Mr. Glickstein.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The next witness is Miss Melissa Tillman.
(Whereupon, Miss Melissa Tillman was sworn by the Chairman
and testified as follows:)

**TESTIMONY OF MISS MELISSA TILLMAN,
ROXBURY, MASSACHUSETTS**

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you please state your full name and address
for the record?

MISS TILLMAN. I am Melissa Tillman. I live in Roxbury.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Where are you employed?

MISS TILLMAN. I am employed at the New School for Children, an
independent school in Roxbury.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. A private school?

MISS TILLMAN. It's a private school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did you teach in the Boston schools before accept-
ing this position?

MISS TILLMAN. Yes, I did for four years.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Four years. And where did you teach?

MISS TILLMAN. At the Sarah J. Baker School also in Roxbury.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you describe for the Commissioners what
the Baker School is like?

MISS TILLMAN. First of all, it's an elementary school. Its racial
composition I would say is 98 percent Negro. There are approxi-
mately 25 teachers with additional teachers teaching shop and selling
and things of this nature. It is located in Roxbury.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How many students are there in a class?

MISS TILLMAN. Well, when I was there we had perhaps 34 students
in each class.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you briefly describe the type of neighbor-
hood and the home environment from which most of the Baker School
students came?

MISS TILLMAN. To me it would be a typical Negro neighborhood,
middle-class people as well as the lower socio-economic group, moth-
ers on Aid to Dependent Children, things of this nature.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. It is a fairly mixed group then?

MISS TILLMAN. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How well would you state that the students at
Baker achieved in school?

MISS TILLMAN. In my estimation they were under-achievers.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What factors do you think contributed to their be-
ing under-achievers?

MISS TILLMAN. Partly because of the attitude of some of the teach-
ers and this attitude, of course, was transmitted to the youngsters at
school. Also, it is difficult to teach an urban child of the middle-class
reading standards and methods and expect them to come away being
fully educated. I feel the curriculum needed to be adapted to the
urban child and it is not done.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How would you evaluate teachers' attitudes in the Baker School?

MISS TILLMAN. I feel they didn't expect much of the children in the Baker School so, therefore, they received very little. They didn't help to motivate them, they didn't understand, they weren't empathetic.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think the children were aware of the feelings of the teachers?

MISS TILLMAN. I think they were, yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. While you were in the Boston system, did the teachers and administrators you had contact with generally believe that predominantly Negro schools were bad?

MISS TILLMAN. No, I don't feel they felt that Negro schools were bad. I feel some of them felt they were giving Negro children the best education they could, that this was all they could handle, that an integrated situation was not a necessary situation. They were very satisfied with the *status quo*.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You mentioned that one of the reasons you didn't think the curriculum was sufficiently responsive to the needs of the children was because the teaching methods were designed for middle-class children. What other factors in the curriculum do you think were inadequate?

MISS TILLMAN. Well, first of all, the teaching that we did do with the Negro children in our area was not a real kind of teaching. It was a far removed, isolated kind of world to which we exposed them. There was no carry-over into the home. It was as if we were teaching them something to be done here and now, but when they were outside in the world, this was not done nor was it handled this way. It wasn't real, they weren't able to profit by anything. They were learning to bring it back to the home, to bring it back to their every day lives. It's a very unusual situation.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Were the teachers very aware of the home background of the children?

MISS TILLMAN. I believe some of them were. The older ones had seen the change in the period of time they had been there. The younger teachers, who were just coming out of school, were very concerned with the background and the environments from which our children came and were anxious to do something about it but they were unable to.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Were teachers encouraged to make home visits?

MISS TILLMAN. No, not at all. Nothing of the sort. We were quite limited in our teaching, in the total sense of the word.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You say you are now teaching at the New School. Would you tell us what the New School for Children is?

MISS TILLMAN. It is a new private school in Roxbury. This year the grades are kindergarten through fourth. Hopefully, we will add on Grades 5 and 6 next year. We strove to have it an integrated situation. I would say it is about 70-80, 70 percent Negro. The staff

is completely integrated. Our curriculum, we hope, will be new in that we are using no text, we are using the community as our text. We will be taking pictures and working with the children within the community coming back into the school, creating stories around their real world, stories around their backyards with the glass and the dogs and cats and things. It is not going to be the picture of a typical middle-class family washing in their washing machines. We want them to realize they are part of this world and their education should be relevant to their part in this world. What else can I say about the school? Oh, also when I say an independent school, I don't want you to think it is going to be like the other independent schools in that there is a high rate of tuition. We have a variety of scholarships, some work scholarships, some full scholarships, some partial scholarships. The bulk of our children would be considered poor in your estimation. Our tuition would only be about \$250 per child. We are striving to make it a school for the poor, a good solid education for the public.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How was the group organized, and why?

MISS TILLMAN. It was organized by a group of parents who felt the need for better education and they came together and had a number of meetings and decided this was something they not only needed but something they were going to do. They set about and got other people interested in the school. They formed their board of trustees, they hired their staff. It is a completely privately-funded venture.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think that the New School will be able to overcome the type of problems that you said you found at the Baker School?

MISS TILLMAN. Yes, I think so. In the first place, the attitudes of all the teachers are one. We have had a variety of conversations about what we feel we should give to the child and what we feel the child should give back as a part of a school-living type situation. We are dissatisfied with the texts and things available. We would like to create our own. I just feel that the overall tone of the school is one where there will be good relationships set up between the community and the school. They are not to be two isolated things. They are supposed to work together for the education of each child.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What made you decide to leave the Boston system to teach in the New School?

MISS TILLMAN. I became very frustrated with teaching in the Boston public school system. I felt I was very limited. I was becoming very stagnant and I had to get out.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Are you getting paid more in the New School?

MISS TILLMAN. No, I'm taking quite a cut in salary but I believe in the New School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Miss Tillman, we understand you took part in a study conducted by Tufts University.

MISS TILLMAN. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you please describe the study to us and how it was conducted?

MISS TILLMAN. It was a study in cultural and racial diversity and it was a pilot project that we did for 10 weeks last year. It will be continued this fall. We wanted to see just how aware children were. There were two working parties. In the first working party, the primary working party, there was a preschool teacher and myself—and at the time I taught first grade — and a third grade teacher. I was the only teacher in Boston. The preschool program was done by an independent school, Hilltop Nursery School. The third grade was done in Quincy. What we did was to select pictures and different situations and carry them perhaps through all three grades and get the children to the point where they thought race wasn't taboo. It was something that could be talked about. It was something to be learned about, to develop an appreciation in each other as well as in themselves.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What were some of the things that the children said or did during the study of racial awareness?

MISS TILLMAN. For example, I had a picture of a Negro lady who was fixing her flat tire which is an advertisement. I gave my children a hypothetical situation. There were three people passing by, a Negro man, a white man, and an Oriental. Who would stop? Most of my children, in fact all of them, thought no one would stop but the Negro man. When asked why, they told me white and other people were afraid of us. They were afraid of Negroes. They do not stop to help. I asked also why they thought they might be afraid of us. One of my children felt that the idea whites have about Negroes is they always carried knives and guns so they thought the lady would have a gun in her bag. To them this is their very real world, this is their idea of what "they", meaning whites, think about "us", meaning Negroes. I also worked with a racially mixed doll family. My children, once they began talking, were not distressed with the fact that where the family was racially mixed there was an integrated marriage. They accepted this quite readily. However, they did feel that members outside, in society, would rather wish that it were either all-Negro or all-white and that perhaps the parents had better do something about it. That means separate themselves from one another and go and complete their family be it Negro or white.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What age children were these?

MISS TILLMAN. They were my first-graders. They were five and a half and six.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you believe that school integration is important to Negro children?

MISS TILLMAN. Yes, I do believe it is important for Negro children. As they grow older they've got to live in a real world and all they see of their real world is their ghetto in which they live. It gives them a very false sense of security. It's going to be harmful.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How about the white children?

MISS TILLMAN. I feel the same way about it that they, too, will have a false sense of security. They won't know what to do when confronted with other people. This is not a white world and we don't know what kind of things they will be doing once they mature and begin working in their respective jobs. The sooner we prepare them for this, the better.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Thank you. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Miss Tillman, I was curious about your educational background.

MISS TILLMAN. I am a Boston resident. I went through the Boston public school system and was educated at Boston State College here in Massachusetts.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I am still a little vague about what you think the youngsters should get in the early grades. In other words, in your comparison between Baker and the New School, I think you feel in the New School you are giving them something they should get.

MISS TILLMAN. Yes.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I know very little about this age level of education. What do you think is most important that they get at this age level?

MISS TILLMAN. At this age level, I feel first of all they need to have a strong self-concept. I know you've heard that from a variety of other people but, being a Negro and having grown up in Boston, I feel that in many instances I have been fortunate. My family background has been such that my parents have given this to me. I see many of my children who come to school lacking this and I feel it is a very necessary and vital part of their lives. If all we do in the New School is to upgrade and raise their self-concept, then I feel the other pieces will begin to fall because they'll have enough faith in themselves and they'll say: "I know I can" and they'll try.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. The question growing out of this, in most of these difficult school situations we have been looking at, is, I gather, that there is a great gulf between what the school is trying to do and what the family is or isn't trying to do. Do you think we could help this situation by some organizational structure? I don't know what it should be precisely but at least some expectancy that teachers should know something of the family background of the children they are teaching, they should have seen the inside of their homes, they should have talked to their parents. I don't mean just the PTA thing. I mean something that gets a little more deeply into the reality of the community. Do you think teachers could teach better if they had this kind of knowledge of the background of their students?

MISS TILLMAN. I think they could. I feel that many of our younger teachers—I shouldn't blanket and say just younger teachers—I know

older teachers also who are genuinely interested and they feel that their teaching is lacking due to their lack of knowledge about the home environment and the community in general from which our children come. I do feel that something needs to be done desperately to get this kind of feedback and rapport between the community, the home, and the school. Otherwise, the school can't exist alone.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I gather from your remarks that in the normal school this is not encouraged, that, for example, the teachers would go out and visit the parents.

MISS TILLMAN. I should qualify that inasmuch as each school is run by its headmaster, or principal, and that headmaster or principal is autonomous in certain respects. Perhaps I was in an unfortunate situation, but there might be others whose situations are worse than mine. We were not encouraged to do so but I have heard of schools within the school system where their principals are kind of forward thinking and do encourage this kind of thing. But they are few and far between. I wouldn't want you to think I am blanketing the whole thing. There are shades.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. It seems to me this would be a good influence in the neighborhoods and the homes to see their teachers walking around.

MISS TILLMAN. Yes, I think so. They become very enthused about it and then they feel you're not a person who lives on another planet. They feel that teachers are not human beings anyway so if they don't see you shopping or walking on the street or within their world, they're sure you're not.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. One last question. I assume that in the New School where you are trying to get these youngsters a self-image that makes sense and some self-confidence and knowledge of themselves and what they can do in this real world, you are also giving them the other things they are going to need?

MISS TILLMAN. Yes, we are.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Because they are going to grow up in a world of tests and they are going to grow up in a world of math and science.

MISS TILLMAN. As long as your attitude is the proper one, you can convey these things. I don't mean we say: "All right, children. We'll take 10 minutes to have a get-along time. I'm brown and you're white and let's see if we can make it" kind of things. It is an every day kind of attitude and the teachers themselves have to feel this way, otherwise they don't generate it.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. In your opinion why is there such a small number of Negro teachers in the Boston school system?

MISS TILLMAN. Yes. From a personal point of view—people whom I know in Boston—there is such a thing as an examination you take

to become a permanent teacher. Many people I feel to be good teachers have not been able to pass this examination and it is a question of money. It is rather difficult to teach somewhere for \$5,000 when you can go elsewhere and make a considerably greater sum. I feel this might be one problem. Then, too, I feel that a variety of people I know have come up through the school system, have been involved with other teachers and do not want to get into this unhappy situation, who would rather try to get a job elsewhere where things might be much more pleasant and where you can really teach.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Are you suggesting that the working system for the teacher in the public school system leaves much to be desired?

MISS TILLMAN. I don't want to speak for others. I don't know that much about others. In my situation, yes, but I think this might be true of the majority of the school system.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. There is one organization that has usually been considered very important to the school system and that is the PTA. You state that the teachers are not encouraged to become involved with the parents. I would like you to tell us something about the role of the PTA in the schools that you know.

MISS TILLMAN. In my particular instance, our PTA was almost non-existent. We had a president and a vice president. When people—parents, members—tried to encourage things to be done for the betterment of their children, it was discouraged, overlooked, and just ignored.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Who discouraged this? Did the administration discourage it?

MISS TILLMAN. Yes, the immediate administration.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Miss Tillman, it has been suggested by some that one of the problems in providing the right kind of teachers for the inner schools in our big Northern cities where we have large concentrations of Negroes, is due to the fact that our teacher training institutions have been built around the middle-class urban school—suburban school—with very little emphasis on the teacher training programs, training of teachers with the kinds of knowledge and skill that fits them with the competence or the desire. Do you have any feeling about this?

MISS TILLMAN. I feel that our teacher training institutions need to get back into the urban schools because that is where the bulk of their graduates will be. I feel that they have become very removed from the regular hard core school situation. They are concerned with academics and the learning of their field, but I feel they just need to get in and begin to play a vital role once again. They will find that schools have changed since the last time they appeared inside one. I feel that there is a lack of communication between our colleges and our teacher institutions and the regular community school.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. This Commission is conducting these hearings and studies in a variety of cities particularly in the North and Boston with its problems has a much simpler situation than many of our big Northern cities where the concentration of Negroes now tilted the school population so that 50 or 60 or 70 percent of all of the youngsters in some of our great Northern city schools are Negroes. I am interested in your view because the larger the Negro population in what we have seen so far, the more difficult the problem becomes.

I want to ask a question which you have already answered. The question was asked by Mr. Glickstein as to whether or not you thought school integration was good for white youngsters as well as Negroes. I think you said it was. Is that what you said?

MISS TILLMAN. Yes.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Why do you think it is good for white youngsters?

MISS TILLMAN. Well, because they are not going to live in a white world. Because I feel they need to realize that they aren't the only people who are here. They also will learn how to handle situations. We all differ you know, culturally as well as economically, and I think they ought to learn how to deal with these types of situations at an early age so that by the time they are junior high school age, things ought to be rolling right along for them. They ought to have had so many democratic situations in which to live that they will be very good citizens and well on the way to mature adults and they are the people that are going to run the world tomorrow. So the sooner they learn it the better.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. You moved out of the public school system into a small selective school where you think there will be a greater opportunity. I'm sure you know that in some parts of the country there is a good deal of discussion on that whole problem of how we provide a better school in the inner core, a new building with better facilities and better teachers and the best school in town so it isn't the school you try to get away from. It is a better school than is available in the suburban areas. Do you have any views about this? Do you think this is possible?

MISS TILLMAN. I do feel that we can create or we have the pieces in the making of creating a truly good school and, hopefully, what we would like to see done is perhaps a few more of them to spring up, eventually all of them to become wiped out because the public school system has taken over and it is doing such a good job. We would like to set an example and say: "It can be done. Are you willing to try and make it work?"

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Taylor?

MR. TAYLOR. No questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. No questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Thank you very much, Miss Tillman. You are excused. Mr. Glickstein, will you call the next witness?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Joyce Johnson.

(Whereupon, Mrs. Joyce D. Johnson was sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

TESTIMONY OF MRS. JOYCE D. JOHNSON,
DORCHESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you please state your full name and address for the record?

MRS. JOHNSON. My name is Joyce D. Johnson, 71 Bowdoin Street in Dorchester.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Johnson, how long have you lived in Boston?

MRS. JOHNSON. Approximately 12 years.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Where did you receive your formal education?

MRS. JOHNSON. In Rhode Island. I had two years at the University of Rhode Island in Kingston.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you have children?

MRS. JOHNSON. Yes, I have seven.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. About how old are they?

MRS. JOHNSON. Ages 14 to 5.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What elementary school is located in your neighborhood?

MRS. JOHNSON. Christopher Gibson.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Before the summer of 1965, did any of your children attend the Gibson School?

MRS. JOHNSON. Yes, I had six children.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You had six of them in the school at that time?

MRS. JOHNSON. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What proportion of the Gibson School enrollment is Negro?

MRS. JOHNSON. Now I would say approximately 80-20, 80 percent Negro.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How about the faculty?

MRS. JOHNSON. There are approximately 25 or 30 teachers of whom 4 or 5 are Negro.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Were you satisfied with the education your children were receiving at the Gibson School?

MRS. JOHNSON. In the beginning, yes, because at that time when my children first attended the Gibson School, the ratio was 70 percent white and 30 percent Negro, and my children did receive a good education at that time, but as the years progressed the education lessened.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did you complain to anyone about conditions at the Gibson School?

MRS. JOHNSON. I consider myself one of the parents who was very active in any schools that my children had attended and, yes, we had brought this to the attention of the principal and several teachers I

had spoken to that the lack of homework for one, the lack of motivation in the children.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You complained that your children were not getting enough homework?

MRS. JOHNSON. Right, and I wasn't able to trace them as to just what they were doing in school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Before the summer of 1965, were any of your children transferred to another school?

MRS. JOHNSON. Yes, they were. I had two children transferred from the Gibson—bused from the Gibson to the Nightingale School, which is also in Dorchester.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Why did this happen?

MRS. JOHNSON. This was to alleviate overcrowded conditions at the Gibson School at the time.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Who was it that bused your children from Gibson to Nightingale?

MRS. JOHNSON. The city of Boston.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You didn't have to pay for this?

MRS. JOHNSON. No.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. This was done by the School Committee?

MRS. JOHNSON. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What percentage of the Nightingale Elementary enrollment is Negro?

MRS. JOHNSON. At the time my children attended I would say 70 percent white and 30 percent Negro.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did your children do well at the Nightingale School?

MRS. JOHNSON. At first it was a little difficult for them.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How well had they done at Gibson? Did they get good grades?

MRS. JOHNSON. Yes, they did. My daughter, who was an A-B student, when she transferred to the Nightingale found it very difficult and fell back to C's and B minuses. She was very upset which upset me, also. And I made a trip to the school to find out just why and evidently she wasn't coming up to the level of the teaching there.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You mean at Nightingale School they seemed to have higher expectations of the students and expect more of them?

MRS. JOHNSON. Yes. The teachers expected a lot more of the children and it was quite difficult for my daughter to make the transition because she just figured she was naturally bright and she was always going to get A's and B's but now she had to work for them.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. This was a blow to her ego?

MRS. JOHNSON. Definitely.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did you work with her to help her improve?

MRS. JOHNSON. I work along with my children. I don't do their work for them. I work along with them and I help them to understand their problems and try to motivate them in some way to doing

their own homework. I worked with her and her marks did return to the A-B stage before she left the Nightingale School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. She caught up to the children in the Nightingale School before she left?

MRS. JOHNSON. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you feel that your children, while they were at the Nightingale School, received a better education than at the Gibson School?

MRS. JOHNSON. Yes, most definitely. At the Gibson School there was a lack of motivation among the teachers. I'm not going to say all of them but some of them didn't motivate the children to doing the work that they could do and at the Nightingale, the children had more homework, they brought home books, and really worked at their homework because it was expected of them. I have caught my daughter many times in tears because she couldn't actually do something that she was supposed to do.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Johnson, after the summer of 1965, were your children still being bused to the Nightingale school by the city?

MRS. JOHNSON. No, they weren't. During the summer of 1965, they were supposed to have gone to the Harriet Baldwin School in Brighton which was rescinded before school opened that fall and which really caused the birth of Exodus and my children were then bused again by the city of Boston to the Frank V. Thompson in the Lower Mills of Dorchester, the two who were attending the Nightingale previously.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. They were bused by the city to the Thompson School.

MRS. JOHNSON. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What proportion of the students at Thompson are Negro?

MRS. JOHNSON. I would say that at the time they went there, there was approximately 20 percent Negro.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Are your children still being bused to that school?

MRS. JOHNSON. I have one that is still being bused. The other girl is in the seventh grade so she's no longer being bused.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. And the child that's there is being bused by the city?

MRS. JOHNSON. Yes, he is.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you feel that the teacher attitudes at Nightingale and at Thompson were different than at Gibson?

MRS. JOHNSON. Yes, I do. I feel that the teachers really expected more of the children and the children produced better. I don't feel that there was a line drawn to the fact that they were Negroes or whites, but they were taught on the basis of what had to be taught for that grade level, whereas at the Gibson I think the teachers were doing just what they could get by with as far as teaching the child.

There was an incident in the third grade with one of my daughters where a substitute teacher had separated her from the rest of the

class, her and several other Negro children, and refused to teach them for two days, and I overheard this conversation with my daughter and another little girl that was in her room and I thought it was just something the children will do to a substitute teacher, but when they continued to talk about it and I questioned them and they said: "Yes, Mummy, she made all of us sit in one end of the class and took all the rest of the children and was teaching them. We haven't done anything."

So I immediately made a call to 15 Beacon Street and told them of this situation and the next day I was asked by the principal to go to the Gibson School and I came and she apologized for the fact that this had happened and she hadn't realized it and that she wished I had brought it to her first and I was asked to peer in the room on my way out of the building which I did and there was a new Negro teacher teaching that class.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think it is necessary for a child to attend an integrated school in order to get a good education?

MRS. JOHNSON. Most definitely. A child cannot function properly with a surrounding of just one type of people. He has to know that this world is large. They study social studies, they know that there are other people in the world, they know there are other races and they have to get along with all kinds of people. All people have to function together and they can only learn it in their learning stages at school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think it is a great imposition on you and your children to have your children bused to school?

MRS. JOHNSON. To the fact that when my children were bused by the city of Boston that they were getting 15 to 20 minutes a day less schooling. There were times when my children would walk into the house at 10 past 2 and I would ask them if they had gone to school and they said, yes, the bus brought them back early.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think that the advantages they derived from the schools they were bused to overcame the loss of time at the school?

MRS. JOHNSON. Not really because although they were doing the work that their classmates were doing, they were still being cheated.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. By being brought home early?

MRS. JOHNSON. Right.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did your children have any particular problems by being in the minority at Nightingale and Thompson?

MRS. JOHNSON. No. They had no problems because my children have always existed in this sort of world. They have always been surrounded by both races and find it quite difficult when they are surrounded by just one race.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Thank you. I have no further questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Mrs. Johnson, do you have other children in predominantly Negro schools?

MRS. JOHNSON. Yes, I have a boy who attends the Patrick T. Campbell School.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. And do you find any comparison between the youngsters in the two situations?

MRS. JOHNSON. Yes. My boy who attends the Campbell School will not eat hot lunches. In fact, he does not like going to the cafeteria. He will not use the bathrooms there. He had spent some time in a special class which took me a year and a half or almost two years to get him out of which he shouldn't have been in in the first place and he elected himself to stay at the Campbell School because he had really started to move again and he wanted to stay in familiar surroundings but he has since asked me to transfer him.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Will it be possible for you to do that?

MRS. JOHNSON. I hope so.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. This involves busing again?

MRS. JOHNSON. No, it involves just bringing him into the district school now that I've moved.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I see. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Mrs. Johnson, you have described three schools, the Thompson, the Nightingale, and the Gibson and you said at the Gibson School that your efforts as a parent to become involved were sort of rejected. What is your participation in the Thompson and Nightingale schools as a parent?

MRS. JOHNSON. I am no longer with the Nightingale School.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. With the Thompson?

MRS. JOHNSON. Just a member of the Home and School Association. At the Gibson I am president of the Home and School Association.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. You notice a difference in the school, that is, between one school association at Nightingale and Thompson as compared to Gibson?

MRS. JOHNSON. Most definitely, yes. I have attended several functions given by the Nightingale School which were well patronized by the parents and these were evening affairs and it brought all the parents out. In fact, one of the evenings I went out in a terrible rain storm, but the people were waiting in the doorways to get in.

And at the Thompson School, I've also attended some of their evening functions which were highly successful and well patronized by the parents.

At the Gibson School we have no night meetings. They claim we don't have auxiliary lighting and that the building cannot be used at night, but we have had afternoon functions which limits the amount of people who can come because of the fact they have younger children at home and it is usually held shortly before or soon after school lets out which means that a lot of the parents cannot come. Socially,

anything that the Home and School Association wants to do through the Gibson School can be done. Academically, there is a stone wall.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Is this stone wall around the school itself or is it from the school administration?

Mrs. JOHNSON. It is from the school within. It is from within the school. There are excuses such as they have somewhere to go that afternoon or they have a meeting they have to attend or it wouldn't be a good afternoon to hold it because some teachers have to go somewhere or the principal is not available, various excuses as to why academic things can't be done. Of course, we did work quite instrumental in trying to stop the rattaning situation at the Gibson School. We also were instrumental in having the basement classrooms eliminated.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. JOHNSON, in the Gibson School where you are president of the Parents' Association, if I understand you correctly, do you feel that it would be possible to greatly improve the educational situation within that school, that the parents are interested and willing to cooperate but that they aren't given proper encouragement. Is that what you are saying?

Mrs. JOHNSON. The parents are willing to help and to cooperate. We are just not getting the help from within the school. They have brought in new textbooks which were integrated textbooks but on a very low level as far as I could see. It just had the Negro child in a suburban picture rather than having him in the slum areas where buildings might be torn down, where a rickety fence is or old automobiles—things like this just aren't pictured in these books. It is still an outlining picture of what living is like.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Is this Gibson School as a building more antiquated and less good than the Nightingale or Thompson Schools?

Mrs. JOHNSON. The condition of the Gibson School is not as clean as the other schools my children have attended such as the Nightingale and the Thompson.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. We are told over and over again that one of the problems in the predominantly Negro school is due to the fact that the students come improperly motivated, that their parents don't give their children the kind of guidance that you're giving yours, that they don't desire an education, they aren't imbued in the home with the spirit and desire to make the most that they can out of themselves. You think that is not true of the Gibson School?

Mrs. JOHNSON. No, I don't think it is true in any school really because I feel that all children know, from the time they are born, they are learning things and that they do have to go to school and that is what school is for. I feel that a child who, within his first two or three years of schooling, is exposed to poor teaching conditions and attitudes and hostile teachers can be marred for life. They do not give him the motivation to seek out and continue and to be really motivated

by education. In other words, he would start doing it as something he has to do rather than something he wants to do.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. The point that is often made is that one of the real problems in the inner core schools of our big Northern cities is that the country is experiencing something new. In all of our history as the waves of immigrants have come from overseas, the parents might be disadvantaged economically and socially but they have always had the understanding that if the children could get an education they could lift themselves and it is said vigorously that these Negro populations that have come up from the South through education or something else, they don't have that motivation because as a matter of fact the young Negroes, even when they got an education, had trouble getting jobs and a decent place to live and all this sort of thing. But I gather you don't feel this is as much of a problem as it is painted, at least in the Gibson School district where you live.

Mrs. JOHNSON. No, I don't feel it's that much of a problem.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold? Mr. Taylor?

Mr. TAYLOR. You mentioned that on one occasion your children were brought home early from school.

Mrs. JOHNSON. Several occasions.

Mr. TAYLOR. When was that?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Last year.

Mr. TAYLOR. How many times would you say?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Approximately five or six, but they would always arrive home shortly before or along with the children that went to the Gibson School within walking distance.

Mr. TAYLOR. Do you think they were treated differently in the school that they were transported to by bus than the children who were already in that school?

Mrs. JOHNSON. The children that were bused weren't all Negroes. It was an integrated group that was bused to the different schools. Different in the respect that they were cheated by so many minutes each day in schooling because it gave them less hours of schooling but it also disrupted the classroom for those children who stayed behind.

Mr. TAYLOR. In other words, they were taken out of their classroom earlier?

Mrs. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. TAYLOR. Is this still a problem?

Mrs. JOHNSON. It is slightly a problem, yes. My son still arrives home at the same time that the other children do from the Gibson School which is within walking distance. Therefore, he has been on the bus while the other children were in class.

Mr. TAYLOR. I have no further questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. I want to say, Mrs. Johnson, that if we had more parents with a basic attitude that you have in some of the disadvantaged school districts in some of our larger cities, we would make

progress faster than we have been making. Thank you very much. You are excused.

Mrs. JOHNSON. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Glickstein, call your next witness.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. The next witness is Mr. Melvin King.

(Whereupon, Mr. Melvin H. King was sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

TESTIMONY OF MR. MELVIN H. KING, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. King, would you please state your full name and address for the record?

Mr. KING. My name is Melvin H. King, 48 Rutland Street, South End of Boston.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. How long have you lived in Boston?

Mr. KING. Thirty-seven years.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. Is that all your life?

Mr. KING. All my life.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. What is your educational background?

Mr. KING. I was educated in the Boston public schools, have a B.S. from Claflin University, Orangeburg, South Carolina, and an M.E. from Boston State Teachers College.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. Where are you employed, Mr. King?

Mr. KING. I work for the United South End Settlements. I am director of the Youth Opportunity Center.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. How long have you been employed as director?

Mr. KING. I've been with the United South End Settlements since 1951, part-time, since 1954 full time, and I have been director of the youth programs since 1955 or '56.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. King, what are the major programs at the Youth Opportunity Center?

Mr. KING. The major programs at the Youth Opportunity Center fall into three distinct categories. One is a Neighborhood Service Center approach which serves the immediate neighborhood and has a staff consisting of a director, family worker, and neighborhood people who reach out into the community. The other programs are an education program and an appointment program. We have a mobile information and opportunity wagon which reaches out into the community.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. What is the education program?

Mr. KING. The education program is threefold. One, we have a tutoring program. Second, we do some enrichment programming.

Last year we worked specifically with a group of third grade young people from the local school. And then the third aspect of the program is around career information and occupational information, and guidance and counseling.

Mr. GLICKENSTEIN. Mr. King, besides your educational activities at the Youth Opportunity Center, have you been involved in other ways in educational problems in Boston?

MR. KING. I tried to get very directly involved at the School Committee level. I was a candidate for school committeeman in Boston unsuccessfully three times. I am also a member of the education committee of the NAACP.

Miss Tillman mentioned a New School for children. I am involved as a member of the board of that group. We have started a couple of programs in the city, one The Urban School, which is a special summer three-evening a week program for young people in the community of high school age.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Who started this program?

MR. KING. I and other people in the community who are concerned about the gaps in the education of the youth that we have been working with. And the last program is one called the Bridge. It's a Boston area school education placement program which deals with helping young people from the community find places in the private and parochial schools within the Metropolitan Boston Area.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Is that the principal function of Bridge to help young people move from the public schools to private and parochial schools?

MR. KING. It is the function that has most of the time and effort. We have a few other projects that we have been working on. One is in the area of trying to disseminate information about schools, school problems. One of the things we assisted with last year was a survey of the schools in the South End, some of the achievement levels, the attendance problems that many of the young people in the South End were faced with.

We also are working to assist some of the parents' groups that have sprung up in the Roxbury—South End—North Dorchester community in the last couple of years because of their concerns over the quality of education that has been offered to their children.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Why does Bridge think it is necessary to help children move from public schools to private and parochial schools?

MR. KING. I think there are a couple of factors here. One is the concept of offering alternatives to people in the community so that they can take advantage of as broad a spectrum of resources that are available to people in the broader metropolitan community.

And the second is a recognition of the fact that two things would work: (a) the schools, many of the private and parochial schools having recognized the importance of providing for their young people a quality of integrated experience asking for some help in finding young people to qualify.

And, second, the fact that the parents are very much concerned about getting a quality education for the youngsters and wanting to know where these are available.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Has Bridge been successful in its activities?

MR. KING. We started in February of this year which is in many ways a little too late for many of the private schools. Some of their

scholarship resources have been used up. However, we have been able to place over 130 youngsters in private and parochial schools. Some of the youngsters, after hearing about the opportunities, were able to make it to the parochial schools, in particular, on their own. I would say that based on the length of time we've been involved, the shortage of funds, and the personnel we have, I think we have been able to play a very small role here in offering this kind of help to both the schools and to the parents.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. King, you said that some of the parents that you have come in contact with have been concerned with the quality of education that the children are receiving. Do you find in your work with the Youth Opportunity Center and otherwise that this is the general concern of the Negro parents in your area?

MR. KING. I think there shouldn't be any question about this. The turmoil that exists in the city of Boston today around providing quality education for the youngsters comes as a result of the concerns of Negro parents across the city.

We have examples of the Boardman Parents' Operation Exodus, parents who became interested in the Academy Hill School which was a new school, not a new building but a new school, to serve the needs of the Academy homes in the housing projects, Mission Hill, and South End, and Lower Roxbury, and all these areas; parent groups springing up around the question of education.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What type of criticisms do the Negro parents and students you come in contact with have toward the schools in their areas?

MR. KING. There is a wide range of criticism. If you take the parents and their concerns initially, one is recognition that their youngsters are not competitive with youngsters in other parts of the city of Boston and with youngsters in the metropolitan Boston community, but confining it to parts of the city of Boston, recognition on the part of these parents that the youngsters don't do as well in the competitive tests, for schools like Boston Latin and Girls Latin and Technical High School which require the passage of exams before one is able to get in.

Criticism over the fact that parents are steered in dead ends in terms of their not being involved in helping to make some of the decisions as to what happens to their youngsters. Many of these kids by the time they are in the sixth grade are zeroed out of getting into some of the college prep programs in the junior high schools which means they will not be able to make it in the programs in the high schools, so you have a series of situations here which makes it difficult for parents to feel that their youngsters are going to be able to compete.

You have the other attitudinal problems that parents complain about, one in terms of visiting a school, a group of parents who wanted to get involved in the education process in the community and going into a principal's office and having him say that the trouble with this neighborhood is that we have too many women who are on welfare

and of the 13 women who were sitting in that office, nine of them happened to be on public welfare, so this is the kind of attitudinal thing they are concerned about. Or the problem of a teacher, for example, asking for some assistance in taking her children to the library and having a principal say to her, "Well." [The teacher said] she had some parents who were interested and his [the principal's] comment to her was, "We don't want any outsiders involved. We'll get you a couple of sixth grade students." Bad enough that the sixth grade students need all the education they can get in this particular system but the whole feeling that the parents are considered to be outsiders by this principal and another kind of example of parents not feeling that they are getting the kind of information that is necessary. We can talk about the open enrollment plan but we have a series of stories of parents who have been given the runaround by principals and having to do so much of the leg work themselves in order to effectuate the change in school situation for the youngsters. I can think of one other that has another impact in terms of the attitudes that are prevalent. A parent, who had moved out of the Roxbury area and went to a school in the new neighborhood, was standing in line waiting to register her children and when she got to the desk the teacher looked up at her and said: "Oh, you will have to stand aside." And the parent asked why. The teacher said they would have to take care of those people who live in the neighborhood first. As far as the teacher was concerned, the fact that this was a Negro parent meant she couldn't possibly live in this neighborhood and her approach to her was, well, you have to be an outsider.

Well, immediately, there is a problem between this parent and teacher in terms of the attitudes that prevail here and you can begin to see the other side of how parents feel about that kind of treatment. One other parent, having gone to one of the schools under METCO, when asked about the interview situation, said: "This is the first time that a school person has made me feel like I am somebody" and she was just summing up her experiences with some school personnel in the Roxbury community.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. King, do you think that there is a stigma attached to a predominantly Negro school?

MR. KING. I don't think there is any question that the concept of the predominantly Negro school as it exists today is stigmatized. It is not a question of it being stigmatized. I think the facts can bear this out in terms of the low achievement, young people in these schools, the fact that they cannot compete, the fact that the dropout rate in these schools is very high. It is not a question of stigma. These are some facts that are very apparent about the effects of these schools on these young people.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think that some of these effects would be altered if the schools were integrated?

MR. KING. I think some of the effects would be altered. You are talking about a situation where the level of education that is offered across the board in this city is below the national average. I can look at a statistic here where, in the schools in our neighborhood, if you're looking at the reading levels for youngsters in the second grade are pretty much at national average. By the time they are in the sixth grade they are behind and by the time they are in the eighth grade they are even further behind. It's very interesting that the city of Boston's average as a whole is behind that of the national average.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Have you noticed where the Negro children have had their attitudes toward white persons affected after attending integrated schools?

MR. KING. Yes. In some ways the attitudes have changed and of course it depends on the kind of school situation that they find themselves in. I don't think we need to kid ourselves about the fact that a Negro youngster going into an integrated school situation where the school personnel is not in tune and has pretty much the same kinds of attitudes people in other situations have, isn't going to fare that much better in terms of his relating to the school situation. My oldest daughter attends one of the METCO schools and it has just been a real revelation to see the way she comes home from school, how much she says she enjoys going to school this year in contrast to some of her prior experiences in the local community. If this is any indication it would seem to me that any parent who hasn't had an opportunity to have their child take advantage of this kind of situation as I see it today is very much shortchanging their child.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What, in your opinion, is the feeling in the Negro community toward integrated education?

MR. KING. I don't think that the basic question is your feeling toward integrated education. I think the question is what kind of educational situation will help your youngsters be competitive, constructive, and, if necessary, combative, and this is the thing that you will hear in the community: can the kind of situation that my youngster is going to be in help him to be competitive? The parents that you talk to have a wide range of views in that many of them are just afraid of what the integrated experience will mean. They have some ideas that it may be helpful, but they begin to think about what is going to happen to my child in that situation and for some very good reasons, reasons such as the fact they've heard stories about families that have moved out of their neighborhood where the youngsters have been called names and where it has been a kind of destructive experience for them, so they have this as one of the things that governs how they think about it. Also, the question in many instances, will my youngster be able to compete and will this make it more difficult for him. Because we don't give them enough information about the other kind of things that are going to happen in this integrated experience.

You have a large body of parents, however, who recognize that most of what's good, most of the best educational experiences that are being offered in this society are being offered to white youngsters in white communities. So I think they would be operating contrary to the best interests of their youngsters if they didn't want their youngsters to be in the specific situations where their youngsters would have at least the exposure to what would be the best that is being offered. And I don't think there is any question about the fact that the best that is being offered in this particular metropolitan community is being offered in the all-white schools. So, from that standpoint, the value of integration as far as the Negro is concerned, takes a very big upswing in terms of getting the youngsters in the best possible educational environment.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Thank you. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I was curious as to whether you went to an integrated school as a youngster.

MR. KING. Yes, I went to—very interesting—integrated schools with the exception of my college experience. The junior high school I went to was called the Little League of Nations. You name it and we had it. We could claim it in this particular school. One of the reasons why I sent my youngsters to the school was because there is a broader cross section in the school and there are some 42 different racial, ethnic, and cultural groups in this particular school today.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I was curious why you went to South Carolina to college. Of course, this was some years ago.

MR. KING. This has had a lot to do with historical patterns in the community, with the guidance problems which, from where I see them, haven't changed significantly in terms of their dealing with not only Negro youngsters but poor youngsters no matter what they look like. Nobody told me when I was going to school here that I could go to a place like Boston Teachers College, for example, for 30 bucks a semester. It sounds fantastic to be talking about such low figures at this time, but I didn't know this, I never got approached about what my career plans were while attending high school here. Of course, you know we had no guidance at all in junior high schools and elementary schools to speak of.

As a matter of fact, the kind of guidance that we get and which is offered in too many instances in the city because of lack of numbers is what we call negative because most times youngsters only have contact with guidance personnel when they are in some trouble with somebody in the school and a youngster who is thinking ahead is not going to be identified with a person who handles people who are in trouble. For youngsters in the Roxbury community, the avenue for guidance and for a lot of other assistance comes out of the community itself. We have the NAACP education and counseling committee which,

year in and year out, assists hundreds of young people to get information about schools.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Were they the ones that asked you to go to South Carolina?

MR. KING. No. There are a couple of factors here. One is that I had a friend who was there the year before and this kind of thing of what happens in a community, based on what friends do, this whole emulation process is something that is very, very important and is the cornerstone for the kind of work we do in the community. But the school was beginning to play a little football and basketball and they were looking for some people they thought could play and I was fortunate enough that they thought I could play enough to get a scholarship.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. One question I wanted to ask you about the general situation. It seems to me from what we have been hearing here this morning—and as one sits here the picture begins to unfold—it seems to me that all the concerned parents who are interested in highly motivating their children to get a good education, who are convinced that this education will be more effective in an integrated fashion, are working out all kinds of mechanisms to get their youngsters out of these schools that are not integrated, that are 90 or 95 percent Negro, and there have been a variety of efforts described here to do this. I can't remember all the names but Exodus and Bridge and METCO and so on. Now, what is going to happen to the schools, or, let's say, what is going to happen to the youngsters which is more important, who are left behind, who not only find the best students fleeing their schools, the best Negro students, but also find the teachers fleeing their schools? What is going to happen to them? It seems to me they are going to be worse off than they ever were. They're not even going to have any examples of bright youngsters around them to bring them along.

MR. KING. I just take issue with one statement and that is that the best youngsters are leaving. That's not necessarily so.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I said youngsters whose parents are most concerned if they get a good education are getting them into other—

MR. KING. Let me say it again because I think you are talking about parents who are more sophisticated. I think these other parents are just as concerned. It is a whole question of alternatives. If you look at Bridge, for example, you have 450 people who file for applications and only 100 and some odd can go. I don't know how many people have been turned away by Operation Exodus or METCO. I don't know how many people get turned away when they try to use open enrollment. I think there are a lot of people who are out there banging away from the guts but aren't able to find the openings. But I think the question is basically what about those who are left behind. I guess many of us in some ways are at a loss because we don't have control over the schools that our young people go to so that we could

begin to develop the kind of programs that would at least move them a lot closer to what the ideal is and until we get at least this kind of involvement then, again, we have a problem. But it seems to me that the situation in this city is such that any way you look at it, it is going to need the involvement of a third party. There is no question that the current School Committee administration is incapable of doing the job that is necessary to provide young people with the kind of education that is going to make them competitive and combative.

We've seen the State Department of Education attempting to get into it with the withholding of funds and we're hopeful that at least this kind of pressure will begin but it seems to me that we may even have to go to Big Brother in order to get the basic kind of help that is going to be necessary. As I say, the administration basically is incapable. They have got a noose around their necks. They have got a mandate from the community which says virtually: do nothing; ignore the demands, the wishes, the hopes, and the aspirations of the Negro youngster. As long as we are hung up politically in this fashion, nothing is going to happen, so for these youngsters there is no question that we are going to have to go outside for help.

Now what else happens is that the Negro community itself spends a fantastic amount of time attempting to repair the damage that is done. We have youngsters involved in all kinds of tutoring programs, all kinds of enrichment programs. These are run by the community because they recognize that something has to be done in order to help these youngsters to grow and to be competitive and I just think it is a shame that people whose talents and energies could be put into making this whole society a better place for us to live in have to spend so much of their time and energy repairing the damage that is heaped on youngsters by the society.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. The only basic problem I was trying to get at is that you have a core problem here of what are considered, if I've followed the conversation this morning and this afternoon, to be the worst schools in the community. Now you have all sorts of problems getting people out of these schools and into better schools. You have some programs to help the situation in these schools. But now with funds cut off and other things happening, it would seem to me you may better a situation for a small percentage, say, 2,000 out of 24,000, I think was the figure mentioned this morning, and worsen it for the 22,000 left behind.

MR. KING. I'm not sure that follows that you could make things worse for those youngsters who are behind because I don't think you then understand the gravity of the situation that exists in this particular community.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. All I know is to have a good school, you have to have good teachers, you have to have good, highly motivated intelligent students who want to learn, and you have to have reasonably good circumstances. Now if the good teachers are leaving, the

talented teachers, and if the students who have people pushing them and motivating them are leaving, I don't see much improvement in the school left behind. This is for the great proportion.

MR. KING. I agree. I think there is no question that maybe this is why, if you recognize this, you're going to have to report out a kind of approach which becomes that third party role which alleviates the specific conditions that you are talking about.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. The last thing, as Mr. Hannah said earlier I think, the problem here is simple compared to the problem of Chicago where you are talking about 1,000,000 people in one community.

MR. KING. The problem quantitatively is simple but the problem up here is very, very big and that is the one that we have got to overcome and there is a problem in here that has to be resolved also. But I would just as soon have him resolve this one. Then we'll take care of the quantitative and the ones here.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. You have described some very negative attitudes on the part of the teachers and on the part of the school administration. This, of course, reveals prejudice. I would like to know if there are any programs or if there is anything positive that is being done to overcome this.

MR. KING. Anything positive being done to overcome the negative attitudes?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Yes, the rejection of the parents by the principals. Do the parents have any recourse to a higher authority and, if so, what has been the answer?

MR. KING. The recourse is usually to go from the principal through the assistant superintendent and then through the School Committee and if you are an unsophisticated kind of parent or person, by the time you get beaten by the first two you have had it in terms of moving on to some of the others and I think it is kind of unfortunate that people have to take that kind of a step in order to get some simple problems resolved because in doing this you set up all kinds of things within the administration of the school system which has a negative impact on the kind of job the teachers and some principals may be trying to do.

However, the things that are being done about this are coming as a result of the efforts of people outside the schools. You heard Mr. Callahan mention the fact that he has been in the Tufts program the summer before last, the Harvard-Boston summer programs, another example where Harvard University came in and got involved in terms of working on ways in which to work with the so-called disadvantaged.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Mr. King, I take it that the *de facto* segregation or the racial isolation in the schools is largely a consequence of the housing pattern in Boston. Is that right?

MR. KING. If you take it from the situation that exists right now, sure you can say that is right, but I think this is one of the misleading kinds of ways of looking at this. The segregation is historical. The lack of job opportunities has been with us. You talk about racial isolation in the schools. There are a whole lot of ways in which the Negro has been isolated from the main stream of our society and I think it gets back to the whole education system in terms of if an employer is discriminating in his hiring, if real estate people are not allowing Negroes to move in and it may have something to do with the historical aspect or kind of education that they have had, and I guess at this point I'm a little tired of the fact that the one thing that is picked out to point up the fact that we have *de facto* segregation in the schools, is the result of neighborhood patterns. Well the question is: how did the neighborhood patterns get this way to begin with and what are all the forces and factors that caused it? This is the central question we have to address ourselves to.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. I agree that the problem is very complicated and has very many facets and aspects. I was trying to see if maybe we could help it by looking at only one of them, namely, housing, without meaning to suggest there weren't many things that went into that and many other things and what I was wanting to ask you is whether you felt you had any practical suggestions which would help with the housing situation which, if that could be helped with, would at least make some impact on the racial imbalance in schools.

MR. KING. I think in terms of some beginning approaches with this, if you look at the public housing needs or housing opportunities for families on low or middle income, if we begin to build some of this 221-d(3) housing in all of the areas of the city of Boston and it's open, then there is an opportunity here. There is no question that the suburbs have to come in for some of their share but, again, if you take out and eliminate those people who are eligible for public housing, you have to begin to ask yourself what kinds of income do these other people have which will allow them the kind of mobility that you know is necessary if you are going to get the youngsters in these other communities.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Has urban renewal had any impact on this problem?

MR. KING. As far as the schools are concerned?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. On housing and thus on racial imbalance in the schools.

MR. KING. I would say urban renewal in the city of Boston in terms of its impact on racial imbalance has probably made it worse.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Could you be more specific about that?

MR. KING. Well, it is the issue of—

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Let me just say that one of our assignments is to appraise Federal policies with respect to their impact on equal protection of the laws and so on. Urban renewal is in part a Federal policy; therefore, this is quite relevant to our inquiry.

MR. KING. If you can take the South End, for example, and the Castle Square area and the New York Streets area which—and I grew up in the New York Streets area, the first area to go for urban renewal in the city—most of the Negroes who lived in that area, which at the time was a pretty integrated community because of the limitations in housing opportunity around the city, ended up in the Roxbury-North Dorchester area, and those Negroes who were in the Castle Square area end up in the Roxbury-North Dorchester area or they end up in public housing. And the staging-phasing of urban renewal is such that the areas, with the exception of the West End where there were Negroes, were the ones that were attacked first and in the West End they didn't put up the kind of housing which would allow low income people to return to begin with, so that I am saying that as far as the effect, the impact of urban renewal on the situation of the schools, I think that the program here has made it worse.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Are there urban renewal projects in Roxbury?

MR. KING. Yes. The program that is in operation at the moment in the Washington Park area is the largest one going on in the city at the moment. Next they will be moving into the South End area. They are not in the execution stage at the moment, but it is supposed to be a matter of days before they are.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Have these projects in Roxbury helped or hurt?

MR. KING. Hurt imbalance or helped in terms of providing people with decent housing?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Imbalance, for the moment.

MR. KING. I think that it has basically hurt. But in the area most of the situation was imbalanced anyhow so that it is just a question of taking some Negroes out and putting other Negroes in, so maybe in this instance we can call it a standoff.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Taylor?

MR. TAYLOR. No questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Thank you, Mr. King. You are excused.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. We will now take about a 10-minute recess, and we will re-convene at about 18 minutes to 4.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. The hearing will please come to order. Mr. Glickstein, will you call the next witness?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The next witness is Dr. Charles A. Pinderhughes.

(Whereupon, Dr. Charles A. Pinderhughes was sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

**TESTIMONY OF CHARLES A. PINDERHUGHES, M.D.,
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS**

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Will you please state your full name and address for the record?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. Charles Alfred Pinderhughes, 70 Brookledge Street, Boston, Roxbury Section.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you please give us your educational background and degrees that you hold?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. I received an A.B. from Dartmouth College; M.D. from Howard University Medical School; psychiatric clinical training at the Cushing General Hospital and psychoanalytic training at the Boston Psychoanalytic Society and Institute.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You are a psychiatrist?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. Right.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Where are you employed at the present time?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. I privately practice psychiatry and psychoanalysis, and am employed at the Veterans Administration Hospital in Boston, and at the Massachusetts Mental Health Center. I also have teaching appointments as Associate Clinical Professor of Psychiatry at Tufts University Medical School and as lecturer in psychiatry at the Harvard Medical School and the Boston University Medical School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did you hold an administrative or supervisory position at the Boston Veterans Administration Hospital at one time?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. Until a year ago, I was Chief of the Psychiatric Service there for approximately five years.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Pinderhughes, have you conducted studies relevant to the scope of inquiry of this hearing?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. Well, since 1954 I have been studying this subject with one group or another, or on an individual basis. In 1957, I participated with the Committee on Social Issues of the Group for Advancement of Psychiatry in publishing two reports: *Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation* and *Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation*, and since 1963 my efforts have been concentrated on the effects of ethnic group concentration on educational processes, personality formation, and mental health.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Pinderhughes, it is generally believed that most ethnic and religious groups have not been disadvantaged by being segregated in schools. Is it different for Negroes?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. Before I answer your question, I would challenge the general belief. There is much to indicate, in my opinion, from the way that various ethnic groups get along with one another, and religious groups, also, that there is a great deal to be learned

about how to be good citizens, and good human beings. I think much is being done in this direction, but I don't accept the assumption. However, there is a vast difference between the situation for Negroes and that which exists for others. I think we have to take a look at the history, first from the 1660's and extending on for approximately 200 years. The slave laws structured the relationship of whites and Negroes in this country. Although what I say might not apply to individuals, certainly this is characteristic of the general situation for most persons, and certainly characteristic of the social context which is exerting pressure on individuals. Over that period of time, whites were very clearly structured into an upper group and Negroes into a lower group, one superior and one inferior; one with power and one powerless; one assertive and the other relatively non-assertive; one exploitative and one self-sacrificing. If we start off with this and see the psychology that had to be built into both groups through the child rearing practices and social pressures of various kinds, then we really get a picture of the basic nature of the relationship that existed over that 200 year period.

I think we have to take a look, also, at what happened with what we call Negroes. They, first of all, were not a homogeneous group. They were from various diverse tribes in Africa and were quite heterogeneous. So that to begin with, what was thought of as a group was not a group. Beyond that, there was considerable genetic alteration so that now an individual Negro has varying percentages of Negro, Caucasian, and Indian blood, for the most part. So that here again, we get a lack of homogeneity in terms of the ties between people, in order to have a slave system, which incidently was one of the most coercive that is on record. We had ties between family members and between all groups such as were still in existence, disrupted, destroyed, and kept weak. I think a point that is not sufficiently understood is the fact that Negroes have not been bonded to one another. These bonds had to be destroyed. They were bonded to white persons, so that we had, in effect, an upper and a lower group bonded to one another. Now, with this circumstance, the training, child rearing practices especially, have been such that Negro youngsters have been trained to a kind of role which would support this. I might cite a kind of split in roles which occurred. Certain elements in the role of the man, of the woman, and the child, which lent themselves to slavery and, also, which were relatively low in value, were separated off and assigned to Negroes. For instance, the executive functions of a man's role were assigned to whites. The work functions of a man's role were assigned to Negroes. Certain genteel elements that we associate with the role of a woman were assigned to whites. The feeding and cleaning and housekeeping and menial functions that we associate with the role of a woman were assigned to Negroes. Likewise, with children, those elements having to do with being cared for, being fed, and cleaned, were assigned to whites. Those elements having

to do with the pleasure orientation and the need for being led and the need for discipline were assigned to Negroes, and much of the structuring of these groups took place in order to support these roles, which were the basic roles under slavery situations. I think that I am getting a little long winded with this answer and perhaps better cut it short.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Pinderhughes, what is the relevance of this history that you have described to racial separation in the schools today?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. Well, actually, wherever we have groups perpetuated as such, we have them extending their characteristics, through the pressures they exert on families and individuals, down to subsequent generations. And what we find, especially with Negroes, who have been much more limited in their mobility than other groups, is that there has been little opportunity for diffusion of the basic elements in their old roles. The lack of diffusion in these roles has maintained certain characteristics that might be thought of as remnants of a slave culture cast, which still prevail.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You mean, the slave society has been transported to the ghettos of some of our cities?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. I would say, not the slave society, but I certainly would say the psychology of a slave people, which involves, for instance, the kind of training, child rearing practices which lead children to be self-defeating, and which lead children to be self-sacrificing, and which lead them toward passivity, and which involves intense struggles between the mothers and the children to get aggression out of them at all cost, and which results in a large number of passive individuals and a relatively large number of rebels, who cannot quite be managed by these practices. All of this, I think, is a quite clear sequel to the kind of history we have had. And I might say, in relevance to schools, the school is one of the major participants in the transfer of culture to young people. Where we have primarily a single ethnic group in a school, the school serves as a vehicle for conveying the characteristics of that group. So a school in an Irish community will perpetuate and help to produce Irish youngsters; and in a Jewish community, Jewish youngsters; and in a Negro community, the same unfavorable stamp which I have described, will be pressed, or the school will participate, at least, in the transmission of it.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You mentioned that one of the effects of ghetto living is to create a situation in which aggression, for example, is suppressed in children. Are there other effects of racial separation on the development of children?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. I think that the very basic problem, the psychological problem, comes in this area. In the development of all children, regardless of race, when they reach a point, usually between nine months and three years, when they are capable of voluntary activity, then they get trained in all cultures; and among the things they

are trained to do is to screen out and segregate out of their mental processes and from their behavior certain elements which are not going to be accepted in the society they live in. This includes urine, feces, certain aggressive thoughts, certain sexual thoughts, and feelings, and these must be carefully segregated by each youngster and kept in its place. The mental images associated with these body products, and feelings, and thoughts, are all associated with one another and they are likewise associated with any group or any individual or any object that is segregated outside. So that any group that is segregated or any object that is separated off and assigned a lower value, is all that is needed. That object is thought of as dirty, as smelly, as having all the attributes of those body products and those feelings and those thoughts which are not acceptable in society. This means that as long as we have a segregated situation in this country, so far as Negroes are concerned, Negroes will be having these kinds of attitudes directed toward them. I think this is the only kind of explanation which explains the intensity of the emotional reaction that takes place with desegregation in some areas.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Pinderhughes, a paper of yours has been included in the Kiernan Commission Report and you discuss in that paper what you call the hidden curriculum in schools. Would you tell us what you mean by that?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. In addition to reading, writing, and arithmetic, and other elements of a formal curriculum, there are many things that students are learning in school. We focus upon those elements in a formal curriculum which go usually from teacher to pupil, but what the pupils are learning from one another is probably just as important as what they are learning from the teachers. This is what I refer to as the hidden curriculum. It involves such things as how to think about themselves, how to think about other people, and how to get along with them. It involves such things as the values and the codes, and the styles of behavior that are present in the particular school. It involves such things as the ones around them, whom they use for objects of imitation and identification. It involves so much of this kind of thing that actually this hidden education is a very important determinant of the way in which the child addresses the formal education that the school is giving him; and it has a great deal to do with what the child does with the kind of goals he sets, and what he does with the education that he gets. I think, for instance, that in the area of school dropouts, there is much that is certainly what we might think of in quotes as "learned" from this hidden curriculum very often.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Pinderhughes, do you think the findings of the Kiernan Commission to the effect that racially imbalanced schools are harmful, have had an effect on the image of racially imbalanced schools?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. In my opinion, the report of the Kiernan Commission led to a more general awareness of the image and of the factors

upon which that image was based. It has also led to a mobilization of energies in the direction of altering those factors upon which the image is based. I do not think there will be a change in the image until the underlying factors are changed, however.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Can you educate a child as well in a Negro school as in a racially balanced school?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. Under the present circumstances, absolutely not. I would say that the Negro school, as has been said so many times here, carries with it a stigma that influences the attitudes both on the part of outsiders and on the part of parents, students, and teachers associated with the school. Even though they might deny this, we find on careful interviewing, such attitudes prevail and commonly influence the performance of students as well as they influence their attitudes and behavior with other persons.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think it is possible under any circumstances to establish an all-Negro school which can successfully overcome the psychological problems you have outlined?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. I think that it is possible to have under some circumstances, an all-Negro school which would cover most of the psychological disadvantages which I mentioned, but I think we are a long way from those circumstances. Those circumstances would have to include a change in the social context until the meaning of being white and the meaning of being colored were altered so they no longer meant one was superior and one was inferior. Only then would it be possible to have Negro schools or a so-called Negro school offer an education in which there would not be a stigma attached to it and a kind of negative psychology training built into it.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Pinderhughes, our Staff Report, Exhibit No. 2, indicates that relatively few Negroes have used the Open Enrollment Program in Boston, independent of organized efforts to attend white schools. Do you feel open enrollment is a meaningful approach to integrating Boston schools?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. I do not think that open enrollment as conceived at present is a meaningful approach if it relies upon the individual initiative of students and their families. I speak of this now in reference to Negro families. I think that there are too many factors that have resulted in a relative inertia in too many people for this to be a satisfactory method. As a matter of fact, we really had a significant use of open enrollment, not only with organized efforts, but only in the presence of a very intense feeling. And while I am saying this, I think that I might mention that I think it is a shame that efforts at integration have been resisted. Had they not been resisted, integration would be proceeding at a far slower pace, involving far less conflict for individuals and groups, and at a pace which would be more consistent with mental health. There are, however, advantages to it. This country, I think, was too compartmentalized. Actually, we have had more integration of white persons as a result of the activities sur-

rounding the question of Negro integration, than we have had with regard to Negroes into a white society.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you feel that Negroes are likely to be adversely affected by integration, some Negroes?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. I would define integration here before I would answer that. I think that here we are talking about bringing together members of groups which have been relatively separated, and which have had disparate value, in which one has been superior and one has been inferior, both in the way they have been treated and the way they have behaved according to prevailing standards, and in terms of their psychology. When this happens we expect that both parties will undergo some changes and that a process will be taking place which will vary at different times depending upon the individuals participating in it. At times, for instance, it would be taking place under relatively low levels of conflict; perhaps at other times under high levels of conflict. Those individuals who feel that the maintenance of the *status quo*, that any change in themselves or groups with which they identify would threaten their sense of integrity will perceive themselves as being hurt. In fact, I don't believe this to be true. The alteration will be principally one in terms of values, behaviors, and beliefs and the way in which people treat one another and I think that we can stand a great deal of improvement in this area.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What do you think the effects of integration would be on white children? Can they be harmed educationally?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. Well, I think they might perceive of themselves as being harmed in some circumstances, but here again the problem is that we perceive change in ourselves as harm. That is unfortunate, because constructive changes are also perceived in a similar way quite frequently. We would probably have a number of things taking place for many white children. We would have, for instance, an opportunity to modify those values and codes and beliefs which constrict their lives. They would have an opportunity to rid themselves of some of the misconceptions and even perhaps delusions about other groups. Beyond that, the anxiety and discomfort that some persons experience with members of other groups would be modified. So that, in the future, in the possible work of other adjustments with members of other groups, they would be able to function with comfort and effectiveness. Beyond this, I think one effect of integration I have already alluded to is that the cleavages and the separation and the differences which exist between many white groups, we have lost sight of as we focused on Negroes. This has been a common event, of course, through the years. But one thing that is taking place is that white groups are becoming better integrated and Negroes are becoming better integrated. There is a positively fantastic number of one to one inter-actions that have taken place in and around Boston as a result of the integration issue. I would say one final thing about that, and that is that four years ago in this city an individual was virtually

powerless' to get anything done in terms of city services, except by going through some patronage channel. There has been a real alteration in the power of white and Negro individuals in terms of their capacity to influence members of their community and things going on in their communities, and in terms of their capacity to have some meaningful inter-action with their government. I think that these changes are not to be forgotten insofar as white persons are concerned, also. I think that would be all the more reason why we should try to get rid of some of the conflict, and have both white and colored groups join in what should be, in my opinion, a common effort.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Thank you. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman, do you have any questions?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Dr. Pinderhughes, the statement has been made that we live in a racist society; that [in] our sub-conscious we think in terms of race and that this determines a lot of the way we treat people. We have heard a lot of testimony here about negative attitudes on the part of teachers as they relate to children and lack of sensitivity, and I would like to know if you would comment on the extent to which this reflects a sub-conscious racism.

DR. PINDERHUGHES. I would agree, and the comment I would make is that I would not limit it to the racist factor. I think that while we acknowledge the virtue of collaboration, and cooperation, and equality, that basically we are a competitive society which really doesn't believe in equality but believes in exploitation as far as possible. This means winning. It means beating somebody. Our society extols the values of winning, and I think that this means that the number of upper party and lower party conflicts are especially high, whether this involves labor and management, university students and university administrations, women and men, or whether it involves parents and their adolescents. The basic process between these groups is the same. They bear the same relationships to one another, and I think that what we see taking place between Negroes and whites can be a little better understood if we think in terms of what takes place between us parents and some of the adolescents that we have, and how we manage it.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. We are concerned with the education of thousands of children. We want to get an integrated education, a quality education and in this context, in the Boston school system, for instance, can you tell us of any positive programs that you know of in terms of promoting public school education in integrated public school education?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. I think that I would only commend the programs I know of, which already exist.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. But aren't they private?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. They are private programs, and I don't know of any Boston School Committee programs. While we call the

METCO Program private, it does have the participation of the local school officials. I got a little hung up on that; there is Boston participation there, but, beyond that, there has been none. As a matter of fact, hindrances and impediments have been placed on attempts to move in this direction. This has resulted in an intensification of all the latent racist problems and issues that we have in the community. We have had a latent situation brought out which need not to have been. I can only think that it would greatly help the white and Negro children if all the white and Negro parents in the city would join and get on the school officials and make them produce very fine schools in Boston. It is just that simple. They are wasting their time in conflicts with one another and they are losing out educationally.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Dr. Pinderhughes, I was very interested in your historical and psychological analysis. One point it seems to me where there is a further development today, and I would be very interested to get your point of view on it. It seems to me that the passivity that one took for granted in Negro youth, is now being bred out by a new leadership, if you will, and that there is on the contrary, quite an aggressiveness, a kind of cynicism that one did not see before, a kind of galloping frustration, if you will, and this seems to me as something new that would have to be added to your analysis, if done in the current context. I am not thinking so much of older people as younger people, the kind of people we live with, high school, young college students. This group is anything but passive today. I don't know where but somewhere the gear slipped or something new got into the mixture here, but it is not quite the same kind of passive, going along with the situation as it was. It is almost a complete opposite of that and, of course, it is a phenomenon that finds many expressions, but I am sure you have as much acquaintance with it as we have.

DR. PINDERHUGHES. I don't think it is any different from the process we observe whenever we have this upper and lower party with a difference in their roles, this disparate role and with a lower value assigned to one. I think the same things you said about the Negro youngster, "we see them coming up anything but passive", and so forth, we said about the women back in the teens as the suffrage movement was on, and "we didn't know what they were coming to", and, we saw nothing but destruction taking place. The same thing happened with labor as labor achieved more power. And we say the same thing about youth. What is youth coming to? They are merely developing their power, so to speak, youth power, as they move on toward a peer status with grownups. Now the same thing is taking place with students and university faculties.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Amen.

DR. PINDERHUGHES. Right. But that involves the subtle hypocrisies we all live with and never see, and the subtle exploitation that

we all are constantly involved in, but don't realize. We are being made aware of this now. We are being made aware of the fact that there are students who are smarter than the teachers, and that the teachers are learning as well as teaching, and that all these interactions are two-way streets, and what we hear the Negroes saying when they say, "We want to participate in the administration of the programs in our communities" is nothing more than what the women were saying, what labor was saying, what youth is saying in terms of its determination of their own social and other aspects of their lives. So that I don't see it as the big bad wolf that some people see it as. I think that herein lie some elements of the subtle racist attitudes that each of us has. We interpret these things in this bad way, because we, too, grew up and we had all of these bad, dirty, sexual, aggressive, destructive elements in our thinking segregated out and now we associate them with Negroes; and don't mistake me, I am not saying that white people do it only, but Negroes do it, too, and live out their lives as if they would be nothing but worthless feces. This is the problem.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I was trying to get at the reality of it because you gave us a very nice analysis I thought, and it seems to me the one point where the analysis breaks down today because something else is happening and I am not quite sure what it is, that today the passivity is gone. I think this was an enormous shock to many people in the North. But the passivity, which you say was a throw back from slave days when you were passive to stay out of trouble, this day is over, I think.

DR. PINDERHUGHES. The passivity was gone with women, labor, and so forth.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. That is right.

DR. PINDERHUGHES. What I am saying is, it is an essential part of the process.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Growing up.

DR. PINDERHUGHES. Yes. What I am saying, too, is parents should not sit back and withdraw from inter-action with the youngster who is moving into peer status and developing his youth power; that an active inter-action is certainly necessary in the development of the youngsters and in the development of the parent. I think we keep forgetting we are developing parents as well as children in this inter-action.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Dr. Pinderhughes, as I understand your testimony, you are saying in substance, that there is a Negro sub-culture in our society?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. I would not use that word, because it is a word that is not generally used by psychiatrists, and when I have used it in the past, it has brought me into controversies with certain social scientists who don't like the use of that word. I think that I would use the word, too, if I were permitted to by some of my colleagues.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. I thought, and this is not intended as an offense to anyone, I thought that your testimony was more in the area of what I would call social psychology than in the area of psychiatry. Obviously, there is no barrier. What I was trying to get to, if there is a Negro sub-culture in our society, do I gather that you would think an element of that sub-culture is a feeling of inferiority?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. I would say yes. I would go further to say that I don't think that there has been any Negro group. It was so thoroughly fractionated, including families. It was in the beginning, a heterogenous conglomeration of people. It was altered greatly by miscegenation. There has been no flag around which they have rallied. There hasn't been a set of traditions. There hasn't been a separate language, there hasn't been distinguishing religion. There has been nothing that the other groups have. In that sense, I don't think that we can identify Negro culture. I think there are such variations in the racial composition, in the cultural features, that the things that I have said are not characteristic of many Negroes. You couldn't really match many up with some of the things that I have been saying but, in a general way, I think what I have said is fairly characteristic.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Of course that is true. None of this would be applicable to 100 percent of the Negroes or even 90 or 80, but so far we have a kind of an agreement, subject to being uncertain about terms, that there is a Negro sub-culture and that a feeling of inferiority is an element of that sub-culture. This, as I see it, is what people call a self-fulfilling idea, is it not? If you feel you are inferior, then you tend to end up being inferior?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. That is quite right. That is a complex depth psychology, which I could not go into for time limitations, upon which that is based.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Now how can we or—this is what I am leading up to—how can we break away from this? How can we break out of this? Let me say one thing. The suggestion is that integrated schools would help and I think it's very likely that they would help, but if the underlying cause is the one you have indicated, then schools could only affect a fraction of the total. The home is, perhaps, the most important place to begin to work on this and is it an element of the Negro sub-structure and social sub-culture that the influence of the home has been relatively weak as compared to other parts of American society?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. I would say that other parts of American society have religious or ethnic groups that really provide tremendous support to the families and to the individuals. There is no such common, strong influence for American Negroes, and I am not talking about those who come from the West Indies or those who have come from some circumstance where there is a definite culture, the African Negroes and so forth. But I think that the only way to alter this is to alter the total context including housing, work, education situa-

tions and, once the context is altered, then the living experience that each individual has will not cause a mental representation, a perception of the world he lives in, to be linked up with feces, urine, aggressive and sexual feelings, which is the basic issue, psychologically, having to do with segregation. Only when we change the meaning in terms of Negroes as low and associated with this kind of element in experience and training, will we then be able to have a situation in which this sub-culture would be changed.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. How can we go about or what can we do to help bring about such changes? It seems to me that is the essence of the problem.

DR. PINDERHUGHES. In my opinion, I think we should do just as we do with adolescents as they move toward peer status, and I think it is a good comparison. We don't suppress them. We don't fully accept some of the aggression that they show. What we try to do is join them in that effort, and I think that there should be a greater joining of all people in the effort to alter the status of the Negroes—not only Negroes—any lower group. We have a big problem with classes, with persons in certain jobs, who are called by first names and looked upon as low no matter how much intelligence they have; we have really a society in which we have many hypocritical elements, many delusions, and we don't even recognize them. But movement in this direction with the low people, I think, assisting them toward equal status and, hopefully, having some modification in the basic need to be on top and this kind of thing. I think I could go on further, but time invites me to stop.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Taylor?

MR. TAYLOR. Just one question, Dr. Pinderhughes. You mentioned discussing a hidden curriculum. As I gather, what you are saying is that the relationship of students to one another and one generation of students to the next may have an important effect upon behavior and their education as what formally goes on in school. Is that correct?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. That is correct. Actually, I am wondering if you mean what happens between individual members of the same generation? Yes.

MR. TAYLOR. You said, for example, that in a sense dropping out was a learned behavior or something that was taught or communicated.

DR. PINDERHUGHES. It can be thought of that way, yes.

MR. TAYLOR. I wonder, could you be specific and list some of the other elements in this hidden curriculum?

DR. PINDERHUGHES. Well, I would prefer to list elements in both the hidden and the formal curriculums because there are elements in the formal curriculum that also encourage youngsters to drop out. I think here, too, there is a great need not to rigidly give an education that someone decided is the one that should be given; but to explore and examine what are the needs of youngsters in a particular situation,

so a curriculum can be designed that doesn't encourage them to leave. That is one element. There are also teachers who sometimes will encourage youngsters to leave. I think other elements in the hidden curriculum, however, would include the nature of relationships between students and counselors and between students and teachers, which don't have to do specifically with the course content. How much time and effort is devoted to establishing a relationship, to having groups small enough so that relationships can be such that the students have their emotional needs met. To do this kind of thing, very definitely results in a lowering dropout rate and a heightening of pupil performance. Many of the students who have had difficulty—I shouldn't say many—but some of the students who have had difficulty are not really ready for course content. They don't have the relationships which would support that.

MR. TAYLOR. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dr. Pinderhughes, we could go on indefinitely and I am sure to our advantage, but we are getting behind schedule and we thank you very much, sir.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, Dr. Pinderhughes has two articles that he has asked us to include in our record. May I request that these be included as Exhibits No. 3 and 4?

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. They are received.

(The documents referred to above were received as Exhibits No. 3 and 4.)

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Would you call the next witness?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The next witness is Mr. Paul Kennedy.

(Whereupon, Mr. Paul Kennedy was sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

TESTIMONY OF MR. PAUL KENNEDY, DIRECTOR, COMPENSATORY EDUCATION PROGRAM, BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Kennedy, would you please state your full name and address for the record?

MR. KENNEDY. My name is Paul Kennedy. I live at 52 Willow Street in Quincy, Massachusetts.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Where are you employed, Mr. Kennedy?

MR. KENNEDY. I am employed in the Boston public schools as the Director of Compensatory Services.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What is the principal compensatory service you administer?

MR. KENNEDY. The principal compensatory program I administer is the elementary enrichment program known as Operation Counterpoise.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How is Operation Counterpoise funded?

MR. KENNEDY. Operation Counterpoise is funded from funds supplied by the Boston School Committee and, also, under funds supplied by Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. About how much in Title I money have you received?

MR. KENNEDY. Title I money received for this year's program would amount to \$2 million for the Counterpoise phase of it. Boston School Committee funds would approximate half a million dollars of that.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How long has Counterpoise been in operation?

MR. KENNEDY. Counterpoise began in the school year 1963-64 in one district and was expanded in 1964 and 1965 to many buildings of 11 additional districts and on the advent of Title I in February of 1966, it was expanded to five more districts, making a total of 17.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Which district was it that it began in?

MR. KENNEDY. The Henry L. Higginson District in Roxbury.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you describe for the Commissioners the nature of the Counterpoise Program: how many schools are there, where they are located, what is the purpose, and how does it operate?

MR. KENNEDY. There are 17 districts, as I mentioned. Last year—this year there are 16 districts because of an administrative reorganization. One district formerly comprised three buildings, two of which were destroyed by fire in the 1964 school year but one building in that district has been salvaged so we have 16 districts now within the program. There are 38 schools in the programs. That number remains the same. They are located in the Roxbury, Dorchester, South Boston, Charlestown, and East Boston sections of the city.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. In general, what is the purpose or goal of Operation Counterpoise?

MR. KENNEDY. The goal is to increase academic achievement, to raise aspirations, to develop a positive self-image, to develop latent talents among disadvantaged children, and to improve attitudes toward school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How does the program operate? What is done to achieve these goals you have just mentioned?

MR. KENNEDY. Additional personnel are added to the system. A team teaching organization is set up in which team leaders function as leaders of a team which may be comprised of four or five classrooms with four teachers in those classrooms, including the team leader. An auxiliary teacher is added to the program to assist in that team. The team leader will check all pupils on that team for things that need to be taken care of each and every single day; check them for absence; check them for tardiness; check them for health problems; he will praise them; he will try in each way to help them increase their academic achievement. Additional personnel added to the program in addition to team leaders and auxiliary teachers; adjustment counselors are provided at a ratio much lower than the citywide ratio; research assistants to conduct necessary tests as necessary; non-professional aides are added to the program. There are special science, special art, special music teachers to enrich the talents in these areas.

In addition, there are field trips above the normal quota for the city and inter-school programs added also.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What deficiencies specifically is Counterpoise attempting to correct?

MR. KENNEDY. Attempting to correct the normal disabilities with which a disadvantaged child comes to school: a poor verbal ability and underdeveloped cognitive skills, a limited experiential background, possibly a poor self-image, and a lack of motivation really for academic success.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. So I guess it is a premise of Counterpoise that underprivileged children come to school less ready to learn than children from more affluent neighborhoods.

MR. KENNEDY. That is true and it is borne out by reading readiness tests which are administered at the beginning of Grade 1 in which the compensatory districts would average 29 roughly, as a median score, as against the score for the rest of the city of approximately 41. This is at the beginning of Grade 1.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. This is before the children actually start learning in school?

MR. KENNEDY. Yes, sir.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You mentioned the inter-school exchange program. Has this program been effective?

MR. KENNEDY. This program has been very effective in the limited areas in which it has been carried out. As I said, Federal funds became available in February of last year. These programs were started at that time, and proved themselves very effective from thence to the end of the year and we expect greater success during this school year with these programs.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Why is it felt these programs are important?

MR. KENNEDY. These programs are important because we feel it is very much socially desirable for children of different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds to get together, to meet one another and to have experiences with one another.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. About how many exchanges has each Counterpoise child had? Do you have any idea?

MR. KENNEDY. Well, there were 7,000 pupils involved in the exchanges from February to June of last year. This did not mean that each Counterpoise child received one during the year. This year each Counterpoise child will have a minimum of two exchanges during the present school year.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How do the children participating in exchanges travel between the schools?

MR. KENNEDY. They are bused.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Kennedy, how many evaluations have there been of Operation Counterpoise?

MR. KENNEDY. I assumed this office 13 months ago, September 1, 1965. There was one evaluation prior to my coming into office and

there has been an evaluation in my year in my office. There have been two.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you tell the Commissioners, please, what each of these evaluations showed?

MR. KENNEDY. The initial evaluation showed some increase in achievement; a decline in absence and truancy; increased cultural opportunities and assembly programs, and things such of that nature. The evaluation of this year's program shows an improvement, I am happy to say, in reading achievement and improvement in school grades as reported on the report cards. A parental survey was taken, which showed a great endorsement of the program, commenting on improved attitudes of the pupils; their achievement; their work habits; their effort had improved and self-confidence and so forth. The teacher survey conducted as part of the evaluation showed improved attitudes on the part of the pupils, pride in accomplishment, more completion of work, improved work habits, the statistics showed a decrease in absence, in truanancies and there was an increase, also, in parental involvement.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Kennedy, you said that Counterpoise began in the Higginson District in September 1963. Is that correct?

MR. KENNEDY. That is correct.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Now, the September 1964 evaluation that you have just described showed that the children in the Higginson School District in May of 1964, second graders in May 1964, were achieving approximately one-half a year above the national norm. Your 1966 evaluation shows that the same class now in the fourth grade is over half a year below the national norm. The statistics reveal a similar pattern decline for Higginson's sixth graders who were found to be a full year behind the national norm. Why has Counterpoise not been able to prevent this gap from occurring?

MR. KENNEDY. I would like to take a few moments, if I may, to go into this in some depth. I would like to emphasize to the Commission that reading achievement has shown an increase in the 12 districts which were in the program for two years. It has shown an overall increase from April 1965 compared with April 1966. The 1966 scores were higher than the 1965 scores. In addition, the district—

MR. GLICKSTEIN. By how much were they higher?

MR. KENNEDY. The median score in Grade 1 in April 1965 was 2-2 and in April '66 it was 2-3, which is a growth of one month; Grade 2 would be 3-4 to 3-5. Also, a growth of one month. Grade 3, 4-0 to 4-1, a growth of one month. Grade 4, 3-7 to 3-8, a growth of one month. Grade 6, 5-1 to 5-2, a growth of one month. I would also like to point out that the five districts which entered the program in February 1966 also showed an improvement at all grade levels with the exception of Grade 6 for the three months that they had been in the program.

Now, you asked a question about the drop on the national norm.

This is a question that has bothered me since I have taken office. We in Boston schools, up to this time, have not had a standard test, in other words, a test put out by one testing company, which will run through the grade levels. The test given in Grade 4 and Grade 6 is different from the test given in Grade 3. The test used in Grade 4 and Grade 6 is the Stanford Achievement Test. In setting up their normative procedures for establishment of national norms, they chose several towns and cities throughout the Nation. Of the cities they chose there were five which had a population of 100,000. None of the great cities was included. There were no large urban cities from the New England region. The largest city in Massachusetts chosen for the normative group was the city of Brockton, which has a population of 76,000. Cities such as Boston, Springfield, Worcester, New Haven, Hartford, and Providence, Rhode Island, were not included in the establishment of norms. In addition to that, the average I.Q. of the normative group was 107. In our compensatory districts the average I.R. as determined by a group intelligence test is 93.3 at Grade 4 and 93.2 at Grade 6. In addition to that, Boston, up until this time, has had an earlier entrance age than is national. This is being corrected and Boston up until this year has had a shorter school day than has been national. What I am trying to say is, it is not fair or there should not be a comparison made between a test of one company and a test of another company.

What I would like to see, and steps have already been taken to see that it is put into effect, is that we have a standard testing procedure throughout the grades using the tests of one company. I notice that the Metropolitan Achievement Test includes some cities of 300,000 population. So the average norm for the Stanford and for most tests does not include a large sampling of pupils from urban, disadvantaged areas.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Are you saying, then, that some of these tests really don't reflect properly what children in urban areas—

MR. KENNEDY. That is what I am saying.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Couldn't that also be true of the readiness test which you said shows underprivileged children are so far behind?

MR. KENNEDY. That may be, but the norms may be set up on a different basis. What I would like to see is one test with the norms set up all the same for the grades. What I would like to say here is we should judge our reading achievement by what is done in September and what is done again seven months later, on the same test, which has been established from the same normative group and we would expect a seven month growth between September and April, and in the majority of cases in these districts that growth has been exceeded.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. As indicated before, the sixth graders in the Higginson District were a full grade behind the national norm, yet your evaluation shows that their academic achievement as measured by report card grades, was about 2.7, which is about a B minus. How

can a child with reading skills a year below the national norm receive such a relatively high report card grade?

MR. KENNEDY. I would go back again and say that his reading skills, when you compare him on the national norm, we are comparing him with children who do not come from large, urban disadvantaged areas. In performance with his peer group he would be performing at that level.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How do they compare with the rest of the city?

MR. KENNEDY. This occurrence which I mentioned—the drop in achievement—is not wholly confined to the compensatory areas. This is true in Grades 4 and 6, citywide.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. To as great an extent?

MR. KENNEDY. Not to quite as great an extent. We are starting to overcome that.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Kennedy, how did you rate the progress of children in Counterpoise schools compared to their rate of progress in the schools before Counterpoise was introduced? Have you made such a comparison?

MR. KENNEDY. No, we have not. I would agree with this evaluation—and I might say it here—it is not as scientific as I would like it. Steps have been taken to make a much more scientific evaluation of the program during the current year. We envision establishing control groups, both those pupils within the program and those pupils outside the program so a much stronger comparison can be made of achievement.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. I believe your program has been evaluated by an inter-university evaluation committee and that committee has found that the absence of control groups in your evaluation makes meaningful inferences impossible. Would you care to comment on that?

MR. KENNEDY. I think the evaluation, as we have it now, does show an increase in the things that I have mentioned. As I have stated, I wish to see control groups, I wish to see a data bank set up so we can establish adequate and meaningful control groups, both within and without the program, so we can get much more meaningful data from it. But I think it would be unwise to say from that statement that this evaluation does not show very much. I think it shows significant improvement.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Could you use Title I funds for the purpose of integration?

MR. KENNEDY. That I don't know.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Have you made any tests to determine how disadvantaged children achieve in an integrated situation as compared to Counterpoise schools?

MR. KENNEDY. I don't think I quite follow that.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You have compared the Counterpoise children with themselves really. You've compared their rate of progress in their own schools.

MR. KENNEDY. That is right.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Have you set up a control group of children from the same type of disadvantaged backgrounds who were placed in integrated schools and determined how the children in integrated schools achieved as compared to the children in Counterpoise schools?

MR. KENNEDY. Have we set that up?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Yes.

MR. KENNEDY. No, I would say we have not.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think that would be a meaningful evaluation, a meaningful way to test the effectiveness of Counterpoise?

MR. KENNEDY. I think it might be considered. I would like to point out that in the Staff Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights on Page 18, it indicates little correlation between non-white enrollment and performance on the '65-'66 sixth grade pupil scores on the Stanford Achievement Test. Doing most poorly on the test were those in the 11 to 30 percent nonwhite category, which would be racially balanced schools. Out-performing the 31 to 50 percent balanced schools are those which are imbalanced 51 to 70 percent; and out-performing those that are imbalanced 71 to 90 percent are those which are imbalanced 91 to 100 percent.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. One final question, Mr. Kennedy. Do you think it is easier to conduct a compensatory education program such as Counterpoise if the children who need the services are in a few schools in a concentrated area?

MR. KENNEDY. I would like to see the saturation program continued in the neighborhood school because I think, educationally, fiscally, and administratively it is almost not feasible to spread it citywide. I think we might run into the same problems that New York City encountered in their Higher Horizons Program in trying to spread the services too thinly.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Thank you. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. No questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. How many pupils are involved in the Counterpoise Program?

MR. KENNEDY. At the present time, 12,736.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Of that number, what percentage is Negro?

MR. KENNEDY. I don't know. I don't have the figure.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. How many teachers are involved?

MR. KENNEDY. In the program?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. How many teachers?

MR. KENNEDY. Over 600.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Of the 600, do you know the number of Negro teachers?

MR. KENNEDY. No. I do not. I do not keep those figures.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Taylor?

MR. TAYLOR. Mr. Kennedy, is it correct that the need for these programs is determined on the basis of school or neighborhood?

MR. KENNEDY. It is determined on the basis of low income families and Aid to Dependent Children recipients residing in these areas. This is Title I now.

MR. TAYLOR. Would it be better if these programs could be adapted for the individual needs or the needs of the individual child?

MR. KENNEDY. The program as set up does go a long way to adapting with the needs of the individual child. Because of the additional personnel we have a lower pupil-teacher ratio than does the rest of the city, and we are able to provide many more services on the individual instruction basis than would be normal.

MR. TAYLOR. What I am suggesting is, there may be children outside the areas that you serve that need such programs and maybe children inside the areas you serve who may not need such special help and I am asking whether it would be better if you were able to tailor these programs to the needs of the child rather than of the particular area he lives in or the particular school he goes to.

MR. KENNEDY. I think we are hitting now at the vast majority of pupils who need these services.

MR. TAYLOR. I wonder whether some of these programs or techniques that are used by Counterpoise might become unnecessary if there were a different situation. For example, if you had children from different areas, different groups attending the same school, would you need inter-school trips or exchanges?

MR. KENNEDY. No. Those I do not think would be necessary.

What I am hoping and what I am working for is to put myself out of business. I hope the rate of improvement will accelerate and the need for these programs will not be necessary.

MR. TAYLOR. I notice teaching a child good diction is a part of the program.

MR. KENNEDY. Yes.

MR. TAYLOR. Might it be possible if the child attended school where most of the children had good speech habits, he might learn as readily as he does with the special help he gets from your program?

MR. KENNEDY. Very true, but we see the special diction teacher as a person also to conduct and to help these pupils in dramatics and debate and things such as that.

MR. TAYLOR. What do you do to help the self-concept of children?

MR. KENNEDY. Praise. Individual praise, attention, love of the teacher, let them taste a little bit of success each and every day, a pat on the back goes a long way, in addition to bringing in successful people from the community to assembly programs.

MR. TAYLOR. I didn't understand what you were saying before

about achievement in white and nonwhite schools. Could you clarify that in racially balanced as against racially imbalanced schools?

MR. KENNEDY. When I quoted from your Staff Report?

MR. TAYLOR. Yes.

MR. KENNEDY. I am saying your Staff Report indicates little correlation between nonwhite enrollment and performance on the standardized test, the scores which you picked for that. In other words, what I am saying was, doing most poorly or scoring most poorly on the test was the 11 to 30 percent nonwhite schools, which would be racially balanced schools.

MR. TAYLOR. Is that true of all grades?

MR. KENNEDY. That, I don't know. That is your—

MR. TAYLOR. You are talking about the sixth grade rather than other grades?

MR. KENNEDY. I have made no study on that. That is your own study.

MR. TAYLOR. I just noticed there appears to be a different pattern in second grade and eighth grade.

MR. KENNEDY. That may be.

MR. TAYLOR. I have no further questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Thank you very much, Mr. Kennedy. You are excused. Mr. Glickstein, would you call the next witness?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Evans Clinchy.

(Whereupon, Mr. Evans Clinchy was sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

TESTIMONY OF MR. EVANS CLINCHY, CONSULTING DIRECTOR OF OFFICE OF PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT, BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Clinchy, would you please state your full name and address for the record?

MR. CLINCHY. My name is Evans Clinchy. My address is 1109 Massachusetts Avenue, Lexington.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Where are you employed?

MR. CLINCHY. I am employed by the Boston school department as Consulting Director of the Office of Program Development.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How long have you held this position?

MR. CLINCHY. Almost two years.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What was your prior employment?

MR. CLINCHY. I was a program coordinator for the Social Studies Curriculum Program and Educational Services, Incorporated.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What is Educational Services, Incorporated?

MR. CLINCHY. It is a private non-profit curriculum development outfit which Reverend Hesburgh is one of the trustees of.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. When was the Office of Program Development begun?

MR. CLINCHY. It was first established in, I think, March 1965.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Does the Office receive any funds under any Federal statute?

MR. CLINCHY. It is entirely supported by Federal money.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Is it under Title I?

MR. CLINCHY. Title I and now Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What programs are conducted by the Office of Program Development?

MR. CLINCHY. We essentially conduct two programs. One under Title I, and one under Title III, Title I being what we call a model demonstration sub-system and the one under Title III being a school planning operation in which we are running five projects, all intimately connected with the sub-system and all programs of the office being direct experimental—primarily, curriculum, but also experimental school organization and teaching instructional methods.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you describe the sub-system please and just what it is? How many schools are involved and where are they and what do you do in those schools?

MR. CLINCHY. Right at the moment we are operating in three schools in Roxbury. We have two early childhood units running from four and a half through kindergarten, and we have one class in the Henry L. Higginson School and one class, one operation like this, in the Boardman School; here, again, both in Roxbury. There are about 60 kids in the Early Childhood Program. There are 200 elementary school children in the Boardman School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You have that whole school?

MR. CLINCHY. Yes. It is a small school. And we have just moved into the Lewis Junior High School, where there are about 450 children.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Both of these schools are located or the three schools you have mentioned are located—

MR. CLINCHY. These are all located in the Washington Park Renewal Area in Roxbury and we call it a sub-system because they form right at the moment a continuous unit running from four and a half through the ninth grade. What we are doing at the moment is considering Grades 7 and 8 as the junior high or the beginning of a middle school and the ninth grade as the first grade of a high school, and we'll add a tenth grade and an eleventh grade and a twelfth grade in successive years. One of our Title III jobs is planning a new 5,000 pupil high school in the middle of Boston into which this would move.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What do you do in the schools? What type of programs are operated?

MR. CLINCHY. Basically, the operation has been conducted in sort of this manner: we pulled out of the school system and, in some cases, brought in from the outside people that we considered to be extremely talented, not only as teachers, but also as creative users and producers of curriculum materials, new kinds of curriculum materials. We've formed very close associations with places like the Harvard Graduate

School of Education, which supplies us with people and materials and with educational services, and anybody around who has anything we think might be good. We pull these people out of the schools and their job is to, practically their full time job, is to search out materials to then work with the teachers in the schools, to try them out and give us some assessment of whether they think they are working or not. We also have what we call an instructional research unit, as part of the operation which handles all our testing and is beginning now to work on the problem of how to find out whether these materials and instructional materials really do make a difference, whether they do work. I guess that is it.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Does the name "sub-system" suggest you are somewhat autonomous?

MR. CLINCHY. Yes. My Office of Program Development is in basic charge of the program in these schools, and we have the ability to make experiments and to change the curriculum as we—working always under the direction of the superintendent—as we see fit.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. When did your program begin in the Boardman School?

MR. CLINCHY. We first took over the Boardman School in September 1965, but we had no money then and so, I would say, the program didn't really even begin to function until February 1966 and our standard line is that we didn't really get underway until last summer, where we were really operating three programs.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Is the sub-system also a type of compensatory program?

MR. CLINCHY. No. It is not.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How does it differ from a compensatory program?

MR. CLINCHY. It is an experimental education program. It is not compensatory in the sense that our primary aim is not trying to make up for some real or supposed deficiencies in the children.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Isn't the program intended for so-called culturally or educationally deprived children?

MR. CLINCHY. Because we are working in Roxbury? I have my own feelings that this is where a great need exists for some radical changes in education, but the aim of the program is not compensatory in the traditional sense of that word.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you say the children you are dealing with are educationally or culturally deprived?

MR. CLINCHY. The children we are dealing with certainly have a great many problems. Some of them do not read up to the expected grade levels. There are emotional and psychological problems. I am not qualified to say whether there are more social and psychological problems in Roxbury than there are in a place like Newton or Lexington because I know they have problems, too.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Have you tested the children in the sub-system?

MR. CLINCHY. Every child in the sub-system has had a complete battery of conventional achievement and I.Q. testing.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What did you find when you tested preschool children?

MR. CLINCHY. In the preschool in I.Q., are you talking of?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. In terms of reading readiness or readiness for school.

MR. CLINCHY. We found them to be quite average, the group we happened to have.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Quite average. So your group was somewhat different from the statistics that Mr. Kennedy cited a few moments ago, where he said the children in Counterpoise schools were considerably further behind than children from other schools in reading readiness tests?

MR. CLINCHY. Most of these children are from what is traditionally a Counterpoise area and we only have 60 kids and maybe it is an oddity in the sample or it may be—I think Mr. Kennedy was referring probably to group I.Q.'s or group achievement tests. These were all individual, child by child tests, and this may have yielded some kind of difference in the scores.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The individual tests are more accurate?

MR. CLINCHY. They are generally considered to be so, but they are also much more expensive and they take a great deal of time to administer. Very few school systems have either the funds, as we do at the moment in the sub-system, or simply the time and people to do this.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Is it fair to say that if your programs are successful, if you would develop effective, innovative programs they might some day substitute for the type of compensatory education programs that are now being run?

MR. CLINCHY. Well, the basic aim of the programs we are running are not aimed either at simply disadvantaged children and certainly not simply at Negro children living in Washington Park. They are aimed at discovering and testing and hopefully ascertaining the value of materials for all the kids in Boston. Eventually—

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Eventually they might be introduced in all the schools?

MR. CLINCHY. We have a very close working relationship with Mr. Kennedy's office and they are waiting very eagerly for us to produce some marvelous new things that they can pick up and use.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You mentioned you tested children when they entered school. Were they also tested in the third and fourth grades?

MR. CLINCHY. Our kids?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Yes.

MR. CLINCHY. Our kids will be tested three times a year in all grades.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What are the test results in the third and fourth grades?

MR. CLINCHY. Let me see. These are the tests that were given in April of 1965 and, therefore, they are not the tests of what has gone on in the sub-system since nothing to all intents and purposes had gone on in the sub-system at that point. In Grade 3, the reading scores—the mean score was 3.64 and the expected score was 3.8. So the kids were minus .16. In the fourth grade the mean score was 4.16 and the expected score was 4.8. So there was a minus .64 on reading. We also have language and arithmetic tests.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. To what do you attribute this situation? You said when children enter the school they are about on the average ready to learn but by the third and fourth grades there seems to be some sort of a gap. What do you attribute that to?

MR. CLINCHY. It is a gap that could be attributed to all sorts of things. In the first place, the kids I was mentioning, the ones who are now as far as we can tell, are about average, are not the same kids who were scoring—we have no longitudinal data is what I am saying. We don't know that the same kid will drop.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You have to have longitudinal data in order to really make a meaningful guess?

MR. CLINCHY. I would insist upon longitudinal data before I'd make a guess like that. However, this is not a finding that is limited necessarily to kids in disadvantaged areas and Negro kids. And, also, I think another problem is it is not very easy to get, I think, very conclusive and hard results on kids at the age of four and a half and this is a bit tough. So I think the whole area is kind of muddy. I don't mean to say that there may not be something operating here that produces some kind of drop between preschool and say, third and fourth grades in school. My own observation is, in most schools, not just Boston schools, but in most schools there is something that happens at approximately the end of the second grade where kids who have been pretty lively and interested in school up to that point, suddenly begin to turn it off in their heads and become kind of mental dropouts. Whether we have more of this in Roxbury than elsewhere, I don't know, but I think this is an artifact of the thing called school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would it be fair to say your programs are based on the premise that there is something wrong with the schools?

MR. CLINCHY. Well, do you mean the schools in Boston or just schools anywhere? My own feeling is that there is a great deal wrong with schools everywhere. There are a lot of things that could be improved. We are doing very few things now the way we were 50 years ago and the purpose of my office which is essentially a research and development office, is to try to begin to find some of these ways that 5, 10, or 15 years from now, we will think are the right ways to do things. In that sense, every school in America is inadequate and very few school systems are doing what Boston is now doing, and that is, putting money into research and development, which, I think, is a very crucial thing.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you say the problems that are found in the schools affect nonwhite children more than white children?

MR. CLINCHY. You will have to give me that one again.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you say the type of problems that you find in the schools, the deficiencies, the drawbacks of our school systems affect nonwhite children, disadvantaged, more than they do middle-class white children?

MR. CLINCHY. I don't say schools *per se* are worse for nonwhite children necessarily, than they are for white children, and I think this is backed up by the Coleman Report. What I would say I guess is, if it is true—and I haven't really made up my mind on this question yet—if it is true that children in, say, Roxbury, need a great deal more than kids elsewhere for whatever reasons, then I suppose in that sense my own feeling would be that all kids need a radically different kind of institution to go to, but, and it may be I think, that in every case you have to tailor the institution to whatever kids you have and their particular interests, problems, et cetera.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think—

MR. CLINCHY. I was simply going to say, in some cases, suburban schools have particular problems, which in like measure are not visible in urban schools. For instance, one great problem in a suburban kid is you can't get the parents off his back and the parents simply decide they are going to sign him up for Yale or Harvard at the age of 2, and that is it, and they are driven pretty hard to achieve those parental goals. This is one problem we don't have quite so much of in Roxbury, but we may have others.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think a racially balanced school situation is an important aspect of a good education?

MR. CLINCHY. I think it is a very important aspect of a good education, both for the Negro kids and for white kids. I think this is one of the main problems that suburban schools have is that they exist in white ghettos and a mix for both the white and the Negro kids is very important. I don't think it is anywhere nearly so important as the question of quality, which I think in both cases, is the real basic problem and what are we doing in classrooms in general.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would the programs you are conducting be more effective in an integrated situation?

MR. CLINCHY. You mean, in terms of achievement scores or would experimental programs work better in an integrated setting?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Yes.

MR. CLINCHY. I would suppose so. I don't know or I couldn't predict how, but I would imagine that since to my mind, at least, integrated education is considerably better than non-integrated education that this would be effective.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. We have heard testimony today, as we did at our hearing in Cleveland and at our hearing in Rochester, there is a stigma

attached to a predominantly Negro school. Are your programs designed to overcome this stigma?

MR. CLINCHY. Well, one, I would agree there is a definite stigma attached to a predominantly Negro school. Yes. The answer to the second part of the question would be yes, also, in that I would like to see the schools that we run in Roxbury become extremely attractive and begin to attract white children into them. I think we have some evidence to indicate that the myth that white people will not send their kids into Negro schools is a myth.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you have some evidence of that?

MR. CLINCHY. It is hardly conclusive evidence. We ran a summer program this summer in connection with Harvard. It was called the Harvard-Boston Program. Without making any great thing of it and without making it one of the primary aims of the program we did go out and attempt to recruit and, obviously, this was all a voluntary program. We went out and tried to recruit white volunteers into the program. In the case of the Boardman School, the breakdown was about 70 percent nonwhite and 30 percent white. In the case of the summer program at Lewis School there were about 20 percent white and 80 percent nonwhite. From that point of view, we had not a single problem in the world. The white parents all brought their kids. We supplied no transportation for them. The parents in the Boardman situation stayed on and we had parents' meetings of both white and black parents. Everybody seemed to get along just fine and the white parents were particularly appreciative, we thought, of what had gone on during the summer program, and we have had some inquiries since as to whether or not they could take their children out of predominantly white schools and send them to these schools. This surprised me because it didn't seem to me we did anything that spectacular.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think that Title I funds are being used in the most effective manner?

MR. CLINCHY. That is kind of a hard question to answer. I have my own bias. If you are talking about the case of Boston, a very small sum like \$3.6 million which is what we got out of Title I this year, my own feeling is that, at least that amount of money should be put into research and development and probably about three times that much for the city of Boston. However, this research and development is a far cry from the only need that Boston has and, given the circumstances under which the Boston schools are having to operate, at about half the budget that they should be operating at, if we were talking in terms of say \$20 million or \$30 million in Title I, then I think we could begin to say all right, so much of it into research and development, and that seems to be paying off so much into just simply doing all the things that haven't been done for the last 50 years, which would take another very large sum of money.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. In general, do you think that the billions of dollars in Title I money—

MR. CLINCHY. Nationwide?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Nationwide.

MR. CLINCHY. Oh, nationwide. My general impression, without claiming to be an expert on this, is that far too much Title I money in general is being spent on doing more of the same and very little is being spent on radical or to me really impressive departures, or experiments or even trying new things.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think that Title I programs tend to perpetuate racial segregation in public schools?

MR. CLINCHY. I suppose the way that the title is written at the moment, as Mr. Kennedy pointed out, it is certainly much easier once you have identified in a geographic area that is in need of help, it is certainly much easier to keep the kids there, whether they are white or Negro and work in those schools. I would gather this is largely what Title I money has been used to do. So I would say that its net effect probably has been—well, I'd put it this way: certainly, so far as I know, very little Title I money has been used for the purpose of racially balancing the schools, which I don't think still doesn't get around the fact that somehow, no matter how you arrange it, those children need assistance.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Thank you. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Clinchy, I have been intrigued by what I interpret you have said. You think there is much wrong with our schools. The time is past when we ought to figure out what it is we are trying to accomplish and how we get from here to there without too much reference to what we have been doing. You indicated, I think, that maybe we needed a different kind of an institution entirely for all kinds of kids. This has been a long day and I know the Commission is getting tired but I would be interested if you would take a couple of minutes and tell us what kind of public schools you think we ought to have.

MR. CLINCHY. I have been expressing dissatisfaction more than really an answer. I think that we have got, whatever this new institution is that may come out of all the revolutionary things that are going on in education, it is going to be based on getting rid of a lot of sort of standard traditional beliefs that we have, like the one that the only way to run a school is to put one teacher in one classroom and give her charge of anywhere from 25 to 35 children. I think we have to face up to the fact that this doesn't educate much of anybody. Using now as a standard for what I sort of instinctively feel schools ought to be doing, we have to get a lot more people, and a lot of different kinds of people in the schools and onto the staff. I think we have to certainly get rid of the idea that you take one class and 35 children and one teacher and a textbook and say that, by having kids follow the textbook

along with their fingers, this is going to improve their minds. We have to get, also, all sorts of different kinds of materials, books, films, tapes, records, models, and all sorts of things into the classroom the kids can begin to use. I think we have to get rid of the idea that the purpose of this process is to take whatever is in the teacher's head or in the textbook and transfer it into the head of the pupil; that we have to develop schools where children are much freer to do things and to learn on their own than all too many schools allow today. I think in some ways that learning by doing is the only way anybody ever learns anything, and we have to give the children much more of a chance to do things. I think similarly that it is very difficult to learn things that other people tell you you should learn and that as much as possible we should begin to give the children themselves a much greater chance to decide the kinds of things they are going to do in school. We would still—obviously, the adults are still going to have to maintain some general control of the environment. They are going to have to provide a great deal of guidance and direction, but I have a feeling there is so much to learn in this world it is very difficult for anyone to make a decision that this is more important than that, and that perhaps one of the best judges of this is children in their own interests. Obviously, buildings are going to have to change. We are going to have to begin to completely re-think the whole idea of what a school building is and what purposes it is used for. Similarly, we are going to have to re-think the whole idea of what kinds of services this thing is going to provide. As part of our Title III project, we are now investigating what kinds of things can be combined with schools or within an educational process and this would include housing, and welfare and health and all sorts of other social and civic functions as well as recreation and swimming pools and skating rinks and this kind of thing. How much of all this can be combined with schools so that you, in a sense, are re-defining the whole institution, particularly in terms of what should go on in cities. We would like to explore the idea of putting preschool and primary units out in housing and then have a three, four, five school. The only thing that would then function is what might be called a normal school. It is a very hard question to answer because there is so much going on and so many possibilities. If we had the time and money and resources to really bring some of these things off and to make demonstrations of them, and put them into practice, but it is very hard for me at this stage of the game to pull these all together and say, now, what would this sort of look like.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. One final question. There is a great deal of discussion and innovative thinking going on such as you have just been expressing. Do you think there is any likelihood you can get the School Committee in Boston and the citizens of this community to let you or someone try to come up with one of these schools? They are talking about it in Detroit and talking about it in Chicago, and

talking about it elsewhere. We have to get some of them built. We'll make mistakes and learn how to do it.

MR. CLINCHY. The only thing I can say to that is, given the history of my two years in Boston, I have received enormous support, particularly from Superintendent Ohrenberger and the school staff. We have had problems, but we seem to beat most of them. And from the School Committee, no matter what one may think of the School Committee in terms of the racial balance issue, they have consistently voted support for my office and for the programs we have been working on. It is my own general feeling that under Superintendent Ohrenberger's leadership—without him none of this would have happened and with him a lot has happened and the whole image of the schools is beginning to change. This may not be the general picture and maybe I am looking at it from a rather inside point of view, but I think some enormously important things are going on. We do have these projects underway. I can't predict they will all be successful, but I am sure we will get up some unusual school buildings in a reasonable amount of time, I hope. My own feeling at the moment would be very optimistic about the possibility of getting some of these things in existence and really operating.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. No.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I gather from your testimony that you really are taking a very broad look at the whole country. You are doing a pilot project here but you are really looking at a broad problem that affects the whole country.

MR. CLINCHY. I think so. I hope so.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Your primary concern is good education.

MR. CLINCHY. Yes. Integrated but good.

FATHER HESBURGH. That's right. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. There are two schools mentioned, Boardman Elementary as 97 percent nonwhite and Lewis Junior High 99.4 percent nonwhite, which I think are generally recognized as segregated schools and, I believe they are also neighborhood schools. I would like to know how many white families of school-age children reside within the boundaries of those two schools.

MR. CLINCHY. I am sorry. I just don't know.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Do you know if there are white children living in the district who go to public schools outside of their district?

MR. CLINCHY. No, I don't.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Do you know if the—you mentioned that you had a sort of experimental program this summer in which the ratio was changed a little bit and there was 30 percent white children. Did they come from outside of the district?

MR. CLINCHY. They came primarily from South Boston and from the Mission Hill area, just outside of Roxbury.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Is there any effort being made to involve the white families that may reside within the district?

MR. CLINCHY. That may reside within Roxbury?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Yes. Within Roxbury.

MR. CLINCHY. We are in the process now of setting up—that is another thing I should have mentioned as things were coming up is that, obviously, schools are going to have to have a greatly more intense and intimate relationship with their general community. We are trying to do this in that we are now in the process of setting up, at least one, if not two, committees drawn from the neighborhood, both the white and the Negro, and, as I say, I am not sure about the percentage of white population, but we have a parochial school in the neighborhood, which is run largely by white priests. We are trying to form committees that will really reach into the neighborhood and also into the city, not just into Roxbury as the local neighborhood, but as a sort of a general committee to advise on research and development and new programs, drawing people not just from Roxbury, North Dorchester, but probably from other parts of the city, too. So, it will be a committee composed of whites and Negroes. But—we know of white people in Roxbury and we have some of them in our schools and we will certainly try to involve them just as much as anybody else.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Taylor?

MR. TAYLOR. No questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Thank you very much, Mr. Clinchy. We are very grateful to you and we will now recess until 7:30 p.m.

TUESDAY EVENING SESSION

OCTOBER 4, 1966

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Ladies and gentleman, this Commission hearing will come to order. Mr. Glickstein, will you call the first witness?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. We have two witnesses, Miss Amanda Houston and Mr. Lee Daniels.

(Whereupon, Miss Amanda Houston and Mr. Lee Daniels were sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

TESTIMONY OF MISS AMANDA HOUSTON, ROXBURY, MASSACHUSETTS AND MR. LEE DANIELS, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you each please state your full name and address for the record?

MISS HOUSTON. My name is Amanda Houston and I live at 22 Wakullah Street, Roxbury.

MR. DANIELS. Lee Daniels, I live at 615 Columbus Avenue, Boston.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Amanda, where were you born?

MISS HOUSTON. I was born in Boston.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Which elementary school did you attend?

MISS HOUSTON. Julia Ward Howe in Roxbury.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What was the race of most of the students at the time you attended Julia Ward Howe?

MISS HOUSTON. At first, I attended in kindergarten there was mainly white children and by the time I was in the sixth grade it was predominantly Negro.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Was it predominantly Negro in the school at that time?

MISS HOUSTON. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you describe what your classes were like at Julia Ward Howe?

MISS HOUSTON. I actually don't remember too many classes, except reading classes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Reading classes?

MISS HOUSTON. Yes, and the division into reading sections, but I don't remember actual classes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did you work hard in school?

MISS HOUSTON. No. I don't remember working hard. I mainly remember taking messages back and forth for the teachers.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you remember homework?

MISS HOUSTON. No. I remember one night of homework.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How were your grades in elementary school?

MISS HOUSTON. I had mainly A's.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Lee, what elementary school did you attend in the Boston area?

MR. DANIELS. I attended the Dwight School which has since been torn down.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What grades were you in that school?

MR. DANIELS. Fifth and sixth grades.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You had come to Boston from elsewhere, is that right?

MR. DANIELS. Yes. Chicago.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Could you briefly describe what your elementary school was like?

MR. DANIELS. It was old. It was built in 1860 and it was rather shaky.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What shape?

MR. DANIELS. Shaky.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How were your grades at the Dwight School?

MR. DANIELS. Mostly, B's.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mostly, B's. Did you receive much homework?

MR. DANIELS. No. I didn't.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Amanda, which high school do you attend now?

MISS HOUSTON. Girls Latin School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Girls Latin?

MISS HOUSTON. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Is that a school for which you have to take a test?

MISS HOUSTON. Yes. Now you do.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did you take a test for that?

MISS HOUSTON. No. Well, at the time I entered, if you were on the Honor Roll you never had to take a test.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. So you were admitted without having taken a test based on your grades at the Julia Ward Howe School. Is that right?

MISS HOUSTON. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. In what grade are you now?

MISS HOUSTON. I'm a senior, 12th grade.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Where is Girls Latin located?

MISS HOUSTON. Codman Square in Dorchester.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What is the race of most of the students at Girls Latin?

MISS HOUSTON. White.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How many students are there in your senior class right now?

MISS HOUSTON. 182.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. About how many of those are Negro?

MISS HOUSTON. Thirteen.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Thirteen out of 182?

MISS HOUSTON. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What about teachers at Girls Latin? What is the race of most of the teachers?

MISS HOUSTON. They are all white.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. They are all white?

MISS HOUSTON. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. When you entered Girls Latin from Julia Ward Howe School, did you have difficulties adjusting at Latin School?

MISS HOUSTON. Yes. Very much. Psychologically and academically, I had a very hard time keeping up with the other girls and I often came home crying, my mother tells me. It took me about two years to really adjust.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. This was despite the fact you had mostly A's in the Julia Ward Howe School?

MISS HOUSTON. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You said you had trouble adjusting psychologically and academically. What do you mean by psychologically?

MISS HOUSTON. It made me feel very bad that often times the other girls knew things that the teachers presumed we all would know, and I just didn't know it. And then, the white girls just didn't warm up to me at first, and I had a very hard time warming up to them. So —

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You mean, in class some of the teachers conducted lessons assuming you knew certain things you didn't know?

MISS HOUSTON. Yes. Especially in math.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did you find the other students in the school, particularly the white students, were having as much difficulty adjusting to a very high quality school like Girls Latin as you did?

MISS HOUSTON. It didn't seem that way to me, no.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Why do you think you had these problems?

MISS HOUSTON. You mean, the problems—

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Problems adjusting psychologically and academically. Why did you have those problems?

MISS HOUSTON. I just wasn't prepared to keep up with the standard of Girls Latin School. I wasn't prepared at the time I entered the school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Why do you think you had problems adjusting psychologically?

MISS HOUSTON. Because I had never been really involved with white children before. They had been something that was farther up in Dorchester to me. I never had really known them as people.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Lee, which high school do you attend?

MR. DANIELS. I am a senior at Boston Latin School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did you have to take a test to get in?

MR. DANIELS. Not at the time I entered, no.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You were also admitted on the basis of your grades at Dwight School?

MR. DANIELS. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What is the race of most of the students at Boston Latin?

MR. DANIELS. It is predominantly white.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How many students are there in your senior class?

MR. DANIELS. 280.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. About how many are Negro?

MR. DANIELS. Not more than 13.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Thirteen out of 280. How about you? Did you have difficulty adjusting to Boston Latin?

MR. DANIELS. Yes. I also had quite a bit of difficulty. I didn't receive much homework at Dwight School and it was very different at Latin School, very much different.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You had a lot of homework there?

MR. DANIELS. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did your fellow students, particularly the white students, seem to have as much trouble adjusting as you did?

MR. DANIELS. No. It didn't seem that way.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did they seem more accustomed to doing homework than you did?

MR. DANIELS. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did they ever comment about this to you or did you comment about it to them?

MR. DANIELS. No. It seemed more like a dream world to me, because I wasn't expected to do much homework. There were never home

lessons at the Dwight School and the home lessons just didn't register with me at Latin School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Was there any difference between the attitude of teachers at Boston Latin and those at Dwight School?

MR. DANIELS. I think so. I couldn't say it was a very great difference because there was one teacher in the Dwight School who urged me to go onto Latin School. But overall, there was a difference. The teachers at Latin School seemed to be more encouraging than at the Dwight School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did the teachers at Latin seem to expect more of you than the teachers at Dwight School?

MR. DANIELS. Yes, very much more.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. They had higher standards?

MR. DANIELS. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you say that?

MR. DANIELS. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How did you do in your first few years at Boston Latin?

MR. DANIELS. I entered Boston Latin in the seventh grade and I had to repeat the grade because I wasn't prepared.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You did have to repeat the seventh grade?

MR. DANIELS. Yes. Then I woke up and I studied and I am still there.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You are still there.

MR. DANIELS. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What effect did failing have on you?

MR. DANIELS. It awakened me. It made me realize I had to study in order to get ahead.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How have you done since your first grade, since the seventh grade?

MR. DANIELS. I think I have done well.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Have you received any honors of any sort at Boston Latin?

MR. DANIELS. I was inducted into the National Honor Society last June.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Last June?

MR. DANIELS. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Amanda, are there Negro students at Girls Latin with you who went to integrated elementary schools?

MISS HOUSTON. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. There are some?

MISS HOUSTON. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How have they adjusted academically and socially as compared with students like yourself who attend predominantly Negro elementary schools?

MISS HOUSTON. They have done much better. There were two girls and both of them were recommended for the National Merit and they

have always had more white friends than they have Negro friends and they seem to have adjusted very well.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You don't think they have the social and psychological and academic problems you say you had?

MISS HOUSTON. It is obvious they didn't.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How about at Boston Latin, Lee? Were there some Negro boys that had gone to integrated elementary schools?

MR. DANIELS. Yes. There was one in my Class 6. That's the seventh grade home room and he did very well right from the beginning. He seemed to fit right in with the whole routine.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. He seemed to be more at home at the school than you and other Negro boys who went to predominantly Negro schools?

MR. DANIELS. Yes, he did.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Amanda, why is education important to you?

MISS HOUSTON. Because I feel this is my way to achieve civil rights, rather than through any bills or any thing that could be passed and then, for my own self, I have to be able to comprehend everything that is around me in the world, and the only way I feel I can do this is through education.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you plan to go on to college?

MISS HOUSTON. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Where do you plan to go to college?

MISS HOUSTON. I was hoping I would go to Radcliffe.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Have you taken a test yet for Radcliffe or been interviewed or submitted your application?

MISS HOUSTON. Yes. I was interviewed last Friday.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How about you, Lee? Do you plan to go on to college?

MR. DANIELS. Yes, I do.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Where do you plan to go?

MR. DANIELS. I would like to go to Harvard University.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Have you submitted your application already?

MR. DANIELS. Yes, I have.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. I have no further questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold?

DEAN GRISWOLD. I have no questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I have one for each. Amanda, what do you hope to do when you finish college?

MISS HOUSTON. I want to major in psychology while I am in college, but I don't know exactly what I want to do with it after that.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Do you have brothers and sisters?

MISS HOUSTON. Yes. I have one sister.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Where is she going to school?

MISS HOUSTON. Beaver Country Day in Chestnut Hill.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Is she doing well?

MISS HOUSTON. No, she isn't. She got all D's for the year, last year.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. You better talk to her.

MISS HOUSTON. I know.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Lee, what are you going to do when you finish college?

MR. DANIELS. I want to major in economics in college and go into business, but I don't know what field of business.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Amanda, how do you happen to be attending Girls Latin, instead of any other high school?

MISS HOUSTON. I was encouraged in Julia Ward Howe to attend Latin School and, actually, I had several friends who had gone to Latin and I heard that it was the only good school I could go to in Boston. So I applied.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Are the standards for admission to Latin higher than those for other high schools in Boston?

MISS HOUSTON. Yes. Much higher.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Lee, is this true of Boston Latin?

MR. DANIELS. Yes, it is.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. During the time you were in junior high and elementary school, Amanda, were any of your teachers Negro?

MISS HOUSTON. Yes. Well, I went to Latin in the seventh grade and in the Julia Ward Howe, I had one Negro teacher in the third grade.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. And you didn't go to junior high school, did you, Lee?

MR. DANIELS. I went into Latin in the seventh grade. I didn't go to junior high school.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. That is all.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. I think you both indicated there were about 13 Negroes in your senior class. I think each of you had the same number.

MISS HOUSTON. Yes.

MR. DANIELS. Yes.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. I don't know if it just happened or what. How many of those 13 will go on to college?

MISS HOUSTON. I think all 13 in my school will.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Lee?

MR. DANIELS. And all 13 in my school.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Very good. Mr. Taylor?

MR. TAYLOR. I think you both indicated that you were able to enter the high school without taking tests on the basis of your grades. Is that the situation now?

MR. DANIELS. No, it isn't, not at Boston Latin.

MISS HOUSTON. No. You have to take a test now, no matter what your marks are.

MR. TAYLOR. Is there a difference in the numbers of Negroes who are entering now from what it is in your class?

MISS HOUSTON. It seems that way to me. Maybe it is just I am looking back where I was before, right in the midst of it, but it seems that way that there are more.

MR. TAYLOR. More Negroes or less?

MISS HOUSTON. It seems there are more, but perhaps I am wrong.

MR. TAYLOR. Lee?

MR. DANIELS. I can't say for sure, but it seems as if there are less at Boston Latin.

MR. TAYLOR. Obviously not all of the students who graduated with you from the elementary schools went on to the same high schools. Can you compare the educational experience that each of you is getting with what some of the students are getting at other high schools in the city?

MISS HOUSTON. Well, I know I am one year ahead of everyone else in my subjects. I always have been and we are expected to read more and they don't have as much homework. I know that. And they often aren't expected to do as much when we compare notes, they aren't expected to do the same things that we are at Latin.

MR. TAYLOR. Is your experience the same, Lee?

MR. DANIELS. Yes. I can concur with Amanda in many of the things she said. We are expected to read more. In most cases, we are a year ahead and sometimes two years ahead of other schools.

MR. TAYLOR. How many of your friends who are going to other high schools expect to go on to college? Most of them or—

MISS HOUSTON. Are expected among themselves?

MR. TAYLOR. Expect themselves to go on to college.

MISS HOUSTON. I think most of—well, all of my really good friends are going on to college.

MR. DANIELS. Same here.

MR. TAYLOR. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Further questions? Thank you very much. You are excused. We are grateful. Mr. Glickstein, call the next witness.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I think we are going to have to take some of our witnesses out of order. Apparently, the subpoenas we issued conflicted with the stories in the newspapers and some of our witnesses seem to believe the newspapers and not our subpoenas. So some of our witnesses have been delayed as a result, and we are going to have to skip down on our schedule and call at this time Mrs. Jacqueline Fogarty and Mrs. Josephine Sullivan.

(Whereupon, Mrs. Jacqueline Fogarty and Mrs. Josephine Sullivan were sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

TESTIMONY OF MRS. JACQUELINE FOGARTY AND MRS. JOSEPHINE SULLIVAN, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you each please state your full name and address for the record?

MRS. SULLIVAN. Josephine Sullivan. I live at 33 Myrtle Street in Boston.

MRS. FOGARTY. Jacqueline Fogarty, 97 Myrtle Street, Boston.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What area of Boston is that in?

MRS. FOGARTY. Beacon Hill.

MRS. SULLIVAN. Beacon Hill.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. That is relatively near here. Is that correct?

MRS. FOGARTY. Yes.

MRS. SULLIVAN. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How long have each of you ladies lived in that area?

MRS. SULLIVAN. Well, I grew up in the West End and moved away and up on Beacon Hill when I was married nine years ago.

MRS. FOGARTY. I, myself, was born in the West End and have been living on the Hill five years.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Fogarty, what school do your children attend?

MRS. FOGARTY. Peter Faneuil School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How many children do you have in that school?

MRS. FOGARTY. I have three girls.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Three girls.

MRS. FOGARTY. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What grades are they in?

MRS. FOGARTY. The sixth grade, the second grade, and the fourth grade.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Sullivan, what schools—

MRS. SULLIVAN. Peter Faneuil.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What grades are they in?

MRS. SULLIVAN. First and second.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Sullivan, prior to 1964, were there many Negro children attending the Peter Faneuil School?

MRS. SULLIVAN. No. Just the children living in the district.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Was that many or few?

MRS. SULLIVAN. Very few.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Very few. Were classes under-enrolled at that time?

MRS. SULLIVAN. I would say so. A large percentage of the Hill children do not go to Peter Faneuil.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. They go out of the district to private or parochial schools?

MRS. SULLIVAN. Private schools.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Fogarty, when did you learn that Negro parents were planning to send their children to the Faneuil School?

MRS. FOGARTY. I believe it was in '64.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. In the summer of '64?

MRS. FOGARTY. No. September.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. September?

MRS. FOGARTY. September '64, at the beginning of the school year.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. And you learned there was going to be a group of Negro children who were going to be bused into that school?

MRS. SULLIVAN. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. These were children whose parents were busing them in from the Roxbury area. Is that right?

MRS. FOGARTY. As far as I know.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. I believe these are the Boardman School children. Is that right?

MRS. FOGARTY. Correct.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Are these the children of parents whose children were supposed to be going to the Gibson School and the School Committee offered to transfer them to the Boardman School and the parents didn't like that idea and, instead, bused their children to the Faneuil School? Is that your understanding?

MRS. FOGARTY. Probably, yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. When you heard that Negro students were going to be coming into Faneuil School, did you have any worries about your children's education?

MRS. FOGARTY. No, I did not.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How about you, Mrs. Sullivan?

MRS. SULLIVAN. Well, it wasn't at that time that I was worried about the children's education. It was last year when we did have another bus load in. It did present a problem in that the ratio was 2 to 1 against the whites. There were double the amount of Negroes and I realized the conditions under which the Negro children in Roxbury were being educated and I thought, perhaps, that since they were, I would say, under deprived conditions in Roxbury, that they might have brought the class level down and that was last year that I was concerned about.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. In September of 1964 when most of the Boardman children came in, at that point the school did not become racially imbalanced?

MRS. SULLIVAN. No.

MRS. FOGARTY. No, it didn't.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. And you were not at that point worried that the presence of Negro children was going to affect the education of your children?

MRS. SULLIVAN. No.

MRS. FOGARTY. Not at all.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did the busing during that year of 1964 have any effect on your children or their education?

MRS. FOGARTY. Not on my children.

MRS. SULLIVAN. No.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Fogarty, did your children have any friends, any Negro friends, before the Boardman children came to Faneuil School?

MRS. FOGARTY. No.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. They didn't.

MRS. FOGARTY. No.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How about you, Mrs. Sullivan? Did your children have any Negro friends?

MRS. SULLIVAN. No. No Negro children friends.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What happened after the Boardman children came? Did your children take note of them? Did they come home and tell you stories about them or comment about the presence of the Boardman children?

MRS. FOGARTY. No. Not my children. Just they referred to them when they spoke of them as the children that came on the bus. They were very happy with these children and became very fond of a few of them.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How about your children, Mrs. Sullivan?

MRS. SULLIVAN. My son, who is in the first grade, always referred to them as the bus children and nothing else.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The bus children.

MRS. SULLIVAN. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Fogarty, you mentioned that in the fall of 1965 some additional Negro children came to Faneuil School.

MRS. FOGARTY. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Under what circumstances did this occur?

MRS. FOGARTY. It made the school on a ratio of 2 to 1.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. At that point, the school became racially imbalanced and the Negro population was twice the size of the white?

MRS. FOGARTY. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. When that happened, did any of the parents of the Faneuil children withdraw their children from school?

MRS. FOGARTY. Well, there were some children that left the school and, whether that is the reason or not, that is for them to say, but they seemed to get along very well.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Let's go back one year to '64 when the Boardman children came in and, at that point, the Negro children were still in the minority. Did parents withdraw their children at that time?

MRS. FOGARTY. Not at that time.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. But in the fall of '65 when this additional group of Negro children came in and made the school racially imbalanced, did white parents at that time seem to be interested in withdrawing their children?

MRS. FOGARTY. Some children left. Whether this was their reason or not, I can't say. I don't know.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How about you, Mrs. Sullivan?

MRS. SULLIVAN. Some children did leave. We had some children who left at that time. Why they left, is another story really.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What, Mrs. Fogarty, in general, do you think was the reaction of the white parents when they discovered that the school had become racially imbalanced?

MRS. FOGARTY. I think they were willing to accept this. When it became imbalanced, when it became a ratio of 2 to 1, I think they were afraid the education would go down and those who were concerned did something about it and were assured by these people who were on the School Committee and Education Board that things would be all right.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. When you say they did something about it, what do you mean?

MRS. FOGARTY. Well, we called—who did Mr. Sullivan call?

MRS. SULLIVAN. We spoke to the principal and Superintendent Ohrenberger and we were reassured that everything would be fine at our school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You called them and expressed concern that the school had become racially imbalanced?

MRS. FOGARTY. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Is that right?

MRS. SULLIVAN. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Fogarty, has your attitude and knowledge of Negroes been affected by your experience of the Faneuil School?

MRS. FOGARTY. No. Not at all.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How about you, Mrs. Sullivan?

MRS. SULLIVAN. No. I wouldn't say so.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Have you had any impressions arising from the fact that there were some Negro parents in the Roxbury area who were taking the trouble to bus their children to your school? How did you feel about that? What was your attitude to the parents who were doing something of that sort?

MRS. FOGARTY. I felt they were trying to get their children a better education, into a better school. From what I heard, their schools were pretty well run down and they were very pleased with Peter Faneuil School, of which we are very proud of the children who attend, the white children, and the Negro children, and the teachers.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How about you, Mrs. Sullivan? How did you react to the Negro parents who were busing their children into the school?

MRS. SULLIVAN. I have a great amount of admiration for the Negro parents who would fight for a better education for their children and a better school and—well, I think they are doing the right thing.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Now, Mrs. Sullivan, do you feel that predominantly Negro schools are inferior schools?

MRS. SULLIVAN. From what I have read about the schools in Roxbury and North Dorchester, I would say that perhaps they are.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What is your impression, Mrs. Fogarty?

MRS. FOGARTY. I have never been in any of these schools, but from what I hear from the parents whose children did attend our school or are attending the school, they were in pretty bad condition and this was their main reason for busing their children into a cleaner school, a well-kept school, as they referred to Peter Faneuil.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Was Peter Faneuil racially imbalanced all through the 1965-66 school year?

MRS. FOGARTY. Yes, it was.

MRS. SULLIVAN. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Was the education of your children, in your opinion, in any way affected by that fact?

MRS. FOGARTY. No.

MRS. SULLIVAN. No.

MRS. FOGARTY. No. Their report cards were pleasing.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Sullivan, how about your children?

MRS. SULLIVAN. Not at all.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Even after the school was racially imbalanced you still didn't find that your children's achievement declined in any way?

MRS. FOGARTY. Not at all. We had no reports of this from the teachers and we keep a check on the children by periodic visits to the teachers. We keep in close contact with our teachers with regard to the children's work.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Sullivan, do you think racial integration of schools would be a good thing for Boston?

MRS. SULLIVAN. Yes, I do. It hasn't harmed Faneuil School at all.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Pardon me?

MRS. SULLIVAN. It hasn't harmed our school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. In what way do you think integrating schools would help white children?

MRS. SULLIVAN. I live on Beacon Hill and on Beacon Hill my children can see a large difference in an awful lot of people. I like the idea of my children knowing every kind of people and this is one way they are learning to live with Negroes because they are, as I said, there aren't very many Negro children on Beacon Hill.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How about you, Mrs. Fogarty? Do you think integration of schools would be a good thing for Boston?

MRS. FOGARTY. I don't think it will hurt. I think many white children have to be educated, but, of course, this begins in the home by their parents who set the good example. If the parents feel against a Negro badly, then the child is—the education must start in the home. I don't think that the school has anything to do with it. It is in the home where they will learn to get along with their fellow man no matter what color he is.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think the way in which a white child will react to a Negro child that comes into his school will be influenced by things he hears at home?

Mrs. FOGARTY. I certainly do.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. Have you had any personal experience that suggests that to you?

Mrs. FOGARTY. Yes. My own experience.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. What have you done with your children?

Mrs. FOGARTY. I have taught them to get along with their fellow man and that God has created us all equal and we live with everybody.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. Has this lesson been learned by your children?

Mrs. FOGARTY. Yes. It certainly has. It has shown. They are coming along very well at school and they get good marks.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Fogarty, are you a member of the Faneuil School Home and Teacher Association?

Mrs. FOGARTY. Yes, I am.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. Home and School Association.

Mrs. FOGARTY. Yes.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. Are you an officer in that?

Mrs. FOGARTY. No. I was last year. Mrs. Sullivan is the officer this year.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. What position did you hold last year?

Mrs. FOGARTY. Vice president.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. What is Mrs. Sullivan this year?

Mrs. SULLIVAN. I am not an officer. I am on the board, executive board.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. Well, Mrs. Fogarty, do you think that the other mothers at Faneuil School and mothers who were members of the Association with you, by and large, share the same opinion about the effect of the busing of children into Faneuil as you do?

Mrs. FOGARTY. Yes, I think they do, because I feel if they didn't like it they would take their children out of the school. And they have been there right along and they get along very well, as far as we can see.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. How about you, Mrs. Sullivan? Do you find they share your views?

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Yes. I would say they do.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. Thank you. I have no further questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. No.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Mrs. Sullivan, do you think your views are fairly typical of mothers in Boston, let's say, white mothers of your particular class? I am not talking about your particular school. I am speaking of people generally.

Mrs. SULLIVAN. I would say they are. The mothers I know.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Would you agree with that, Mrs. Fogarty?

Mrs. FOGARTY. No, I don't.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. You think some are a little more prejudiced about these matters?

MRS. FOGARTY. Yes, I do.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Let me ask you something. Have you had any religious influence to make you think the way you do, both of you? Is it important?

MRS. FOGARTY. Yes. My religion, yes.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Would you say so, too, Mrs. Sullivan?

MRS. SULLIVAN. Oh, yes, definitely.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. One last question. Have you been surprised as I was in your testimony, and from other things I have heard in the past, that youngsters, first and second grade and along that general area, are almost unconscious of race?

MRS. FOGARTY. Yes.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Unless it is talked up at home?

MRS. FOGARTY. Yes.

MRS. SULLIVAN. Well, was I surprised?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Yes, were you surprised?

MRS. SULLIVAN. I couldn't say I was surprised, Father.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I was from the point of view I mean, they didn't call them Negro children. They called them, "bus children". This says something to me that youngsters start off even.

MRS. FOGARTY. It is very true. This is how they refer to them.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I would guess that most prejudices are born in parents rather than in children.

MRS. FOGARTY. Yes.

MRS. SULLIVAN. Yes.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Thank you very much.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Mrs. Fogarty and Mrs. Sullivan, you said that when the two bus loads of children came into the school that it became racially imbalanced. I would like to know why a predominantly Negro school is considered racially imbalanced and why a predominantly white school is not. Have you ever thought of that?

MRS. FOGARTY. Yes, we have thought of it but we wonder the same question.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. So that, actually, you have a racially imbalanced situation all along. Isn't that correct?

MRS. FOGARTY. Yes.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Do you think that is good?

MRS. FOGARTY. No. We did have a mixture at our school. We have a lot of Chinese people—children who live within the district and there are a few, probably, two colored families who live in the district and attend our school. So, our children—this is nothing new to our children. They have been exposed to different types so I think it was far easier for them to accept.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Fogarty, have your children at any time in Faneuil School had Negro teachers?

MRS. FOGARTY. Yes, they have. They have substitute teachers when the regular teacher has been absent there has been a colored teacher come in and substitute.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Has there been any reaction to the Negro teacher—

MRS. FOGARTY. No.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. —on the part of the children?

MRS. FOGARTY. No.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Sullivan, have your children had Negro teachers?

MRS. SULLIVAN. No, I don't think so.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Do you know how many Negro teachers are at Faneuil School?

MRS. SULLIVAN. There are none at present.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Taylor?

MR. TAYLOR. I have no questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Thank you very much, ladies. We are very grateful to you.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The next witness is Mrs. Harriet Jackson.

(Whereupon, Mrs. Harriet Jackson was sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

**TESTIMONY OF MRS. HARRIET JACKSON,
ROXBURY, MASSACHUSETTS**

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Jackson, would you please state your full name and address for the record?

MRS. JACKSON. My name is Mrs. Harriet Jackson. I live at 72 Weaver Way in Roxbury, Massachusetts.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Are you employed, Mrs. Jackson?

MRS. JACKSON. I am, part-time.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Where are you employed?

MRS. JACKSON. I work at St. Ann's Tutorial Program up in Roxbury-North Dorchester.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you instruct there or what is your position there?

MRS. JACKSON. I am a coordinator with the program.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What does that involve?

MRS. JACKSON. That involves many things. Matching tutors with tutees, mainly, and keeping the show running smoothly, keeping in touch with the schools and finding out about what the children really need and how much we can offer them in a short time in our program.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Jackson, do you have children?

MRS. JACKSON. I have six.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What are their ages?

MRS. JACKSON. Eighteen to one.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. We have just heard some testimony about the Faneuil School and about the Negro students who attended school at Faneuil. Were some of your children among that group of children?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes. I had three that were bused to the Peter Faneuil School in the first busing session.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. That was in the fall of 1964?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes. I am glad you said the year. That was Mark, who is now 11; Sandra who will soon be 13 and Louise who was 8. The three went to Peter Faneuil.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The three were bused there for how long?

MRS. JACKSON. Mark for the one school year '64-'65. Louise and Sandra for the two full school years, bringing it up to this year.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. I assume that the Peter Faneuil School is not your neighborhood school. Is that correct?

MRS. JACKSON. Oh, no.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Will you explain how come your children happened to attend the Faneuil School?

MRS. JACKSON. I am a Boardman parent and we were the parents that all the conversation preceding this has been about, and we bused our children to the Peter Faneuil School because we refused to send our children to the Boardman School because of the conditions surrounding the Boardman School and the conditions that existed in the Boardman School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Where were your children going to school before September 1964 and earlier that year?

MRS. JACKSON. They attended the William Lloyd Garrison School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. That is your neighborhood school?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Was that an overcrowded school?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes. I learned in June of 1964 that it was an overcrowded school. I don't think I was aware of this before.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What happened in June of 1964?

MRS. JACKSON. Well, my three children came home with notes pinned to them saying that in September of '64 they would attend the Boardman School because the Garrison School was overcrowded.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What proportion of the students at Garrison and Boardman Schools were Negro?

MRS. JACKSON. I would say, 100 percent, if you would count one or two white children. I don't know how you would count them.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Both of those schools, Garrison and Boardman?

MRS. JACKSON. Oh, yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. When you learned that your children were going to be bused by the School Committee to Boardman School you objected?

MRS. JACKSON. Except that they weren't going to be bused by the School Committee. They were just sent to the Boardman School, which would mean that they would walk.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. They would have to walk?

MRS. JACKSON. Oh, yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. That is also within walking distance of your home?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Why did you object to your children going to the Boardman School?

MRS. JACKSON. For many reasons. Number One, I just—I didn't care for the way—the type of communication that we got in regard to this. Number Two, because at the time there was heavy construction going on on both sides of the Boardman School, the Roxbury YMCA, which now exists, was being built and the Marksdale, too, which is a housing development had not even started and, of course, Roxbury is rocky and there was a lot of blasting and children being children, I just didn't think this was healthy or safe.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. When your children were first bused to the Faneuil School in 1964—and by the way, who paid for the transportation to get your children to the Faneuil School?

MRS. JACKSON. Many, many benefactors.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. This was done privately?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. When your children were bused to the Faneuil School at that time, what was the ratio of percentages in the Faneuil School during the school year 1964?

MRS. JACKSON. I don't know true figures. I don't know—

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Were Negroes in the minority at that time?

MRS. JACKSON. I think so.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Fogarty and Mrs. Sullivan indicated that in the fall of 1965 the percentages changed and the Negro population was 2 to 1. Why did the percentage of Negroes go up that much in 1965? Do you know?

MRS. JACKSON. Because a very, very old school in the South End district of Roxbury burned down.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Which school was that?

MRS. JACKSON. This was the Hyde School on Hammond Street in Roxbury and, I think, there was more than one bus load. I believe I saw two bus loads of children that were bused from this area into the Peter Faneuil School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. In your opinion, why was the Faneuil School selected to be the receiving school for the Hyde children?

MRS. JACKSON. My opinion?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. In your opinion, yes.

MRS. JACKSON. Perhaps to cause a true racial imbalance in the Faneuil School and, hopefully, the Boardman parents would go back to Roxbury and go to the Boardman School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Are you suggesting that this was done because the Boardman parents had transported their children to Faneuil?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes, I am.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How were the Boardman children received at the Faneuil School?

MRS. JACKSON. Like all new children. Very happily. The teachers were very nice. The atmosphere was very, very good. The children reported no real problems, other than kids just being kids.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How about their reception or your reception by parents at the Faneuil School? Did you go to Home and School Association meetings?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes, I did.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How did that work out?

MRS. JACKSON. Very fine. Very fine. We had one thing in common, education and the health of our children.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did your children make friends?

MRS. JACKSON. Oh, yes. They made lots of friends.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did they ever visit homes of their friends?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes. Quite often. Went to shows together and plays together and did many things together outside of school and even during the summer. They still receive phone calls and notes and postcards.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How would you compare the education your children received at the Faneuil School to that which they received at the Garrison School?

MRS. JACKSON. I feel as though it was a much better public school education that they received at the Faneuil School than they were receiving at Garrison, because the teachers were there to teach and that is exactly what they did.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What do you think is wrong with the Roxbury schools?

MRS. JACKSON. Many things. Primarily, it is attitudes and how do you deal with attitudes? I think it is because it is all-Negro that just so much is offered because this is what is thought to be good enough for Negroes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You mean, everything is on a somewhat second class level?

MRS. JACKSON. Definitely on a second class level.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did the Boardman parents decide to bus their children to predominantly white schools so that their children could attend integrated schools? Is that the reason you did it?

MRS. JACKSON. No, we did not. We sought schools with open seats because we had held our children out for 13 days during the hearing that we were having and knew that we would be called in for truancy and, also, we didn't want the children to continue to suffer. The children wanted to go to school and so we called for open seats and found the Peter Faneuil had the most and the Tileston School in Mattapan and this is the reason primarily why the children are at the Peter Faneuil School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You were looking for schools with good schooling conditions, rather than, necessarily, for integration?

MRS. JACKSON. Right.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How much did the transportation cost the parents?

MRS. JACKSON. I think I quoted a figure before that was very wrong, after I consulted—the parents or you mean, us? It was close to \$7,000 a year.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. For the whole group of children?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What was that per child? Do you have any idea?

MRS. JACKSON. I am sorry. No, I don't.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How was the money raised?

MRS. JACKSON. We solicited funds. We gave dinners. We collected green stamps. The second year the parents decided themselves that they would like to pay a fee if it was no more than \$1 a week per child and we did this, also.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did \$1 a week, per child, cover the cost?

MRS. JACKSON. Of course not. We continued soliciting and we are still trying to pay off our last year's debt.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Where do your children who attended Faneuil go to school now?

MRS. JACKSON. Sandra and Louise are involved in METCO and are going to school in Brookline. Mark is going over to the Prince School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. That is in the Prince District, same district as the Faneuil School?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. That is the school on Newbury Street?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Why did you enroll your children in METCO?

MRS. JACKSON. Well, many reasons, but the Boardman parents' group, as a group, decided this would be good for our children and this is what we did.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You thought your children would even receive a better education in METCO than they were receiving at the Faneuil School.

MRS. JACKSON. The Brookline School System and most suburban school systems, I understand, are notorious for their very, very excellence and, of course, any parent, I think, would like their children to be exposed to this.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You said that when you sent your children to Faneuil, your primary reason was not integration. Do you think that there are advantages for Negro children attending integrated schools?

MRS. JACKSON. Of course I do, because Negro children attending all-Negro schools eventually have to leave this ghetto and come out into a world that to them is completely foreign and it is only 5 or 10

miles away from their homes and this just shouldn't be. I think it is a healthy situation when you have Negro children and white children, and Chinese children and you name the children, because this is America and this is supposedly an integrated society and we should start living this way from grade kindergarten on up.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How do you think attending an integrated school affects the attitude of Negro children toward whites?

MRS. JACKSON. Well, I think it affects not just Negro children toward white, white children toward Negro, because they find out they have so many things in common. They don't like the new teacher. They don't do their homework. My mother was strict on me last night and I think it is an excellent thing.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Thank you. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Mrs. Jackson, do you have any children still attending Garrison?

MRS. JACKSON. No, I don't.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Or Boardman?

MRS. JACKSON. No.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. What is the general reaction of the school administration to involvement by the parents in the affairs of the school at Garrison and Boardman? Garrison, I will say, because your children were there.

MRS. JACKSON. The general reaction is you mothers ought to go home and leave the children to us, because you don't just know what you are talking about and you just don't know what you are doing and we know what is best for your children.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. As far as you know, is this generally recognized as the attitude of the administration to the parent participation in the affairs of the schools in Boston?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Is this true at Peter Faneuil?

MRS. JACKSON. No. I have a very good relationship, personally, at Peter Faneuil with teachers, principal, mothers, and the Home School Association.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. So there is a difference?

MRS. JACKSON. There is a difference, yes.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. What recourse have the parents taken? You talked about a negative attitude.

MRS. JACKSON. Yes.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. We have heard a lot about negative attitude today.

MRS. JACKSON. Yes.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. What have the parents tried to do to try to correct this?

MRS. JACKSON. We have endeavored to strengthen our Home and School Associations and our relationships with our teachers. We have tried to meet with various School Committee people on various subjects, without too much success and, I think, there are other people better qualified than I who could truly tell you about this. But we find that when we begin to follow the law or follow or take other recourses, more positive kinds of steps, there are other barriers set up in our way that stop us even further from having a true, good, healthy airing of our problems with the School Committee.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. How many of the teachers at Garrison are Negro?

MRS. JACKSON. I don't know. I haven't seen more than two or three.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Is it your judgment that the teachers have a sensitivity to the needs of the children in the schools?

MRS. JACKSON. Teachers as a whole or percentage of teachers?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Well, as it varies. You have had experience with three schools, I believe.

MRS. JACKSON. Yes.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Is there a difference?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes. I found the majority, and this is always very unfair because there are always those who are not this way, but I found a majority of the teachers in the Negro neighborhoods, in the Garrison School, in the Boardman School, completely insensitive to the needs and wants of our children and of the parents. I did not find this in the Peter Faneuil School.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Thank you, Mrs. Jackson.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Could you tell us something about this tutorial organization with which you are connected?

MRS. JACKSON. I would be glad to tell you what little I know. The tutorial program in Roxbury exists because of the conditions of the school and because it was found that our children were not reading and are not able to do basic things, you know, such as reading and math. And we now have ten tutorial centers and enroll more than 1,603 children successfully and these children are all doing much better work in school. These are children that have been attending these various tutorial centers and our program seems to be growing and increasing on both sides. We get more tutees or pupils and parents and we get far more tutors. So many educators are interested in what we are doing and offer their help in many ways.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. You say, "we get them". Who operates this? Where is the motive power? How is it financed?

MRS. JACKSON. I believe it is financed by ABCD in the Office of Economic Opportunity.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. How long has this been in operation?

MRS. JACKSON. Two or three years.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Is there some one person who is in overall charge of it?

MRS. JACKSON. Well, my overall person in charge is Mrs. Judith Rollins from Roxbury.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Are you employed as a member of the staff.

MRS. JACKSON. Yes.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Could you tell us what is your educational background?

MRS. JACKSON. I am only a high school graduate.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Did you go to school here in Boston?

MRS. JACKSON. I did in suburbs.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. What suburbs?

MRS. JACKSON. Milton, Massachusetts.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. But in Greater Boston?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. And you did graduate from high school?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. You are not yourself engaged in tutoring. You are engaged in coordinating, you said.

MRS. JACKSON. Yes.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Which is bringing the tutors and the tutees together?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Do you have anything to do with hiring the tutors or evaluating the tutees?

MRS. JACKSON. The tutors are not hired. They are volunteer people. My evaluation would run as far as common sense would allow me to evaluate, but each center has consultants on its staff. Consultants in remedial reading, these are educators; consultants in math; also, psychological services are offered to each and every center.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Are these entirely children who receive this instruction or is it also made available to adults who dropped out of school when they shouldn't and now want to try to catch up?

MRS. JACKSON. This is mainly for children.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Mrs. Jackson, do you intend your youngsters to go on to college when they finish high school?

MRS. JACKSON. Those that want to go to college, should go to college, and this seems to be the thing for them. Yes, I do.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Do they want to go, do you think?

MRS. JACKSON. I think two do.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. How do you motivate them? Obviously, you are pressing them now to do a good job and go to a good school and you are doing it at a considerable sacrifice. How do you motivate

them? Do you tell them this is important or do you have discussions with your youngsters?

Mrs. JACKSON. Oh, yes. Except that my youngsters are a little smarter than I am so I don't have to do too much motivating.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. All youngsters are smarter than their parents. You know that.

Mrs. JACKSON. But we have discussions about education, and life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and I think I try not to make them feel in order to be happy that they have to be professional, because I don't believe this is so. There are loads of people who have been forced into this role who are very unhappy in this and I am aware of that. But I would like the best of everything that I am possibly able to provide to be available for them and to them.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. A question that keeps coming to my mind is: if it is possible for your children to do what they are doing and going to good schools, even though it requires some travel, why does anybody stay in the Roxbury schools?

Mrs. JACKSON. That is a very good question and I don't have the answer, except that many people, of course, for many reasons—some people are afraid to buck a system that has been in existence since 1600. They just don't have the courage and they don't know how to get out and go about doing this. Other people are perfectly and absolutely content. We know nothing is 100 percent pure. Some people definitely believe in the neighborhood school concept just for itself because they don't want their children on buses and because they don't want their children 5 or 10 or 20 miles away from home.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I see. You think now that your youngsters have made this break, they will never go back to the Roxbury schools again?

Mrs. JACKSON. I don't think they will let them in.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Jackson, I think in answering Father Hesburgh's question, you have answered mine. Which was going to be whether or not you think your attitude and desire for a good condition for your children, even though it is inconvenient, is typical of the Negro parents in Roxbury?

Mrs. JACKSON. I answered that, did I?

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. I wonder if you did.

Mrs. JACKSON. I think my attitude, yes, is typical, but I think for various reasons, that many parents, as I stated before, don't do the things that hundreds of others like myself are doing.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Let me ask the same question another way. Would you hazard a guess as to what percentage of the Negro parents that you know really want a top quality education for their children?

Mrs. JACKSON. Seventy-five percent.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. And are willing to work for it—

Mrs. JACKSON. Yes.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. And go to great inconvenience to get it?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. That is very encouraging. Mr. Taylor?

MR. TAYLOR. Mrs. Jackson, when the Boardman parents decided to send their children to the Faneuil School, did you make a request of the School Committee or the superintendent to provide transportation?

MRS. JACKSON. We did at one time.

MR. TAYLOR. I take it, that request was denied or not acted upon. What happened to that request?

MRS. JACKSON. It was denied because we weren't using our neighborhoods schools and were using open enrollment and were told that—my facts—because we were availing ourselves of open enrollment that we should pay for our own transportation, I believe, is what they said.

MR. TAYLOR. And that situation still exists today?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes.

MR. TAYLOR. Now, you live in Roxbury, is that right?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes.

MR. TAYLOR. I gather there is a great deal of construction and renewal going on in the Roxbury area? I was just curious, do you think it will be a better community to live in when all of this renewal and development is through?

MRS. JACKSON. I live in one of those nice, new concrete slab developments myself, and it certainly is cleaner looking and it certainly is healthier looking and it is spaced much better and I am sure it is going to be better looking than ratty, rundown old buildings, yes.

MR. TAYLOR. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Any other questions?

Thank you very much, Mrs. Jackson. You are excused. We will recess for 10 minutes.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Ladies and gentlemen, will you resume your chairs so that the hearing may proceed? Mr. Glickstein, will you call the next witness?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The next witness is Mrs. Judith Rollins.

(Whereupon, Mrs. Judith Rollins was sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

TESTIMONY OF MRS. JUDITH ROLLINS, ROXBURY, MASSACHUSETTS

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Rollins, would you please state your full name and address for the record?

MRS. ROLLINS. Mrs. Judith C. Rollins, 26 Crawford Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Where are you employed?

MRS. ROLLINS. Right now, as of two days, I am an employee at NECDC (New England Community Development Corporation) which is called Hilltop Center on Blue Hill Avenue in Roxbury.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What is the Hilltop Center?

MRS. ROLLINS. The Hilltop Center for lack of a better term is what we might call a demonstration preschool.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You have a program for children who haven't yet entered kindergarten?

MRS. ROLLINS. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Where did you work previously?

MRS. ROLLINS. Previously I was coordinator of the Roxbury Tutorial Program.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Is that the program Mrs. Harriet Jackson was referring to?

MRS. ROLLINS. Yes. Mrs. Jackson is one of our directors, director of the St. Ann's Tutorial Program.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Where did you receive your education?

MRS. ROLLINS. Bennington-College and the Bank Street College of Education in New York.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Have you had any actual teaching experience?

MRS. ROLLINS. Yes, I have taught for two years.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Where did you teach?

MRS. ROLLINS. I taught in Roxbury at the Boardman Elementary School that Mrs. Jackson referred to and I taught out in Lincoln in suburbia.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What grades did you teach?

MRS. ROLLINS. In Roxbury I was sort of given a title under the first year of Counterpoise which they called building assistant and I thought at first I was going to be fixing sinks and leaky faucets and I didn't know quite what my role was going to be but that's the title they gave me. In Lincoln I taught the second grade.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What did you do as a building assistant?

MRS. ROLLINS. I sort of created my own job. Luckily, the principal of our district was not assigned to the Boardman School so I was given a great deal of internal freedom. So in the mornings I developed a language arts operation for first, second, and third graders seeing each group at a separate time. In the afternoon I worked with the third grade quite steadily for the first half of the year and with the fourth grade for the second half of the year.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What year was it that you taught at Boardman?

MRS. ROLLINS. 1963 to 1964.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. And that, as Mrs. Jackson said, is an almost exclusively Negro school?

MRS. ROLLINS. Yes. I think it was totally exclusive at that time.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. When did you teach at Lincoln?

MRS. ROLLINS. 1964 to 1965.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Were there any Negroes in the Lincoln schools at that time?

MRS. ROLLINS. I purposely chose to teach at the Air Force Base School, which is considered one of the four Lincoln schools. I purposely choose to teach where there would be Negro children.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. About how many were there?

MRS. ROLLINS. There were quite a few. We had many mixtures. A substantial number. I couldn't begin to tell you. But a nice number. I had a class of 17 and out of my class of 17, I had one Puerto Rican and I had five Negroes. So that was a fairly nice ratio.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. When was the Roxbury Tutorial Project, the group you used to work with, established?

MRS. ROLLINS. It was federally funded as of June, 1965, all of the centers with the exception of approximately one or two and there are 10 centers in all. They had all been operating independently and then in June of '65, they came under the umbrella of the Roxbury Community Council which served as the coordinating body for the 10 Roxbury tutorial programs.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How does the program operate?

MRS. ROLLINS. They're—in Washington language—they're located in strategic poverty target areas. Once again, I think all of Roxbury is a strategic area at this time and how do they operate, you mean, from a technical point of view? Each center has a director. Unfortunately, there are only two other full-time people besides myself. Washington did not fund us enough money so we have to operate within our guidelines. The rest of our staff is part-time from 12 to 20 hours a week. Each center has one director who might be a part-time person and one secretary. Out of our total staff of 20, 19 are Roxbury residents, which I think is quite a substantial number.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. This is an after-school tutorial program?

MRS. ROLLINS. Yes. We begin at 3 and in some cases go on till 10 at night. The Boys' Club is open until 10 in the evening.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What is the race of most of the children participating in this program?

MRS. ROLLINS. Negro. We're dealing with Roxbury. When I talk about our poverty target areas that we are located in, we're located, with the exception of perhaps one center, in Negro poverty target areas. Perhaps I should have made that clear earlier.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How many tutors are there in the program?

MRS. ROLLINS. Last year we had 985 which were all volunteer.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What sort of people are these tutors?

MRS. ROLLINS. Unfortunately, mostly white suburban and college students. I say "unfortunately" because I would much prefer for more of our people to be involved in the actual tutorial process but, of course, we don't say and this becomes a primary hangup for some of our community members who are more radical and would like to get involved. We did have two centers that, out of church funds,

were able to pay local mothers and high school seniors to be tutors. St. John's used, as the main source of their tutorial energy, mothers from the Mission Hill Housing Project and St. James Church employs seniors in the local community. This year we are quite lucky because under Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act, which is the work training project which the Welfare Department here in Boston has control over, we have been given local mothers who are paid by the Department of Labor funds, I believe, or funds other than the tutorial program funds. So right now we have approximately two parents per center working and paid in the program. Ideally, we will increase this to quite a large number as the year goes on.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What kind of educational problems do the children who comes to the Roxbury Tutorial Project have?

MRS. ROLLINS. They have some traditional problems which I think any child has, but I think probably the most significant thing is that they have a real sort of negative attitude towards learning which has not been created by them, but which I feel the system has imparted into them, and once we get them involved in some fairly progressive approaches to a traditional subject, we find that they get quite excited about the actual learning experience. This is perhaps their greatest handicap and this is our job to get them excited about learning. They've all got talent and it's just a matter of recognizing their talent out of the original concept of talent. Those who can't read might be awfully good in art and those who might not be good in art might be good in another field and you have to recognize that many of these children that are quote "failing" unquote in the academic experience are hustling on the block and to hustle you have to have some degree of depth and some degree of insight so even with these people who are hustling after 3 or are failing in the actual system, we try to make use of their talents. The fact is that they have got something to offer and we try to structure the program around this. We run into a problem, of course, because we use volunteers and unfortunately not all volunteers are on the same wave length and often the volunteers cause more problems than the tutees. I find that a great deal of our tutorial time is spent with the tutors from psychological type of counseling right on down to academic matters.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Are the children well motivated?

MRS. ROLLINS. Yes, they are excited. They've just sort of been starved and many of them, particularly older people, have, in a sense, already been castrated and it is our job to put together what they have lost.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. By older people, do you mean older children or adults?

MRS. ROLLINS. I mean people from the junior high level on upward.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Are the children in the Roxbury Tutorial Project very conscious of their race?

MRS. ROLLINS. I would say so. I think most of them are quite conscious of their race, yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you find that parents of the children take part in your program?

MRS. ROLLINS. It is difficult. One of our programs is Operation Exodus. In and of itself, of course, that is our strongest parent body and they naturally do take part. In other centers, it varies. We are hoping this year to build very effective parent bases because this is the way we can perhaps attempt to challenge the system more effectively. I would say that out of our 10 tutorial centers, we had seven with very strong parent bodies and three that need to be worked on this year.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Have you had any experience to be able to determine whether students who have participated in the tutorial project proceed to improve in school?

MRS. ROLLINS. This is difficult because, once again, we are dealing with a traditional system which recognizes improvement along traditional lines and, unfortunately, marks are often given according to how good you are, to how neat and clean you are as opposed to how well you think. Many of our kids are dirty and not so clean, they're not so neat, and they're not so quiet but they do think. And so people whom we've found succeeding in our program—and I can give you two examples without using names—E.S.I., that is, Educational Services, Incorporated, ran, for five months last year, a math workshop for people in our community primarily using two teams as their means to get across their program to the tutors and to local parents and two of our people who were fourth grade level who were extremely verbal in the E.S.I. math workshop were sort of failing in the public school system and they were failing because they began to challenge their respective teachers, telling them: "When are we going to begin to talk about equivalent sets and when are we going to begin to talk about ratio?" and all other sorts of mathematical concepts which that particular fourth grade had not gotten to, the Base 10, the Base 5, things that that particular system hadn't begun to delve into. And, as a result of this inquisitiveness, rather than being rewarded by the system, they were, in fact, punished by the system up to the point of the two parents becoming quite frightened and this was St. Ann's tutorial program where Mrs. Jackson is connected this year. They ran to the director over there and they were getting ready to pull their children out of the tutoring experience because the child was suffering in the actual school experience, not because he wasn't bright but because he was challenging that teacher and she hadn't gotten to that point and we don't know if she ever would have gotten to that point.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Many of the students in the Roxbury Tutorial Program also attend Counterpoise schools?

MRS. ROLLINS. Yes, perhaps. I don't know what's Counterpoise anymore. In '53, we had a fairly stable number. I think practically

every school in Roxbury is Counterpoise. If they're not Counterpoise, they have some other term that's been applied to them that, in essence, means the same thing.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you feel that the tutorial project is performing the function that should be handled by the public schools?

MRS. ROLLINS. Not the public schools in their present state, no. I think the teacher who fails a student between 9 and 2:30 is no better equipped to deal with that person after 2:30. I think we have to begin to talk here about the type of teachers we've got in the system, the kind of philosophical orientation that these teachers have and what they're teaching about and I'm not so sure I would want to see any of these 1,600 children put back into that same academic atmosphere with that same type of teacher who has failed him during the day.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think that if the public schools were performing their function properly, you would need tutorial projects?

MRS. ROLLINS. Well, I don't know because the public schools, given certain types of guidelines, are only going to have so much freedom or so much limitation. And right now in Boston, under its present system with the amount of limitation it has, I don't see how it can perform all services. One of our major features, for example, is what we call Cultural Heritage, developing within the Negro child a pride in being black, a pride in his African heritage. I'm not so sure that the public school, with its predominance of white teachers, could handle this task.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Rollins, do you believe that good results can be accomplished through compensatory education programs in a school which is almost all-Negro?

MRS. ROLLINS. First of all, I don't know what the term "compensatory education" means. I think I told you that when we were rehearsing all of this or whoever I talked to. I don't always understand what this term means. It's another thing that has been created by Washington to deal with the ghetto and to flood money in. I think my answer then was—what was it? Give it to me again.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. I asked you whether you thought that a compensatory education program such as Operation Counterpoise, for example, could be effective in an all-Negro school.

MRS. ROLLINS. If we could choose the teacher, if we could choose the type of curriculum, call it whatever you want to call it, and if it were an all-black school, we could be most effective. But given the present curriculum, given the present types of teachers and teacher recruitment policies, Counterpoise can't be effective. I don't care whether it's an all-black school or an all-white school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think there is a stigma attached to a predominantly Negro school?

MRS. ROLLINS. I think society has sort of created this type of stigma against all-black anything. Right now, they're concerned with black power. There's a certain stigma against that, there's a stigma against

all sorts of blackness these days. Throughout history, black has always been associated with evil and negative things and I think there is a stigma against an all-black school simply because it is black and all that black symbolizes from guilt right down to actual hostility that it raises in certain people. Also this same negative image is held by many of our more bourgeois Negroes in our own community who would much prefer to see their people in an integrated atmosphere, not questioning what is happening in that atmosphere from a learning point of view but only concerned with the superficial integration aspects. I think we really have to begin to examine this particularly in light of so many of our so-called new revolutionary heroes in the movement who have come from all-black schools, all-black colleges and they're surviving and they're doing quite well and I think we have to begin to question this whole concept of integration without really re-evaluating what happens internally. Do you make use of that integrated experience and how do you make use of it in the classroom setting? Or do you simply avoid it because you are afraid to deal with it? This is that sort of liberal Northern attitude where they avoid it and as a result you grow up sort of having no concept of what you really are and you have a rude awakening at a certain age. It is hard to deal with it.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think that the stigma that you mentioned affects the motivation of the students who attend predominantly Negro schools?

MRS. ROLLINS. Sure it does. I think the community, the society, all of this, the general stigma, affects it. Not so much the motivation. I think that primarily affects the teacher. That teacher goes in there with this pre-conceived notion of what black kids can do. Most of the ones who have taken a few courses recently have decided that we are non-verbal and we don't communicate and we don't talk and we need breakfast in the morning. They forget that in suburbia half those kids come in without breakfast because there's no one there. The maid hasn't arrived to fix them breakfast. But many recent studies seem to be focusing in on these factors so teachers come into our community with certain stigmas that have been intellectualized. For some. For others, there's just blatant hostility.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. If a child's motivation is affected by attending a predominantly Negro school—

MRS. ROLLINS. I didn't say that. The predominantly Negro school in Boston.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. In Boston.

MRS. ROLLINS. Given the present Boston system, o.k.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Why isn't the child's motivation affected by attending a predominantly Negro tutorial project?

MRS. ROLLINS. Because we've got different types of people, we are using different subject matter, we are using different approaches, and we are trying to deal with children as people. We are trying to

structure our whole material and the whole learning process around them and their needs and in many cases with our more skilled tutors, the tutees become the real machine that affects the whole tutorial session. In other words, we often go into a group tutoring situation so that the peers can exchange things back and forth with one another because in our present Boston school system, peer group response and experimentation with one another is not really valued. The child is seen; he is not to be heard. He is given a directive; if he does not follow that directive, he loses. What he loses has a variety of connotations. But in our own tutorial structure, we really do try to gear the program more toward the child, recognizing him as a person.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you see any advantages to integrated education?

MRS. ROLLINS. It depends on what type of integrated education you are talking about. Just to have people—white people and black people and all sorts of people—sitting next to one another and making no real concrete use of it, forget it. If you are going to make positive use of it—well, for example, I used my second grade class at Lincoln as much as 7-year olds can be positively utilized, and they can be actually in the learning process. I had a very positive response because I made use of the fact that my poor Puerto Rican boy didn't want to be called Puerto Rican, he was white. Some of my Negro boys were quite militant. Three didn't want to be Negroes. But we have these types of problems with my 7-year olds and with my white children, we had other types of problems. But I made use of it. I brought it into my whole core curriculum and we talked about it and we dealt with it very constructively. When George was called a nasty, dirty name and wasn't invited to a party because he was black, we talked about it: I didn't avoid it and say: "You were naughty. We don't say that word in class." We talked about it. If we are just talking about a plain classroom where nobody does anything, I am not sure this would have any more value than any other type of experience.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Thank you. I have no further questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. No questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Mrs. Rollins, we had a group of drop-outs this summer at the university. Some were Negro, some were Mexican-American, some were white.

MRS. ROLLINS. What university was this?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Notre Dame. The interesting thing we found is that these youngsters showed much more ability to write once they got a few of the mechanics under control than most normal college students because they had had experience perhaps far beyond their years and they had real conflicts to write about. I was wondering if you found any of this in your tutorial system, the ability to

write creatively among these youngsters whom people would think would be the last in the world to be creative writers.

MRS. ROLLINS. Yes, when somebody comes to us with a reading problem, we try to deal with reading through what that child can bring to us. We try to deal with a reading problem through creative writing. We had our older people, some of our sixth graders, who made books for first graders and the first graders, rather than deal with Dick and Jane and the traditional hop and skip type of language, read the sixth graders' pieces on Roxbury, on our community, and this was a little more relevant to this particular child. I find that many of our people can write. They've got a lot to say. They just need a type of intellectual form in which to express it and where their writing can be valued as writing. Unfortunately, the public school system, as it is constituted, does not really allow for this.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Do you get into all the modern math in your new tutorial system here?

MRS. ROLLINS. As much as tutors are able to bring to us. There are sort of intellectual battles on which method is really purer. Some of our people can bring a lot of tools with them. Other people have to use the traditional textbook. And when you have a program with 985 tutors and 1,600 tutees and only a staff of 20, there is only so much real hard core training that we can do and perhaps this is where we fall down, but we try to do the training, we try to combine the old with the new type of thing but, really, with a lot more emphasis, I would hope, on the new. And here we're talking about the new math because the new math deals with a whole new concept about thinking and getting people to think which is something that has not been done before.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I was curious whether it might be possible—perhaps there are too many teachers involved in the public school system when these youngsters go back to school—but would there be any possibility of making contacts with some of these teachers and maybe telling them what possibilities exist in these youngsters as you find them in the tutorial system?

MRS. ROLLINS. We do. We sort of have a hidden, 3 o'clock type of contact with some of our local Negro teachers in the community because, for quite a long time, tutorial programs were looked upon as a reflection on the teacher that he had failed the child. These are amateurs coming in, they do not know, and so forth. We do have rapport even with some of our more radical white teachers in this system and there are two or three principals who I think have been relatively sympathetic to what we are trying to do, and where we have sort of opened doors, we do talk back and forth. Sometimes the dialogue is broken because some of us are coming from two completely different schools of thought. But in some cases dialogue is established and has been established.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. So this may have some effect on the school system and its curriculum, too, eventually?

MRS. ROLLINS. I don't know. I doubt it seriously. Which is a very negative thing to say but you have got people in the system who have got quite a few more years of tenure to serve out. You have got a whole host of people who are not going to be affected by this. The type of teacher who is affected by what we are doing is that much more ahead of the game anyhow and she is probably just crying for an in and many of the people that we need to affect are not, unfortunately, being affected by what we are doing.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. We hear in many of our sessions around the country that many youngsters from deprived homes don't have anything in the home to read, they don't hear much conversation that would inspire them to get interested intellectually. Is this generally true or is this a myth?

MRS. ROLLINS. First we have to re-define the term deprivation. I taught in suburbia and to me suburbia is deprived. They have no soul. They are as deprived as many Washington intellectuals like to term us now as being deprived. It's just a matter of where you sit this term. It's a term that's been invented for the recent poverty lingo and the recent concern with education. I find that our people might not have—I don't know what they've got in their homes. They certainly are verbal. I taught Head Start in the summer of '65. My 4-year olds from "deprived" homes were quite verbal. I am not so sure that the traditional teacher would like to hear what they had to say but they talked and there was a dialogue created. It is a matter of what they bring to the system. It is not so much pointing at the home but I would prefer to see investigations of this sort beginning to point at the system because I think all these hundreds of reports that have been done sort of begin to talk about the child who is perfectly with the rest of the peer group from a national point of view until he reaches the third grade. Then there is a sudden drop and the drop does not occur in the home, the drop occurs in the system. So instead of beginning to try to focus in on the home—this is why I'm against Head Start because Head Start says, in effect, these kids come from inferior types of homes, not saying the system is inferior—and maybe the system has to begin to re-organize itself so when a kid says "ain't" and says "man" and talks his language, this is accepted and it can be dealt with positively and when he doesn't eat breakfast, it's not so bad because most suburban intellectuals—and I went to private school all my life—those kids came in dirty and they didn't eat breakfast and daddy was not always at home because daddy had left. This is where I think Washington has perhaps missed the point and many educators including Martin Deutsch who has become the idol for the preschool study. I have a lot of qualms about Martin Deutsch because he puts the blame on the home and child in very subtle educational language and the blame, as far as I'm concerned, is not solely

there. We have to begin to examine the system and the type of people who are recruited for the system and the type of teachers' colleges that are turning out these teachers.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Thank you very much.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Do you have an opinion as to why there are so few Negro teachers in the Boston school system?

MRS. ROLLINS. I haven't the vaguest idea. I would assume they are not so excited about employing—of course, they use this test. A few of the best teachers at the Boardman School, we were lucky at the Boardman School because out of eight teachers, five were black teachers. Two of the best teachers flunked this test that they gave. One is in California and I believe one is in Washington or Pennsylvania now. The tests—we have no idea how the test is coded. I'm that suspicious of the system to think they code the tests. I don't know so I can't say too much more. I don't think we've got an intellectual group. I think many Negroes in our community and many of the Negro teachers or people who could be teachers are somewhat tired of the system. I could not survive any longer in Boston. As a teacher, from a professional point of view, I just would have lost every bit of intellectual stimulation I ever had. So I went to Lincoln for a year and finally left teaching completely but I think we have got people who are qualified. I'm not too sure of how the system rates them.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. My next question relates to the curriculum in the schools and, particularly, we have found as we have gone around the country that many of the textbooks are inaccurate. We are not, of course, interested in writing textbooks, but we are concerned with what our children learn and the extent to which this affects their self-image. Would you comment on the curriculum of the Boston school system?

MRS. ROLLINS. I think the textbooks—and you should perhaps be concerned not so much with re-writing them but they concern a great deal of racist type of subtleties, particularly the social studies books. When they begin to talk about other countries, they talk about products and how much a country produces and the capital of that country, not about what happens in that country. And when they talk about the Southern communities, they don't talk about the people. They talk about the flowers the South produces and the states, the capital of Mississippi. They don't talk about the internal conflict between the black and white communities, between the rich and poor. Here is where textbooks, in their attempt to preach the American creed or the heritage, have failed and the textbooks in Boston are similar to textbooks all over the country where they do not deal with problems. Nobody seems to want to get down to some of the core issues in this country today that I think will result in perhaps murdering parts of this country. They don't want to deal with this cultural diversity. It's something people don't wish to recognize and don't wish to talk

about. The language in many of our elementary or primary readers is insulting language. I don't care whether you are black or white. You don't want to read about Dick and Jane and Huff and Puff. First graders do not talk this way. They do not talk in this chopped up type of language and I think many of our textbooks suffer from this. Perhaps they're too teacher-oriented and not enough child-oriented. But I think we have to be concerned about textbooks.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. I am concerned about textbooks but I meant I am not prepared to write one. Within the past several years, excellent bibliographies have been prepared. Are you familiar with the extent to which the Boston school system has taken advantage of these bibliographies?

MRS. ROLLINS. Unfortunately, I can only speak here really coherently about the tutorial program where I've compiled about five myself and where we have made excellent use of them. In the system, evidently, they have a committee of teachers according to their rank in the system who review all books before books are allowed in the system. I had to sneak into my fourth grade and my third grade afternoon sessions and my morning people any types of books that I wanted to bring into Counterpoise because there were only certain books that had been accepted. At the time I was in the system, only Follett's had been accepted. This was the brown Dick and Jane and to me this is no better than Dick and Jane except they're brown. They still live in suburbia. But I was told that the type of books that I wanted to talk about had not been approved by the book committee. I believe they still have this same structure. It is a very slowing-up process.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr Taylor?

MR. TAYLOR. No questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Glickstein, will you call the next witness?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The next witness is Mrs. Ellen Jackson.

(Whereupon Mrs. Ellen Jackson was sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

**TESTIMONY OF MRS. ELLEN JACKSON,
ROXBURY, MASSACHUSETTS**

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Jackson, would you please state your full name and address for the record?

MRS. JACKSON. My name is Mrs. Ellen Jackson, 27 Brookledge Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How long have you lived in Boston?

MRS. JACKSON. I have lived in Boston all my life.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Where are you employed?

MRS. JACKSON. Actually, I am not employed. I am a housewife and a mother.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you work during the day, volunteer work of some sort?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes, I do. I am the director of the program known as Operation Exodus.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you please describe for the Commissioners what Operation Exodus is?

MRS. JACKSON. Operation Exodus is a voluntary busing program by parents of the Roxbury-North Dorchester area who decided, after many confrontations with school officials and city officials, that they needed to get their children out of the overcrowded classrooms in Roxbury into under-utilized classrooms in the Greater Boston area.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you tell us when and how and why Exodus was begun?

MRS. JACKSON. Dating back to 1963, the NAACP began to bring out some of the gross inadequacies of our school system. Parents became more aware and more cognizant of some of the problems, especially Negro parents. Up to this point, I would say that we were secure in our feeling that the teachers and administrators were doing the best they could for our children. One of the vast problems in our particular area, the Roxbury-North Dorchester area, in three particular schools, the Endicott, the Greenwood, and the Gibson, was that they were very overcrowded. You would find some of the children sitting in classrooms of 45 to 1 or 48 to 1 teacher.

Parents had attempted to do something about it through the Home and School Association but many of us in Boston know that the Home and School Association, which is equivalent to the PTA, does not act independent of the School Committee and, actually, the lines of communication between home and school were lacking and it seemed as though our demands and pleas were falling on deaf ears. We decided we would look into the situation and see if we could move these children from the Roxbury-North Dorchester area. The superintendent of schools at that time submitted a proposal that said that there were about 8,000 vacant seats throughout the Greater Boston area and he also said that the overlap of children in the Roxbury-North Dorchester area amounting to 541 could be moved from this area into the seats that were available. The now chairman of the School Committee submitted a proposal that said there would be no expansion of busing and these children were not able to be removed from the overcrowded condition. The superintendent of schools was, I think, a little disturbed and he said the only out he could see would be a double session day. This was of concern to many parents in the Roxbury-North Dorchester area for many reasons. One of the main reasons was because our area is an economically low area. This means parents have to work. This means that if children were divided up into a double session day that baby sitting fees would have to be paid, children might be going to school in the dark, the day was a very long day, and coming home in the dark in the winter months, and, most of all, to parents in this area we felt someone was saying: "We don't care." Because the day itself, the educational day, the

academic day was going to be shortened and Boston had at this time one of the shortest days anyway. After realizing that there were these available seats, parents banded together and talked about it throughout the whole summer of 1965 and decided we would take advantage of these open enrollment seats. At first, it was to be a temporary program just to dramatize, if possible, the plight we found ourselves in. We had the naive feeling that many people outside Roxbury just didn't understand what our problem was and if they did, they would come to our aid. We found the seats and we moved the children into classroom situations which are in composition of 25 students to 1 teacher.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. This was in September of 1965?

MRS. JACKSON. That's right. We were able to move this first year 475 children into 14 schools, predominantly white schools outside of the Roxbury area. The schools were located in Jamaica Plain, Hyde Park, West Roxbury, Brighton.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you have children yourself?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes, I have five children.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How old are they?

MRS. JOHNSON. Ranging in age from 3 to 12.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Are any of them attending school under the Exodus Program?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes, I have three children in the Exodus Program and one in METCO.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You said that 475 children were transported last year. About how many are being transported this year?

MRS. JACKSON. We were determined we were going to move as many as wanted to be moved. We doubled our enrollment this year to almost 900. Eight hundred and seventy-six children are being bused to 25 schools outside of the Roxbury area.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Were you able to accommodate all of the applicants?

MRS. JACKSON. No, we were not. This is a voluntary program. It cost us \$65,000 last year to raise money for six large school buses, 20 private cars, and six taxi cabs. This is how we transported the children. Thirteen hundred and fifty dollars per week. This money was raised in the Negro community and raised through friends of Operation Exodus and other concerned people. No Federal aid, no city aid, nor has the School Committee made any attempt to help pay this bill. Therefore, this year, with the doubling of our enrollment, this meant that more buses had to be used, this meant more money and we just don't have it.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What do you think it is going to cost you this year?

MRS. JACKSON. We have budgeted our expenses to be around \$170,000.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Are most of the children involved Negro?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes, they are. Most of the children come from the Roxbury-North Dorchester area and this year the South End area of the ghetto part of Boston.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What grades are these children in?

MRS. JACKSON. Last year we dealt with children in kindergarten through the sixth grade. This year we are not dealing with kindergarten children, again due to financial problems. They have a short day and this meant we would have to have on hand transportation for them. Therefore, this year we are dealing with first grades through high school all the way up to the eleventh grade.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How do you find out where vacant seats are located?

MRS. JACKSON. Before last year through some friends who literally stole the list for us and this year the School Committee was a little more helpful in seeing we were put on the list to receive what is known as the Vacant Seat Listing. Boston has a policy known as the open enrollment policy which has been in the Boston schools for the last 20 years. It was a little known policy within the Negro community and it states simply that a child can go to a school outside its neighborhood school if the parent wishes to underwrite the cost of transportation and if there is an available seat. Many parents didn't know that this ruling existed and many didn't particularly care to take advantage because often you would find that these under-utilized seats were located in what we would consider hostile white territory. And it is very difficult for adults to combat the public transportation program in the morning much less to put small elementary-age children into this rat race. So you would find they would be content to put their child in the nearest school which, of course, was the neighborhood school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Were any of the children who were bused last year in Operation Exodus refused permission to continue with their schools? Were any of them sent back for any reason?

MRS. JACKSON. There were many small subtleties used to harass us. I think it was one of the main points that made us decide to stay. I would say that the School Committee was not at all helpful. In the first part of our program of 1965, it was a ticklish thing known as the yellow transfer card. It was something that was supposed to be necessary for a child to have in order to transfer from one school to another. Ironically enough, we didn't know anything about the yellow transfer cards until the morning of the first day of school when the past chairman of the School Committee decided to take a very risky trip into Roxbury and tell us that we had to have the yellow slips. It was a very inconsistent ruling, too, because when our parents entered the new school, some of them were able to have their children seated without yellow transfer cards. Some of them were not and the treatment some of our children received was really atrocious. This is just the word to use. It was astounding to think that this was Boston and

that this could be happening. Some of the children were physically segregated in the classrooms by being pushed into the back part of the room. Some of the children were kept in the auditorium all day, in the hallways all day. Some of the school doors were actually barred and locked so our children could not get in. Some of our children and parents were met with hostile remarks, derogatory remarks, splashed on the doors of the new school, splashed on the sidewalks of the new school and it continued for quite a few weeks. When the more tangible affronts stopped, there were more subtle ones such as: "This child is a behavior problem and we can't keep him here." or "This child is late so we can't keep him here." Very, very inadequate reasons were given as to why often the child could not stay in the school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Were they sent back for those reasons?

MRS. JACKSON. It was attempted but through a lot of deliberation and forcefulness on the part of many of the parents and with our assistance, we were finally able to keep them there.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Were some of these unpleasant things that you have just described discontinued after the initial few weeks?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes, on the whole they were. I would say that after the commotion and the publicity about the program died down, you found that many of the children were able to blend in rather well and a normal day, whatever you could consider a normal day, was attempted.

There was one vital factor that remained throughout the whole year. We made several periodic trips to the schools, staff members of Exodus, to talk with principals and teachers and we found that, regardless of the fact that these were all Boston school children, these children were looked upon as "they". There was always a separation, the "we" and the "they" or the "those" and the "they". They were not fully accepted as part of the school system. They were the children who barged in, the children who, in some instances, had been called cattle, herded in by parents like cattle. They were the invaders and it was very unfortunate because it was hard for the children to adjust to this type of negative attitude.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Have you had similar problems this year?

MRS. JACKSON. For some reason, parents have begun to have a better face as far as the public is concerned and I think it has been stated quite well by some of your speakers before that we are concerned about the children and for some reason everyone now seems to realize that we are and we have become legitimate, so to speak.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. About how long does a bus ride take?

MRS. JACKSON. None of the bus rides are more than 20 minutes away from the child's home. Our buses are now routed so the children are picked up at a stop that is nearest their home. They might have to walk one or two blocks at the most. Our buses are staffed with parents who act as bus captains, take attendance as the children get on the

bus, see that they get into school, and are there to meet the bus after school and they are dropped off in the same fashion.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Have you made any attempts to get Federal funds for the program?

MRS. JACKSON. We have attempted to submit a proposal to Washington which we haven't heard anything from and we have submitted it also to private foundations. We were told that we were not eligible for Federal funds because this was a private busing project and, of course, any money spent through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act had to be channeled through the local education agencies which, of course, is the School Committee and I doubt if they would be very responsive to our program.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Have you asked them?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes, we did. We asked them to foot the bill way back in '65 and it was voted four to one no.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you believe that there has been any improvement in the academic performance of the Operation Exodus children since their attendance in schools outside of Roxbury?

MRS. JACKSON. It has been a hard battle for parents and these are community people who have more than one child usually that they have to get ready for school. Also to make sure that the buses were rolling, it meant a series of community events had to take place to raise this money. We really hadn't begun to document the impact Exodus had until late in February when it was suggested to us that it would be interesting because this had never been done on a busing program. We were able, on a very limited scale, to use our parents as researchers and they were also taught how to code. We found in many instances that some of the children had done fairly well, had improved, and some of the children had stayed about the same, and some of the children had even dropped back. When we talked with the parents on this, we found they were a little more secure because they felt the child was sitting in a little smaller classroom situation and to them this was one step toward a quality education. It meant that the teacher was able to talk to the child a little more often and maybe answer more questions. It meant that the child might be able to ask a few more questions and get a better answer. It meant that there might be a little more understanding and acknowledgment of some of the problems if there were any that the child might have in order that the teacher could reach him. So I would say it is still a little hard for us to adequately say that there has been any improvement and we are embarking on another research program this year.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What are the problems that you think exist in the Roxbury schools?

MRS. JACKSON. Some of the problems. There are many, I think, in a sense. I think one of the gross inadequacies is the fact that the attitude again is a problem. The insensitivity, the lack of knowledge about the community in which they're serving, the four-wall separa-

tion of the school in contrast with the whole community. There is no give and take in the community with the school. The school has little idea of what goes on in this child's environment and background, what he does after school, nor does it act as though it even cares. The inadequate facilities are not conducive to good learning. The lack of identification and just the lack of communication between the home and the school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Jackson, do you think the Counterpoise Program has made a significant impact on the education of the children in Roxbury?

MRS. JACKSON. It has made a significant impact on the people of Roxbury for many reasons. Counterpoise, from what I understand, is supposed to be a program able to deal with the inadequacies that the educational facilities have placed on a child. For some reason, the superintendent of schools or the former deputy superintendent of schools said this was to compensate for the inadequacies of the family. The target area that was picked for a Counterpoise school, a Negro area, Roxbury, happens not to be a so-called deprived area. I would say that the families in that area were middle income, were highly educated, and there was little problem, I would think, in this particular area. I think that Counterpoise, itself, does not really define the problems that it hopes to remedy or to tell how it hopes to alleviate them. I really don't see Counterpoise at this point, from where it's coming from, really doing too much for the children in Roxbury.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do they have Counterpoise in the schools to which the Exodus children are being bused?

MRS. JACKSON. Not that I know of. I think of the 17 Counterpoise schools, 11 of them are in Roxbury. I know that none of the schools, for instance, in Jamaica Plain, West Roxbury, Hyde Park and this again shows up the deficiency or the attitude that I am talking about that it's just the Negro children who need this type of culture, that it is just the Negro children who, in their estimation, are deprived.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. But if the Exodus children were not being bused and went to their neighborhood schools, they would probably be in schools that had Counterpoise.

MRS. JACKSON. Yes, most likely they would be in schools that have Counterpoise.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. So the parents of the 876 children who are being bused now are willing to give up Counterpoise?

MRS. JACKSON. Indeed they are.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Thank you. I have no further questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Mrs. Jackson, it is the Home and School Association that is similar to the PTA, is it not?

MRS. JACKSON. Yes, it is similar to the PTA.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. I would like to know about the participation of the parents of the children who are involved in Exodus, their

participation in the Association at the school to which the children are bused.

Mrs. JACKSON. If I could go back again and just explain a little more. Home and School Association, as I said previously, does not act independent of the School Committee or the school administrators. You will find often that many of the teachers and principals hold positions, key positions, as officers in the Home and School Association. There is little contact and little communication. In Exodus in some particular schools we have some of our parents who have begun to talk with other parents of the new receiving schools outside of the Home and School Association. Parent groups are very common in Roxbury. This is the group of parents that would meet in homes or in the basement of a church or in headquarters of civic organizations and seem to have more rapport. You'll even find some teachers who feel they can talk better on so-called neutral ground and outside of the Home and School Association bondage. Exodus parents, themselves, have formed their own parent groups. We consider ourselves a liaison. We consider ourselves able to go up to the schools and talk with teachers. We've become an unofficial complaint statement by many of our parents in Roxbury who will ask us to assist them in many of their school problems, not only academically but health-wise, special class situations, guidance, remedial help, adjustment help in every way we can. I feel we've become more effective in this fashion than we have by working straight through the Home and School Association.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. The Association, as you describe it, seems to me to be a separate group. My concern is the extent to which the parents of the children who go to the receiving school can work with and get to know the parents of the children who are already at the receiving school.

Mrs. JACKSON. Parents, the white parents and the Negro parents, have met and have talked outside of the Home and School Association. For instance, at one particular school last year, a Home and School Association meeting was called. At this meeting instead of talking about new programs, new curriculum, new textbooks, new things in general that would benefit children, the whole Home and School Association meeting was topiced around Exodus and the way the children were brought to the schools. There was nothing wrong with the schools in Roxbury. And all parents, white parents that is, were very concerned about this and wanted to ask more questions. So they began to talk after the meeting with the Negro parents who had come out to the meeting and ask them questions and said they would meet with them again. Luckily, throughout the year, these parents have met. Many of the children have become friends and have also enabled the parents to talk with each other through many of the home lessons and many of the programs the school has initiated.

We had one teacher in one of the new schools who had a unique way of bringing children together. She would take the children's phone

numbers, the digits, and exchange them among the children. She would tell them their home lesson was to call each other up that night and to learn the digits at the same time. Of course, a Hyde Park child would be calling a Roxbury child and in the course of the conversation after dialing each other, they would begin to talk about the children in their family and their mothers and fathers and the dogs and everything else. Maybe someone would come to the phone and tell the child it was time to hang up and they would say they would begin the conversation again in the school yard the next day. This conversation would carry over and these children began to understand and talk with each other a whole lot better. This was the beginning of some friendships. Some of the children were invited to birthday parties and parents would take the children and, again, the topic would be education, the topic would be schools. And we would find that many parent groups begin now to realize that we're talking about education, quality education, and that we would like to see our children have a better shake and we feel as though they feel the same way.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Just one brief question. Mrs. Jackson, how many parents generally are involved in Exodus?

MRS. JACKSON. We have about 250 families that were involved last year. This year we would have about 400 families that are involved.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. And they would help on the organization, the planning, the fund raising?

MRS. JACKSON. That's right. They are used in many ways. We have various programs that we have initiated. We have a youth program, a research program, a tutorial program, we have field trips which parents have used to help assist the children. We have our own parent group meetings which are broken down into individual schools and we have a lot of programs that parents are able to participate in plus helping to raise the funds.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Wonderful. Thank you very much.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Mrs. Jackson, for the last year, 1965-66, can you tell me approximately what the budget or cost of Operation Exodus was?

MRS. JACKSON. In 1965-66 it was about \$65,000—\$60,000 in transportation.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. And was that all raised and your bills for last year are all paid?

MRS. JACKSON. No, they're not. We are in the red. In fact, every morning we die. We operated up until, I would say, May of 1966 all right. But just about that time we ran out of steam, so to speak, so we have a deficit of about \$7,000 at this point.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. This means, then, that you raised about \$58,000 last year?

Mrs. JACKSON. That's right.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Do you have any idea of how much of that was raised, one way or another, within Roxbury and how much came from outside Roxbury?

Mrs. JACKSON. We have estimated that three-fourths of the money was raised in Roxbury in many ways. Through cocktail parties, dances, raffles, through civil rights organizations, church groups, sororities, fraternities, neighborhood groups, and just people walking in off the street and giving us a dollar.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. That would mean then that you raised something less than \$15,000 from outside of Roxbury?

Mrs. JACKSON. That is right.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Are you hoping to raise more than that this year?

Mrs. JACKSON. We will have to if we are going to continue.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. What steps are you taking to try to get gifts from other sources?

Mrs. JACKSON. We have many fund raising programs that we're beginning to start on. One of the first things that we will do this year will be to sponsor a play on October 25 at the Wilbur Theatre with two Broadway stars. We will be having other affairs that people will give for us throughout the year—raffles, again mothers' marches, and just scrape it up whatever way we can.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Have you approached any funds or foundations or organizations for funds?

Mrs. JACKSON. Yes.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. In Boston?

Mrs. JACKSON. Yes, we have.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Have you had any success?

Mrs. JACKSON. No, not at this moment. We haven't heard anything.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Taylor?

Mr. TAYLOR. No questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Thank you very much, Mrs. Jackson. Mr. Glickstein, will you call the last witness for the evening?

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. The next witness is Dr. James E. Teele.

(Whereupon, Dr. James E. Teele was sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

TESTIMONY OF DR. JAMES E. TEELE, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Teele, would you please state your full name and address for the record?

Dr. TEELE. James E. Teele, 119 Marlboro Street, Boston.

Mr. GLICKSTEIN. Would you please tell us your occupation and educational background?

DR. TEELE. I am an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the Harvard School of Public Health. I have two graduate degrees from New York University, master's and a Ph. D., and a bachelor of arts degree from Virginia Union University in Richmond, Virginia.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Teele, have you conducted a study of the Operation Exodus program in Boston?

DR. TEELE. Yes, I have.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you please describe for us how the study was conducted?

DR. TEELE. Last September, a few social scientists, realizing that Operation Exodus was a unique enterprise, got together and discussed in a very informal way with some of the parents in Exodus the possibility of doing research. Then the social scientists proceeded a bit too quickly and began their research without having fully informed the Exodus parents so that within a couple of weeks of the beginning of school in September of '65, the social scientists were invited out of research into Operation Exodus. About two or three months later, I attended some of the functions at Exodus, being interested in the organization, and renewed an acquaintance with the parents in Exodus. At that point, now late November, Mrs. Jackson and some of her colleagues in Exodus invited me to submit a research proposal. Realizing that we had been a bit over-anxious in the beginning, I proceeded, along with one or two other colleagues, more cautiously and decided that it would be better if this research were undertaken with the full cooperation and support of the women in Exodus. So I suggested, inasmuch as we didn't have any funds and also inasmuch as Dr. [Thomas F.] Pettigrew at Harvard and other social scientists had been skeptical of outsiders doing research in areas like Roxbury without having real feeling for the problems of the area, that the mothers and fathers in Exodus be trained as interviewers and as research assistants, that is, that some of them be trained. About 12 or 13 of the parents in Exodus showed up then for a series of research meetings. At these meetings we did several things over a period of two months. We first developed a research approach and listed the problems and the questions that interested both the families involved in Exodus and other persons.

Secondly, we put these questions into a format that would make sense to the parents who would be interviewed.

The next thing we did was to have interviewer training and I held several sessions with many people in Exodus, but always with a stable core of 10 or 12 and satisfied myself that some 8 or 10 parents would make competent interviewers and, once the interviewing had been undertaken, then trained some of the parents in coding interview responses as well as in some of the problems in data analysis.

I was interested to see recently that Senator Ribicoff, I believe, expressed admiration for the studies which took place in various ghetto

areas in this country, studies which utilized people in the ghetto as interviewers, so that is precisely what we did in Operation Exodus.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Teele, would you tell us what your study indicated were the reasons Negro parents permitted their children to be bused out of their neighborhood?

DR. TEELE. About 85 percent of the parents indicated that they bused because they were interested in quality education for their children. It was an open-ended question that was designed to tap this area. I was somewhat surprised to find that very few of the parents offered integration or attending an integrated school as one of their aims. I cannot say that this was not one of their aims. I can only say that less than 10 percent of the parents when asked to think back to last September and to state why they bused their child, that at least 85 percent of them bused mainly for quality education.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did you find that Negro parents of children in the first three grades were especially concerned with busing their children?

DR. TEELE. There was a lot of concern about busing children in the first three grades. One of the questions that the parents in Exodus that all of us were interested in, was the attitude toward busing first three graders. In part, this question arose because I believe it was the State Board of Education that at one time suggested perhaps busing the children in the fourth through the sixth grades. This was very upsetting to the Exodus parents who were busing at that time children in the first three grades and who felt children in the first three grades, at least they told me, they thought the majority of the parents were in favor of busing children in the first three grades. What we found was that about 50 percent of the parents in Exodus unequivocally thought busing children in the first three grades was fine. About 30 percent were, they thought they should be bused, but they had reservations and only about 15 percent thought that children in the first three grades should not be bused.

However, when you look at that question against the background of whether or not the respondent had a child in one of the first three grades, we found that six out of seven parents or eight out of nine, it eventually became—that, at any rate, virtually all of the parents who did not have children in the first three grades were against busing—no, I said that incorrectly. That of about 12 parents who were opposed to busing the first three grades, 9 or 10 of them did not have a child in the first three grades. Virtually all of the parents who had a child in the first three grades thought it was fine to bus children in the first three grades. Some of them did have reservations and thought that they would like to see a bit more attention given the younger children, but they in no way indicated they were not satisfied with busing younger children.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What did the Exodus parents say was the effect

on Negro children of busing them out of their neighborhood to predominantly white schools?

DR. TEELE. We had a series of questions designed to elicit the opinions of busing and I take it you mean what advantages were thought by them to accrue from busing. About 80 percent of the parents indicated that their children got more homework at the new schools compared to the amount of homework they had gotten the previous year. About 70 percent of the parents indicated that their children compared to the previous year now had white friends or more white friends. About 60 percent of the parents thought that their children were doing better in school and virtually all of the parents showed enough interest in school, by the way, to have made a visit or two to the school and to have met the teachers.

I think there was also another effect resulting from the busing. You will recall that I said a few minutes ago that less than 10 percent of the parents bused because they were interested in integration, that is, they didn't verbalize an interest in integration. I had a question towards the end of the interview and these interviews took place about two-thirds of the way through the school year. I had a question which read like this: how much do you think attendance at an integrated school has benefited your child, a lot, some, a little, or none? I asked that question of the parents because a number of persons were interested in integration as an aim to busing. Seventy-five percent of the parents in Exodus felt that their children had benefited a great deal from attending an integrated school, and less than 15 percent felt that their children had not benefited from attending an integrated school.

Now, I took that to mean, in part at least, that there had been a shift over a six or eight month period from a position whereby integration was not consciously thought of as being valuable to a position where the parents could now think of attendance at an integrated school as being valuable. This is a question that is sheer conjecture on my part and, as Mrs. Jackson has said, we have some research going on this year and this is an issue that we intend to look into very thoroughly and that issue is whether or not parents are busing mainly because of the benefits of a quality education, mainly for the benefits of attending an integrated school, or because of a combination of both, and I rather suspect that we will do the kind of research this year that will allow us to answer this question.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did the parents who were interviewed notice any improvement in the performance of their children, academic improvement I suppose?

DR. TEELE. Yes, I think I said just now that about 65 percent of the parents indicated that they thought their children were improved academically. It would be nice if I could say to you that I had checked the school grades but we didn't get permission from the

Boston School Board to examine the comparative grades of the children in Exodus.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Teele, is this a copy of a report describing the study you have just told us about?

DR. TEELE. Yes, that is it.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, may this be entered into the record as Exhibit No. 5?

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Received.

(The document referred to above was received as Exhibit No. 5.)

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Proceed.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. I have no questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. No questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. No questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Taylor?

MR. TAYLOR. No questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Thank you very much, Dr. Teele. We appreciate your being here. We will adjourn to convene at 9 a.m. sharp and we hope to be completed tomorrow afternoon at 5 o'clock.

(Whereupon, the hearing in the above matter was adjourned at 10 p.m. to be resumed at 9 a.m. the following morning).

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1966

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights met at 9:17 a.m. in Faneuil Hall, Dock Square, Boston, Massachusetts, Dr. John A. Hannah, Chairman of the Commission, presiding.

PRESENT: John A. Hannah, Chairman; Frankie M. Freeman, Commissioner; Erwin N. Griswold, Commissioner; The Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., Commissioner. Also present: William L. Taylor, Staff Director; Howard A. Glickstein, General Counsel.

PROCEEDINGS

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Ladies and gentlemen, the appointed hour for this hearing has arrived. The hearing will come to order. Mr. Glickstein, will you call the first witness?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The first two witnesses are Dr. Leon Trilling and Mrs. Ruth Batson.

(Whereupon, Dr. Leon Trilling and Mrs. Ruth Batson were sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

TESTIMONY OF DR. LEON TRILLING, BROOKLINE, MASSACHUSETTS AND MRS. RUTH BATSON, ROXBURY, MASSACHUSETTS

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Perhaps we can reverse the usual rule of ladies first and start with Dr. Trilling. Dr. Trilling, would you please state your full name and address for the record?

DR. TRILLING. I am Leon Trilling, 89 Mason Terrace, Brookline, Massachusetts.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What is your occupation and place of employment?

DR. TRILLING. I am a Professor of Aeronautics and Astronautics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you tell us in what way you are involved in public education?

DR. TRILLING. Yes, surely. I have been interested in education since 1946. I make this my career but also since the middle 1950's I have become very interested in public education, education in the public schools and through participation in Parent-Teacher organizations and other such activities. Eventually, I was elected to the Brookline School Committee in 1960 and I am now completing my second term of office.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Brookline is one of the suburban communities in the Greater Metropolitan Boston area?

DR. TRILLING. It is.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. I believe it is indicated on the map right there.

DR. TRILLING. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you tell us what your connection with METCO is?

DR. TRILLING. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Perhaps you could first tell us what the initials stand for.

DR. TRILLING. METCO is the Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity. It is a corporation under the laws of Massachusetts, an educational non-profit corporation. It represents the coming together of parents, lay people interested in public education, and members of various school committees, suburban school committees, interested in quality, integrated education.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What would you say its purpose is?

DR. TRILLING. When we banded together to form this organization we had several overlapping purposes in mind. And it is a little hard to tell in the mind of each person which was the most important, but the three that I would mention are particularly a concern over the problem of the core city with its shrinking tax base and its increasing problems which make it increasingly difficult to furnish the children in the city the kind of education which they need whereas, at the same time, the suburbs are relatively well off. So the matter of education in the metropolitan area was one of our concerns. The second concern was a concern over the fact that the youngsters in the suburban towns surrounding Boston were somewhat made narrow by the fact that they were or they are all white, segregated in a sense, and that our youngsters, therefore, have an especially narrow view of the society in which they are later going to work and, hopefully, some of them take positions of responsibility. The third concern was that there was great need to help individual youngsters in the core city achieve a better education, an integrated education. We thought the suburbs had something to offer to the city. Here we thought that it would be worthwhile to start with whatever number of youngsters we could start with, bring them into the suburban schools, and try to see what could be done in this way. We decided to select a number of youngsters, predominantly Negro, as is stated in our proposal for Federal funds, both because we thought that that was where the need was greatest and because we thought that this would be the course which would be of greatest benefit to the suburban youngsters.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. When was METCO organized?

DR. TRILLING. Well, our organization meeting, so to speak, occurred in December of 1965. This was the outcome of a certain amount of feeling on the part of the citizens and, also, sometimes of the school committees of suburban communities as well as of the parents in Bos-

COMMUNITIES PARTICIPATING IN METCO

1966-1967

Represented by Shaded Areas



ton but this was the meeting in which we saw that we had achieved critical mass, so to speak, and we were ready to proceed.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Trilling, I know it is often difficult to trace the origin of an idea, but whose idea was it to start something like METCO?

DR. TRILLING. As you say, this is a little difficult to pinpoint. I think ideas of this sort had been floating around, both in the parents' community and in some of the suburban communities since 1963 or '64. In 1964, in September 1964, a group of representatives from the

Brookline Council for Civil Rights came before the School Committee and asked us, the School Committee, to admit 10 Negro youngsters to Brookline High School free of tuition. And the School Committee showed an interest in this proposal at the time, but felt that this was possibly not the best way for a suburban community to become involved in the problem of metropolitan education and of the education of the Negro youngsters in Boston and appointed a lay professional and school committee group to make recommendations to the School Committee within six months, and since I had taken a part in the debate, as sometimes happens, I became the chairman of that group. We held hearings of an informal nature with a number of scholars, of parents from Roxbury, and so on, and we came up with two ideas in Brookline. One of these was to start a mixed tutorial program involving high school youngsters from Brookline and from Roxbury, working jointly in Roxbury, and that program was privately funded and went into action a year ago. It was so successful the town of Brookline has adopted it as policy and it operates not only in Roxbury, but in some areas in Brookline. So this indicates how there is sometimes a spin off in a suburban community in a manner that one might not have first expected.

The second program that we recommended to the School Committee was to join with other suburban communities to invite youngsters from Greater Boston to participate in the activities of the schools, to become students in the school system. This lay fallow for a while but when we saw that other communities were also interested, we moved ahead rather rapidly and participated in METCO from the beginning.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How many children are participating in the busing program?

DR. TRILLING. Two hundred and twenty at this time.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you tell us to what communities the children are being bused?

DR. TRILLING. Surely.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. And how many children are going to each of the communities?

DR. TRILLING. There are 15 going to Arlington at the fifth grade level. There are 25 going to Lexington at the seventh, eighth, ninth grade levels. There are 10 kindergarten children going to Lincoln. There are 25 high school youngsters going to Wellesley, there are 50 youngsters going to Newton, Grades 3 to 5, I believe, there are 75 going to Brookline from kindergarten through Grade 11, and 25 going to Braintree, Grades 7 and 8, I believe.

I would like to make one additional comment here which bears on the point which Father Hesburgh raised yesterday. We made a great effort to see to it that the youngsters that we invite to participate in the program are not uniformly high achievers but, rather, represent a cross section in achievement and I have asked our director of research to prepare a paper to show what the performance of the

youngsters participating in METCO was last year in the Boston schools and I should like to enter this into the record.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, may we receive this as Exhibit No. 6.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Received.

(The document referred to above was received as Exhibit No. 6.)

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How long have the seven participating communities agreed to continue in this program?

DR. TRILLING. Legally we can commit ourselves only for one year because no school committee can commit the School Committee to be elected in the coming year. But all of the participating communities have made it quite clear that we are taking a very strong, very serious moral commitment to see any youngster we invite to participate in the program through graduation from high school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How is METCO financed?

DR. TRILLING. METCO draws support from the Federal Government. We have a grant under Title III, that is Exemplary and Demonstration Programs, of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to the amount of \$259,500. We have, in addition, a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of a total of \$126,000 for two years. So that altogether we have some \$330,000 per year, I guess, operating funds.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What are these funds used for? How are they divided?

DR. TRILLING. These funds are used essentially for four purposes. The largest part of the funds, some \$145,000, goes toward paying the educational expenses accrued to the participating towns at a rate varying from \$6 to \$830 per child. Then we have transportation expenses which average some \$250, \$240 per child. We have a research and evaluation program which costs approximately \$200 per child and we considered this at this time a rather important component if we are to generate and produce a model and data and information which may be of use to other communities. Finally, we must pay the salaries and the expenses of a central staff, which is independent of the participating individual school systems and coordinates our activities.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What is METCO's relationship to the Boston School Committee?

DR. TRILLING. We are cooperating with the Boston School Committee. The first move which METCO made and, in fact, the touch stone for individual communities of participation in METCO was the following: when we gathered in December of last year to get underway, we decided that the first thing we needed to do was work out some relationship with the Boston schools from which or from whom we would draw our students and whose cooperation in terms of records and in other ways might be very useful to us. We, therefore, drafted a letter requesting the Boston School Committee to meet with

us. We felt such a letter would be better received if it was formally signed, not by individual citizens, but by school committees voting to sign such a letter. Therefore, a vote to sign a letter to the Boston School Committee became in a sense the formal act which began to commit the participating communities to have a formal interest in METCO and five communities did sign such a letter, sent it to Boston in January, and in February we had a meeting with the members of the Boston School Committee and the deputy superintendent of the schools of Boston and on March 21st, I believe it was, the Boston School Committee voted three to two to cooperate with METCO on the staff level.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Have you received all of the records from the Boston School Committee for the 220 students?

DR. TRILLING. At the present time, we have received most, but not all, of the records. We understand this is a matter of administrative procedure and we are quite confident we will get all the records from them that we have asked for.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. I see that in some communities like Braintree, you say in Exhibit No. 6 only half the records have arrived.

DR. TRILLING. This is correct but I think this is purely a matter of administrative delay because six out of seven communities have almost all the records.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. I see. What has been the reaction to METCO in the participating suburban communities?

DR. TRILLING. I think it has, on the whole, been quite good. A fair number of citizens have expressed very intense support, have helped us, and have participated with the school committees in organizing the program. We have a part of the program which involves parents from the participating communities acting to help the METCO child play the proper role in the suburban school system. In those school systems in which there is lunch at home, this family supplies lunch and invites the youngster for lunch. In all cases, that family serves as an emergency post. If there is sickness or other emergency, then the child from the host family becomes the contact, the first friend, hopefully, that the METCO child has in the suburban system. The host family also makes it easier whenever necessary for the METCO child to participate in whatever extra curricular activities are available. So there is direct involvement to the extent of these 220 families. Almost all the parents and citizens of the participating towns have accepted the program. The youngsters are attending school and there have been no incidents that we know of. So that we feel that the program has been reasonably well received.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Now you mentioned that in Lincoln there are 10 kindergarten students. Have they had any special problems?

DR. TRILLING. To the best of my knowledge, they have not. They have been quite well received and they have been taken into homes

after school when the occasion arose and I think this has been a very interesting and successful experiment.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The busing of these children does not cause any special problems?

DR. TRILLING. So far as we can tell, the answer is no. We even hear some youngsters who say they wish the bus ride were a little longer because they enjoy it. But, realistically speaking, as the year draws on, one hour each way does take a certain amount of time from the child's school day. We might have preferred this not be there but it hasn't appeared to cause any undue difficulty.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Thank you, Dr. Trilling. Mrs. Batson, would you please state your full name and address for the record?

MRS. BATSON. Ruth Batson, 160 Ruthven Street, Roxbury.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Batson, what is your occupation and place of employment?

MRS. BATSON. I am the Associate Director of the METCO program and the office is located at 178 Humboldt Avenue, Roxbury.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What did you do prior to your involvement in METCO?

MRS. BATSON. Just prior to my involvement with METCO I was a member of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination. I served as a Commissioner.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What has been your function with METCO?

MRS. BATSON. My particular function has been up until school started, to work directly with the community in explaining the program and interpreting the program. Also, I was charged with the responsibility of selecting the children according to directives given to us by the board and now my particular function is to work very closely with the families in the METCO program and try to iron out whatever problems might arise and so forth.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Batson, what was the reaction among Negro students and parents in Boston to the METCO plan?

MRS. BATSON. I think there was mixed reaction, because some people felt in taking 220 children out of the situation that existed in Boston was not going to solve the problem and just barely make a dent in it. So there was some reaction there, but to many, many people this represented another opportunity and another program to help some Negro children get a decent education.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How many applications did you receive?

MRS. BATSON. We received a total of 517 applications.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did you interview all of the applicants?

MRS. BATSON. I, along with Mrs. Betty Johnson, who works in our office and is my co-worker, we interviewed every single parent and we also interviewed every single junior high and high school student. We did this because we felt the older children—we had to be sure these older children really wanted to go into the program. It is not as if you pick up a small child and put them on a bus and we felt if the

older children really didn't want to go, we didn't think they should go. So we interviewed the older children without their parents.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Why did the parents you interviewed want their children to take part in METCO?

MRS. BATSON. They gave many, many reasons but overcrowded classrooms—many just said very simply: "We want a decent education for our children and we don't think they are getting it." Many parents referred to a number of substitute teachers. Quite a few parents referred to the fact that their children had been A students, honor roll students, and had taken Latin School exams and had flunked and they couldn't understand, if the child was an A and B student, why they couldn't pass an exam and there were many different reasons and I would say it just boiled down to getting a better education or the best education they could get.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Why did the junior high and high school students you interviewed tell you they wanted to participate?

MRS. BATSON. I think mainly the young people reflected the attitude of their parents. Some of them said they felt they had been to some career programs, for example, and in Upward Bound programs and felt that the education they were getting would not help them go into the kinds of careers they wanted to. Career aspirations seemed to be the big thing mentioned by the young people.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you describe for us the procedures you used in making your selection of 220?

MRS. BATSON. We were directed by the board to select children from the South End, Roxbury, and North-Dorchester community. So we accepted applications from this area. We then divided the applications geographically. We then were directed by our board to select children on a cross section basis. We wanted children who crossed academic and economic lines. We just didn't want to present a false picture to the suburbs.

Some people seemed to feel that if you come from Roxbury, everybody is down and out and broken up and so forth. So we wanted to send a good cross section to the suburban community so then we tried to select children on that basis. When we came to the academic problem, this presented a problem because we had no access to records and, therefore, we had to depend almost solely on what parents said and this sometimes could be overstated or understated. But after school closed, and we did the bulk of our interviewing before school closed, after school closed we did at times have report cards and did see report cards and then could judge on that basis.

Now the receiving schools, the suburban schools, had had many general rules about the children and one of them was that they did not or could not this year accept special class children or children who had repeated a year but I'm very glad to say that there was an exception made in two cases on the recommendation of the staff and two children who had repeated a year were accepted.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Batson, we haven't had a chance to look at the document that Dr. Trilling submitted but would you say that the METCO program is taking the best Negro children out of the Roxbury schools?

MRS. BATSON. No, I would not. I certainly would not. I would certainly hope we had more than 220 best students in Roxbury, but what I would say that some are very good students. The bulk of the children are average students.

When parents would come in, many of them who had children who they considered poor students were afraid to let the children go because they did have a fear they would be held back or kept back and this presented a fear to the parents and, particularly, this was a problem with the older children who felt they just weren't going to do well.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The older children seemed to be concerned?

MRS. BATSON. The older children, yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Did as many boys apply to you as girls?

MRS. BATSON. We had almost as many boys as girls, but we found as the children grew older the boys became more reluctant. I discovered for the first time boys were not quite as adventuresome as I thought they were and the older the boys got the more we had to prod them. So, on the older level, I would say that we had more girls, but on the other level I think we have about 10 more boys than girls in the program, girls than boys, rather. I'm sorry.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Were the METCO children concerned about how they would be received in the suburban schools?

MRS. BATSON. Not so much how they would be received by the other children but how they would be received by teachers. This became a very constant question. What are the teachers like? Will the teacher be nice to me? Will the teacher be good to me? Will the teacher like me? That kind of thing seemed to concern the children more than whether the other children would like them.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Batson, do you think that METCO is the answer to Boston's racial imbalance problems?

MRS. BATSON. No, I do not. I think the racial imbalance is so deep rooted that the taking of 220 children will not certainly do anything for the large number of children left in the Roxbury area and I, for one, am very concerned with what is happening with the children who are still in the community.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think the children in the community can be helped by compensatory education programs?

MRS. BATSON. I think this, that under the present system we—and I now speak for myself and this does not necessarily reflect the board's view because I haven't discussed it with them—but I think that we in Roxbury are victims of what I consider official neglect and this official neglect has led to an educational gap and I can't see any evidence on the part of the official school administration that they recog-

nize that any serious problem exists in the Roxbury community. I just want to give you an example of the kind of thing that may seem to be a small thing but it made an impression on me.

In going over some of the report cards that the kids had, I was concerned that at the bottom of the report card where it lists the superintendent's name, that listed as superintendent on every single report card I saw, with the exception of two, was the name Frederick Gillis. Now Mr. Gillis hasn't been superintendent of Boston schools since 1963. Listed on one report card was the name Dennis Haley, and he hasn't been superintendent of schools since I don't know when. On only one report card was the name Frederick Gillis crossed out and the name William Ohrenberger substituted, and this happened to come from a school outside of the Roxbury community. I am not saying it is not a practice all over Boston, but I just thought to myself, that a school administration that would not, at least, put proper information on a report card for a parent to see, this is indicative of what I think is wrong with the system.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think the children in the Roxbury area—you said they were the victims of official neglect. Do you think they are also culturally disadvantaged or deprived?

MRS. BATSON. I would imagine that probably there are some people who are, and some of us may be, and some of us may not be, but I think this is another problem with some of the compensatory programs. They have dealt solely along these lines in a stereotyped manner, thinking that the whole of Roxbury fits into this category. I am reminded of a story someone told me of a mother who transferred her child to a school outside of the Roxbury area, taking advantage of the open enrollment plan. And the child immediately began to fail. So the mother went to the principal to discuss this with him. And the principal said, "What this child needs is a room by herself where she can study." The mother said, "But she is an only child and she has her own room." And the principal said, "She should do a lot more reading. You should see that she reads a lot." So the mother said, "But she has a library card and I take her myself to the library." So then the principal said, "You don't learn everything in school. You must see she is culturally enriched and you must get her into programs that will help her." And the mother said, "She takes ballet lessons." So the point I am trying to make is, at no point is there an effort in my opinion to get to the real source of the problem.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mrs. Batson, do you think that integration is important to the education of Negro children in Boston?

MRS. BATSON. I certainly do and last night I began looking over these papers because I am very interested in employment and I looked at all of these want-ads in the paper and all of them—many of them have under them, "Equal Opportunity Employer" and I would say they don't mean one single thing to many people. Many of these jobs called for 5 and 15 years experience in certain fields, in fields we haven't even

begun to arrive and fields we haven't even been involved in and I feel that unless we get the children out of this bind to where the majority is, because where the majority of white people are, this is where the majority of concern for these white people is on the part of public officials. So if we are to be beneficiaries of this concern for the majority, we have to be where the majority is.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Thank you, Mrs. Batson. I have no further questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman, do you have any questions?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Mr. Trilling, you stated that there are seven participating communities. What, without naming the communities, would be the maximum potential of participating communities in METCO?

DR. TRILLING. Well, we hope that we can increase the number of participating communities. In fact, the Lincoln-Carlisle High School District voted last year to participate and the only reason they were not included in the program was that their vote came too late for us to find funding for them. Several other school committees have the matter under advisement and I would think that within a few years, possibly 15 to 20 suburban communities might participate.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. And then the number of children served by such a program, an increase in participation, would—

DR. TRILLING. Yes.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. —would be about what?

DR. TRILLING. Both the communities participating presently, and by the increase in the number of participating communities, we can increase the number and within a period of four to five years we hope that some 2,000 youngsters can participate in the program.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Mrs. Batson, you have said that this number doesn't make a dent in even 2,000, I suppose?

MRS. BATSON. I beg your pardon.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. You said the number—METCO, as good as it is, is not the solution. The potential would not exceed about 2,000. You have also said that the present administration does not provide the answer. What, in your judgment, should be done?

MRS. BATSON. Well, here again, this is my own personal opinion. I certainly think that the Federal Government will have to come into a system where children are being crippled and do something about it. For example, I can't understand how the Federal Government provides Federal money to a system that breaks laws and confines and cripples children. I think that it is disastrous to see the children go from one community to another community and fail, that children go from one section of a city to another city and find curriculum differences and fail, that even the children come from one part of the country to another, and I'm wondering if the Federal Government should not come in and really examine systems and make certain that these children are getting a decent education. It is not and cannot be done

under the present system involved. I think a great deal more cooperation on the part of suburban communities where there are good schools with good facilities and so forth, this should be worked on and enlarged, probably, also, with the help of Federal aid.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Dr. Trilling, as I understand it, METCO with Federal funds is paying tuition to these several towns where the children were being taken. Is that correct?

DR. TRILLING. We prefer to say that educational costs are covered because if it is legally labeled, "Tuition" then it goes into the town treasury and the School Committee does not dispose of the funds.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. I don't care about that. You are making payment on account of these children.

DR. TRILLING. Yes.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. These children are all being taken out of Boston schools, are they not?

DR. TRILLING. That is correct.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. And Boston costs are being reduced.

DR. TRILLING. That is correct.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Is Boston making any contribution to the education of these children?

DR. TRILLING. Not at this time, sir.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Do you think that Boston should?

DR. TRILLING. Well, my first concern is to get the youngsters moving and the first year this seems to be the expedient way to get the program started. As a matter of principle, it does seem to me that since the Boston taxpayers pay taxes to pay for the education of these youngsters a contribution might conceivably be in order.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. I was not meaning to criticize at all what you have done so far. I was looking to the future and I was also thinking of Mrs. Batson's suggestion that the Federal Government ought to do things. It seems to me the Federal Government has done a great deal and the real obligation is on the city of Boston and that instead of looking outside to solve our problems, we ought to try to find—difficult as it is and against seemingly insuperable obstacles as it may be—we ought to find some way to solve it within Boston or, at least, within the Greater Boston community. I take it you would agree with that?

DR. TRILLING. Yes, sir.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Would you, Mrs. Batson?

MRS. BATSON. Well, I would under different circumstances but I don't think that you continue to allow children to suffer while you try to bring people around to your way of thinking, Dean. If you talk to the parents that I talked to, they can't wait either.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. I agree with you on that.

MRS. BATSON. I think idealistically what you are saying is right but realistically it is not working.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. What I'm trying to bring out is that it's really a Boston problem.

Mrs. BATSON. I think you're right.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. And I think we're all agreed that it's a Boston problem and we ought to try to find ways to deal with it as a Boston problem while, in the meantime, doing what we can to help the children who are, without any fault of theirs, caught in the situation.

Mrs. BATSON. I agree with that.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Dr. Trilling, I think anybody should be happy at what you have accomplished and it is certainly a demonstration and should perform a lot of good to show the difference between the two school systems. I am still bothered, as I suppose I should be, by the fact we are talking here about 1 percent of the students in a difficult situation. Now I appreciate the fact you have demonstrated that they aren't all the superior students but, at the same time, they are 1 percent of the youngsters who are apparently not getting a comparable education. It seems to me, looking at the whole thing, the tension here, the key problem from an organizational point of view to do something about it is that we have so many different management teams working on it here. We have every township with its management team, if you will, or committee. We have the Boston area with its committee and really the problem is what you see on that map there. It is a metropolitan problem. It is not a city versus a suburban problem and I was wondering if, having given leadership up to this point of getting some cooperation between suburbs and the metropolitan area, if there is any possibility for your group to move on, to start talking in a much larger context about something that might be done for the metropolitan area, perhaps some completely new kind of organizational setup involving all the power structure and the whole metropolitan area to get at the 22,000 students still getting an inferior education in the Boston metropolitan area. Is that possible, do you think?

DR. TRILLING. I have to be careful how I answer this question because, at the present time and speaking on behalf of METCO, I can only express an interest in the idea. The idea has problems associated with it of the finding, the area of authority of the present school committees, and so forth and, as an organization, METCO cannot take a position on this.

Speaking as an individual, I would say that we would like to go as far as we can with voluntary measures. We have thought that the step we have taken is the first step. The next step is going to be to turn around and look toward the city and bring something into the city rather than take the youngsters out. How we do it, we are not yet sure. We have thought of a number of programs which the superintendents who are going to testify later will describe to you in detail. But that is one part—the development of new material, curriculum

material and the like is another part. Eventually we would like to demonstrate what can be done and with that information we may be then in a position to offer a suggestion which will have a direct bearing on the point that you raise. I think we want to proceed at a deliberate pace.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Thank you, Dr. Trilling. Mrs. Batson, is there any evidence yet of the playback in the local schools in Roxbury from the experience of these youngsters studying outside?

MRS. BATSON. Any evidence from the participants in the program?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. No, I'm thinking of any evidence that the local schools are beginning to feel a little bit uneasy about the fact that students are going to other school systems and, apparently, getting a better education.

MRS. BATSON. I haven't heard that, sir. The only thing that we have gotten from the community are people who have talked to people who are involved in the program and who want to know how the program can be expanded. But I haven't heard any feedback at all.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Do you think there is any possibility that the schools in Roxbury may start getting a little self-conscious if all these students—

MRS. BATSON. I did hear one feedback. One teacher called me—a Boston teacher—and said one thing we had done in one particular school was to reduce some class sizes that made it easier and that, in itself, is some advantage. As to whether the spotlight on the schools will help, I don't know because the spotlight has been on for some time now and you never know what the thing is going to be that will just change the situation.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. But it seems to me, from the evidence we've heard the last day or so, that every one of these students says that when they go to another school they have more homework, they may have had A's in one school and they have trouble competing in another school, that they seem to be moving quicker, and all the evidence is—

MRS. BATSON. I know this is true not only from what parents tell me but from what I experienced with my own children. That's how I got involved in this whole civil rights movement. It was because of my interest in education as it affected my own three daughters, and when I found that we moved from one area to another and saw my girl who had been an honor roll student flunking and then have the teacher in the other school telling me she wasn't adequately prepared, I thought it was time to really get busy and that was about 10 years ago.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. How many Mrs. Batsons are there in Roxbury?

MRS. BATSON. A lot of them.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Good. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dr. Trilling, you indicated, as I remember

your testimony, you are paying to these receiving school districts \$600 to \$800 a year in the way of educational costs. How do you arrive at the educational cost? Do you take the figure that the receiving school gives you? Is there some examination of their costs, some effort made to relate your payment to their actual cost or how is that worked out?

DR. TRILLING. Well, it is customary that school systems in Massachusetts accept students from outside the district and charge these students tuition, and in that case, the amount of tuition is fixed by vote of the school committee and is usually computed on the following basis: we take the school budget for a given year and divide it by the number of students attending school, and the resulting figure is the average cost per pupil and this is our base figure and this is the one that was used in this case.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. The next question is in the same general arena. You are reasonably certain you are not paying more than the receiving schools cost, are you?

DR. TRILLING. Well, we are—

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Let me put it another way. What I am getting at is, are your examinations and negotiations sufficiently carefully done so that you get away from the criticism that the receiving school participates because, perhaps, this is a profitable venture?

DR. TRILLING. I hope this is not the situation. I find it difficult to speak of other school systems but Brookline, where I am a member of the School Committee, receives a certain sum of money to participate in this program, or to cover the costs of participating in this program, which is of the order of \$50,000 for 75 youngsters and we have appointed five new professional people to the staff and one secretary. These are an adjustment counselor, a guidance counselor, a psychologist, a reading specialist, and one classroom teacher. The sum of the salaries of these people just about covers the amount of money that we receive. I would very much suspect that it is similar in the other participating communities.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Then in another area on the map, you show seven receiving school districts. I assume that in the beginning there were some reservations on the part of some parents in these areas about this project of the moving in of these Negro children. Has the amount of reservation lessened in your opinion? This is a judgment question, I recognize.

DR. TRILLING. I think the expressed amount of reservation was never very large. There was a certain amount of expressed opposition in the town of Wellesley. I think that is the only one in which there has been a great deal of opposition reported in the press.

It turned out that when the youngsters arrived at Wellesley High School, they were well received and they are now apparently well accepted. In Brookline, where I am a little bit more on the inside of things, we received very few letters, either pro or con, as members of

the School Committee on this program. I think I received two letters against the program and two or three for the program. So that I have a feeling this is accepted reasonably well by the receiving communities.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Thank you very much, Dr. Trilling. Mr. Taylor?

MR. TAYLOR. Would I be correct in assuming that there are relatively few Negro residents of the communities that are participating in METCO?

DR. TRILLING. Yes. That is correct.

MR. TAYLOR. Would I also be correct in assuming that there may be some resistance to the acquisition of homes or apartments by Negroes in some of the areas?

DR. TRILLING. I hesitate to answer this from first hand knowledge. There may be some. On the other hand, I think, that in this respect the situation may be more or less slowly improving.

MR. TAYLOR. I wondered if you thought that the success of the program, if it does prove successful, and participation of the communities in the METCO Program might have some effect upon this whole question of resistance in the housing area?

DR. TRILLING. Well, of course, this is not primarily our purpose but if the youngsters of both races find this a pleasant experience, and there is some evidence that this is the case, then, I think, it will have the effect you mention in the long run and I would certainly not be unhappy at the thought.

MR. TAYLOR. But just as we hear very often that you can't really do anything about the school problem until you do something about housing, this might tend to suggest that doing something about the school problem might, quite the reverse, help you to do something about the housing problem.

DR. TRILLING. I think possibly in a relatively small way, at a slow pace, yes.

MR. TAYLOR. Is the State involved? We talked about the local government and the Federal Government. Is the State involved in any way in the support of the METCO Program?

DR. TRILLING. I think the answer to this has to be yes, in several ways. In the first place, when we started our program we received encouragement and advice from the State. In the second place, of course, applications for support under the Federal programs, have to go through the State Department of Education, and since we were funded, I assume that we received the endorsement of the State Department of Education. Finally, partly to clear away certain legal uncertainties and partly to prepare the way for the future, because at the present time we are a demonstration program, but we mean to be an operational program and we need financial support other than under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which, by its nature, will lapse after a while. We have been

encouraged, by the introduction into the State Legislature, legislation which was passed and signed by the Governor on the 13th of August, I believe, which makes it permissible for the State to fund programs such as METCO. So that we look forward to further participation by the State in programs of this sort.

MR. TAYLOR. Mrs. Batson, do you have anything to add to what Dr. Trilling said about the reaction, the initial reaction, of parents in the METCO communities?

MRS. BATSON. In the beginning, before I became a METCO staff person, I did do a lot of speaking in some of the receiving communities and there were fears expressed. The kind of fears expressed were that these kids coming in will bring down our educational level and I even heard one fear expressed that I thought was a little different that all the scholarships would be given to the colored kids and not to the white and there were many fears expressed. But as I pointed out to people in the receiving towns, this was not a civil rights movement and this was an educational program and they should view it as that and if they didn't want it, they should vote against it. But the sleeper in this whole program, in my opinion, has been the host family setup whereby the children have established some very fine relationships and a lot of this has been disappearing under this host family arrangement. And I was interested when you asked Dr. Trilling about moving because the other night we had a meeting with one of our parents' groups and we asked them to fill out some questionnaires and we asked, "Has there been any change in your child since entering the METCO Program as yet?" And one lady said, "Yes, she wants to move to the town." But I would say there was resistance and I think probably there still is some quiet resistance but, on the whole, the host family and the local METCO committees have done an excellent job in making the kids welcome and in interpreting this to their own people.

MR. TAYLOR. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Thank you very much. We are very grateful to you. You are excused. Mr. Glickstein, would you call the next witness?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Now we have a group of three witnesses, Mrs. Katherine Endris, Mr. Alan Gerlach, and Miss Karen Bulger.

(Whereupon, Mrs. Katherine Endris, Mr. Alan Gerlach, and Miss Karen Bulger were sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

TESTIMONY OF MRS. KATHERINE ENDRIS, BRAINTREE, MASSACHUSETTS, MR. ALAN GERLACH, WELLESLEY, MASSACHUSETTS, AND MISS KAREN BULGER, WELLESLEY, MASSACHUSETTS

MR. GLICKSTEIN. With the last witnesses, we reversed the rule of ladies first and perhaps this time we can reverse the rule of parents first and start with Karen and Alan. Would you both please state you full names and addresses for the record?

MISS BULGER. My name is Karen Louise Bulger, 97 Audubon Road in Wellesley.

MR. GERLACH. My name is Alan Meyer Gerlach, Jr. and I live at 112 Westgate in Wellesley.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Karen, would you tell us where you go to school, what grade you are in, and what positions, if any, you hold in the school?

MISS BULGER. I go to Wellesley High School. I'm a senior and I am chairman of the welcoming committee. I am not on the student council but I have been taking an active part in the student council.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What is the duty of the welcoming committee?

MISS BULGER. The welcoming committee is to welcome all new students entering Wellesley High School and help them with the problems they have, introduce them to the school, to other classmates, and to activities.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Alan, what school are you in, what is your grade, and what positions do you hold?

MR. GERLACH. I am a member of the senior class at Wellesley. I was president of the class in my sophomore year and a member of the student council for the past three years and currently am serving as president of that organization.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Karen, how many students are there at Wellesley High School?

MISS BULGER. Approximately 1,200.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What was the racial composition of the student body last year?

MISS BULGER. Last year it was all white and one colored boy. He was a senior.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Is Wellesley High School one of the schools participating in the METCO Program?

MISS BULGER. Yes, it is.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Karen, how many METCO students are there in Wellesley High? Do you know?

MISS BULGER. Twenty-five.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Are they all Negro?

MISS BULGER. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Where do they come from?

MISS BULGER. They come from the Roxbury area.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you know what grades they are in?

MISS BULGER. There are seven juniors and all the rest are sophomores.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. None of them are actually in your class, though?

MISS BULGER. No.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Karen, how did you get interested in the METCO program?

MISS BULGER. Well, last spring I was a member of the school committee in the Youth and Government Day Program and it was about

this time the School Committee decided to confirm its stand on METCO and take in METCO students. And about this time, there was a group called the Concerned Citizens Group which asked the School Committee to drop this issue until the Wellesley voters could vote on it in a referendum. One of the School Committee members, stated that under the terms of the Federal Education Act of 1965, which supplied all the necessary funds for METCO, it wouldn't be necessary to hold a referendum. This group got together and held a public poll for the Wellesley voters on the METCO issue. One thousand two hundred forty-nine people voted in this poll out of a little less than 14,000 Wellesley voters. This was about 9¼ percent of Wellesley voters and, of this, 80.6 percent voted against METCO. Now both sides felt they had won this poll. The citizens against METCO felt they won since they won the poll but the people for METCO felt they won because they claimed they asked all the citizens in Wellesley who were for the METCO Program not to vote and because of that only 7.4 percent of the people in Wellesley were against METCO.

I thought this was a little bit ridiculous, the whole poll, there was no purpose, and since I had never done anything that was to anyone's advantage but my own, I decided here I could help and the only way this program could be successful is if people gave it a chance to be successful and I did help with the welcoming committee.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Alan, how about you? How did you get interested in METCO?

MR. GERLACH. I became really involved through the role of leadership which my predecessor, Barry Cluff, as president of the student council, took. He was very active in its support. He attended many of the School Committee meetings and he committed the student council to a good deal of responsibility for welcoming these students. In a sense, then, I really inherited my interest through Barry.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think, Alan, that Wellesley High School's participation in METCO is important?

MR. GERLACH. Yes. I think it is important because it is giving the individuals involved a real opportunity at a better educational environment. Certainly the students from Roxbury are having a much better academic environment from the little that I know. I think they generally feel the school is much more receptive to their needs and is going to give them a much better preparation for college or a career than they would be able to receive back in Roxbury. I think it is important to the Wellesley students, also, because it is giving us an opportunity of meeting and studying with and living with people of a different background, both geographically and culturally.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What would you say to that question, Karen? Do you think it is important to Wellesley High School?

MISS BULGER. Yes, I do, just for the same reasons Alan gave. It does give them a chance to participate in the outlook and general attitude of a college geared community and we can both benefit, we can

both get to know each other and each other's backgrounds, even though they are probably a lot alike but there are slight differences which are important.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Alan, before the METCO Program began, did you ever have a Negro in your class at any time?

MR. GERLACH. No.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Alan, before the program began, did you have any reservations as to whether it would be successful?

MR. GERLACH. I think it would be safe to say that I did have some. I was really concerned I think for the students involved coming from Roxbury. It seemed to me a very difficult task to get up so early in the morning as they would have to do and then take a bus ride of some length to Wellesley and just stay for the day and not really have an opportunity to partake of the extracurricular activities, which are offered at Wellesley and make up a very important part of the school and then they would have to leave right after school. But these problems have been met. I think I also was a little worried that, perhaps, they would not be able to take a fairly rigorous academic curriculum and they would not be placed in the proper course levels and would find it very difficult. But, apparently, this has worked out with the proper guidance which they have had.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The program has been working out, you think?

MR. GERLACH. Yes, in my opinion.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Are the METCO students participating in extracurricular activities and social functions?

MR. GERLACH. I think it can be said that some of them are and I think almost approximately the same percentage of METCO students are participating in these programs as are Wellesley students. For instance, at a dance there might be one-third of the METCO students but there would be one-third of the Wellesley students as well. So it's working about the same ratio. There are some students who, frankly, just aren't concerned with the athletic teams or with working for the school newspaper or in our school book store but there are many others who are.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Was there much opposition in the school when the METCO Program was announced?

MR. GERLACH. There was some opposition. From the observations I have made, there was less opposition in the school than there was in the community.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What sort of concerns did the students express?

MR. GERLACH. The students expressed pretty much the same concerns that I had, that it would be hard on the students involved from Roxbury. They were also, I suppose a few of them, were worried they would get a little less attention. I think being, as Karen said, a pretty college geared community, the students need all the aid which their teachers can give them and they thought this might lead to some kind of fragmentation. But I think the main problem, the one politi-

cal concern was that perhaps, they felt the money could be spent better back in Boston improving the Boston schools.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. In your opinion, Alan, was the opposition greater or less among students or among their parents?

MR. GERLACH. In my opinion I would say the opposition was greater among the parents of the students at Wellesley. There were examples in which the parents would be against the program and the students would be for it or, at least, not committed.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Has there been much opposition recently?

MR. GERLACH. Not among the students. There has been very little that I have seen. Among the parents, I think opposition is lessening. I am really not too familiar with the situation regarding the parents right now.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Karen, what steps were taken in the Wellesley High School in anticipation of the arrival of the METCO students?

MISS BULGER. It was taken for all the new students. There were approximately 80 new students.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. These are all transfer students?

MISS BULGER. Yes. The METCO students were coming by bus in the morning, the juniors, and we had a meeting that morning and I had called approximately 50 people to be on the welcoming committee who would have a little sister or brother, as we called it, and they would meet them, show them to their home rooms and answer any questions these students had, and I arranged to meet them somewhere else sometime during the day, or the next day. And we had the meeting and we went down and we met them, we met them in school in the assistant principal's office and we spoke to them for a while. There were seven of us and seven of them and we all split up and went to the various home rooms and the same procedure was taken when the sophomores got off the bus, and we had a meeting after school where all the new kids, all the new students to Wellesley were in the library and everybody met their older sister or brother.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. So every METCO student has a big brother or sister?

MISS BULGER. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Karen, do you have any brothers or sisters of your own?

MISS BULGER. Yes, I do. I have an older brother in college and a younger brother in the sixth grade.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. He is in elementary school then?

MISS BULGER. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think the METCO Program would be a good idea for children like your younger brother?

MISS BULGER. Yes, I do. I think it would be a very good idea. When all this in Wellesley, this great feeling towards the METCO issue came up, a lot of the elementary school children — I know my

brother did from all this attention being called to this one area — they had a few comments to make that really——

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Your brother made some comments about the METCO students?

MISS BULGER. About colored people and the METCO students and I was really shocked and I feel if there were some METCO students in their class, they would understand, really, you know, these other people, they would have a better understanding and they would know better.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Thank you, and perhaps we could ask Mrs. Endris some questions. Mrs. Endris, would you please state your full name and address for the record?

MRS. ENDRIS. Mrs. Katherine Endris, 37 West Street, Braintree, Massachusetts.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How long have you lived in the Boston Metropolitan Area?

MRS. ENDRIS. At the present time, we have been here for four years. We spent four years here with a four year interval in between prior to that, '56 to '59.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you have any children?

MRS. ENDRIS. Yes, we do have. We have three; a boy, 20, one 17, and a little girl, 6.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Which of those children attend the Braintree School?

MRS. ENDRIS. The girl, 6, and the boy, 17, is a senior at Braintree High School. The girl is in the first grade.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you tell us something about the type of community Braintree is?

MRS. ENDRIS. I would say that Braintree is a middle to lower middle class, working class of people. In going to Braintree we particularly, in moving around the country as we have had the privilege of doing, we have been concerned specifically with the kinds of education our children would receive in any community where we have gone, and Braintree, as many of the other suburbs in the Boston area, was well known for its good educational system.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. So one of the factors that led you to choose Braintree was the schools?

MRS. ENDRIS. Yes, it was.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Are there Negro families living in your neighborhood?

MRS. ENDRIS. No, not in our immediate neighborhood.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. But in Braintree?

MRS. ENDRIS. There are some in Braintree. I think, approximately 13. I believe—I am not sure of the number.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Have you had many contacts with Negroes?

MRS. ENDRIS. Not until this past year and it has been a most rewarding year to be thankful for, as far as I am concerned. We have

had the privilege of knowing one gentleman who my husband met through our church who spent at least one week-end a month in our home, and at the end of the spring, through our church, we found one of the merchants in the area, the Boston area, was bringing 50 Negro college students from Tougaloo University in Tougaloo, Mississippi, to the area to work for the summer, and they were asking for volunteers to provide these youngsters with homes, room and board, during the summer. An interesting point of it was that these students, all Negro, had been asked whether they wanted to go into white homes or to Negro homes, and I believe it was Larry, as the young man who came to our home said, it was about 50-50. It was not just for financial help that these students were brought here. It was so they could see a part of America they had never known before, and also to experience a relationship with white people which most of them had never had the benefit of doing.

Through our church one morning, it was announced there were two students who would be working in Braintree and one of them was still without a place to stay. So we immediately volunteered and Larry came to live with us. He spent the entire summer with us and it is one of the most rewarding experiences we had. I think there is so much more to education than just what one learns from books, and in this experience, I believe that our family was so well educated in a way that wouldn't show up on any kind of scholastic test, that had we been enrolled in some concentrated college course during the summer, we couldn't have got the benefits of what we did and, therefore, in other words, what we learned and what I believe is such an important part of all of the METCO Program and all of these programs is something that maybe we can't really rate but it would be a matter of human relations.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What is your involvement with the METCO Program?

MRS. ENDRIS. I am president. I am not president, excuse me, the chairman, along with my husband, of the Braintree METCO Community Committee.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What responsibilities does this entail?

MRS. ENDRIS. Not to cover again what Professor Trilling and Mrs. Batson have said, but it is really an organization to familiarize the community along with the School Committee and School Board of what the METCO Program was and bring information into the community, public relations, and, I think, our specific involvement has been with the host families. Getting the families that will be linked with the Roxbury students as a back up, and for social contacts.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Are you a host family?

MRS. ENDRIS. Yes. I am a host family. The ideal situation is to have a child in the grade. We thought, not to go into too much detail, but up to about two weeks before school started, we had thought we would be getting fourth and eighth grade students, but as it

turned out, we ended up with all junior high students, seventh and eighth grade students. So we had sent letters through the schools to fourth grade parents and didn't have time to remedy this in that short notice. So the majority of them, I would say, all but three, do have host families who have children in that grade. We happen to be one who doesn't.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The child to whom you are host is not in the grade of your child?

MRS. ENDRIS. No. He is in junior high school and our boy is in senior high.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What other contacts do you have with the METCO students as part of your duties?

MRS. ENDRIS. In regard to personally right now, we haven't had as much as we would like to have, but we realize, we feel, it is of such benefit to anyone who can have contact that this is why we become involved in it. Primarily it was that we volunteered to be a host family but, as I said earlier, being a white parent and looking at it from this view, I feel there is so much benefit to any kind of integration or program that is above and beyond what one learns from books, and if our children, as Professor Trilling said, as a white parent, I feel, that if my child grows up with a prejudiced, bigoted, narrow mind, and knows nothing about those who differ from him in any way, he isn't really fully educated, and when he goes out into the world and into the workaday world, he will associate with people of many different races, then he will not be prepared to really relate to these people.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you say, then, that METCO was as important for the white children as for the Negro children?

MRS. ENDRIS. Most specifically. I think one word we like to avoid or try to avoid in the whole civil rights or racial problem is prejudice. And all of us like to think we are very liberal and that we want equal rights for everybody but when it comes right down to it, I think this may be the core of a lot of problems. As Karen has said here, I don't believe we can learn about other people and know about them by reading about them. I think it has to be on a person to person basis of associating with them and knowing they are children who experience the same fears, the same joys, and they study the same way, and have parents and all as our children do and, therefore, we learn to accept people who are different.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Were reservations expressed in your community when METCO was announced or under consideration?

MRS. ENDRIS. Yes, there were reservations by different members of the community. I would say that some of them were legitimate. I don't mean to say that all of them were because of prejudice. But they were not quite familiar with the program. I think that most of the objections were as a result, perhaps of misinformation or no information at all about what the program was and to clearly understand all of the workings of it. When there were a number of meet-

ings that were held by the school department and by the different P.T.A.'s and by our Committee on Human Rights, and by the METCO Community Committee, when it was organized, which, by the way, was all volunteers, before the vote was even final, before our School Committee, the superintendent of schools, from those people who had heard about it in the community had already sent in letters to the superintendent, Mr. Young, saying if and when the program was passed they would like to be put on the list to be a host family. Most of the people I have talked to in the Braintree Community Committee have said with some reservations, "Well, you know, maybe it is a selfish reason for doing this, but I am thinking as much of my child as I am of the child from Roxbury who is coming out here."

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How would you say the METCO students have been received in Braintree?

MRS. ENDRIS. I would say they have been received very well. It would be foolish to say that there aren't a few problems. As I said before, we've moved around the country and our children have entered different schools. In fact, I can remember when our boy, who is a senior now, entered the East Junior High School where some of the boys and girls are going now, and there is always a problem of adjustment for any child, but in talking with the superintendent of schools and with the two principals of the schools that anything that has come up has been no different from what any of the other new students have encountered in entering these schools.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Thank you. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Mrs. Endris, Braintree sounds like a nice community. How large is it?

MRS. ENDRIS. I would say the population is about 35,000.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Out of 35,000 you say there are 13 Negro families. Do you know whether there is any denial to Negroes of the opportunity to purchase or rent homes in that community?

MRS. ENDRIS. I have not been as actively involved in the fair housing committee as I would like to have been. We have just been there for the last four years, but I know that they have a committee which is working very much in conjunction with this and I think very much so, as Mr. Taylor said, this could help the problem of relieving tensions and fears by different people in the community in regard to the Negro which is a lack of understanding of them as being human beings as everybody else is. I have known of no open objection to this, but I am quite sure in very subtle ways there have been.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. How many pupils are in the school in Braintree?

MRS. ENDRIS. I wish I could answer that for you accurately. I know in the East Junior High School there are approximately 1,500 and in South Junior High, where these students are attending, there is a lesser number.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Are there any Negro teachers employed by the school system?

MRS. ENDRIS. I don't really know at this time. I know that there have been, but certainly not the majority.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Well, based upon what you said your experience was with Larry this summer and the positive value of the METCO Program as far as your children are concerned, then would it also not be of value to have more Negro teachers in the school system?

MRS. ENDRIS. Yes, I agree. I think any program of integration that would bring the two races or any ethnic groups or people of different faiths into personal relationship with one another is of great benefit.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Alan, have you ever had a Negro teacher?

MR. GERLACH. No, I am afraid not. We had, I believe, two teachers at the high school a few years ago, but they resigned, I believe, three or four years ago.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. What about you, Karen?

MISS BULGER. No, I haven't.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Do you think you would like to have one?

MISS BULGER. Yes, I would.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Do you think it would help the school system?

MISS BULGER. Yes, I do.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Then maybe the school system will do something about that, too. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. No questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I have one for the students. Do you think, generally—I will put this to Karen first and then ask Alan. Do you think, generally, the older people are a little stuffer about problems of racial relations than the younger people?

MISS BULGER. Yes, I do.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. What do you think is at the bottom of it?

MISS BULGER. I don't know, but I know that the kids who seem to be against it at first change their minds awfully easily and quickly, and I think when you get older you aren't quite as ready to accept something that readily.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. How about you, Alan? I think you said you thought the students were better than their parents on this question.

MR. GERLACH. Well, yes. I think, generally, that students are a little more flexible in their views and they are more amenable to any kind of liberalizing influence to come, but, of course, there are exceptions to this rule, too. But I think, generally, students are a little less doctrinaire and they will watch and see what happens.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Do you think there is some fear of the unknown about it, too?

MR. GERLACH. Well, on the part of the students? Yes. It is certainly something entirely new to us and foreign even to most of us, and I think this was just sort of a general opposition to anything which seemed to be something different to that which we have had in Wellesley.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. It seems important to recognize it runs both ways, too, because I heard just yesterday from the parents of one of the Negroes in the audience that their student had gone on one of these programs and the student's reaction when he came back to Roxbury was: those white people aren't really so bad after all.

MR. GERLACH. I should think the people have pretty much the same fears no matter where they are from.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Very good. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Taylor?

MR. TAYLOR. No, thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Karen, Alan and Mrs. Endris, thank you very much. We are grateful to you for coming. You are excused.

We will now take a 10 minute recess or a little less and we will reconvene about 3:40.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Ladies and gentlemen, will you resume your chairs, please, so that we may proceed. The hearing will come to order. Mr. Glickstein, will you call the next witnesses?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The next witnesses are Dr. Charles Brown and Dr. Robert Sperber. They will be questioned by Mr. Richard Bellman, attorney on the staff of this Commission.

(Whereupon, Dr. Charles E. Brown and Dr. Robert I. Sperber were sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

TESTIMONY OF DR. CHARLES E. BROWN, SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS, NEWTON, MASSACHUSETTS AND DR. ROBERT I. SPERBER, SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, BROOKLINE, MASSACHUSETTS

MR. BELLMAN. Would you each please state your full name and address for the record?

DR. BROWN. Charles E. Brown, 161 Highland Avenue Newton, Massachusetts.

DR. SPERBER. Robert I Sperber, 21 Lowell Road, Brookline, Massachusetts.

MR. BELLMAN. Would you each please state your occupation and place of employment?

DR. BROWN. Superintendent of Public Schools, 265 Watertown Street, Newton, Massachusetts.

DR. SPERBER. Superintendent of Schools, 333 Washington Street, Brookline, Massachusetts.

MR. BELLMAN. Dr. Sperber, how long have you held your present position?

DR. SPERBER. I have been superintendent in Brookline for two years.

MR. BELLMAN. What did you do before becoming superintendent of the Brookline schools?

DR. SPERBER. I was Assistant Superintendent for Personnel in the city of Pittsburgh.

MR. BELLMAN. Where is Brookline located?

DR. SPERBER. We are surrounded on three sides by the city of Boston and our western border is with Newton.

MR. BELLMAN. What is the enrollment of the public schools?

DR. SPERBER. We have 6,900 youngsters.

MR. BELLMAN. What is the background from which most Brookline students come?

DR. SPERBER. The average family household income is \$15,000 but at the same time in 20 percent of the population of Brookline, the family income is \$4,000 or less so it is a town of, I think, great contrast.

MR. BELLMAN. The previous witnesses have pointed out that Brookline is participating in the METCO Program. How many METCO students are attending Brookline schools and at what grade levels?

DR. SPERBER. We have 75 youngsters from Boston, 52 at the elementary level and 23 at the high school level. We're organized on a kindergarten-eight grade and then four years in the high school program. We have youngsters at all grade levels, starting in kindergarten and going right up through the eleventh grade.

MR. BELLMAN. How many of the METCO students are Negro?

DR. SPERBER. Of the 75, 74 are Negro. One youngster is a white girl in the high school.

MR. BELLMAN. Excluding the METCO students, how many Negroes attend Brookline schools?

DR. SPERBER. I don't have the breakdown, Negro-white. But we were required, of course, and are required, to take a census of the schools and last year our nonwhite census revealed five-tenths of 1 percent of the school population.

MR. BELLMAN. How many Negroes would that be?

DR. SPERBER. It was done on the basis of a head count. I would assume the large majority of the 35 or 40 nonwhites were Negro.

MR. BELLMAN. Dr. Brown, how long have you held your present position?

DR. BROWN. For six years.

MR. BELLMAN. What did you do prior to becoming the superintendent?

DR. BROWN. I was with the Newton schools as assistant superintendent.

MR. BELLMAN. What is the population of Newton?

DR. BROWN. About 90,000.

MR. BELLMAN. What is the enrollment of the public schools?

DR. BROWN. Approximately 18,000.

MR. BELLMAN. And what is the background from which most Newton students come?

DR. BROWN. We are very similar to Brookline in that we have also a wide spread of socio-economic levels. We are definitely skewed toward the middle-upper middle class both in regard to social and economic issues and in regard to the aspirations of families and children. But there is a wide range of youngsters.

MR. BELLMAN. The previous witness also pointed out that Newton is participating in the METCO Program. How many METCO students are attending Newton?

DR. BROWN. We have 50 youngsters.

MR. BELLMAN. At what grade levels?

DR. BROWN. At Grades 3, 4, 5, and 6.

MR. BELLMAN. How many of the METCO students are Negro?

DR. BROWN. All of them. 50.

MR. BELLMAN. Excluding the METCO students, how many Negroes or nonwhites attend the Newton schools?

DR. BROWN. At our last census, also required by the State, there were 240 nonwhite students in the Newton schools.

MR. BELLMAN. Why did you limit your involvement with METCO students to the elementary grades?

DR. BROWN. There was a practical reason. We wanted to place them in the classrooms where we had the most room. We simply do not have space at the present time in our secondary schools.

There is also a philosophical reason. It seemed to us that if we could involve the youngsters at an earlier age, there may be a longer and more definite gain over the years for the youngsters.

MR. BELLMAN. Dr. Sperber, do you think that high school students are too old to fully benefit from the METCO Program?

DR. SPERBER. No, I do not. There is enough evidence in other kinds of Upward Bound or Higher Horizon Programs being conducted all over the United States which indicate that people can profit from quality education at almost any level.

MR. BELLMAN. Why do you think it is important for Brookline to participate in METCO?

DR. SPERBER. I think the Braintree mother who testified a few minutes ago probably summed it up as eloquently as anyone. I am reacting both as a professional educator and also as a parent. We are living in a world. Two-thirds of the world's population happens to be colored. I think if we do not provide in both the community environment, the total community environment, and in the classroom environment opportunities for white children to participate with Negro and other nonwhite youngsters that we are denying them the type of ability to communicate that they will need when they become adults.

MR. BELLMAN. What was the reaction in Brookline to your participation in METCO? Was there any opposition?

DR. SPERBER. I think if there was any opposition it was not overt. As Dr. Trilling had indicated earlier, I believe the School Committee only received six letters, three in favor and three opposed. I just think that, in a sense I think, this is a reflection of a changing positive climate in America. I don't think it is popular any longer to take a position as being opposed to programs of this nature. This was, of course, not true 25 or 30 years ago.

MR. BELLMAN. What has been the reaction among Brookline teachers to your participation?

DR. SPERBER. Well, I had two formal meetings with the faculty, one in April with the high school faculty. They requested I come down to the high school for a meeting with them and they asked me a series of questions. This was immediately after the Brookline School Committee had voted unanimously to participate in the program and I think that some of the teachers at that meeting expressed some concerns in terms of the effect of admitting youngsters from the city in terms of its effect on quality education in Brookline. At least this was the way they phrased it. I think there were other segments of the high school faculty who expressed a strong support for this.

Then we had a half-day teachers' institute sponsored by the local teacher and professional organization and we divided the faculty into five groups. We had resource people coming in and we had an interesting exchange. It wasn't all positive but I think the fact that some of the teachers in Brookline could, for the first time, begin to express their judgments regarding these issues was, in itself, a worthwhile event.

MR. BELLMAN. What has been the reaction among Brookline students?

DR. SPERBER. I think it has been mixed and, again, this would probably parallel the testimony of the youngsters from Wellesley High School. I think there are some youngsters in the high school who had a great deal of apprehension about this in the spring and I think there were also some youngsters in the Brookline High School who felt very positively, and I think there were some who were neutral. I think it would reflect the general feeling of the community.

MR. BELLMAN. Dr. Brown, why do you think it is important for Newton to participate in the METCO Program?

DR. BROWN. I don't know that I can add to anything that has already been said about this general question except to endorse the notion that it is very important, I think, that suburban communities become aware of the fact that they are a part of an urban area and must in one way or another become involved in seeking solutions to various urban problems. Since education is certainly a problem of both the urban and suburban areas, it seems to me to make sense for

suburban and urban communities to work together in trying to resolve some of the educational issues we both face.

There are, of course, also the reasons relating to the attitudes that youngsters hold. We, too, in suburbia are in a sense a segregated community in the other direction of course and it is important that whatever generalizations we adopt as members of a white segregated community that these generalizations not be based on the rather narrow point of view that we might develop as a member of a suburban community.

MR. BELLMAN. Would you be in favor of a metropolitan school district?

DR. BROWN. If we assume that the potential of Negro children will be limited if he continues to live in segregated neighborhoods, and if we also assume that housing patterns are not going to change at least in the immediate future, then it makes a great deal of sense to me to explore the possibilities inherent in a metropolitan school district. Obviously, there are many considerations involved in looking into a problem such as this or a possibility such as this. The whole question of the relationship between a metropolitan school district and the existing local school communities is the question of who will attend, will attendance be optional or will it be mandatory, the question of financing, the question of the legislative structure under which such a metropolitan district would operate. Would it be run by a state board of education? We could go on but I do think the time has come to think seriously of new kinds of school organizations if we are to solve the problems or help to solve the problems of both the urban area and the suburban area.

MR. BELLMAN. Dr. Sperber, how many teachers are employed in Brookline?

DR. SPERBER. We have 430 professional employees.

MR. BELLMAN. How many are Negro?

DR. SPERBER. We have five Negro faculty members.

MR. BELLMAN. Has your participation in METCO affected the number of applications you have received from Negro teachers?

DR. SPERBER. Well, I think I could say that there has been a slightly perceptible increase in the number of applications from Negro applicants. Now, obviously, we do not ask a question of racial background of the candidates but, having been a personnel man in a big city and having gone out to make a deliberate effort in Pittsburgh to recruit teachers from predominantly Negro institutions, I have become familiar with them and so, therefore, I can scan an application and draw certain conclusions as to the background of the individual on the basis of the school attended. I think that the problem in the suburbs—I'm quite sure I could speak for the other suburban superintendents involved in this program; I'm quite sure they were always quite agreeable and the communities were, to accept Negro teachers—

I think the problem has been in past years, at least, prior to the announcement of the METCO Program, that Negro teachers probably didn't apply to suburban districts because they were not sure of the reception they would receive. But since the announcement of Brookline's participation in the METCO Program, I have noticed an increasing number of applications from professionals who were trained at predominantly Negro institutions and, of course, in this past year we went from two Negro professionals to five.

MR. BELLMAN. How would you compare the quality of education afforded children in Brookline with that afforded Boston children?

DR. SPERBER. I think this is a pretty big question and I have to rely on what we know in the trade as quality factors, quality indices, the question of class size, the question of how much you can pay a teacher in the city as compared to how much we can pay in the suburbs, the question of the quality of the instructional equipment, the question of textbooks, whether they are up to date. There are a whole host of factors that go into quality education. Probably the best single predictor of quality education is the amount of the average salary you pay your teaching faculty and, in this respect, although the Boston schools have a slightly better schedule at the bachelor's level, we finally overtake them at the master's plus 30 and the Ph. D. levels and even at the bachelor's level where they have a slightly better schedule, it is not enough nor will it ever be enough in my judgment to attract the high quality professional in terms of service in slum schools in the city. I think this is a statement you could generalize about the whole country. I think, in my judgment, until the Nation, the State, the local communities come to the realization that in order to attract a quality teacher to work in a slum school, whether it be a Negro or a white slum, that you are going to have to pay that teacher \$1500 to \$2000 more at each step of the salary schedule. Up to this point, America has not been willing to make that kind of an investment in city education. When they do, I think this will go a long way to redressing the imbalances that presently exist.

MR. BELLMAN. Dr. Brown, do you think that your schools will require compensatory education programs for the METCO children?

DR. BROWN. We would have to define the term "compensatory". If we are talking about programs, a variety of programs, that make it possible for a particular youngster to receive the kind of attention, either educationally or psychologically or socially, that his particular problem merits, then if this is compensatory education, we will indeed require this kind of education for the METCO children. But we also require it for every child in the city of Newton. What I am saying is, that the full range of services that have been offered in the past to Newton children will be offered to the children coming from Roxbury and we do not anticipate the necessity of having to establish any special program for the youngsters from Boston.

MR. BELLMAN. Dr. Sperber, do you hold any office in METCO?

DR. SPERBER. Yes. It is not really an office. I was asked to serve as the chairman of the professional advisory committee which is composed of the seven superintendents and it's our responsibility to examine ways in which the METCO Program can cooperate and participate with the city of Boston in other ventures in addition to receiving a small number of youngsters in our community.

MR. BELLMAN. What are METCO's plans for the future?

DR. SPERBER. We've just had a few meetings. Most superintendents and school people spend the first two or three weeks of each year just settling down. But we have had two meetings of the long range advisory committee and we have begun to explore two major programs that will take a great deal of homework I think but are worth following through.

One of them would involve establishing some type of consortia of universities, state colleges, 2-year technical institutions, industry, business in the Greater Boston area working with the suburban districts and the city of Boston in collaborating in ways of finding opportunities for the METCO youngsters to extend their education beyond the high school. We have a responsibility to the 220 youngsters to see them through the education they are receiving in the suburbs but we also feel we have a responsibility to these youngsters beyond that and there are a number of models that we can look at and we intend to do this. There are a number of models in the general area of what is known as Upward Bound programs. There was one in the city of Pittsburgh that I participated in which involved the city of Pittsburgh and the Carnegie Institute of Technology. They were funded by the Carnegie Corporation and youngsters in the tenth and eleventh grades who were considered under-achieving, both Negro and white under-achievers from the slum schools of the city of Pittsburgh, were given the opportunities to come onto the Carnegie Institute of Technology campus. For several summers they worked with these youngsters for two academic years giving them a chance to improve some of their basic skills, lifting their aspirations, lifting the aspirations of their homes, and I understand from friends in Pittsburgh that of the original group of 47 youngsters, 42 of these youngsters have now gone on to some form of higher education. It's this kind of program that I would like to see the METCO organization become involved in.

The second broad area gets back to my original statement concerning the quality of teaching because in my judgment this is probably the critical factor, as I have indicated, in establishing quality programs. It is very clear, and this is nationally not just in the city of Boston, that a teacher needs a great deal of different kind of training to be a teacher in a slum school and they are not receiving this kind of education at the present time anywhere in the United States. A few colleges and universities have begun to make efforts in this area but, by and large, this has not been a systematic national effort. This has to be done in order to be able to come up with a highly trained

group of specialists who would be able to function effectively in a slum school milieu because it is obviously quite different from the kind of milieu they are accustomed to as members of the middle class society. So I think this is another broad area that would involve metropolitan cooperation.

I tend frankly in my own judgment, as somewhat different from Dr. Brown's statement, to emphasize at least in the beginning stages of the METCO Program an emphasis on metropolitan cooperation and planning rather than at this particular point taking that long leap ahead in terms of consideration of metropolitan districts. I know you haven't asked this question but as long as I have the microphone I would like to expand on this particular point. Most of the evidence in big city education would seem to suggest that they must find ways of breaking down the size of their city school unit. The most notable examples are the recent efforts in New York City where they have 1,000,000 children and they can't manage 1,000,000 children as one conglomeration. They have attempted to break this down into 30 school districts. I think this would tend to open up some emphasis for us. I think there are ways of cooperating and I believe the suburban schools have this opportunity to cooperate and to plan. But I think if we get into the area of establishing one large metropolitan district, I think we are going in the wrong direction in terms of the organizational patterns.

MR. BELLMAN. Dr. Brown, we know it is too early to evaluate the effect of the METCO Program, but could you comment on the initial weeks of its operation?

DR. BROWN. Again, my comment would follow the line of testimony that has been given already. Our general reaction has been very positive. Obviously, some youngsters have adjusted better than others but this pattern of adjustment is no different from the pattern that we have observed in transfer students coming to Newton over the past years. [To] the Newton youngsters for the most part, this is not a new experience. That is, most of our schools, the great bulk of our schools, have had Negro children before and, therefore, there has not been a dramatic change.

There has been one school, however, for which this is the first time that a Negro child has attended the school and this has been a very positive situation. Indeed, the teacher has commented several times on the benefits that the presence of Negro children has brought to the discussions, particularly in the area of social studies where youngsters for the first time have a personal awareness of the fact that they are talking about a larger society than the one they have been used to. Generally, I would report the first two weeks of the program as being most successful.

MR. BELLMAN. Dr. Sperber, would you like to comment on the initial weeks of the program?

DR. SPERBER. I don't have any overall reaction because I think it

takes a little bit longer than two or three weeks to start drawing some generalizations of the impact of the METCO Program but I have been in some classes, not to take a look at METCO youngsters, but simply to conduct some other observations as part of my regular, total responsibility as superintendent. I have been in a high school freshman English class in which there were some youngsters from the METCO Program and I have observed them participating actively. I think the quality of their contributions were as good and in some cases even better than the ones from the Brookline youngsters. They seemed to be accepted as best as one can make this determination simply from observation.

I have also observed these youngsters in some athletic situations. I have the habit, whenever I can find the time, of taking some time from my lunch hour to try and get a swim and I am in there when youngsters are using another pool in the same location. I have seen some METCO youngsters swimming in regular physical education classes. I had an interesting reaction from the swimming teacher just yesterday who indicated that, frankly, he was rather skeptical when this program was announced last spring but he has now seen the METCO youngsters. Although this particular girl wasn't a very good swimmer, the point was she was trying and trying very hard and this obviously had made a very distinct impression on this particular swimming teacher and he took the pains to tell me about it, so if you call that reporting some evidence, yes, I think we could use that as at least some preliminary evidence.

Then, I understand from Mr. Killory who is the Executive Director of the Program, that they have taken a survey of the parents and the children who are coming out from Boston and the reaction seems to be an extremely positive one and I think that is extremely important. That is probably more important than any other reaction. In other words, how do the children feel, how do their parents feel, and the results of this initial survey are all to the good.

MR. BELLMAN. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dr. Sperber, I would like to ask you a question because you come from Pittsburgh where you had a large school situation and a large number of nonwhites to deal with. I gather that you feel that there needs to be a recognition on the part of the suburban schools that they have a responsibility to help solve this integration problem of the total area. You don't quite agree with Dr. Brown that it ought to be a single school district. The question I want to ask you really calls for hearsay evidence. Is it your view that the superintendents of most of the school systems around Boston feel as you do or is your view a minority view?

DR. SPERBER. With respect to the establishment of a single metropolitan district?

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. With respect to a recognition that there has to be a sharing of the responsibility for the solving of the problem.

DR. SPERBER. The only test of evidence that we can present is the reaction of the seven superintendents who are participating in this program. I have never in the short time I have been in this area—I've only been here two years—actually gone around and put that question to a large number of suburban superintendents. But if we can use the reaction of the seven superintendents who very willingly wanted to participate in this program as any barometer, I would say there is certainly a reservoir of positive feeling toward metropolitan cooperation and awareness on the part of the suburban superintendent that he just cannot continue to live in his own isolated grandeur.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. The next is another hypothetical question and you can answer it or not. It is relatively simple in the Boston area where the population of Negroes or nonwhites in the total community is not great. Do you think, if you were in a suburb of Chicago or Detroit or Washington or Cleveland, where the nonwhites in the total city school system represent a majority of all the students, you would feel the same way about it? Again, this is hypothetical. Maybe I ought to preface it since the Commission faces the responsibility of making some recommendations to the Congress and the President as to how to get on with this business of desegregation of the schools 10 years after the Supreme Court decision if, in fact, in our judgment it is in the public interest. That's the reason for the question.

DR. SPERBER. It is a very difficult question to answer. I can only speak as an individual. I happen to have a philosophical commitment to what I am engaged in and I obviously can't begin to know the temper or feelings of other suburban superintendents. I think, from a practical point of view, it is probably easier for this type of cooperation to be going on as it is in Rochester, Hartford, and Boston simply because there are less nonwhite youngsters involved. I think the political pressure on a suburban superintendent would be more intense in a situation in which a suburb were ringing Chicago, Detroit, or New York or Philadelphia.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dr. Brown, do you want to comment on those questions?

DR. BROWN. Let me first of all clarify something. I did not suggest that we develop one large metropolitan school district at the expense of existing school districts. I do believe that we should explore the possibility of developing a program which would allow to exist side by side a metropolitan school district and local school district. I see no reason why two school districts can't serve the same geographical area.

The question of whether or not other superintendents in the area share our concern, the concern that Dr. Sperber has referred to, is a hard one to answer. I have no concrete evidence except to second his statement that there has been a great deal of cooperation between and among the school systems involved in the METCO plan. Indeed, I think this is one of the significant outcomes of the program to date that for the first time in my memory there has been concentrated effort on

the part of a group, a small group to be sure, but a group of citizens and school people to make a beginning at least toward solving a particular kind of educational and social problem. The increased cooperation between school systems, between and among communities, and between the Roxbury parents and the communities and the children I think has been a very significant outcome of the program.

In regard to whether I would feel the same way if I were working in the Washington, D.C., area, for example, obviously it is a very difficult question to answer because it is hypothetical. I can tell you only what I read about and what others tell me about the Washington area. I cannot talk about the Washington situation out of my own experience. My answer would be, however, that we have to start some place and that even though a plan which may work in Boston may not work in Washington or Detroit, this does not make the plan for the Boston area any less worthwhile or any less worth pursuing, nor does it suggest that the plan might not work to some extent in an area where the concentration of Negro people was greater than it is in this particular area.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. One more question, Dr. Brown. Is your school system getting back from METCO all of the dollar cost invested in the METCO youngsters in your school?

DR. BROWN. The METCO youngsters are considered to be tuition students and we charge the METCO Program the same tuition that is paid by any other tuition youngsters coming to Newton. This is a figure. Earlier testimony described how it was arrived at. It is set by the School Committee every year. Mathematically, it is a realistic figure. In human terms, of course it is not. No cold figure can really describe what happens to a child in a situation where teachers and others care about him and I rather think that if we measure it in those terms, the cost would not be great. In terms of gross expenditures, it is true.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. The same is true in Brookline, Dr. Sperber?

DR. SPERBER. Yes. This was an earlier question that you had raised to Dr. Trilling and I would like to clarify it. The figures available to the Commission, I believe, are based on 1964-65 expenditures and they relate only to instructional costs. There are, however, additional costs which are built into full tuition such as maintenance of buildings, equipment, operation of cafeterias, health services, general control. These are not reflected in the figures you have at your disposal.

In addition to that, in the last two years there have been, I think, rather dramatic increases in teachers' salaries in general in the Boston area and, therefore, the current costs are much higher. And then speaking for Brookline, although I know this is true in Newton, we have expanded our program of services. We now have additional programs for the emotionally disturbed, for the mentally retarded, more elementary guidance, expansion of elementary foreign languages and the like. All of these costs have raised the cost of educating a

youngster of Brookline so that when the figure of \$833 for tuition at the high school level and \$677 at the elementary level was charged to the Government, this reflects not even current costs, it reflects last year's costs. I would like to put this issue to bed once and for all. The suburban districts are not making any money by participating in the METCO Program.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Dr. Sperber, you stated that 20 percent of the population of Brookline receives an income of \$4,000 or less and, Dr. Brown, I think you said it would be about the same or maybe not. Anyway, let's talk about Brookline so there is a spread on the socio-economic level. The number of pupils in the Brookline school district, about 10 percent, prior to METCO, with a slight change since then, would suggest that there are very few Negroes who live in the area. Now, of the 50 METCO pupils, suppose some of the parents would decide they would like to move there, are there any restrictions on equality of opportunity in housing in either Brookline or Newton? And I'd ask this question to both you, Dr. Sperber, and Dr. Brown.

DR. SPERBER. I am testifying here as I think only—

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. You have lived there about six years.

DR. SPERBER. I have lived there only two years, but I'm white and I had no trouble finding a home. I don't know what would have happened had I been Negro. I do know that there is an active fair housing organization in Brookline which attempts to do everything it can to make it possible for Negro families to move in. Other than the normal mores of any suburban area, there is also the realistic problem in our community that it's very hard to find a house for families with more than two or three children that goes for less than \$30,000 on the market. And that's a lot of money. So there's another factor that I think has to be added to answer your question.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. You are suggesting that families with incomes of \$4,000 or less still have to pay \$30,000 for a house?

DR. SPERBER. No, I am suggesting in answer to your general question as to whether or not there are restrictions to nonwhite people looking for housing in Brookline that if there are any such informal arrangements that exist that, in addition to that, the cost of the housing is another inhibiting factor. I'm not in the real estate business so, therefore, I don't really feel qualified to pursue that question any further.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Dr. Brown?

DR. BROWN. My answer has to be really my own impression of what I have observed over the past 12 years. I have lived in Newton for 12 years. I am impressed with the fact that this community is concerned about housing patterns and I think it has been relatively easy for a Negro who can afford it. Here, again, there is an economic problem to find a home in the city of Newton. Now I don't mean

to suggest there have not been problems and I want to underline the fact that I said relatively easy. I don't think the problem is solved in the city of Newton. I do think that the city is aware of the fact that problems have existed in the past and has taken certain steps to do something about them.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. I would like to ask Dr. Brown, I am not suggesting that Newton or Brookline are making money out of this. I recognize the problem, but Dr. Sperber indicated a number of additional personnel who had been added to the Brookline school staff apparently partly as a result of funds which came in from this program. Have there been similar additions in Newton?

DR. BROWN. No, there have not.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Are you contemplating making such additions in Newton?

DR. BROWN. No, we do not. Any additions to our staff or faculty will be made as a result of the total analysis of our educational needs in the city.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Of course, nobody would think otherwise but it seemed to me that the METCO Program had helped to enable Brookline to enrich its overall local school program and I am a little surprised to hear you say you don't think there has been any such result or that any such result is even contemplated in Newton.

DR. BROWN. We have no access to the money that we are receiving for tuition. We are following the same pattern with tuition students under the METCO Program that we follow with tuition students from any community, namely, the money goes directly to the city treasurer into the city surplus and never becomes a part of the school budget.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Except, if I may so say, indirectly, that is, in determining the amount of the school budget for the following year, you can surely take into account the receipts which have come into the town on account of school operations, can you not?

DR. BROWN. We must report these but I see no way in which the money we will receive under the METCO Program is going to affect our own budget or our own staffing patterns.

What we have done in effect is to take an elementary classroom with 24 youngsters, or 23 youngsters, and add to that group two or three youngsters from the Roxbury or from the Boston area. These youngsters may or may not have certain educational problems. The teachers have reported to us that they represent pretty much the same spread of problems that they have faced in the past and any attention they receive as individuals will be a reflection of the total range of specialized programs that we have which we are going to add to in the future, I am sure, as we attempt to improve the total school system.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Isn't it a little curious that Brookline has found this helpful in its overall program but Newton apparently finds it completely negative?

DR. SPERBER. I know this wasn't directed at me and let me say before I answer this question that I wasn't suggesting by the answer I gave to Dr. Hannah, Dean Griswold, that you were suggesting that local school systems participating in this program were making money. I was responding, frankly, to a kind of general community newspaper informed position which on the part of some people who want to detract from this program use this as an argument against those who are spending time in this program. I wasn't suggesting that you in any way were making this point.

But with respect to the differences in approach, this was strictly a matter of what I would call administrative decision. We chose in Brookline to anticipate the possibility that the 75 youngsters coming into our district would require some services, mainly in what is known as the pupil personnel field, psychological services, remedial reading, school adjustment counseling services. We didn't know this for certain but we wanted to anticipate the possibility that 75 youngsters would add to the need in this area and because our present pupil personnel loads were such that they could not handle any additional cases, we went out and hired additional people.

The second major difference—and both of these approaches, by the way, are perfectly reasonable; as I suggested, they just represent a different way of doing it—the second major difference is that in Newton they chose to send the tuition money directly to the general town treasury. We chose, under the recently passed legislation by the Commonwealth which enables us to establish a separate fund for Title III projects of which METCO is one, the new legislation enables communities who wish to participate in this program to set up the monies that come in for these programs in a separate budget and draw against that budget. It is simply a matter frankly, as I've indicated, of a different approach.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Has that approach been considered in Newton, Dr. Brown?

DR. BROWN. Yes, it has. We feel that there is an obligation, maybe legal, although I am not sure of that, that the program of youngsters coming to Newton under the METCO Program, as far as tuition costs are concerned, that this problem should be handled in exactly the same way that we have handled the problem in the past, namely, that the tuition monies revert to the general treasury of the city.

Now in the proposal that we submitted to the Office of Education, we originally asked for more money than we received and one of the things that we were anticipating in our initial request was the kind of service to which Dr. Sperber has referred and I think if we had additional money available we may have chosen to hire an additional psychological counselor or an additional social worker or an additional

reading consultant in anticipation of possible needs on the part of the youngsters. We did not choose to follow that pattern. Rather, we intended to cover these needs if they arise through the services that we have as a part of our regular school operation. We have developed a volunteer group of professionally trained social workers who are working very closely with individual schools. They are doing a good job. These are not interested parents. They are interested parents, to be sure, but they are professionally trained social workers whom we would hire if we had the money. But they are giving us their services until such time as the financial base under which we operate can be expanded.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Just one last question. Would I be fair, then, in saying that the city of Newton has profited from the METCO students although not the Newton school system?

DR. BROWN. The city of Newton has not profited from the METCO Program in any way. There are tuition students in Newton from other communities only at the elementary level. We can't take them at the secondary level. The METCO group, in its totality, is larger than any other single group of tuition students we have taken in the past. Financially speaking, it has been handled in exactly the same way that we have handled tuition students for years.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. I understand that but the net result is that some \$30,000 plus has been paid into the treasury of the city of Newton and the Newton school system has not incurred any additional expense on account of these students. Is that right?

DR. BROWN. This is true.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I don't want to direct this to either of you or perhaps either of you may wish to say something about it but it seems to me we have, during this hearing, spent an inordinate amount of time on METCO and other programs that affect a very small percentage of the Negro students in this total metropolitan community. First, is it a fair assumption that with the broadest kind of expansion, this program would not be foreseen in your point of view of going beyond 1 percent of the Negro students to maybe 2 percent or at the outside 3 percent? I'm talking about your school capacity to assimilate more students from Roxbury. Is that a fair assumption?

DR. BROWN. Yes. In its present form, yes.

DR. SPERBER. One of the reasons why a Boston parent, I would assume, would want to participate in this program is that we can offer, and the suburban communities have been willing over the years to pay for, more teachers per pupil which means the class size can be kept down to an average in our situation at 23.5 students at the elementary level and 19 at the high school level. That is one of the things we believe contributes to a better program. This costs money. The suburban community has been willing to do this. This automatically, then, places a limit on the number of available seats in the Brookline

schools because if I go up to 30 or 35, then we've destroyed one of the reasons why the parent wanted to come out to begin with. So there is a natural, built-in limitation.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. And that limitation, you would say, if we have 220 students now might, if you really squeezed it, go to 400 or 500 but unrealistically unless many more districts or towns get into it?

DR. SPERBER. I think there is an outside limit with respect to the existing seven communities. I think that the potential in this type of pattern would be increased if we could have more communities participate.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Would you agree with that, Dr. Brown?

DR. BROWN. Yes, but there is a geographic limit here. You can involve, because of the distance factor, only X number of communities and every community has this practical limit of available space. I haven't put all this together to determine what the possibilities are numerically but I am sure they are limited, provided we are talking about the METCO Program as it now exists.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. That is right. I am talking about 24,000 Negro students so what we are talking about in the best of worlds is 2 percent or 3 percent of the Negro population of this city.

DR. BROWN. That's probably safest. Right.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. My next point is that while this may have some value for your schools to demonstrate the effects of integration, at the same time I think it doesn't get at the basic problem this Commission is concerned about which is equality of educational opportunity for all citizens of this country, not just this city. My last question, which refers to this concern, is: do you think, under the present structure and I have no fixed ideas on what a structure should be or what should be added to the present structure, do you think the present structure for handling education in this total metropolitan community is adequate to solve the problem we are faced with?

DR. BROWN. I do not and I should emphasize that at this stage of things this has to be my own opinion.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I understand that.

DR. BROWN. It seems to me that as long as we have these rather hard and fast boundaries between an urban area and the greater area surrounding it, it is going to be rather difficult to solve particularly the problems of providing equal educational opportunities for all. I am personally convinced that it is very difficult to develop in a Negro youngster the kind of attitudes and perhaps even the kind of intellectual quality if he has to spend his educational life in a segregated school and if this problem cannot be solved within, from a mathematical point of view, within the confines of a particular city, then it seems to me that we have got to think in larger geographical terms if we are going to provide integrated education. The mathematics of the situation seem so obvious to me and it seems to me, therefore, we

must think in larger geographical terms. But even where the mathematics are not such that we have to expand the geographical area in order to solve the problem, it seems to me that there is value for both the urban area and the suburban area to begin to think in terms of some form of metropolitan approach to education. I repeat: not to exist at the expense of existing local communities but as an added approach to education which would be available to, at least at the beginning, those people who wished to have their children get the benefits of—and I think there would be real benefits in this from an educational point of view—a metropolitan school district.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. What you are suggesting is a larger planning unit maybe involving all the present people on the job and a new kind of institution that might be opened to people from all of these various towns and somewhat geographically related so it would be coequal in distance.

DR. BROWN. Exactly.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. And maybe financed in another way than the present financial structure?

DR. BROWN. That is exactly it. I haven't thought enough about this to be able to suggest to the Commission legislative patterns or financing patterns or this sort of thing. Obviously, there are many, many problems related to this general approach to providing a solution, but it seems to me that from an educational point of view at least, if not from a social point of view, the suggestion that we move in this direction has a great deal of merit.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. If this isn't done, all these other movements, good though they be and laudable, aren't going to get at the problem of 97 or 98 percent of the students involved.

DR. BROWN. This is true.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Taylor, do you have a question?

MR. TAYLOR. I wonder if I could get a quick response from you to a further question on a metropolitan approach. Is there anything inconsistent with a metropolitan district for the purposes of financing and paying teachers a uniform salary scale and decentralization that you talked about, Dr. Sperber, for the purposes of allowing principals and teachers and the community greater initiative in devising program and curriculum? Are these two inconsistent ideas?

DR. SPERBER. I don't know whether or not the question of incompatibility here has ever been tested. I think it is worth thinking about and doing some serious thinking about and I wouldn't be willing to say whether or not they would be incompatible. I just again must go back to my city experience in Pittsburgh. It seems to me that in a unit in that situation we had 75,000 youngsters. I think it was very important and this happened on many occasions that we had what I would call a flat organization. In other words, there weren't too many intermediaries between the problems of a classroom teacher and the superintendent of schools or any of his key assistants. And I think

it is very vital that in any type of organizational structure you establish or try and maintain that the needs and desires of that teacher or, for that matter, that pupil or that parent not be bandied around for several years until solutions can be found. This is my major concern that you get yourself so loaded with chiefs that there aren't enough Indians to do the job for the kids. This would be my major concern, the impersonal nature of too large an organization.

MR. TAYLOR. Dr. Brown?

DR. BROWN. I don't think there is anything inconsistent between the two things. It becomes more difficult to provide the personal touch that Dr. Sperber refers to as you increase in size but certainly it is not impossible to do this. I think, provided the right people were involved and the right kind of imagination applied to the problem, you wouldn't have to assume simply because an organization is larger in geographical area served and maybe even larger in population served that it has to be an impersonal organization.

MR. TAYLOR. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Thank you, gentlemen. We are grateful to you. You are excused. Mr. Glickstein, will you call the next witness?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The next witness is Mr. Thomas Eisenstadt.

(Whereupon, Mr. Thomas S. Eisenstadt was sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

**TESTIMONY OF MR. THOMAS S. EISENSTADT, CHAIRMAN,
BOSTON SCHOOL COMMITTEE**

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Eisenstadt, would you please state your full name and address for the record?

MR. EISENSTADT. Thomas S. Eisenstadt, 20 Fairlawn Avenue in Dorchester.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Eisenstadt, what is your connection with public education in the city of Boston?

MR. EISENSTADT. My connection is that I am chairman of the Boston School Committee.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How long have you been on the School Committee?

MR. EISENSTADT. Close to five years.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How long have you been chairman?

MR. EISENSTADT. One year.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. We understand that you have a brief statement that you would like to summarize for the Commission.

MR. EISENSTADT. I do. Chairman Hannah, distinguished members of the Commission, as chairman of the Boston School Committee, I bring you the greetings from the majority of the Boston School Committee, and I thank you for your invitation albeit in the form of a subpoena.

We are all well aware of the dark beginnings of the racial problems we are convened here today to discuss. They are to be found

in the earliest history of our Nation, in the triangular trade of rum, molasses, and slaves, which built so many of the fine houses on Beacon Hill, and, indeed, the venerable hall in which we meet today. The abolition and emancipation movement began right here in Boston, led by the fiery William Lloyd Garrison. But his work was only a beginning and the grim legacy of inhumanity which was slavery still plagues us.

Today, the isolation experienced by Negro pupils in predominantly Negro schools stimulates and confirms their self-belief in inferiority, fosters and perpetuates negative self-images. The best scientific evidence now available supports the view that imbalance retards the Negro child's development. But, even though some of us in power may not be sensitive enough to be moved by the moral and scientific mandate to end racial isolation, I should think we would be wise enough to recognize that a new State law has created a duty for us to do just that; and that continued non-compliance will not only result in Boston's loss of millions of dollars in withheld State aid, but will also contribute to the aggravation of racial tensions within our community.

Although the pace of Southern integration quickened enormously with the incentive of Federal aid in 1965, in Boston such aid seems to provide no incentive, and the withholding of aid, no deterrent from maintaining the *status quo*. Even so, there have been reports of behind-the-scene attempts to withhold Federal aid from Boston. Because this would be a futile gesture and one greatly harmful to those children now benefiting from federally supported programs, I must take this occasion to register my vigorous opposition to any such effort.

I have consistently urged my colleagues to show good faith by taking at least first steps toward complying with the racial imbalance law in order to secure the release of State aid and render the atmosphere ripe and conducive for the legislative amendment of that law. For as now written, the law is too rigid and inflexible and unrealistic. It is not capable of being completely and literally complied with unless drastic measures are employed. It would be absurd and unfair, for example, to bus white pupils out of their neighborhood schools into the ghetto schools. Even though the majority of our people are men and women of good will who believe in the Boston tradition of fair play, they also fear that their children will be used as pawns in this struggle and rightfully deplore the prospect of their being cross-bused into slum areas long distances from home. Any such cross-busing scheme would be self-defeating. As the New York State Education Commissioner's Advisory Committee on Human Relations and Community Tensions pointed out in 1964, an essential test of any plan for balancing must be the mutual acceptance by both minority and white citizens. It should be obvious, but does not always appear to be, that racial balance is impossible without white pupils! No plan can be acceptable, therefore, which increases the movement of white pupils out of public schools. Regrettable though it may be, if oppor-

tunity is to be equalized by traveling, it is invariably the slum child who must accept the inconvenience of going where the more fortunate already are.

Thus, to reduce imbalance we must be careful to employ only those devices which are practicable, realistic, fair and just, and not self-defeating. We must avoid remedies which create conditions more harmful than the illness of racial imbalance itself. Furthermore, our steps must be steady, and well-measured ones. We cannot reach our goal overnight—possibly not even within the next decade. And when the impatience of the Negro barks at what appears to be temporizing, I might invoke the words of the ancient Romans and say, *Festina lente!* We must make haste, but slowly and carefully for then our gains are sure ones and sure to last when accepted by all elements of the community.

But even after we have used all the classical devices for balancing the schools, there will still remain ghetto schools in which integration is simply not feasible. In those places, the only reasonable action is the massive improvement of the schools to educate children where they are. Even though supporting better schools in the ghetto has become a favorite ploy of the advocates of separate equality, I, nevertheless, make this suggestion and run the risk of being so categorized.

In conclusion, gentlemen, it should be clearly understood that the schools cannot be expected to unilaterally solve the problem of racial imbalance. To be cured, the illness must be attacked with even greater vigor at its other sources, namely, at the levels of employment and housing.

We can accomplish this goal only within the framework of our democratic system of government. The minority will not gain support by breaking the law or by breaching the peace. They must contain their defiance within the law. They must exercise their constitutional freedoms wisely, with discretion. I decry the battle slogans of "Black Power" and "Burn, Baby, Burn", because these only invite the ill-tempered among us to rejoin with the shrill cry of "White Power". And thus, the battle lines become drawn in the streets in a war between the races, when all the while the real battlefield is in the hearts and minds of men. The battle cry should be love and understanding. And when the war is won, there will be only victors, not vanquished.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Eisenstadt, I take it from your statement that you are in accord with the conclusions of the Kiernan Commission that attending racially imbalanced schools educationally damages Negro children?

MR. EISENSTADT. I do agree with the Kiernan Commission's findings.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. In your opinion, what programs of the Boston school system operate to relieve racial imbalance?

MR. EISENSTADT. As you know, three plans calculated to comply with

the State Racial Imbalance Law have been submitted to the State Board of Education by the School Committee, all three of which were rejected, but in each of which there were many steps calculated to at least make a significant dent in the problem.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What are some of the ones that are currently in operation?

MR. EISENSTADT. Of course, for many years we've had an open enrollment policy in the Boston public schools which makes it possible for any child, no matter what district that child legally or technically belongs in, to go to any school outside of that district.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Is transferring under that policy considered a privilege to the student?

MR. EISENSTADT. Well, I would suppose that it would be technically a privilege in view of the fact that if certain conditions are not met, this privilege can be withdrawn and the child sent back to the school that the child belongs in.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You mean that if the child is disobedient or something that might be a ground on which to withdraw the privilege?

MR. EISENSTADT. If the child presents a rather serious disciplinary problem in the school to which that child went under open enrollment, by all means the principal would recommend his return. We have liberalized this program to the extent where information is more widely and thoroughly and precisely disseminated than ever before in the history of the school system. We take regular seat counts determining how many available seats there are in the school system and we disseminate these. We also have placed an associate superintendent directly in charge of the program. We have indicated to parents by means of an annual bulletin exactly the procedures they are to take to exercise this privilege and the chain of appeal if they are not satisfied and, indeed, a majority of the School Committee has voted to grant MBTA card checks to any child desiring to use open enrollment if by the use of such privilege there will be a reduction in racial imbalance.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Has that been put into effect?

MR. EISENSTADT. We are awaiting funds. We have requested the mayor for funds to support this liberalization of the program but as yet I don't believe we have received the funds.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. But under the present program a child has to pay his own transportation if he wants to use open enrollment. Is that correct?

MR. EISENSTADT. Yes. I think, furthermore, the school system has inaugurated programs whereby students from all over the city have the occasion, the opportunity, to engage in multi-racial extracurricular activities, assembly programs, special event programs and the like. It is obvious from my position as stated, I hope unequivocally, in the past that we have not done enough. Obviously, had we done enough to balance the schools or at least proceed in this direction, the most

recent plan that we submitted to the State Board of Education would not have been rejected.

Recently the State Board of Education, in replying to their rejection of our plan, indicated that all they expected of the School Committee at this point was a balancing of the schools in the city of Boston to the extent of four, that's four out of some 46, which I thought was reasonable, affecting only 2,000 children out of 24,000 which I thought was reasonable. We didn't do this. I don't think we are moving swiftly enough.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What additional methods would you use to integrate the schools?

MR. EISENSTADT. It would be foolhardy to engage in that device that most people talk about and fear and that's cross-busing. I think we have to rule that out completely because I think this kind of program would defeat the purpose that we are seeking here. I think we could engage in some redistricting in the city of Boston. I think we could most definitely authorize and encourage the voluntary one-way transportation of Negro pupils to available seats in white school districts being very careful to keep enough leeway open in these white school districts, enough seats open to take care of any sudden increase in population.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would you be in favor of the Boston School Committee applying for Title I funds or Title III funds to fund Operation Exodus, for example?

MR. EISENSTADT. I think the time has come for the School Committee to look very seriously at the funding of this program. I think all indications seem to convince me that the program has worked well and smoothly and with surprising administrative efficiency. The results, the benefits, that accrue to the children engaged in the program is another thing. I don't think there has been any concrete evaluation as of yet. My guess, though, is that their educational achievement would improve. I think the time has come for us to look seriously at that and hopefully Federal funds would be forthcoming to underwrite the cost of such a program.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Eisenstadt, under the open enrollment policy—I'm quoting from our Staff Report, Exhibit No. 2, which says: "Continuance of such permission to remain at a receiving school is a privilege and depends upon attendance, punctuality, conduct, and safe transportation." We've heard some testimony that children who participate in the open enrollment programs are referred to as "they", that they're considered outsiders. Do you think that this privilege policy is an equitable way to operate an open enrollment policy?

MR. EISENSTADT. I do. I don't know of any instance where these children have been referred to as "they" or "them". I think some of us are particularly sensitive to the use of terms. I don't know of any instance where the fact that this is regarded as a privilege has made it uncomfortable for the children. It is going to make the chil-

dren feel more comfortable and if it is going to make the teachers and principals, assuming that what you say has some merit of truth, not regard the children as outsiders by calling this thing a right, then call it what you will. Maybe we will call it a right but a right which may be withdrawn if that child upsets the pattern of the school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. But a white child who lives in the neighborhood who upsets the pattern of the school wouldn't be forced to leave?

MR. EISENSTADT. There are occasions where that child is forced to leave.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. It would be very serious?

MR. EISENSTADT. Well, usually the behavior of the child attending a school under open enrollment or the behavioral infraction is serious before they are asked to leave.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. In your opinion are there any harmful effects to busing school children?

MR. EISENSTADT. I don't think it is the most sensible way of getting children to and from school if they live close to a school. But then, again, we have the overall problem of imbalance. It's a question of which is worse, imbalance or busing. I think busing has some disadvantages. Of course, if the distance is long, this is time that has to come from somewhere, either from the school day or from the time after school when the child should be engaging in healthful exercises or homework but, by and large, I don't think it is harmful if the busing routes are laid out sensibly and if the distances aren't too great and provided as well that the parent doesn't feel spiritually removed from the school as well as physically because of the great distance. Because I don't think there is anything more essential than a smooth relationship between home and school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Perhaps you would like to comment on a great deal of the testimony we heard yesterday that parents in the Roxbury area feel spiritually removed from the schools in that area.

MR. EISENSTADT. I am disturbed if this is the feeling and I would encourage these parents to come to my office any time they so desire and perhaps we can get some kind of an organization going for them in which they could make some meaningful contributions. There has been without question the feeling of alienation on the part of parents. There are always parents in a city as large as Boston, where the school system is large and complex, who feel small and insignificant and alienated and imbued with the feeling that they can't fight city hall so why try and a great deal of publicity which was unwarranted has been leveled against the Boston public schools. You know, we are not as bad as we have been characterized. I certainly wouldn't want my life to depend upon some of the testimony I have heard before this Commission. I wouldn't want my life to depend upon some of the reports I have read in the newspapers. I think, and you will have occasion to hear from our superintendent, I think that we have done

a great deal in improving our educational system and all is not as bad as some would have you believe.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Eisenstadt, what has been the effect of the State Board of Education's withholding funds from the city of Boston?

MR. EISENSTADT. That is a matter of public knowledge. It has had no effect whatsoever.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Has it slowed up your building program or anything of that sort?

MR. EISENSTADT. Well, yes. Our building program had been slowed up before anyway. I don't think that the withholding of State approval of our program seriously hampered our forward motion. What had retarded progress in the school construction program was an archaic system of division of responsibility and authority with regard to the building of new schools among a myriad, a multiplicity of State and city agencies. This tended to logjam the entire school building program. But, as you well know, at the very beginning of this week, as a result of legislation enacted recently, we have now one agency in the city of Boston whose sole function is to build municipal facilities whether they be schools, fire stations, libraries, or police stations. I think this will break the logjam so that the withholding of State aid hasn't really been that harmful.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Will it have an impact next year?

MR. EISENSTADT. Next year it will without question unless this thorny issue is resolved. As you know, the School Committee has several matters now pending before the courts of this Commonwealth and, hopefully, we will get a resolution of this litigation before the end of the current fiscal year because we stand the serious risk of losing forever 16 millions of dollars in State aid. It will be re-distributed to other towns and cities in the Commonwealth if we don't get it before the 31st of December.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How would you feel if Federal funds were withheld from the city of Boston?

MR. EISENSTADT. I don't think that this would be the straw that would break the camel's back. I think the amount of Federal funds compared to the amount of State aid is so slight and negligible that it would be little more than a pinhole in the snow.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What would be the effects of such withholding?

MR. EISENSTADT. The only effects wouldn't be beneficial from the standpoint of you as solving this problem and getting the School Committee to move. The only effects would be harmful. The programs currently being supported by the Federal Government which we have not budgeted, which we could not afford to support, would have to be withdrawn and this would be tantamount to throwing a life ring to a drowning victim and then having to pull it back before the victim gets any serious benefit from it. So I would, as I said in my statement, most strenuously oppose any such move. It wouldn't do any good.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Thank you. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. I have no questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Mr. Eisenstadt, it seems to me that the problem of getting at the slum school particularly is crucial and if you compound that by trying to get at integration at the same time, which seems impossible because of the housing pattern, then I would think that maybe what we need is some broad thinking of new patterns of educational institutions that might get at both of these objectives in an entirely different way than the present structure. Perhaps this should be discussed with the superintendent this afternoon but, just in general, I am intrigued by what many cities with the same situation as Boston, only worse, are doing. And that is planning large educational institutions on the periphery of the slum, if you will, or the depressed area in the town, and all towns have them, so that it could draw from various districts at once. I am not bothered by size because my colleague, President Hannah, has 38,000 students on his campus this year and I haven't heard any allegations of it being impersonal. Whether you have personal contact depends on individuals and how they organize in small units. But it would seem to me that the advantages of a completely different kind of institution in this city that would draw on both the white and Negro populations from a large area would have advantages that are impossible in any smaller kind of institution because of the wide range of curricular and extra-curricular activities which could be put into this. The effect of this even on housing if you could set aside a large depressed area for it and create a park in the literal sense of trees and lakes and bushes and flowers and playing fields as well as an educational institution. The kind of unification possibility of all your services both teaching and psychological, social, recreational and so forth and on top of that getting away from something we have heard again and again in every city we go into that the teacher flees the slum school because she just doesn't want to go there. It's too difficult. This way they would be coming to the most exciting institution in town and they wouldn't be going to this or that neighborhood. They would be going to an educational park. Finally, and this seems to me to be a special advantage you have here in this town, that you have such an enormous group of prestigious institutions which would probably be willing to experiment with the educational committee on this type of project and you have so many bright people in all these institutions who would be willing to promote this type of project and take active part in bringing it to pass. It seems to me what highly recommends it then is the fact that you're moving first toward good education and that you get integration as a kind of by-product without all the artificiality of busing and so forth. At least, I recommend it to your thought.

MR. EISENSTADT. I am glad you brought the point up because I was very remiss in not referring to this point when I was asked what are we doing in the direction of reducing, ultimately eliminating, racial imbalance. We have endorsed this concept, Father, which you have pointed out, the building of larger elementary schools in the peripheral areas to draw from greater attendance areas. We have on the drawing boards right now a school in the present Gibson District, for example, which will have a student capacity of close to 1,000 when built. This constitutes a doubling of the capacity of the present building. We are constructing on a 35 or 40 acre site in the so-called Madison Park section of Boston, which is actually in the Roxbury Crossing area of Boston, a campus type high school, the student capacity of which will be 5,500. So we are thinking in these larger terms because we are definitely going to have to increase the size of neighborhoods if we are going to make any serious dent in the problem of racial imbalance within the jurisdictional limits of this city.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Mr. Eisenstadt, you suggested three possible first steps: re-districting, payment of the cost of one-way transportation, and also possibly subsidizing Operation Exodus. Are these steps now pending before the Boston School Committee?

MR. EISENSTADT. We are currently busing some close to 1,200 pupils in the city of Boston. I would guess that on a voluntary basis, and we are funding the operation, that most of those children are Negro and most of these children are going from over-utilized predominantly Negro schools to under-utilized predominantly white schools. No matter what you call it, busing to alleviate overcrowding or to accomplish balance, I am concerned with the results. If it accomplishes balance, then I think we should take credit for it in our plans to the State Board, for example.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Let's go to the point of re-districting. You mentioned re-districting first. Would the Boston School Committee be doing it or is this an administrative problem that the superintendent would be doing, or would you have to approve it if he did it?

MR. EISENSTADT. We would have to approve it. We re-draw attendance lines quite frequently. We've done it many times since I've been on the School Committee for population reasons. The administrators would propose the changes and we would approve them. The State Board of Education proposed some eight alternative suggestions, re-districting suggestions, and I think it is very interesting why they used the word alternative. I looked into the matter and I discovered that they deliberately used the word alternative in order to convey the impression to the School Committee that all we had to do was to accept maybe one or two of the eight, not all eight. Had we done this and just a few other little things, I think our plan would have been approved, 16 millions of dollars would have been sent directly to the

city treasury and there would be no need to tie up the courts of the Commonwealth with ridiculous litigation. So I think re-districting to some extent would fit into any plan.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Why didn't you do it?

MR. EISENSTADT. I proposed that we do it but there are five members on the Boston School Committee and it takes a majority of three to accomplish anything.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Your proposal was rejected by the Committee?

MR. EISENSTADT. My proposal was that we consider these alternatives with a view toward adopting a couple of them and sit down with the State Board of Education with a view toward resolving the matter. But my position was not upheld by a majority of the Committee.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Has the majority of the Committee endorsed any proposals to comply with the Act so far?

MR. EISENSTADT. Yes. A majority of the Committee has agreed to, on the long-range basis now, develop a school building program calculated to solve the problem, picking sites very carefully for the construction of these new schools, constructing larger schools which will be drawing from larger attendance areas, and thus assuring that the population will be heterogeneous. The majority of the Committee has agreed to grant this free MBTA card check privilege to children using open enrollment when those children will be going from a Negro school to a white school or vice versa if the effect of the transportation is to balance the schools involved or, at least, move in that direction. I don't think the School Committee has been completely adamant, I don't think the School Committee has been completely resistant. We all have our viewpoints on the matter and I guess this is what makes horse racing.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Thank you, Mr. Eisenstadt.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Eisenstadt, I think the statement you read indicated that you favor the busing of nonwhite students to the more advantaged schools where there is room for them. You indicated that you were opposed to cross-busing as such because you think it is impractical and not a solution to the problem.

Yesterday we had a lot of testimony from parents that are participating in this Exodus Program and it was indicated they have great difficulty in financing it. It is my understanding that this program operates only through moving nonwhite children, usually nonwhite children, from the local neighborhood schools to other schools where there is space.

I gather that you indicate that you are favorable to this but that the majority of your Committee has not yet been willing to assume any of the cost of the busing. Is that true?

MR. EISENSTADT. No, it isn't, Mr. Chairman. The proposition, the specific proposition that Operation Exodus *per se* be subsidized by the

School Committee, has not come before the Committee, this present School Committee. A school-financed busing proposition came before the Committee, I think it was a year or so ago, at a time when we were seriously hampered for funds. Of course, we always seem to be seriously hampered for funds and it was turned down. Exodus was in its early stages. There was a great deal of turmoil and strife surrounding the program.

However, as I indicated, the program has seemingly worked well and smoothly and with some good effect. I think it is now timely for the offices of Exodus, for this organization, to petition the School Committee and seek our support. I would be willing to do that.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. I recognize this is only a partial answer, one of many answers, but I have been very much impressed by the parents who appeared before us yesterday, by their very clearly demonstrated interest in the improvement of the education of their own youngsters. On the basis of the people who appeared before us, the effort was not to cause community commotion or anything else, but to provide better education for their youngsters and it seems to me that while this is not the total answer that your School Committee is going to have to deal with, it is one of the things that deserves encouragement.

We have many questions but I think it would be better to save them until the superintendent is before us this afternoon because many of them are matters of his concern first. Mr. Taylor, do you have any questions?

MR. TAYLOR. Just a couple. Mr. Eisenstadt, you said in response to a question from Mr. Glickstein that if there were behavior problems in open enrollment schools, the children would be sent back or could be sent back to the school which the child belongs in. Now that suggests to me that you think that whether this is under open enrollment or Exodus, the child really belongs in the school in his neighborhood not in a school to which he travels by bus. Am I right in that?

MR. EISENSTADT. Yes. I think every child has to belong somewhere and the most logical place is in a school in his neighborhood but if a parent has good reason to send that child to a school outside of his neighborhood, then said parent should do so. But basically, fundamentally, and technically, the child belongs in his neighborhood district school. I think this makes all the good sense and logic in the world.

MR. TAYLOR. Isn't the result of this kind of a policy to place the burden on Negro parents to find schools which meet the educational needs of their child? And doesn't it also depend on the number of open seats which may be limited?

MR. EISENSTADT. I think currently we have about 5,000 available seats in the Boston public school system. I think the burden, the exercise of every right or privilege, requires the willingness to take on some kind of a burden. I think this burden is equally dispersed among the populace of Boston. Any parent, white or Negro, who

wants to exercise this privilege, has to be willing to undertake some kind of a burden.

MR. TAYLOR. I have heard something about good schools in other communities which offer special services or special curricula which students attend from all over the city. I've heard something about plans for a school in the Humboldt area here. Would you be opposed to busing white children into predominantly Negro areas if the school was so good that it attracted white parents? Or don't you think that is possible?

MR. EISENSTADT. If a white parent wants her child to go to the proposed Humboldt Avenue School because of special curriculum offered there and not offered elsewhere, I wouldn't oppose it. I would encourage it.

MR. TAYLOR. Would you support financing of busing for this purpose?

MR. EISENSTADT. Positively. If there were enough white children who desired to go to this school to make it feasible to charter a bus. I wouldn't charter a bus for two or three children.

MR. TAYLOR. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Thank you, Mr. Eisenstadt. We are grateful to you for being with us. We will now recess until 1:45.

(Whereupon, at 12:21 p.m., the hearing was recessed until 1:45 p.m. of the same day.)

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

OCTOBER 5, 1966

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Ladies and gentlemen, this Commission hearing will come to order. Mr. Glickstein, will you call the next witness?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The next witness is Dr. William H. Ohrenberger.

(Whereupon, Dr. William H. Ohrenberger was sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

TESTIMONY OF DR. WILLIAM H. OHRENBERGER, SUPERINTENDENT, BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Ohrenberger, would you please state your full name and address for the record?

DR. OHRENBERGER. William H. Ohrenberger, 40 Ellison Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Ohrenberger, what is your position in the Boston school system?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I am Superintendent of Boston Public Schools.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How long have you held that position?

DR. OHRENBERGER. Three years.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How long have you been connected with the Boston public school system?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I entered the Boston school system in 1930 as a classroom teacher.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. And you moved up through the ranks to your present position?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I have.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Ohrenberger, I understand you have a statement that you would like to briefly summarize for the Commissioners.

DR. OHRENBERGER. That is correct, Mr. Glickstein. May I proceed?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Yes, sir.

DR. OHRENBERGER. Dr. Hannah and members of the Civil Rights Commission, I welcome the opportunity to set before this Commission programs and policies that might well serve as a blueprint to other urban communities for preserving the educational rights of its young citizens.

The effective operation of the Nation's schools, in keeping with the idea of equality of educational opportunity for all, is justly a matter of concern to the President and other elected officials of this country. The same concern for quality of education provided by the Boston public schools is shared by the citizens of this great city. I am grateful for the opportunity to cooperate with the Commission in its efforts to gather all the facts.

Early this past summer, when the Boston public schools were preparing to close, representatives of this Commission approached me with a request for information which, we have discovered, was to touch every phase of the operation of our public schools.

While the request came at a most inopportune time, the Commission was assured of then, and has received since, the fullest cooperation from my office and the numerous members of my staff. Since the day the request was made, to the present time, three, four, and many times many more hired representatives of this Commission have been gathering information at School Committee headquarters, in our school buildings, and the various school departments and elsewhere, relative to the operation of the Boston public schools from 1949 to 1966.

In addition to information which representatives transcribed from our records which could not be removed from school buildings or from School Committee headquarters, copies of all documents requested were sent to representatives of the Commission for study prior to these hearings.

For the reasons just stated, I am firmly convinced that the Commission has more than enough information in its possession to prove that the Boston public schools are protecting the educational rights of the city's youth; that every child in this city, whatever his race, religion, color, or economic station, ethnic origin, or physical or mental en-

dowments is provided with every opportunity to develop his abilities to the fullest.

In making this statement, I do not for a moment imply that the city's schools are perfect or above constructive criticism. What human institution, small or great, is or ever could be? However, if racially imbalanced schools exist in this city, and they do, if some of the city school buildings are antiquated, and they are in many areas throughout the city, if the educational motivation of some children of disadvantaged backgrounds is below normal, and in many cases, it is, these conditions are not the result of policies or programs of present or former Boston school officials.

Of primary concern to this Commission and interested citizens is the question of imbalanced schools and the alleged inferior education they produce. If between 40 and 50 of the city's 190 schools are imbalanced, it cannot be denied that such schools reflect racially imbalanced neighborhoods.

It is equally true that the majority of these schools in the recent past, with exactly the same attendance lines, were not racially imbalanced. The extensive and rapid mobility of population is a phenomenon of our time. To attempt to forcibly balance schools in terms of fixed racial ratios is against both the spirit and letter of the Federal Constitution. In practice, it would be like building the foundations of a school organization on quicksand, necessitating the continuous shifting of white and nonwhite children.

Furthermore, as I have previously stated on many occasions, I am unable to agree that a racially imbalanced school is, *per se*, educationally harmful. The implication, that given equal educational opportunity, children of a given race cannot succeed as well as members of another race, is completely undocumented. There is undisputed proof that children of poverty and disadvantaged background in general, do not achieve at the same rate as children of more socially and economically favored backgrounds.

There is, at this moment, no proof that ability to learn can be based solely on color. A recent study, "Equality of Educational Opportunity" seems to demonstrate that the attitudes and aspirations which a child brings to school have a more profound effect on his achievement than the educational program offered by the school. For this reason, racial considerations should not be a valid standard upon which to base educational decisions.

It is quite possible and understandable that pupils of a given race, religion, color, or ethnic origin may take comfort, pleasure, and pride from attending a school in which they are in the majority. It is obviously as discriminatory to force pupils out of such a school as it is to force them into other schools. Our program and policies reveal beyond any doubt that compulsion is foreign to the operation of the Boston public schools.

Just as strongly as I believe that no firm evidence proves that racially imbalanced schools are, of themselves, educationally harmful, I do believe that interracial learning experiences are socially desirable. One cannot underestimate the importance of preparing today's youth for the day when Americans of all races and understandings can live in harmony. The Boston public schools have long been aware of and are contributing to the achievement of this goal.

Boston's educational program to insure equal educational opportunity to all children are detailed in my statement, which I wish to have entered in its entirety, into the record of this hearing. This statement covers the programs and policies the Boston public schools have implemented to guarantee this precious right to all, without infringing on personal liberties of freedom of choice.

We feel we have accomplished much in spite of serious financial restrictions. We know much remains to be done. It will no doubt come as a surprise to this Commission that the Boston School Committee does not have fiscal autonomy. Boston alone, of all the cities and towns in this Commonwealth, cannot outline the educational programs needed and know that the necessary funds will be forthcoming.

In addition to this most real and serious financial handicap, a substantial amount of funds, raised in part by taxes assessed on the citizens of this city are being withheld from these same citizens by the State. This seriously hampers the operation of present educational programs, and prevents in the introduction of new ones.

We have the programs and policies. We have the intellectual resources and every desire to implement these far-reaching educational programs and policies. Given the full support of this Commission, Boston can move ahead to raise all the youth of this city to new heights of educational achievement.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Ohrenberger, I take it from your statement that you are in disagreement with the chairman of the School Committee on the question of whether racially imbalanced schools are educationally harmful to Negro children.

DR. OHRENBERGER. I think that my statement on racially imbalanced schools is a statement that I noticed was covered in the Staff Report. I saw a particular quote and that is the reason I mentioned it in my opening statement.

I would, at this particular time, however, indicate to the Commission that this is taken out of context and it appears in my report to the School Committee and to the citizens of Boston, after the Kiernan Report was written, and I would like to include at this particular time, the whole paragraph, which I think explains my position. I say at this time, and if I could preface my remarks by indicating to this Commission that when the material for the Kiernan Report was being accumulated, I immediately offered myself and my staff to the Commissioner of Education to work in close harmony with him and his task force who are uncovering the facts of the particular problem. I

personally met on many occasions, my staff met on many occasions, we opened our school to them, we opened our records to them because my serious concern is, and was then, to resolve this particular problem of urban education as it affected the Boston schools.

I would like to read this paragraph because it clearly identifies the area in which I specifically disagree with the Commissioner.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Go ahead.

DR. OHRENBERGER. "I am unable to agree—" and this is an excerpt from my report which appears on Page 5. "I am unable to agree that a racially imbalanced school is, *per se*, educationally harmful. However, it is my firm conviction that interracial experiences are socially desirable. It is my hope that the day will soon come when our total society—neighborhoods, churches, and schools—will live together in harmony, understanding, and love. I am aware of the contribution which our public schools must make to achieve this goal. All our children must be given an opportunity through school experiences to learn to live together in an adult democracy. There is no disagreement whatsoever between the advisory committee's opinion and mine on the social desirability of interracial learning experiences. The worthiness of this end is indisputable; it is only with some respect of the means and/or methods recommended to accomplish this end that I must respectfully disagree."

Now this particular document was accepted by the School Committee. I don't think the vote was unanimous. I think the vote was 4 to 1.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Ohrenberger, if I may interrupt—

DR. OHRENBERGER. Yes, indeed.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You indicated that your statement in our Staff Report was taken out of context, but the entire paragraph you just read appears on Page 44 of our Staff Report.

DR. OHRENBERGER. I am sorry. I didn't know that. I saw the statement in the Staff Report and I didn't know whether the last sentence was included. Thank you very much.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Glickstein, Dr. Ohrenberger has asked this entire document be introduced into evidence, has he not?

DR. OHRENBERGER. Yes. This particular document you have though is my Boston Blueprint for Equal Educational Opportunity and it is not the document from which I was just reading.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Which one is the one you want put into the record?

DR. OHRENBERGER. The Boston Blueprint for Equal Educational Opportunity.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. May we introduce that as Exhibit No. 7?

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. It is put in the record, sir.

(The document referred to above was received as Exhibit No. 7.)

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Go ahead, Mr. Glickstein.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Ohrenberger, although you believe that social

scientists and social psychologists and so forth have not conclusively proven racially imbalanced schools are harmful, have you made an evaluation of the effects of programs in Boston such as Operation Exodus and the school system's own busing program to determine whether Negro children who have been integrated with white children have benefited from this?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I would say that the Operation Exodus which, as you know, is part of our whole open enrollment procedure and—what were the other programs?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Your own busing program.

DR. OHRENBERGER. And the busing program to relieve overcrowding has placed children in predominantly white schools at which seats were available.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. But you haven't made any evaluation to see whether the children who have participated in those programs have benefited educationally?

DR. OHRENBERGER. Each year we test our children citywide.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Well, wouldn't it be helpful to evaluate the educational effects of integration to see whether the conflict between you and the State Board on the effects of racial separation can be proven out scientifically?

DR. OHRENBERGER. My particular objection is that the conclusion that was drawn is not fully documented to suit me.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. But you haven't made any attempts to see whether the opposite is true, whether racially balanced schools—

DR. OHRENBERGER. I have indicated that I see no firm evidence to prove the point that they bring out.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Now our Staff Report indicates that under Boston's open enrollment policy relatively few Negroes who transfer out of schools with nonwhite enrollments in excess of 50 percent actually enter schools where the nonwhite enrollment is less than 50 percent. In other words, they are not benefiting themselves in that respect. Further, almost all the Negroes who have transferred from predominantly Negro to predominantly white schools have been participants in Operation Exodus. In view of this, do you think this open enrollment is a realistic device to achieve racial balance?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I think open enrollment has been part of the Boston program for many, many years. We have expanded it and given it complete opportunity for all to take advantage of. I think it is an exceptional program. I don't see any equal to it in America. In fact, many of the persons that appeared on this particular platform come from school systems where they must go to the neighborhood school. This is not true in Boston. In Boston you may go to any school you wish. If there is a seat and a course available and if you will pay for your own transportation. The open enrollment policy in my opinion is very effective.

Only recently I had a report to me on the effect of the numbers that

have taken advantage of open enrollment for this particular year, and I notice one particular indication, that in the junior high schools every single junior high school this year will have Negroes in the school as a result of the open enrollment program. I think that the open enrollment program of itself has made Boston a leader nationwide.

As far as the integrating of schools is concerned in our 190 schools, 90 percent of them have Negroes and this was of last year's count and I have just indicated to you that I expect even a higher percentage this year. So we are an integrated school system.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Ohrenberger, in our Staff Report, Exhibit No. 2 on Page 44, you are quoted as saying, "Any bus program adopted solely for the purpose of racial integration could be harmful to white and Negro pupils alike; could have a disruptive influence on the citizens of this city; and, finally, could weaken those bonds which ideally bind the school to the home and to the local neighborhood."

DR. OHRENBERGER. That is correct.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How can a busing program adopted solely for integration have a more harmful effect on children than, for example, busing to relieve overcrowding?

DR. OHRENBERGER. Well, I have indicated that the busing to relieve overcrowding is done on a voluntary basis. Nobody is transported or transferred that I don't have the permission of the parent. I think in the document I presented to you, you will see that on three occasions I, as Superintendent of Schools, circularized questionnaires to the parents at three particular times, involving a potential busing program, at which time I told them because of overcrowding or for other reasons, we were going to use the open seats and gave them this opportunity. The only ones that took advantage of that were bused and here, I might say, this is a very interesting indication of the attitude of the people in Boston. In each of these questionnaires, only about 11 percent of those that had sent the ballot had indicated that they wished to be bused.

Now, this particular statistic is in this document and I am sure you will be able to study it further. It is also very interesting to note that in the South Boston section, where we lost a school by fire, and it became evident that for the opening of school this year, the demountable schools that were going to be erected on the site would not be available, we met with the parents, we offered them the opportunity to go to open seats that were available in contiguous districts, and provide the transportation. They practically unanimously turned this down.

In my hand here, I have a clipping from the Boston Globe of Monday of this week, which indicates that the school busing, black or white, which is the experiment in New York, is failing. I heard on last night's review of this particular program—and, incidentally, I spent as much of the time yesterday as I could here. We are very, very seriously concerned.

I have devoted my entire energy and enthusiasm and the energy and

enthusiasm of my staff to the resolution of this problem and I had to leave here for a short time, but it did say in that particular brief moment that I saw it at home, that one of the members of the Massachusetts Civil Rights group indicated that the Boston and Rochester experiment, this particular visitation of this Commission with the two cities that had a very small percentage of Negroes, a very small percentage and, therefore, perhaps might offer a pattern, a blueprint of our solution. I agreed with this, but I also say that Boston and Rochester have another significant position, namely, that they can profit by the mistakes that were made elsewhere and, in my opinion, cross-busing enforced has not been accepted and is not proving successful.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You were opposed, then, to compulsion in the realm of busing to relieve overcrowding. But would busing that was done on a voluntary basis for the purpose of relieving racial imbalance be educationally harmful?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I didn't indicate that it was. I indicated I thought at this particular time that it was the experiment of forced cross-busing that I differed with.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You have said, however, that any program adopted solely for the purpose of racial integration would be harmful and I believe you said the reason you felt that was so was because it would involve compulsion and I was wondering whether the persons who wanted to overcome racial imbalance participated in this program voluntarily, would that be harmful?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I have indicated that I would be willing—this would fall under the classification of those that wanted to participate in the open enrollment program, and I have indicated here a willingness on my part to provide car checks with the money coming from a source other than my own school funds. I have recommended this to the School Committee.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. So then you think if a voluntary program, the purpose of which was solely to overcome racial imbalance or to achieve racial integration, if it were voluntary then it would not be harmful to white and Negro pupils alike?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I think it is the forced cross-busing that I particularly object to.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You don't object to programs like Operation Exodus?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I do not. I wholeheartedly cooperate with them and I provide them with the open seat count and I would like to refer to one or two items that were mentioned in last night's participation here, at this particular platform, about the way I have cooperated to make sure that it runs right.

We have open seat count once a week for the first four weeks. I circularize all the news media. I mail them to every single organization that wants them, every school principal and now, every district

assistant superintendent has them in his office. Any parent that wishes to take advantage of open enrollment doesn't even need this information. All that that parent needs to do is to go to the principal of the home school and that principal will make the arrangements for the transfer.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. In May of 1966, a report prepared by the Joint Center for Urban Studies of Harvard and M.I.T. was submitted to the School Committee which set forth a proposal for re-districting Boston schools to reduce the percentage of nonwhite children attending racially imbalanced schools. I think this was done as part of the assistance that was being given to you by the State Board of Education. In rejecting this proposal, the School Committee stated re-districting could not be defended on educational grounds. Why was the re-districting proposal that was made to you at that time educationally indefensible?

DR. OHRENBERGER. This was not my statement that it was educationally indefensible. The re-districting of this particular group, in my opinion however, had not taken into consideration many of the very, very necessary things that I would require of a re-districting program. Safety precautions, distance from the school for kiddos, particularly in the elementary grades. It is true that my staff worked with this particular group to expose for them and to them all our findings and statistics. It is also true that this particular group sent a first report, which in my opinion, was really not a good re-districting plan. In fact, one junior high school district was about 3 miles long and about 200 yards wide. I certainly couldn't countenance anything such as this.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Ohrenberger, in light of the findings of the Kiernan Commission on the educationally harmful effects of racial imbalance, however inconclusive in your opinion those findings may be, wouldn't it be advisable for the Boston school system to test those findings with the use of Title I and Title III funds?

DR. OHRENBERGER. Our Title I funds are meager. I have many, many programs that I would like to inaugurate. It is my hope that we can develop a complete saturation program that will provide for the school department an opportunity to assist the community. It is my feeling that if the home, the school, employment, and housing can work together, then we can accomplish something. And it is my hope, realizing that the school can do a great deal, that our programs of enrichment which we have designed with this particular purpose in mind will accomplish this.

Incidentally, I would like to correct at this particular moment, one of the opinions that was repeated many, many times here, about our teachers being insensitive and having negative attitudes. I would like this particular Commission to know that Boston was concerned with the problem of urban education many, many years ago. That the germ of Operation Counterpoise Program, which none should even

believe or think is a stagnant program, something that is going to remain like this forever, it is my hope that this program will be as new and different 10 years from today as it is new today. This particular program was submitted as a proposal to a funding organization without success. We were not granted the funds through the Great City's Improvement Council. We decided to go ahead with this program on a pilot basis in one district. We did this. The next year it was our hope to expand it and these teachers who are insensitive, whom I have seen on many, many occasions share their lunches with Negro children and give generously to help in the purchase of shoes and take care of things of this nature, these teachers came to me and in their leadership organization, when the question came on our budget, when the last half million dollars was to be allocated and the only two questions to be resolved were: should the teachers get a salary raise or should the saturation operation be expanded, and the teacher organization came to me and said, "Expand it." So this particular program was expanded into 11 additional districts by the funds that were to go for the staff pay raises on the suggestion of these insensitive, negative attitude teachers. I know of no such teachers in the Boston schools.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. As I understand it, one of the reasons you don't fully support the findings of the Kiernan Commission is that you don't believe that the findings have been sufficiently substantiated by social science studies. On the other hand, you have said that forced busing is educationally unsound. Has that position been proven out by social scientists or educators? Is there proof that forced busing is educationally unsound?

DR. OHRENBURGER. Well, I have before me an article which, I think, can answer this. This is an excerpt from the Harvard University's Alumni Bulletin of April 2, 1966. "Integration A False Issue" and the author is Professor Oscar Handlin. He indicates "that this desire does not reach very far among the mass of Negroes in such cities as New York and Boston, where open enrollment plans offer parents an opportunity to send their children outside the district of their residence. Only a very small minority chose to do so. However, the lack of response may be explained away. It reveals the limited scope of appeal of racial balancing. Yet this issue, in many places has overshadowed the far more important factors that enter into a Negro's educational deprivation and it is likely that time and energy will continue to be dissipated on the question of racial balance that might more usefully be expended on the quality of schools and on the orientation of educational processes to the needs of colored students. The demand for racial balance has sometimes had a blackmail effect. It has forced concessions on municipal authorities willing to spend more heavily on slum schools than they might otherwise have in order to stave off the drive for busing. But this statistic has also an adverse effect of the exaggeration of the deficiencies of the schools in the Negro neighborhoods and, thus, of frightening away

experienced teachers, of hastening the flight to the suburbs, and increasing the rate of withdrawal to private and parochial schools. The insistence upon integration is, thus, self-frustrating as the experience of Washington, D.C. shows. Further pressure toward racial balance certainly will further weaken the public schools and leave the Negroes the greater sufferers. The dilemma is unnecessary. There is no evidence that racial balance itself improves the capacity of the underprivileged to learn nor the enforced contact of dissimilar children has significant educational advantages. There is abundant evidence that deprived children have distinctive needs that require the special attention of the school. Yet the drive for integration has obscured and sometimes actually impeded the task of providing for these needs. Indeed, the argument is now often being made that racial balance is desirable to meet the needs of white children. Here, too, an awareness of the group's identity and a determination to deal with this problem is the most promising path to equality. The Negro deserves preferential treatment in education because his needs are great but to receive it calls for the recognition of the special character of the situation not for costly efforts artificially to co-mingle his children with others in the interest of ideal balance. Integration is a false issue. The problem is housing. How can adequate space, up to the present day standards of decency, be made available to the poor?" This, I think, is the testimony of someone who has had great experience and certainly indicates that busing is not the solution and substantiates the fact that the imbalanced school is not of itself an inferior school.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. One final question, Dr. Ohrenberger. You have rejected the findings of the Kiernan Commission because you don't feel that there is sufficient scientific and valid evidence to prove their validity. On the other hand, do you feel that there is sufficient, valid, scientific evidence to prove the worth of programs such as Operation Counterpoise to justify the expenditures of the vast sums that are being spent on that program?

DR. OHRENBURGER. Operation Counterpoise, I indicated, is really a saturation program that, perhaps, should have another name. It is an enrichment program. We started it on a pilot basis. We sponsored it a second year under our own funding. We applied for an expansion of it under Title I. We feel that our evaluations, although they are our own evaluations, and believe me this is one of the areas where Boston does not have \$200 a pupil to spend on evaluation, as I heard METCO people were—I would love to have this. The superintendent of every large city is hampered by funds. I hope that nothing in my testimony indicates that we haven't been trying because we are trying day by day. In the report which I submitted in answer to the Kiernan Report, at no time did I ever say that I disagreed with them in essence or in spirit. I merely disagreed with the way of accomplishing it. I spelled out the steps to promote interracial learn-

ing and this was in June of '66 the adoption of a 5-3-4 grade organization, massive school construction program, reorganization and expansion of open enrollment, Citizens' Advisory Committee, the adoption of multi-ethnic textbooks, expansion of program of Common Learning Experiences, the enrichment program which includes prekindergarten. And may I pause here to say that in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, one-third of the public schools do not have kindergartens but, in Boston, we not only have kindergartens but, as a result of the action of our School Committee by a unanimous vote, we are the only system I know of that has prekindergarten citywide. Operation Head Start, Operation Counterpoise, After School Remediation and Enrichment, Summary Remediation and Enrichment, Operation Second Chance—these are all my recommendations. Expansion into the junior high school, expansion into the senior high school and the tapping and training of teachers to meet the problem of the urban school system by expanding our urban teacher training programs and experimental demonstration programs. These programs that I suggested to prove that my concern for the problems of the urban schools were not in direct contrast to the Kiernan Report—only in one respect—these programs have been carried out.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold, do you have questions?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Dr. Ohrenberger, in your opening statement you said that our programs and policies will reveal beyond any doubt that compulsion is foreign to the operation of the Boston school system.

DR. OHRENBERGER. That is correct.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Do I understand from that, that there is no compulsion in the operation of the Boston school system?

DR. OHRENBERGER. None that I know of.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Do you mean that attendance at school in Boston is voluntary?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I am talking about compulsion on the part of the parents. The attendance of school is governed by law. We have a very excellent staff—

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. And is compulsory?

DR. OHRENBERGER. Oh, yes.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. So it is not a fair statement of the situation to say that there is no compulsion in the Boston school system. It is simply a question of what compulsion, of where it is to be exercised. In other words, it is a question of judgment in the use of compulsion, is it not?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I would say that is a fair estimate, Dean.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Therefore, it doesn't seem to me to be helpful to say that there is no compulsion in the Boston school system and that any scheme which involves compulsion is therefore bad.

DR. OHRENBERGER. Maybe this is a bad choice of a word, Dean.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Now, you have had for a long time an open enrollment policy in Boston. It apparently was adopted a good many years ago. As I understand it, however, if a parent wants to exercise the option of sending his child to a school under open enrollment, he must pay the cost of transportation.

DR. OHRENBERGER. That is correct, Dean.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Have you ever given consideration to the question of having an open enrollment policy with transportation costs provided for?

DR. OHRENBERGER. Oh, yes, Dean, and in my reply to the Kiernan Report I indicate that I would recommend the giving of pupils' car tickets if the funds could be derived from some source other than—

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Well, that interested me. We are all quick to turn to the Federal Government to solve our problems. Why shouldn't this be a problem which should be faced and resolved by the Boston School Committee? And let me say before we go further that I recognize fully that you are a paid employee and do not make the policies and decisions and I want to be quite fair to you about this. But we held hearings in Rochester two or three weeks ago, as you referred to, and one of the things we found there was they have an open enrollment policy plus transportation and this seems to be a thing which makes a substantial contribution to the problem. Now why shouldn't that be given full consideration in Boston?

DR. OHRENBERGER. It should be given full consideration, Dean. I would like to indicate, however, that at the present time the Boston School Committee is the only school committee in the Commonwealth that does not have fiscal autonomy. I would like to explain the real difficulty in which we find ourselves. Up until two years ago the ceiling on our budget established—this is in a general school purposes part of our budget, which includes the payment of teachers and this type of service and I am not talking about the part that covers land and buildings and alterations and repairs. We were limited to \$21.2 million, yet, in that time, we were spending about \$46 million. This means we would have to go to the Mayor and City Council for the difference. The budget was never actually approved until sometime in April. So we were spending from January 1 until April as we had the year previously. Now, if for some reason, our budget would be cut back and we weren't going to get the sum we asked for, then the savings would have to be made in the second half of the year and I am sure that those of you who understand that means I have to cut from the places where expansion was asked. This has always put every superintendent of schools in Boston in a very undesirable position. We have filed bills to change this and none of them were heard because of a rule. The problem that I would have at this particular time is to try to decide whether or not the monies that we have could be better spent in another area.

Now we have talked about our enrichment program being in 12 districts or 38 buildings. I am quite sure that not all of these districts are Negro; not all of these districts are—I would like to expand them into at least 12 to 14 additional districts. This is the place where I would like to put this type of funding.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Another thing we found in Rochester, Dr. Ohrenberger, and also in Syracuse was that they had developed a system of voluntary cross-busing. Have you given any consideration to that? I am not completely unsympathetic to your position that compulsory cross-busing at least presents problems that require very careful consideration, but it doesn't follow that cross-busing has to be compulsory. If the School Committee set up a system and said, we invite cross-busing and we will provide transportation for it, you might be surprised, as they were in Rochester and Syracuse, how much there would be. Has that ever been considered?

DR. OHRENBERGER. That has not been tested, Dean. I think that Mr. Eisenstadt testified this morning as in reaction, I think, to one of the questions, I think from Father Hesburgh, if I remember, about the Humboldt Avenue School, where we have a design on the planning board, a school which hopefully will assist in the training of teachers for the urban communities, as well as a language arts oriented school with all new types. It will be a building of the future and I was asked by the advisory committee on imbalance—and this is another particular area where we have given a great deal of service—I was asked if I would guarantee 200 or 300 seats in that school for white children. I said I couldn't guarantee it because I didn't know whether they would take advantage of it. This did not mean that I would not hope that the excellent work that I hope will be performed in this school will not attract into this community white people. Now this is what I hope. If this is what you mean by a cross-busing exchange, I certainly would be very happy to put the questionnaire to the people concerned to see if anybody would take advantage of it.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. You said, if I remember correctly, and this is how I understand the situation, that the School Committee does not have fiscal autonomy.

DR. OHRENBERGER. That is correct.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Does it have enough fiscal autonomy so that it can decide not to take steps which would insure \$16 million of State funds?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I think you will have to ask them that, Dean.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. I simply asked whether they had the autonomy. They have so decided, have they not?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I don't think they have decided that way and, actually, you are putting a question to me that I certainly would have to react to as an individual. I am the paid employee of the School Committee. In my opinion, the School Committee has presented two plans to the State Board of Education. I have sat with the Commis-

sioner and his staff and have attempted to work out something that would be desirable. The particular program as presented, evidently were not accepted by the State Board of Education. It would be my hope, and I really and truly mean this, that this Commission, as part of its investigation, could visit our schools. I am quite proud of our teachers. I am quite proud of their dedication.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. I share that and it seems somewhat remote to me from the question which I put to you which related to fiscal autonomy of the School Committee. Dr. Ohrenberger, in your opinion, is it more difficult to teach in Roxbury than in other areas in the city of Boston?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I would say that the assignment of teaching in the urban school systems has changed over the past many, many years. It is a different type of assignment than many of our schools of education have been training teachers for and, here again, I must indicate the contributions that we are attempting to make. We have tapped every single educational institution in this local community. Four years ago we had fewer than 250 student teachers from these schools in this location. I have stepped this up over each year until this past year we have had 800. This would indicate that such an assignment requires different skills and certainly a different type of training. Here I would say, that many of the schools of education have at long last come into the forefront to attempt to assist us.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Do you need better teachers or more experienced teachers to teach effectively in an area such as Roxbury?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I think we need well trained teachers and I think all of the teachers that qualify under the Boston system of accreditation are well trained, qualified teachers.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. What are you doing to make it attractive and interesting for teachers to teach in the Roxbury area?

MR. OHRENBERGER. We are making it interesting and attractive for teachers to teach in the Boston public schools.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. That is not my question. I am talking about Roxbury. What are you doing to attract qualified and experienced teachers to teach in Roxbury?

DR. OHRENBERGER. We are doing exactly in Roxbury what we are doing to attempt to staff all the schools in the Boston system with properly trained and professional persons.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. The evidence before us yesterday was that a high proportion of Roxbury teachers leave as soon as they can. As soon as they get enough seniority. Do you understand that to be the situation?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I do not understand that to be the situation, Dean. In part of the Staff Report we talk about dropouts, our teacher turnover. I have before me in the document which I presented to you on Page 42, the requests for transfer this year. This is effective September 1. Three headmasters requested transfer. Two were ap-

proved. Principals, three, two were approved. Principals, elementary, 10 requests, four approved. I think if you go down that list you will see that very few persons have requested transfer out. Now it is true that many of our vacancies are caused by promotion, death, resignation, retirement, and things of this nature and I would have to admit to you that many of the young teachers that pass our examinations have been reluctant to take assignments in the schools that are considered to be disadvantaged, and for a very obvious reason. Because many, many times the press and the leadership of the minority groups have indicated that these schools are *ipso facto* inferior, and this to me is a very difficult thing for a young teacher with enthusiasm to want to put herself into that type of school. But I do think that the percentage of teacher turnover is not as exaggerated as the figures seem to be. On this particular page are the only requests of voluntary transfer.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Have you considered paying higher salaries to teachers in what we might call disadvantaged schools?

DR. OHRENBURGER. I have considered that, yes.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Have you reached a conclusion about that?

DR. OHRENBURGER. I haven't made such a recommendation to the School Committee as yet, although at the time of my appointment as superintendent, I indicated that I would be willing, if it became impossible for us to staff these schools, to offer this as a suggestion.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. No further questions?

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. I would like to remind the members of the Commission that time gets away from us and we have a long program this afternoon. Father Hesburgh, do you have questions?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I have just been cut down to size. But my loss will be Dr. Ohrenberger's gain, I am sure. Dr. Ohrenberger, I think it is a fair statement from our hearings in many urban situations around the country, and we have been in cities north, south, east and west, that people generally seem to agree—I don't have all the evidence here, but I believe it is in the report—that education of the poor is often poor education and this is for many reasons. Very often the teaching situation is not an attractive one. Very often there is not the backup from the family side that there is in other types of schools. You can argue about this one but at least this is alleged and I am merely quoting the kinds of reports we have had. Thirdly, even with open admission to any school in the district or the system—I notice from the METCO figures they budget \$200 a year for transportation of their students and granted they go a little further and this is a lot of money I think for poor people. The things that have been alleged here yesterday, I think are easy enough to check out, but at least they are on the record. Many parents said that their children didn't have much homework in the schools in the Negro district, whereas, when they transferred to other schools, they had quite a bit

of homework. Some said that students from the Roxbury schools had a difficult time passing in other schools. They mentioned that very rarely does someone from the Roxbury schools qualify to go into the so-called prestige high schools, the Latin Schools. They said there was not much rapport between teachers and parents in the Roxbury schools; that when they went in to talk to a teacher or a principal they were pretty much given the brush-off. I grant these are individual allegations and there may be other things that could be said on the other side, but I am merely summarizing what we heard yesterday. One assistant superintendent or principal, rather, said that 70 percent of the teachers in his school were not tenured. And then, on the other side of the picture, I would say most of the parents and students, both white and Negro that testified, and this again is a segment and not the totality of those involved, most of them seemed to be happy about the experience to the school to which they had transferred and somewhat unhappy on the Negro side about the school from which they had transferred. They felt they had bettered themselves by going to another school.

Boston does not have a monopoly on this situation. This is a situation we have found in every single city which we have visited, and I think it is a fair statement that the situation in many cities we visit, some at least, were far worse than anything we would find here in Boston. My only question with this long preface is, perhaps we are getting too excited about the wrong questions. Perhaps this isn't a question of busing or not busing or voluntary or compulsory busing, perhaps not a question of open school occupancy, if you will, and perhaps it is not a question of putting all the focus on the value or lack of value in integrated education. I would think as I suggested this morning, and you can read it because it is all in the record, it would seem to me, if we could put the whole problem in a different context and if we could somehow draw upon the total educational resources of this community, which is probably the most densely occupied by colleges and universities of any community in the country, and if we could draw on these resources to build a new kind of school that would not be looked on initially as a ghetto school, or slum school, or Negro school, or a depressed area school, but simply the best school in town and a school that was close enough in proximity, both to white and Negro neighborhoods, that people would be standing in line to get into the school, and it would not be a problem about teachers not wanting to teach in this school, because it would be the school in town where the most exciting, innovative things were happening. If that could be worked upon, it would seem to me that Boston would be in a fine situation to make this kind of experiment or pilot project and, if so, it would give really, I think, great evidence to the urban problems throughout the country that there is a way of getting at this that is completely different and off the emphasis of these other things we have been talking about the last two days. To draw that into one

specific, quick question which can be answered very simply, I think, I don't understand your relationship to the School Committee. If, for example, you could get excited about a project like this, could you do it on your own or would they have to do it?

DR. OHRENBERGER. Father Hesburgh, we have discussed this at great length and we are going to do it. Our School Committee is committed to a campus type school that will have all the exciting things you talk about. And this has been my hope for three years as part of our Title III project. I have lined up the university staffs already. We are working in concert with every single one of these large universities in this area. As you probably don't know, we are part of the Harvard R. and D. Center and as much as you may hear about our School Committee and things they haven't done, I would have to say to you they have voted unanimously in support of this school, unanimously in support of participation in the Harvard R. and D., unanimously for the compensatory program, and unanimously for my operational program development which is, in my opinion—Mr. Clinchy's testimony yesterday I think excited you. I am sure it excited the Chairman. These are the things we are trying to do. I want to do it. I dedicate myself to doing it. We will have a similar study at the elementary level. We have a school of this type on Humboldt Avenue in the planning. In our Title III project, we have three more. I have three other additional schools that are not only exciting, in the areas of education of the disadvantaged, but tying in medical problems where a situation with the Tufts Medical School and the Harvard School of Family Health Service. We have four of these projects as well. I think it is terrific and exciting and something I hope for.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. What is the time table on these?

DR. OHRENBERGER. We have a planning grant in Title III. We have started our operational procedure as handled under the Office of Program Development.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Thanks very much.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman, do you have a question?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Yes, I do.

DR. OHRENBERGER, there is one point that is disturbing to me and that is out of the 28 percent of school population, Negro, less than 5 percent of the teachers, I believe, are Negro. Why are there so few Negro teachers in the Boston school system?

DR. OHRENBERGER. Actually, Mrs. Freeman, I have been here all along and I share the hope and expectation that we can attract to Boston all the best teachers that we can. We have embarked on a recruitment program over the past three years. We have circularized better than 490 colleges with our brochures some of these predominantly Negro colleges, but all colleges, some 490 of them. We sent staff members to some 37 for personal appearances. We circularized all the newspapers with this type of information. We had special examinations at their convenience on Friday and Saturday in December.

For those that lived in Boston, who would be away at Christmas time, and we had other examinations during Christmas vacation. We had examinations in August. To briefly streamline this for you, over the past four years—we had some 500 take the examinations four years ago—this year, for the December examinations and the summer examinations, we had in excess of 1,600 teachers take our examinations. Of this group, 770 were successful. The 770 came from 153 different schools and universities. The names of them are all in the document. And from 34 different States and from two Canadian provinces. We have tapped all the resources we can. I have no way of knowing whether anybody on my list is a Negro or not, and we certainly encourage as many of them to take our examination and become qualified, and I would be happy to appoint them.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Taylor?

MR. TAYLOR. Dr. Ohrenberger, you have indicated in your testimony that you think that the backgrounds of children and the homes they come from are largely responsible for educational problems.

DR. OHRENBERGER. I think ghetto living, yes.

MR. TAYLOR. You and I could debate about the merits of this for some time, but don't you think that when children start off in school relatively equal, and the gap continues to grow, that the school system bears some degree of responsibility?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I think the school system bears a great deal of the responsibility, Mr. Taylor, but I don't agree with your first step that they started off equal.

MR. TAYLOR. I said, relatively equal or that the gap grows throughout.

DR. OHRENBERGER. This is the reason I have recommended to the School Committee a complete preschool, prekindergarten program, which we have in effect. It is our hope that this will have the reading readiness at a higher rate than it is at the present time.

MR. TAYLOR. But you do feel the school system bears some degree of responsibility or there are some things that can be done within the school system?

DR. OHRENBERGER. Most certainly. This is what we are dedicated to.

MR. TAYLOR. You said we are an integrated school system.

DR. OHRENBERGER. That is correct.

MR. TAYLOR. I am concerned, again, with the elementary level. As I read our report, roughly 13,000 of the 16,000 children in elementary schools, Negro children, are in schools which are predominantly Negro. That figure is on Page 9 of the Staff Report.

DR. OHRENBERGER. I am sorry I don't have it with me.

MR. TAYLOR. Is that correct, roughly?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I would say it is. This was tabulated from our figures we gave you.

MR. TAYLOR. Would you characterize that as an integrated elementary school system?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I think you would have to define the term integrate. Here I have indicated we have Negro children in that many schools. Now if you are talking about balance or imbalance, then I would say to you that the figures given yesterday of 22,000 were left after 2,000 had moved. This is incorrect because some 8,000 of them were in schools with less than 50 percent enrollment and this the State says is all right.

MR. TAYLOR. But under the Massachusetts law that this would be an imbalance—

DR. OHRENBERGER. You didn't say this.

MR. TAYLOR. Now I am also concerned about your statement that you know of no teachers with insensitive attitudes, and I am afraid here again, we may be into a definitional problem. If a teacher gives a child higher marks than his work would warrant because she expects less of him, if she doesn't draw the best out of a student, because she assumes that because of his race or economic circumstances that he is not a child who can achieve, would you call that an insensitive teacher?

DR. OHRENBERGER. I know of none of these, Mr. Taylor.

MR. TAYLOR. If a teacher were to treat a child differently in the classroom because he came from different circumstances or was bused in, would that be—

DR. OHRENBERGER. That would be an insensitive teacher but this does not typify the kind of people that I have. I indicated to you and I can leave with this one fact: I had five schools burn down. Five. We lost one day of school in the whole five, because my teachers stayed there through the night and until we got them transferred, every single child in its place in each of the five schools that were burned to the ground. Within a day. This is the kind of devotion I get from my staff and my teachers.

MR. TAYLOR. I have no further questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. One question, Dr. Ohrenberger. What is the level of State support on a per capita basis that your school system gets from Massachusetts?

DR. OHRENBERGER. It would be hard to say on a per capita basis, Mr. Chairman. We are very, very low. I think about 11 percent of my budget is now from State support.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. That means the other 89 percent has to come from taxes locally collected?

DR. OHRENBERGER. That is right. This is explained in this document, too. I think of the 15 Great Cities we would rate behind Cleveland in about 13th position. We get very little.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. It has been pointed out that some of the suburban school systems have much higher per capita expenditure presumably either because they have a higher tax base or because their tax-

payers are more willing to contribute to education. The point I am trying to get at, if you had more money, could you solve most of your problems?

DR. OHRENBERGER. Yes.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. You are excused. Thank you very much.

DR. OHRENBERGER. Thank you very much.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Glickstein, will you call the next witness?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The next witness is Dr. Owen Kiernan. While Dr. Kiernan is coming to the stand, may I request that a statement submitted to us by the League of Women Voters of Massachusetts be entered into the record as Exhibit No. 8?

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. It is received.

(The document referred to above was received as Exhibit No. 8.)

(Whereupon, Dr. Owen B. Kiernan was sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

**TESTIMONY OF DR. OWEN B. KIERNAN, COMMISSIONER OF
EDUCATION, COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS**

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Kiernan, would you please state your full name and address for the record?

DR. KIERNAN. My name is Owen Kiernan. I reside at 37 Thompson Lane, Milton, Massachusetts. My present occupation, and this has been true since the first of September, 1957, is as the Commonwealth's Commissioner of Education.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Had you been employed by the State Board of Education for a number of years before your appointment as Commissioner?

DR. KIERNAN. No. I served in State service without compensation for several years on a number of State Boards, the Board of Collegiate Authority, the Board for Vocational Education, the Board of Education, and I have taken other assignments, assignments given by the Governor or some of the education boards responsible for education in this Commonwealth.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Kiernan, the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Act was passed in 1965. Would you briefly describe the events leading up to its enactment?

DR. KIERNAN. If I could, Mr. Chairman, I would like to suggest that the Commission consider the acceptance of this 17 page statement for the record.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. It is accepted.

DR. KIERNAN. I quite agree with the General Counsel that perhaps a dialogue between the General Counsel and the Commission members and your witness would be more appropriate, more enlightening, and, perhaps, more helpful. In this particular report you will find that we spell out some of the Department's responsibilities over the past decade, particularly in the field of human relations education. As far as the racial imbalance problem was concerned, it did not come into the

focus of our attention or public attention until 1963. At that time, there clearly was an impasse developing between the Boston School Committee and several agencies within the community. There seemed to be a reluctance on the part of some officials to face up to the problem. At the time the Attorney General, Edward Brooke and I, without publicity, without fanfare, suggested that we serve as mediators, but the offer was unceremoniously rejected. The impasse and controversy both deepened and the State Board of Education moved in to ask two questions. First, was there imbalance in the public schools of the city of Boston, and throughout the Commonwealth and, secondly, was this imbalance harmful?

I should indicate that the Board was not gratuitously involved. Under the Constitutional mandate and the statutory provisions of this Commonwealth, responsibilities do fall to this Board for the overall supervision of public education. I could recall for you a more specific statute concerning the responsibilities of the Commissioner of Education. This would be Chapter 69 of the General Laws, Section 1, in which the Commissioner of Education is charged, and I underscore the mandatory aspects of the language rather than the permissive, the Commissioner of Education shall supervise all education supported in whole or in part by the Commonwealth. We did move in and we hoped that we could have these two questions answered. We wanted them answered by an impartial group. We called on 21, perhaps, of the most distinguished citizens that could be assembled for this purpose: leaders in the major faiths, His Eminence the Cardinal, the Suffragan Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, the president of the Rabbinical Board here in the Commonwealth, four university presidents of renowned institutions, nationally renowned, the former Attorney General, leaders in industry, leaders in business, highly respected leaders within the community. This occurred in March of 1964. The commission went to work immediately, spent almost 11 months on the study, and answered the two questions that the State Board had asked affirmatively. There was racial imbalance. Fifty-five schools were found to be imbalanced in the State, 45 of which were here in the capital city of Boston. The second question, and this is where we have a disagreement with the school officials and members of the Boston School Committee, was it harmful? The Commission and its task force, and let me indicate that the task forces, which assisted us during this 11 month period, were comprised of some very capable and nationally recognized figures in the field of education. They were drawn from experiences that went all the way from teaching on the college level in the fields of sociology and psychology to the superintendency of the city of Chicago, a school system obviously larger than the city of Boston's. We examined the literature. Here, again, we have a disagreement as far as the position of the Boston officials and the State officials. We asked certain leaders, and I won't list all of them here but you will

find in the second section of the so-called Kiernan Report documentation with some 161 citations, what we think is clear cut evidence of the harm that racial imbalance can do. Dr. Pettigrew, who serves as your consultant, Dr. Pinderhughes, who was privileged to testify before this distinguished Commission yesterday, and Dr. Grambs and Dr. Kvaraceus and Dr. Fischer, the president of Teachers College, Columbia, and others were chosen to point up the needs as far as imbalance in the public schools was concerned.

In addition, with the funds which the Permanent Charities Fund had given us—this was underwritten completely with non-tax funds—we asked Dr. Seasholes of the Tufts University faculty to check nationally, to talk with sociologists, with educators, with administrators, with psychologists, with psychiatrists, individuals who would be qualified to express an opinion and support that opinion with documented evidence in terms of the harmful effects of racial imbalance. The results are here. Over 600 of the key researchers in this country have indicated that imbalance is harmful. The 21 members accepted this unanimously. On the 15th of April in '65, we presented our recommendations. The Commission members have had a copy of the report. It was cited yesterday by Senator Edward Kennedy. It is 132 pages in length. It was a boiled down version of some 1,200 pages of the study. Recognizing that not too many people would read all of it, and I frankly must confess I am appalled at the number of people who should have read it and didn't, who are indicating we are making certain recommendations which would have to be placed in the incredible or nonsensical categories, but to make certain it was properly distributed and read, the Board established a 16 page Scripto-Graphic summary which we feel has been widely distributed and read, and our recommendations are contained therein.

There seem to be two issues which have at least added fuel to the controversial fires and for the record I would like to set to rest, once and for all, the myth or the fiction concerning neighborhood schools. Secondly, and this testimony has been heard previously, I would like to set to rest, once and for all, the question of compulsory and/or cross-city busing. You will note in the report that the neighborhood schools that we are recommending and Dr. Ohrenberger is recommending and the last two superintendents and the School Committee unanimously, we are asking that certain of these schools be replaced; that the demolition crews should have moved in years ago to eliminate these schools. Many of them have enrollments of less than 200 students. This is not a neighborhood school of 1966. It couldn't possibly be a neighborhood school in 1970 or '75 or the decades to follow. In the Commonwealth, and Dean Griswold earlier asked about our reimbursement system, let me talk for a moment about construction rather than operation. We have constructed over 1,400 schools, 1,433, if you want the exact figures as of this date. This is at a total cost of \$1.1 billion and the Commonwealth's involvement as of this moment is \$450 mil-

lion. We do not recommend anywhere the development or perpetuation of a school of this size. We are not suggesting the elimination of the neighborhood school. There is no reference to this in the report. None of the 21 members, no member of the task forces who assisted, no member of the Board of Education, the Chairman or the 10 members, certainly the Commissioner has never suggested the neighborhood school be eliminated. What we are suggesting is that the inefficient, small school, which obviously shortchanges the youngsters be eliminated once and for all, and the neighborhood which originally was drawn as the kind of grocery store was drawn from perhaps a few blocks be increased in size to make certain the facilities, the faculty, the general equipment, the instructional materials and whatever else you wish to build into a quality program will be placed in the right sized school. We have never suggested the elimination of the neighborhood school. Secondly, the other issue which seems to be repeatedly distorted, either deliberately or perhaps not by design, is the suggestion that the Board at some point and its advisory commission recommended compulsory busing or cross-city busing. This morning in the nearly 400 school systems of this great State over 400,000 children were transported. In a course of a year, our buses cover better than 26,000,000 miles. This is a permissive system. Never in the history of the Commonwealth have we mandated busing. To make certain that this was understood, when Chapter 641, which is the Racial Imbalance Act of the State was enacted into law in ceremonies in the Hall of Flags on the 18th of August, 1965, built into that law was the stipulation that under no circumstances would any child be moved if the parent objected. Our premise has been, is now, and will continue to be, that busing is a voluntary matter and any suggestion that this distinguished group or the State Board is recommending that young people be transported from East Boston or Charlestown or West Roxbury to schools in Roxbury or the South End or North Dorchester is without foundation. The suggestion has never been made. The suggestion wasn't even discussed. What we are suggesting is a voluntary system until such time as the long range building plans, with which we happen to be in agreement with the Superintendent, with the Committee, can be brought to fruition. We recognize, however, that even the smallest school today is a 24-month operation, prior to its being able to open its doors to the youngsters of that district. The largest schools are taking 36 months to build. We are almost into '67. This type of long-range program would have no effect on the city of Boston until at least 1970. What concerns the State Board of Education is that there are no short term recommendations in the Boston plan.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Kiernan, do you think there is a danger that if some other efforts to integrate inner-city schools that you have described are put into effect, this would result in an increased movement of white persons to the suburbs?

DR. KIERNAN. I would hope not. This has been experienced in some of the other major cities as the Commission knows. It is my feeling that Boston, that is, the inner core city must be a very intimate part of the total Metropolitan area. Those of us who live in the suburbs, and when you asked me my residence, I indicated it was in Milton, which is a residential community adjacent to the city on the south side. When I am traveling in this country or other parts of the world and individuals ask where I come from, obviously, the answer is Boston. We think of it as a total entity rather than the inner core city itself. I haven't noted the exodus. I would hope that such an exodus would never take place. I do not subscribe to points of view that have been expressed previously, that the future of America will suggest cities of one color or another. It seems to me we have an obligation in a democratic society to have people of all walks of life, of all backgrounds, making up that city.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Kiernan, does your department have any evidence that shows whether or not white children benefit from attending racially balanced schools?

DR. KIERNAN. We think they do. Exodus, obviously, hasn't been operating long enough to measure the dividends. METCO is an operation which has just started. Again, we have no evaluative criteria which could be used to check the effectiveness of the program, but I have talked with individuals who are responsible in the suburban systems as to how these 220 young people are advancing. In every case, I have glowing reports of the promise of this system. My second question was yours. What effect is the program having on the white youngsters with whom they are associated and, again, glowing reports come back. This is a multi-racial society. It seems to me that young people being prepared for responsible citizenship for their vocational or occupational niches in life should come from an integrated learning environment. I would not subscribe nor would the members of the State Board of Education or our advisory commission or our task forces subscribe to the idea of a school system being one color or another. We are convinced, and we think we have the documented evidence to support this, that the integrated learning will pay dividends, not only to youngsters, but to the adult citizens and to the society generally.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Kiernan, do you think that compensatory education programs are able to provide equal educational opportunities without integration?

DR. KIERNAN. I do not. The compensatory system, and Dr. Ohrenberger described very eloquently the Counterpoise system and some of the others that are operating in the city, I think are doing a good job. But to suggest that the Counterpoise system or any other system can take the place of an integrated learning experience is dodging the question. These young people could have the best of facilities,

could have the finest of teachers, the finest of educational equipment and be isolated from the rest of the city or the rest of the school system. I think the self-concept, the image of these young people, their lack of contact with the rest of the world, the rest of the world incidentally that they come in contact with when they visit our stores in the city or our theaters or our churches or temples, our cathedrals, this kind of contact certainly should move down into the school system itself. So Counterpoise or a compensatory system alone, in my judgment, is not the answer.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You don't think the self-concept of a child in racially isolated schools will be improved if you tell him that he is doing good work?

DR. KIERNAN. I do not. We have had, in the 10 year experience of the department, many successful activities with Boston supporting these activities, exchanges of youngsters in terms of some knowledge of how the government of a town or city operates, summer programs, camp programs, assemblies and we know both sides have received dividends, but, alone again, I would resist the idea that the commendation to the child within this isolated school or system of itself can be of great value.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Kiernan, your office has responsibility for evaluating a city's Title I proposal. Is that correct?

DR. KIERNAN. This is correct.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. In evaluating the quality of a city's Title I program, should you consider the policy of the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Act?

DR. KIERNAN. This has been checked on a number of occasions by the Board and by our General Counsel. We have concluded that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 very clearly places the responsibility for shutting off Federal funds at the Washington level. Presumably, HEW and, more specifically, the United States Office of Education. We have shut off in terms of Chapter 641, the State's Racial Imbalance Act, not on the basis of discretion of the board members or a whim or caprice or an arbitrary action but, rather, the specifics of the statute itself, that reimbursements shall not be forthcoming if a school system is not in compliance with Chapter 641. In the course of a full fiscal year, the amount of money held presently amounts to about \$16 million. The initial funding of the school building, the long-range school building program, we estimate in the vicinity of \$14 million, so, at stake at the moment, would be \$30 million in State aid.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Well, sir, under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, not Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, aren't you supposed to determine whether a program is of sufficient scope, size, and quality to give reasonable promise of substantial progress?

DR. KIERNAN. This is correct and this has been done.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. And couldn't you say that a program that does

not provide for integration is not of sufficient quality to provide reasonable assurance of progress?

DR. KIERNAN. This is a position which our counsel feels is not a defensible position as of this hour. It has been discussed. It has been debated many times by the chairman and members of the board. It was discussed by the individuals who make up our task force and when the report was completed and presented the task force members, many of whom are assembled here at Faneuil Hall today, have stayed with us. So that there is a continuing dialogue. Our offers for assistance at any time to Boston or any of the other cities stand. We hope we can work in partnership to get this cleared up. We have concluded, however, in answer to your questions that the withholding of Federal funds on the basis of a State statute is not a position that is warranted as of this date.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. We hear a lot of talk about States' rights. Do you feel that continued Federal aid to the city of Boston, despite the fact the State of Massachusetts has concluded the city is in violation of State law, do you think that impinges on States' rights?

DR. KIERNAN. We approved, incidentally, the Title I activities of the city. These were gone over carefully. We have a screening committee that examines the programs of the several cities and towns. Constitutional question, that these young people could be shortchanged. and while we are debating an issue in terms of its statutory or constitutional question, that these young people could be shortchanged. It was for this reason that the State Board and the department endorsed many of the programs that the city of Boston suggested under Title I. We think we should be moving forward. I think the issue, however, is one of the State versus the city in terms of Chapter 641 without complications in getting involved with Public Law 8910, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. It is true that the Federal Government, if funds were shut off, would then be in the same corner with the State Board in terms of pending litigation. But I would point out respectfully to the Commission that we do have a petition for a declaratory judgment before the superior court of Suffolk County. We have a petition for judicial review before the same court at the present time, and we have the feeling we should not complicate the several issues by becoming involved with the question of withdrawal or hold-up of Federal funds. We think this clearly belongs on the Washington scene.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you think that Title I programs sometimes tend to perpetuate segregated schools?

DR. KIERNAN. They could. If a school system accepted the money and took older buildings, repainted them, improved the lighting and the flooring, dressed them up—incidentally, when the complete dressing is finished, you would still have a building of the last century—I doubt its adaptability to a modern education program, as a result of paint, flooring, and new electric fixtures. It is my feeling that if the money is expended in generally broadening the educational services

and quality, then these young people of ours will be assisted immeasurably. If the money is poured into a given section of the city with the sole purpose of either creating or perpetuating a ghetto school, then I am afraid we would have to be recorded as opponents to the idea.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Thank you, Dr. Kiernan. I have no further questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Dr. Kiernan, much has been said about integration and education as a component of quality education and, also, as a valuable learning experience. It seems to me that a lot of emphasis is given to the integration of the pupils and far too little is given to the integration of the faculty, and you have also heard testimony that in some instances people have not applied. I wonder if you would want to suggest some affirmative steps that could be taken by boards of education and school committees that are actually interested in working for an integrated faculty.

DR. KIERNAN. Mrs. Freeman raises an interesting question. It is one that has plagued most major cities, not only Boston, but many from coast to coast. I am convinced that the integration on the student level is important, but with you I agree that integration on the faculty level is also vitally important. The department has run a number of programs in our division of civic education on attempting to pull faculties together, to develop courses in the field of race relations. I will give Boston and the superintendent and the administration credit, many of the Boston teachers have participated in these. We were successful in receiving a \$130,000 grant from the Federal Government in terms of establishing a 28 half-hour program television series which is now being used nationally on this whole question of race relations. It is aimed at faculties. The focus is to do something to convince our faculties that we have a mission to perform, not only in section X or Y of a given city but in the total school system. Some suggestions have been made that teachers might be on sort of a sabbatical, rotation system. After you have taught in a section of the city for a given number of years, seven or perhaps less—seven, if we are going on to the sabbatical standard system that Dean Griswold and Father Hesburgh and other in the collegiate field would use—that these teachers be transferred—quality teachers—transferred so they would have an opportunity to see youngsters in some of the other sections of the city. I would also urge teachers. Hopefully again, we can encourage people to come into our field, qualified young people of all races and backgrounds to come into this very worthy profession of ours. It would be my hope that in some fashion, and this is a compensatory salary note and not a compensatory program note, that perhaps additional funds might be paid to individuals taking these less favored assignments in some of the disadvantaged sections of our cities. Maybe this would encourage teachers to move. We have had too few people willing in this field to go out and do the missionary

job that must be done. I am also concerned, and this is not a criticism of Boston necessarily—this is aimed on a national level—that too many teachers and too many administrators and too many State Department officials concern themselves with their responsibilities in a given office or classroom and forget the fact that these youngsters are only with us five hours each day. The other 19 hours they are subjected to an environment of a good or, possibly, poor home, the street corner, and all the other pressures that move in on them 19 hours a day. At some point, I would hope to convince all of the individuals who work with me in the field that we ought to get out into these sections of the city to see these homes, to talk with one or both parents, to render guidance service beyond the actual classroom day, which is all too short, and get some kind of response as a result of this type of guidance that will make these young people of ours better citizens and much better students.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. I have one final question and that is in respect to the curriculum. One of the great failings of our educational system has been that there have been many textbooks in use in the schools that have inaccurately portrayed history and that are responsible themselves for the negative self-image that some of the Negroes have. Now recently within the past several years excellent books have been written and some schools are using these. There are bibliographies that are available. I would like to know if you have any recommendation as to the more extensive use of such tools?

DR. KIERNAN. Yes. As a matter of fact, again, our division of civic education has recently been renamed a bureau under Chapter 572, which is the reorganization statute for education in Massachusetts. The bureau does have very comprehensive bibliographies on this and to give credit to the publishing houses they, too, are beginning to move on this. If it is presented, however, in an artificial fashion, I am not at all certain as to the merits of this type of distribution. It seems to me this must be a sincere effort on the part of school officials. It must be a sincere effort on the part of parents who are receiving the instructional materials in the home to make certain that we present history accurately, that we present the political and economic and social needs of our times accurately, and that we draw on the tremendous contributions that all groups, regardless of the national or ethnic or religious or racial background, all groups have made to this great country of ours.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Dr. Kiernan, I only have one question. Suppose all these things we are talking about should be judged to go beyond the city of Boston out into the suburbs or perhaps, let us say, it is a metropolitan rather than a city problem—taking the city in the strict or urban sense of the word—who would have the responsibility for establishing some group to work on it in a metropolitan way?

In other words, a total metropolitan answer to a total metropolitan problem. Would that be under your purview or the Board of Education or the State or what?

DR. KIERNAN. We could make recommendations, Father. We do not have the statutory authority, however, to move forward and accomplish this. This would require legislation.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I see.

DR. KIERNAN. At the present time, again as the Commission members well know, through the medium of the 10th amendment of the Federal Constitution, education obviously becomes a State function. The General Court, our legislature, has in its wisdom established under Chapter 71, Section 37, a responsibility for local school committees to operate the local schools and be responsible for youngsters within the given city or town. This came into being in 1826. At the present time, the only metropolitan or regional efforts, at least on this issue, must be based on the voluntary approach. You have heard about the METCO plan from this witness chair which is evidence of that type of voluntary action. I would suspect that, as the smaller neighborhood, which I indicated, doesn't serve the needs of education in 1966, we've moved toward a regional concept. We have over 200 cities and towns in Massachusetts today in regions. There was a period when a person suggesting regionalization would have been run out of town. It was slow coming. The State did assist in setting up a reimbursement plan whereby certain of the communities could receive up to 65 percent in terms of construction and this type of fiscal motivation or incentive did pay dividends we think. It may well be that under a metropolitan concept basis, which I think will be coming in the future years, that the State should suggest legislation on a voluntary basis. We seem to have discussed at some length the question of compulsion. I have always had the feeling that I wouldn't wish somebody sitting in Washington dictating to Massachusetts and our 49 sister States the type of educational program that is best for Massachusetts. By the same token, I would resist the idea of a commissioner or a state board sitting in paternalistic fashion, dictating a system to the 351 communities of this Commonwealth. But, on the voluntary basis, to encourage them to come together, to set up school facilities that are adequate and modern and would provide quality education in every respect, legislation perhaps should be considered which would build into the metropolitan area responsibilities, not only for the core city, but for the school committees and the citizens on the periphery of that core city to recognize the needs of a metropolitan system of education.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. It seems to be there is no other answer ultimately. We have been talking about a lot of patch work but I think the ultimate answer—this is a metropolitan problem. I think it is a metropolitan problem in New York, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and I can't see any possibility of ultimately solving it except in some metropolitan fashion drawing upon the total strength, fiscal,

administrative, academic of the total metropolitan area. Otherwise, we are just going to have to settle for a core city with poor schools.

DR. KIERNAN. We would be in complete agreement, Father, not only in education but transportation, protective services—

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. The whole business.

DR. KIERNAN. And to eliminate in some fashion again, the pride, local worship, perhaps it could be described in that fashion, that suggest that no service can extend beyond the boundaries of a given community.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Thank you, Doctor.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Dr. Kiernan, I would like to try to understand a little more about the difference which exists between you and your Board and the Boston School Committee. As I understand it, there is not much difference with respect to what might be called the long run approach of the Boston School Committee. Is that right?

DR. KIERNAN. This is correct.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Therefore, the difference is primarily with respect to the short run and that is what happens to these children who are there now during the next two, three, four years. Is that correct?

DR. KIERNAN. This is correct.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Could you outline to me the things which you or your Board think the Boston School Committee should do which so far they are unwilling to do?

DR. KIERNAN. In addition to the long range building program, Dean, which, as I indicated earlier and you brought it out, we are in agreement that this step is an important one that should be taken immediately, there should not be any further delays in getting these construction projects off the ground. In addition to that, we suggested redistricting, and I also would like to put to rest, as a result of your key question, the suggestion that there is something harmful or evil about redistricting. I mentioned the 1,433 schools which we have built under our school assistance program. Every time a school is constructed in Boston or in any other community and this is certainly true in the other States, you redistrict. Otherwise you would be rebuilding a school on a given site for the same number of students. So we are suggesting redistricting and this is spelled out in Chapter 641 as one of the short-range plans. We also suggested voluntary, and let me again emphasize that particular term, voluntary busing for those students who would wish to move out to school districts adjacent. I won't say within a stone's throw but within a very short bus distance of another district. It is assumed, of course, that there would be places or seats available for these young people. We also recommended the possible purchase and placement of relocatable units, particularly at some of the smaller schools in order to increase the enrollment to a reasonable size in the other schools. But as of this hour again, the Boston School Committee has seen fit to only

place relocatable units in the Norcross area of South Boston, where a disastrous fire destroyed the older building. This recommendation was made and was not followed. We suggested under open enrollment, and we have no quarrel with concept of open enrollment, we quarrel—I use the term “we” to include the State Board of Education and the task force and our advisory committee—with the suggestion that when open enrollment systems are endorsed that the parent finds his own way to provide transportation to the vacant seat. We think the city or town has an obligation to provide transportation and this was one of our recommendations under Title I of the 10th Law of the 89th Congress which we’ve discussed previously. We had suggested that some of those monies be used for transportation. Under the MBTA, which is our transit authority reimbursement formula which the State Department of Education handles, approximately \$1 million is available for the city of Boston. We recommended that some of these funds be tapped in order to improve the open enrollment system here in the city. I should point out, and the Dean is well aware of this, that in Massachusetts reimbursements as such—and our reimbursements in the fiscal year will be somewhere in the vicinity of \$185 million—go directly to the general treasury of the city or town. They do not go to the several school committees for expenditures without further appropriation. The mayor did indicate, however, that if the Committee were to ask for the use of certain of these funds he saw no reason why a transfer would not be feasible. When it wasn’t feasible, it is my understanding, that the private enterprise under the title of Exodus came into being. And our recommendation stands.

There are several others, Dean, that we believe are the short-term type of recommendations that would make for a resolution of the present impasse very quickly and expeditiously.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. As we have held hearings in other cities, it has seemed to us, particularly in Rochester and Syracuse, that the school boards there and the superintendents of school there, were trying very hard to do whatever could be done to deal with this obviously extremely difficult and intractable problem and that they were making some progress. It is a little hard for one who lives in this area to feel convinced that the Boston School Committee is trying very hard to do what it should do to help with this problem. Do you feel that the Boston School Committee could be trying harder in this area?

DR. KIERNAN. This would be the understatement of the year, Dean, if I were to suggest that their present efforts were adequate. I am sure they are not adequate and this position is supported unanimously by the 21 members of the advisory committee. It obviously was supported by the 40 Senators and the 240 Representatives we have in the House, when they enacted Chapter 641. It is my feeling that thinking citizens in the city and throughout the Commonwealth and throughout the Nation support the idea of making certain that quality

education is provided for all our youngsters without reference to extraneous backgrounds. I am certain that the Committee could be working harder. I will say the chairman, Mr. Saltonstall, and I have had discussions with the Chairman of the School Committee, Mr. Eisenstadt, as Dr. Ohrenberger testified. We have had many meetings. We have always had a close relationship in terms of a willingness to discuss, but when the matter reaches the Committee table, things seem to get bogged down. The Board of Education was very disappointed and, again, this would be in the understatement category, when after working very diligently over the months and asking agencies such as Harvard-M.I.T. Center for Urban Studies to assist us where we came in with some very moderate and reasonable recommendations, which we thought could be implemented in the very near future, to have the Committee turn around and submit again to the State Board of Education the exact plan that had already been rejected without even a change of punctuation marks. It is for this reason that I feel the Committee could work a lot harder on implementing this particular State law.

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dr. Kiernan, you emphasized in answering the last question put by the Dean, the overall objective has to be equality of educational opportunity and, more precisely, of adequate educational opportunity for all of our young people, regardless of their color or wherever they happen to be born. Does your State Board of Education feel that they have a responsibility to do what they can to convince the people of this Commonwealth that it isn't the interest of the people of the city of Boston or the suburbs around Boston or it really isn't whether a matter is going to be voluntary or coerced that is at stake. We are really concerned with the kind of society we are going to have X years ahead. And if as you believe as I know you do, the same as I do, that the kind of city Boston is going to be, the kind of State Massachusetts is going to be, the kind of a Nation we are going to live in is going to be determined pretty largely by what happens in our schools—quality, quantity, and the availability of educational opportunity. This really isn't a question. How do we get people to think bigger than they do? They are inclined always to see this school problem as to whether or not this is advantageous to our suburb or to the people in Roxbury or some place else. Have you some thinking about this?

DR. KIERNAN. It is an exceedingly difficult question. We have attempted through the Fourth Estate, through the mass communications media, through meetings around the Commonwealth, and meetings here in the city, to indicate to people the desperate need to support those goals which you just mentioned, Dr. Hannah, so eloquently a moment ago. We have tried to convince them that as education goes, so goes the Nation, that we will be in desperate straits if we do not provide quality education for all of our youngsters and we have one

and a third million children and youth for whom we are deeply concerned this very day. Breaking the barriers of prejudice again is difficult and sometimes we have the feeling we are walking in sand, that for each two steps forward there seems to be one step backward. I am an optimist. I like to think that we are on the way and that if each person will stay with the problem, will talk with his neighbor, will indicate when opportunities are available to larger groups within the community to talk with the children at the dinner table, to talk with our teachers who are laboring in a dedicated fashion each day in this State, some 52,000 strong, that somehow or other, over the years this will come about. It is discouraging, however, and it has been a very frustrating experience for the State Board and for those of us who serve the Commonwealth to note that some individuals seem to have closed minds. I wish there were a magic formula or magic wand which could be waved that would do the job that must be done but I think the work of this Commission, I think the work of His Excellency the Governor and our General Court, I think the work of our Junior and Senior Senators and most members of the Congress are aimed in that very direction. It would be my hope that the dividends would start coming back to us very shortly.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. I don't want to continue this dialogue in the present vein, but I am impressed by reading in the New York Times this morning an editorial on the preservation of the sand dunes along Lake Michigan and the Chicago-Indiana area for the advantage of the people that are going to live in that area on down long years ahead, are much concerned about the preservation of water resources and all sorts of natural resources. So far, we don't seem to have succeeded in convincing the American people that the most important single resource we have is the potential of our young people of all colors, races, and locations. If we don't develop the potential that God gave them we are in bad trouble but you can't handle that one and I can't. It is the people.

DR. KIERNAN. I couldn't agree more wholeheartedly, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Taylor?

MR. TAYLOR. No questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Thank you very much, Dr. Kiernan. We are very grateful to you and we will take a 10-minute recess.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Ladies and gentleman, will you please take your chairs? The hearing will again be in order. Mr. Glickstein, will you call the next witness?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Hannah, may I first ask that Dr. Kiernan's statement be entered into the record as Exhibit No. 9?

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. It is received.

(The document referred to above was received as Exhibit No. 9.)

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The next two witnesses, sir, are from the regional office of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. At the time we subpoenaed these witnesses, as you may recall, we wrote a letter to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in Washington, Dr. Gardner, advising him that we intended to subpoena his regional representatives to ask questions about certain of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare programs and we asked Mr. Gardner to have present at the hearing, in addition to the regional representatives, persons from Washington who were in a position to fully and completely answer the Commissioners' questions. I believe, along with the two witnesses we have subpoenaed, there is someone from Washington to answer our questions. The two subpoenaed witnesses are Mr. Walter W. Mode, the Regional Director of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Dr. Donald C. DeHart. They are accompanied by Dr. James Mauch.

(Whereupon, Mr. Walter W. Mode, Mr. Donald DeHart, and Dr. James Mauch were sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

TESTIMONY OF MR. WALTER W. MODE, REGIONAL DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS; MR. DONALD DEHART, REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE, U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS; DR. JAMES MAUCH, CHIEF, PROGRAMS BRANCH, DIVISION OF COMPENSATORY EDUCATION, U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, may we have entered into the record as Exhibit No. 10, Mr. Taylor's letter to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare?

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. It is received.

(The document referred to above was received as Exhibit No. 10.)

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would each of you gentlemen please give your complete name and address for the record?

MR. MODE. I am Walter Mode, Regional Director of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in Boston. I live at 35 Ridge Avenue, Natick, Massachusetts.

DR. MAUCH. I am James Mauch, Chief, Programs Branch, Division of Compensatory Education. That is a euphemism for Title I of the Office of Education. I live at 1342 Fourth Street, S.W., Washington, D.C.

MR. DEHART. I am Donald C. DeHart, Regional Representative, United States Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner. I live at 45 Linda Circle, Marlboro, Massachusetts. My headquarters are at Government Center in the Health, Education, and Welfare Department.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Mode, I understand that you have a statement that has been forwarded by Washington in response to some of the questions we raised in the letter to Secretary Gardner.

MR. MODE. That is correct. I am very sorry that I don't have what Dr. Ohrenberger and Dr. Kiernan had, namely, a report which you could have and which we were hopeful to have completed by this time.

However, in answer to the two questions that were raised in the letter, I took it upon myself to talk with our Washington representatives and received the following information: "The Department is reviewing the legal question of whether a State agency may withhold Federal funds to a school district if the school district is violating a State law dealing with the racial makeup of schools.

"To phrase the question more narrowly, the Department is reviewing the legal question of whether or not State action to withhold Federal funds from a district violating a State law is consistent with or violates the State plan for each of the individual programs receiving Federal financing assistance. The Department of Justice is participating in the review. No final position has been reached as of this date. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has received allegations of discrimination against the Boston school system under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. These allegations are currently under review and study. The issues raised by these allegations are quite separate from the legal question of a State withholding Federal funds from a school system because of a violation of State law dealing with the racial make-up of schools."

That was the information that we have concerning the two questions raised in the letter.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Mode, would you mind if we passed your statement around for the Commissioners to look at closely? In your last portion of the statement you mentioned a Title VI investigation. When was that undertaken? Do you know?

MR. MODE. Initially, the complaint was made to our Department in February of 1965. At that time we reviewed the current funds that were being expended on the MDTA Program and came out with the findings that in that program, which was an adult training program worked partially through the Boston schools, that there was no discrimination. Since that time several things have taken place. First of all, the national office has been receiving several complaints. They, in turn, have a national problem of *de facto* segregation and they have centralized all of these activities and this is the reason for the action being transferred to the central office.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Have representatives of Washington come up to Boston to investigate?

MR. MODE. Yes, they have.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Do you recall about how many and over what period of time?

MR. MODE. They have been here over the last approximately eight or nine months when it was transferred down. There are some very sensitive legal questions and I think those are the ones that are being

debated at this time and worked with with the Department of Justice.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Dr. Mauch, may I ask you some questions about your responsibilities? I think you said you were the Director of the Division of Compensatory Education.

DR. MAUCH. You gave me a promotion. I work for the Director of the Division of Compensatory Education. This division is the unit in the office responsible for administering Title I from the Office of Education. I am the chief of one of the sub-parts of this unit. It is called the Program Development Branch. We also have a Field Branch which is now staffing up to put people into the field to be close to the local operations. And we also have an Operations Branch which receives the applications after the State has approved them, sometimes months, I guess characteristically months, after the State has approved them. The Operations Branch is really the close link to the States. The Programs Branch is more interested in long-range planning. It has responsibility for evaluation to the degree we engage in evaluation nationally. It has dissemination responsibilities. We try to get out a great deal of information, helpful advice, to States and local school districts.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Sir, under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the States are required to submit assurances that their Title I programs are of sufficient size, scope, and quality to give reasonable promise of substantial progress toward meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children. When your division reviews an application, what is looked for to determine whether the State Department of Education has fulfilled its responsibilities under the Act?

DR. MAUCH. Well, we don't exactly review the applications. This 8910 law is a very strong State program. The State receives the applications and it reviews them in light of the assurances and in light of the criteria that you alluded to and then either approves, modifies, or disapproves the local application. Only after that and maybe after a period of months has passed by do we see the application. Even at that point I think the word review is strong. We are a very small staff, a very starved staff in terms of resources. We have 22,000 school districts eligible for Title I and something like that number of projects so there isn't really a close project review unless there is something fishy that we hear about in which case, of course, we do go into the project in detail.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Otherwise your office, I gather from what you say, does not really have a very thorough evaluation program to evaluate the merits of plans that come from the States?

DR. MAUCH. You mean to evaluate their performance in terms of approving local projects? Is that what you're referring to?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Yes.

DR. MAUCH. Well, I wouldn't put it the way you did. I would say—

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You don't have a very thorough program to evaluate the quality of a particular plan that has been approved by the State. Is that correct?

DR. MAUCH. As far as a particular local program, no, that's true. There are just too many of them. We're too small. We do not look in detail at every local project. We try to find a pattern in a State and then we work with the State to work on that pattern. Well, for example, one of the things a State has to do is to assure that the project is developed in cooperation with the Community Action Agency. If there is a pattern of that missing in a State, then we go to the State and try to work this out and I think we have so far.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. But your division doesn't make an independent determination whether the special educational needs of a locality have been met? You accept the determination of the State Commissioner?

DR. MAUCH. Yes.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Does the Office of Education have evidence which indicates that removing Negro children from segregated schools in low income areas results in educational progress? I don't want to be indirect. I am referring to the so-called Coleman Report that was issued some months ago.

DR. MAUCH. Yes. Certainly the Coleman Report shows there is a correlation between educational achievement and the integration of the schools.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Has the Division of Compensatory Education considered the significance of these findings in relation to Title I programs?

DR. MAUCH. I would say that the Coleman Report has had a tremendous effect on our thinking. All the data isn't in yet. It has to be further analyzed but we certainly have done a lot of re-thinking about the kinds of projects that would be desirable and I think we are in the process of discussing this with States and cities. Re-thinking as a result of a careful reading of the Coleman study including his own subsequent argument in *Public Affairs*. Perhaps the most tangible evidence that I think you have in front of you—if you don't, you can have this copy—is this letter mailed to chief state school officers from the United States Commissioner, Mr. Howe. I think it was mailed on August 9th and I think that you have this letter.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Yes, I believe we have copies of that letter.

DR. MAUCH. I think this letter is a direct result of the Coleman study and a tangible one.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. But would you think it would be proper for a local agency to make school integration a part of its Title I plan?

DR. MAUCH. You mean just as an educator do I think this?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Under the guidelines and under the statute and on the basis of Commissioner Howe's letter.

DR. MAUCH. I think this is answered by Commissioner Howe's letter. Yes, very much.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would the dispersal of poverty children to schools throughout a city result in a loss of Title I funds?

DR. MAUCH. Well, in the first case, of course, this is a determination of the State. Then if we are called upon, or if it comes up, as I said before if it looks fishy, then we get into it one way or another. If the purpose is to meet the special educational needs of these deprived youngsters, then there is no reason why the money cannot follow the youngsters. If moving kids around the school district is a subterfuge for general aid which this bill is not supposed to support, then I think we would probably have to talk it over with the State.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. On the basis of Commissioner Howe's letter, would you say that a state commissioner of education would be justified in refusing to approve a Title I program which failed to consider the objectives of integration?

DR. MAUCH. I would read that into the letter.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. You would read that into the letter. Would you, just for the sake of the audience, read the paragraph from Commissioner Howe's letter that you think provides that authority?

DR. MAUCH. Well, let me take a guess that it is the last paragraph on the first page. "Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965 was designed by Congress to meet the needs of educationally deprived children who live in attendance areas where there are high concentrations of children from low income families. Many of these areas are actually segregated housing areas and the children suffer both from impoverished home backgrounds and from isolation from the community at large. If they are to break away from poverty, they must overcome their educational deficiencies and develop the social skills they need in order to function effectively in the larger community. A Title I program that does not consider these objectives probably deserves significant re-consideration."

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, may I request that Commissioner Howe's letter be introduced in evidence as Exhibit No. 11?

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. It is received.

(The document referred to above was received as Exhibit No. 11.)

MR. GLICKSTEIN. I have no further questions, sir.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. No questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. I have no questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. No questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Taylor?

MR. TAYLOR. No questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Thank you very much, gentlemen. We appreciate your being with us. Mr. Glickstein, will you call the next witness?

MR. GLICKSTEIN. The next witness is Mr. Edward J. Logue.

(Whereupon, Mr. Edward J. Logue was sworn by the Chairman and testified as follows:)

TESTIMONY OF MR. EDWARD J. LOGUE, ADMINISTRATOR, BOSTON REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Logue, would you please state your full name and address for the record?

MR. LOGUE. Edward J. Logue, 30 West Cedar Street, Boston.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What is your occupation, Mr. Logue?

MR. LOGUE. I am the administrator of the Boston Redevelopment Authority.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How long have you held that position?

MR. LOGUE. Six years this month.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What positions did you hold prior to coming to the Boston Redevelopment Authority?

MR. LOGUE. I had a similar position in the city of New Haven for a period of approximately the same time.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What is your educational background, Mr. Logue?

MR. LOGUE. Yale College and Yale Law School.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Can you trace the development and movement of the Negro population in Boston and the Boston Metropolitan Area for the Commissioners?

MR. LOGUE. I can. Let's begin with this map which is the indication of the spread of nonwhite dwelling units in the city of Boston in 1940. You will note the heaviest concentration in the South End and Lower Roxbury and then increasing spread with not the same density in Roxbury. And then in 1960 the indication of concentration by the shading in much higher percentage. I have arranged in any extent you desire to make this information available to you because we deeply believe that the problem that you are investigating here cannot be dealt with adequately if your consideration of it is limited to one moment in time. You have to look at it in 1950, 1960.

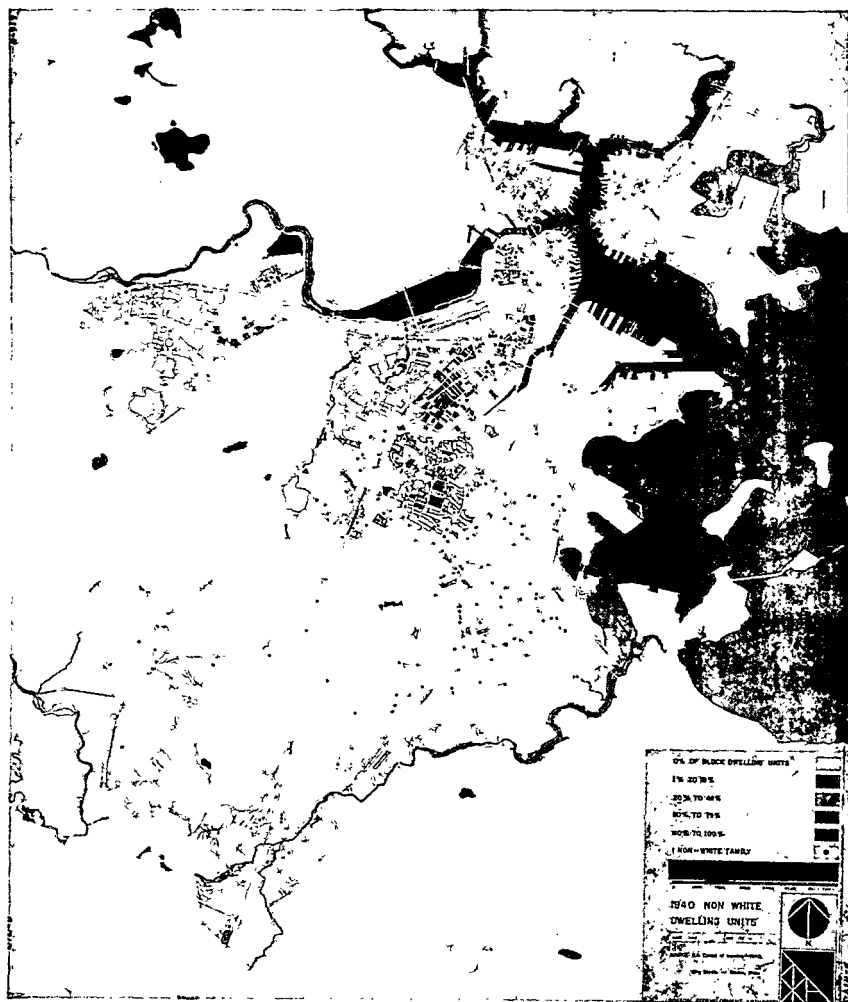
What you have here is a pattern. I will have to assume in order to save time that you have some knowledge of this community as a whole and of the area of which it is a part.

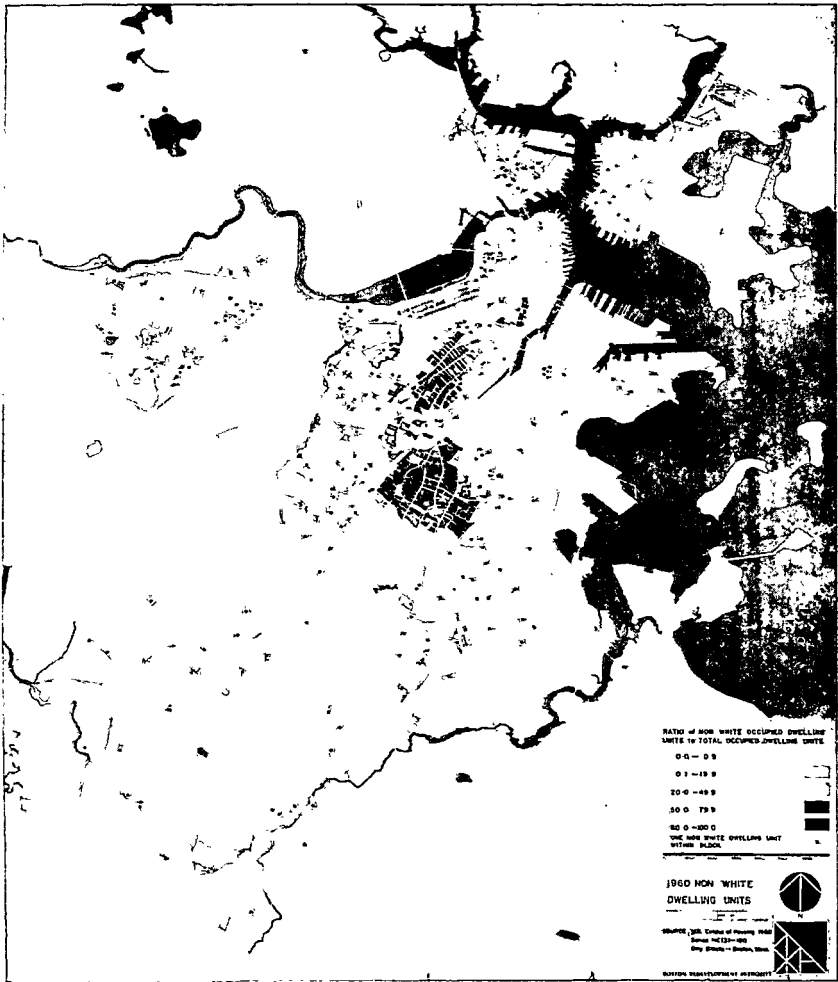
This is the area of heaviest concentration of nonwhite population in the city. Nonwhite population in Boston is overwhelmingly Negro. The number of Puerto Ricans, when they are categorized as nonwhites, is still quite limited. The number of Chinese is equally so. There are no other quantitatively significant nonwhites.

This area of East Boston, Charlestown, and South Boston has a very limited number of nonwhites and the charts which you have seen and projections are that the condition will continue. The movement in

Boston, if present patterns of housing, education, and employment continue, will be in this direction with perhaps some increase here and spot increases where there are existing public housing projects. Everything else indicates that if the city of Boston, as a corporate entity, is to have the responsibility for housing and educating the nonwhite population in the metropolitan area, this is the direction of movement.

I have seen this, having been in the city business for some years now, in my native city of Philadelphia, in each of the major cities in Connecticut, and in many other cities across the country. The No. 1 fact is not the size at any particular moment but the size over a period of time.





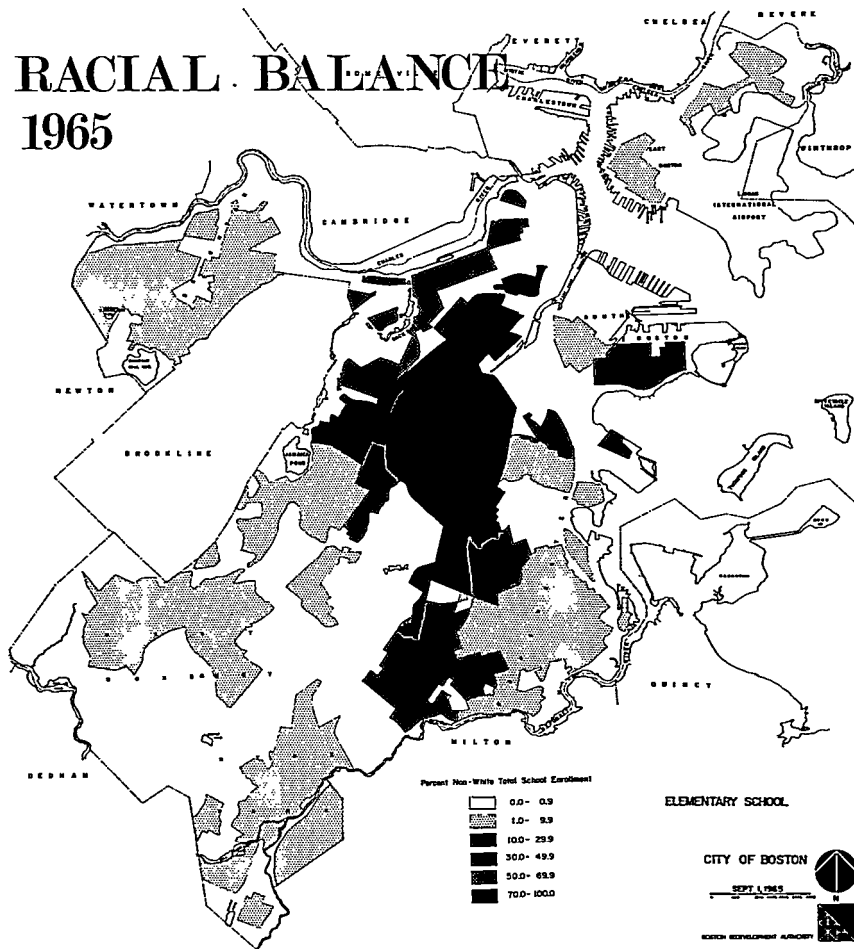
Boston is a thoroughly built-up city. The amount of vacant land available for any new developments in housing or schools is limited. Displacement is the inevitable concomitant of new construction to replace sub-standard structures or sub-standard schools and we have an ample supply of both. We look at the existing Boston Metropolitan Area. We see that the only place in the whole Greater Boston community which has a substantial percentage of nonwhites in addition to Boston is the city of Cambridge and it is still a very small part of the school population there.

These figures for the other towns are all on the order of 1 to 10 percent and stand out much too dramatically.

This has been approached in my judgment much too much as a Boston problem. The solution cannot lie with the city.

RACIAL BALANCE

1965



MR. GLICKSTEIN. Is the Negro population in Boston and in the Boston Metropolitan Area increasing, Mr. Logue?

MR. LOGUE. Yes. Primarily the lines of mobility are almost all in the city.

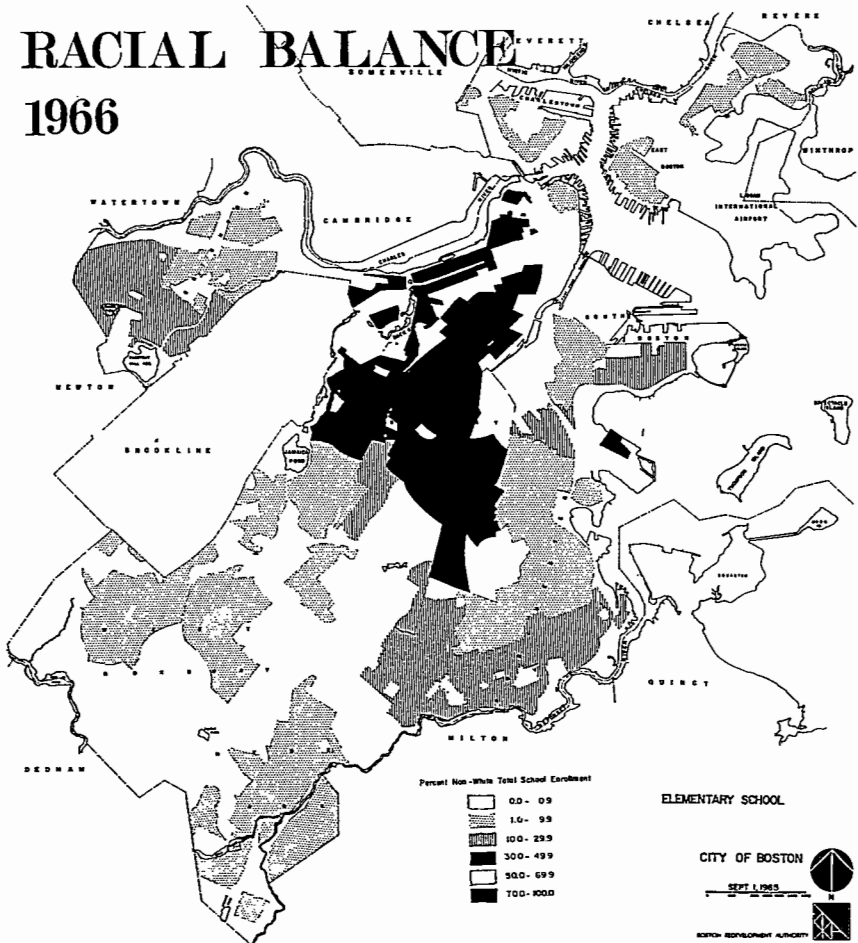
MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Logue, various solutions have been recommended for overcoming racial imbalance in Boston such as re-districting and changing feeder patterns. Would you please comment on the likelihood that the implementation of these recommendations will produce an enduring solution to problems of racial imbalance?

MR. LOGUE. Commissioners, the key word in that question, so far as I'm concerned, is "enduring". It seems to me that the very distinguished ladies and gentlemen, many of them personal friends and nearly all of them acquaintances of mine, who signed the Kiernan Commission Report, on the record of that report, were unaware of the significance of "enduring". Commissioner Kiernan's report was an

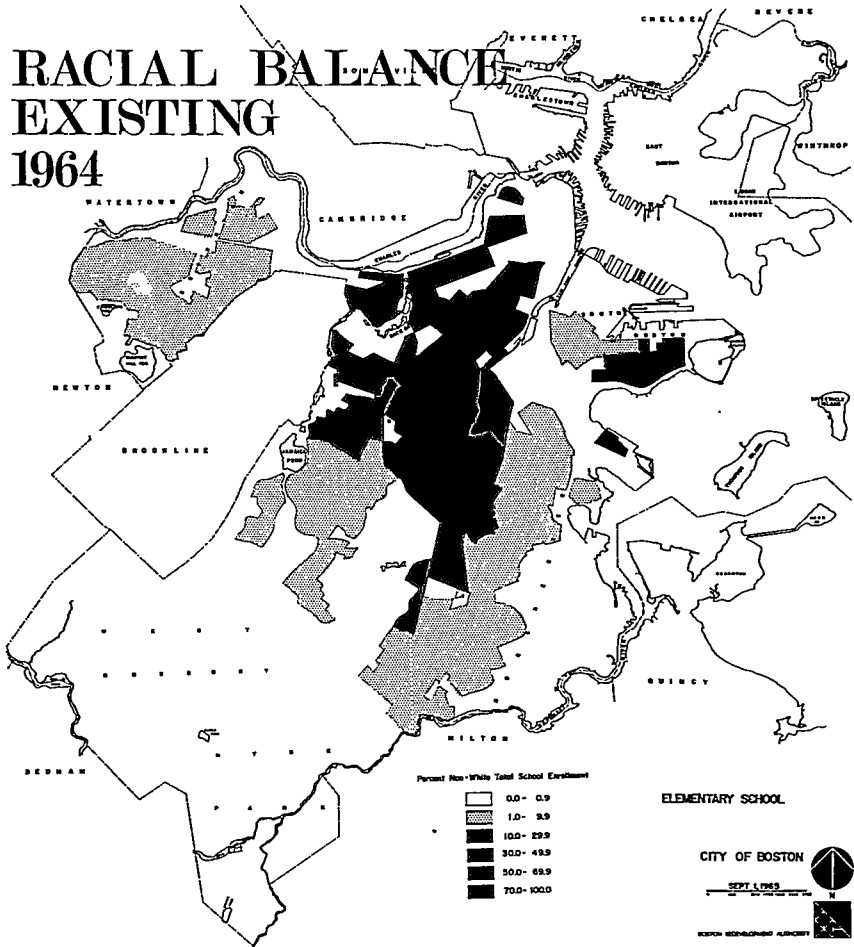
unfortunate and short-term solution which had no possibility of success and has none today. The Commissioner called for the burden of the resolution of this problem of racial imbalance. So there will be no misunderstanding and also so that nobody applauds for any wrongly conceived reasons, I believe we in Boston and in the Commonwealth and in the Nation must find a solution to the problem of racial imbalance and I think we better get to it sooner than this Commonwealth is moving. The solution that was proposed by the Kiernan group was a solution that in effect said that the busing and reverse-busing that should take place should be limited to the relatively low income, the Italian, Irish, and Jewish neighborhoods which border the ghetto, Dorchester and Jamaica Plain.

RACIAL BALANCE

1966



RACIAL BALANCE EXISTING 1964

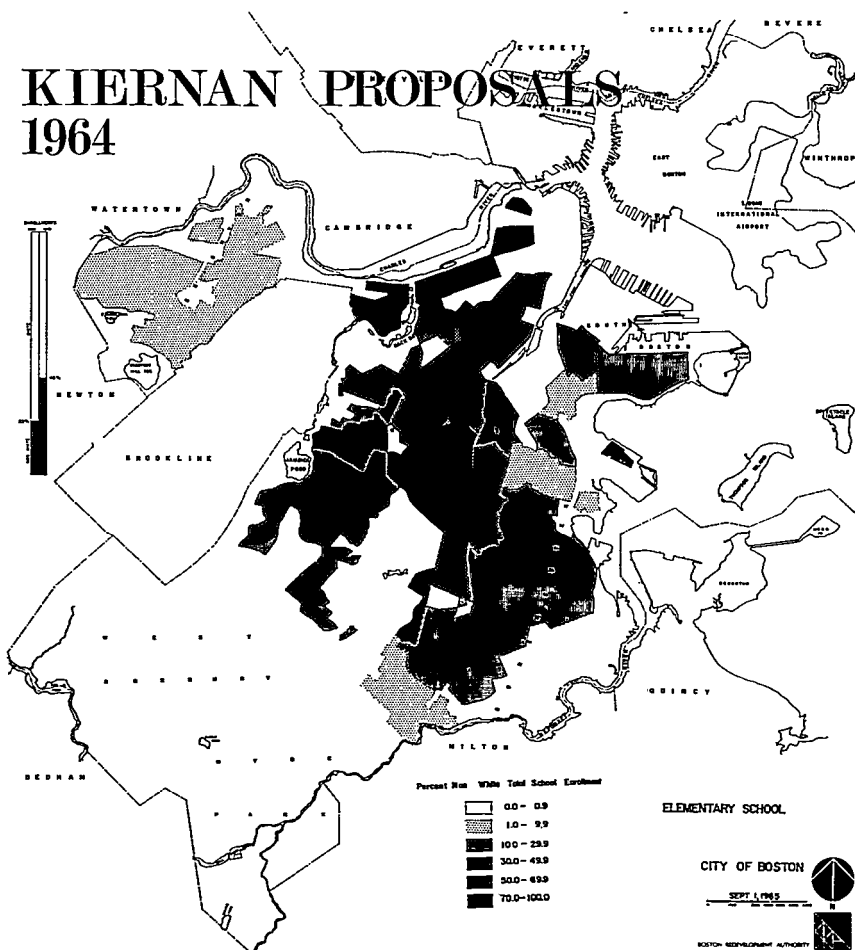


They were talking about moving children from here to here and from here to here so that the nonwhite percentage in these schools would rise up to levels of 40 and 45 percent. The town of Brookline, for example, which is quite near, was not to be a party to it. As far as I can tell on the record and from questioning members of the Kiernan Commission, the idea that this burden of achieving racial balance was a burden to be shared beyond the corporate limits of the city of Boston was not considered. What they forgot and what too many of the analysts of this problem forget is that the family, which feels put upon by what it considers—whether I consider it or you consider it—what it may consider an artificial solution, retains a freedom which none of us is going to be able to change nor would we want to change, the freedom to move. This city has lost a white population of some 250,000 since 1950 out of a census population at that time of 814,000. I believe

race had very little to do with that. I believe that Federal Government had quite a lot to do with it.

The idea that re-districting, toying with other adjacent areas for a lift, is going to make an enduring solution is irresponsible and misleading. I was sorry that from what I understand of Commissioner Kiernan's testimony that, despite his insistence that Boston solve this problem as a matter of law, the communities outside Boston, with some of the finest school systems in America and with insignificant numbers of nonwhite children, are not required to help. Their participation is to be entirely voluntary. If we are serious, and I know you are serious about it, I think you have to consider what kind of role the people outside Boston must play in the solution of this problem.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What kind of role do you think they should play?



MR. LOGUE. Well, I think METCO is great. The most wonderful thing about METCO is that it is voluntary. It was started by a group of concerned people, realizing that sending suburbanites to picket on School Street and Beacon Street was not any enduring solution either. But METCO is only 220 children. We have studies showing the driving time and the number of children that can be bused to the suburbs of Boston and the number is very substantial, enough, it seems to me, to make a major dent in the solution of this problem. If it is appropriate for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the General Court, the State Board of Education, and the Commissioner to mandate the solution of this problem for one municipality, we, and you all know this, are only a creature of the State and the idea that we should be the creature of the State told to solve this problem, our neighbors should not be encouraged to look at us and scorn us. I believe that by mandating suburban busing the racial imbalance law can be made to work. I predict to you that it will not work without mandated suburban busing. That is the No. 1 recommendation I would have. In the beginning grades, whatever we may say or believe about the neighborhood school, I think it has validity and I would like to see the children kept in neighborhood schools in the primary grades. Boston should do what has been done in other communities about elementary schools. Have them open all day long and all year long to help equip these children so they can go to the suburbs and be equals. So far as the secondary school system is concerned, we can take care of ourselves if we can ever get this campus high school built.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. At what level would you start busing children to the suburbs?

MR. LOGUE. It is increasingly fashionable and it is a fashion that I support that a center-city school system should have four year high schools if these children are to get a chance to go to college, adequately prepare themselves, adequately mature. The breaking point between the kindergarten and the eighth grade can be half way, the fourth or fifth grade. There are various ways. I don't think it matters a great deal.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Logue, under your proposal, about how many suburban communities would be involved?

MR. LOGUE. At least 25 suburban communities.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Would there be 25 within 40 minutes driving time?

MR. LOGUE. At least. Many more.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. About how many of the some 22,000 Negro children in Boston would be involved in this program?

MR. LOGUE. Well, on this chart which shows this proposal, 8,000 could move, 8,000 nonwhite children could move within the 40 minute line to 25 cities and towns. Of those 25 cities and towns no one would be asked to accept more nonwhite children than would create a minority of 10 percent in any classroom.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. Mr. Logue, as you know, the Kiernan Commission found, and I think you agree with this, that attendance at racially imbalanced schools was educationally harmful. Don't you think that if children remained in racially imbalanced schools through the fourth grade they might be so badly damaged by that time that it would be difficult to overcome this?

MR. LOGUE. I personally believe for a lot of reasons that may not have anything to do with facts that racial imbalance is bad for the non-whites and bad for the larger society and that we have to eliminate it. Otherwise I think we are going to spill over with hate in this country. But I have enough faith in the Boston School System and enough faith in the children and parents of Roxbury so that if they were given the challenge of preparing these children for the suburban schools, I don't think they would be scarred. I think they would be enhanced.

You are in a city which should have the easiest time solving this problem. Think of some other cities that you know and I know. You better not come to the conclusion that a segregated school automatically does this scarring because there are some cities where segregation is inevitable, where the areas of nonwhite concentration are so large that you better go into that school system and revamp it and democratize it and strengthen its relationship with the community it serves. There is no easy answer to this and the bigger the city, the harder the answer is.

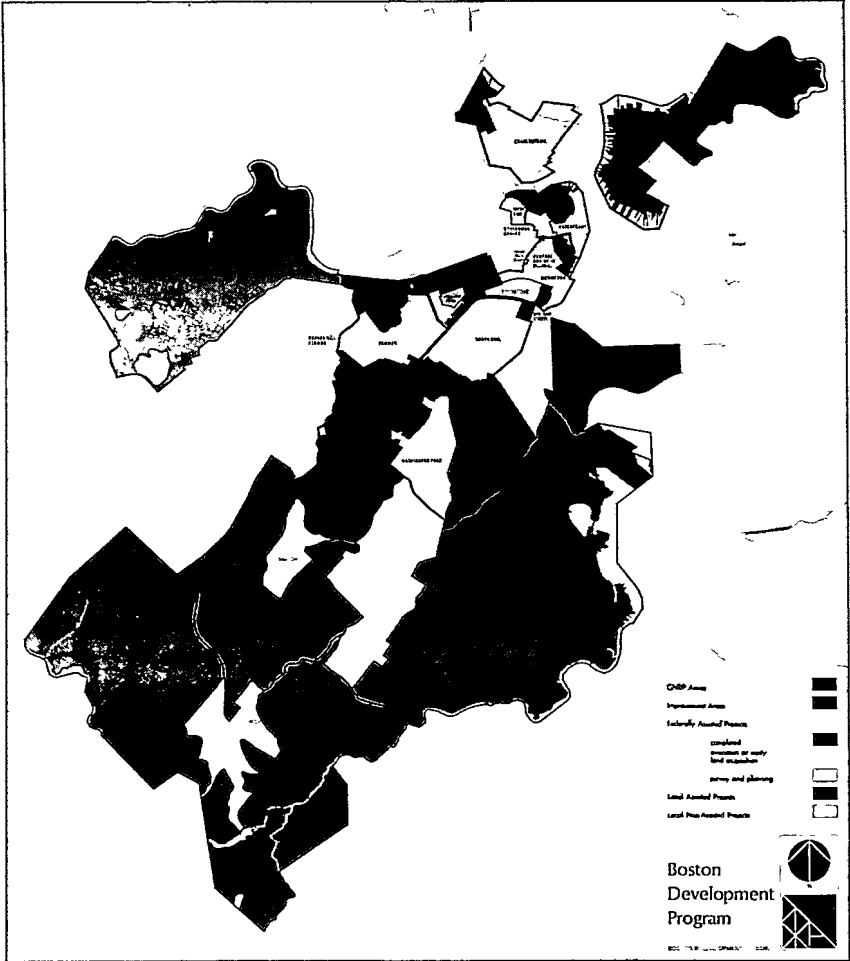
MR. GLICKSTEIN. Is there any way of achieving balance without involving the suburbs?

MR. LOGUE. Only for a very short time in my judgment. You can't solve this problem if you put it all on the city of Boston and that is where I must most respectfully disagree with our distinguished Junior Senator. If Boston can't be proud, Massachusetts can't be proud and the United States can't be proud because the responsibility for this problem is not all with us. It is with the Commonwealth and it is with the United States.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. How about the building of such schools as the Humboldt School and the Madison School? Won't they help to overcome racial imbalance within the city?

MR. LOGUE. You know, you had an opportunity a few minutes ago to get out of the Commissioner of Education an answer to this problem, a total answer. He hasn't given us one yet. We have been begging the State Board of Education for more than two years to allow us to build the Humboldt Avenue School. We promised it to the people of Washington Park.

By the way, I hope some day, considering some of the things that have been quoted from you about urban renewal, that you will focus attention on urban renewal and see that it can do more than any other thing that this Nation has invented yet to make these neighborhoods fit for all people to come back to and to remain in when they have the choice to go out. I would like to take you through New Haven to see this because it is so far along but we have a lot to show here.



The Humboldt Avenue School is in the middle of the Washington Park neighborhood. The Washington Park neighborhood has some 25,000 residents overwhelmingly nonwhite, the quality of the housing quite varied, the urban renewal program with over \$20 million of Federal money in it. The key thing that finally you come down to in trying to restore the neighborhood is the quality of the schools. A new schoolhouse isn't a magic answer but it is a very helpful answer. We had an understanding with this community and this is the way we do business all over town. We had an understanding with this community that this school would be what you would recognize as a laboratory school. Superintendent Ohrenberger agreed with us and agreed with the community of this portion of Roxbury that one of our local colleges of education would have an affiliation with this school

and help staff it, program it, develop its curriculum, and further than that, that there would be seats left vacant in the hope that white children or white parents would find the program attractive enough so they would send their children in.

The State Board of Education refuses to allow us to go forward with the construction of this school to see how it works, so we are in the position of trying to get white families to move in here into new housing and we have accomplished that, at least to a modest degree. The State Board of Education takes the attitude that until they solve their quarrel with the School Committee we get nothing. This is a rather lackadaisical attitude of the State Board of Education. If you can find any sense of urgency on the part of the State Board of Education to take the leadership that I, as a lawyer, believe is in this racial imbalance statute, I can't find it. They are drifting and our school system is deteriorating while they are drifting.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What assurance do you have that the Humboldt School would have white children in it?

MR. LOGUE. I have none nor can anybody give any nor can we go out and lasso children and say they have to go there. But we would like to try persuasion. We think we have an obligation to the community to try and we think the Commonwealth, imposing these standards on us, has to give us a chance to try to make it work out. It seems to me that in this quarrel about policy and about law, a lot of children are getting shortchanged.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. What role do you believe the Boston Redevelopment Authority must play in achieving racial balance in the Boston schools?

MR. LOGUE. Well, we are, and almost uniquely so in America, a city planning agency, a city planning board as well as a redevelopment authority. There is a five-man body that is heading this and I don't, by the way, claim to speak for them or anybody else. I am here at your invitation, which your General Counsel reminded me was also a subpoena, to give you the best judgment I can and you do with it as you wish. I am not representing them. I am representing myself.

Now what kind of urban renewal is this? Well, here in the South End, which is 40 percent nonwhite, everything in yellow on this map is an existing structure, a house, a school, a church, which is to remain to be fixed up if need be. The darker brown is new houses, most of it under the 221 (d) (3) program, 3 percent mortgage program, most of it of a scale—I think you are all familiar with the barracks that we too often try to house the poor in in America. This is the kind of housing we are talking about.

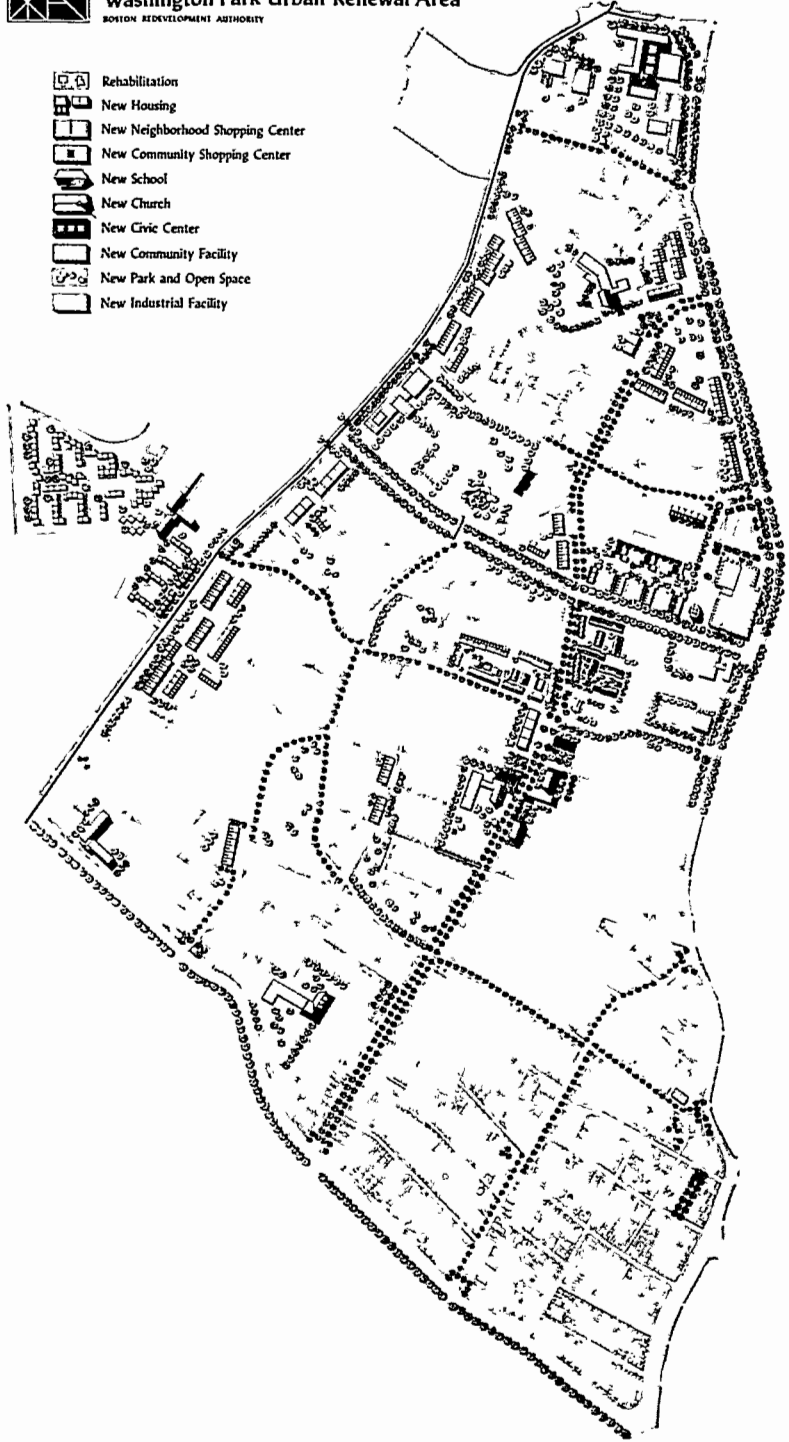
This South End has a Federal investment of over \$35 million in this one project and over 30,000 people live here. This is an opportunity to make this a viable, stable neighborhood in which people of all races and all creeds and varying levels of economic position can remain and because of the quality of public service and the level of



ILLUSTRATIVE SITE PLAN

Washington Park Urban Renewal Area
 BOSTON REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

-  Rehabilitation
-  New Housing
-  New Neighborhood Shopping Center
-  New Community Shopping Center
-  New School
-  New Church
-  New Civic Center
-  New Community Facility
-  New Park and Open Space
-  New Industrial Facility



public facilities and its convenience to the major employment centers which this primarily service city offers which are downtown, this is a place where people can stay. The Redevelopment Authority's function is to do this kind of urban renewal wherever it is welcome and wherever it can get the money from the Uncle and it's getting increasingly hard to get. We can do that. If we can create neighborhoods which are stable so that the people who are now there will want to live there and remain there when they can afford to move somewhere else, if we can do that on a large scale, I would say we have done enough. There is more we could do, but that is going to be quite a job.

MR. GLICKSTEIN. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Dean Griswold?

COMMISSIONER GRISWOLD. No questions.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Father Hesburgh?

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Mr. Logue, I saw the site of the Humboldt School and I agree with you that it should be built because it would give a complete character to the neighborhood which it is now lacking. It will, in a sense, defeat many of the other fine things you are doing there if it doesn't get built. I'm not completely clear on what is holding it up. Is it the racial imbalance aspect?

MR. LOGUE. We have had this punting match between the School Committee and the State Board of Education and the State Board has taken the position—I think I will, if I may, put in the record a long letter I wrote to the Chairman of the State Board, Mr. Saltonstall, begging him to put this one off and the answer is no, we don't even want to hear you talk about it. It is their position that they will not free this school until there is a total solution. Same thing with the campus high school which is the absolutely indispensable element.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Is there any way out of that box?

MR. LOGUE. Sure there is. It is by the decision on the part of the State Board of Education that it's going to take some initiative, some affirmative responsibility to take care of these children. If it doesn't like the way the Boston School Committee proposes to act then the statutes are quite clear that it has the authority to supersede them.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I see. What you are trying to do is to get a precise affirmative action on this one project on its own merits not to have this tied in with the punting match, as you say.

MR. LOGUE. Father, I go beyond that. I think the solution to this problem can best come by facing it not as a frightening—frightening to many people—total proposition but breaking it out where it can be seen. We could go through this city, neighborhood by neighborhood, and show where schools like this could work. I think we are going to have to—and I think you will hear more of this from other cities—we are going to have to increase the relationships. I think all of our colleges and universities which have schools of education have, until quite recently, had the thrust of their concern to these suburbs which

don't really need the help. I think they need to turn back in. I think our Boston universities are getting ready to turn back in although not with gusto.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. I gather, also, from your first remarks and in conversations we had earlier this afternoon and this morning that the real solution to this problem of housing and urban redevelopment as in education is really a metropolitan solution, that a sole city solution is a dead duck in our day.

MR. LOGUE. I think it is a dead duck in Boston and if it is a dead duck in Boston, you can quickly come to a judgment about some of the other cities.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. It is petrified in Chicago.

MR. LOGUE. I'd like to use the word concentration for a minute. The problem you are talking about here is concentration of nonwhites which leads to racial imbalance, leads to segregation. The opposite of concentration is scatteration and it would be useful if the Federal Government would encourage that. I must say not with sticks. It is my own opinion, having been involved in this work for a long time, that the effectiveness of sticks is about over. We need to spread a lot more carrots around.

COMMISSIONER HESBURGH. Thank you very much, Mr. Logue.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mrs. Freeman?

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Mr. Logue, how many urban renewal projects are in operation here in Boston?

MR. LOGUE. Ten.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. I saw Washington Park, also. What was the population, residential population, in Washington Park before execution?

MR. LOGUE. About 25,000.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. And it was about what percentage Negro?

MR. LOGUE. It was over 70 percent nonwhite.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. What is the population now?

MR. LOGUE. About the same.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Has there been any change? There is no increase in white population since the execution?

MR. LOGUE. Overall, no, because the people who live in all of these ghettos who are white are very old on the average and as they die off they are not replaced. What we have is young families who do live in these relocation housing projects, whites who did not live in this area at all, who have come in here, among other reasons, because it is a very good bargain.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. These are the families that I am talking about. Much has been said that urban renewal itself can be a carrot for scattering or dispersing the population and I wonder what programs your agency has for this kind of thing.

MR. LOGUE. Well, we have an obligation under our law and under the Federal law to relocate families in decent, safe, and sanitary hous-

ing at prices they can afford at convenient locations. We meet that obligation and I have here and will pass out to you copies of a report on the Washington Park relocation job which is virtually completed.

Now here you have policy judgments which are often in conflict. There are those who say what you should do is use the urban renewal process as a deliberate device to scatter nonwhites. I don't think that will work. In the first place, quantitatively you cannot do this on any scale with significance and that is the most important thing I can say. Politically it cannot be done because the amount of displacement that that would call for is socially intolerable. What we are talking about here and in Washington Park are neighborhoods which are good enough for people to want to stay in with standard housing, where other people want to come back, and where you can, in your own time and without the result of conscious government policy, relocate yourselves which we Americans are pretty much in the habit of doing anyway. The amount of turnover in housing stock is just as great as ever. Urban renewal as a process for scateration, I don't think will ever work on a quantitatively significant scale.

We have mapped the relocation in Washington Park. The largest amount of relocation was within the project boundaries remembering that 75 percent of the structures remain. The rest is in the adjacent areas although we have some quite a distance away in the suburbs.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. You mentioned that you have 10 projects. Are there any of those projects which before execution were predominantly Negro and which, after the project was completed and there was re-used housing, ceased to be predominantly Negro and became predominantly white perhaps because of the cost of the housing?

MR. LOGUE. You had some testimony to that effect yesterday and it was not accurate. Not being sure just where you want to go in this, I got this piece of paper pretty quickly. This program is divided in one sense into different stages. In the New York Streets Project, which is a small 25 acre job, there were 105 nonwhite families out of a total of 368. There are no families there today. It is a commercial project.

In the West End Project, there were 17 nonwhite families out of a total of 1,729. There are some nonwhite families, I believe, in the West End now but this is the kind of thing which urban renewal does get criticized for. This is the displacement of a low income group and their replacement by a high income group.

My personal position is, we don't do that. The only high rise, high rent apartments we are building today under this program are in places like the waterfront where the only things that get displaced are fish. Obviously that judgment is not shared unanimously but I think it will stand up.

To run through them very quickly: in the waterfront no families will be displaced and there will be housing at varying levels for 3,500 families. In the Central Business District area, no families are to

be displaced. The emphasis there is to try to restore and strengthen the economic base. South Cove has a small nonwhite population that is mostly Chinese. They are sponsoring housing in this location which will be for that community and for others who may wish to come. In the South End, and speaking generally of the South End, Washington Park, and Charlestown, there are no high income apartments to be built. There are to be built, roughly speaking, one unit for every unit to be demolished. I think that is a pretty good rule of thumb.

COMMISSIONER FREEMAN. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Taylor?

MR. TAYLOR. I am a little confused here. I heard Mr. Eisenstadt testify this morning and I have read the review by the State Board which includes a very favorable appraisal of the Humboldt School Plan but requires that it be part of other action to take a first step. Are you suggesting that the State Board is very negative about this and that the city is all for it?

MR. LOGUE. I am saying that I have read carefully (as a Philadelphia lawyer, I am not a member of the bar here) that statute and my judgment of that statute is that the responsibility is on the State Board of Education to get to a solution and that solution is nowhere mandated to be a total solution. The idea that the children in Washington Park and the parents and aspirations there should be penalized until this larger conflict should be resolved is unfortunate. I very carefully have not tried to endorse anything that the Boston School Committee has done about this.

MR. TAYLOR. You are not saying there is anything which the Boston School Committee could do which might be a solution of some endurance if not a permanent solution?

MR. LOGUE. One of the things that disturbs me about this problem today is that we are increasingly cutting off the debate. Too many people who run for office are afraid to talk about it. One of the things that I think Boston needs is a very healthy discussion of whether electing a school committee is the best way to obtain the best possible schools for all the children of this city and I would be prepared to get into that debate any time.

MR. TAYLOR. Just to turn to another subject for the moment, is the trend here in the Boston area to locate industry in the suburbs and also, given the number of educational institutions and research facilities, is this a trend here as it is in other places in the country?

MR. LOGUE. I never like to pay excessive tribute to Harvard and M.I.T. but I think Boston has, with the exception of Washington where Mr. Parkinson will always be in charge, I think that Harvard and M.I.T. and the other great universities here guarantee that we will never become technologically obsolescent, particularly when places like Harvard and M.I.T. are so willing to allow their professors to become millionaires. I doubt if there is a city on the East Coast which is

as technologically modern as this metropolitan area. Unfortunately, problems of finance and the rapidity of technological obsolescence dictate one-story solutions. They dictate very flexible patterns and they require expansion room. We cannot accommodate that kind of one-story industrial growth in the city of Boston. We can bank it, finance it, educate, and serve it. That will keep us healthy for a long time to come.

MR. TAYLOR. Would it be desirable to have a much greater range in income of housing at different economic levels available closer to new places of employment in some of these suburban communities?

MR. LOGUE. Yes, and there is a very modest—there is a possibility there is a very quiet effort not an effort that is trying to be hidden, so far you haven't seen the results of it, putting this kind of housing in the suburbs. It is called inter-faith housing. Its purpose is to make it easier for nonwhite families to share in the very fine school systems and the amenities that our suburbs have to offer.

There is not even the reception, the welcome for this program that there is for METCO. I think the Federal Government, which bears such a very heavy responsibility for seeing that the suburbs were all-white in the first place, perhaps has some responsibility to redress the balance.

MR. TAYLOR. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Mr. Logue, we appreciate your being with us this afternoon and, while in this Boston hearing we have been primarily concerned with the problems of education as you know, we have indicated the Commission has wider responsibilities and is often more concerned with housing and employment opportunities and other items than with education. We will appreciate it if you will make available the charts you have shown us and whatever else you may have that you think may be useful to us, not only in connection with this hearing, but in overall aspects. Thank you very much, sir. You are excused.

CHAIRMAN HANNAH. Ladies and gentlemen, this public hearing of the United States Commission on Civil Rights is about to come to an end. The Commission appreciates the cooperation it has received from officials of Boston, Massachusetts, in holding this hearing. The Commission especially appreciates the cooperation of the city of Boston for making available this hall for the hearing. We also express our thanks to United States Marshal Robert Murray; Faneuil Hall Superintendent Hector Campbell; and Joseph Healey, Regional Director of the General Services Administration and their staffs for their assistance before and during this hearing.

For the past two days, the members of this Commission have heard testimony relating to the effects on Negro and white children of attending schools with student bodies which are totally or predominantly of one race. We have heard, too, about the programs adopted and implemented by the Boston schools to deal with the problems of

racial isolation in the classrooms. We have also heard about the programs private citizens' groups have organized and are operating in their efforts to provide a quality integrated education for all the children.

The testimony also has focused on programs through which suburban school systems have enrolled Negro students from the inner-city. We have learned about the problems and difficulties encountered in implementing the State's policy that racial imbalance shall be eliminated from the classrooms.

This hearing is part of an inquiry into the extent of racial isolation in the Nation's schools and its effect on children undertaken by the Commission at the request of the President. Our study is designed to evaluate educational policies and practices which influence the quality of educational opportunity, and to assess the impact of governmental programs and policies upon equal educational opportunity.

This hearing has been of great value to the Commission in gathering facts for its report to the President and the Congress.

The record of this hearing will remain open for 60 days and any individual or organization desiring to file a statement regarding the subject matter of the hearing discussed at the hearing may do so. The statements may be mailed to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 801 19th Street, Northwest, Washington, D.C. 20425.

The hearing of the United States Commission on Civil Rights stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 5:03 p.m. on October 5, 1966, this hearing of the United States Commission on Civil Rights in Boston, Massachusetts, was adjourned.)

Exhibit No. 1

[EXCERPT FROM THE FEDERAL REGISTER, September 1, 1966]

[F.R. Doc. 66-9600; Filed Aug. 31, 1966; 8:49 a.m.]

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

RACIAL ISOLATION IN MASSACHUSETTS SCHOOLS

NOTICE OF HEARING

Notice hereby is given, pursuant to the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, 71 Stat. 634, as amended, that a hearing of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights will commence on October 4, 1966, in Faneuil Hall, Market Street and Dock Square, Boston, Mass. The hearing is being held pursuant to the Commission's statutory authority and a request of the President of the United States on November 17, 1965, that the Commission gather facts concerning racial isolation in the Nation's schools. The purpose of the hearing is to collect and disseminate information concerning racial isolation in the schools of the city of Boston, County of Suffolk, Mass., and the schools of other cities and counties in the State of Massachusetts and to appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government concerning racial isolation in such schools.

Dated at Washington, D.C., September 1, 1966.

JOHN A. HANNAH,
Chairman.

[F.R. Doc. 66-9600; Filed, Aug. 31, 1966; 8:49 a.m.]

Exhibit No. 2

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS STAFF REPORT ON
ISSUES RELATED TO RACIAL IMBALANCE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS
OF BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

BACKGROUND-POPULATION, HOUSING, AND EMPLOYMENT

Located on the Massachusetts Bay at the mouth of the Charles and Mystic Rivers, Boston is the major seaport city and capital of Massachusetts. The largest city in New England and the 13th largest in the Nation, it had a population of more than 640,000 in 1960. Negroes made up about 10 percent of the population. The city also had sizeable populations of relatively recent foreign origin.¹

The city is the center of the Boston Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) which in 1960² was defined by the Census Bureau as including Suffolk

¹ Countries of Origin for Foreign Stock in the City of Boston and the SMSA—1960:

	City	SMSA
Ireland.....	11.7%	7.2%
Italy.....	9.2	7.8
Canada.....	8.6	10.2
U.S.S.R.....	5.0	3.7

Foreign stock includes first and second generation Americans as well as new immigrants.

² In October 1963 the Census Bureau added to the SMSA the towns of Sherborn (Middlesex County) and Mills (Norfolk County). Their combined populations total 6,180. No data on either color or race is given. These towns will not be included in the analysis of population and economics in this report. Unless otherwise noted, all statistics are derived from the 1930 *Census of the Population* and the 1960 *Census of Housing*.

County and 74 cities and towns in Essex, Middlesex, Norfolk and Plymouth Counties. The total population of the area in 1960 was 2,589,301. Four out of five Massachusetts residents live in the Boston area. Estimates developed by the Center for Research in Marketing place the city's population in 1965 at 685,000, 11 percent of it Negro. The Center projects that by 1970 the total population will be 675,000, 13 percent of it Negro. Following the national pattern, the white population of the city is shrinking, while the Negro population is rising.³

Today, Negroes are by far the largest nonwhite minority group living in Boston. Within the city they are heavily concentrated in the areas of South End, Roxbury and North Dorchester forming a belt referred to as the "black boomerang."

At the time of the 1960 Census, nonwhite residents made up about 3 percent of the total population of the SMSA. Cambridge, with a population of 107,716, had 6,787 nonwhite residents, the highest number except for Boston.

Boston is the traditional seaport for all of New England. But where once its Atlantic Avenue docks were teeming with ships, supplies, and men they now serve as parking lots or stand idle awaiting planned development. What port commerce remains is carried on in other parts of the harbor and consists mainly of bulk products (grain, scrap, and oil) which do not generate much employment in handling or processing. With the ports of New York and Philadelphia so close and the nature of New England manufacturing changing, the port is not too likely to be rejuvenated.

The textile and shoemaking factories, once manned by Yankee farm girls and later by immigrants from Ireland and Italy, began moving South even before the Depression. Employment in textile mills dropped 60 percent between World War II and 1962. The scientific research and technological advance occurring in the universities during the war, however, set off a new, now booming, research industry. Today, the electronics industry alone does a business of at least \$1 billion. With military and space programs closely linked to the electronics industry, military contracts also are large (\$630,000,000). Only one other major metropolitan area (Los Angeles-Long Beach) had a significantly larger per capita share of such contracts.

Most of this new industry is located along the commercial and industrial belt around Route 128 and its radial highways. This highway was the first major circumferential highway built around any large city. Industries located in several industrial parks are easily accessible to all parts of the area.⁴

In 1960, the overall unemployment rate for the Boston area was 3.8. Nonwhite unemployment was 6.9, not quite double the white rate (3.6). The unemployment rate nationwide in June 1966 was under 4 percent. Boston's rate was the same.

Employment by occupations—1960

Occupation	% White	% Nonwhite
1. Craftsmen, Machine Operators, Foremen.....	30%	34%
2. Clerical and Sales.....	26%	12%
3. Professional, Technical, and Managerial.....	23%	11%
4. Private Household and Service.....	10%	23%

Unlike Boston nonwhites, the greatest percentage of nonwhites nationwide in 1960 worked in service and private household positions. Whites nationwide, as in Boston, were holding jobs primarily in sales and craftsmen categories.

In June 1966 there were more than 1 million persons on non-agricultural payrolls in the area. Of these, almost one quarter worked in manufacturing and another 22 percent in wholesale and retail trade.⁵ All categories showed gains over June 1965 figures. The labor turnover rates for the Boston area were lower than the national rates.⁶

³ *Congressional Quarterly*, August 26, 1966, p. 1861.

⁴ Meyerson and Banfield *Boston: The Job Ahead*, pp. 32, 54-55 (1966).

⁵ Government accounted for 14.3 percent; finance, insurance, and real estate for 6.8 percent; transportation and public utilities for 5.7 percent; contract construction for another 4.6 percent; and service and miscellaneous for 21.7 percent.

⁶ U.S. Department of Labor, *Employment and Earnings and Monthly Report on the Labor Force*, August 1966.

In 1960, the median family income in the Boston area was \$521 above the national median. The white family median income was \$320 higher than the national median for white families; the nonwhite family income was \$736 above the nonwhite median. There was a gap, however, of over \$2,300 between the median family income of whites and nonwhites in Boston.

	U.S. Urban	Boston SMSA
Total.....	\$6,166	\$6,687
White.....	6,433	6,753
Nonwhite.....	3,711	4,447

More than three-fourths (78 percent) of white households occupied sound housing in 1960, but less than half (47 percent) of nonwhite families were this well housed. While 13 percent of white families lived in housing classed as deteriorating, almost three times the percentage of nonwhites occupied comparable units. Proportionately five times as many nonwhite families lived in dilapidated housing. The median gross monthly rents for whites was \$57, for nonwhites \$65.

In 1964 there were 14,000 public housing units in the city of Boston subsidized either by the Federal Government or the State of Massachusetts. Nonwhite families occupied 155 of the 3,681 State units and about 2,600 of the more than 10,000 units under the Federal program. In publicly financed housing designed for elderly persons, nonwhites occupied 38 of 560 units.⁷

Urban renewal plans center in the South End Project which combines clearance, redevelopment, and rehabilitation activities. A Government Center is under construction downtown; by the early part of this year the Federal Office Building and the State Office Building were already up. The new City Hall, the design of which was chosen from an open competition, is now under construction.

BOSTON SCHOOLS

Administration. Policy for the Boston school system is established by a 5-member school committee whose members are elected for 2-year terms. The members of the current School Committee are Thomas E. Eisenstadt (Chairman), Louise D. Hicks, Joseph Lee, John J. McDonough, and William E. O'Connor. William H. Ohrenberger, the Superintendent of Schools, was appointed by the School Committee in 1963.

The last School Committee election was held in November 1965. Four of the five incumbents were opposed by a slate of Citizens for Boston Schools which proposed major remedies to end racial imbalance in schools. The Citizens' slate was headed by Arthur Gartland, a then incumbent member of the School Committee. It challenged the leadership of Mrs. Hicks, who favored maintaining a neighborhood school policy. Mrs. Hicks was reelected overwhelmingly, the entire Citizens' slate was defeated, and Mr. McDonough was elected to Mr. Gartland's position.⁸

Boston has an operating budget of \$50,692,000 for the 1966-67 school year. School funds are appropriated from the city treasury. The mayor must approve the School Committee's request for funds. Under State law, however, he must include in the city budget each year a sum equal to the amount appropriated for schools that prior year. The proposed budget takes into account all State education aid which goes directly to the city treasury.⁹

⁷ Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination *Annual Report*, January 1, 1964—December 31, 1964.

⁸ Boston Globe, Nov. 3, 1965. Mrs. Hicks received 92,579 votes, and Mr. Gartland led the Citizen's Slate with 56,896 votes.

⁹ Staff interview with Leo J. Burke, Business Manager and Joseph Barresi, Municipal Research Bureau. The amount of State funds available for education has been increased substantially this year with the enactment of a new sales tax by the State legislature, 80% of which is devoted to school aid. In enacting the sales legislation, the legislature also revised the formula under which local school districts share in the State proceeds. Generally, the new formula is geared to help the larger and poorer cities in the State. The relative wealth of the school district is taken into consideration in the formula. Under the formula the value of a town's property per school attending child—every school child

In October 1966, the old School Buildings Department¹⁰ was abolished and power to authorize new school construction was vested in a Public Facilities Commission. This Commission will have responsibility for the construction of all municipal buildings. It will be comprised of three members, appointed by the mayor, who will determine school construction needs and select school sites. The superintendent must approve the Commission's building proposals. The State Commissioner of Education will resolve every conflict.¹¹

Boston has had little school construction in recent years. Only three new schools and four additions have been constructed since 1960.¹² Since 1962, however, school construction bonds for \$53 million have been approved. Only \$7,707,000 of these bonds have been obligated to date. In the past, administrative difficulties appear to account for the failure to spend these funds.¹³ Currently, there has been no expenditure of funds because State contributions for school construction cannot be obtained until Boston is in compliance with the State's Racial Imbalance Act and construction at this time would require expenditure of city funds exclusively.¹⁴

Boston Compared to Surrounding School Districts. There are 80 separate school districts in the Boston Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. The city of Boston is one of these districts. Judged by several objective criteria the Boston system ranks relatively low in comparison with other districts in the area. In the 1964-65 school term, Boston spent \$364.81 per pupil for instruction,¹⁵ placing Boston 47th among the 80 metropolitan area school districts.¹⁶ The Brookline School district (\$544.80) headed the list and the Norfolk School District, (\$217.75 per student) was at the bottom. The seven communities participating in the METCO Program, under which some Negro pupils in Boston are bused to suburban school districts, ranked higher than Boston in per pupil expenditure for instruction. Boston also had one of the highest pupil-teacher ratios among the districts in the metropolitan area. The city's pupil-teacher ratio at the elementary level in the fall of 1964 was 30 to 1. Only two other communities (Beverly, 32 to 1 and Holbrook, 33 to 1) had a higher ratio. The lowest pupil-teacher ratio in the metropolitan area was 11 to 1 in the Lincoln School District.¹⁷

Boston teacher salaries, on the other hand, compared favorably with salaries paid elsewhere in Massachusetts. The minimum pay for teachers with a bachelor's degree in the Boston school system was \$5,500, tying Boston for 3rd among all school districts in the State.¹⁸ Boston ranked 4th in maximum salaries

whether in public or private school—is compared to the value of *all* State property per school attending child. The greater the disparity, the larger the amount of State aid a district is entitled to receive. The formula is designed so that the average State share of school operating expense is 35%. The less affluent towns receive a higher percentage of aid than the average, and the more affluent, a lower percentage. The expenses toward which the State contributes are school operating costs for the fiscal (school) year, excluding school buildings, transportation, school lunches which are supported by proceeds from the State income tax, special education costs, and Federal and private grants.

¹⁰The School Buildings Department had been comprised of three members. The mayor and the School Committee each appointed one, and these two members selected the third member. The Department had responsibility for the construction of schools and in conjunction with the school superintendent selected the sites for new schools. Telephone conversation with Joseph Barresi, Director of Boston Municipal Research Bureau.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²Telephone conversation with Paul Mooney, Assistant Engineer. Since 1950 a total of only 13 new schools and 11 additions have been constructed.

¹³Staff interview with Joseph Barresi. Telephone conversation with Anthony L. Galeota, Chief, Structural Engineer, Boston School Committee.

¹⁴Under the State school building program, the State contributes 40 percent of the construction costs. The Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Act (see discussion, pp. 271-277, *infra*), however, provides that "the school building assistance commission shall . . . increase the amount of grants for schoolhouse construction to sixty-five percent of the approved cost, whenever the board of education is satisfied that the construction or enlargement of a schoolhouse is for the purpose of reducing or eliminating racial imbalance in the school system and so notifies the school building assistance commission."

¹⁵Massachusetts Department of Education, Annual Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1965. The instructional cost figure includes costs for supervision, principal's office, teaching, library services, audio-vision, guidance, psychological services, and educational TV. Capital outlays for construction, building maintenance and interest on debts, for example, are not included. The Business Manager for the Boston school system indicated that he did not believe that the \$364.81 figure accurately reflects Boston's total expenditure for instruction.

¹⁶See Appendix A.

¹⁷See Appendix B. Figures based on total enrollment in October. Boston's comparative position would be slightly higher if average daily numbers were used.

¹⁸Massachusetts Teachers Association, Division of Research, Document A-2, August 22, 1965. Cambridge and Winchester headed the list with a \$5,600 minimum for teachers with bachelor's degrees.

for teachers with bachelor's degrees at \$9,300.²⁰ Its minimum salary for its teachers with a master's degree was \$6,000 (5th in the State);²⁰ its maximum was \$9,800 (9th in the State).²¹

School Enrollment and Racial Composition. There has been a steady increase in the number of Negro children attending Boston's public schools. Massachusetts law requires school committees to make an annual racial census of their schools.²² The 1965 racial census showed that in October 1965 there were 93,055 students enrolled in the city's public schools—58,193 at the 159 elementary schools, 13,718 at the 17 junior high schools, 20,997 at the 16 senior high schools, and 147 in 2 special schools.²³ Of the 93,055 children in the public schools, 25.8 percent (23,919) were nonwhite.²⁴ Since 1950-51, the student enrollment has remained almost constant. The white enrollment, however, has decreased. The nonwhite enrollment has increased—at the elementary level from an estimated 11.9 percent in 1950-51 to 29 percent in 1965-66.²⁵

With some exceptions, children in the elementary and junior high schools and at nine high schools are assigned to the school in their neighborhood.²⁶ Seven high schools draw students on a citywide basis. Because of the adherence to the neighborhood school policy at the elementary and junior high levels, most Negro children attend schools in the South End, Roxbury, and North Dorchester areas of Boston where they reside.

*Elementary and Junior High School Enrollments*²⁷

	Total Schools	Total Enrollments	Nonwhite Enrollments	Nonwhite Enrollment as % of Total Nonwhite Enrollment
Elementary Schools				
Schools with Enrollments 50-100% Nonwhite.....	40	16,383	13,463	79.7
Schools with Enrollments 20-49% Nonwhite.....	19	7,047	2,362	14.0
Schools with Enrollments 0-19% Nonwhite.....	100	34,763	1,065	6.3
		58,193	16,890	
Junior High Schools				
Schools with Enrollments 50-100% Nonwhite.....	4	2,571	2,333	69.9
Schools with Enrollments 20-49% Nonwhite.....	2	2,313	628	18.8
Schools with Enrollments 0-19% Nonwhite.....	11	8,834	379	11.3
		13,718	3,340	

²⁰ Massachusetts Teachers Association, Division of Research, Document A-3. Newton's maximum salary was highest at \$9,650.

²⁰ Massachusetts Teachers Association, Division of Research, Document A-4. Cambridge's minimum salary was highest at \$6,200.

²¹ Massachusetts Teachers Association, Division of Research, Document A-5. Newton's maximum was highest at \$10,400.

²² Massachusetts General Laws, Ch. 15, § 1-I, Ch. 71, §§ 37C, 37D. See discussion of Racial Imbalance Act, *infra*, pp. 271-77.

²³ In October 1965 the range of enrollments at the elementary schools was 81 to 1151. Massachusetts Department of Education, Racial Census, October 1, 1965. The special schools are for the deaf and for students who are disciplinary problems.

²⁴ *Ibid.* In June 1965 there were 41,880 students in the Boston Catholic schools, of whom 882 (2.1%) were nonwhite. Of the nonwhite students in the Catholic schools, 472, or 53.5%, attended three schools in Roxbury. There has been a decline in the parochial school population since 1980, when there were 45,858 students enrolled. The Archdiocese attributes this decline to the shift in population to the suburbs and an effort to decrease the number of children in each class without a corresponding increase in classroom facilities. Preliminary draft of a study prepared for the Commission by Boston College, pursuant to Contract No. CCR 66-31 (hereinafter cited as *Boston College Contract*). Unless otherwise indicated, data supplied by Boston School Committee; data on Catholic schools supplied by Archdiocese of Boston.

²⁵ *Boston College Contract*.

²⁶ A child will attend a school outside his neighborhood if he elects to do so under Boston's open enrollment policy, attends a special school or is transferred from an overcrowded to a less crowded school. For a discussion of the open enrollment policy, see *infra*, pp. 264-65.

²⁷ Information derived from computations of data presented in Massachusetts Department of Education, Racial Census, October 1, 1965.

The tables indicate 79.7 percent of nonwhite children in elementary school attend schools with enrollments over 50 percent nonwhite, while at the junior high level, 69.9 percent of the nonwhite students attend schools with enrollment over 50 percent nonwhite. At the high school level, 3,633 of the 20,997 students are nonwhite. Only one school (Girls High) had an enrollment which was over 50 percent nonwhite. Of the 538 students at Girls High, 471 (80.1 percent) were nonwhite. The J. E. Burke High School had an enrollment 49 percent nonwhite. The remaining high schools had nonwhite enrollments under 40 percent.

Comparison of Predominantly White and Predominantly Nonwhite Schools

A. Professional Personnel

Persons who hold a bachelor's degree from an approved college and college seniors are eligible to take the Boston teachers' examination. Candidates are ranked on an Eligibility List after an evaluation based on four criteria weighted as follows:

Examination in Major subject.....	40%
Examination in Minor subject.....	20%
Personal Interview (on day of examination).....	20%
Graduate study, teaching experience, student teaching, etc.....	20%

Positions are filled as vacancies occur by appointment from the Eligibility List. Before the beginning of the academic year, each principal sends an estimate of vacancies for the coming year to the Office of Personnel. A meeting is subsequently held at which the principals draw lots to determine the order in which they may select personnel for their respective schools from the Eligibility List. Once this order is determined, a principal may select any teacher on the list for his school, irrespective of the teacher's position on the list. The most common reason assigned by principals for selecting individuals from the list is previous knowledge of their teaching capabilities.²⁸

In June 1966 there were 4,133 classroom teachers teaching in the Boston school system. Of this number 234 were nonwhite.²⁹ There were no Negro principals in the Boston system.³⁰ Most Negro teachers teach in schools with enrollments more than 50 percent nonwhite. Of the 152 Negro elementary teachers, 107 taught in schools with enrollments more than 50 percent nonwhite, of the 51 Negro junior high school teachers, 36 taught at schools with enrollments more than 50 percent nonwhite.

Boston teachers are classified as permanent, provisional, and temporary. Teachers may obtain a permanent tenure status after teaching for three successive years in the Boston schools and passing the Boston Teachers Examination. Provisional teachers are hired on a 1-year contract, temporary teachers on a day-to-day basis. There is a greater proportion of provisional and temporary teachers at schools with an enrollment more than 50 percent nonwhite. At the elementary level approximately 22 percent of the teachers in schools more than 50 percent nonwhite are on either a provisional or a temporary status, compared with approximately 13 percent at schools less than 50 percent nonwhite. In junior high schools with enrollments more than 50 percent nonwhite, 23 percent of the teachers are on a provisional or temporary status, compared with approximately 14 percent at schools with less than 50 percent nonwhite enrollment.

²⁸ *Boston College Contract.*

²⁹ *Ibid.* This figure does not include supplementary instructional personnel.

³⁰ *Ibid.* During the summer of 1966, the first Negro was appointed principal of an elementary school district.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS ³¹

	Permanent	Provisional	Temporary
Enrollment More Than 50% Nonwhite.....	77.9%	11.2%	10.9%
Enrollment Less Than 50% Nonwhite.....	86.6%	6.6%	6.8%

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

	Permanent	Provisional	Temporary
Enrollment More Than 50% Nonwhite.....	77%	15%	8%
Enrollment Less Than 50% Nonwhite.....	86.3%	6.4%	7.3%

During the 1965-66 school year, 93 teachers and administrators officially requested transfers from one school to another in the Boston system. Thirty-eight of these requests were granted.

A higher percentage of teachers and administrators in predominantly nonwhite schools requested transfers. In elementary schools less than 50 percent nonwhite, 1.2 percent (18 teachers and administrators out of a total of 1,610) asked for transfers and four were granted. In elementary schools more than 50 percent nonwhite, 4.5 percent (35 teachers out of a total of 778) asked for transfers and 14 were granted. Thus, 22 percent of the requests for transfers by teachers and administrators in schools less than 50 percent nonwhite were granted while 40 percent of the requests for transfers by teachers and administrators in schools more than 50 percent nonwhite were granted.³²

As the following table indicates, of 18 elementary school teachers and administrators granted transfers, all transferred to schools in school districts with a white enrollment higher than that of the school district from which they came.

Direction of elementary teacher and administrative transfers ³³

% Nonwhite Enrollment in Sending School District	No. of Teachers & Administrators Transferring	The No. of Teachers & Administrators Going To School Districts Classified by % Nonwhite Enrollment in Receiving School District						
		90-100%	71-90%	51-70%	31-50%	11-30%	1-10%	0%
90-100.....	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
71-90.....	10	0	1	1	0	2	6	0
51-70.....	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
31-50.....	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
11-30.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1-10.....	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
0.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total.....		0	1	1	0	2	14	0

In junior high schools less than 50 percent nonwhite, seven teachers and administrators of a total of 545, or 1.3 percent, asked to be transferred in 1965-66. In junior high schools with a nonwhite enrollment higher than 50 percent, nine teachers and administrators of a total of 173, or 5.2 percent, asked to be transferred. Transfers were granted to .4 percent of the teachers and administrators in schools with a nonwhite enrollment lower than 50 percent, while in schools

³¹ Boston College Contract.

³² Data supplied by the Boston School Committee. The transfers described above were applied for before February 1, 1966, and became effective on September 1, 1966.

³³ *Ibid.*

with a higher than a 50 percent nonwhite enrollment 2.9 percent of the teachers and administrators received transfers.³⁴

In 1964 the percentage of teacher turnover in elementary school districts was higher in predominantly Negro school districts than in predominantly white districts.³⁵ Teacher turnover differs from teacher transfers in that all personnel changes are included. For example, should a teacher leave the system, retire, take maternity leave or be promoted, this fact would be reflected in the turnover rate but not the transfer rate. It is possible that the turnover rate in a particular school might be high without the school experiencing the loss of many permanent teachers. The highest turnover rate, 53.3 percent, was in the Dwight District (79.6 percent nonwhite). The highest turnover rate at districts less than 50 percent nonwhite was 27.8 percent. Of the 16 districts more than 50 percent nonwhite, 11 had turnover rates higher than 20 percent. Only three of the 40 districts less than 50 percent nonwhite had turnover rates higher than 20 percent.³⁶

B. Achievement

Data on the performance of individual students by race are not available, but there are data on median scores by school on certain standardized achievement tests.³⁷ Test scores for selected grades in selected years were reviewed to determine the pattern of achievement as the child progressed through school. At predominantly nonwhite schools,³⁸ two of the three grades for which test scores were reviewed showed a decided pattern of lower performance with the performance lag greatest at the upper grades.

The scores of Boston second graders illustrate this pattern. Thus, in 1965-66 school districts with 90 percent nonwhite enrollment scored a median reading grade level of 2.28 on the Gates Primary Reading Test, while school districts with 51-70 percent nonwhite enrollment scored 2.39; school districts with 11-30 percent nonwhite enrollment scored 2.64; and school districts with 1-10 percent

³⁴ Number of transfers requested by teaching and administrative staff of junior high schools—1965-66*.

Junior High School	% Student Nonwhite Enrollment	Number of Transfers Requested	Number of Transfers Granted
Clarence R. Edwards.....	0.0	1	1
Joseph H. Barnes.....	0.2	0	0
Patrick F. Gavin.....	1.5	1	0
Woodrow Wilson.....	2.2	0	0
Grover Cleveland.....	2.8	0	0
William B. Rogers.....	3.3	0	0
Robert G. Shaw.....	4.9	0	0
Washington Irving.....	5.9	1	0
Thomas A. Edison.....	13.6	0	0
William H. Taft.....	15.7	2	0
Solomon Lewenberg.....	25.4	1	1
Mary E. Curly.....	29.0	1	1
Oliver W. Holmes.....	70.7	2	0
James P. Timilty.....	94.1	4	2
Patrick T. Campbell.....	96.7	3	2
Lewis.....	99.4	0	0
		16	7

*Data supplied by the Boston School Committee. The transfers described above were applied for before February 1, 1966 and became effective on September 1, 1966.

³⁵ *Boston College Contract*. Data on teacher turnover is available only for elementary schools by school districts. A school district usually encompasses several schools.

³⁶ See Appendix C.

³⁷ Achievement data obtained from *Boston College Contract*. Since only one Boston high school is over 50 percent nonwhite, performance of 12th grade students on standardized tests necessarily is inconclusive in terms of any correlation between percent of nonwhite student enrollment and percentile scores on examinations.

³⁸ Used here, the term "predominantly nonwhite" refers to schools with enrollment over 50 percent nonwhite.

nonwhite enrollment scored 2.67. Similar performance patterns are evident on standardized second grades tests taken in 1959-60.³⁹

The data on performance of sixth grade students which was reviewed did not indicate a significant relationship between nonwhite enrollment and performance.⁴⁰

Among eighth grade students, however, a significant correlation did exist between percent of nonwhite enrollment and student performance on standardized tests. The data indicated a decrease in test scores as percent of nonwhite enrollment increases. Seven of the 27 schools containing an eighth grade had median scores below the sixth grade level. Of these seven schools, six had nonwhite enrollments higher than 69 percent.⁴¹

C. Facilities

In 1962 a study was conducted of the physical facilities of the Boston schools. The report considered such factors as lighting facilities, structural soundness, classroom size, and site location. It made recommendations on the future use of the existing school buildings through 1975. It recommended abandonment by a specific year of a number of Boston's school plants and made proposals

³⁹ The following median scores were made by second graders on the Gates test in 1959-60 :

<i>Racial Composition Category</i>	<i>Grade 2 Median Score</i>
91-100 % Nonwhite.....	2.07
71-90 % Nonwhite.....	2.38
51-70 % Nonwhite.....	2.21
31-50 % Nonwhite.....	2.28
11-30 % Nonwhite.....	2.44
.1-10 % Nonwhite.....	2.49
0 % Nonwhite.....	2.49

⁴⁰ 1965-66 6th Grade Pupil Scores on Stanford Achievement Test (Reading) :

<i>Racial Composition Category</i>	<i>Grade 6 Median Score</i>
91-100 % Nonwhite.....	4.35
71-90 % Nonwhite.....	4.26
51-70 % Nonwhite.....	4.60
31-50 % Nonwhite.....	4.43
11-30 % Nonwhite.....	4.13
0.1-10 % Nonwhite.....	5.14
0 % Nonwhite.....	4.77

⁴¹ Median scores obtained on the Stanford Achievement Test (paragraph meaning) by eighth grade pupils, by school or district and percent nonwhite student enrollment—1965-66

School or District	% Nonwhite Student Enrollment	Median Score
Clarence R. Edwards Jr. High School.....	0.0	6.3
Joseph H. Barnes Jr. High School.....	0.2	6.4
Donald McKay-Samuel Adams District.....	1.1	5.8
Blackinton-John Cheverus District.....	1.4	6.2
Patrick F. Gavin Jr. High School.....	1.5	6.2
Woodrow Wilson Jr. High School.....	2.2	7.0
Grover Cleveland Jr. High School.....	2.8	6.4
William B. Rogers Jr. High School.....	3.3	7.2
Robert G. Shaw Jr. High School.....	4.9	7.2
Washington Irving Jr. High School.....	5.9	6.6
Boston Latin High School.....	6.4	10.7
Francis Parkman District.....	7.2	6.6
William E. Russell District.....	10.0	6.4
Thomas A. Edison Jr. High School.....	13.6	6.5
William H. Taft Jr. High School.....	15.7	6.5
Girls Latin High School.....	16.2	10.8
Solomon Lewenberg Jr. High School.....	25.4	6.6
Mary E. Curley Jr. High School.....	29.0	6.2
Prince District.....	55.4	7.2
Martin District.....	64.4	6.2
Race-Franklin District.....	69.5	5.6
Oliver W. Holmes Jr. High School.....	70.7	5.8
Abraham Lincoln-Quincy District.....	75.5	6.3
Dearborn District.....	81.0	5.6
James P. Timilty Jr. High School.....	94.1	5.6
Patrick T. Campbell Jr. High School.....	96.7	5.4
Lewis Jr. High School.....	99.4	5.6

for a new school building program. Generally, the schools recommended for abandonment were in a state of deterioration, and in some cases—when immediate abandonment was recommended—the facilities were in a state of total disrepair. For the most part, the recommendations of the report have not been followed.⁴²

Sixty-two of the 73 elementary schools that the report recommended for abandonment by 1975 were still in use in 1965.⁴³ Twenty-one of these schools have enrollments over 50 percent nonwhite.⁴⁴ About 42 percent of all nonwhite elementary students but only approximately 32 percent of white elementary students attended these 62 schools in 1965.

Students in elementary schools in 1965 recommended by the Sargent Report for abandonment by 1975

	White Enrollment	Nonwhite Enrollment
20 Elementary Schools Recommended for Abandonment by 1965.....	3,259	2,523
Percent of Total White and Nonwhite Students in Schools Recommended for Abandonment by 1965.....	8.0	14.9
24 Elementary Schools Recommended for Abandonment by 1970.....	5,447	2,805
Percent of Total White and Nonwhite Students in Schools Recommended for Abandonment by 1970.....	13.8	16.6
18 Elementary Schools Recommended for Abandonment by 1975.....	4,121	1,757
Percent of Total White and Nonwhite Students in Schools Recommended for Abandonment by 1975.....	10.0	10.4

Compensatory and Innovative Programs. The compensatory and innovative programs conducted in the Boston schools are of three types: (1) enrichment programs for elementary, junior high, and high schools; (2) innovative programs conducted on a pilot basis; and (3) a work study program.⁴⁵ These programs are funded under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Most of Boston's Title I funds (\$2 million) are spent on Operation Counterpoise, an elementary school enrichment program, begun on a limited basis in 1963, which is designed to augment existing programs and bring new programs into schools in poverty areas of the city.⁴⁶ Counterpoise involved 38 schools with 11,800 pupils in the 1965-66 school year. This school year 12,700 children in the same schools are involved.⁴⁷ Twenty-nine of these schools are in the predominantly Negro Roxbury-Dorchester-South End sections of Boston.

⁴² The report was prepared by Harvard University under contract with the Boston Redevelopment Authority. The mayor of Boston, the Boston School Committee, and the Boston Building Commission cooperated. The report is generally known as the "Sargent Report," after the director of the project, Cyril G. Sargent. *A Report of the Schools of Boston* May 1962.

⁴³ Staff interview with Edward Logue, Director of the Boston Redevelopment Authority.

⁴⁴ Manual of the Public Schools of the City of Boston, Boston School Committee, 1965.

⁴⁵ Boston was allocated \$3.6 million under Title I of the Act for 1966. Boston School Committee, Office of Program Development Progress Report, March 1965 to May 1966.

⁴⁶ The pilot year (1963-64) of Operation Counterpoise was evaluated by the Department of Compensatory Services, Boston School Committee. The evaluation was presented in two categories (A) Statistical Findings and (B) Reactions and Implications. Under Statistical Findings, the evaluation committee stated that: (1) attendance in the school district in which Counterpoise was located was better than it had been in the three previous years; (2) fewer days were lost to truancy than in the three previous years; (3) there was some growth in reading achievement over what would normally be expected; (4) there was an increase of teacher awareness of individual pupil needs as illustrated by the larger numbers of referrals for psychological, mental or emotional problems and (5) the annual cost of window glass repair was lower by at least \$348 than it had been in the previous three years.

Under Reactions and Implications the evaluation committee stated that (1) the program was invaluable as an in-service education for the teachers who participated in the team-teaching approach; (2) curricula were adjusted and evaluated to provide for each child's needs; (3) field trips were extensively and creatively used; (4) parents were very responsive. Boston Elementary Schools, *Operation Counterpoise: Initial Evaluation*, September 1964.

⁴⁷ Compensatory Services in the Boston Public Schools, May 1966. An additional \$350,000 is spent on Counterpoise by the Boston School Committee. This sum represents Boston's initial outlay for the program before Title I funding. Title I funds are contingent upon continued local expenditure of initial outlays on programs.

The other nine are in the South Boston, Charlestown, East Boston, and Jamaica Plain areas.⁴⁸

Operation Counterpoise attempts to bring special features, special personnel and enrichment activities to the participating schools. Special features include use of team teaching; assignment of master teachers in each school who supervise the program and offer assistance to other teachers; institution of half step grades between kindergarten and Grade 1 and between Grades 2 and 4 as "a move in the direction of the ungraded or continuous progress program design," and the institution of a reading program stressing innovative techniques. Special personnel, such as science teachers, resource teachers, diction teachers, and school adjustment counselors (with maximum case loads of 50 to 1) are made available to participating schools. Enrichment activities include field trips, inter-school programs, and additional assembly programs. Counterpoise also attempts to involve parents and the community in the program.⁴⁹

The school system conducted an evaluation of Operation Counterpoise during the 1965-66 school year. This evaluation was based on reports submitted by principals of the Counterpoise schools, evaluations of parental attitudes made by school adjustment counselors, teachers' reactions, and parental evaluation of the program. Growth in academic achievement based on scores on standardized reading and arithmetic tests, and personal and social development as indicated by a decrease in absences, truancies, glass breakage, and tardiness also were measured in this evaluation. Based on this evaluation, it was concluded that progress had been made by the Counterpoise program.⁵⁰

An after-school program and a summer program constitute the enrichment effort at the junior high level during 1965-66. The after-school program was conducted at six schools. Students were given remedial help in reading, mathematics and diction, homework assistance, guidance and special art, music, and science programs.⁵¹

⁴⁸ The schools participating in Operation Counterpoise are:

<i>School</i>	<i>Percent Enrollment Nonwhite</i>	<i>School</i>	<i>Percent Enrollment Nonwhite</i>
Christopher Gibson.....	77.8	Ralph Waldo Emerson.....	44.8
Atherton	86.6	Samuel W. Mason.....	42.3
Dearborn	77.3	Asa Gray.....	99.7
Dearborn Annex.....	80.6	Jefferson.....	26.9
Aaron Davis.....	89.2	Charles Bulfinch.....	44.6
Albert Palmer.....	78.3	John Winthrop.....	79.2
Dillaway	89.7	Benedict Fenwick.....	75.9
Nathan Hale.....	85.5	Nathaniel Hawthorne.....	49.2
Dudley	88.6	Julia Ward Howe.....	97.9
William Beacon.....	97.5	Sarah J. Baker.....	95.8
Joseph J. Hurley.....	72.8	George F. Hoar.....	1.8
Joshua Bates.....	70.1	Paul A. Dever.....	52.6
Harvard	0.3	Phillips Brooks.....	98.3
Bunker Hill.....	0.0	Quincy Dickerman.....	98.6
William H. Kent.....	0.0	Theodore Lyman.....	4.4
David A. Ellis.....	98.9	Dante Alighieri.....	5.4
David A. Ellis Annex.....	100.0	James Otis.....	0.0
Henry L. Higginson.....	93.3	Sarah Greenwood.....	83.1
Academy Hill.....	90.0	William E. Endicott.....	92.8

⁴⁹ A Recreational Activities Program "to foster greater interest in healthful and productive activities to compensate for deficiencies in neighborhood recreational facilities" also was conducted in 13 school districts participating in Counterpoise in 1965-66. This program also was funded under Title I. Further, Title I funds were used in 17 Counterpoise districts for Summer, Elementary Remediation and Enrichment Laboratories. Remedial services in reading and arithmetic and other enrichment programs were included.

⁵⁰ Boston Public Schools, *Elementary Enrichment Program—Evaluation 1965-66*, September 1966.

	<i>% Nonwhite</i>
⁵¹ Clarence R. Edwards.....	0.0
James P. Timilty.....	94.1
Lewis	99.4
Oliver Wendell Holmes.....	70.7
Patrick F. Gavin.....	1.5
Patrick T. Campbell.....	96.7

There also were after-school Afternoon Elementary Remediation and Enrichment Laboratories (ANEREL) for Grades 4, 5, 6 at several schools funded under OEO. Attendance at these sessions was voluntary. They were designed to meet the "remediation and enrichment" needs of the children. A summer program similar to the after-school program was conducted at the Timilty School. Compensatory Services in the Boston Public Schools, May 1966.

At the senior high level, a program at Girls High School (80.1 percent nonwhite) is run after school; it provides "remediation classes in reading designed to promote academic success, enrichment classes in art designed to provide cultural enrichment, and business classes in typewriting . . ." ⁵³

Boston's innovative education efforts are supervised by a division of the school administration—the Office of Program Development—which has been given responsibility for the operation of one elementary and one junior high school where innovative techniques are being used in an effort to raise student achievement. Both schools—The Boardman Elementary School (97.9 percent nonwhite) and the Lewis Junior High School (99.4 percent nonwhite)—are located in predominantly Negro poverty areas. There also is one class located in the Higginson School. The operation of these schools by the Office of Program Development is referred to as the "subsystem". Subsystem management of the Boardman School began in February 1966 and of the Lewis School in September 1966. ⁵⁴

Decisions concerning curriculum design and school operation for subsystem schools rest with the Director of the Office of Program Development, Evans Clinchy, formerly of Educational Services Incorporated, a planning organization concerned with curriculum design. "The major emphasis of each program will be upon testing innovative and experimental ideas and will be directed toward the discovery of how children learn and the best teaching methods, curriculum design and educational materials to promote and enhance the learning situation. Eventually, it is anticipated that successful program components will be introduced into other schools in the System." ⁵⁵ Generally, the Director of Program Development has been given a free reign in operating the subsystem schools, including restaffing of the Boardman School. Mr. Clinchy has been attempting to raise achievement in the subsystem schools by experimenting with new methods of teaching reading and mathematics and by instituting ungraded classes and seminars. Emphasis is placed on utilizing new teaching materials. Parental involvement in the schools is sought with plans calling for a community liaison person to be assigned to the schools. ⁵⁶ Since the program was instituted only recently at the Boardman School, it was not possible to determine its impact. A summer program at the Boardman and Lewis Schools, however, was considered by the director to be very successful and attracted a significant number of white children from the South Boston and Mission Hill areas. The program was run jointly by the Office of Program Development and the Center for Research and Development on Educational Differences of Harvard University. ⁵⁷

The Work Study Program is the smallest of the compensatory programs, involving 75-100 ninth grade boys. The program seeks to identify potential dropouts, repeaters and students whose grades show retardation in reading or math. The program attempts to develop basic skills in language arts, practical mathematics, and social studies, and helps the students to find part-time employment after school. ⁵⁸ Five schools have Work Study classes which are attended by an average of 15 to 20 students. ⁵⁹

Programs Alleviating Racial Imbalance. There currently are several programs involving Boston school children which have some effect on racial imbalance in the Boston schools.

A. Open Enrollment

The Boston School Committee's attendance policy is:

. . . to have each pupil attend the school serving his neighborhood community unless the child's physical, mental, or educational needs require assignment to specially organized classes or schools (e.g., a Braille class;

⁵³ *Ibid.* Last year about 60 pupils took part in the program; about half were from nonpublic schools.

⁵⁴ Staff interview with Evans Clinchy, Director of Program Development. The Office of Program Development will use \$800,000 in Title I funds.

⁵⁵ Boston School Committee, Office of Program Development, Progress Report, March 1965 to May 1966, pp. 15-16.

⁵⁶ Staff interview with Evans Clinchy.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* The white students were actively recruited by the Office of Program Development.

⁵⁸ The Work Study Program is funded at \$89,646. Interview with Mr. Joseph Ippolito, Director, Work Study Program. The program does not deal with children who have an IQ under 80 or delinquent students. The aim is to reach normal ability underachievers.

⁵⁹ The schools are: Lewis, Danvers, Timilty, Edwards, and Curley.

or the Horace Mann School for the Deaf). However, it is also the practice, at the request of the parent, to permit a child to attend ANY SCHOOL HAVING APPROPRIATE GRADES OR COURSES—provided that particular school, after enrolling the children of its own locale, has adequate accommodations for pupils from other districts, and providing the parent assumes cost of transportation to and from such school.

Therefore, Head Masters and Principals will continue to accept all applicants for admission to their schools within the provisions of the policy described above. CONTINUANCE OF SUCH PERMISSION IS A PRIVILEGE AND DEPENDS ON ATTENDANCE, PUNCTUALITY, CONDUCT, AND SAFE TRANSPORTATION.⁶⁰

More Negro children than white children—percentage-wise and numerically—take advantage of open enrollment. But relatively few Negroes who transfer out of schools more than 50 percent nonwhite actually enter schools less than 50 percent nonwhite. Of those who do, almost all are participants in Operation Exodus, a privately organized and financed busing project.⁶⁰

In the 1965–66 school year 3,395 elementary pupils, or 5.8 percent, of a total elementary school enrollment of 58,193 transferred under Boston's open enrollment plan. 2,897 (85.3 percent) left schools where the nonwhite enrollment exceeded 50 percent but only 794 (27.4 percent), of whom 588 were nonwhite, entered schools where the racial balance was less than 50 percent nonwhite.⁶¹ It has been estimated that between 400 and 550 of the 588 were in the Operation Exodus program.⁶² Thus, apart from Operation Exodus, only a small number of Negro children, out of the total of 17,953 children attending schools with a greater than 50 percent nonwhite enrollment transferred to schools with a nonwhite enrollment of less than 50 percent. In short, as the Massachusetts Board of Education has concluded, "open enrollment does not appear to have had a substantial effect except where it has been funded, organized, and supervised with transportation provided by private groups."⁶³ Any salutary effect resulting from transfers of Negro students from schools of more than 50 percent nonwhite enrollment to schools of less than 50 percent nonwhite enrollment (apart from Operation Exodus) "was offset by the comparable number of white students who also chose to leave."⁶⁴

B. Operation Exodus

By the end of the 1965–66 school year, approximately 550 Negro elementary students from Roxbury-North Dorchester schools were attending classes at predominantly white schools under Operation Exodus. This year, the program has been expanded further to include approximately 700 Negro students.⁶⁵

Operation Exodus began as a response to a Boston School Committee decision of August 6, 1965, to "go on record unequivocally to oppose any further busing in any form, for any reason and under any conditions . . ."⁶⁶ In passing this

⁶⁰ The School Committee of the City of Boston, "Open Enrollment Policy," September 1, 1966.

⁶¹ See discussion of Operation Exodus, *infra* pp. 265–66.

⁶² *Transfers of students (as of April 1966) under the open enrollment policy.**

Total Number of Students Transferring Under Open Enrollment=	3395	
		Non- White white
Total Number of Students Leaving Elementary Districts More than 50% Nonwhite:	562	2335
Total Number of Students Leaving Elementary Districts 15–50% Nonwhite:	316	182
Total Number of Students Transferring Out of Elementary Districts More Than 50% Nonwhite to Districts Less Than 50% Nonwhite	206	588

**Boston College Contract*

⁶³ Compare estimates provided by staff interview with Ellen Jackson, Director of Operation Exodus, with Massachusetts Board of Education, *Review of Boston School Committee Revised Plan on Racial Imbalance*, June 28, 1966, p. 7.

⁶⁴ Massachusetts Board of Education, *Review of Boston School Committee Revised Plan on Racial Imbalance*, June 28, 1966, p. 7.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* On September 23, 1966, there were 3,855 vacant seats in Boston elementary schools. Approximately 2,700 of these were in schools with enrollment less than 50 percent nonwhite. Boston School Committee Vacant Seat Count, September 23, 1966.

⁶⁶ Staff interview with Ellen Jackson, Director of Operation Exodus.

⁶⁷ This decision subsequently was reversed. See *infra*, p. 266.

resolution, the School Committee rejected a proposal by Superintendent Ohrenberger to bus students at the expense of the city from the overcrowded predominantly Negro Gibson, Endicott, and Hyde-Everett school districts to elementary schools with available seats in Dorchester, Brighton, and the Back Bay (predominantly white) areas. City-financed busing to relieve overcrowding had been conducted in previous years. Superintendent Ohrenberger announced that the rejection of his proposal would require the institution of double sessions for the overcrowded schools.⁶⁷ The Roxbury-North Dorchester parents regarded the anti-busing decision as another in a series of affronts to the Negro community by the School Committee.⁶⁸

The parents decided after several community meetings that they would themselves bus the children from the overcrowded Roxbury-North Dorchester schools. Although overcrowding of the Roxbury-North Dorchester schools originally had stimulated the Exodus program, the participating parents also felt that they were busing their children to superior schools in the predominantly white districts.⁶⁹ As more parents joined the program, the quality of education in the predominantly Negro schools became more and more the justification for the busing. The program began at the opening of school in 1965 and continued throughout that school year. Initially, the Exodus parents selected two districts—Hyde Park and Mattapan—to which they would bus their children. Both districts had available seats and comparatively low pupil-teacher ratios.⁷⁰ By June of 1966, 350 children were being bused to 15 different schools in seven buses at an expense of \$1,350 per week, and approximately 200 other children were being transported by private cars.⁷¹ Financial help was received from a number of sources in addition to the parents of the children participating, among them civil rights committees, fair housing groups, churches, temples, and college students.⁷²

C. Boston's Present Busing Program

Boston provides bus transportation for elementary children from overcrowded schools to schools with vacant seats. Although the Boston School Committee specifically has prohibited the busing of children within the city for the sole purpose of relieving racial imbalance,⁷³ the program of busing children to relieve overcrowding has that effect since in most cases Negro students from predominantly Negro schools are being bused to predominantly white schools. In fact, it is the policy of school officials administering the busing program not to bus Negro children to any school where their presence would contribute to the racial imbalance of the receiving school.⁷⁴

During the 1965-66 school term, 922 students were bused by the Boston System—640 because of overcrowded conditions.⁷⁵ Of these 640, 596 were from schools more than 50 percent nonwhite and 518 of the 596 were transported to schools less than 50 percent nonwhite.⁷⁶

⁶⁷ Woods, *A Portrait of Exodus* (mimeo).

⁶⁸ Staff interview with Ellen Jackson.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Contributions came from "the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, from 1,075 students at Wellesley College who gave up their suppers one night in February and donated the cost of the meal to Exodus; from more than 800 donors in Newton, Brookline, Lexington, Belmont, Cambridge, Needham, Weston and other communities surrounding Boston . . . A cabaret at the Hotel Bradford in February netted some \$4,000; in April and again in June, Exodus received partial proceeds from two 'first nighters' ('The Owl and The Pussycat' at the Wilbur and 'The Zulu and The Zayda' at the Colonial); and in May, Odetta gave two benefit concerts at the Patrick Campbell School. . . . During 'Exodus Week' (March 28 to April 2) thirty merchants in the Dudley Terminal area were persuaded to provide boxes in their stores for the sales slips of customers who wished to contribute to Exodus. Operation Exodus received 1% of these sales; this amount was matched by the merchants." Woods, *A Portrait of Exodus*, p. 6.

⁷³ On April 14, 1966 the School Committee adopted a resolution providing that there would be "no busing within the city for the sole purpose of relieving racial imbalance."

⁷⁴ Staff interview with Louis DeGiacomo, Director of Department of Safety, Boston School Committee.

⁷⁵ The other 282 were bused because they were assigned to schools which, by State law, were beyond walking distance. The transportation of this latter group had no effect in alleviating racial imbalance.

⁷⁶ Staff interview with Louis DeGiacomo. The busing of the 78 students from predominantly Negro schools to other predominantly Negro schools has been eliminated this school year. Last year 59 students (probably all Negro) from the Hyde School (which had been destroyed by fire) were bused by the city to the Peter Fanenil School, located in a white section of Boston on Beacon Hill. A group of Negro parents from Roxbury

The total cost for all city-financed school busing in Boston during the 1965-66 school year was \$99,730.⁷⁷

This school term 1,164 students are being bused—811 because of overcrowded conditions.^{77a} These 811 children were from schools more than 50 percent non-white and all were transported to schools less than 50 percent nonwhite.^{77b}

D. Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunities (METCO)

The Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunities consists of private citizens from Boston and surrounding suburban communities who are concerned with educational problems in the metropolitan area. METCO sponsors a program under which, beginning September 1966, 220 children have been bused from the predominantly Negro Roxbury-North Dorchester and South End areas of Boston to public schools in the seven suburban communities of Wellesley, Newton, Brookline, Arlington, Lexington, Braintree, and Lincoln.⁷⁸ Student participation in METCO is voluntary, and the communities taking part in the program have committed themselves to educate the participating children until their graduation from high school. Most of the children involved are elementary students although some students at the secondary level are included.⁷⁹

The METCO program is funded by the U.S. Office of Education under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (\$259,000 for the current school year).⁸⁰ The funds are used for tuition, transportation costs, and an evaluative study. The Carnegie Foundation has granted funds (\$160,000 over a two-year period) covering administrative costs. The Massachusetts State Legislature recently enacted a statute which provides that METCO-type busing programs may be used as a means of complying with the State's Racial Imbalance Act and may receive State financial assistance.⁸¹ METCO intends to request State financial assistance for the 1967-68 school year.

METCO will conduct an evaluative study which will (1) trace the children's academic progress, and (2) test the attitudes (before and after) of persons involved in the program—*e.g.* Boston children, suburban children in METCO classrooms, suburban children not in METCO schools, and suburban school teachers teaching Boston children.

METCO leaders hope to expand the busing program next year to include more students and more communities. Plans to involve 300 additional Boston children in the next school year already have been announced. Three additional suburban

had been transporting their children to the Faneuil School under the open enrollment policy since 1964. The placement of the Hyde children in the Faneuil School brought the Negro enrollment to over 45 percent (but under 50 percent). Shortly thereafter the white enrollment decreased, and by October 1, 1965, the percent of the nonwhite enrollment had risen to 63.8.

⁷⁷ Staff Interview with Louis DeGincomio.

^{77a} 343 were bused because of distance. See note 75.

^{77b} Data supplied by Boston School Committee. The estimated cost of this year's busing program is \$120,725.10.

⁷⁸ Information on METCO obtained from interviews with Leon Trilling, President of METCO Board of Directors, Joseph Killory, Executive Director, and Ruth Batson, Associate Director.

⁷⁹ The number of students participating in METCO in the 1965-66 school year is Brookline, 52 in Grades K-8 and 23 high school students; Arlington, 15 in Grade 5; Braintree, 20 in Grades 7-8; Lincoln, 10 in kindergarten; Lexington, 25 in Grades 7-9; Newton, 50 in Grades 3-6, and Wellesley, 25 high school students.

⁸⁰ Federal funds go to the participating communities first through the State Board of Education and then through one of the suburban communities (Newton) which acts as the receiving agent for the project. Since Title III funds may only be channeled through a local public educational agency, the METCO organization itself may not act as the receiving agent.

⁸¹ Massachusetts Gen. Laws, Ch. 76 § 12 A-B. The Boston School Committee is cooperating with the METCO busing program by furnishing student records to the participating communities. Superintendent Ohrenberger is a member of the METCO Board of Directors.

communities have committed themselves informally to participate in METCO next year⁵² and 22 other suburban communities have indicated some interest.⁵³

Other Educational Projects

1. **The New School for Children.** This school year a group of parents from the South End, Roxbury, and North Dorchester areas of Boston, who were dissatisfied with the quality of public education afforded their children, opened a private school in Roxbury. The school, called The New School for Children, will have 90 students from kindergarten through fourth grade. The school will be racially mixed with approximately 20 percent of the enrollment white. The annual tuition will be \$250. The tuition of about half the students will be paid by scholarships. Beside the funds raised from tuition payments, the school will be supported by private contributions. The school is unique in that it was initiated by parents from poverty areas of Boston and will strive to present a quality integrated education for the students. All four members of the teaching staff formerly taught in the Boston school system.⁵⁴

2. **The Humboldt School.** The Boston University School of Education, the Boston Redevelopment Authority, and the Boston School Committee are cooperating in a joint proposal for a model school in the Roxbury area of Boston. The school which will be located in the Washington Park Redevelopment Area, will strive to present superior education in the heart of the Negro ghetto in an effort to attract white students to the school. Boston University will use the Humboldt School as a training laboratory for its student teachers. The curriculum design will be a joint effort of Boston University and the Boston School Committee. The Boston School Committee considers construction of the Humboldt School as part of its plan for compliance with the Racial Imbalance Act. The State Board of Education has indicated that it would be willing to provide construction funds for Humboldt—even though it probably would open as an imbalanced school—if it were included as part of a general acceptable plan for compliance with the Act. Currently, however, no State funds are available for its construction and the city has decided to delay its construction until the impasse with the board is solved.⁵⁵

3. **Roxbury Tutorial Project.** The Roxbury Tutorial Project attempts to provide remedial help to students in the Negro areas of Boston after the regular school day. During the 1965-66 school year, 1,700 children and 985 tutors participated. The Project is funded by OEO at \$65,748 for a 10-month period running from June 1, 1966 to March 31, 1967. The tutoring is done at 10 centers (for example, churches, organization headquarters) and at private homes. The tutors are mostly college students, but business people, parents, and older children also tutor. Children in Grades 1 through 12 are receiving this help.⁵⁶

⁵² Sharon, Concord-Carlisle, and Winchester. Lincoln already has indicated a desire to increase the number of children it will take next school year.

⁵³ *Enrollment of Central City and Contiguous Suburbs—December 1965**.

City	Total Enrollment	Non-White	% Non-white
Boston.....	93,055	23,919	25.8
Brookline**	6,387	231	3.6
Cambridge.....	10,971	1,693	15.4
Chelsea.....	4,953	118	2.4
Dedham.....	5,135	9	0.2
Everett.....	7,583	142	1.9
Milton.....	3,961	3	0.1
Newton**.....	18,135	241	1.3
Quincy.....	15,738	59	0.4
Revere.....	7,206	2	0.02
Somerville.....	13,161	104	0.8
Watertown.....	6,473	38	0.6
Winthrop.....	3,187	10	0.3

*Source: State Census, State Department of Education, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, December 1965.

**Participating in METCO Program.

⁵⁴ Staff interview with Mrs. Joan Leonard and Miss Melissa Tillman (teachers at The New School).

⁵⁵ Staff interview with Dr. Jack Childress, Dean, Boston University School of Education.

⁵⁶ Staff interview with Judith Rollins, Director, Roxbury Tutorial Project.

4. Head Start. The Boston poverty program, Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD), received \$163,000 during 1966 for Project Head Start. Under the Program, a total of 124 classes was held, 80 of them sponsored by the Boston public schools along with community agencies and 44 of them sponsored through ABCD. The program operated in 100 public schools and 24 private facilities. A maximum family income of \$2,000 for a family of two and \$500 for each dependent is required as a condition for enrollment. Out of 1,529 enrollees, 825 or 53.9 percent were nonwhite.⁸⁷

5. Neighborhood Youth Corps. One part of the Neighborhood Youth Corps Program—for dropouts—is administered by ABCD under a \$231,739 OEO contract; the other part, funded by a \$451,130 grant from OEO, is administered by the Boston School Committee for students who are still in school. Both programs train enrollees to develop employable skills. The out-of-school program has three private centers at which it services 125 enrollees. Ninety-seven of these, or 77.6 percent are nonwhite.⁸⁸ The in-school program this summer used centers in 26 public schools and 18 parochial schools. It enrolled 621 students, about 80 of whom were from the parochial schools. 279 or 44.9 percent of the total enrollees were nonwhite.⁸⁹

Community Concern. Until 1962, there was no significant controversy in Boston concerning the education of Negro children. One of the reasons for such lack of interest may have been the relatively small size of the Negro community. In 1950 it constituted 5.3 percent of the population.⁹⁰

There was, however, community criticism of the poor administration of the schools before the issue of Negro education arose. In 1962, the Sargent Report⁹¹ criticized the Boston schools and recommended the abandonment of 80 schools on the ground that these schools were obsolete. Many of these schools were located in the Negro ghetto.⁹² In 1960, an association called the "Citizens for Boston Public School" ("Citizens") was organized in an attempt to reform the Boston School Committee. The "Citizens" accused the Committee members of undue concern with their own political advancement rather than with the education of children.⁹³ The "Citizens" endorsed four candidates on a reform slate in the 1961 elections for School Committee members. The mayor of Boston, John Collins, pointedly refused to support the incumbent Committee members.⁹⁴ Two of the "Citizens" candidates were elected, Messrs. Arthur Garfield and William O'Connor. Also elected were Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, Mr. Thomas Eisenstadt, and Mr. Lee, the only incumbent from the old Committee.⁹⁵ In 1963 Mrs. Hicks was elected chairman of the Committee.

On May 23, 1963, Mrs. Hicks was the featured speaker at a meeting held at Freedom House. At that meeting, Mr. Paul Parks, first Vice President of the "Citizens" and a member of the NAACP Education Committee, introduced Mrs. Hicks and made a "Statement on the Education of Negro Children." The statement, based on records of the Boston School Department, charged that Negro schools were overcrowded, that cost per pupil in Negro schools was below the citywide average, and that while reading test scores for the Boston school system were below the national median, scores of Negro pupils were even below the Boston median.⁹⁶

The NAACP followed this statement of grievances with a request for a hearing before the School Committee which was granted and which took place on June 11, 1963. At that meeting Mrs. Ruth Batson of the NAACP focused on racial segregation in Boston schools, as well as on the inadequacy of facilities for Negro children. Other speakers at that meeting included the chairman

⁸⁷ Figures obtained from Mr. Edward Thompson, ABCD, September 6, 1966; Telephone conversation with Mrs. R. Edwards, director, Head Start, September 14, 1966.

⁸⁸ Information obtained in telephone conversation with Mrs. Mendelson, assistant to Mr. Roister, ABCD Director, Neighborhood Youth Corps Program, September 14, 1966.

⁸⁹ Information obtained in telephone conversation with Mr. Botelho, Director, In-School Neighborhood Youth Corps Program, September 14, 1966.

⁹⁰ U.S. Census of Population, 1950, Table 10.

⁹¹ See *supra*, pp. 261-62.

⁹² There has been recent criticism of the Boston schools. See series of 22 articles entitled "A Report Card on Boston Schools," beginning in Boston Herald on February 27, 1966.

⁹³ Boston Globe, Dec. 6, 1960; Christian Science Monitor, Feb. 17, 1961, and May 19, 1961.

⁹⁴ Boston Traveler, November 3, 1961, and November 8, 1961.

⁹⁵ Boston Herald, November 8, 1961.

⁹⁶ Boston Traveler, August 1, 1963.

of Core, the president of "Citizens", and Negro parents and clergymen. The meeting ended with the promise of another meeting.⁹⁷

The next day, a school boycott scheduled for June 18 was announced by a group that included representatives of the NAACP, Core, and private citizens. In an effort to avert the boycott, the Committee members met with Mrs. Batson, Mr. Parks, Mr. King (of the South End Neighborhood House), and Rev. Breeden who represented the group leading the boycott movement. Negotiations broke down because, although the members of the Committee were willing to accept several recommendations of the NAACP, they refused to agree to a statement admitting the existence of *de facto* segregation in the Boston public schools.⁹⁸ The representatives of the group that proposed the boycott insisted that the boycott take place on June 18. It did not result in any Committee action.

By the end of the summer, the School Committee's position had apparently hardened, as shown by such remarks as those of Mrs. Hicks:

Let it suffice at this point to state that on this issue of *de facto* segregation my position is irreversible.⁹⁹

If it is mediation regarding *de facto* segregation, I will not yield.¹⁰⁰

At an August 15 meeting between the Committee and the NAACP, the Committee refused to discuss *de facto* segregation. In September 1963, the Committee rejected a recommendation by Governor Peabody that they should admit the inferiority of all-Negro schools and that the parties should agree to use the term "racial imbalance" instead of *de facto* segregation.

In the elections of November 1963, Mrs. Hicks was reelected by 127,074 votes, Mr. Eisenstadt by 100,754 votes, Mr. Lee by 90,715, Mr. O'Connor by 73,011, and Mr. Gartland by 56,013 votes.¹⁰¹

On February 26, 1964, a second school boycott took place, sponsored by an organization called the "Massachusetts Freedom Movement." An estimated 10,000 white and Negro pupils stayed out of schools. Again, no significant results were obtained, although just before the boycott, on February 11, a meeting was held between the School Committee and the NAACP, at which the Committee voted to hear Negro grievances and to discuss *de facto* segregation. The School Committee appointed an advisory group as requested by the NAACP at that meeting. This group was not satisfactory to the NAACP and they chose to pursue legal remedies instead of negotiations and filed the *Blakely* suit in April 1965.¹⁰²

Also, in April 1965 the Kiernan report was issued.¹⁰³ The NAACP then proposed busing children to achieve the better balance advocated by the Report. The School Committee refused to agree to this demand which was characterized by Mrs. Hicks as "unfair and undemocratic."¹⁰⁴

On August 5, 1965, the Committee went on record to oppose busing "in any form for any reason" in response to a proposal of Superintendent Ohrenberger to relieve overcrowding. That proposal has been discussed elsewhere in this report.¹⁰⁵ The organization of "Operation Exodus" was a reaction to that resolution and to the failure of school boycotts to move the Committee.

In June 1966, Mrs. Hicks was scheduled to hand out diplomas at the graduation of predominantly Negro Patrick Campbell School. A near riot ensued when the Reverend Virgil Wood, a militant Negro leader, climbed on the stage and denounced Mrs. Hicks as a "Hitler." The Reverend Wood was arrested for disturbing the peace, but the trial judge dismissed the indictment after remarking on Mrs. Hicks' lack of discretion in attending the graduation.¹⁰⁶

On August 18, 1966, an assembly was held to mark the first anniversary of the passage of the Racial Imbalance Act at the Roxbury church of Reverend Vernon Carter, who had picketed the School Committee's offices day and night in August 1965 in order to urge the passage of the Act. Cardinal Cushing was the principal speaker at the Assembly, and he strongly urged the School Committee to comply with the law.¹⁰⁷

⁹⁷ *The School Committee of the City of Boston: Conference Minutes*, June 11, 1963, (hereinafter *Minutes*).

⁹⁸ *Minutes*, June 15.

⁹⁹ Statement of July 31, 1963.

¹⁰⁰ *Minutes*, August 23.

¹⁰¹ *Boston Herald*, November 6, 1963.

¹⁰² See *infra*, p. 271.

¹⁰³ See *infra*, p. 271.

¹⁰⁴ *Boston Traveler*, April 15, 1965.

¹⁰⁵ See *supra*, p. 265.

¹⁰⁶ *Washington Post*, June 25, 1966.

¹⁰⁷ *Boston Globe*, August 19, 1966.

Another force behind integration that appeared recently on the Boston scene (besides the organizations of Exodus and METCO, discussed elsewhere in this report is The Bridge. The Bridge is a nonprofit corporation which was organized in February 1966 by a cross-section of people in the Boston community to increase local awareness and participation in educational opportunities. It seeks to help the community take advantage of existing educational programs and to channel community concern toward remedying educational deficiencies. The Bridge has five major areas of interest and activity: (1) to increase interest in the schools by providing information about school programs and problems; (2) to help organize and stimulate parents groups; (3) to assist students in transferring to private and parochial schools; (4) to sponsor research on local school problems with special reference to ghetto schools; and (5) to focus on various Afro-American art forms to enhance communication within the community. Teachers and other community leaders are now working with this organization.

*Legal Actions.*¹⁰⁸ Within the past several years, two suits have been brought by the Negro Boston community against the School Committee.^{108a} In 1964 a suit was brought by Negro parents to enjoin the School Committee from transferring students from the overcrowded Garrison elementary school to the Boardman elementary school on the grounds that Boardman was unsafe, unhealthy, and in the midst of a construction site. The parents asked that their children be bused to a school other than the Boardman school. On September 13, 1964, the injunction was denied and the suit was dismissed.¹⁰⁰

On April 20, 1965, the NAACP brought suit in the United States District Court for Massachusetts against the Boston School Committee. The NAACP alleged that the Boston school system was racially segregated; that the School Committee had engaged in discriminatory assignment and hiring policies; that the School Committee had established attendance areas and constructed additions to schools so as to reinforce patterns of segregation; that predominantly Negro schools were inferior to predominantly white schools and that attendance lines and their maintenance reflect segregated housing patterns created by State action. The case has not yet been heard on the merits.¹¹⁰

THE MASSACHUSETTS RACIAL IMBALANCE ACT

The Kiernan Report. In 1964, the State Board of Education and Dr. Owen B. Kiernan, Commissioner of Education, appointed an Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education.¹¹¹ In April 1965 the Committee released a report which called for an end to the racial imbalance in public schools in Massachusetts.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ An early decision of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts held that school segregation in the Boston public schools did not violate a State constitutional guarantee of equality. *Roberts v. City of Boston*, 5 Cush. 198, 59 Mass. 198, 206 (1850). In that case the court refused to allow a Negro girl to attend a white school nearer her residence because of a resolution adopted by the School Committee which provided for separate schools for Negroes. The court held that the Committee had not abused its discretion in adopting the regulation and directed the Negro girl to attend one of the two Negro schools. Charles Sumner, attorney for the Negro girl, argued before the court that: The law contemplates not only that all shall be taught, but that all shall be taught together. They are not only to receive equal quantities of knowledge, but all are to receive it in the same way. All are to approach the same common fountain together; nor can there be any exclusive source for individuals or class. The school is the little world where the child is trained for the larger world of life. It is the microcosm preparatory to the macrocosm, and therefore it must cherish and develop the virtues and sympathies needed in the larger world. (*The Works of Charles Sumner*, Vol. III, pp. 369-373 (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1870), reprinted in *Integrated Education* 31, 33 (Dec. 1963-Jan. 1964).)

Five years later, segregation in Boston public schools was eliminated by statute. Mass. Acts 1855, c. 256.

^{108a} See pp. 276-77 *infra* for discussion of legal actions in connection with the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Act.

¹⁰⁹ *Taylor v. Boston School Committee*, Suff. Sup. Ct., No. 82804 (Equity). Appeal was filed October 16, 1964; there has been no disposition of the appeal to date. The parents subsequently decided to bus their children at their own expense to the Peter Faneuil School. See discussion footnote 76, *supra*.

¹¹⁰ *Blakely v. The Boston School Committee*, Doc. No. 65-292, U.S. District Court of Massachusetts.

¹¹¹ In January 1965, the Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights issued a report which found that the Boston neighborhood school policy, and the resultant racial imbalance, clearly had an adverse effect upon many of the goals of education, particularly those relating to character formation and the acquisition of ideals. *Report on Racial Imbalance in the Boston Public Schools*, Massachusetts State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, January 1965.

¹¹² *Because It Is Right—Educationally*, Report of the Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education, Massachusetts State Board of Education, April 1965.

The Advisory Committee had been charged by the State Board with: (1) determining if racial imbalance existed in Massachusetts; (2) determining whether racial imbalance was educationally harmful; and (3) recommending ways of eliminating racial imbalance. The Committee concluded that racial imbalance in public schools represented a "serious conflict with the American creed of equal opportunity." The Committee found that a racially imbalanced school was detrimental to sound education in that:

—It does serious educational damage to Negro children by impairing their confidence, distorting their self-image, and lowering their motivation.

—It does moral damage by encouraging prejudice within children regardless of their color.

—It presents an inaccurate picture of life to both white and Negro children and prepares them inadequately for a multi-racial community, nation, and world.

—It too often produces inferior educational facilities in the predominantly Negro schools.

—It squanders valuable human resources by impairing the opportunities of many Negro children to prepare for the professional and vocational requirements of our technological society.¹³³

Of particular importance was the Committee's statement on the effects of racial separation on white children:

We have found that racial imbalance is educationally harmful to all children, white and nonwhite, because separation from others leads to ignorance of others, and ignorance breeds fear and prejudice.

Studies have shown that fear and prejudice cripple the creativity and productivity of white children as well as Negroes. In our Commonwealth, white children rarely have an opportunity to meet Negro children as individuals. Their thinking often becomes stereotyped. Negro children growing up in ignorance of white persons as individuals, also tend to develop a distorted and fearful picture of all whites. The deep feelings of separation engendered by a background of slavery and segregation produce a chain reaction of suspicion and hate, limiting the intellectual and emotional development of these children.¹³⁴

The Committee found that Boston was the Massachusetts city with the most serious problem of racially imbalanced schools.¹³⁵

To insure higher quality, racially balanced education, the Committee recommended that Boston (1) expand and integrate programs of compensatory education; (2) construct new schools in areas that would promote racial balance; (3) close several schools that were not racially balanced and were in disrepair; (4) exchange students in grades III-VI between predominantly Negro and predominantly white schools (utilizing bussing where necessary); (5) change the "feeder patterns" by which graduates of a particular elementary schools were assigned to a particular junior high school in order to increase the numbers of Negro students enrolled in predominantly white junior high schools; (6) change the open enrollment policy by publicizing existence of vacant seats and providing transportation when a child transferred to a school which was 50 percent or more of another race; (7) change the curricula at Girls High (a predominantly Negro school) "to promote improved educational opportunities" and make a special effort to increase the number of nonwhite students at Latin and Technical High Schools. The Committee made recommendations for statewide action, calling for improved teacher training programs, expansion of opportunities for inter-racial learning experiences, and more funds to facilitate racially balanced education.

¹³³ *Id.* at 2.

¹³⁴ *Id.* at 2-3. In the research papers which accompanied the report, Dr. John H. Fischer, president of Teachers College, Columbia University, also stated: "The most compelling argument for integrating schools is that all our children of whatever race must learn to live in a world in which no race can any longer choose to live apart. In the modern world, isolationism has become an absurd anachronism. Anyone who so quarantines a child that he may know only people of his own race damages that child's chance to learn to live intelligently, sensitively, and responsibly in the only world he will have to live in as an adult." *Id.* at 122.

¹³⁵ "In fact, a significant part of the problem of racial imbalance in the Commonwealth as a whole is located in the City of Boston, since 59 percent (21,097) of all Massachusetts' nonwhite children attend Boston schools." *Id.* at 8.

The Committee also called for enactment of State legislation which would (1) provide for the elimination by school committees of racially imbalanced school districts; (2) prevent construction of racially imbalanced schools; and (3) authorize withholding of State aid to communities having racially imbalanced schools. The Committee further proposed support of elementary "educational parks" by the School Building Assistance Committee and revision of the formula for State educational aid in order to help certain urban areas.

The Boston school system replied to the Kiernan report through a report prepared by Superintendent of Schools Ohrenberger to the Boston School Committee. He challenged the Kiernan Report findings on the effects of racial imbalance in the schools:

The Advisory Committee has concluded that racial imbalance in schools is educationally harmful. In their Report are statements from psychologists and sociologists presented to buttress this conclusion. With due deference to the ability and integrity of the men quoted, their opinions cannot be considered as irrefutable evidence because there is wide divergence of opinion among authorities on this question.

* * * * *

While the Advisory Committee Report alleges that racial imbalance has a harmful effect upon the learner and the learning situation, other opinions would indicate that the Advisory Committee's findings in this matter are nonconclusive.¹²⁶

Although Superintendent Ohrenberger refused to concede that racially imbalanced schools are *per se* educationally harmful, he did, however, state that it was his "firm conviction that interracial experiences are socially desirable."

It is my hope that the day will soon come when our total society—neighborhoods, churches, and schools—will live together in harmony, understanding, and love. I am aware of the contribution which our public schools must make to achieve this goal. All our children must be given an opportunity through school experiences to learn to live together in an adult democracy. There is no disagreement whatsoever between the Advisory Committee's opinion and mine on the social desirability of interracial learning experiences. The worthiness of this end is indisputable; it is only with some aspects of the means and/or methods recommended to accomplish this end that I respectively disagree.¹²⁷

Superintendent Ohrenberger stated that the responsibility for integration did not rest exclusively on the schools and specifically rejected one of the Kiernan Report proposals which he alleged called for cross-busing of children in order to integrate the schools. He stated:

Any bus program adopted solely for the purpose of racial integration could be harmful to white and Negro pupils alike; could have a disruptive influence on the citizens of this city; and finally, could weaken those bonds which ideally bind the school to the home and to the local neighborhood.¹²⁸

To promote "interracial learning experiences," the Superintendent proposed that Boston (1) adopt a 5-3-4 grade organization;¹²⁹ (2) undertake a massive school construction program; (3) reorganize and expand the city's open enrollment program (to include free fares on public transportation for all elementary students attending schools more than one and one-half miles from their homes); (4) establish a citizens' advisory committee; (5) utilize multi-ethnic textbooks; and (6) expand the program of common learning experiences. He further

¹²⁶ A *Statement of Policy and Recommendations on the Subject of Racial Imbalance and Education in the Boston Public Schools*, submitted to the School Committee of the City of Boston by William H. Ohrenberger, Superintendent of Public Schools, June 15, 1965, pp. 3-5.

¹²⁷ *Id.* at 5.

¹²⁸ *Id.* at 9. The Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education contends that at no time did it recommend forced cross-busing in the Kiernan Report. Any busing was to be based on voluntary effort. Interview with Thomas Curtin, Deputy Commissioner of Education, September 30, 1966.

¹²⁹ In general, the Boston schools follow a 6-3-3 organization, but there are many variations.

called for expansion and extension of compensatory and enrichment programs and for expanded and experimental urban teacher training programs.¹²⁰

The Act's Passage and Implementation in Boston. In response to the Kiernan Report, the Massachusetts Legislature, in August of 1965, enacted a Racial Imbalance Act.¹²¹ The Act declared it to be the policy of the State of Massachusetts "to encourage all school committees to adopt as educational objectives the promotion of racial balance and the correction of existing racial imbalance in the public schools." It further stated that the elimination of racial imbalance should be an objective in decisions involving the drawing of school district boundary lines and the selection of sites for new schools. The Act requires school committees within the State to submit annually to the State Board of Education a racial census of its schools. Based on this census, the State Board of Education is empowered to determine whether racial imbalance exists in any Massachusetts public school. A school is racially imbalanced whenever the percentage of non-whites in a school exceeds 50 percent of the total enrollment. Should the State Board determine that racial imbalance exists, it must notify those school committees operating the racially imbalanced schools. Upon such notification, each school committee is required to prepare a plan to eliminate racial imbalance and to file this plan with the State Board.^{121a} The State Board is to provide technical assistance to the local school committee to help formulate the plan to eliminate the imbalance. If a school committee fails to show progress within a reasonable time in eliminating racial imbalance in its school system, the Commissioner of Education must refuse to certify all State school aid for that system.

As required by the law, the Boston School Committee submitted its racial census in October and was thereafter notified by the State Board of Education that it was operating racially imbalanced schools. On December 22, 1965, the Boston School Committee submitted to the State Board a plan for compliance with the Act.¹²² In February 1966, the State Board of Education rejected the School Committee plan as unacceptable. The State Board forwarded to the School Committee a plan and an outline of steps which the School Committee would have to take before any plan could be accepted.¹²³

The major device which Boston had proposed for the elimination of racially imbalanced schools was the commencement of a long-term building program to be supplemented by open enrollment and compensatory education. The school committee building program called for the construction of 22 new schools and school additions. The State Board said that "of these 22 [proposed new schools and additions] five would apparently aggravate or fail to reduce racial imbalance, six might or might not have an effect upon racial imbalance, depending upon facts not stated, and 11 would appear to be completely unrelated to the elimination of racial imbalance." The Board stated that of the 46 Boston schools noted as imbalanced on October 1, 1965, 34 either were not named or clearly accounted for in the School Committee plan. The State Board also criticized the plan for "failing to contain specific provisions calling for immediate progress towards the elimination of racial imbalance." It was noted that the School Committee plan "with the exception of the use of certain funds to purchase MBTA [Massachusetts Bay Transit Authority] fares for open-enrollment students" did not contain any provisions for eliminating racial imbalance over the short term. The Board stated that the plan was unsatisfactory in failing to utilize the following remedial methods:

1. redistricting attendance zones in areas where the racial balance could be improved;
2. voluntary assignment of students to schools having underutilized space with financial support for transportation;

¹²⁰ *A Statement of Policy and Recommendations on the Subject of Racial Imbalance and Education in the Boston Public Schools*, submitted to the School Committee of the city of Boston by William H. Ohrenberger, Superintendent of Public Schools, June 15, 1965, pp. 10-11.

¹²¹ Massachusetts General Laws, Ch. 15, § 1-I; Ch. 71 §§ 37C, 37D.

^{121a} The Act provides: "No school committee or regional school district committee shall be required as part of its plan to transport any pupil to any school outside its jurisdiction or to any school outside the school district established for his neighborhood, if the parent or guardian of such pupil files written objection thereto with such school committee."

¹²² Boston School Committee Racial Imbalance Plan, December 22, 1966.

¹²³ Memorandum re Boston School Committee Plan from Task Force on Racial Imbalance to Board of Education and Commissioner of Education, Feb. 24, 1966.

3. construction of relocatable units at schools having predominantly white enrollments in order to increase the number of seats available at such schools;
4. voluntary cooperation with other cities and towns to permit enrollment of Boston children in schools in such cities or towns;
5. operation of the open enrollment policy as a racial balancing device by creating a central source for information, taking affirmative steps to further the use of the policy, and providing for the retention of transferring students in the receiving school for as long as the student chooses to remain there.

The State Board further stated that it was premature to consider a statement contained in the School Committee's revised plan that "some schools located in the center of the nonwhite population of Boston will remain largely racially imbalanced." The State Board declared:

The accuracy of this statement cannot be determined in isolation from a revised plan which includes appropriate elements of redistricting (for the 1966-1967 school year and in connection with the building plan) voluntary bussing, utilization of relocatable units, voluntary cooperation with other cities and towns, and an improved open enrollment. If it should happen that a maximum reasonable effort in all of these respects would not sufficiently reduce racial imbalance in all schools, then appropriate other methods would have to be utilized in any remaining imbalanced schools to minimize the harmful effect of the imbalance and to maximize the attractiveness of these schools for white and Negro children alike. Such methods might include drastic reduction of class size and pupil-teacher ratios, providing special facilities, and offering a broadly based curriculum which would give a wide variety of subjects. They should include provisions for off-campus, out-of-neighborhood experiences for children assigned to these schools.

In April 1966, the State Board of Education voted unanimously to withhold all State financial aid from the Boston School system.¹²⁴

To assist Boston in devising a plan for compliance with the Act, the State Board of Education provided the School Committee with technical assistance. The Joint Center for Urban Studies of Harvard and MIT had prepared a report on attendance districts in Boston public schools at the State Board's request, and this report was submitted to the School Committee in May.¹²⁵ The Joint Center report outlined proposals for redistricting which would reduce the percentage of nonwhite children attending imbalanced elementary schools from 78 to 65 and the percentage of nonwhite children attending imbalanced junior highs from 65 to 50. The redistricting proposals were all designed to meet five basic requirements:

1. No district should extend more than about one-half mile from the school for grades 1-3, or three-fourths mile from the school for grades 4-6. For junior high schools the maximum is 1¼ miles, unless public transit is available.
2. Each district should have a compact shape.
3. No child should walk past another school serving his own grade on his way to his assigned school.
4. No more than 30 children per academic classroom should be allocated to any elementary school involved in the redistricting, and no more than 32 per academic classroom to a junior high school
5. No white child should be required to change to a formerly imbalanced school unless the reassignment would eliminate racial imbalance in that school, bringing it to 45 percent nonwhite or less.¹²⁶

On June 13, 1966, the Boston School Committee submitted a revised plan in an effort to comply with the State law.¹²⁷ This 46-page plan outlined a new

¹²⁴ Interview with Dr. Thomas Curtin, Deputy Commissioner of Education. Massachusetts State Board of Education.

¹²⁵ Joint Center for Urban Studies, *Changes in School Attendance Districts as a Means of Alleviating Racial Imbalance in the Boston Public Schools*, submitted to Task Force on Racial Imbalance of the Massachusetts Commissioner of Education, May 7, 1966.

¹²⁶ *Id.* at 2.

¹²⁷ Boston School Committee, *Racial Imbalance Plan*, June 13, 1966.

school construction program, the School Committee's support of METCO¹²⁸ the city's open enrollment policy, and its compensatory education program. The plan proposed the expansion of the city's interracial and intercultural student exchange programs and a continuation of the city's teacher-in-service training program for teachers in disadvantaged urban areas. The plan also outlined the Committee's policy of purchasing "multi-ethnic" editions of textbooks wherever they existed and set forth several proposed new demonstration school projects. The School Committee rejected the Joint Center's redistricting proposals, stating that the proposals "would endanger the safety of many young children by requiring the crossing of numerous dangerous intersections and thoroughfares," and because they "cannot be defended on educational grounds."¹²⁹

On June 23, 1966, the State Board rejected the revised Boston School Committee plan stating:¹³⁰

This plan contained improved documentation of the building program, general suggestions of building priorities and districting patterns, and a labeling of those schools which were designed to have an effect on racial imbalance. But of the five suggestions for short-range action made by the Board to the Boston School Committee [listed above], only one, voluntary cooperation with the suburbs (through METCO) was adopted.

In commenting on the revised plan's long-range building program, the State Board indicated that relatively few of the proposed projects would have the effect of reducing or eliminating racial imbalance. With respect to Boston's open enrollment policy, the State Board again pointed out that no provision had been made for assuring that transferring students could remain in receiving schools for as long as they chose and further noted that the open enrollment policy, except as utilized by Operation Exodus, had been ineffective in eliminating racial imbalance.

The Board also stated that the revised plan contained "no other short-range proposals to reduce or eliminate racial imbalance through transportation and voluntary transfer of students, use of relocatable classrooms, or redistricting." While the School Committee's proposal for compensatory education, teacher-in-service-training, multi-ethnic textbooks, and interracial and intercultural exchanges were commended, the State Board pointed out that none of these programs could be offered as a substitute for eliminating racial imbalance in the schools.

The Board recommended that the Boston School Committee submit a third plan and offered the School Committee several guidelines for an acceptable plan. Under these guidelines, this third plan was required to provide for the elimination of at least four racially imbalanced schools and reduce the number of nonwhite students in racially imbalanced schools by at least 2,000 exclusive of students who had transferred out of such schools in 1965-66 through existing programs. The guidelines urged an increase in the use of METCO type operations, utilization of available seats in racially balanced schools by voluntary transfers, abandonment of selected schools and reassignment of students, and priority in applying for vacant seats under the open enrollment program to students assigned to the schools which are the most imbalanced. The guidelines for an acceptable plan emphasized the need for redistricting of attendance zones.

In rejecting the June 13 plan, the State Board noted further that 2,300 nonwhite students would have been moved out of imbalanced schools and eight imbalanced schools would have been eliminated had the School Committee adopted the Joint Center's proposal on redistricting of Boston schools.

On July 26, 1966, the Board reaffirmed its rejection of the Boston revised plan. Boston School Committee Chairman Thomas Eisenstadt then announced that the School Committee would challenge the State Board's actions in the courts. Under the Racial Imbalance Act a school committee has the right to challenge the State Board's refusal to accept its plan in State court on the ground that the State Board has acted arbitrarily. On August 5, 1966, the Boston School Committee filed suit in Superior Court against the State Board

¹²⁸ See *supra*, p. 267.

¹²⁹ Boston School Committee, Racial Imbalance Plan, June 13, 1966, covering letter from Thomas Eisenstadt, Chairman, Boston School Committee, to Commissioner Owen B. Kiernan.

¹³⁰ Massachusetts Board of Education, Review of Boston School Committee Revised Plan on Racial Imbalance, June 23, 1966.

of Education challenging the State Board's actions. On September 23, 1966, the Boston School Committee filed a second suit in Superior Court challenging the constitutionality of the Act. To date, there has been no disposition of either case.¹³¹

There are several differing estimates as to the amount of funds being withheld from Boston by the State Board. The inability to predict accurately the amount of revenue which will be collected by the State's new sales tax—of which the schools get an allotted share—accounts for the disagreement as to impact of the cutoff. The State Board estimates that up to \$16 million will be withheld from Boston.¹³² Other estimates place the figure near to \$9 million.¹³³ The impact of the cutoff will not be felt by the Boston taxpayer until next year. If State funds are not released by 1967, it will be necessary for the city to raise, by collection of increased property taxes, the amount of revenue withheld by the State. It is estimated that the Boston property tax would have to be raised about \$8.00 per \$1,000 of assessed valuation in 1967 to meet educational costs.¹³⁴

Other Cities. Based on the 1965 Racial Census, three other cities in Massachusetts also were informed that they were operating racially imbalanced schools—Springfield, Cambridge, and New Bedford. All three have taken corrective steps, and State funds have been released to each of these cities. In Springfield, seven schools were found to be racially imbalanced, and the School Committee's plan calls for the initiation of an open enrollment policy, modification of school district lines, busing, and the selection of new sites in areas which would draw students from white and Negro communities.¹³⁵ Cambridge was found to be operating one imbalanced school. Cambridge proposed an open enrollment plan with busing of Negro children from the imbalanced school. The school remains, however, slightly imbalanced.¹³⁶ New Bedford was found to be operating four imbalanced schools. One of the schools was balanced through redistricting. The imbalance at the other three schools will be corrected by the proposed construction of a large elementary school to service the students from the imbalanced schools and students from a predominantly white school.¹³⁷

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

In 1965 the Office of Education began an investigation of a complaint of racial discrimination against the Boston School Committee filed by the Boston chapter of Core. The investigation was conducted under authority of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which prohibits "discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." In response to the Core complaint, the Office of Education sent investigators to Boston to visit and evaluate selected schools and interview community leaders and school personnel. There has been no disposition of this complaint to date.¹³⁸ Nor has the cut-off of State funds under the State Racial Imbalance Act affected the flow of Federal funds to Boston.

Federal Programs

In fiscal 1966, the Boston school system received \$3,029,284 under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA). Title I authorizes federal support to local educational agencies for special programs for educationally deprived children in attendance areas where low income families are concentrated.

¹³¹ Petition for Judicial Review, *School Committee of the City of Boston et al. v. The Board of Education et al.*, Docket Number 85853—Equity, August 5, 1966. Petition for Declaratory Judgment, *Eisenstadt et al. v. The Board of Education*, Docket Number 86080—Equity, September 23, 1966.

¹³² Staff interview with Thomas Curtin, Deputy Commissioner, Massachusetts Department of Education.

¹³³ Staff interview with Joseph Barresi, Director of Boston Municipal Research Bureau.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* Property taxes are payable on October 1 for the current year. Should the impass with the State Board continue until January 1, 1967, however, the financial institutions may require persons paying off mortgages (payments of which include property tax assessments) to increase the amount of their payments in anticipation of a higher tax rate on October 1, 1967.

¹³⁵ Springfield Racial Imbalance Plan, February 2, 1966.

¹³⁶ Telephone conversation with Miss Mary Campbell, Cambridge School Committee Office.

¹³⁷ Telephone conversation with Mr. Jon Hayden, Superintendent of Schools, New Bedford Committee. Medford, which had one imbalanced school, voluntarily acted to eliminate this imbalance prior to the October 1965 racial census. Interview with Thomas Curtin, Deputy Commissioner, September 30, 1966.

¹³⁸ Interview with Mrs. Alma Scurlock, Office of Education, June 10, 1966.

Grants are made by the United States Commissioner of Education to State educational agencies which, in turn, allocate grant funds to eligible local educational agencies. For fiscal 1967 Boston has requested \$3,631 under Title I. Under Title III of the ESEA, Boston will receive \$210,282 to assist in planning for future construction programs.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

OFFICE OF EDUCATION

*Federal Aid to Elementary and Secondary Education in Boston, Massachusetts
(Programs and Projects, 1966.)*

Elementary and Secondary Educational Activities:

Title I—Assistance for Educationally Deprived Children-----	\$3, 029, 284*
Title II—School Library Resources-----	172, 862
Title III—	210, 282

Higher Educational Activities:

Title V—Teacher Programs:

Teacher Corps-----	256, 736
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<i>Payments to School Districts for Maintenance and Operation of Schools in Federally Affected Areas-----</i>	709, 950
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National Defense Educational Activities:

Title III—Instructional Assistance:

Acquisition of Equipment and Minor Remodeling:

Grants to States-----	93, 071
State Supervision and Administration-----	500

Title V—Guidance, Counseling, and Testing:

A—Grants to States-----	5, 619
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Grand Total-----	\$5, 068, 860
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* Total amount requested by Boston school system. Basic minimum grants for which Boston was eligible under Title I were \$3,619,840.

In fiscal 1966 Boston also received the following funds under the Manpower Development and Training Act:

	<i>Project</i>	<i>Amount</i>
Boston, Massachusetts:		
	Boston Trade High School (Electronics Mechanic)-----	\$19, 262
	Brighton High School, Boston (Salesperson, Auto Parts)-----	6, 253
	East Boston High School (OJT-Tool and Die Maker)-----	5, 977
	East Boston High School (Welder)-----	49, 534
	East Boston Webster School (Instrument Man)-----	13, 696
	Girls Trade High School, Boston (Garment Alterer)-----	19, 683
	Girls Trade High School, Boston (Nurse, Practical)-----	57, 466
	Total, Boston-----	\$171, 871

APPENDIX A

*Total Instructional Cost Per Pupil in Average Daily Membership for Year Ending June 30, 1965 in Communities in Boston Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area*¹

<i>School District</i>	<i>Expenditure</i>	<i>School District</i>	<i>Expenditure</i>
1. Brookline ²	\$544.80	41. Danvers.....	\$370.47
2. Newton ²	539.48	42. Revere.....	369.84
3. Weston.....	538.34	43. Somerville.....	367.83
4. Lexington ²	530.97	44. Melrose.....	366.67
5. Wellesley ²	507.20	45. Dedham.....	366.29
6. Wayland.....	479.35	46. Norwell.....	365.93
7. Lincoln ²	470.50	47. BOSTON.....	364.81
8. Framingham.....	465.87	48. Wapole.....	362.38
9. Cohasset.....	461.18	49. Weymouth.....	362.02
10. Bedford.....	461.07	50. Winthrop.....	358.45
11. Milton.....	460.51	51. Reading.....	353.84
12. Swampscott.....	458.21	52. Chelsea.....	352.01
13. Needham.....	451.82	53. Wakefield.....	351.50
14. Winchester.....	449.51	54. Norwood.....	350.93
15. Concord.....	442.93	55. Sharon.....	347.32
16. Lynnfield.....	430.02	56. Stoneham.....	346.96
17. Cambridge.....	428.66	57. Nahant.....	344.25
18. Sherborn.....	427.07	58. Scituate.....	341.90
19. Hull.....	424.24	59. Duxbury.....	341.56
20. Belmont.....	424.03	60. Saugus.....	340.83
21. Marshfield.....	423.36	61. Ashland.....	336.09
22. Quincy.....	422.74	62. Medfield.....	335.67
23. Sudbury.....	417.66	63. Randolph.....	329.22
24. Marblehead.....	408.75	64. Maynard.....	328.36
25. Westwood.....	408.38	65. Holbrook.....	324.38
26. Arlington ²	407.81	66. Burlington.....	323.89
27. Everett.....	405.53	67. Beverly.....	322.81
28. Medford.....	392.27	68. Hamilton.....	308.54
29. Dover.....	391.80	69. Peabody.....	308.25
30. Braintree ²	389.46	70. Wilmington.....	308.19
31. Wenham.....	387.14	71. Woburn.....	306.81
32. Bingham.....	386.12	72. Hanover.....	304.19
33. Waltham.....	384.64	73. Millis.....	303.48
34. Manchester.....	383.98	74. Lynn.....	298.73
35. Malden.....	382.13	75. Middleton.....	298.01
36. Natick.....	378.90	76. Rockland.....	297.23
37. Canton.....	378.53	77. Topsfield.....	293.83
38. Watertown.....	376.59	78. Acton.....	256.62
39. North Reading.....	374.02	79. Pembroke.....	244.93
40. Salem.....	372.43	80. Norfolk.....	217.75

¹ Massachusetts Department of Education, Annual Report for Year ending June 30, 1965. (Total instruction costs/average daily membership.) Instructional costs include costs for supervision, principal's office, teaching, library services, audio vision, guidance, psychological services, and educational TV.

² Communities participating in METCO 1966-67 school year.

APPENDIX B

*Teacher Pupil Ratios in Elementary Grades in Boston Standard Metropolitan Area School Districts—Fall 1964 School Membership*¹

<i>School District</i>	<i>Ratio</i>	<i>School District</i>	<i>Ratio</i>
1. Lincoln ²	11-1	41. Hingham	26-1
2. Wrentham	16-1	42. Medfield	26-1
3. Brookline ²	18-1	43. Melrose	26-1
4. Bedford	21-1	44. Winchester	26-1
5. Hull	21-1	45. Acton	27-1
6. Middleton	21-1	46. Hanover	27-1
7. Sudbury	21-1	47. Lynn	27-1
8. Duxbury	22-1	48. Millis	27-1
9. Marshfield	22-1	49. Needham	27-1
10. Maynard	22-1	50. Quincy	27-1
11. Nahant	22-1	51. Salem	27-1
12. Sherborn	22-1	52. Sharon	27-1
13. Cambridge	23-1	53. Somerville	27-1
14. Dover	23-1	54. Walpole	27-1
15. Everett	23-1	55. Waltham	27-1
16. Swampscott	23-1	56. Watertown	27-1
17. Wellesley ²	23-1	57. Weymouth	27-1
18. Weston	23-1	58. Chelsea	28-1
19. Braintree ²	24-1	59. Concord	28-1
20. Burlington	24-1	60. Manchester	28-1
21. Danvers	24-1	61. Natick	28-1
22. Framingham	24-1	62. Norfolk	28-1
23. Lexington ²	24-1	63. North Reading	28-1
24. Lynnfield	24-1	64. Norwood	28-1
25. Norwell	24-1	65. Reading	28-1
26. Wakefield	24-1	66. Rockland	28-1
27. Westwood	24-1	67. Wilmington	28-1
28. Winthrop	24-1	68. Woburn	28-1
29. Ashland	25-1	69. Canton	29-1
30. Belmont	25-1	70. Malden	29-1
31. Dedham	25-1	71. Peabody	29-1
32. Hamilton	25-1	72. Pembroke	29-1
33. Marblehead	25-1	73. Saugus	29-1
34. Milton	25-1	74. Scituate	29-1
35. Newton ²	25-1	75. Stoneham	29-1
36. Revere	25-1	76. BOSTON	30-1
37. Topsfield	25-1	77. Medford	30-1
38. Wayland	25-1	78. Randolph	30-1
39. Arlington ²	26-1	79. Beverly	32-1
40. Cohasset	26-1	80. Holbrook	33-1

¹ Massachusetts Department of Education, Annual Report for Year Ending June 30, 1965. (Total enrollment/total teachers).

² Communities participating in METCO 1966-67 school year.

APPENDIX C

Percent Teacher Turnover for Elementary Districts (March 1964 State Racial Census)¹

Districts	Percent Nonwhite	Percent Teacher Turnover
Chapman.....	0.0	3.70
Emerson.....	0.0	10.60
Harvard.....	0.0	27.80
Michelangelo-Eliot-Hancock.....	0.0	15.80
Warren.....	0.0	8.70
Theodore Lyman.....	0.1	2.60
J. Andrew.....	0.3	14.10
Minot.....	0.3	12.30
H. Grew.....	0.3	3.90
E. Greenwood.....	0.4	15.60
J. Chittick.....	0.5	2.10
P. Lyndon.....	0.5	1.30
McKay-Adams.....	0.5	0.00
C. Sumner.....	0.5	8.40
Beethoven.....	0.5	9.70
Blackinton-Cheverus.....	0.6	8.20
Longfellow.....	0.6	8.50
M. Hemenway.....	0.8	6.20
Mather.....	1.0	14.80
E. Everett.....	1.0	7.80
Bigelow.....	1.1	11.00
E. Thlaston.....	1.4	7.00
J. Garfield.....	1.5	6.30
Agassiz.....	2.0	10.50
E. Field.....	2.2	7.60
Washington-Allston.....	2.2	12.70
Norcross.....	2.2	27.70
Bennett.....	2.9	9.70
F. Parkman.....	3.1	14.30
R. Walcott.....	5.8	15.90
W. Russell.....	7.2	9.10
J. Marsha.....	8.1	11.00
T. Gardner.....	8.2	14.30
E. Mendell.....	8.7	12.90
Hart-Gaston-Perry.....	13.0	14.60
R. T. Paine.....	20.7	7.80
Lowell (Kennedy).....	25.8	13.10
Jefferson.....	27.6	9.40
H. O'Brien.....	29.1	20.20
P. Dever.....	38.2	16.40
Prince.....	50.4	9.20
J. Winthrop.....	51.3	37.80
Rice-Franklin.....	59.8	18.00
Martin.....	61.6	12.50
W. E. Endicott.....	62.3	21.70
C. Gibson.....	67.4	27.20
Lincoln-Quincy.....	69.6	4.90
Dearborn.....	70.6	27.70
Dwight.....	79.6	53.30
Dillaway.....	80.5	23.50
Dudley.....	90.4	20.40
Julia Ward Howe.....	96.5	22.00
W. Garrison.....	96.9	20.70
Phillip Brooks.....	98.0	27.60
H. L. Higginson.....	98.2	33.60
Hyde-Everett.....	98.8	17.30

¹ Boston College Contract.

Exhibit No. 3

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**EFFECTS OF ETHNIC GROUP CONCENTRATION UPON EDUCATIONAL
PROCESS, PERSONALITY FORMATION, AND MENTAL HEALTH**

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INTRODUCTION

Current controversy over the nature and psychological effects of separation and segregation of groups has led to a reexamination of earlier contributions of historians, psychologists, sociologists, psychiatrists, and other social and behavioral sciences in this field. This paper examines some of the pervasive and deeply ingrained deleterious effects of ethnic group concentration, with special reference to Negroes, from a psychiatric point of view.

For seven decades psychiatrists have shown intense interest in understanding the forces which have impact upon behavior and which determine the characteristic patterns of strivings and response each individual shows. Ordinarily, this interest has been confined to the life space of an individual, usually a patient, and broader social influences have been left for examination by other behavioral scientists. First in the mental health movement,¹ and more recently in the developments of social psychiatry and community psychiatry,² psychiatrists have employed their resources in synchrony with those who apply other behavioral sciences. The result, for psychiatrists, has been an increasing interest in social and cultural forces and a growing sense of responsibility for increased involvement.³

Social and cultural forces manifest themselves in pervasive ways as integral parts of personalities and institutions. Just as the forces which are active within personalities in the present can more fully be understood by study of their sources and evolution from the past, so social and cultural forces, such as high ethnic group concentration or segregation, can be better understood by examination of their recent and remote antecedents. The findings of a broad spectrum of social scientists have already been applied to diagnose the ailments that accompany the practice of segregation in the South,⁴ and in the North.⁵ The term "de facto segregation" has been employed where patterns of segregation are found without sanction under law and has been applied almost exclusively to Negroes. Some facets of this issue are of critical importance in personality development and thus are properly in the professional province of physicians as well as that of educators, politicians, and lawyers. Indeed, the issue has become a legitimate concern of the residents in most large cities of the United States. It is the purpose of this paper to contribute to understanding of this issue rather than to provide solutions.

EFFECTS OF ETHNIC GROUP CONCENTRATION UPON EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

THE SCHOOLS AND DE FACTO SEGREGATION OF NEGROES

The former superintendent of Boston Public Schools, Dr. Frederick J. Gillis, in his annual report of 1961-1962,⁶ described Boston as one of 14 great cities in America which have unique problems involving the core city where culturally deprived immigrants, handicapped with a second-class education or illiteracy, persons unsuited for the skilled labor market, a pool of unemployables, many persons on welfare, rot of moral fibre, squalor, disease, high incidence of learning problems and pupil dropout, juvenile delinquents, and unwed mothers exist in quantity. He further described the demoralizing economic and social factors which stamp the citizens as second-class, inadequate, and wholly without significant aspirational goals. He described the need for teachers who are better than average, the need for vast adjustments on the part of schools, and the need for greater expenditures per pupil than those required in the education of children from middle-class homes. In addition, he delineated the need for introduction to cultural facilities, the need for trips to museums, libraries, and "to any and

every place that will contribute to giving him (the pupil) a sense of belonging and to raising his aspirational goals".

While some of the ills described can be cured or at least alleviated by compensatory education programs and vigorous urban renewal, there remains a core of problems which relate to a fact omitted from Dr. Gillis' report. Many of the persons referred to are Negroes, living in a relatively sharply delineated area in high concentration and with restricted opportunity for movement. In areas which are heavily populated by a single ethnic group, the enrollment of some schools may be predominantly or completely of one group. The term "de facto segregation" may be applied to such situations even where there is opportunity for free movement of individuals if desired, although the term is commonly reserved for circumstances in which there is restriction of opportunities for movement.

THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM

There is a hidden curriculum in every school which teaches, in addition to reading, writing and arithmetic, how to get along with one's fellowman and how to think about and evaluate oneself and others. Individuals within a school serve as models for imitation and identification, and each student is pressed to conform to the kinds of attitudes, beliefs, mores, and behavior which surround him. The areas and styles of conforming, competing, rebelling, and cooperating are part of this hidden curriculum. Such observations, legends, and myths as support this curriculum are also included.

SCHOOL COUNSELING SUPPORTS PREVAILING PATTERNS

A part of the hidden curriculum includes an education and training toward conformity not only to the mores within the school but to those mores existing in the community at large. Nowhere is this more clearly evident than in the guidance and counseling areas. Since one of the goals of education is to provide opportunity for the student to develop a place for himself in the wider social family into which he goes, counseling is of critical importance. The counselor must realistically assist students toward the realization of their potentials on one hand and toward such opportunities as exist on the other. A Negro child and a white child of equivalent equipment and potential when realistically counseled toward existing opportunities have often been counseled toward different occupations in which there were differing rewards. The school system thus functions as an intimate part of a larger social system and often assists in perpetuating its ills. We might ask whether counselors should have "unrealistically" encouraged Negroes to prepare for areas in which there is aptitude, whether or not there is opportunity. This might have constituted a disservice to individual students. On the other hand, the absence of "qualified" Negroes at present is in part related to our educational system which prepares the students for the outside world, including the values and mores which exist there.

IMPORTANCE OF SCHOOL CLIMATE

For more than a decade we have recognized the importance of intangibles such as the reputation and influence of a school, of its teachers, of its pupils, and the nature of its neighborhood. Supreme Court decisions on the quality of education have been based upon such factors in 1950 and 1954. Such factors provide a basic matrix which contributes to the tone and character of the educational program as well as to comparative ratings and to public opinions. Unfavorable rumors, true or false, concerning inferiority of schools, of teachers, or of pupils have devastating effects and further demoralize teachers, pupils, and parents. Moreover, judgment of the adequacy and superior worth of some schools gained from the existence of other schools rumored to be inferior leads to an unrealistic and unadaptive appraisal based on invidious comparison rather than upon personal growth and development.

The recent spotlight upon schools has been directed less upon the formal curricula and more upon the informal education, the classroom "atmosphere" and "climate," and upon the psychological and cultural traits of students, all of which may show considerable variation from school to school even when curriculum and teacher activity may be relatively standardized. As much attention should be directed to the educational process between pupils as is currently given to the educational process between teachers and pupils.

IMPORTANCE OF PEER-LEARNING

Peer-learning in school is never stressed and especially needs to be examined in areas of racial imbalance. While there is always a relationship between peer-learning and teacher-to-pupil learning, the extent to which the relationship is complementary or supplementary, or frankly antagonistic is of prime importance. A larger group, emotionally disturbed students, disrupting students, and lack of group cohesion cause a shift in educational process from teacher-to-pupil learning toward peer-learning. Similar factors may promote a peer-learning situation which is frankly antagonistic to the teacher-to-pupil learning. In his report, former Superintendent Gillis clearly described such situations.

Discriminating parents who have opportunity to make choices regularly evaluate the informal features of schools as well as the formal aspects. They wish to know the range of interests and motivations of other students in the school because these may strongly influence the manner in which a child relates to the formal content of school. The range of interests of other students may determine whether a child pursues activities which are in line with, tangential, or deviant to the formal schooling. How a child uses his after-school time and weekends may have much to do with what he informally learns from fellow students.

What do the pupils learn from one another in the unplanned informal curriculum? Certainly teachers are not teaching students to drop out and to misuse their educational opportunities. Pupils learn such things from other pupils. Other students serve as models to be imitated, as models with which to identify.

Each individual has both constructive and destructive potentials available for development. Which potentials are reenforced into dominance depend greatly upon the interaction with the environment. In their struggle to become accepted, protected, and a part of the school group in which they find themselves, pupils may find learning from peers to be far more practical than learning subject matter for seemingly distant future application. Disobedience and competitive mischief-making may be required to secure safety and respect from peers in those situations where pupil leadership is strong in these directions.

What students learn from their interaction with peers may be in direct conflict with the instruction and training of their teachers and may sabotage the planned educational process. Dr. Benjamin C. Willis, Superintendent of the Chicago Public Schools and Director of a Massachusetts Education Study, in his address to the Massachusetts Congress of Parents and Teachers in Swampscott, Massachusetts on October 25, 1963, indicated that the three factors essential to quality education are those who teach, the tools they work with, including the building they work in, and the leadership provided. While agreeing with this statement the author believes that our minds do not ordinarily conceptualize the pupils as leaders. While the teacher is the designated leader of the class, there are times when students exercise leadership roles either for cliques in the class or for the entire class. The leadership provided by the students may be in support of the teacher or may run counter to the teacher's efforts.

This vast, complex field of student interactions, of informal unscheduled learning processes, and of identifications which are occurring in every school has seldom been seriously considered by public schools as a part of the educational process. Private and parochial schools have generally shown more interest in this field. The interactions between students in public schools are more apt to be viewed as areas to be wrestled with, mastered and controlled so that formal education can proceed. Indeed this might be a fertile community area for application of psychiatric concepts of group dynamics.⁸

It is important to distinguish the child who directs himself predominantly from within from the one who is easily influenced and directed by those around him. The informal peer education is not crucial to the development of the inner-directed child since he can more successfully determine his own course. For the child who relies upon others for control, for guidance, for structure, and for decisions, the information education occurring between pupils provide critical features in forming the cast of his character and the directions of his life.

In general, the younger the pupil the greater is the dependence upon persons in the environment to provide values and to determine direction. Ordinarily students in preschool, kindergarten, and the early grades are very responsive to the impulses arising within themselves or in their immediate vicinity. They learn from those around them the values and attitudes which influence their perception and their management of inner feelings and ideas as well as those they encounter from others.

EFFECTS OF ETHNIC GROUP CONCENTRATION UPON PERSONALITY FORMATION

THE CULTURAL BRAINWASH

The interaction of the child with his environment develops his personality and the cultural attributes of the groups in which a child is reared exert a molding effect. Not to be forgotten is the fact that physiological functioning and physical health are influenced by interpersonal interactions since emotional responses are accompanied by functional reactions in body organs.

Each ethnic group induces its warp on the individuals within it, producing large numbers of individuals with a similarity in personal characteristics. These traits are selectively developed from the many potentials which are available. Each individual thereby develops many traits in common with others in his group and experiences the advantages and disadvantages of the culture he is within and with which he identifies.

Of all the ethnic groups in the United States only one group, the Negro, has presented a strong complaint that it receives an inferior education as a direct result of a heavy concentration of its own group in neighborhood schools. How can it be explained that a harmful effect can result in one group which does not result in the others? The rich resources of Frazier⁹, Clark¹⁰, Myrdal¹¹, Kardiner and Ovessey¹², and Elkins¹³, proved helpful in formulating the following partial answers to this question. Emphasis has been placed upon the central role played by institutionalized education in determining the manner in which American culture has affected personality formation in American Negroes.

The difference between communities of American Negroes and communities of all other ethnic groups are extensive, but usually overlooked. The American Negro is the only minority group in the United States without a culture of its own. All other groups have a religion, an internal source of authority and group cohesion, a special language, traditions, institutions or other roots which are traceable to a lengthy group existence, usually in another country. American Negroes have none of these.

THE SOUTHERN COMPOUND

The numerous languages, family and group ties, and all prior cultural institutions of the millions of slaves brought to America were destroyed. An establishment for producing docility and for training slaves was developed. Laws guaranteed the master absolute power over his slaves and permitted unlimited physical and psychological discipline to break and train slaves to unquestioning obedience. The machinery of the police and courts were not available to slaves, and owners tried and executed sentences upon them. Marriage was denied any standing in law, and laws decreed that fathers of slaves were legally unknown. Children could be sold without their mothers except in Louisiana, which kept the mother-child relationship preserved until the child reached ten years of age. There was a general belief that education would make slaves dissatisfied and rebellious, so distribution of books, including the Bible, or teaching of slaves was prohibited by law in some States.

Thus, by means of one of the most coercive social systems on record the character of American Negroes, and the nature of their families and of their groups were clearly and rigidly defined in a closed system which supplied the training and sanctions needed to produce recognizable personality types. Such stereotyped characteristics were produced by this environmental pressure that some persons, viewing the products of this system, have gained the erroneous impression that the characteristics were inherent in the people rather than induced. For eight generations of slaves in a closed family-like system, every vital concern focussed upon the master as an omnipotent father whose establishment molded the character and behavior of his slaves. The child-rearing practices of the slave mothers constituted his most important training school, and produced obedient, docile slaves, whose aggressions were directed primarily against themselves. In time, child rearing practices became stereotyped into life and death struggles to inhibit and reverse all assertiveness or aggression, especially in male children.

After emancipation from slavery, segregative practices kept the Negro captive in his compound, and continued his training to his dependent, and low-caste servant role.

Even as large immigrating groups of English, West Indian Negroes, Irish, Jews, Japanese, Puerto Ricans, French, Chinese, Italians, Africans, Indians, Germans, or others carry with them many central and residual elements of their prior cultures, so also large numbers of American Negroes migrating from the South to Northern cities have carried with them patterns which originated in the South.

THE NORTHERN COMPOUND

With the migration of Negroes to the North, no rigid, formal segregation supported by law was needed. The Negroes from the South were well trained to support and perpetuate the system to which they had accommodated. They had been taught a way of relating to the world in which white people were central, and they could not see that the Northern white person differed inside from the ones known in the past.

It is commonly recognized that persons who have felt inferior, criticized and discriminated against in one situation unconsciously carry these feelings with them into new situations where they behave as if they were still subjected to the same treatment. Negroes forged into a low-caste group in the South have, upon migrating, unconsciously induced relationships in the North similar to those in the South. With "segregation de jure" stamped into and thoroughly interwoven in the culture and into the personalities of Southern Negroes, it was inevitable that it should be carried northward to precipitate as "de facto segregation".

They formed their compounds in the Northern cities, and in these defacto segregated communities they reproduced and passed on the only culture they had to pass on, with the only child rearing practices they knew, in the matrix of the only family structure and group organization they had known. Over many years a culture had been developed in the compound which kept the people there functioning in the same old ways. The patterns and codes reached every member and sank deeply into many personalities. Older ones cannot be persuaded to change—they have been trained too long and too well.

To be born in the compound is to feel inferior, to behave as if one is inferior, and in many instances to be trained to function in inferior ways. To Negro teachers to whom they feel close Negro children often express their wonder of why there are fewer and fewer white children, or none of them at all. They feel something must be wrong with them and what they have. Some Negro children who comfortably express themselves to a Negro teacher are non-communicative with a white teacher. One skillful white teacher had several such children in an all Negro class. Toward the end of the year with these sixth graders, while discussing why people don't talk, one regularly silent child spoke out, "Because they are afraid". When the teacher asked how many felt the same way 11 pupils raised their hands. Teachers with similar personalities may evoke differing responses in the same pupil based on the fact that one teacher is white and one is colored.

PERSONALITY IN THE NEGRO COMPOUND

In this context, the Negro ghetto and its accompanying predominantly Negro neighborhood schools can more easily be seen as agents which have adverse effects upon self-esteem, value systems, motivations, aspirations, and behavior of pupils. Such adverse effects prevailing in many students can seriously impair the educational processes in a school despite the presence of excellent teachers and adequate facilities.

Although the gate to the compound in the Northern city is open, few find it. Many have been so trained not to reach out, or to so defeat themselves that they must persistently fail at just those points where constructive changes are possible. Most of them do not believe that the gate is open even when they are told and offered encouragement to walk through. Some who believe have so renounced any capacity for initiative or constructive assertion as to be immobilized and apathetic.

It is for these reasons, as well as for economic ones, that open enrollment plans for improved integration of schools on an optimal basis will not work for those who need it most. It is also unrealistic to leave the burden for change upon Negro parents when basically the American Negro family has been disrupted and made impotent as a source of initiative and purposeful action.

Many Negroes have so internalized into their own thinking and feelings the sense of bondage that it is felt even where external bondage may not exist. While most conscious of the struggle against external discrimination and suppression, Negro participants in the struggle for social change are necessarily throwing off internal bonds of silence, passivity, and compliance. Active demands, open expression, and demonstration function as an important necessary transitional stage in moving from a state of internal and external bondage toward free social participation as a peer group.

SEGREGATION PERPETUATES EXISTING CASTE

The essence of the problem we face is not race and not color. American people, by a coercive slavery system and by miscegenation, grossly altered American Negroes into a group whose characteristics were so shaped as to prevent participation in the American life as defined by the Constitution. What used to be a slave group containing stock from several races has been perpetuated as a low caste servant and labor group, for the most part isolated in its compound. The color primarily helps us to identify the low caste and to know whom we should not touch. When a Caucasian and a Negro can together produce a child who is considered to be a Negro in race, we are dealing with sociological rather than logical thinking. Such thinking is one of many residuals of slave culture days. It ensures that the low caste elements remain clearly defined no matter how intermixed and unrecognizable they become. It also contains the implicit censure that whosoever touches one becomes one.

It is for these reasons that so many white persons and so many middle-class Negroes do not wish "their" schools to have a significant influx of Negro students. It is for these reasons that so many desire not to associate with Negroes in large numbers and will actually reject, impede, or show inaction toward plans for integration. That some white persons flee as if from a plague when Negroes move near them is a product of their life experience and education. Increased integration in education starting at early ages will do much to prevent the emergence of another generation of hurt, frustrated, disillusioned and angry coloreds, and guilty, panic-stricken, perplexed, and angry whites.¹⁴

Neither words nor pictures nor large amounts of intellectualized information will substantially modify the Negro compound without the corrective emotional experiences of increased integration. Unless the compound is broken up it will go on reproducing its own kind, even as communities of other ethnic groups keep reproducing their own.

Racially imbalanced schools in predominantly Negro neighborhoods function therefore as a mold which produces and perpetuates an unfavorable stamp. Although schools in communities heavily populated by other ethnic groups also serve as vehicles for transmitting group characteristics to individuals, the stamp imparted in such schools is more adaptive and more often of positive value.

Education is central in all of this. Certainly slavery was an educational matter as well as a political, economic and moral matter. Perpetuation of a caste is also an educational matter, and modification of a caste finds education at the heart of the process.

EFFECTS OF THE ETHNIC GROUP CONCENTRATION UPON MENTAL HEALTH

The dilemma surrounding segregation and integration encompass far more than social classes, castes, and races. Whenever any agents from previously separate compartments come together and experience conflict, questions arise about conflict resolution by reinforcing the compartments. Some question whether collaboration or peaceful co-existence is possible for disparate and conflicting agents. Furthermore, it seems quite clear that segregation in fact, or under law may at times be useful in the accomplishment of some objectives such as temporary control of dangerous or destructive persons, for example.

It is commonly recognized that segregation may be useful as a method of mastering and controlling something undesirable, threatening, or otherwise posing a problem. Segregation of thoughts and feelings occupies a prominent place in early mental processes. In fact, small children use a segregating method of thinking as a basis for governing their behavior. All things around or within them become viewed grossly in an either/or way, as good or bad, right or wrong, black or white. As they mature the same children develop a capacity to employ

segregating mechanisms on a limited and temporary basis in discrete situations where appropriate. Later, segregating tendencies come to exist in dynamic conflict with unifying, affiliative, integrating tendencies within individuals just as they do in social systems. In the most mature personalities integrating tendencies transcend segregating ones.

There is a close interrelationship between the psychological system inside an individual, the family system of which he is part, and the social systems beyond the family. Persons who view things in terms of rigid compartments tend to create and structure the space around them in similar terms. Likewise, children reared in rigidly compartmentalized social systems tend to internalize them and to develop psychological compartments—boxes—which interfere with abilities to relate, to form ideas, and to process feelings.

Because of the endless variables and extreme complexity in the intrapsychic, interpersonal, and wider social fields, this limited discussion will be conducted in abbreviated form. In the community where it exists heavy ethnic group concentration will have the following effects upon mental health:

1. Characteristic group elements will be induced in the personalities of many group members. These will influence problem solving and adaptation in different ways, sometimes facilitating and sometimes complicating adjustments. Since more rigid control and compartmentalization of the environment will sometimes buttress a shaky or poorly organized personality, a subjective feeling of comfort may be produced by segregation. A development confined to a single group often makes possible comfortable relationships with one's group, anxiety or inappropriate behavior in relationships with others.

2. A framework is offered for adolescent group formation. During the period when identity is being determined, roles being clarified, and mating taking place, most adolescents turn toward what they perceive as their own kind. The ethnic group will continue to offer important contributions to the solution of these and other life tasks. Even where ethnic group members are dispersed in the community, a regrouping according to similar identifications occurs in the social activity of adolescents. This regrouping in adolescence along ethnic lines is not dependent upon a segregated situation.

3. Some antisocial feelings and thoughts which arise in early childhood situations (associated with aggression and hostility toward family members) are reinforced and attenuated. There is a reduction of ability to accept, identify, and relate with individuals in other groups. One is encouraged to view people in categories which emphasize differences rather than similarities between groups. Thinking is conditioned toward concepts of separating and keeping apart, and people learn how to live this way. This may be quite adaptive where one can live his life in his own community with his own group, but there are few people who can live in such provincial ways in today's world.

4. A dehumanized view of people is encouraged, some are seen as sub-human, non-human, or super-human; that is, anything but simply human like oneself.

5. Perception and thought content are strongly limited by the values and codes of one's group. Whatever is not consonant with the group's particular standards can be entertained only with painful conflict or with a sense of disloyalty to one's group. So much may be kept from consciousness or denied that the view of reality may be greatly impaired.

6. Lack of understanding, misunderstanding, and conflict between members of different groups occur.

7. The education provided in the closed setting of a single ethnic group usually emphasizes conformity to a degree, where ties to the group greatly limit individual freedom including freedom of thought and of speech.

8. Opportunity for negotiation and constructive interplay between individuals and their society is reduced.

9. Prejudice and delusions are fostered which support denial of personal inadequacy and projection of criticism outward toward others.

10. There is an absence of suitable social forums for expression, feedback, and corrective intergroup experience.

In summary, while high ethnic group concentration has some effects which are of positive value to mental health, many effects are constricting, or crippling and result in serious limitations. In communities where ethnic groups are dispersed, the existence of religious, social, or other cultural institutions can satisfy

community needs for cultural ties along ethnic group lines. Where people are schooled in and living most of their lives in compartments, they will have closed minds without recognizing it. What is alien to their experience will be seen as false, unreal, and unacceptable.

Tendencies to stabilize, control, and fix structure exist in dynamic interplay alongside tendencies to restructure in a free society. A segregated situation interferes with opportunities to restructure, and tends to produce a closed situation with loss of freedom.

Some prevailing patterns of social organization fail to achieve their designated objectives. There is much to suggest that the massive and generalized restructuring of social institutions now taking place requires a preliminary stage in which the old patterns are shaken and unsettled to introduce flexibility where systems have grown insensitive or rigid, thereby making useful changes possible.

With the growing awareness of these circumstances, there has developed an intense search for practical remedies. Such creative innovations as develop under the stimulus of the problems associated with ethnic group concentration will undoubtedly promote the welfare of all groups.

SUMMARY

The effects of ethnic group concentration upon educational process in neighborhood schools is discussed with special reference to the school climate, hidden curriculum, and the unplanned education which students receive from other students. The importance of student interaction, of identification and other psychological processes in the dynamics of the classroom group are stressed.

The effects of ethnic group concentration upon personality formation are described with emphasis upon the steps through which particular characteristics of American Negro personalities were developed under slavery and perpetuated by segregation. Factors are discussed which influence Negroes to form compounds in which existing low caste is perpetuated.

Finally an assessment is given of the part played by public schools in these issues and of the effects upon mental health.

The complex interpersonal relationships and group dynamics which mediate the severe deleterious effects in American Negroes are delineated, and the adverse effects of ethnic group concentration in general upon total community mental health are made evident.

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Exhibit No. 4

PATHOGENIC SOCIAL STRUCTURE: A PRIME TARGET FOR PREVENTIVE PSYCHIATRIC INTERVENTION

Charles A. Pinderhughes, M.D.

Too often we forget that development of the individual in family and community contexts molds personality and defines the general characteristics and limitations of all future relationships (1). Physiological functioning and physical as well as mental health are influenced by interpersonal relationships since emotional responses are accompanied by functional reactions in body organs. The patterns of existing disease may be aggravated, and personality disorders created by pathogenic relationships. Functional neurotic, psychotic, and psychophysiological reactions may result from similar determinants.

As physicians we have some responsibility to confine our discussions of disease and pathology to entities widely accepted as medical and having standard medical nomenclature. While statistics show but a small portion of population to have demonstrated psychiatric syndromes, they also show great numbers with apathy, delinquency, unemployment, child neglect, child abuse, drunkenness, prostitution, broken homes, illegitimacy, pupil drop out, and squalor.

Physicians, victimized by existing values, see the social components but frequently fail to grasp the medical issues when confronted by social pathology. Dr. Davis has indicated that each such patient at Harlem Hospital averages three medical diagnoses (2).

Wherever it is appropriate we should employ descriptive medical terminology rather than terms for social pathology which are in common usage. Reactions with anxiety, depression, dependency, aggression and other medical terms are less frequently associated with negative prejudicial connotations, and convey more information in that they implicitly contain genetic and dynamic concepts which aid understanding and suggest directions of treatment. Only when we more clearly classify social pathology in medical terms will we know the magnitude of pathology associated with and at least partially attributable to various social circumstances.

A variety of emotional factors with complex dynamics are present wherever there is social pathology. However, altering the pattern of forces dynamically playing upon the individual without modification of the social context may be difficult or impossible. This further entices physicians to neglect the medical aspects as they focus upon the social ones. They should focus upon both.

Much activity of doctors which is viewed as political or Civil Rights activity can be clearly defined as corrective and preventive medical activity also. By so doing, additional support may be gained in some instances, and resistances to change weakened in others.

In addition, we may profit by greater use of existing psychiatric concepts and by defining new ones to clarify the steps by which particular circumstances in the social order give rise to pathology in individuals.

For the extension of understanding which is needed, conceptual bridges need to be as complete as possible, devoid of jargon, and converted to plain language while retaining solid medical reference and validity.

One psychological concept which helps us to understand the processes through which social circumstances influence personality development and mental health is the concept of transitional phenomena.

Winnicott (3) has described the lifelong striving of all persons to belong, to possess, to be a part of and attached to something to replace the early mother-child and child-teddy bear type attachments. These derived attachments may involve an illusion, an idea, an object, or a cluster of subjective phenomena. Absolute loyalty, total devotion, and constancy characterize such relationships. Winnicott (3) states that an infant's transitional object attachments weaken as cultural interests develop in art, religion, or other elements in one's culture.

Since the attachments of some adults to their groups is derived from these intense infantile attachments, it is not surprising that many adults defend and

protect with such passionate devotion the groups to which they feel connected. Mothers, nursing bottles, teddy bears, and lollipops are blindly clung to no matter how worn, soiled, or inadequate they appear to other people.

Each new social experience has meaning in terms of the earlier figures and body processes with which it becomes associated. New experiences may be pathogenic by associatively reactivating prior maladaptive patterns, or patterns which were adaptive in the past but are not adaptive in the present. Also, people identify with persons near them and incorporate modes of conflict management they perceive. Thus, external maladaptive patterns in one person may serve as a source of new internal maladaptive patterns in another.

Identification may take place with persons having prominent patterns of disorganization, in which case the leading of a disorganized life can represent identification with or union with figures from a past disorganized social context. Likewise, inconstant, disorganized, or abusive early figures can supply or symbolize security resulting in an unconscious search for such figures in later life. In this way disorganized social circumstances may produce individuals who seek or induce instability and disorder, because they symbolize important objects from the past.

Careful delineation of ways in which social circumstances influence the psychology and behavior of family members, determining the course of oedipal conflict resolution, has helped clarify the chain of events through which pathology arises. Dr. Grier's stimulating paper (4) significantly contributed in this area. I especially liked his description of the environmental press of some social circumstances which entice individuals to live out infantile feelings without censorship of society and at the same time provide rationalizations for not resolving the oedipal conflict. Ways must be found to make such concepts more easily understood by non-physicians and by physicians without psychoanalytic orientation. There is need for improved organization and application of concepts, and for improved communications as well as for new concepts. As Dr. Mehlinger mentioned yesterday (5), perhaps a study group is needed in this area.

Illumination of some blind spots is long overdue. For instance, how it is that we can so easily recognize, define, and label pathological aggression in children and adults in clinical settings and fail to identify it in broader social, non-clinical situations? Millions of victims are clear and visible while victimizers can seldom be identified.

Some individuals overtly or covertly contribute to vast amounts of exploitation and human suffering without becoming associated with social pathology, since this label commonly refers to the victims rather than the perpetrators. Exploitation may be difficult to identify when accomplished subtly, out of sight, or by some highly valued means such as legislation, majority vote, or jury trial. The determination of what is pathology thus requires a value judgment which is usually unconscious. When through active use of passive opposition civil rights workers have confronted segregating whites with the nature of their omnipotent feelings, then the inherent immaturity of the dominating party has become more clear. One can see who is really aggressive, who is hostile when limits are placed, and who is lacking in control of anti-social feelings. Only then is it recognized that the power previously respected and admired is rooted in the highly emotional, irrational, uncompromising, omnipotent control of behavior and services which children seek to establish over their parents. The prevailing value system has kept people so busy showing reverence to those who win, who remain on top and in control, that reason and wisdom in relationships, tenderness and love, affiliating and sharing have somehow become seen as attributes which render one weak, vulnerable, and effeminate. An infantile need for domination and mastery over others has been placed on a pedestal so that interpersonal interaction "top dog" is a glorious success and "bottom dog" is an ignominious failure, regardless of the relative merits of their respective contributions. Equal dogs are relatively unknown. Examine most marriages, families, friendships, and both formal and informal relationships everywhere. While there is enthusiastic acknowledgment of the desirability of constructive collaboration, we continue with relatively unmodified intensity to organize our interpersonal behavior along destructive lines. Prejudice and other unconscious pathogenic emotional determinants, while out of sight, are ever present driving forces.

ILLUSTRATIVE PATHOGENIC CIRCUMSTANCES

I have selected several illustrations and grouped them around four elements: the density factor, the authority factor, the disparate value factor, and the disrupted group and split role factors.

THE DENSITY FACTOR

Overcrowded conditions are often associated with intense, sometimes volatile, relationships of a kind comparable to relationships of children in groups. Ambivalence is marked and hostility and affection are close to the surface. Close physical contact makes withdrawal, suppression and repression of feeling difficult and control of feelings and physical contacts is less adequate. The close interactions of crowded circumstances increase the stimuli to be mastered from the outside, and emotional responses to be mastered within each individual. The ego of the adult individual in crowded circumstances has a task more comparable with the ego of children, especially if the family and ethnic organization give inadequate support. Rivalry for objects, services, and supplies, struggles for control and dominance, and provocative manipulating behavior may be common. While aggression may be prominent, careful observation discloses that it usually appears in the matrix of intense libidinal ties. The aggressive act is accompanied or followed by affectionate developments, and the opportunity to separate sexual and aggressive feelings is reduced. An apparent "don't give a damn" exterior is generally defensive and obscures the depression, worry, and restless despair underneath.

Mental health facilities are reluctant to care for such persons although they comprise a large part of our population. There is an unconscious recognition that the social context supports the pathology and works against the therapy. Regressive modes of managing conflict are reinforced in such circumstances where sharing may be extremely difficult and competitive, exploitative behavior frequent.

A poorly organized group with inadequate power to control the open and subtle exploitation and the sadomasochistic behavior of a few group members very shortly finds itself grossly disrupted as the unmanaged disruptive aggression of a few engenders distrust, hostility, and regressive responses from other group members. Increased population density accompanied by weakened family and group structure offer a combination with especially devastating effects upon mental health and personality development.

The density factor may be of critical importance where there is chronic dissatisfaction among people who are poorly organized. A riot may be conceptualized as the occurrence in epidemic form of disruptive activity which is on-going otherwise in endemic form. Glass breakage, vandalism, and fire incidents are at high levels in some disorganized communities under usual circumstances. A city that responds to the chronic sub-crisis disorder by instituting appropriate services and organization for the endemic on-going little riots will not have a big one.

THE AUTHORITY FACTOR

Generally, any structure of relationships which forces groups having common interest to work against one another may be pathogenic.

Example: The following case illustrates a process through which segregated and socially disorganized minority persons sometimes develop. Mr. X. worked as a supervisor for many individuals of his own ethnic group who had very low morale, very little organization, and were accustomed to accept exploitation in their living circumstances. Mr. X.'s responsibility included organizing these people and directing their energies to several tasks, including improvement of their circumstances. Mr. X. failed to supervise, failed to lead, absented himself from work without authorization, and made repeated infractions of rules and regulations. Finally, in a spell of an especially stormy conflict during which he used abusive language and threatened persons in his office, he was fired. The firing constituted a rejection that motivated him in ways not previously seen. His behavior became organized and he allied the members of his group around him in his own personal behalf with stories of the abusive and persecutory treatment he had received. Around this personal issue his group collected, showed great emotion, organized and went on strike as a protest against the firing of

Mr. X. The company for which he worked was in a bind. They required work from the group but had found Mr. X. impossible, and yet at the very point of failure he had demonstrated his ability to organize, lead, and supervise the group which had been a central part of his prior job. Company officials discussed with his group the manner in which they had organized in support of the personal grievance of one of their members, and yet could not be organized to do common work or to undertake actions in behalf of their group. There seemed to be a need on part of Mr. X. to feel persecuted before he was mobilized to effective action.

The need for a strict supervising figure is very often found in persons where the family and institutions around the family have social structure in which a harsh authoritative figure is of central importance. In order to ensure an effective work situation the Company rehired Mr. X. on the condition that his co-workers remain organized and effectively joined under his direction and that the group would give sufficient supervision to Mr. X. to ensure appropriate behavior on his part.

In such disadvantaged groups the capacity to organize in protest against abuse of one member is commonly associated with a surprising importance to organize and act together under any other circumstance. Many such reactions are seen among Negroes although in the case described, Mr. X. was not Negro.

THE DISPARATE VALUE FACTOR

There are pathogenic aspects of projecting child to parent roles into social structure.

Any division of people into upper and lower with assignment of less value and less respect to the lower builds in conflicts which are potentially pathogenic. Where conflicts exists between children and parents, lower and upper caste, lower and upper classes, women and men, students and university administrators, or labor and management, they are apt to deal with disparities in role, which make one group feel mistreated by the other. These roles invoke an unconscious psychology in which the mistreated feels less worthy, and rejected.. The depth psychology of anti-Negro prejudice makes this more clear.

Illustration: An important factor upon which anti-Negro prejudice is based is the unconscious primitive depth psychology in all persons referred to as primary process thinking.

As soon as small children become capable of learning voluntary control of their behavior, they are taught that certain body products like feces and urine, and certain feelings and thoughts, especially sexual or hostile ones, must be excluded from social interaction and kept in their place. Images of these body products, feelings, and thoughts, which have been assigned low value and segregated out of the main stream of social interaction, become associated with each other and with images of any other objects which are also segregated. Members of any segregated group are considered to be dirty, smelly, and undisciplined in aggressive and sexual behavior. The patterns of life imposed upon colored persons in America along with their brown coloring has reinforced the tendency to link in our unconscious minds images of colored persons with images of body products and body processes which must be excluded from social circumstances.

Thus, as long as Negroes are in any way excluded from social interaction they will be linked in the unconscious thinking processes with those ideas, feelings, and body products which tend to be excluded from social interaction as unacceptable. Under such circumstances contact with Negroes will be accompanied by a conscious sense of something forbidden, unpleasant, bad, and possibly dirty or dangerous. Unconscious sexual, aggressive, and other repressed feelings may tend to emerge into consciousness in the presence of Negroes. These emerging repressed thoughts, and feelings concerning body products may give the feeling of an influx of alien elements which threaten to flow out of control and make a mess. It may seem imperative that separation and suppression of Negroes must recur in order to maintain order. This explains the intensity of reaction to desegregation or to movement of Negroes into a white community at times.

To a considerable degree, the intense self-devaluation experienced by Negroes in segregated circumstances stems from their identification of themselves with "bad" suppressed thoughts, feelings, and body products. This identification occurs because they find themselves treated in the same manner in which "bad" thoughts, "bad" feelings, and "bad" body products are treated.

White people who feel they are less adequate, less fortunate, or less appreciated than others will be prone to identify themselves with Negroes whether they

are Negroes or not. We thus find the situation where, from a psychological standpoint, those Negroes who view themselves as accepted, as worthy, and do not feel rejected may actually "think white", while white persons who view themselves as unworthy, rejected, or on the fringe of their group may actually "think Negro". That is, they may associate themselves with bad thoughts, bad feelings, and bad body products. It is difficult to say how many Negroes "think white" and how many white persons "think Negro". Certainly such psychological identifications are prominent determinants of behavior and of relationships.

To further complicate the psychology involved in these processes, the facts are that every individual has a "white" part of his personality and a "Negro" part, that is, a part which is permitted free play in the main stream of his life and a part which must be segregated and carefully kept in its place. In a segregated society all too often the "segregated Negro part" of the personalities of both white and colored becomes projected upon Negroes, and the "white part" of both white and colored is projected upon white persons. Both groups tend, therefore, to see the Negroes as bad and the whites as good.

THE DISRUPTED GROUP AND SPLIT ROLE FACTOR

Negro individuals and groups provide the most graphic examples of social pathology because they have experienced more pathogenic circumstances than others in this country (6). The slave trade procured Negroes from heterogeneous tribes in the first place. Then their cultures were destroyed, including family structure, religions, and languages, and bonds to one another were discouraged. Admixture of genes from Caucasian and Indian racial stocks further altered them. The bondless coloreds were then bonded to whites by an unusual splitting of roles in which coloreds were assigned only those features of father, mother, and child roles which supported slavery.

While white and colored groups had developed along separate lines both contact and interaction of any intimate kind were built into the relationship. Each person carried within him an unconscious contract or agreement by which he functioned in synchrony with those he encountered. In this relationship whites comprised the self-assertive, coloreds the self-sacrificing partners in a complementary pair which might be conceptualized as a one-sided marriage. The family, social class, or caste, and other aspects of the cultural press into which one is born determine which goals are given priority in the child rearing process. For Negroes who were relating to whites, management of internal impulses, self-sacrifice, and self-suppression were emphasized while care for themselves, and mastery of external reality were subordinated. For whites who were interacting with Negroes, care for themselves, self-expression, and mastery of external reality were emphasized while management of internal impulses and sharing were subordinated. Such training was built into child rearing.

Since children reared and schooled in a single ethnic group reproduce the common characteristics of that group, legal segregation in Southern Negro Compounds and de facto segregation in Northern Negro Compounds perpetuated the slave culture cast to the personalities, family structure, and group characteristics of many Negro Americans. So long as these compounds exist they will continue to reproduce many negative elements of a culture which was designed and imposed by white Americans upon colored, and subsequently continued by white and colored Americans who found themselves trapped in a bad marriage not of their making in which there was great disparity between the roles of the two parties. One finds in the present some forces pressing to restructure the marriage toward more equality (including most Civil Rights groups), some pressing to continue the bad marriage as is (including most segregationists), and some pressing toward separation or divorce of the parties (including Black Nationalist and Muslim groups).

Ordinarily, the role of a man has been conceptualized with leadership, wisdom, bravery, power, work, and sexual components. In the white-colored relationships, whites were conceptualized with leadership, wisdom, and bravery components and coloreds with power, work, and sexual components.

Usually, a woman has been conceptualized as one who is pure, loved, respected, and who has feeding, cleaning, sexual, and other service functions. In the white-colored relationship, whites were conceptualized as pure, loved, and respected while coloreds were viewed in terms of feeding, cleaning, menial, and sexual functions.

Children ordinarily have been conceptualized as ones who are loved, waited on, clothed, cleaned, fed, and also as dirty, smelly, untrained, undisciplined, pleasure-oriented, dependents who need to be led. In the white-colored relationship, whites were related to as loved, waited on, clothed, cleaned and fed, while coloreds were related to as dirty, smelly, untrained, undisciplined, pleasure-oriented dependents who need to be led.

Clearly, such components of the role of man, woman and child as supported the master role were ascribed to whites, while such components of the role of man, woman, and child as supported the servant role were imputed to coloreds.

In all these roles there is a manifest theme for the white person which states to the colored: "you are a child, I am a parent, I will direct you, I will take care of you". The latent theme for the white person never expressed and seldom realized is: "I am a child, you are a parent, feed me, clean up, do the housework and labor for me". The manifest theme of the colored person expressed toward the white person is as follows: "I do what I am told, I am a child, you are a parent". The latent theme is: "I do everything you need done, I am a parent, you are a child".

The roles as described and the myths associated with them have seemed appropriate and realistic to those who have not known, or have forgotten, that these roles were designed and forged into personalities under extreme coercion. A body of law, and of common practice, codes, social and psychological pressures upon grown-ups, and child rearing practices with children, have ensured that whites and coloreds regularly enact their assigned roles in the American segregation drama.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PSYCHIATRISTS

In a few short years psychiatry has undergone a remarkable transformation. To the focus in the 1950's upon open doors and therapeutic milieu in mental hospitals we added the re-integration of psychiatry into the general hospitals. In the 1960's we have added comprehensive community mental health programs. The results of changes in the social structure of psychiatric institutions should be inspiring. Relationships between psychiatrists and other disciplines have greatly improved and competing factions among psychiatrists get along better and more often collaborate. We honor reason more, prescribed roles less, personal attributes and capacities more, training and background somewhat less. We no longer assume that initiative should come from above, that deference should come from below. We have been cleaning our own house before advising others.

We have planned that a community mental health programs will be an integral part of the community. Their greatest value could lie in their potential for practically modifying the behavior of those organizations, agencies, and institutions in the city which adversely influence mental health, as Dr. Davis and Dr. Visotsky have indicated (7).

Government agencies and citizens need an agent which can carry important messages concerning mental health to those who can promote change.

In my opinion, the community mental health center should function as a feedback mechanism for correctively influencing agencies (including the center itself) in ways favorable to mental health. By devoting energy to study and delineation of conditions with unhealthy mental effects, and prescribing how to alter these, the center should provide a much needed instrument for social diagnosis and social therapy at a level which could influence many persons. Real results of this kind marshal additional public support for mental health programs, improve morale, and help determine the tone, standards, and values by which large numbers of people act.

We should cease merely helping patients to adapt to miserable pathogenic circumstances, and spend some time finding ways to induce health promoting changes in their milieu.

The establishment of more open relationships between the many groups and individuals in a community does not take the place of one-to-one relationships, but makes an infinitely greater number of one-to-one relationships possible. It is through these that many benefits may accrue as countless individuals experience new opportunities to use themselves in constructive therapeutic ways. The same understanding which led to sound ward, milieu, and administrative therapies can be applied to the community.

There are untold numbers of health promoting agents functioning in every community and in each individual. Producing circumstances where these gain support, and can unite with other constructive forces increases their effectiveness.

We must alter our concepts of delivering services, which is basically patronizing, and think in terms of releasing, activating, organizing, facilitating, establishing linkages, etc. The personal attributes of the people in authority in the programs define what happens within the limits set by economic and political factors. In most instances, responsible program organizers will find, develop, and delegate authority and initiative to all levels of people involved.

Not infrequently groups with low status may be in conflict with one another although the low status is not always apparent. When in conflict with one another, the behavior of both police and citizens are often relatable to the fact that both groups feel under paid, unappreciated and rejected in ways that engender chronic hostility and lowered self image. The police may feel as much like Negroes as the Negroes themselves. Pleas for professional status speak to the need to elevate their status toward more mature (genital) protective, conflict resolving, and organizing behavior. Until the status of both police and Negroes is elevated, they can be expected to conduct their relationships on less mature (pregenital) levels.

When the consultant finds conflict conducted along immature pregenital lines, he can help make the situation less pathogenic by encouraging such changes in structure, roles, and communications as will lead toward more mature genital patterns of managing the conflict.

In adults, pregenital, non-sharing, non-mutual relationships have potential for fostering interpersonal and intra-psychic disturbance whenever they are not supra-ordinately governed by give and take, genital level understanding. The "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours" model may offer a satisfactory base for mutuality although in any one moment one person is giving the business to another, so to speak. Any component of pregenital pre-sharing relationships may be organized into genital sharing behavior so long as constructive elements outweigh destructive ones. Any rigidly living out a single role or requiring this of another sooner or later fails to meet reality and then fosters conflict.

The constant receiver, or giver, or initiator, or accommodator, or teacher, or pupil either experiences conflict sooner or later or creates a social order so oriented to himself as to disturb others.

Pathogenic elements may be found in roles of persons, or in the nature of communications as well as in the social structure. Corrective and preventive activity in the social field may be directed toward the alteration of communications, or of roles, or of social structure, separately or in combination.

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Exhibit No. 5

FAMILY EXPERIENCES IN OPERATION EXODUS*

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I. INTRODUCTION

The present monograph is essentially a research report dealing with the motivations and experiences of Negro parents who joined together—in September 1965—in transporting their children from overcrowded, racially imbalanced schools near their homes in one section of Boston, the area known as Roxbury, where most of Boston's Negroes reside, to uncrowded, predominantly white schools in other areas of Boston. This action, allowable under the city's open enrollment policy, was relatively unique in that it involved the following three factors: a) private financing, b) intra-city bussing, c) the working class, predominantly. It should be added that the Boston School Committee refused repeatedly to deal with the problems of school overcrowding and racial imbalance, thus, in a sense, making the private bussing program, known as Operation Exodus, necessary.

We do not claim that the subsequent research, carried out approximately two-thirds of the way through the 1965-66 academic year, allows a definitive report on the program, problems and effects of this kind of school bussing. However, limited though it may be, we think that the research does allow us to assess some of the factors which are relevant to a consideration of the relief of school racial imbalance—and racial strife¹ in Boston as well as in other northern cities. Thus, one advantage of our research and this report is that it allows the dissemination of partial results of an important experience to those in other cities facing problems similar to those of Boston. A second, and perhaps equally important advantage of the documentation of the first year's experience (1965-66), is that it allows the consideration of the direction in which future research should go. And in Part Five of this monograph, we describe subsequent research, now in progress, designed to test hypotheses developed from the first year's experience—as well as to explore areas in which present knowledge is limited. One such area presently under study involves an attempt to pin down just what is meant by the term: *quality education*, but from the point of view of ghetto respondents.

The fact that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights chose Boston as one of only two cities in which it held hearings on the school problem underlines the fact that the situation in Boston is representative of that in other cities and that the positive and creative steps taken by Roxbury Negroes are worthy of notice. It is our hope that the Boston experience will help shed light on a long-neglected and difficult problem, and that public officials, including school administrators, will begin to come to grips with the problem.

II. BACKGROUND OF THE BUSSING OPERATION

Boston has become the center of a growing debate, in the North, over *de facto* school segregation. Pettigrew (1965) has asserted that this type of school

* This report was presented, in part, at the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Psychological Association in Boston, April 23, 1966, and as testimony at the Education Hearings before the United States Commission on Civil Rights held in Boston, October 4 and 5, 1966. We are indebted to the Falk Medical Fund for funds which paid some of the expenses incurred, particularly the interviewer costs.

¹ It may be no accident that Boston is one of the northern cities in which racial violence has been minimal—though it has its share of serious problems.

segregation is much more difficult to deal with than the *de jure* variety.² (The difference apparently results from restrictive covenants and other *sub rosa* arrangements entered into at various times by real estate dealers, school officials, and politicians.) While some, like Kenneth Clark, believe that the improvement of the ghetto schools is an important initial step in the attempt to deal with the problems resulting from *de facto* school segregation, others, like Thomas Pettigrew, believe that school integration *per se* is a vital ingredient in the attempt to improve the quality of education for Negroes. The debate between these two schools of thought, we believe, is both necessary and important. Indeed, it is a sign of the seriousness of the problem that so many estimable scholars, and political leaders as well, are debating ways to relieve the problem. Both sides in this debate, however, would undoubtedly agree that their positions are marked by relative emphases and do not differ in their goals: the ultimate opening of the doors to opportunity for Negroes. Likewise, both sides would probably agree that the "do nothing" stance adopted publicly by the Boston School Committee in 1962 and held tenaciously since, is the worst possible position vis-a-vis the racial imbalance problem.

It is, in fact, important to keep in mind that the immediate goal of the Roxbury residents—in undertaking school bussing—was to further educational opportunities for their children, and not the pursuit of racial integration, a point we shall consider later. That this was the primary goal leading to the decision to bus the children is illustrated in the following statement by one of the Exodus mothers:

"The problem of overcrowding in Roxbury schools became a severe situation when parents felt frustrated and disillusioned over the lack of communication between themselves and administrators in seeking solutions to the problem. Quality education is unavailable in Roxbury, not only because of overcrowded conditions, but also because of inadequate development of staff, out-dated curriculum, and the lack of incentive in teachers for developing creativity in our children.

We found ourselves as parents caught up in a political maneuver between members of the Boston School Committee and city officials who engaged in dialogue over whether there was a "de jure" problem similar to that of the south or a "de facto" (confined to the north) pattern in our schools. Regardless of which phrase we adopted to describe this disgraceful situation, we felt a severe harm was being done to our children. This controversy over an inadequate education and whether or not racial imbalance exists does not happen to be a new battle. It has been waging here since 1962."³

We think the point that parents were seeking a good education for their children is illustrated by the above statement. It also underlines the repeated frustrations felt by Negro parents when public officials quarrel over whether or not racial imbalance exists.

To its credit, the Massachusetts State Board of Education did deal with the issue of racial imbalance. It made possible a report on school racial imbalance prepared by the Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education. The charge to this committee in March 1964 included an effort to determine whether or not there was racial imbalance in schools and to study both its educational consequences and ways of dealing with it. In brief, the Advisory Committee did find (report dated April 1965) that racial imbalance exists in some of the communities of Massachusetts (primarily in Boston) and that its effects are harmful,⁴ Subsequently, in August 1965, the Massachusetts legislature enacted the Mas-

² For a discussion of the effects of school segregation, see Kenneth Clark, *Prejudice and Your Child*, Beacon Press, 1955, and the Social Science Appendix submitted to the United States Supreme Court in the segregated school cases and cited by the Court in its May 17, 1954 decision.

³ A brief chronology of actions beginning in 1962 and showing the concern of Roxbury Negroes, follows: 1) in 1962 local civil rights groups charged that *de facto* segregation existed in Roxbury schools; 2) in 1963, after the School Committee's repeated denials that *de facto* segregation existed, the first freedom stay-out (of school) by Negroes was held with 2,500 Negro students participating; 3) in 1964, a second school boycott was held with more than 10,000 Negro students participating; and 4) in 1965, the school bussing program was initiated.

⁴ In defining a racially imbalanced school, the committee wrote "a racially imbalanced school is one in which the racial composition of the school population is sharply out of balance with the racial composition of the society in which Negro children study, serve, and work", p. 1.

sachusetts Racial Imbalance Act (Chapter 641, Acts 1965) providing for the elimination of racial imbalance in public schools, the first such state legislation in the country. The act declares it to be the policy of the Commonwealth:

to encourage all school committees to adopt as educational objectives the promotion of racial balance and the correction of existing racial imbalance in the public schools. The prevention or elimination of racial imbalance shall be an objective in all decisions involving the drawing or altering of school attendance lines and the selection of new school sites. (Section 37C)

In spite of the evidence showing the extent of racial imbalance in Boston schools, the Boston School Committee still failed to take appropriate corrective action.

Indeed, the School Committee passed a proposal in mid-summer of 1965, which banned use of school funds for the bussing of Negro children to the roughly 7,000 vacant seats throughout the broader Boston community. On the heels of this, the Superintendent stated that the only feasible solution to school overcrowding was to invoke a double-session day. All of these decisions, negative ones as far as the education of Negro children is concerned, were said to be aimed at the preservation of the neighborhood school. The weakness in the neighborhood school concept, however, is the tendency of many school officials to stand behind it as a defense for inactivity in Negro ghettos.

Indeed, the School Committee's stand made clear to Negro parents, who had relied on the school authorities to educate their children, the fact that the educational system was ignoring their children's needs.

In the face of these repeated frustrations, the Negroes of Roxbury became convinced that they would have to try other problem-solving means. Mrs. Ellen Jackson, the President of Operation Exodus, Incorporated, and one of the present authors recalls the final events leading to the bussing program:

It was because of these many affronts and confrontations with an unheeding school committee that Betty Johnson and myself became concerned over the plight of our children, who were then being tutored under the Northern Student Movement. I had just completed my temporary employment as Social Service Supervisor for Operation Headstart, supervising six local mothers in the channelling of information to parents whose children were involved in the Headstart Program. Prior to that, I had been a parent group coordinator with NSM, attempting to organize parents around issues such as consumer research, voter registration and voter education. After the statement by Superintendent Ohrenberger, we called a parents' meeting at the Robert Gould Shaw House in Dorchester. Around 250 parents attended, and we discussed the problem and possible avenues to a solution. There were 14 parent groups represented at this meeting, with varied ideas. We agreed to meet nightly for a short duration, until an operative program could be mapped out. At the close of this first meeting, there was a general consensus that a telegram should be sent to Attorney General Katzenbach seeking an injunction in order to keep this double session day from going into effect. We also met with him several weeks later when he arrived in Boston to attend a penal convention. At this time we were assured by a man (apparently a Katzenbach assistant) who said he freely recognized the shortcomings of a double session day, because his children had been victims of it, and that he would look into the matter.

Time moved on and school was but a few weeks off. We continued to meet nightly, and attempted to arrive at a solution. We finally confined ourselves to three specific approaches to our problem. The first consisted of forming a human chain of parents around a school and not allowing anyone to trespass. Secondly, parents of another school wanted to pressure more extensively, by using petitions and pickets. The third idea was to have sit-ins by parents in both classrooms and the School Committee office. Almost by a process of elimination, we voted against all three proposals because in all instances the inconvenience would be to ourselves and our children, just as in previous demonstrations, producing short-range results. We arrived at the position of mass displacement of Negro children, now called Exodus, in order to take advantage of the 7,000 vacant seats throughout the city and available under the Open Enrollment Policy. Problems arose

around this decision: how to transport, and where to finance. We called a final meeting on September 8th, attended by 600 community people. At 12:30 that night, we found ourselves with 250 children to bus and with many families committed to our program. We left the meeting and embarked on a wild recruitment program to round up transportation. We called all through the night until 4 A.M., and wound up having seven buses donated by private organizations and civil rights groups. At 8 A.M. September 19, 1965, all busses, cars, and children were ready to roll. The money for our busses was donated by various groups, such as the NAACP, labor unions, a group at Harvard University, and from many individuals. The second day of school, we had financial support from merchants and business men in our immediate community. Thus, the die had been cast.

It is apparent, then, that Exodus was, and is, a constructive program, designed by parents to meet the educational needs of some of Roxbury's Negro children. Some efforts to document the children's experiences and some results of this effort are described in the next section.

III. THE RESEARCH

BACKGROUND

The possibilities and value of research on the functioning, problems, and consequences of Project Exodus—for the children involved, the parents, the schools, Roxbury, etc.—were readily apparent from the outset. Fortunately or unfortunately, depending on whether or not you are a researcher and on the degree to which you like to be ready on the takeoff, Project Exodus came as a surprise to many people outside of Roxbury, including social scientists. However, it did not take the researchers long to jump into action and toward the latter part of September, several social scientists and research social workers met at the office of the Northern Student Movement to plot research strategy. Both Harvard, and Boston University were well represented. A second meeting followed in a week—and the boom fell. The over-hasty operations of some of the researchers (i.e., using college student interviewers to approach and interview Exodus mothers at the bus locations), the lack of a clear research plan and inadequate consultation with the Project resulted in our being told—at this second meeting—that research services were not desired.

Several of us were interested in Exodus as an action program, apart from research interests, and continued to be affiliated with it. Subsequently, several months later, when the remaining researchers had been accepted as friends of Exodus (a period of time, incidentally, which is quite brief when compared with other experiences), the officers of Exodus asked several of us if we were still interested in research on Exodus.

Several possible approaches were considered and discussed by several of us who were involved in Exodus. At about the same time we were formulating plans (December 15 or thereabouts), the state Board of Education was showing great interest in the school performance of the children in Exodus, especially those in grades four to six. Moreover, word had filtered down that there was much resistance from various places to the bussing of the first three graders. Indeed, there were more than a few Roxbury Negro residents who were opposed to the bussing of children in the first three grades.

Our interest in this issue then led us to a decision to interview the mothers of children in Exodus and to chronicle experiences with and opinions about bussing children of different ages. Since Exodus was bussing children in the first six grades, it is obvious that we could relate these opinions to the grade status of the respondents' children who were being bussed.

THE INTERVIEW AND THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Two issues dealt with immediately were: (1) what questions should be included in the interview schedule (influenced by our concern about questions which could be alienating and concern about the length of the interview) and (2) who would do the interviewing. The fact that we did not have any research money and the researchers' awareness of our poor research start back in September, suggested that the Exodus parents should be asked to do the interviewing.

We then offered to provide training—under the direction of James Teele—in interview-schedule design, interviewing technique, and data processing. The parents enthusiastically accepted this idea. The other issue—what questions to include—was decided when we began to construct the interview schedule. The schedule includes questions touching on the following ideas: (a) the mother's degree of satisfaction with the project and her estimate of the child's satisfaction, (b) her reason for bussing, (c) ways in which the mother thought the operation could be improved, (d) an open-ended question on what her children said about their new school, (e) her opinion about the advisability of continuing the bussing, (f) her opinion about bussing the first three graders, (g) her prior community involvement, (h) the children's grades in June of 1965 at their previous school, (i) the mother's own comparison of her child's grades in June, 1965 with those in the new school, (j) her comparison of the amount of homework required in the previous and present schools, (k) her impression about the extent to which her child(ren) experience(s) prejudice or discrimination in this year's school as compared with last year's, and (l) the extent to which she thinks her child benefits from attending the integrated (i.e. more balanced) school. The interview schedule also includes some background and situational variables such as respondent's education; years at present residence, and number of children.

An impressive array of behavioral scientists have conducted important and relevant research on the problems dealt with in this report. (A partial list includes, Pettigrew, 1964; Williams, 1964; Riessman, 1962; Clark, 1955; Weinstein and Geisel, 1962; and Festinger, 1957.) Although the first year's research profited to a certain extent from that of other social scientists, several pressing reasons restricted our research and precluded the inclusion of much relevant material in the data gathering process:

- 1) The research got started relatively late in the year, thus precluding a before-after design and restricting the data to a single interview.
- 2) The use of non-professional interviewers for a predominantly non-professional target study group suggested including questions which "made sense" to both parties to the interview.
- 3) The lack of any funds for paying interviewers dictated short interviews in the hope of completing all of the desired interviews.

Despite these restrictions, the outcomes of prior research influenced this study in various ways, such as in the decision to use Exodus mothers as interviewers. Riessman has carefully indicated the advantages of utilizing non-professionals in other settings; advantages which accrue to worker and community alike. Pettigrew, also, has suggested the advantages to be gained from employment of familiar faces as interviewers. Williams has shown with his research, that race of interviewer, social distance between respondent and interviewer, and the threat potential of interview questions are related to interview bias.

Once the interview schedule was designed, the training of the interviewers began. Training sessions were held one night a week for six weeks, and included discussion and evaluation of some pre-tests of the interview. Role playing was included in the training of interviewers. About ten interviewers were trained, and seven of them did the bulk of the interviewing.

THE STUDY GROUP

Since the majority of the children bussed by Exodus were attending elementary grades one through six, and since interest was focused on the first six grades, the sample was restricted accordingly. Families having children only in kindergarten and/or junior high school grades were not included in the group designated for interviewing even though such children were bussed as a part of the Exodus program. However, if the family had children in kindergarten or junior high school bussed by Exodus in addition to a child in one of the first six grades, then the family was included in our target group. These procedures produced a target group of 126 mothers with whom interviews were attempted. Of these, 103 mothers, or 82 percent, were successfully interviewed. There were no refusals with regard to those not interviewed. All persons not interviewed were not locatable or failed to keep several appointments with interviewers. The 103 mothers had a total of 221 children in Exodus. While most of the tabulations presented later are based on the number of mothers interviewed, we also present some data based on the number of children which these women

had in Exodus. No information was collected on those not interviewed and hence we cannot comment on possible differences between them and those interviewed. The mean number of years of school completed by the mothers interviewed was 11.

The interviewing began during the last week of February and was largely completed by early April 1966. However, because of the many competing demands on the interviewers' time, such as helping to raise money with which to keep the busses rolling, about one-third of the interviews were not completed until June. Comparison of the data from the earlier and later interviews revealed no substantial differences between these two groups.

IV. FINDINGS

In this chapter, findings are presented in two sections. *First*, we present frequency distributions on a number of variables dealing with the mothers' motivations, their assessment of the bussing operation, their perception of their children's experiences and their evaluation of the experience. *Second*, we present the results of cross-tabulations between related variables. Although our interviews tapped only one point in time—a fact which indicates the need for cautious interpretation—it was felt that some of the variables could be treated as independent variables, i.e., conditions which are logically assumed to precede or influence later events or effects. Conventionally, measures of effects or later events are referred to as dependent variables. Some of the variables treated as independent variables are: 1) whether or not the mother has a child in one of the first three grades, 2) specific grade of a child, 3) increase in number of white friends, and 4) the mother's perceptions of extent of prejudice or discrimination encountered by the children. Some of the "dependent" variables are: 1) respondent's opinion on bussing children from one of the first three grades and, 2) mother's perception of benefits of school integration. One of the variables, namely, perception of prejudice encountered, is also treated at several points as a dependent variable. The discussion of our findings is dealt with in the following chapter.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS

In Table 1, we present the results of an attempt to find out how the mothers came to hear about the bussing operation providing they were not among the organizers.

TABLE 1.—*Distribution of responses to the question: "How did you hear about Operation Exodus"?*

Response Category	N	%
Read in Newspaper.....	4	4.0
Read in Leaflets.....	6	5.8
Heard on Radio.....	9	8.7
Heard on T.V.....	5	4.9
Heard from Friend.....	37	35.9
Helped Formulate Project.....	39	37.9
Other.....	3	2.8
	103	100.0

Essentially the responses to the question, "How did you hear about Operation Exodus" reveal that the largest proportion of the mothers helped to formulate the project themselves or heard about it firsthand from a friend. The success of Exodus, i.e., its ability to sustain the bussing operation, is probably due in large measure to this initially large organizational base. From the beginning, apparently, there was widespread community interest among Roxbury's Negro mothers, a fact which gave its designated leadership a powerful voice in the community.

In response to the open-ended question, "Why did you bus your child(ren)", an overwhelming majority of respondents (86 percent) indicated that only a desire for a better educational opportunity for their children motivated them. More specifically, they mentioned overcrowding, lack of individual attention, and dilapidated facilities as the intolerable conditions in the Roxbury schools.

Only seven percent of the mothers indicated that a desire to have the children attend an integrated school motivated them. (No information on this item was obtained from the remaining seven percent.) As indicated, this was an open-ended question and the mothers could have included both reasons (quality education and school integration) in their response. Being somewhat surprised by the distribution of responses to this question, we decided to examine the responses to a question designed to elicit the extent to which the mothers had been involved in prior community activities, including civil rights activities. The question was structured so that respondents could indicate participation in one or more of the following activities: civil rights activities, tutoring programs, Operation Headstart, or the school-centered protests known as school stay-outs. Responses are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2.—*Prior participation in community activities (N=80)**

Response Category	N	%
Civil Rights activities <i>only</i>	2	2.5
Tutoring Programs <i>only</i>	15	18.7
Head Start <i>only</i>	3	3.8
School Stay-outs <i>only</i>	17	21.2
Civil Rights <i>and</i> Tutoring or Stay-outs or both.....	23	28.8
Civil Rights <i>and</i> Headstart or Tutoring or both.....	7	8.7
Stay-outs <i>and</i> Tutoring or Headstart or both.....	13	16.3
		100.0

*No prior activities indicated in 23 cases.

These responses reinforce our conclusion, mentioned above, that the mothers had an apparently overwhelming interest in obtaining better educational opportunities for their children. When the first four categories of responses are examined—that is, the categories covering cases in which only *one* prior activity was indicated, it is seen that 43.7 percent of all the mothers had participated in an educational activity in contrast to only 2.5 percent of the mothers who had engaged in a civil rights activity to the exclusion of all else. The combination categories—that is, in cases where respondents list two or more prior activities—show that an additional 37.5 percent of the mothers had previously engaged in civil rights activities in addition to educational activities. In sum, then, while 97.5 percent of the mothers had engaged in some prior educational activity, only 40 percent said that they had participated in a civil rights activity. It would seem, then, that the respondents may be characterized as having been, at the outset of the bussing operation, more interested in the particular educational success of their children than in a more general pursuit of civil rights (including integration) though, to be sure, these two goals are related and may have been related in the minds of the respondents. We shall return to this much discussed and important issue—quality education vs integration—later on.

Next, we present the frequency distributions of responses to several related questions, questions which may be characterized as evaluative. These are: 1) "How satisfied are you with the Exodus bussing program?", 2) "Do you want this type of transfer of children to continue?", and 3) "What suggestions do you have for improvement of the program?" The first of these questions was pre-coded as indicated in Table 3; the other questions were open-ended and responses were later categorized as indicated in Table 3. Where the number of responses do not add up to 103, the difference is due to lack of information on the item.

It is not surprising that the respondents indicate a quite general satisfaction with the Exodus Program and that they would want to see the bussing continued during the following (the current year). Hence, we had a considerable interest in the responses to the question calling for suggestions for ways in which the program—including the bussing—might be improved.

Almost half of the mothers did have suggestions for improvement. Thirty percent of all mothers had suggestions dealing with the bussing operation specifically. Primarily, these mothers seemed interested in maintaining behavior controls on the busses or in having the busses operate more efficiently.

TABLE 3.—*Frequency distributions on selected variables (N=103)*

Variable	N	%
1. Satisfaction of parents in Exodus		
Very satisfied.....	80	77.7
Fairly well satisfied.....	16	15.5
Not satisfied.....	7	6.8
2. Want the bussing to continue?		
Yes, without reservation.....	91	94.8
Yes, with reservations.....	5	5.2
3. Suggestions for improvement		
Mother satisfied, no suggestions for improvement.....	52	53.6
Better Behavior control needed on bus.....	15	15.5
Need more parental cooperation in the program.....	11	11.3
Need a more efficient bus service.....	8	8.3
Retain same drivers on bus routes.....	6	6.2
Need coordination between Exodus and the Schools.....	1	1.0
Plans for continuing new student friendship bonds outside school.....	1	1.0
Provision of Nursing Service so more mothers can aid Exodus.....	1	1.0
Need more widespread participation of Neighborhood's children.....	2	2.1

An additional 11 percent of the mothers would like to see more parental participation in the program of Exodus. Finally a few parents were interested in pursuing better cooperation with the schools or in fostering their children's new-found friendships.

Although we did not interview the children during the first year of the program, we did ask the mothers about their children's impressions of the bussing and new school experiences. As indicated, the 103 mothers had a total of 221 children in the program. The following proportions of children were said by the mothers to be *very satisfied*, *fairly well satisfied*, and *dissatisfied*: 76.7, 17.8, and 1.4 percent respectively. For the remaining 4.1 percent (13 children), the mothers indicated lack of knowledge about the children's evaluation. All in all, then, the mothers reported that they, and their children, were generally satisfied with the operation though it is notable that the mothers carefully indicated the areas in which they thought improvements could be made. Since the mothers were in constant communication with the Exodus Headquarters, it is understandable that they carried their concerns to Ellen Jackson and her staff as they arose and that, subsequently, many of their suggestions—such as keeping the same drivers on given routes—were acted upon during the course of the first year's operations.

As indicated earlier, one of the issues of paramount concern to the Exodus leaders as well as to educational leaders in the city and state had to do with the advisability of bussing the first three graders. Although several distinguished social scientists (Pettigrew 1965, Morland, 1966, Goodman 1964) have suggested problematic areas in the desegregation process which cry out for research, it is a shock to find that even with respect to desegregation in the South, little is known about the relative advantages and disadvantages of initiating the process among children at various grade levels. Generally speaking, opinion appears divided on the issue. Southern educators appear to favor beginning the desegregation process in the highest grade—i.e., the senior year in high school. Negro leaders seem to lean toward the initiation of desegregation in the lower grades. If the goal is to reduce susceptibility to prejudiced attitudes, the weight of our knowledge about the socialization processes would seem to favor desegregation at the lower grades. Nevertheless, the studies of Clark, of Morland (1966), and of Goodman inform us that race prejudice and preference are discernible in very young children—as young as three or four years of age. Robert Coles (1963) has also dealt with the devastating reactions to participating in the school desegregation process among young Negro children. Still, all too little is known about the age-specific reactions of either Negro or white children (and their parents) to desegregation in the South.

Even less is known about this issue in northern areas where it is clouded by de facto as opposed to de jure segregation. Because of the controversy welling up in Boston around the bussing of the first three graders, the mothers were asked, "How do you feel about bussing the first three graders"? Responses were then coded and placed in one of the following three categories: 1) strongly in favor of bussing first three graders, 2) in favor but with reservations, and 3) strongly opposed to bussing first three graders.

Only nine percent of the mothers were opposed to bussing the first three graders, 31 percent were in favor, but with reservations, while 60 percent were unreservedly in favor of bussing the first three graders. Of those opposed, four said that the young children "required too much supervision", two felt that the younger children "can't take care of themselves", and one said the younger children should "attend school closer to home." Typical among those in favor of bussing younger children but having reservations about it was the mother who said "under the circumstances (of conditions in Roxbury schools) I am in favor of bussing the younger children if it means a superior education, though I am wary of it." Some interesting differences appear in our data, between those unreservedly in favor of bussing younger children and those either opposed or reservedly in favor of bussing younger children. We will deal with these differences in the section where relationships between variables are considered.

With respect to school performance, the mothers tended to express satisfaction. More specifically, when they were asked to compare the school performance of their children in the new school as compared to performance in the old school (i.e. the previous school in Roxbury), the majority of the mothers (58 percent) thought their children were doing better work in the new school. Only eight percent of the mothers thought their children were doing poorer work. Another rough index of a child's relative school performance is his attendance record. Compared to the previous year's attendance pattern, 36 percent, 56 percent, and eight percent of the children are reported, respectively, as doing *better*, *the same*, or *worse* by the mothers. Unfortunately we were denied access to the school records of the children in order to see if this generally favorable view of their children's performance is justified.

Another interesting facet of the new school experience concerned the amount of homework which a child received as compared to the amount of homework assigned at the previous school. The matter was of interest since several of the parents in informal discussion at the time of the formation of Exodus, had expressed varied concern about the quality of the educational experience in Roxbury schools. The "amount of homework assigned" was selected as a rough index of a quality education. The majority of the mothers (65 percent) did in fact indicate that, compared to the previous year, their children received more homework. Indeed, only four percent of the mothers said that their children received less homework at the new school. A second rough index of a quality education, to which the mothers responded was the number of substitute teachers for comparable time periods at the old and new schools. Approximately three times as many mothers report fewer substitute teachers at the new schools as compared to the old schools than report more substitute teachers at the new schools. The mothers of Exodus, then, clearly indicate a belief in the superior educational quality of the schools to which their children are being bussed, a position consistent with the report of the State Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education which showed great inadequacy of imbalanced schools in teacher turnover, teacher quality, curriculum, and so forth.

Other important frequency distributions which are highly relevant to the desegregation experience, and on which we present data include the mothers' perception of, a) the number of friends her children have at the new school compared to the old school, b) whether her children have more white friends this year (1965-66) than last year (1964-65), and c) the extent to which her children reported the experience of prejudice or discrimination at the new school. With respect to the first of these, the respondents report that 38 percent, 47 percent, and 15 percent of their children, respectively, have more, the same, and fewer friends at the new school. With regard to white friends, the mothers report that 76 percent, 18 percent, and 6 percent of their children, respectively, have more, the same and fewer white friends this year. Perhaps the best indication of how well the children are getting along with their peers is represented by the amount of prejudice or discrimination they encountered in the new school. The mothers were asked to estimate, for *each of her children* in the Exodus program, whether he (or she) encountered *a lot*, *some*, *little*, or *no prejudice* or *discrimination* in the school. Responses are presented in Table 4.

Approximately seven times as many children were reported to have encountered no prejudice than were reputed facing a lot of it. Since Clark (1953), Goodman (1952), and others have shown that both Negro and white children have a strong awareness of racial difference as well as discernibly negative feelings toward Negroes at early ages, we are inclined to feel that if there is

anything a Negro mother would find out about, it would be whether or not her children encountered hostile or prejudiced persons at school. Saying this, we cannot know precisely what a "little" or "some" prejudice is. However, if we dichotomize the distribution of responses so that "some" is combined with "a lot" and "little" with "none", we find that only 24 percent of the mothers report a substantial amount of prejudice encountered by their children. On this basis, it would seem that the mothers, overwhelmingly, report an absence of prejudice or discrimination at the new schools. The Exodus mothers then, present a picture of their children which indicates that in several crucial areas, namely, the quality of the education, school performance, and in peer relationships, the children are doing quite well.

TABLE 4.—*Extent of prejudice or discrimination encountered by Exodus children at the new school (N=192)**

Response Category	N	%
A lot.....	16	8.3
Some.....	30	15.6
Little.....	41	21.4
None.....	105	54.7
	192	100.0

*No response in 29 cases.

The last frequency distribution to be presented here deals with the issue of integration, though not unambiguously. Just before the end of the interview, respondents were asked, "How much do you think your children are benefiting from attending an integrated school"? The pre-structured response categories were *greatly*, *some*, *only a little*, and *not at all*. The reader will recall that at the beginning of the interview, respondents were asked to give their reasons for participating in Exodus, in their own words. Responses to this earlier question suggested that in only a few cases were the mothers motivated by anything other than the desire for a quality education. That is, most did not mention a desire to send their child to an integrated school. In answer to the structured question just stated, however, most of the mothers indicated that their children were benefiting greatly from attendance at an integrated school. (Table 5.)

TABLE 5.—*Estimated benefit from the child's (children's) attendance at an integrated school (N=98)**

Response Category	N	%
Greatly.....	74	75.5
Some.....	18	18.4
Little.....	4	4.1
None.....	2	2.0
	98	100.0

*No information in 5 cases.

The way the question is stated, however, does not permit us to argue unqualifiedly that the respondents favor their children attending integrated schools over segregated schools, although we present data later on which is relevant to the segregation vs integration issue. Our data, sparse though it may be, touches on the crucial issue being argued by many desirous of improving educational opportunities for northern Negroes. The question deals with the relative advantages of the integration of Negro youth in the schools of northern cities, as opposed to a strong effort to bring the schools in the Negro areas serving predominantly Negro children up to the level of schools attended by white children. Surprising as it may seem, and for reasons which we will delve into later, many Negroes appear to favor a vast improvement of the ghetto schools while numerous whites are strongly in favor of all-out efforts to integrate the schools in northern cities. Our data on this point are tenuous at

best and much more research will have to be done before anyone knows either what the majority of Negroes themselves prefer by way of educating their children, or whether the decision—whatever it be—is the one which will allow greatest attainment of the agreed-upon goal: the full participation of Negroes as Americans.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SELECTED VARIABLES

We said earlier (p. 22) that we would further examine differences between the mothers who were unreservedly in favor of bussing children in the first three grades *and* those who either had reservations about bussing such children or were opposed to bussing them. The reader will recall that 60 percent of the respondents were in the former category and 40 percent were in the latter one. Primarily, we were interested in seeing if having a child in one of the first three grades was related to the opinion about bussing such children. The relationship between these two variables is shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6.—Grade category and bussing children in lower grades ($N=84$)*

Does family have child in one of First three grades?	Respondent's Opinion on Bussing Lower Grade Children						100%=
	Thinks should be bussed		Yes, but with Reservations		Should not be bussed		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Yes.....	41	71.9	14	24.6	2	3.5	57
No.....	8	29.6	13	48.2	6	22.2	27

*Insufficient information in 19 cases, $rpbs=.40$ $p<.01$.

Clearly, the relationship is a substantial one (being statistically significant at the .01 level) and shows that those more in favor of bussing first three graders have such a child while those less inclined to bussing the younger children do not have any first three graders in the family. A closer examination of the data shows that only eight respondents definitely opposed bussing the first three graders and that *six* of the eight respondents did not have a child in one of the first three grades. Thus, those who are in the best position to know the problems involved in bussing the younger children are also most in favor of such activity. We believe this finding to be related to the very favorable and satisfying experiences which the children in the first three grades were having. It is true, of course, that since the respondents with first three graders are younger and their youthfulness makes them more willing to face the additional challenge of bussing younger children. Such variable interaction, however, does not alter the basic fact that those who have younger children are also more willing to see them bussed.

It seemed to us that the grade a child is in should be related to a variety of other factors, given the findings of other investigations showing that age and racial awareness were directly related. Thus, Trager and Radke-Yarrow (1952), G. W. Allport (1961), and Gesell and Ilg (1946) are among those who apparently find more racial animosity, hostility and crystallization of attitudes among older children than among younger children, though Goodman (1964) has conclusively shown that the notion that racial awareness and prejudice are not present among three and four year olds is a myth. Since respondents judged the extent of prejudice encountered for each of their children in the Exodus program, scores were assigned to the response categories as follows: 1—a lot of prejudice, 2—some prejudice, 3—little prejudice, 4—no prejudice. Table 7 shows the mean prejudice score for children at each grade level. A direct statistically significant relationship was found to exist between amount of prejudice encountered and grade level (though the scoring procedure resulted in a negative r).

We also anticipated that the younger children would have more white friends than the older ones. The data on number of white friends derives from a question which was inclusive of all of the respondent's children in Exodus: "In general do(es) your child(ren) have more, fewer, or the same number of white friends than in the past?" Since the question on number of white friends applied to all of the respondent's children, respondents were divided according

to whether or not they had a child in one of the first three grades. Results of this analysis showed that respondents with a child in one of the first three grades were more likely than those without such a child to report that their children have more white friends than in the past (78% to 69%) although this difference is not statistically significant.

TABLE 7.—Grade of child and prejudice encountered ($N=192$)**

Child's grade	Mean Prejudice Score*
Kindergarten.....	3.63 (8)
1.....	3.52 (31)
2.....	3.39 (23)
3.....	3.33 (30)
4.....	3.20 (35)
5.....	2.86 (20)
6.....	3.18 (25)
7 & 8.....	2.57 (7)

*Persons encountering a lot of prejudice are at the low end of the scale, $r=-.28$ $p<.01$.

**No information in 29 cases.

A statistically significant difference ($p<.05$) was found, however, when we cross-tabulated the estimate of "benefit received from attendance at an integrated school" with whether or not the respondent had a child in one of the first three grades. Eighty-two percent of those with a first three grader felt that their children benefited greatly from attendance at an integrated school as opposed to 64 percent for those without a first three grader. In terms of the mothers' perception of the amount of prejudice or discrimination encountered, making friends with their white peers, and the estimate of benefits resulting from attending an integrated school, the younger children, i.e., first three graders, are apparently faring substantially better than the older children though this is not to say that the older children are faring poorly.

This set of findings, having to do with the grade-specific relationship, seems to merit discussion. More specifically, why are there differences by grade level in the mothers' perceptions of the benefits of attending an integrated school? Although there is a dearth of evidence, findings by Trager and Radke-Yarrow in particular, showing older children, in contrast to younger children, to have more hostile feelings about race, seem consistent with the present finding showing a direct relationship between the mothers' perception of prejudice encountered and grade (Table 7). It would seem that the younger children not only encounter less prejudice than the older ones, but that they are likely to have a shorter history of negative experiences based on race. This, then, may be a key factor in explaining the more favorable views which the mothers with first three graders have of the bussing experience.

In the section (p. 306) in the discussion of the distribution of responses to the question tapping the extent of benefit from attendance at an integrated school (Table 5), we indicated that we would elaborate on the matter of the respondents' attitudes toward sending their children to integrated schools. Before doing this, however, we deal with one more set of findings which will be relevant to the discussion. These findings have to do with the relationship between the mothers' perception of extent of prejudice encountered by her children and the extent to which her children benefited from attending an integrated school. As noted earlier, the question on integration was a general question and not designed to elicit the respondents' views for each child while the question on prejudice gathered information on each child in the family who was participating in Operation Exodus. This being the case, combined prejudice scores for the children in a family yielded an *Average Prejudice Score* (i.e., average amount of prejudice encountered by Exodus children in the family) for the family. The relationship between Average Prejudice Score and the respondent's estimate of the degree to which she thought her children benefited from attending an integrated school was found to be statistically significant (Table 8).

This relationship, a fairly strong one, suggests that the more the mother thinks her child is encountering prejudice at the new school, the less likely she is to think that he "benefits from attending an integrated school." In support of this finding are two other related findings. The first of these shows that respondents who

say their children now have more white friends than in the past are significantly less likely to report that their children encountered prejudice or discrimination than are respondents who say their children have the same number or fewer white friends ($r = -.22$). The second of these related findings, similarly, shows that the Exodus mothers who say their children have more white friends now are significantly more likely to believe that their children are benefiting greatly from attendance at an integrated school than are the mothers who say their children have the same number or fewer white friends ($r = .25$).

TABLE 8.—Average prejudice score and benefit from attending integrated school ($N = 97$)*

Prejudice	Benefits of attending an integrated school						100%
	Greatly		Some		Little or None		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1-1.5 (a lot).....	1	25.0	2	50.0	1	25.0	4
1.6-2.5.....	10	62.5	5	31.2	1	6.3	16
2.6-3.5.....	21	75.0	6	21.4	1	3.6	28
3.6-4.0.....	40	81.6	7	14.3	2	4.1	49

*No information for 6 cases, $rpbs = .23$ $p < .05$.

The findings presented here are limited and should be viewed as exploratory since the research data are based on single point-in-time interviews with respondents. The following discussion of the findings makes particular use of the following concerns on which data has been presented in this monograph: prior participation in community activities, reasons for bussing one's children, the benefits of attending an integrated school, extent of prejudice encountered, and grade in school.

Consider the fact that while the previous experiences of the respondents have fashioned a belief in the power of a quality education as an instrument aiding upward mobility, other experiences may have served to alienate them from the view that integration is good. To be sure, the disavowal of integration—in schools as well as neighborhoods—might have arisen in response to previous frustrations experienced in the pursuit of integration or as a defense mechanism guarding against anticipated frustrations. It also might be due, in part, to the growth of a more positive self-image among Negroes in recent years. These factors could well result in the acquisition of a wary or negative attitude toward school integration and a positive attitude toward a quality education. This situation is probably best described by Festinger's (1957) classic concept: *cognitive dissonance*. In Festinger's terms "two opinions, or beliefs, or items of knowledge are dissonant with each other if they do not fit together or if one does not follow from the other," that is, if they are in conflict with each other. Dissonance theorists also contend that there will arise attempts to reduce the dissonance or conflict. The concept as applied to the Exodus situation can be used as follows: the children, in September 1965, are sent to new schools in order to receive a quality education, but in the process attend integrated schools. Discomfort is produced in the parent by this situation. Then an interesting thing happens: the children not only start getting a quality education, but get along fine with their schoolmates, make new white friends, get along with the teachers, and apparently encounter very little or only scattered prejudice and discrimination. They tell this to their parents. The parents now have an opportunity to reconcile their dissonance, and, as theorized by Festinger, do so by altering their views about school integration.

When the mothers were asked to state their reasons for bussing their children, only 7 percent of them mentioned integration as a reason. Note also that most of the parents had previously participated in educational activities but not in civil rights activities (Table 2). But at the end of the interview and after a number of questions which elicited responses about school performance, number of white friends, and the extent of prejudice encountered, 94 percent of these mothers held the opinion that their children were benefiting "greatly" or

"some" from attending an integrated school. (Although the question was ambiguous and tends to permit educational and integration elements to be considered as referents of "benefits", it does seem that these mothers passed up an opportunity to disavow the advantages of integration.) Moreover we find that the parents whose children encounter the least amount of prejudice feel that their children have benefited the most from attending an integrated school. These findings suggest the dissonance and dissonance-reduction processes theorized by Festinger.

Indeed, we think that the findings add knowledge in an area where Festinger (1964) suggests knowledge is needed, i.e., the conditions, in natural settings particularly, under which dissonance reduction is easy or difficult. Specifically we think a number of conditions aided in the reduction of the mother's concerns about school integration :

- 1) As indicated in Chapter II, many of the Exodus mothers had been trying for years to improve the educational opportunities for their children. They made the firm *commitment* which Festinger (1964) and his associates describe as necessary to dissonance reduction ;
- 2) The extensive support given to Exodus by white people in and around Boston ;
- 3) A growing knowledge, resulting from participating in joint ventures with whites, that the power to influence events in Boston was possible if they got outside the Negro community.

It would seem that the reduction of dissonance would have to have beneficial results. We know for a fact that the few children who did not return to the Exodus program for the current year are largely accounted for by change of residence or transfer to a school where educational opportunities were thought by the parents to be even better than those in schools available through Exodus. Indeed, it is interesting to note that a few of our Exodus parents now casually discuss the prospects of getting their children into one of the most exclusive private schools in the country—Beaver Country Day School.

We have utilized some of Festinger's ideas knowing full well that there are gaps in the theory as well as the supportive research. Moreover, we are aware that there are other plausible explanations of the findings. A number of social scientists (for example, Deutscher, 1966, Yarrow, Campbell, and Yarrow, 1958) have pointed out that people may change their attitudes or perceptions, after doing or experiencing certain things. An advantage, however, in utilizing dissonance theory in the interpretation was that it seemed to clarify some of the processes which appeared to be going on during the first year but which we did not fully record for reasons already mentioned.

IV. IMPLICATIONS

There are at least two types of implications of the findings which we will consider. These are designated as action implications and research implications.

ACTION IMPLICATIONS

Perhaps the main implication is that the process of the estrangement or alienation of minority group members can be halted through a mechanism which brings a substantial number of both the minority and majority group members together—even if children serve as the mechanism. It may even be that the children are the crucial people. In the present case it appears to be the case that *unanticipated benefits* resulted from the Exodus bussing operation. In view of an apparent hardening of positions against school integration by holders of power in some of the northern cities, it may be in order to suggest that the result could well be a decision by Negroes not to strive for school integration. But no one should be lulled into thinking that such a lack of interest in school integration would mean that Negroes were surrendering their fight for full participation in American society. They would still fight for equal opportunities via improved schools, housing, and the like, but in their own neighborhoods. We wonder if such a decision by Negroes to forgo the task of pursuing school integration could lead to solid gains. As far as northern cities are concerned, with relatively small proportions of Negroes, we think not. Indeed, we think school integration is their best opportunity for breaking the old habit of forgetting about Negroes.

And vice versa, we feel strongly that school integration also serves to help Negroes alter their fears and dislikes of whites. Other studies in other parts of the country seem to be consistent with our own research and interpretation. A report on one of these studies was carried recently in the *San Francisco Examiner*, November 2, 1966. It involves a nation-wide survey directed by Gary Marx at the University of California Survey Research Center. Marx is reported to have found that Negro activists (excluding the separatists) in the civil rights movement are less likely to express strong anti-white feelings than more conservative Negroes. He is quoted as saying, "it is an easy but mistaken assumption that civil rights concern breeds anti-white hostility. In fact our results indicate that greater civil rights concerns (excluding those few in sympathy with separatism) means less hostility toward whites." It seems, then, that a process of rapprochement between Negro and white goes on for many of those involved in action projects which, like Exodus, are attempting to meet Negro, and the community's needs.

Another action implication has to do with the age at which children can be effectively integrated in school. The argument against integrating younger children seems, on the basis of present findings, to be overcome by the advantages of integrating at the first grade level. Although there is no guarantee that first graders who attend racially mixed classes will not develop racial prejudices, several conditions in our society seem to favor early integration. First, as noted earlier, the younger children are, the less likely they are to have a history of experiencing or practicing racial stereotyping—even should such stereotyping be practiced at home. Second, the civil rights movement, in general, has had and continues to have, wide public as well as government support. The federal government has consistently supported this movement and has seen to the establishment of substantial legislation with which racial equality can be pursued. Third, Negroes have to a great degree gotten school authorities to begin to correct a serious and prejudice-including flaw in the educational curricula, namely, the omission of an accurate presentation of Negro history and Negro achievement from textbooks. Thus, conditions now exist which would, it seems, allow early school integration to have a great chance for success, i.e., children growing up without racial fears or racial prejudices. The longer school integration is held off, of course, the longer the children would have to notice the separation and be exposed to unchallenged racial stereotypes.

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

We have been careful to point out the extremely tentative nature of our findings, a caution dictated by several considerations. These include the fact that our research was limited to interviews with the Exodus mothers as well as the fact that we had time for only a single interview, about two-thirds of the way through the school year. It would be desirable to have had the following kinds of data: (a) before and after interviews with mothers, (b) interviews with the children, (c) contacts with principals at the new schools, and (d) school records. Obviously, then, ours is not best characterized as a definitive study of the matter at hand. Fortunately, however, Exodus is in its second year of operations and a second chance for research has presented itself, although, to an undetermined extent, it is not the same Exodus in 1966-67 as it was in 1965-66. Still, a research project is in progress, under the direction of James Teele. A number of issues of both theoretical and practical importance will be dealt with in this research, oriented around hypothesis-testing.

Consistent with the study of the first year's experience, it is proposed that Exodus parents again be interviewed. This year, however, there will be two interviews, one at the beginning of the school year and one at the end of the school year. Baseline and predictive data, such as measures of personality characteristics, are collected in the first interview, and effect data gathered at the second interview. Some of the attitudinal data will be collected at both points in time in order that attitude changes may be assessed. In addition to interviewing the Exodus parents, interviews will be sought with parents of Negro children "eligible" for but not enrolled in Exodus. That is, such parents would have to have children in the age range of those in Exodus and would also have to have heard about Exodus. Since the Exodus policy is to take all applicants, and this is well known in the community, such parents can be said to have "decided not to participate in Exodus." Before and after interviews will be

conducted with all parents participating in the study. Findings from our own first year study, as well as those of Pettigrew (1965), Weinstein and Geisel (1962), Crocket (1957), and Garth (1960) are utilized in the development of the hypotheses to be tested.

It is planned, moreover, to attempt interviews with the children at home, interviews which will include appropriate measures of IQ and other personality characteristics. Finally, focussed interviews will also be sought with teachers and principals at the schools attended, and an attempt made to ascertain the school structure.

The hypotheses, stated below, apply to the whole study group of Exodus and non-Exodus families and are developed primarily around two issues:

first, to be tested on data from the first interview, and called "first interview hypothesis" are hypotheses about factors related to the parents' "decision" to bus their children in Project Exodus. This will include an analysis of the parents' conception of "quality education" and their attitudes about the desirability of quality education and integration.

secondly, to be tested on data from both interviews, and called "second interview hypotheses," are hypotheses about factors related to changes in parental attitudes.

A. First Interview Hypotheses:

1. Exodus parents are higher in job status and educational attainment than parents of children not in Exodus.
2. Exodus parents are less alienated than non-Exodus parents.
3. Exodus parents have higher aspirations for their children than those of non-Exodus children.
4. Exodus parents are more active in community organizations than those parents of non-Exodus children.

Weinstein and Geisel, in a recent study of family decisions with respect to desegregation in Nashville, found that those families which sent their children to desegregated schools were, in contrast to families which kept their children in segregated schools, higher in socio-economic status.

The second hypothesis, re alienation, is also consistent with findings of Weinstein and Geisel in Nashville. Indeed, these authors found alienation, indexed by Srole's five-item Anomia Scale, to be the strongest predictor of the desegregation decision for their study group.

The third hypothesis, that higher aspirations for their children will characterize the Exodus parents, is consistent with findings of Schleifer and Teele (1964) in their study of school dropouts, as well as with findings in a number of related studies of achievement motivation. Schleifer and Teele, in a recent study of white youth in a lower class neighborhood in Cambridge, Massachusetts comparing the attitudes toward education and aspirations for their children of the mothers of dropouts with those of mothers of "stay-ins", found that the mothers of the dropouts had more negative attitudes toward education and lower aspirations for their children.

The fourth hypothesis is important because it deals with a most essential ingredient of community programs like Exodus, namely the participation of people in the community. We hypothesize that the Exodus mothers will be more active than non-Exodus mothers in degree of prior community involvement. This hypothesis is, in fact, of crucial importance since it has relevance to the use of community organizations as vehicles or stepping stones in behavioral and attitude-change planning. Programs like those in the Office of Economic Opportunity assume that the first step is *local organization* and that individual growth and progress stems from such local organizations as opposed to the traditional approach of relying on the "older" agencies for bringing in experts and professionals who will do things for the people. The hypothesis will be tested by both the application of the Weinstein and Geisel scale of Attitudes Toward Pioneering and by a direct question on prior community involvement. Weinstein and Geisel, found a direct and significant relationship between pioneering and desegregation.

B. Second Interview Hypotheses:

1. Exodus mothers, in contrast to non-Exodus mothers, will show greater movement (i.e. attitude change) toward acceptance of school integration as a goal of Exodus, apart from consideration of the issue of a quality education.

2. Exodus mothers, in contrast to non-Exodus mothers, will show greater positive change on the following attitude scales: Pionering, Civil Liberties, and Civil Rights. They will also show more of an increase in community involvement than the non-Exodus mothers.

The first hypothesis in this section suggests that Exodus mothers will show more change toward acceptance of integration than non-Exodus mothers. (It is emphasized that the questions on attitude toward integration will be kept separate from the questions on (a) the concept of a quality education, and (b) the desirability of sending one's child to a quality school in Roxbury.) This hypothesis is consistent with the interpretation of findings herein reported.

The second hypothesis suggests that participants in Exodus will develop broader horizons and come to see that the rights of others (Civil Liberties) are tied in with their own. As a corollary, such persons will become more active in their community, in contrast to the narrower horizons of the non-Exodus mothers.

A final comment about the research presently going on has to do with the interviewers. In the first wave of interviews, already completed, in addition to utilizing seven experienced Exodus mothers as interviewers, we employed four persons who did not have any connections with Exodus. These four non-Exodus interviewers will afford an opportunity, we think, to ascertain if future results (and to some extent, our past results) are biased by the use of the Exodus mothers as interviewers. Indeed, we welcome a chance to see if the sensitivity and objectivity of our Exodus interviewers are equal to that of our more professional interviewers. If this is the case, then a whole vista of opportunities are within the reach of the non-professional.

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Exhibit No. 6

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL FOR EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY
(METCO)

RESEARCH DIVISION,
178 Humboldt Avenue, Roxbury, 427-1100,
4 October 1966.

TO: Dr. Leon Trilling.

FROM: Dr. David Archibald.

Re: *Summary of METCO Academic Distribution Report*.

Following is a summary of the longer report, without making distinction between different sources of information.

I. ARLINGTON

On recognized IQ tests, 12 of the 15 METCO students attending Arlington fifth grade classes scores, as a group, slightly below national norms. Consequently, they probably scored considerably below the Arlington average.

On a reading-achievement test, the same students scored noticeably below their grade-level as a group, and presumably even more below the Arlington level.

Most of the Boston records have been sent to Arlington.

II. BRAINTREE

The academic distribution of the twenty METCO students in 7th and 8th grades in two Braintree junior high schools ranges from barely passing to very able (according to last year's report cards). The distribution approximates a normal one in that the bulk of students range in the middle.

Of the twenty students, fourteen are in ability groupings above the so-called average group, which, in fact, includes all students who are not clearly good college-preparatory material. The placement of METCO students is therefore at a higher level than would be expected by their records in the Boston schools.

Only half the Boston records have arrived.

III. BROOKLINE

There are 52 elementary and 23 high students from METCO, from kindergarten through grade 11, in 11 Brookline schools. Most of the Boston records have arrived.

The range for elementary students was from just barely passing to very able, with the largest number in a middle range.

For the high school students, distributions of IQ and achievement test scores appear reasonably normal, with slightly higher frequencies below the mean and lower above the mean than would be expected in a normal frequency distribution. Mean scores for both distributions fell close to those of national

norms, but are likely much lower than those of the Brookline High School population.

The METCO students are distributed among the lower three of the four High School ability groups in English, with the largest number in the third category (Standard College Preparatory).

Most of the Boston records have arrived.

IV. LEXINGTON

There are 25 METCO students in the Lexington 7th, 8th and 9th grades, in two junior high schools and the High School. The distribution of students is much like those in Braintree and in Brookline, with a very few able students, a large group in the middle, and a few more at the lowest level. The bulge is probably below the level expected in a normal distribution.

No METCO students were assigned to the highest or the lowest of the four ability groups in English. There was a tendency to assign them to above average groups, and this initial classification may be revised in many instances in the near future.

Most of the Boston records have arrived.

V. WELLESLEY

There are 25 METCO students in the 10th and 11th grades in Wellesley High School. Distribution of ability according to a reading achievement test is clearly U-shaped, with high frequencies at the upper and lower ends of the scale, lower frequencies in the middle range. As for all other systems, there are somewhat more scores below the national median than above it.

Of the four English ability groups in Wellesley High School, there are no METCO students in the highest or the lowest, but a relatively large number in the next-to-lowest group.

VI. NEWTON

There are 50 METCO students going to the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th grades in seven Newton elementary schools. When judged as "below average", "average", and "above average", most students fell into the middle category, with slightly more in the highest than in the lowest.

Considerably less than half of the Boston records are in the hands of the Newton principals.

VII. CONCLUSION

In general, the METCO students taken as a group represent a distribution of academic ability which ranges from just under the very high scores to close to the lowest, with the weight of the distribution near, but somewhat below, a theoretical national average. Compared to the entire Boston school population, they would undoubtedly score below a sample selected randomly. The difference is even more extreme when compared with expected distributions in the suburban school systems where they are attending classes.

On the other hand, it is possible that the achievement test scores which contribute to this conclusion are artificially low as a result of test-anxiety and time-pressure. While achievement test are ordinarily time and power tests, there are some who feel that they ought only be power tests. There is some very slight evidence that, were they to be administered without time restrictions, the Boston METCO scores might be higher. The same would likely be true, however, for any group taking these tests.

Exhibit No. 7

TO THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

THE BOSTON BLUEPRINT FOR EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

William H. Ohrenberger, Superintendent of Public Schools, October 4, 1966

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INTRODUCTION

Dr. Hannah and Members of the Civil Rights Commission, I welcome the opportunity to set before this Commission programs and policies that may well serve as a blueprint to other urban communities for preserving the educational rights of its young citizens.

The effective operation of the nation's schools, in keeping with the ideal of equality of educational opportunity for all, is justly a matter of concern to the President and other elected officials of this country. The same concern for the quality of education provided by the Boston Public Schools is shared by the citizens of this great city. I am grateful for the opportunity to cooperate with the Commission in its efforts to gather all the facts.

Early this past summer, when the Boston Public Schools were preparing to close, representatives of this Commission approached me with a request for information which, we have since discovered, was to touch on every phase of the operation of our public schools. While the request came at a most inopportune time, the Commission was assured of then, and has received since, the fullest cooperation from my office and numerous members of my staff. Since the day the request was made, to the present time, three, four, and at times more hired representatives of this Commission have been gathering information at School Committee Headquarters, in our school buildings and various school departments, and elsewhere, relative to the operation of the Boston Public Schools from 1949-1966.

In addition to information which representatives transcribed from records which could not be removed from school buildings or School Committee Headquarters, copies of the following documents were sent to representatives of the Commission for study prior to these hearings:

PARTIAL LIST OF MATERIAL SENT TO THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS FOR THEIR STUDY

MATERIAL SENT BY OFFICE OF ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE SUPERINTENDENT,
HERBERT C. HAMBELTON

6/24/66

Superintendent's Annual Report (1950, 1960, 1965)
Racial Census (1964-1965)
Report on Racial Imbalance in the Boston Public Schools
Procedure followed for the selection of school sites
School Manuals
Qualifications for teacher entrance
Annual follow-up report of the Department of Vocational Guidance (1952, 1960, 1964)
Principal's Handbook
Teacher's Handbook
Teacher Recruitment Brochure
Press Release announcing teacher examinations in Boston Public Schools
Letter sent out on teacher recruitment to various colleges and universities—(491)
Summarization report on teacher recruitment
Vacant Seat Count
Open Enrollment Brochure
Superintendent's Circulars
Recommended Capital Improvement Program (Letter sent to Commissioner Owen B. Kiernan)
Discrimination—Danger to Democracy
Report of the School Committee (1950, 1963)

7/1/66

Boundary Line Changes
Annual Statistics of the Boston Public Schools—(1949-50, 1951-52, 1959-60, 1963-64, 1964-65)
Annual Report of the Department of School Buildings—(1951, 1960, 1964)
Annual Report of the Business Manager (1965)

MATERIAL SENT BY OFFICE OF ASSOCIATE SUPERINTENDENT, WILLIAM G. TOBIN ON
SEPTEMBER 20TH

A set of statistics on the following:

Teacher Transfers
Choice of High School by Junior High School Pupils
Special Class enrollments and locations
Advanced Work Classes and Locations
Professional Staff Census—Spring 1966
Open Enrollment—1965-66 School Year
Elementary and Junior High Schools
Street Feeder Patterns

For the reasons just stated, I am firmly convinced that the Commission has more than enough information in its possession to prove that the Boston Public Schools are protecting the educational rights of all the city's youth; that every child in this city, whatever his race, religion, color, economic station, ethnic origin, or physical or mental endowments is provided with every opportunity to develop his abilities to the fullest.

In making this statement, I do not for a moment imply that the city's schools are perfect or above constructive criticism. What human institution, small or great, is or ever could be? However, if racially imbalanced schools exist in this city, *and they do*; if some of the city's school buildings are antiquated, and *they are* in many areas throughout the city; if the educational motivation of some children of disadvantaged backgrounds is below normal, and in many cases, *it is*; these conditions are not the result of the policies or programs of present or former Boston school officials.

Of primary concern to this Commission and interested citizens is the question of imbalanced schools and the alleged inferior education they produce. If between 40 and 50 of the city's 190 schools are imbalanced, it cannot be denied that such schools reflect racially imbalanced neighborhoods. It is equally true that

the majority of these schools, in the recent past, and with exactly the same attendance lines, were not racially imbalanced. The extensive and rapid mobility of population is a phenomenon of our time. To attempt to forcibly balance schools in terms of fixed racial ratios is against both the spirit and the letter of the Federal Constitution. In practice, it would be like building the foundations of school organization on quicksand; necessitating the continuous shifting of white and non-white children.

Furthermore, as I have previously stated on many occasions, I am unable to agree that a racially imbalanced school is, *per se*, educationally harmful. The implication that, given equal educational opportunity, children of a given race cannot succeed as well as members of another race is completely undocumented. There is *undisputed proof* that children of poverty and disadvantaged background, in general, do not achieve at the same rate as children of more socially and economically-favored backgrounds. There is, at this moment, *no proof* that ability to learn can be based solely on color. For this reason, racial considerations should not be a valid standard upon which to base educational decisions. It is quite possible and understandable that pupils of a given race, religion, color, or national origin may take comfort, pleasure, and pride from attending a school in which they are in the majority. It is obviously as discriminatory to *force* pupils out of such a school as it is to force them into other schools. Our programs and policies will reveal beyond any doubt that *compulsion* is foreign to the operation of the Boston Public Schools.

Just as strongly as I believe that no firm evidence proves that racially imbalanced schools *are* of themselves, educationally harmful, do I believe that interracial learning experiences are socially desirable. One cannot underestimate the importance of preparing today's youth for the day when Americans of all races, religions, colors, and national origins will live in true harmony and understanding. The Boston Public Schools have long been aware of and are contributing to the achievement of this goal.

OPEN ENROLLMENT POLICY

Also traditional to the operation of the Boston Public Schools has been a policy of *Open Enrollment*. This offers to the parents of Boston's school children a plan which is in accord with the "*Freedom of Choice Plan*", explained in the previously-mentioned publication of the Civil Rights Commission and considered acceptable to the Federal government.

Under the operation of this Policy, a parent may enroll his children in "any school having appropriate grades or courses—provided that particular school, after enrolling the children of its own locale, has adequate accommodations for pupils from other districts, and providing the parent assumes cost of transportation to and from such school."

The following question and answer from the Commission's publication previously referred to would appear to support Boston's position on this issue:

Question: "When more children choose a school than the school can accommodate, which children will be assigned there?"

Answer: "Those who live nearest the school."

Admittedly, Boston first assigns a seat in a given school to those who live nearest the school, and then opens available vacancies to any who may choose that school.

To facilitate the operation of this Policy, every parent receives a copy of the "Open Enrollment" brochure during the first week of school. In addition, a vacant seat count is taken in every school throughout the city on the first four Fridays of the School year, and once monthly, thereafter. A report of the vacant seat count is in the hands of every principal on the following Monday. Also, on the afternoon of the same day that the count is taken, a copy is mailed to each of the city's newspapers, T.V. stations, radio stations, and to any group that has expressed or may express a desire for the document. To this moment, my office has received not a single complaint relative to the failure of school personnel to cooperate in the orderly operation of the provisions of the Open Enrollment Policy.

OPERATION EXODUS

At this time, I should like to speak briefly on two programs currently in operation. One is Operation Exodus. If any group can testify to the effec-

tiveness of Boston's Open Enrollment Policy, that group is the sponsors of Operations Exodus. This program to enroll children from predominantly non-white schools into predominantly white schools was initiated and has been operated and financed through the efforts of private individuals and community groups in the Roxbury-North Dorchester areas. It owes its smooth and effective implementation, in no small part, to the open seat count supplied by the Boston Public Schools.

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL FOR EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

The second program, designed to provide the students of participating and almost exclusively white suburban communities the opportunity for integrated learning experiences, is the Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity (Metco).

At this time, approximately 220 Negro pupils are being bused to the suburban communities of Arlington, Braintree, Brookline, Lexington, Lincoln, Newton, and Wellesley where they attend predominantly white schools at different levels. In its proposal, the City of Newton, on behalf of the participating communities, requested the following Federal funds:

- (a) \$1,000 tuition per pupil.
- (b) \$25 per pupil for educational materials.
- (c) \$40,000 for the transportation of 200 pupils.

It is our understanding that those funds were approved as of September 1, 1966 and form the present basis for federal funding of this program.

In all fairness, credit for initiating the idea behind Metco should go to Boston School Committeeman, Joseph Lee. His views and the views of the Boston Public Schools were explained in *A Statement of Policy and Recommendations on the Subject of Racial Imbalance and Education in the Boston Public Schools*, submitted to the Boston School Committee in June, 1965.

"Integration in each neighborhood is the only solution for integration in our schools. It follows that when we succeed in abolishing ghettos we will automatically eliminate racially imbalanced schools. The problem of integrating people rests on the total community—Boston, and the entire Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

That the Boston Public Schools are whole-heartedly in support of the objectives of Metco, and are cooperating in their implementation is demonstrated by the following:

1. The motivating philosophy behind Metco was stated originally, and repeatedly voiced by School Committeeman, Joseph Lee.
2. The Boston Public Schools send to the participating communities copies of the *health card* and the cumulative—record card of every pupil in the program.
3. We welcomed the request of teachers in the "receiving" suburban schools to visit the "sending" schools in Boston this past spring, and to speak with the teachers of these schools. Requests for additional visits this fall have already been received and similarly welcomed.
4. Associate Superintendent Mary E. Vaughan is presently serving on the Board of Directors of Metco.
5. Miss Vaughan has been invited to serve on the Planning Board and to represent the Boston Public Schools in any deliberations relative to the future expansion of Operation Metco.

Not to be interpreted as strong criticism of the Operation is our concern with two features.

- A. Approximately 50 of the 220 participating students, or 22.7%, are high school students. At this time, only one of Boston's 17 senior high schools is racially imbalanced (Girls' High School). If the objective is to alleviate or eliminate racial imbalance, it would seem desirable to select participating students from presently racially imbalanced schools.
- B. Approximately 10 kindergarten children are in the program. There is reason to doubt the wisdom of removing such young children such great distances from their homes and the security of familiar surroundings.

Enrollment of white and non-white pupils in Boston public schools

[Based on Census of March 1964 and October 1965]

Grade Level	White	Non-White	Total
<i>High School</i>			
March 1964.....	17,446	2,788	20,244
October 1965.....	17,384	3,633	20,997
<i>Junior High</i>			
March 1964.....	10,362	2,896	13,258
October 1965.....	10,378	3,340	13,718
<i>Elementary (K-8)</i>			
March 1964.....	42,763	15,354	58,117
October 1965.....	41,303	16,890	58,193
<i>Special Classes</i>			
March 1964.....	132	49	181
October 1965.....	91	56	47
Totals, all levels		March 1964	October 1965
White.....		70,703	69,136
Non-White.....		21,097	23,919
Total Enrollment.....		91,800	93,055

Voluntary transfers of junior high school pupils under the Boston open enrollment policy as of October 1, 1965

Admitting Junior High	No. of Transfers		% Non-White in School per Latest Racial Census, 1965
	White	Non-White	
Clarence R. Edwards.....	9	0	0%
Grover Cleveland.....	154	28	3%
James P. Timilty.....	0	141	94.1%
Joseph H. Barnes.....	1	0	0.1%
Lewis.....	0	78	89%
Mary E. Curley.....	69	158	29%
Michelangelo.....	0	0	0%
Oliver Wendall Holmes.....	26	126	70.7%
Patrick F. Gavin.....	82	5	1.5%
Patrick T. Campbell.....	0	128	98.7%
Robert G. Shaw.....	256	43	4.9%
Solomon Lewenberg.....	109	157	25.4%
Thomas A. Edison.....	46	74	13.7%
Washington Irving.....	206	60	5.9%
William Barton Rogers.....	54	29	3.3%
William Howard Taft.....	28	60	15.7%
Woodrow Wilson.....	220	18	2.2%
Total.....	1260	1103	

Voluntary transfer of junior high school pupils under the Boston open enrollment policy as of September, 1966

Admitting Junior High	No. of Transfers		% of Non-White Pupils per Latest Racial Census—1966
	White	Non-White	
Clarence R. Edwards.....	5	15	% of non-whites not yet estimated. Awaiting monthly attendance reports for September.
Grover Cleveland.....	75	13	
James P. Timilty.....	3	314	
Joseph H. Barnes.....	2	1	
Lewis.....	0	85	
Mary E. Curley.....	61	131	
Michelangelo-Eliot-Hancock.....	1	0	
Oliver W. Holmes.....	21	66	
Patrick F. Gavin.....	60	4	
Patrick T. Campbell.....	0	139	
Robert G. Shaw.....	240	53	
Solomon Lewenberg.....	53	199	
Thomas A. Edison.....	73	88	
Washington Irving.....	194	73	
William B. Rogers.....	36	64	
William H. Taft.....	0	55	
Woodrow Wilson.....	238	14	
Total.....	1,062	1,323	

Voluntary transfers of elementary school pupils under the Boston open enrollment policy

Receiving District	Transfers 1965-1966		Transfers 1966-1967	
	White	Non-White	White	Non-White
A. Lincoln*	83	169	66	187
Agassiz	90	2	95	3
Beethoven	0	3	0	0
Bennett	99	18	6	73
Bigelow	23	0	13	13
Blackinton-Cheverus	4	0	3	0
Chapman	25	0	18	18
C. Sumner	19	4	13	3
C. Gibson*	1	54	2	12
Dearborn*	10	142	7	30
Dillaway*	0	31	2	41
D. McKay-S. Adams	60	0	45	6
Dudley*	0	41	0	28
Dwight*	12	200	26	149
E. Tileston	95	101	101	88
E. Everett	38	0	37	0
E. Greenwood	33	6	15	24
Emerson	78	0	104	1
E. Fildfield	114	12	107	18
F. Parkman	30	71	27	46
F. V. Thompson	393	260	82	169
Hart-Gaston-Perry	388	151	314	212
Harvard	0	0	41	0
H. Grew	11	25	14	42
H. L. Higginson*	0	375	1	176
Hugh O'Brien	62	50	42	39
Hyde Everett*	0	22	(Now Dudley-Hyde- Everett District)	
James Chittick	0	0	0	0
Jefferson	91	78	114	70
John A. Andrew	273	3	154	3
John F. Kennedy	56	22	35	15
John Marshall	35	50	27	15
John Winthrop*	22	36	35	34
Julia Ward Howe*	14	140	0	121
Longfellow	31	0	23	0
Martin*	19	30	13	28
Mary Hemenway	58	53	49	36
Mather	101	20	6	0
Minot	10	61	21	170
Michelangelo	2	0	0	0
Norcross	0	0	2	0
Patrick Lyndon	89	1	59	2
Paul Dever*	0	0	0	0
Phillips Brooks*	18	97	0	79
Prince*	52	242	28	217
Rice Franklin	30	185	26	93
Robert T. Paine	45	84	38	79
Roger Wolcott	33	61	57	34
Theodore Lyman	65	2	52	2
Thomas Gardner	3	0	28	2
Warren	169	0	146	0
Washington Allston	16	6	16	17
William Endicott*	34	99	4	125
William E. Russell	75	24	100	10
William L. Garrison*	0	82	2	64
James Garfield	0	0	0	85
Total	2,978	3,063	2,216	2,668

*Racially imbalanced school districts.

District transportation polls to relieve overcrowding replies to poll of January, 1965

(The following is a tabulation of replies received from parents in response to the attached request.)

School	Total polled	No. of replies	Yes	No	No response
Sarah Greenwood.....	570	495	84	411	75
William E. Endicott.....	75	62	19	43	13
Florence Nightingale.....	250	232	17	215	18
Christophe Gibson.....	352	263	21	242	89
	1,247	1,052	141	911	195

86% of the parents responding indicated a desire to have their children remain in the neighborhood school.

Replies to poll of June, 1966

School	Total polled	No. of replies	Yes	No	No response
Christopher Gibson.....	394	309	84	225	85
Sarah Greenwood.....	493	435	70	365	58
William E. Endicott.....	186	173	46	127	13
William L. Garrison.....	502	330	111	219	172
Emily Fifield.....	324	308	8	300	16
John G. Whittier.....	163	150	8	142	13
John Marshall.....	410	375	4	371	35
Champlain.....	226	207	14	193	19
Lucy Stone.....	170	152	0	152	18
Joseph Hurley.....	373	249	30	219	124
	3,241	2,688	375	2,313	553

86% of the parents responding indicated a desire to have their children remain in the neighborhood school.

In September, 1966, 482 parents of the Norcross District in South Boston were polled. Of this number, 357 indicated a desire *not to have* their children bused to neighboring schools, but rather to have them remain in the George F. Hoar School and attend double sessions. Only five indicated a desire to have their children bused. 98% of the parents responding indicated a desire to have their children remain in the neighborhood school.

June , 1966

Dear Parent:

In order to relieve the overcrowded conditions in the (NAME OF SCHOOL) we are planning in September, 1966 to assign a number of pupils from Grades 3, 4, 5, and 6 to the following schools where there are empty rooms and seats:

(NAMES OF RECEIVING SCHOOLS)

Transportation by bus will be provided by the Boston School Committee. The bus should leave at approximately 8:00 A.M. and should return by approximately 2:45 P.M. This service will be available to all students through Grade 6 who are reassigned to the schools indicated.

One of the considerations in assigning pupils will be the desire of the parents. In the interest of good organization, we intend to keep the children of each family together. At this time, however, we cannot indicate to which schools your children will be assigned. You will be notified just as soon as we have this information.

If space does not permit us to assign all the children whose parents request that they be transferred, we shall make the final decision by drawing lots to achieve the fairest distribution.

We would appreciate your assistance in this matter, and we ask that you sign the accompanying form expressing your desire. Please return the signed form immediately.

Sincerely yours,
Principal

1. I wish to take advantage of this change of school.
2. I do not wish to take advantage of this change of school.

Pupil's Name	Parent's Signature	
<i>Pupil transportation to relieve overcrowding 1966-67 revised September 8, 1966</i>		
[Chartered from Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority]		
	No. of Buses	No. of Pupils
Joseph J. Hurley and Hyde-Dudley to Alexander Hamilton.....	1	52
William L. Garrison to Winship School.....	2	87
Sarah Greenwood to Thomas J. Kenny.....	1	46
William Endicott to Thomas J. Kenny.....	1	32
Christopher Gibson and Sarah Greenwood to Frank V. Thompson.....	1	55
Christopher Gibson to Gilbert Stuart.....	2	78
Columbia Point Project to Frank V. Thompson.....	1	35
Prince District to Martin Milmore (Includes Mid-day Trip).....	1	194
Harvard District to Bunker Hill School and Harvard School (Includes Mid-day Trip).....	2	194
Charles Sumner District to Charles Sumner School.....	2	120
Columbia Point Project to Hart-Gaston-Perry Schools.....	5	428
Totals.....	19	1164

COMPENSATORY PROGRAMS—OFFICE OF COMPENSATORY SERVICES

I. General Objectives of all Programs

To increase academic achievement; to raise occupational and aspirational levels; to provide special assistance to low achievers; to provide enrichment services for all pupils; to retain pupils in school.

II. Regular Day Programs

A. Elementary

Participants: 12,000 pupils in 38 school buildings in 16 elementary districts.

Program Activities: Team teaching; ungrading in some program components; special reading and language programs; special art, music, science, and diction teachers; additional ancillary services; e.g., counseling, testing, programmed learning, field trips, etc.

B. Junior High Program

Participants: 4,000 pupils in six junior high schools.

Program Activities: Slow learner classes; advanced work classes; programmed instruction; special science laboratories and materials; counseling services.

C. Senior High Programs

Participants: 50 pupils in one senior high school.

Program Activities: Basic subjects; work with specially selected teachers; reading emphasis; varied educational materials.

III. Summer School Programs

A. Elementary and Junior High

Participants: Elementary: 6000 pupils from public and non-public schools—three hours daily for seven weeks.

Junior High: 500 pupils; same time period; public and non-public school pupils.

Program Activities: Remediation in reading and arithmetic; enrichment activities in art, social studies, literature, music, and science; field trips.

IV. After School Programs

A. Elementary: 2,500 pupils (public and non-public schools)

Activities: Recreational in general; dancing, games, arts, and crafts.

B. Junior High: 1,000 pupils; 6 junior high schools; 4 days a week.

Activities: Remediation in reading and arithmetic, homework assistance, library services, counseling services, enrichment classes.

C. Senior High: 120 pupils, one hour daily

Activities: Remediation in reading, typing and office practice, art.

V. Work—Study Program

Objective: To reduce incidence of dropouts in junior high.

Participants: 90 pupils in 5 junior high schools.

Program Activities: Specialized curriculum in remedial and developmental reading, and basic mathematics; specially-skilled teachers for each class; job placement with supervision by teacher-coordinators.

VI. Operation Second Chance

Objective: To decrease incidence of dropouts; to relate learning to needs of lower achievers.

Participants: Approximately 100 pupils in six junior highs.

Compensatory districts pupil-teacher ratios, September 28, 1966

District	Pupils	Teachers	Pupil/Teacher Ratio
Christopher Gibson	797	38	21/1
Dearborn	952	36	26/1
Dillaway	518	30	17/1
Dudley	723	28	26/1
Dwight	664	40	17/1
Harvard	575	29	20/1
Henry L. Higginson	1,255	67	19/1
Hugh O'Brien	610	28	22/1
Jefferson	703	29	24/1
John Winthrop	936	45	21/1
Julia Ward Howe	922	45	20/1
Norcross	471	24	20/1
Paul A. Dever	928	34	27/1
Phillips Brooks	758	40	19/1
Theodore Lyman	700	31	23/1
William E. Endicott	1,244	43	29/1
Totals	12,756	587	22/1

District -- Complete Program

Counterpoise Evaluation 1965-66

Parental Evaluation—Grade III and VI

Please check the box you wish. You do not have to sign your name.

Under Counterpoise:

1. Have you noticed any difference in your child's attitude toward school?	1277	535
2. Has your child shown an increased interest in going to junior and senior high school?	1153	403
3. Has there been improvement in your child's work habits? ..	1460	295
4. Has there been any improvement in your child's effort?	1498	278
5. Has your child shown improvement on his report card in:		
A. Reading	1421	360
B. Arithmetic	1308	321
C. Language	1143	320
6. Has your child shown an increase in self-confidence?	1400	273
7. Has your child shown an increased interest in his personal appearance?	1500	256
8. Have you had more contact with the school through informal meetings, conferences, assemblies, letters, notices, etc.? ..	994	721

Comparison of reading achievement scores April 1965-April 1966

Grade I

	April 1965	April 1966	Change
Districts In Program 1964-1965, 1965-1966:			
Christopher Gibson.....	2.2	2.3	+1
Dearborn.....	2.3	2.2	-1
Dillaway.....	2.2	2.4	+2
Dudley.....	1.9	2.1	+2
Harvard.....	2.5	2.6	+1
Henry L. Higginson.....	2.1	2.3	+2
Hyde-Everett.....	2.2	2.1	-1
John Winthrop.....	1.9	1.9	-----
Julia Ward Howe.....	2.1	2.2	+1
Norcross.....	2.5	2.6	+1
Phillips Brooks.....	2.2	2.3	+1
William E. Endicott.....	2.2	2.4	+2
Average.....	2.2	2.3	+1
Districts Entering Program February 1966:			
Dwight.....	2.2	2.0	-2
Hugh O'Brien.....	2.1	2.2	+1
Jefferson.....	2.3	2.3	-----
Paul A. Dever.....	2.2	2.2	-----
Theodore Lyman.....	2.4	2.5	+1
Average.....	2.2	2.2	-----

Grade II

Districts In Program 1964-1965, 1965-1966:			
Christopher Gibson.....	3.4	3.3	-1
Dearborn.....	3.8	3.5	-3
Dillaway.....	3.5	3.6	+1
Dudley.....	3.2	3.3	+1
Harvard.....	3.6	3.7	+1
Henry L. Higginson.....	3.3	3.6	+3
Hyde-Everett.....	3.0	3.0	-----
John Winthrop.....	3.1	3.2	+1
Julia Ward Howe.....	3.3	3.4	+1
Norcross.....	3.4	4.0	+6
Phillips Brooks.....	3.2	3.2	-----
William E. Endicott.....	3.5	3.6	+1
Average.....	3.4	3.5	+1
Districts Entering Program February 1966:			
Dwight.....	3.1	3.1	-----
Hugh O'Brien.....	3.2	3.3	+1
Jefferson.....	3.4	3.6	+2
Paul A. Dever.....	3.0	2.8	-2
Theodore Lyman.....	3.5	3.6	+1
Average.....	3.2	3.3	+1

Grade III

Districts In Program 1964-1965, 1965-1966:			
Christopher Gibson.....	4.1	4.2	+1
Dearborn.....	3.8	4.0	+2
Dillaway.....	4.0	4.2	+2
Dudley.....	3.8	3.8	-----
Harvard.....	4.3	4.4	+1
Henry L. Higginson.....	4.0	4.3	+3
Hyde-Everett.....	4.0	3.5	-5
John Winthrop.....	3.7	3.9	+2
Julia Ward Howe.....	4.0	4.4	+4
Norcross.....	4.3	4.5	+2
Phillips Brooks.....	3.9	4.3	+4
William E. Endicott.....	4.3	4.1	-2
Average.....	4.0	4.1	+1
Districts Entering Program February 1966:			
Dwight.....	3.8	3.6	-2
Hugh O'Brien.....	3.9	4.1	+2
Jefferson.....	4.1	3.9	-2
Paul A. Dever.....	3.9	3.8	-1
Theodore Lyman.....	4.0	4.5	+5
Average.....	3.9	4.0	+1

Comparison of reading achievement scores April 1965-April 1966—Continued

Grade IV

	April 1965	April 1966	Change
Districts In Program 1964-1965, 1965-1966:			
Christopher Gibson.....	3.5	3.6	+ .1
Dearborn.....	3.8	3.8	-----
Dillaway.....	4.3	4.9	+ .6
Dudley.....	3.4	3.3	- .1
Harvard.....	4.0	4.2	+ .2
Henry L. Higginson.....	4.2	4.1	- .1
Hyde-Everett.....	3.4	3.2	- .2
John Winthrop.....	3.2	3.3	+ .1
Julia Ward Howe.....	3.4	3.7	+ .3
Norcross.....		No Grade IV	-----
Phillips Brooks.....	3.4	3.7	+ .3
William E. Endicott.....	3.8	3.6	- .2
Average.....	3.7	3.8	+ .1
Districts Entering Program February 1966:			
Dwight.....	3.2	3.2	-----
Hugh O'Brien.....	3.2	3.6	+ .4
Jefferson.....	3.4	3.4	-----
Paul A. Dever.....	3.3	3.4	+ .1
Theodore Lyman.....	3.9	4.0	+ .1
Average.....	3.4	3.5	+ .1

Comparison of reading achievement scores April 1965-April 1966

Grade VI

	April 1965	April 1966	Change
Districts In Program 1964-1965, 1965-1966:			
Christopher Gibson.....	5.1	5.3	+ .2
Dearborn.....	5.4	5.5	+ .1
Dillaway.....	5.3	5.0	- .3
Dudley.....	4.8	5.3	+ .5
Harvard.....	5.3	5.7	+ .4
Henry L. Higginson.....	5.5	5.7	+ .2
Hyde-Everett.....		No Grade VI	-----
John Winthrop.....	4.9	5.0	+ .1
Julia Ward Howe.....	5.0	4.7	- .3
Norcross.....		No Grade VI	-----
Phillips Brooks.....	4.9	4.8	- .1
William E. Endicott.....	5.2	5.0	- .2
Average.....	5.1	5.2	+ .1
Districts Entering Program February 1966:			
Dwight.....	4.8	4.6	- .2
Hugh O'Brien.....	5.1	4.9	- .2
Jefferson.....	5.4	5.2	- .2
Paul A. Dever.....		No Grade VI	-----
Theodore Lyman.....	5.8	5.6	- .2
Average.....	5.3	5.1	- .2

Work-study program summary as of September 29, 1966

WHITE STUDENTS

No. who have participated in Program	No. Presently in Program	No. Employed	No. Hired on 1st Job Interview	No. Hired on 2nd Job Interview	No. Requiring 3rd or more Interviews	No. Fired from Jobs
47	40	39	30	13	2	10
No. Quitting Jobs	No. Leaving Program Voluntarily	No. Dropped from Program	No. still Working on 1st Job	No. Working on 2nd Job	No. Working on 3rd Job	Average Time Spent on 1st Job
8	6	1	28	10	1	

NON-WHITE STUDENTS

No. who have participated in Program	No. Presently in Program	No. Employed	No. Hired on 1st Job Interview	No. Hired on 2nd Job Interview	No. Requiring 3rd or more Interviews	No. Fired from Jobs
43	36	27	27	8	4	15
No. Quitting Jobs	No. Leaving Program Voluntarily	No. Dropped from Program	No. still Working on 1st Job	No. Working on 2nd Job	No. Working on 3rd Job	Average Time Spent on 1st Job
4	5	2	21	4	2	

	White	Non-White		White	Non-White
Barnes.....	8	0	Edwards.....	18	0
Lewis.....	0	16	Curley.....	14	5
Timilty.....	0	15			

Instructional personnel census, school year 1965; school year 1966

District/School	No. of Pupils		No. of Teachers		Permanent Teachers		Provisional Teachers		Temporary Teachers	
	1965	1966	1965	1966	1965	1966	1965	1966	1965	1966
Abraham Lincoln.....	433	421	18	28	16	21	2	5	0	2
Quincy.....	136	138	7	7	7	5	0	2	0	0
Agassiz.....	326	335	11	14	10	11	1	1	0	2
Old Agassiz.....	207	218	6	6	4	6	2	0	0	0
J. P. Manning.....	211	214	8	9	6	7	1	1	1	1
Curley Annex.....	142		5	6	4	4	0	1	1	1
Bowditch.....	416	419	14	15	14	14	0	1	0	0
Beethoven.....	503	502	16	19	16	18	0	1	0	0
R. G. Morris.....	436	450	14	14	12	11	2	2	0	1
J. Kilmer.....	503	519	15	18	14	14	1	2	0	2
Bennett-A. Hamilton.....	268	270	13	15	11	12	2	2	0	1
H. Baldwin.....	307	290	14	15	13	13	1	2	0	0
Bigelow.....	601	602	22	25	19	24	3	1	0	0
C. Burnham.....	246	228	8	8	7	7	1	1	0	0
Blackinton-										
J. Cheverus.....	265	263	10	11	9	9	1	2	0	0
C. Guild.....	350	363	12	14	12	13	0	1	0	0
M. Bradley.....	335	349	13	13	10	11	2	2	1	0
Chapman.....	308	299	11	13	11	11	0	0	0	0
H. O'Donnell.....	335	329	11	12	11	12	0	0	0	0
Charles Sumner.....	561	567	19	27	18	25	1	1	0	1
Geo. H. Conley.....	505	514	16	17	15	15	1	1	0	0
J. Philbrick.....	253	245	8	8	7	7	1	1	0	0
W. Irving.....	203		6	5	5	5	1	0	0	0
C. Gibson.....	646	628	25	29	21	24	3 CP (3)	5	1 CP	0
Atherton.....	264	234	8	10	8	9	0	1	0	0

Instructional personnel census, school year 1965; school year 1966—Continued

District/School	No. of Pupils		No. of Teachers		Permanent Teachers		Provisional Teachers		Temporary Teachers	
	1965	1966	1965	1966	1965	1966	1965	1966	1965	1966
Dearborn	650	641	27	45	22	39	5 CP(2)	5	0	1
Dearborn Annex	232	223	11	10	10	10	1	0	0	0
A. Palmer	196	184	7	7	6	5	0	1	1 CP(1)	1
A. Davis	375	357	13	13	10	11	0	0	0	2
Dillaway	283	231	14	19	14	17	3 CP(1)	0	0	1
N. Hale	344	294	12	15	12	15	0	1	0	0
Donald McKay	412	438	20	26	18	24	2	0	0	1
S. Adams	366	294	13	13	10	11	3	2	0	0
Dudley	299	233	19	20	14	18	3 CP(2)	2	2 CP	0
Wm. Bacon	300	278	15	12	10	11	3	1	2 CP	0
Dwight-J. Hurley	705	658	24	42	14	29	8	12	2	1
J. Bates	184	160	7	8	4	7	3	0	0	0
E. P. Tilleston	384	378	16	16	15	15	1	1	0	0
C. Logue	335	336	10	11	10	10	0	0	0	1
M. Baker	120	120	4	4	3	4	1	0	0	0
Edward Everett	540	563	16	21	16	19	0	2	0	0
J. Motley	345	330	11	12	10	12	0	0	1	0
Elihu Greenwood	778	788	23	27	18	24	5	3	0	0
Fairmount	417	435	14	15	12	14	1	1	1	0
F. D. Roosevelt	409	402	14	17	13	15	1	2	0	0
Weld	81	82	3	3	3	2	0	1	0	0
Ellis Mendell	392	363	14	16	11	15	2	1	1	0
M. Fuller	397	360	12	12	10	10	2	2	0	0
Theo. Roosevelt	202	202	7	7	7	5	0	2	0	0
Emerson-P. Kennedy	379	376	13	14	11	10	2	0	0	4
P. Sheridan	313	299	11	12	11	12	0	0	0	2
Emily Fifield	583	585	19	26	17	21	2	3	0	0
J. Whittier	339	327	10	15	10	11	0	3	0	1
T. Lean	100	101	4	4	2	4	1	0	1	0
F. Parkman	598	573	20	20	17	19	2	0	1	1
E. Seaver	257	263	9	9	8	6	0	2	1	0
H. Abrahams	217	212	7	7	7	7	0	0	0	0
F. V. Thompson (Opened 9/65)	666	680	27	37	16	30	11	4	0	3
Hart-Gaston Perry Thomas										
Hart	353	344	14	16	14	15	0	1	0	0
B. Dean	231	230	8	8	7	7	1	1	0	0
Gaston	187	288	11	13	10	10	1	2	0	1
O. H. Perry	421	409	15	15	13	12	2	2	0	0
J. Tuckerman	287	284	10	10	10	9	0	1	0	0
Harvard	301	286	15	20	13	20	0	0	2 CP	0
Bunker Hill	286	265	14	14	12	13	2 CP (1)	0	0	1
Kent	193	189	7	7	7	6	0	1	0	0
H. Grew	436	419	14	16	14	16	0	0	0	0
W. E. Channing	465	457	16	19	15	17	0	1	1	1
Hemenway	195	201	8	8	8	6	0	0	0	2
H. Higginson-Ellis	574	542	30	32	29	28	1	2	0	2
Ellis Annex	126	117	8	10	4	8	4	2 CP (1)	0	0
Higginson	270	260	14	18	10	15	4 CP(2)	2	0	1
Academy Hill (Opened 9/65)	288	280	12	15	7	10	1	5	4	0
Hyde-A. Gray	321	288	16	13	14	12	0	1	2 (1)CP	0
Whittier St.	28		3		2		0		1 ABCD Pre-Kg.	
Hugh O'Brien-Samuel Mason	371	410	14	17	10	15	4	0	0	2
R. W. Emerson	397	380	13	23	10	19	3	2	0	2
James A. Garfield	232	244	9	10	9	9	0	1	0	0
Winship	247	256	9	17	9	14	0	3	0	0
Edison Annex	221		8	9	8	8	0	0	0	1
M. Lyon	214	222	8	9	8	8	0	1	0	0
Oak Square	117	124	5	5	5	4	0	0	0	1
James Chittick	614	646	19	24	19	23	0	0	0	1
Lowell Mason	100	111	4	4	3	3	0	1	1	0
Jefferson	483	470	17	22	16	18	1	3	0	1
Bulfinch	387	373	13	16	12	13	1	3	0	0
John A. Andrew	387	359	13	15	13	15	0	0	0	0
J. B. O'Reilly	383	372	14	11	14	9	0	0	0	2
M. J. Perkins	448	447	13	13	13	11	0	2	0	0
J. F. Kennedy	712	714	21	27	21	25	0	2	0	0
Wyman	296	304	9	9	8	8	0	1	0	0
J. Marshall	783	776	21	26	19	23	2	1	0	2
Champlain	444	412	12	15	10	12	2	1	0	2
L. Stone	348	360	11	16	9	12	2	2	0	2
F. Nightingale	349	319	10	12	10	10	0	2	0	0
J. Winthrop	590	533	19	28	19	28	0	6	0	3
B. Fenwick	436	399	16	18	14	11	2	5	0	2
N. Hawthorne	258	251	9	11	9	9	0	1	0	1

Instructional personnel census, school year 1965; school year 1966—Continued

District/School	No. of Pupils		No. of Teachers		Permanent Teachers		Provisional* Teachers		Temporary Teachers	
	1965	1966	1965	1966	1965	1966	1965	1966	1965	1966
Julia W. Howe	515	478	23	29	20	24	3	5	0	0
Lewis Annex	20		1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
S. Baker	664	674	26	32	24	25	1	5	1 CP	2
Longfellow	690	649	21	23	21	22	0	0	0	0
Mozart	333	339	12	11	11	10	1	1	0	0
P. Bates	456	476	14	14	14	12	0	2	0	0
T. Parker	76	85	4	4	3	3	1	1	0	0
Martin-Tobin	648	755	24	31	23	29	1	2	0	0
Farragut	312	326	11	12	10	10	1	1	0	1
I. Allen	188	179	7	6	7	4	0	2	0	0
M. Hemenway-P. O'Hearn	414	414	12	13	12	12	0	0	0	1
Rochambeau	412	394	16	18	15	17	0	0	1	1
M. Hemenway	404	413	13	14	17	14	2	0	0	0
Mather	987	963	32	36	28	33	2	2	2	1
Southworth	499	451	15	12	14	9	1	2	0	1
B. Cushing	275	262	10	8	9	7	1	0	0	1
Michelangelo-Elem	29	16	1		1		0	0	0	
Ellet	279	238	14	16	13	13	1	2	0	1
Minot Kenny	353	335	10	17	10	14	0	3	0	0
Minot	244	254	8	8	6	6	1	1	1	0
E. Richards	291	264	9	8	6	6	3	2	0	1
G. Stnart	246	227	8	12	7	8	1	3	0	1
Norcross-Hoar	446	444	16	31	16	22	0	6	0	3
Patrick Lyndon	437	442	16	17	15	15	1	2	0	0
S. Ripley	423	427	14	17	13	16	1	1	0	0
R. Shaw Annex	231		7	8	7	8	0	0	0	0
Paul A. Dever	1159	1169	34	45	31	39	3	4	0	2
Phillips Brooks		487		26		19		5		2
Quincy Dickerman		505		25		18		4		3
Prince	352	346	14	18	14	18	0	0	0	0
C. C. Perkins	250	254	10	11	9	10	1	0	0	0
M. Milmore	150	142	7	7	6	5	1	1	0	1
P. Faneuil	210	191	12	9	11	7	0	1	1	1
R. Franklin-Mackey	745	692	25	31	22	29	0	1	3	2
G. Bancroft	176	178	8	8	8	6	0	0	0	1
J. Williams	270	275	10	12	7	10	3	1	0	2
R. T. Paine	459	473	16	18	16	15	0	1	0	1
Audubon	242	249	9	9	9	8	0	0	0	1
R. Wolcott	361	352	12	15	10	12	2	2	0	1
C. Taylor	381	385	14	15	13	13	1	2	0	0
P. A. Shaw	435	453	17	19	16	18	0	1	1	0
Wm. Bradford	469	436	13	13	13	11	0	1	0	1
T. Lyman	271	275	11	13	11	10	0	1	0	2
J. Otis	361	334	13	20	12	18	1	2	0	0
D. Alghieri	205	212	7	8	7	7	0	1	0	0
T. Gardner	514	477	16	21	14	18	2	2	0	1
J. Storrow	91	86	4	4	4	3	0	1	0	0
D. Barrett	73	47	5	7	5	6	0	1	0	0
Warren	660	648	22	25	21	24	0	1	1	0
O. Holden	133	124	4	4	4	4	0	0	0	0
W. Allston										
A. Jackson	255	230	10	11	9	10	1	1	0	0
Taft Annex	339		12	12	10	11	2	0	0	1
W. Allston	266	241	10	10	8	9	1	1	1	0
Comm. Project	45	42	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0
Kennedy Memorial				3		3		0		0
Wm. Endicott										
Sarah Greenwood	1018	1014	35	48	29	37	5	8	1	3
Wm. Endicott	347	375	13	14	11	12	2	1	0	1
Wm. Russell	637	628	21	26	20	25	0	1	1	0
R. Clap	631	480	15	16	13	14	2	2	0	0
Wm. L. Garrison	904	865	29	38	29	32	0	0	0	1
Boardman	193	180	9	16	6	10	1	6	2	0
Williams	92	88	4	4	4	4	0	0	0	0

*Provisional teachers are under contract for 1 school year at \$5000.

CP Assigned to Counterpoise program as auxiliary teachers to permit team teaching program to function.

Instructional, supervisory, and administrative personnel in the Boston public schools

Assignment	1965-1966		1966-1967		Category
	White	Non-White	White	Non-White	
High School.....	918	29	901	31	Instruction (Perma- nent and Provisional).
Junior High.....	532	48	609	43	
Elementary.....	2018	152	2043	151	
Sub-Total.....	3518	229	3553	225	
High School.....	145	2	181	3	Administrative (Junior and Senior).
Junior High.....	73	2	80	3	
Elementary.....	263	2	255	3	
Sub-Total.....	481	6	516	9	
Supplementary Instructional Personnel.....	465	19	434	22	Music, Phys. Ed., Handicapped, Speech & Lip- reading, School Health Services, Adj. Couns., etc.
Sub-Total.....	465	19	434	22	
Supervisory Personnel.....	93	1	104	3	Supervisors, Asst. & Assoc. Directors and Directors.
Sub-Total.....	93	1	104	3	
Grand Total.....	4557	255	4597	259	

1965-1966 % of non-white personnel—5.59%.
1966-1967 % of non-white personnel—5.63%.

*Distribution of non-white professional staff
Elementary Schools*

School	District	Area	1965-1966	1966-1967
Manassah E. Bradley.....	Blackington, John Chevrus.	East Boston.....	1	1
Bigelow.....	Bigelow.....	South Boston.....	1	1
Christopher Gibson.....	Gibson.....	Roxbury.....	3	3
Atherton.....	Gibson.....	Dorchester.....	5	2
Dearborn.....	Dearborn.....	Roxbury.....	6	5
Dearborn Annex.....	Dearborn.....	Roxbury.....	1	
Aaron Davis.....	Dearborn.....	Roxbury.....	2	
Albert Palmer.....	Dearborn.....	Roxbury.....	3	3
Dillaway.....	Dillaway.....	Roxbury.....	2	2
Nathan Hale.....	Dillaway.....	Roxbury.....	3	3
Samuel Adams.....	Donald McKay, Samuel Adams.	East Boston.....	2	2
Donald McKay.....	Donald McKay, Samuel Adams.	East Boston.....	2	2
Dudley.....	Dudley-Hyde-Everett.....	Roxbury.....	2	3
William Bacon.....	Dudley-Hyde-Everett.....	Roxbury.....	7	7
Joseph J. Hurley.....	Dwight.....	South End.....	7	10
Margaret Fuller.....	Ellis Mendell.....	Roxbury.....	1	1
Theodore Roosevelt.....	Ellis Mendell.....	Roxbury.....	3	2
Ellis Mendell.....	Ellis Mendell.....	Roxbury.....	1	1
Patrick J. Kennedy.....	Emerson.....	East Boston.....	1	0
Philip H. Sheridan.....	Emerson.....	East Boston.....	1	1
John G. Whittier.....	Emily Field.....	Dorchester.....	1	1
Bunker Hill.....	Harvard.....	Charlestown.....	1	1
Kent.....	Harvard.....	Charlestown.....	1	0
Henry Grew.....	Grew.....	Hyde Park.....	1	1
William E. Channing.....	Grew.....	Hyde Park.....	1	1
David A. Ellis.....	Henry L. Higginson.....	Roxbury.....	9	9
David A. Ellis Annex.....	Henry L. Higginson.....	Roxbury.....	1	1
Henry Higginson.....	Henry L. Higginson.....	Roxbury.....	4	4
Academy Hill.....	Henry L. Higginson.....	Roxbury.....	3	3
Samuel W. Mason.....	Hugh O'Brien.....	Roxbury.....	3	2
Ralph Waldo Emerson.....	Hugh O'Brien.....	Roxbury.....	2	2
Asa Gray.....	Dudley-Hyde-Everett.....	Roxbury.....	5	5

Distribution of non-white professional staff—Continued

School	District	Area	1965-1966	1966-1967
Whittier Pre-Kindergarten	Dudley-Hyde-Everett	Roxbury	2	2
Jefferson	Jefferson	Jamaica Plain	1	1
Lucy Stone	John Marshall	Dorchester	1	1
Florence Nightingale	John Marshall	Dorchester	1	2
Sarah J. Baker	Julia Ward Howe	Roxbury	4	5
Julia Ward Howe	Julia Ward Howe	Roxbury	8	7
John Winthrop	John Winthrop	Dorchester	4	5
Nathaniel Hawthorne	John Winthrop	Dorchester	2	2
Benedict Fenwick	John Winthrop	Dorchester	4	3
John F. Kennedy	John Fitzgerald Kennedy	Jamaica Plain	2	1
Farragut	Martin	Roxbury	1	0
Benjamin Cushing	Mather	Dorchester	1	1
Elliot	Michelangelo-Elliot	North End	3	4
	Hancock			
Ellen A. Richards	Minot	Dorchester	1	0
Paul A. Dever	Paul A. Dever	South Boston	3	5
Phillips Brooks	Phillips Brooks	Dorchester	2	3
Quincy E. Dickerman	Phillips Brooks	Dorchester	3	4
Prince	Prince	Back Bay Boston	2	1
Peter Faneuil	Prince	Beacon Hill	1	1
C. C. Perkins	Prince	Back Bay	2	2
George Bancroft	Rice-Franklin	South End	2	0
John J. Williams	Rice-Franklin	South End	4	2
Robert Treat Paine	Robert T. Paine	Dorchester	1	1
James Otis	Theodore Lyman	East Boston	2	2
Dante Alighieri	Theodore Lyman	East Boston	1	0
Thomas Gardner	Thomas Gardner	Allston	1	1
Andrew Jackson	Washington-Allston	Allston	1	1
Sarah Greenwood	William Endicott	Dorchester	2	5
William Endicott	William Endicott	Dorchester	1	1
William Lloyd Garrison	William Lloyd Garrison	Roxbury	2	2
Boardman	William Lloyd Garrison	Roxbury	1	2

High Schools

School	Area	1965-1966	1966-1967
Boston Latin	Fenway-Back Bay	1	3
Boston Technical	Roxbury	2	2
Boston Trade High	Roxbury	3	4
Brighton	Brighton	1	0
Charlestown	Charlestown	2	1
Dorchester	Dorchester	1	3
East Boston High	East Boston	2	2
English	Fenway-Back Bay	2	2
English Annex	Brighton	2	1
Jamaica Plain	Jamaica Plain	4	4
Jeremiah E. Burke	Dorchester	2	2
Girls High	Roxbury	2	2
Hyde Park	Hyde Park	1	1
Roslindale	Roslindale	1	1
Trade High for Girls	Fenway	5	5

Junior High Schools

School	Area	1965-1966	1966-1967
C. R. Edwards	Charlestown	2	2
James P. Timilty	Roxbury	7	8
Joseph H. Barnes	East Boston	3	3
Lewis Junior	Roxbury	7	6
Oliver Wendell Holmes	Dorchester	3	1
Patrick F. Gavin	South Boston	3	3
Patrick T. Campbell	Roxbury	19	16
Solomon Lewenberg	Mattapan	2	3
Washington Irving	Roslindale	1	1
William Barton Rogers	Hyde Park	1	1
Woodrow Wilson	Dorchester	2	2

*Requests for transfer by administrative and instructional personnel (effective
September 1, 1966)*

Title	Transfer request	Approved	Denied*	Promotion
Head Master.....	3	2	0	1
Principals, Junior High.....	3	2	0	1
Principals, Elementary.....	10	4	6	0
Assistant Head Master.....	2	1	0	1
Assistant Principals.....	18	4	14	0
Head of Department.....	10	1	9	0
High School Teacher.....	8	4	4	0
Junior High School Teacher.....	10	4	6	0
Elementary Teachers.....	19	11	8	0

*Reasons for denial of request:

- (a) No existing vacancy in school requested.
(b) Ineligibility (less than two years in position).

TEACHER RECRUITMENT PROCEDURES

For the school year 1965-1966, a release relative to the Boston teacher qualification examinations was sent to 490 accredited colleges and universities in New England, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Alabama, Delaware, District of Columbia, Georgia, Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, Oregon, and Virginia. A copy of our recruitment brochure was sent at the same time to these institutions.

A copy of a news release relative to Boston's teacher examinations was sent to 360 newspapers in New England, New York, and New Jersey in October, 1965, and again in mid-November of the same year.

Personal letters were sent to 55 colleges requesting an opportunity to visit the campus for recruitment purposes. The response from these institutions was most gratifying, and actual visits were made to 37 colleges. On these visits, staff recruiters addressed prospective teacher candidates and distributed brochures, lists of examination schedules and, whenever possible, copies of sample examinations from previous years.

The staff recruiters are especially selected so that each speaks in the area of his or her specialization. Dr. Vincent Connors, Director of Special Classes, is the logical choice to address the B.C. and B.U. Schools of Special Education; Mr. Joseph Trongone, Director of Music Education, would visit the Boston Conservatory of Music; Miss Elizabeth Gilligan, Director of Fine Arts, would visit the Mass. College of Art, and the Rhode Island School of Design; and so on. Other staff recruiters are drawn from the Board of Examiners and Directorships of various departments.

Recruitment material is sent promptly to any college that requests it and with which a personal visit cannot be arranged. A similar and expanded recruitment campaign is contemplated for the school year 1966-1967.

The following is a record of the number of candidates who have taken the Special teacher examinations in the spring and fall and the Regular teacher examinations in December, for the years 1961 through August of 1966: The figure given for December of 1966 is an educated estimate.

As the figures clearly show, there has been a consistent increase in the number of applicants taking the Boston teacher examinations. From 1961, when the total number examined was 570, to 1965, when the total number was 1,670, there has been an increase of approximately 200%. A conservative estimate of the total for 1966 indicates still another increase.

Boston's intensive and extensive teacher recruitment campaign has attracted candidates from throughout the United States. An analysis of the background of the 971 candidates who were successful in the 1965 examinations reveals that these prospective teachers come from 153 different colleges in 34 states and two Canadian provinces.

The only restrictions on eligibility for participation in the Boston teacher examinations, and for subsequent appointment, relate to the age, health (absence of communicable disease), and educational background of the candidate. In recent years, the educational requirement for candidates has been reduced so that college seniors are now permitted to take the qualifying examinations.

	Special Exam	Regular Exam	Total
1961.....	May 5..... 42	Dec..... 528	570
1962.....		Dec..... 1244	1244
1963.....	May 3..... 4	Dec..... 1143	1296
	May 13..... 8		
	Aug. 13..... 139		
	Sept. 23..... 2		
	153		
1964.....	Apr. 29..... 5	Dec..... 1394	1666
	Aug. 18..... 176		
	Dec. 12..... 91		
	272		
1965.....	Apr. 28..... 4	Dec. 11..... } 1266	1670
	Aug. 17..... 400	Dec. 27..... }	
	404		
1966.....	Mar. 28..... 10	Conservative estimate for	Approx. 1,750
	Aug. 16..... 446	Dec. 1966—1300.	
	456		

There is not now, nor has there ever been, any restriction on eligibility for examination or appointment that relates to race, religion, color, sex, or ethnic origin.

To insure complete objectivity during the examination process, as well as complete anonymity for the candidate, each applicant is assigned a number at the start of the examination process. He is known only by number to the special examiner who scores the examination booklets.

Any candidate has the right to appeal the scoring of his examination booklet, to this extent. Within ten days of his notification of examination score, he is free to visit the Board of Examiners, review his examination booklet, and be informed of the score he received on each part of the examination. If, after reviewing the examination questions, his answer to each question, and the score received on each answer, the candidate feels that there are reasonable grounds for requesting an adjustment, he may file a written brief to that end. The brief clearly sets forth his position and all supporting or proof in the form of references to the work of authorities in the field. This brief, *unsigned*, together with the candidate's examination booklet and all supplementary reference material is transmitted for review to the special examiner who originally scored the examination. He, in turn, makes his findings known to the full Board of Examiners who then sit in discussion of the case and render a final decision.

The final scores of candidates are arranged in order, from the greatest to the least, in three categories. Candidates know in advance that the three categories from top to bottom, are *Disabled Veterans*, *Veterans*, and *Non-Veterans*. For the purposes of this listing, *Veteran* is defined as anyone serving in the Armed Forces of this country prior to 1955. To be classified as a *Disabled Veteran* requires a *current letter* from the *Veterans Administration* indicating that the candidate is disabled veteran and presently receiving compensation for his disability.

Once the list is finalized, and approved by the School Committee, the Superintendent nominates candidates for appointment which are then subject to the School Committee's approval. Appointments are made *in the order in which candidates' names appear on the eligible list*, to vacancies *as they arise*, regardless of school or district. Candidates are known to the Superintendent of Schools, the Associate Superintendent in charge of personnel, and to the School Committee *only by name and examination score*.

Since the eligible lists and all appointments are a matter of record, every candidate knows at all times where he stands with respect to impending appointments.

As of September 8, 1966, there were 351 eligible and certified candidates awaiting notification of appointment: 184 at the high school level; 100 at the junior high school level; and 67 at the elementary level. This does not include those among the 446 candidates who will be certified as a result of examinations already successfully completed in August, 1966.

In December, 1966, an estimated 1,300 applicants will take the Boston teacher examinations. Successful candidates from among this group will also be added to the list of those eligible for and awaiting notification of appointment.

A successful candidate's name remains on an eligible list for three years. However, his relative standing on a list may change from one year to the next. There is a merging of each list each year to incorporate additional successful candidates in the order of their examination scores. For this reason, candidates already on an eligible list often take an examination a second or third time to improve their standing on the list.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES ATTENDED BY THE 770 CANDIDATES WHO PASSED THE BOSTON TEACHER EXAMINATIONS HELD IN DECEMBER, 1965

American University (Wash., D.C.)	Manhattanville
Anna Maria (Mass.)	Maryknoll
Annhurst (Conn.)	Marymount (N.Y.)
Antioch (Ohio)	Mass. State Colleges: Boston, Bridge-
Arizona State	water, Mass. College of Art, Fitch-
Assumption (Mass.)	burg, Lowell, Framingham, Salem.
Baldwin-Wallace (Ohio)	Mercyhurst (Pa.)
Bank Street College of Education	Merrimack
Barnard	Michigan State
Barrington (R.I.)	Middlebury (Vt.)
Beaver (Pa.)	Mills College of Ed. (N.Y.)
Bennett (N.C.)	Monmouth (Ill.)
Bentley	Mount Holyoke
Boston College	Mount Mercy (Pa.)
Boston Conservatory of Music	Mount St. Mary's (N.H.)
Boston University	New Rochelle
Brandeis	N.Y. State Colleges at Albany: Brock-
Brooklyn	port, Buffalo, Cortland, New Paltz.
Bryn Mawr (Pa.)	New York University
Calvin Coolidge	Newton College of the Sacred Heart
Cardinal Cushing	Norfolk State College (Va.)
Catholic University	Northeastern University
Central State, Univ. of Ohio	Northwestern University
City College (N.Y.)	Oberlin (Ohio)
Clark	Occidental (Calif.)
Colgate	Ohio State
College Misericordia (Pa.)	Pembroke (R.I.)
College of St. Rose	Princeton
Columbia University	Purdue (Ill.)
Columbia U., T. C.	Queens College (N.Y.)
Connecticut College for Women	Radcliffe
Cornell	Regis
Curry	Rivier (N.H.)
Dartmouth	Rosary Hill (N.Y.)
Dickinson (Pa.)	Russell Sage (N.Y.)
Douglass (N.J.)	San Fernando Valley State (Cal.)
Eastern Michigan	San Jose State (Cal.)
Edinboro State (Pa.)	Sargent—at B.U.
Emerson	St. Joseph's (Maine)
Emmanuel George Washington Uni-	St. Lawrence University (N.Y.)
versity	St. Mary's (Halifax, N.S.)
Georgia State	St. Mary's (Pa.)
Gorham State Teachers College	Savannah State
Harpur (State U. of N.Y.)	Simmons
Harvard	Skidmore (N.Y.)
Hofstra University (N.Y.)	Smith
Holy Cross	Southern University (La.)
Hunter	Southeastern Mass. Tech. Institute
Jackson	Stanford Univ. (Cal.)
Jersey City State College	Stonehill
Johns Hopkins University	Suffolk
Knoxville (Tenn.)	Syracuse University
Lake Erie (Ohio)	Towson State (Md.)
LeMoyne (N.Y.)	Trenton State (N.J.)
Lesley	Trinity (Vt.)

Trinity (Wash., D.C.)	West Virginia Inst. of Tech.
Tufts	West Virginia State College
Universities of: Akron, Bridgeport,	Western Kentucky State
California, Chicago, Colorado, Con-	Western Reserve University (Ohio)
necticut, Delaware, Florida, Illinois,	Wheaton
Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts,	Wheelock
Miami, Mississippi, New Hampshire,	Wilberforce University (Ohio)
Oklahoma, Utah, Wisconsin.	Willamette University (Oregon)
University of St. Michael, Toronto	Wilson (Pa.)
Utah State	Wilkes College (Pa.)
Yassar	Yale
Wellesley	Yeshiva University (N.Y.)

Summary: 153 colleges and universities in 34 States and 2 provinces of Canada,

Institutions serviced in the training of student teachers 1965-1966

Boston College.....	44	Shady Hill Teacher Training	
Boston University.....	59	School.....	3
Cardinal Cushing.....	5	Simmons College.....	7
Curry College.....	6	State College at Boston.....	280
Eastern Nazarene.....	1	State College at Bridgewater....	3
Emerson College.....	2	State College at Framingham....	2
Hampton Institute, Virginia.....	1	State College at Fitchburg.....	30
Emmanuel College.....	54	State University of New York at	
Harvard University.....	8	Albany.....	5
Kenka College, New York.....	1	Suffolk University.....	13
Lesley College.....	16	Tufts University-Eliot-Pearson	
Massachusetts College of Art....	1	School.....	1
Newton College of the Sacred		Wellesley College.....	1
Heart.....	1	Wheelock College.....	19
Northeastern University.....	19		
Perry Normal School.....	3	Total Student Teachers....	585

Summer 1966

Boston University.....	55
Boston College.....	20
State College at Boston.....	20
Suffolk University.....	4
Harvard University.....	20
	<hr/>
	105

In addition to the student teachers indicated above, the Maurice J. Tobin School serves as a training school for State College at Boston and annually provides an opportunity for about 400 students from this college to observe, and to participate in the education of children in a disadvantaged area. The 585 student teachers in service during the regular school year were distributed throughout the Boston Public Schools:

- 119 Student teachers in 15 of 17 High Schools.
- 162 Student teachers in 16 Junior High Schools.
- 302 Student teachers in 53 of 56 Elementary Districts.

585 Student teachers.

IN-SERVICE TRAINING ON URBAN TEACHING PROBLEMS

Boston has long been aware that traditional teacher training techniques have not adequately emphasized problems peculiar to the urban teaching situation and more specifically problems related to the education of the disadvantaged child.

To compensate for this deficiency the Boston Public Schools initiated an in-service training program, "Education in Disadvantaged Areas," in January, 1964. Nationally known educators presented a series of nine lectures in 1964-1965, and ten lectures in 1965-1966 to approximately 700 Boston teachers. A

comparable program is now in preparation for the current year. The complete lectures for the past two years may be found in School Document No. 7-1964 and School Document No. 1-1966.

In addition, Boston's Title I programs, Enrichment and Innovation, schedule regular in-service training meetings for master teachers, auxiliary teachers, team leaders and supervisors in the Enrichment Program, and for curriculum design specialists, educational specialists, research specialists and regular classroom teachers in the Innovation Program. Qualified consultants, educational experts in various areas, are an integral feature of this program.

Even prior to the initiation of this program approximately 100 Boston teachers and administrators participated in a course entitled *Education and Race Relations*. This course jointly prepared by Dr. Thomas Curtin of the Massachusetts Department of Education and Dr. William Reid of the Boston Public Schools was initiated in 1962-1963 and was repeated in 1963-1964 at State College at Boston.

The course was considered so effective that it was televised over Station WGBH thus providing an opportunity for many additional teachers to benefit from it.

The Boston Public Schools further feel that they have provided impetus to local teacher training institutions to develop more meaningful programs for teacher trainees interested in urban education.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE LINES

The policy in Boston has been in the past, and is today, to have each pupil attend the school serving his neighborhood community unless the child's physical, mental, or educational needs require assignment to specially organized classes or schools (e.g. a Braille class; or the Horace Mann School for the Deaf).

In a publication of the United States Civil Rights Commission, Federal Rights Under School Desegregation Law, June 1966, it is clearly pointed out that among the desegregation plans acceptable to the Federal government are two entitled, the *Geographic Attendance Zone Plan* and the *Freedom of Choice Plan*. I should like to quote briefly what is stated in this booklet in connection with the *Geographic Attendance Zone Plan*:

"Under the Geographic Attendance Zone Plan, students are assigned to schools according to the location of their homes. Where this plan is used, boards of education must establish a single zone plan and assign students to schools on the sole basis of geography and with no regard for race, color, or national origin."

Clearly, the "Neighborhood School" plan traditional to Boston is completely in accord with the intent of the Statement printed in a publication of the Civil Rights Commission and considered acceptable to the Federal government.

As I have previously mentioned, Boston's school children have traditionally attended the school nearest their home, and attendance lines for Boston's schools have never in our history been drawn with the purpose of "fixing" its composition along racial, religious, color, or national origin lines.

The attendance or boundary lines for the Boston Public School Districts are not now, nor have they ever been "Iron Curtains" or "Berlin Walls." They were never set up with the intention of keeping pupils permanently in certain schools or out of certain schools against the wishes of the parent.

The necessity of some form of geographic delimitation of the areas serviced by different schools cannot be questioned, for without it, chaos would be the inevitable result.

The reasons for establishing the district boundary lines, flexible as they may be, are many and varied. However, race, religion, color, or ethnic background *has never been* a consideration in their establishment.

The chief reasons for defining the geographic area serviced by each school or district are:

1. To provide better for the safety of the children.
2. To minimize the distances younger children will be required to travel to and from school.
3. To satisfy the need and right of parents to know which school their children will attend based on assignment of streets and sections to specific schools.
4. To make it convenient for parents to establish and maintain contact with their children's schools.
5. To provide numerically comparable allocations of pupils to each of the

various districts and reasonably equitable teaching loads for teachers of different schools and at different grade levels.

6. To relate the capacity of a school to the population density of a given district.

There follows a list of *all* changes made in district boundary lines from 1954 to 1966 together with a brief explanation of the reason or reasons for the change. While many of the reasons are self-explanatory, the term "Administrative Equalization" may require some explanation.

Under Boston's salary schedule, all principals receive the same salary regardless of the number of schools or pupils under their supervision. On occasion, as the result of the opening of a new school or the closing of an old one, the opening of a new housing project or development, the razing of homes for urban redevelopment purposes, and shifts in population that produce either significant overcrowding or excessive vacancies, gross inequities may result in the administrative load borne by principals of the districts involved. In the interest of justice and the equalization of both the administrative load of the principal and the teaching load of the instructional personnel involved, minor adjustments are made in district boundary lines.

If, for *any* reason, parents wish their children enrolled at a school other than their neighborhood school, a transfer may be effected quickly and easily under the provisions of the Open Enrollment Policy of the Boston Public Schools.

Therefore, while district boundary lines do exist and the overwhelming majority of parents choose to send their children to the school or schools designated for the district, to do so is not compulsory. In practice, parents may enroll their children in the school of their choice, within the just and reasonable limitations incorporated into the Open Enrollment Policy.

Boundary or attendance line changes, 1954-1966

District Affected	Date	Reason
Bennett James A. Garfield Washington-Allston	5/4/54	Administrative Equalization.
Mary E. Curley Jr. High Lewis Jr. High	5/4/54	The closing of the Theodore Roosevelt.
Solomon Lewenberg Jr. High Oliver Wendell Holmes Roger Wolcott Robert Treat Paine Charles Sumner	6/27/55	Opening of Franklin Field Housing Project.
Elihu Greenwood Dillaway	2/24/58	New housing development in E. Greenwood but closer to C. Sumner.
Dudley James P. Timilty Jr. High Longfellow	2/24/58	Opening of Mission Hill extension project.
Patrick F. Lyndon Mary Hemenway	2/24/58	Administrative Equalization and shorter walking distance.
John Marshall Grover Cleveland Patrick T. Campbell	2/24/58	Opening of Patrick O'Hearn.
Hart-Gaston-Perry	4/28/59	Administrative Equalization.
Bigelow Emily A. Fifield	7/2/62	Administrative Equalization.
Minot Harvard	7/2/62	Administrative Equalization.
Warren	11/20/62	New school building and Administrative Equalization.
Prince Wendell Phillips Sherwin	7/11/63	Shorter walking distance for pupils on Beacon Hill.
Martin Hyde-Everett Prince Wendell Phillips Bldg.	11/7/63	Sherwin District eliminated. School building burned.
Phillips Brooks W. L. Garrison H. L. Higginson W. L. P. Boardman Bldg.	9/1/64	Administrative Equalization.
Dudley Asa Gray Bldg.	9/1/64	Reduce Overcrowding in W. L. Garrison School.
	6/1/66	Administrative Equalization. Hyde-Everett Building Burned.

Outline of plans for construction of new schools and additions to schools

(From funds authorized by City Council and the Mayor, and allocated by the School Committee to the following projects in Part One—Sections A & B.)

Note: Section A relates to racial imbalance: (est. target date & cost)

Paul A. Dever District school,* Dorchester.....	Sept. 1967	\$3,015,807.44
English High School Addition, Boston—plans under way.....	1967	1,886,000
Humboldt Avenue School, Roxbury—arch. plans under way.....	1967	1,937,000
Agassiz/Ellis Mendell Districts, Jam. Plain/Roxbery.....	1967	1,600,000
Theodore Roosevelt School addition, Roxbury.....	1967	1,750,000
Hyde-Everett/Martin Districts, Boston/Roxbury.....	1968	
educational park complex: elementary school.....		1,267,000
middle school.....		1,700,000
Wm. E. Endicott/John Marshall Districts, Dorchester.....	1968	1,900,000
Christopher Gibson/John Marshall Districts, Dorchester.....	1968	2,500,000
Dearborn District, Roxbury—1st part of educ'l park.....	1968	2,000,000
Henry L. Higginson District, Roxbury (Academy Homes).....	1968	1,000,000
Abraham Lincoln-Quincy District, Boston.....	1968	800,000
Dillaway District, Roxbury.....	1969	800,000
New High School, Roxbury.....	1970	11,400,000
Vocational High and Technical Institute.....	1970	9,000,000
Boston Business School (funds for construction not yet authorized).....		350,000
16 projects: 14 new schools + 2 additions		
Total estimated cost of construction for Part I—Section A:		\$42,905,807.44

*Under construction.

Construction of new schools and additions—Part I—section B

Note: Section B does not relate to racial imbalance: (est. target date & cost)

James A. Garfield School addition,* Brighton.....	1966	\$830,000
Charles Sumner School, addition, Roslindale—completed.....	1966	140,000
Hyde Park High School addition—completed.....	1966	170,000
Grover Cleveland School addition, Dorchester.....	1967	1,600,000
Agassiz (Old Agassiz School replacement), Jamaica Plain.....	1967	1,150,000
Charles H. Taylor Addition, Dorchester.....	Dec. 1966	190,000
John A. Andrew/Norcross Districts, South Boston.....	1968	2,000,000
High Point Village, West Roxbury.....	1968	1,200,000
Hart-Gaston-Perry District, South Boston.....	1969	2,000,000
William H. Kent School, Charlestown.....	1968	1,100,000
10 projects: 5 new schools + 5 additions		
Total estimated cost of construction for Part I—Section B:		\$10,380,000

*Under construction.

Summary: Part I—Section A—relating to racial imbalance—represents 80.5% of \$53,285,807 (authorized funds)
 Part I—Section B—not relating to racial imbalance—represents 19.5% of \$53,285,807 (authorized funds)

OFFICE OF PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

General Objective: To conduct educational research and curriculum planning directed toward identifying effective programs, instructional techniques and educational materials.

Activities:

I. *Model Demonstration Programs:* Regular day school programs were conducted at the following levels; early childhood, elementary, junior high, senior high.

Location: Boardman Elementary School and Lewis Junior High. (One early childhood class at the Henry L. Higginson School.)

Total pupil participation: Approximately 800 pupils.

Staff: One educational specialist at each level. Approximately 12 curriculum design specialists, consultants from various universities.

Program Activities: Innovative curriculum planning at all levels in following subject areas: early childhood, social studies, language arts, reading, science, art and reading, use of new educational materials and instructional techniques.

Summer School Programs: Initiated at all levels in Boardman and Lewis Schools last July. Close cooperation with Harvard University. Curriculum planned by Office of Program Development staff. Similar programs will be planned for summer of 1967.

II. Preparation of Proposals under ESEA of 1965

A. Preparation of Title I proposal

Original funding January, 1966.

Boston entitlement—\$3.6 million

Actual allotment—\$3.1 million

Proposal for 1966-67 approved by Massachusetts Department of Education.

Amount of allotment dependent upon Congressional decision.

B. Preparation to Title III proposal

Approved by USOE in April, 1966

Total grant, \$203,000

Cooperating agencies: Kennedy Family Service Center (Charlestown), Affiliated Hospitals, Inc. (Fenway), Tufts New England Medical Center (Intown), Boston University Medical School (Intown).

Major Emphasis of proposal: School planning, educational programming, social and health services for normal children and adults and for physically and emotionally disturbed children.

III. Coordination with Universities and Outside Agencies

1. See Title III above—4 cooperating agencies

2. Community Action Agency (ABCD).

Work-Study Program. Head Start; Neighborhood Youth Corps; Educational Enrichment Program.

3. Harvard University—Model subsystem summer program; Educational research.

4. Boston College; Charlestown Title III project, National Teacher Corps.

5. Tufts University—Title III project, Summer program for teachers.

6. Northeastern University; Neighborhood Youth Corps

7. Other

REORGANIZATION OF CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

Six new assistant superintendents have been appointed by the Boston Public Schools. Each of these new administrators will assume jurisdiction over a separate geographical section of the school system. His, or her, office will be centrally located in the assigned district to facilitate convenient access to all schools in that geographic area.

It is expected that these assistant superintendents will facilitate communication between school and community; community and central administration; and school and central administration. The assistant superintendents will also be responsible for the educational programs and the efficient operation of every school and all educational levels in their assigned areas.

The six district areas are:

Elementary Schools

Area I—15,035 pupils	Area II—15,142 pupils	Area III—16,280 pupils
B-J. Cheverus VIII Emersou Chapman T. Lyman D. McKay-S. Adams Warren Harvard Michelangelo IX A. Lincoln VIII Rice-Franklin Dwight Hyde-Everett VIII Dearborn VIII Prince VIII	Norcross Bigelow T. N. Hart J. A. Andrew P. Dever W. E. Russell VIII H. O'Brien J. W. Howe J. Winthrop E. Everett H. Mann	P. Brooks Mather J. Marshall M. Hemanway Minot E. A. Fifield

Junior High Schools

Area I—15,035 pupils	Area II—15,142 pupils	Area III—16,280 pupils
J. H. Barnes C. B. Edwards	P. F. Gavin Lewis	G. Cleveland O. W. Holmes P. T. Campbell W. Wilson

High Schools

East Boston Charlestown Girls' Trade	Girls' High South Boston Business Educ.	J. E. Burke Girls' Latin Boston Technical
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Elementary Schools

Area IV—15,602 pupils	Area V—16,193 pupils	Area VI—14,251 pupils
R. T. Paine C. Gibson W. E. Endicott R. Wolcott C. Sumner E. P. Tileston J. J. Chittick H. Grew E. Greenwood	W. L. Garrison H. L. Higginson Ellis Mendell J. F. Kennedy Jefferson Agassiz F. Parkman VIII Longfellow P. F. Lyndon Beethoven	W. Allston T. Gardner J. A. Garfield Bennett Martin VIII Dillaway Dudley M. G. Godvin

Junior High Schools

S. Lewenberg W. B. Rogers	R. G. Shaw W. Irving M. E. Curley	T. A. Edison W. H. Taft J. P. Timilty
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High Schools

Hyde Park Dorchester	Roslindale Jamaica Plain	Brighton Boston Latin English Boston Trade
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COOPERATION WITH COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

In its efforts to improve education for all Boston children, the Boston Public Schools have taken advantage of the considerable resources of the many institutions of higher education located in and near Boston.

During the summer of 1965, the Boston Public Schools and *Harvard* University collaborated in the planning and execution of an experimental summer school program at the John F. Kennedy School. In the summer of 1966 Harvard cooperated with the Office of Program Development in conducting subsystem summer programs at the Lewis and Boardman Schools. Harvard is also collaborating with Boston in several other areas: 1) An internship training program for teaching in disadvantaged areas funded jointly by Permanent Charities and the Boston Public Schools. 2) A training program for teachers combining university courses and related teaching activities in cooperation with Harvard Institute. 3) A Title III planning project with Affiliated Hospitals Inc., an

adjunct of Harvard Medical School. 4) The assignment of graduate research specialists to the model subsystem program.

In cooperation with *Boston University* the Boston Public Schools have collaborated on a comprehensive educational program for the projected Humboldt Avenue School; a Title III ESEA project with the Boston University Medical School to plan an educational program for deaf children; and an intern training program for teachers in disadvantaged urban areas.

Boston College will combine efforts with the Kennedy Family Service Center of Charlestown and the Boston Public Schools in planning a comprehensive educational social services program for Charlestown. Boston College has also participated in Boston's intern training program for urban teachers and has collaborated with the Boston Public Schools in the joint planning of a National Teacher Corps Program.

Northeastern University is now providing remedial reading teachers to conduct small group instruction at the Jeremiah Burke High School. Last summer the Boston Public Schools supported the educational component of the Neighborhood Youth Corps located at Northeastern University. Further Boston hopes to become actively involved with Northeastern University in a projected program for the placement of worthy children from disadvantaged areas in institutions of higher education.

For the past two years *Simmons College* has conducted a program for the retraining of experienced teachers in the problems of urban teaching. During the first year of the program's operation these teachers observed in Boston schools. This year they will assume teaching duties.

In addition to the foregoing efforts *Tufts New England Medical Center* will conduct one phase of Boston's Title III planning proposal; apprentices will be accepted from many local universities for training in Boston Schools, and many smaller programs; e.g., transformational grammar and ESI social studies projects, have been placed in individual schools.

APPENDIX

State support of Public Schools
Per Pupil Expenditures
Advanced Work Classes
Adult Educational and Recreational Activities

State support of public schools
*United States major school systems**

	Total Revenue	State Support
1. Buffalo	\$37,700,000	53.8%
2. Houston	85,057,358	46.0%
3. Detroit	147,374,704	39.9%
4. Philadelphia	148,833,300	34.4%
5. New York City	1,005,726,727	32.6%
6. Baltimore	100,850,780	32.3%
7. Los Angeles	440,771,479	29.3%
8. St. Louis	48,645,052	26.1%
9. Pittsburgh	38,577,000	24.1%
10. Chicago	315,679,528	24.0%
11. San Francisco	66,847,423	23.3%
12. Cleveland	71,307,196	17.1%
13. Boston ¹	47,660,272	11.2%

¹ School Year 1965-1966.

*Source: Research Council, Great Cities Program for School Improvement, October, 1965.

For the calendar year 1965

	School Districts	Total for Instruction	Average Daily Attendance	Cost Per Pnpil, Average Daily Attendance	Average Daily Membership	Cost Per Pnpil, Average Daily Membership
1	Abraham Lincoln-Quincy.....	\$269,518.81	530	\$640.24	595	\$570.29
2	Agassiz.....	391,140.00	1,169	384.27	1,263	355.67
3	Beethoven.....	385,865.61	1,304	344.46	1,400	320.84
4	Bennett.....	231,292.78	549	484.30	600	443.14
5	Bigelow.....	254,969.34	733	400.97	806	364.65
6	Blackinton-John Cheverus.....	312,770.10	880	427.99	967	389.49
7	Chapman.....	194,666.23	584	405.18	634	373.23
8	Charles Sumner.....	420,632.20	1,378	350.20	1,492	323.44
9	Christopher Gibson.....	284,503.62	865	377.56	960	340.20
10	Dearborn.....	445,607.75	1,279	399.31	1,425	358.40
11	Chapman.....	251,628.53	652	449.85	715	410.21
12	Donald McKay-Samuel Adams.....	306,542.64	656	548.03	729	493.15
13	Dudley.....	226,663.42	529	497.18	579	454.24
14	Dwight.....	243,350.80	752	395.09	849	349.95
15	Edmund P. Tileston.....	259,839.69	755	409.75	835	370.50
16	Edward Everett.....	246,246.14	818	361.29	894	321.43
17	Ellhu Greenwood.....	446,481.95	1,531	342.75	1,636	320.75
18	Ellis Mendell.....	264,538.14	861	385.61	951	349.12
19	Emerson.....	213,859.29	633	401.33	690	368.81
20	Emily A. Fifield.....	329,059.06	1,058	368.10	1,163	334.86
21	Francis Parkman.....	296,813.44	950	367.63	1,027	340.06
22	Frank V. Thompson.....	99,855.40	613	193.17	661	179.14
23	Hart-Gaston-Perry.....	455,480.15	1,384	415.28	1,522	377.63
24	Harvard.....	283,531.28	706	476.69	775	434.25
25	Henry Brew.....	310,678.02	946	389.19	1,036	355.38
26	Henry L. Higginson.....	426,176.77	1,010	500.98	1,090	464.21
27	Hugh O'Brien.....	222,013.94	693	368.40	779	327.73
28	Hyde-Everett.....	270,463.69	530	580.10	593	518.47
29	James A. Garfield.....	337,797.02	968	405.01	1,055	371.61
30	James J. Chittick.....	204,752.80	670	359.91	724	333.07
31	Jefferson.....	258,870.57	793	375.42	867	343.37
32	John A. Andrew.....	304,668.08	880	372.88	1,086	336.48
33	John F. Kennedy.....	250,025.32	917	335.77	985	312.59
34	John Marshall.....	448,002.69	1,786	282.25	1,932	270.17
35	John Winthrop.....	321,637.81	1,108	335.71	1,250	297.57
36	Julia Ward Howe.....	407,659.71	1,093	419.63	1,211	378.74
37	Longfellow.....	426,099.25	1,425	345.97	1,522	323.92
38	Martin.....	380,880.32	1,147	420.31	1,228	392.59
39	Mary Hemenway.....	322,594.73	1,072	358.40	1,185	324.22
40	Mather.....	403,220.93	1,498	319.45	1,647	290.55
41	Michelangelo-Eliot-Hancock.....	235,277.80	412	709.84	460	635.77
42	Minot.....	303,447.58	977	372.33	1,061	342.85
43	Norcross.....	238,197.66	604	445.64	673	399.95
44	Patrick F. Lyndon.....	336,363.40	1,038	357.02	1,093	339.05
45	Paul A. Dever.....	275,640.13	1,020	329.50	1,137	295.60
46	Phillips Brooks.....	333,041.55	959	388.15	1,066	349.19
47	Prince.....	325,460.73	851	477.80	928	438.15
48	Rice-Franklin.....	439,725.06	1,044	511.37	1,124	474.97
49	Robert Treat Paine.....	227,713.21	672	387.47	735	354.26
50	Roger Wolcott.....	451,858.37	1,449	371.80	1,604	335.87
51	Theodore Lyman.....	261,095.25	754	446.24	837	401.99
52	Thomas Gardner.....	248,933.45	589	504.98	642	463.29
53	Warren.....	234,439.23	730	391.13	799	357.35
54	Washington Allston.....	301,999.81	832	428.48	915	389.61
55	William E. Endicott.....	381,215.92	1,345	330.50	1,484	299.54
56	William E. Russell.....	328,841.99	1,058	355.06	1,171	320.80
57	William Lloyd Garrison.....	323,529.95	1,032	359.18	1,134	326.87
	Totals.....	17,684,473.01	53,171	392.35	58,221	358.32

*Expenditures per weighted pupil units for total current expenditures, instructional materials and current capital outlay and debt service payments, for selected great cities, 1965-1966 (estimated)*¹

City	Total Current Expenditures	Instructional Materials	Current Capital Outlay, Debt Service Payments	% Of State Aid ²
New York.....	\$805.00	\$21.88	\$283.52	32.6%
San Francisco.....	\$668.00	\$9.95	\$7.02	23.3%
Syracuse.....	\$618.00	\$21.21	\$88.64	-----
Boston.....	\$608.00	\$95.08	\$25.61	11.2%
Pittsburgh.....	\$588.00	\$15.25	\$58.03	24.1%
Chicago.....	\$544.00	\$17.63	\$74.41	24.0%
Buffalo.....	\$521.00	\$9.00	\$60.71	53.8%
Detroit.....	\$517.00	\$13.66	\$23.32	39.0%
St. Louis.....	\$502.00	\$16.84	\$28.97	26.1%
Los Angeles.....	\$502.00	\$15.44	\$70.59	29.3%
Cleveland.....	\$498.00	\$17.96	\$23.02	17.1%
Baltimore.....	\$447.00	\$11.51	\$50.35	32.3%
Houston.....	\$352.00	\$6.66	\$41.99	46.0%

¹ Source: Baltimore City Public Schools, Bureau of Research, computation based on data secured from cities by questionnaire.

² Source: Research Council, Great Cities Program for School Improvement, October, 1965.

Boston public schools, advanced work classes, 1966-1967

Districts Served	Location of Class	Grade	No. Enrolled	
			White	Non-white
1. Robert T. Paine Edmund P. Tileston Emily A. Fifield Wm. E. Endicott Roger Wolcott	Pauline Shaw School	5	13	10
	Robert T. Paine School	6	19	5
2. Beethoven Charles Sumner Longfellow Patrick Lyndon	Charles Sumner School	5	27	0
	Charles Sumner School	6	26	0
3. Elihu Greenwood Henry Grew James J. Chittick	Henry Grew School	5	22	0
	Elihu Greenwood School	6	21	2
4. James A. Garfield Bennett Prince Thomas Gardner Washington Allston	James A. Garfield Colony (at Thomas Edison).	5	16	4
		6	18	2
5. Theodore Lyman Emerson Blackington-Chevrus Chapman Donald McKay-Samuel Adams	Patrick Kennedy School	5	21	0
	Theodore Lyman School	6	23	0
6. Francis Parkman John F. Kennedy Agassiz Ellis Mendell Jefferson	Edwin Seaver School	5	13	13
	John F. Kennedy School	6	8	14
7. Abraham Lincoln Dwight Rice-Franklin Michelangelo-Elliot-Hancock	Abraham Lincoln School	5	5	17
	Abraham Lincoln School	6	3	14
8. Martin Dearborn Dillaway Dudley Hugh O'Brien Dudley-Hyde-Everett	Maurice J. Tobin School	5	9	18
	Maurice J. Tobin School	6	8	19

Boston public schools, advanced work classes, 1966-1967—Continued

Districts Served	Location of Class	Grade	No. Enrolled	
			White	Non-White
9. John Marshall Mather Christopher Gibson Minot Mary Hemenway	John Marshall School Mather School	5	24	1
		6	24	0
10. Henry L. Higginson Wm. L. Garrison John Winthrop Julia W. Howe Phillips Brooks	Henry L. Higginson School Wm. L. Garrison School	5	1	17
		6	3	20
11. John A. Andrew Bigelow Edward Everett Hart-Gaston-Perry Norcross Paul A. Dever Wm. E. Russell	John A. Andrew School John A. Andrew School	5	23	0
		6	26	0
12. Harvard Warren	Bunker Hill School Warren-Prescott School	5	24	0
		6	18	0

24 Total Classes

Adult educational and recreational activities of the Boston public schools

Type of Activity	No. of Schools or Centers	Enrollment
Adult High Schools.....	7	4509
Evening Elementary Schools.....	9	2773
Adult Basic-Education Classes.....	4	271
Evening Trade Schools.....	3	646
Day School for Immigrants.....	1	518
Boston Public School Centers.....	13	3428
Youth Centers—Recreational.....	11	750
Summer Review Schools.....	4	4082
Total.....	62	16,977

No. of
Occupancies

Use of School Facilities by Civic and Church-Sponsored Groups.....	270
Total Cost All Programs.....	\$588,750.00
Federal Grant—Title II-B P.L. 89-452.....	98,000.00
School Department Share.....	\$490,750.00

THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT
Administration Building, 15 Beacon Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02108, November 28, 1966.

HONORABLE JOHN A. HANNAH, *Chairman*
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Office of General Counsel
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20425.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: At the time of the Civil Rights Hearings held in Boston, there was put into evidence a document entitled "The Boston Blueprint for Equal Educational Opportunity." This document attempted to present factually and without subjective evaluation on the part of the administration, the programs and policies of the Boston Public Schools. It is on the basis of such factual evidence submitted by the great cities visited by the Commission, and not on hearsay

and emotionally-charged evidence, that determinations will be made identifying barriers to equal opportunity and achievement for Negroes.

Understandably, no great city could reasonably be expected to assemble all the facts in its case, nor even an appreciable amount, on relatively short notice. It is not Boston's aim or desire to deluge the Commission with considerable additional material at this time, for the "Blueprint" supplies adequate basis for a determination relative to the existence of equal educational opportunity for all. However, greatly disturbed by repeated and undocumented charges of lack of communication between the Boston Public Schools and the homes of pupils, we are taking the opportunity offered by the Commission to submit evidence of Boston's concern and efforts in this area.

Also, in addition to the "Outline of Plans for Construction" contained on pages 59 and 60 of the "Blueprint," we are presenting in evidence, for your consideration, the complete and detailed "Program for Construction of New Schools and Additions to Old Schools" submitted to the Massachusetts Commissioner of Education on June 13, 1966. The long-range building program (1966-1975) was but one part of Boston's plan to comply with the State Racial Imbalance Law.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM H. OHRENBERGER,
Superintendent of Public Schools.

eh
Enclosures

THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

DEPARTMENT OF SCHOOL HEALTH SERVICES, NURSING DIVISION,
Administration Building, 15 Beacon Street
October 17, 1966.

Memorandum to: Mary E. Vaughan, Associate Superintendent
From: Louise S. Holthaus, Chief Supervising Nurse
Subject: Home Contacts made by School Nurses

School nurses are liaison agents between the school and the home, primarily for matters pertaining to the health and welfare of pupils. Due to numerous working parents and the increased work-loads of school nurses, when a face-to-face contact in the home is impossible, then parents are contacted by telephone. Many contacts are made through the School Health Office and the home, as well as through parent-teacher-nurse conferences within the school setting.

In 1965-66 school nurses visited 13,984 homes. In many cases, there were multiple reasons for the home visit; namely,

Physical Defects.....	4, 282
Immunizations.....	2, 208
Illness.....	3, 011
Non-Reportable Communicable Diseases.....	913
Escorted to home for illness or injury.....	1, 250
Defective Hearing.....	1, 861
Defective Vision.....	3, 272

There were 151 pupils escorted to a hospital for illness or injury (usually met by parent after arrival at hospital).

All parents of pupils entering either kindergarten or grade I and all parents of grade IV pupils are given written invitations urging them to be present at the school physical examination. In 1965-66, 3,867 parents were present. An additional 5,158 pre-school pupils were given school physical examinations and 5,143 parents were present.

Nurses obtained (through parent contact) a report on 2,721 pupils of their limitations and special considerations. This data is obtained annually on physically handicapped pupils.

Written parental consents are obtained by the nurses for programs offered by the school for diphtheria-tetanus immunization, tuberculosis screening, poliomyelitis, and measles vaccine.

School nurses visit homes and contact parents of pupils who need interpretation of the significance of defects found during classroom physical examinations, vision and hearing screening, tuberculosis screening and the school doctor's inspection of pupils.

In order to get defects followed-up, the school nurse informs, motivates, and counsels parents and pupils about desirable follow-up for each type of health problem or deficiency. She correlates the medical recommendations with the proper environmental and educational consideration for the pupil, through referrals, making and confirming appointments for hospital and clinic visits.

Title I Funds were made available for correction of defects. Thus, since May, 1966, over 200 families were seen and interviewed by school nurses to determine whether or not they could meet a standard criteria to apply for this financial assistance. To date, the use of Title I Funds has resulted in the accomplishments listed on the following page:

- 27 pupils refracted and glasses obtained for correction of visual defects, by private eye specialists and hospital clinics;
- 2 pupils have initial orthodontic work started and completion expected;
- 3 pupils had initial examinations by orthodontist and now awaiting application of braces;
- 13 pupils enrolled for partial plates and correction of dental defects with private dentists;
- 11 pupils obtained essential clothing;
- 2 pupils obtained orthopedic shoes and braces.

LOUISE S. HOLTHAUS,
Chief Supervising Nurse.

LSH/dm

THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE OF THE CITY OF BOSTON,
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF KINDERGARTENS,
15 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02108, Oct. 17, 1966.

MEMORANDUM

To: Miss Mary E. Vaughan, Associate Superintendent
From: Frances G. Condon, Director of Kindergarten
Re: *Visits by Kindergarten Teachers*

Until the re-organization of the Boston Kindergartens on a double session basis, home visits were required of all kindergarten teachers. They visited homes daily from at least 1:30 P.M. to 3:30 P.M.

Since double sessions Kindergarten home visits are not a required part of the kindergarten program, but they are a recommended procedure and are reported monthly to the Director of Kindergartens (form attached)

In the school year 1965-1966 just over 520 home visits were made. They were made to:

Help effect the transition from the home to the school.

Confer with the parents concerning children who needed special help (emotional, social and speech problem).

Confer with the parents concerning children who had the ability for added enrichment.

Acquaint parents with school procedures.

Comply with requests from parents for advice or assistance.

Discuss or advise retention in kindergarten (to retain a child in kindergarten we must have the consent of the parents).

FRANCES G. CONDON, *Director.*

MONTHLY REPORT TO DIRECTOR OF KINDERGARTENS

Month _____ 19__

District _____ School _____

ORGANIZATION

	First Session	Second Session	Total
Number of children enrolled, including temporarily discharged.....			
Average number present for the month.....			
Please note on the <i>April, May, and June</i> reports the number of children you have registered for next September.....			

HOME AND KINDERGARTEN COOPERATION
Under Direction of Kindergarten Teacher

Individual Conferences	
Home Visits	
Group Meetings	
Open House	

Subject _____

Speaker _____

Evaluation _____

Kindergarten Teacher

Kindergarten Teacher

THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

DEPARTMENT OF PUPIL ADJUSTMENT COUNSELING
Administration Building Annex, 45 Myrtle Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02114, October 17, 1966.

MISS MARY E. VAUGHAN
*Associate Superintendent
Boston Public Schools
15 Beacon Street
Boston, Massachusetts.*

DEAR MISS VAUGHAN: As an observer at the hearings conducted by the United States Commission on Civil Rights at Faneuil Hall, in Boston, on October 4 and October 5, 1966, I noted that several witnesses gave the impression that there

was little, if any, interest on the part of the administration of the Boston Public Schools in the homes of the children in the areas of imbalanced schools. It was also alleged that teachers had little empathy with children in these schools.

* * * * *

There has been a most vital interest in the homes of children who attend the Boston Public Schools since 1906, when Home and School Visitors started to work in the schools as liaisons between the schools and the homes of school children. That year also saw the establishment of such a unique service in Rochester, New York and Hartford, Connecticut. This began the now proved effective programs of social work in public school systems. Boston was a leader in this program and today has a better ratio of social workers to the total school enrollment than that of any large city. This program was started in the Boston Public Schools by members of the now Women's Educational and Industrial Union who were experienced in both Social Work and Education. The planning for this new area of social work was prompted by the theory that there should be a close working relationship by the schools with the homes of children.

Today, the Staff, in the Department of Pupil Adjustment Counseling in the Boston Public Schools, has a Director, an Assistant to the Director, and 29 Adjustment Counselors who are Social Workers. It has also a School Psychologist, a Consulting Psychiatrist, and 14 Secretaries who keep detailed records of the case studies. Fourteen of these Adjustment Counselors work in Counterpoise Schools which have an enrollment of 12,000 pupils. This ratio of 1 Adjustment Counselor for 857 pupils is far better than the national recommendation that a social worker be assigned for every 1500 pupils, or the suggestion of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Commission on Civil Rights that in imbalanced school areas there should be 1 Adjustment Counselor for 1000 to 1200 pupils.

The Counselors are now required to have earned the degree of Master in Social Work and, in addition, to have studied certain approved courses in Education. Presently, the Staff has workers who have brought to the Boston Public Schools invaluable experience in school-parent relationships as they have worked in such well established agencies as: The Family Service Association, Jewish Family and Children's Services, Massachusetts Division of Child Guardianship of the State Department of Public Welfare, Boston Children's Services Association, Catholic Charitable Bureau, Boston Public Welfare Department, Massachusetts Youth Service Board, Boston Juvenile Court, Children's Medical Center, Division of Legal Medicine of the Massachusetts Department of Mental Health, Massachusetts General Hospital Psychiatric Clinic, Judge Baker Guidance Center and other public and private social agencies, medical centers and child guidance clinics.

A well known and highly respected child psychiatrist from Harvard Medical School and Judge Baker Guidance Center has weekly consultation sessions with the fourteen Adjustment Counselors in the Counterpoise Schools.

The Department accepts referrals of children in all grades from Head Start through high school who present problems of behavior or emotional maladjustment serious enough to cause them, in turn, to be problems in school and deter their learning and that of their classmates.

Adjustment Counselors make home visits on all children referred to the Department. Often these homes are visited weekly to acquaint the parent on the progress of the child. Workers also make home visits if a child evidences neglect or an inadequate family income. When necessary, social agencies in the city are requested to assist with these problems. School Administration requested two hundred and thirty such home investigations last year. Parents have always been cooperative and grateful that school personnel were interested enough in them to send a trained, understanding worker to offer advice and assistance in helping them and their child overcome a problem.

The Department provides a casework service for the children referred with personality difficulties and social problems. These problems may arise because of their home environment and prevent them from partaking of a richer school life. Our social work service is comprehensive, covering all facets of the life of the child, namely: the school life, the learning process, the home life, environment, social and cultural impact, attitudes and emotional factors. Symptomatically, these children may manifest intense anxiety, withdrawal, wide fluctuation in mood, immaturity, hyperactivity, hostility negative social attitudes, physical neglect, destructiveness, severe learning processes and others.

The Staff establishes helpful and kindly relationships with these children, their parents and their teachers for the purpose of improving the social, emotional, physical and spiritual conditions that threaten the welfare of the child. The counselor, who has worked with a particular child, is available for consultation by the parent even after the immediate need is met. The Department is concerned with the social and emotional development of the whole child in the direction of mature, responsible adulthood, as well as with his school success.

During the school year, 1965-1966, 3440 children were referred to this Department; 82% were referred by members of the school system; 12% were referred by social and medical agencies; and 208 children were referred by their own parents. For the first time, the greatest number of children were referred from Grade I. This evidences the greater awareness of school personnel in noting children who need assistance indicated by this early detection of their difficulties. The teachers were alert to the symptoms of emotional difficulties and so requested the services of a trained, sympathetic, professional counselor to work with these little children and their parents. There were 8790 home visits made during the past school year. This was in addition to conferences at the schools by Adjustment Counselors with parents. Adjustment Counselors assigned in the Counterpoise Schools spend the entire school day in their school district and are easily available to parents who wish to visit them. After the close of school, the Counselors visit the homes and the social and medical agencies who cooperate with them in planning and working out ameliorative programs for these children. At all times, personal information is professionally respected with confidentiality and is only shared with other professionals when written consent of the parent is obtained and this authorization is in the case record.

A carefully prepared on each child referred and a competent professional staff has been provided to keep these records available. Each study includes a detailed explanation of the problem and the referring person. The Adjustment Counselor is interested in how the child has been showing difficulties and how the personality difficulty first became evident. Has there been any marked trend in the difficulty? Has it become worse or has it been developing over a long period? Has the difficulty been more evident in certain settings or at certain times—in particular classrooms—in the yard at recess—in the home? Does this child get along with others—in his family or neighborhood?

Who are these children?

The child with destructive social attitudes and emotional disturbances

The excessively nervous or hyperactive child

The withdrawn, moody, fearful, jealous child

The over-aggressive child, the bully, the anti-social child

The child who steals or the habitual liar

The pathologically selfish child

The runaway

The child who has temper tantrums

The stubborn child

The child with school phobia

The child who sets fires

The child who will not talk in school—and others who present symptoms of emotional difficulties

When a child has been referred, the procedure is as follows:

An interview is held with the Principal, pupil and teacher or teachers concerned.

A careful review is made of the school history of the child from the available cumulative records.

If the pupil is failing—at what point did he begin to fail?

If retarded for his age—how much retarded—and what grades were repeated?

If there is failure or retardation, conferences are held with school personnel as to what they might ascribe this. It could be caused by low ability, physical disability, lack of application, poor study habits, poor motivation, or special educational disabilities.

Have there been many changes of schools? The schools the pupil has attended are noted.

The present report card is reviewed.

Any group tests that might have been administered are observed as to the type of test and the date it was given, also the conclusions and recommendations.

The conclusions of the general school examinations and the individual hearing and eye tests are reviewed.

The Adjustment Counselor then talks with the child and visits his home and talks with the parents. All parents want the very best for their child and the Adjustment Counselor assures them that the school is anxious, too, to help the child with any problem.

The Adjustment Counselor utilizes all the special services within the school system to help adjust the child. However, when all school facilities have been exhausted—including individual psychological testing—the services of approved agencies in the community are sought. The Adjustment Counselor always obtains the consent and cooperation of parents when it is deemed necessary to go outside the school system for help for a child. It is the responsibility of the Adjustment Counselor to assist these parents and their children in getting to the needed community services. As applying for help is a complicated affair, giving parents the name and address of a social agency, hospital or child guidance clinic is not enough. It takes skill and time to confer with parents and the child who sometimes vacillate, struggle and even resist before they have the courage to take the steps that lead to help. The Adjustment Counselor stays with the parents and child until a satisfactory adjustment is made by the child.

During the month of September, 1966, 591 children were referred.

254 children were attending Counterpoise schools. Adjustment Counselors had 529 conferences with parents in the schools and have made 107 home visits to homes to talk with parents. In the Counterpoise Program there were 107 parental conferences with Adjustment Counselors at schools. There have been 107 so far this school year. Psychiatric consultation has been given to 107 children this school year as Adjustment Counselors meet in groups.

In addition, three community child guidance clinics have been established to help the Adjustment Counselors understand the dynamics of child behavior and to acquaint them with the newest methods in child psychology.

Boston University School of Social Work has initial approval from the National Institute of Mental Health for a substantial grant to train the Boston Public Schools to train future school social workers. The program was started in September, 1967. Boston was selected in recognition of the work done in the Adjustment Counselor Program during the past 3 years. The program has been expanded and the qualifications for new workers are being graded. The details in this program design with the National Institute of Mental Health are being completed.

At the monthly staff meetings, the leaders of social and psychiatric services address the entire staff of Adjustment Counselors and discuss new methods of cooperation so the Department can be kept informed of the newest programs to help children and their families. The 412 children who were referred to this Department last year by community agencies give evidence that the professional community recognizes the services rendered by the Department of Pupil Adjustment Counseling in the Boston Public Schools to children and their parents. Likewise, all agencies in the city have been most cooperative in accepting referrals from the schools.

From within the school system during the school year, 1965-1966, 2820 children were referred for assistance. This would tend to refute implications that the school administration and teachers were not concerned with the children in their schools. Each Adjustment Counselor is available for daily conferences with the Principal and teachers in the District to acquaint them with the progress in each case study and to receive the current behavior report on the child. Teachers throughout the city who feel a child should have the professional services of a trained Adjustment Counselor discuss the possibility of a referral with the Principal who makes the referral to the Adjustment Counselor. In Counterpoise Schools Master teachers, who are in daily conferences with the teachers, may make direct referrals to the Adjustment Counselor. Teachers are often helped to understand puzzling attitudes and amazing behavior of pupils as case studies progress. Parents have expressed appreciation for the work of an Adjustment Counselor whose professional approach has been helpful to them with children for whom they have been concerned.

Hopefully, this description of the Department of Pupil Adjustment Counseling will illustrate how the Boston Public Schools are interested in the homes of children and how teachers are concerned about pupils who need assistance in meeting the pressures of school.

Sincerely yours,

KATHERINE H. MCLEOD,
Director.

(Additional materials submitted by the Boston School Committee are on file with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.)

Exhibit No. 8

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MASSACHUSETTS,
41 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Massachusetts 82108,
October 5, 1966.

STATEMENT OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MASSACHUSETTS
ON RACIAL ISOLATION IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Filed with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights at the time of their hearings at Faneuil Hall, Boston, October 4 and 5, 1966. Commissioners: John A. Hannah, chairman; Eugene Patterson, vice chairman, Frankie M. Freeman; Erwin N. Griswold; Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.; and Robert S. Rankin.

Statement prepared by Mrs. Alvin J. Hendler, League of Women Voters chairman of the program item Development of Human Resources.

The League of Women Voters of Massachusetts supports racial integration in our public schools and supports efforts designed to achieve it.

We believe that all levels of government must do all they can to prevent and/or remove discrimination in education. School segregation causes the same injury to our children, whether it be de facto in the North or de jure in the South. Our local members throughout the state feel deeply *the need for more government initiative* in solving these problems of racial isolation for our school children.

We support the principle of the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Act and oppose any attempt to weaken it. But the fact remains that today, one year after this act was signed into law, that more children than before attend racially segregated schools. This is a deplorable situation. Much more work needs to be done at all levels in providing technical and financial assistance to school systems needing help in integrating their student bodies.

The Massachusetts league supports METCO, a program of greater Boston action to improve education and racial balance by busing city children to the suburbs. Many of our local leagues are actively involved in their own communities, working for support and understanding of this program. METCO is one effort—and a good one—by state and local governments to make equal opportunity a reality, not merely an ideal. It is a step in the right direction.

Individuals need to be informed of their civil rights and the opportunities open to them in education. Communities need and should have adequate assistance in integrating their schools, and there should be vigorous enforcement of laws in those communities that are unwilling to do so. *We support withholding of funds* from school systems which fail to comply with the realistic guidelines and standards set up for integration. Our members *agree overwhelmingly that more needs to be done and now.*

Our members have studied carefully the issues and our member consensus is a true grass roots one from local league members in over 110 cities and towns in the commonwealth. Equal opportunity in education does not exist for all Massachusetts school children. The lack of it is beyond their control. The responsibility lies with us all. Our destiny depends on how well we accept the responsibility.

Exhibit No. 9

FANEUIL HALL,
Boston, Massachusetts,
October 5, 1966.

STATEMENT BEFORE THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

By Dr. Owen B. Kiernan, Commissioner of Education, Commonwealth of Massachusetts

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION: I am Owen B. Kiernan, Commissioner of Education for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

I am appearing here today as the official representative of the Massachusetts Department of Education, which, in turn, is under the supervision and control of the State Board of Education. As the executive officer of the Department and as an individual citizen and educator, I appreciate the privilege afforded me by your Commission to testify on the desirability of eliminating racial imbalance whenever and wherever it is found in the public schools of the Commonwealth.

The concern of the Board of Education regarding racial imbalance is not restricted to assessing the negative aspects of this phenomenon. Rather, this Board, as did its predecessor, views racial imbalance in the total context of what is described as quality education and regards it as a barrier to the more positive goals of integrated learning experiences and meaningful human relations education.

Antedating the enactment of the Commonwealth's racial imbalance law in August of 1965 and prior to the public's involvement in the cause of equal educational opportunity for non-whites, is the Department's ten-year pioneering effort in human relations education. This was accomplished primarily through our Division of Civic Education, the first of its kind in the nation. In capsule form, we can point to the following pertinent activities:

1. The publication and widespread utilization of *Education for Citizenship*, a significant blueprint for civic education which gave major emphasis to intergroup relations.
2. In-service and pre-service human relations courses involving a total of 2300 regular teachers and 1000 teacher-trainees.
3. Close cooperation with agencies such as the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination*, the Attorney General's Civil Rights Committee, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews, in conducting conferences, supplying resource people, and preparing teaching materials.
4. The joint sponsorship, with United Community Services, of "Operation Kindness" whereby several thousand secondary school students have given more than two million hours of community service. This program has been based on research in human relations and is designed to develop attitudinal changes among people from different cultures.
5. Sponsored nationally recognized *Freedom Lectures* on the theme, "You and the Bill of Rights," featuring the then Assistant Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, Chief Justice Paul Reardon of the Massachusetts Superior Court, and other distinguished leaders.
6. Sponsorship of six statewide conferences for 800 high school students on the theme, "Human Rights at Home and Abroad."

In August of 1963 when the issue of racial imbalance resulted in an irreconcilable controversy between the Boston School Committee and other forces on the community, the State Board of Education issued the following policy statement on racial imbalance and the underprivileged child.

The Massachusetts Board of Education is deeply concerned by the numbers of American children who are underprivileged, partly because of neighborhood racial imbalance as reflected in some public schools. The Board recognizes its responsibility to call attention to the educational needs of the underprivileged child in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and will

*Co-sponsored with the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, a secondary school teachers' unit called "Discrimination—Danger to Democracy" which has been used by 15,000 youth since 1956. (Revised edition published in 1962.)

use to the fullest its moral and legal powers to equalize opportunities wherever the need may appear in our schools. The Board, consistent with its role of guiding and assisting school committees all of which have prime legal responsibility locally, urges each committee to intensify its efforts to identify and to meet the educational needs of any such underprivileged children. The Board urges further that action, consistent with sound educational practice, be taken immediately to eliminate racial imbalance when and where it is ascertained to exist in any school system.

Subsequent to the issuance of this policy statement, the Department of Education conducted a fifteen-week teacher-training course at Boston State College entitled, "Education and Race Relations," which included lectures by some of the most distinguished authorities in the nation. One hundred and fifteen teachers from Boston and surrounding cities and towns regularly attended the course. Many others attended single sessions in terms of personal interest. All lectures were tape recorded and made available to any school system desiring them. The New York State Department of Education and the Pennsylvania State Department of Education also utilized full copies of the series.

In later weeks, the Department distributed a so-called "Human Relations Kit" to every public school system in the Commonwealth. Each kit included the "Education and Race Relations" course bibliography, a special bibliography on, "The Negro in American Life," and a teacher's unit of study entitled, "Discrimination—Danger to Democracy."

On February 27, 1964, because of the growing need to ascertain the facts concerning the possibility of racial imbalance in Massachusetts public schools and because of the desirability of reassessing research data regarding the possible harm done to minority group children in terms of academic success and citizenship, the Board reaffirmed its earlier policy statement and voted to launch a comprehensive study. It was agreed further that in order to determine the dimensions of the problem, the Commissioner be authorized to initiate a racial census of pupils in our 390 school districts. In a previous opinion to the Commissioner, Attorney General Edward Brooke had ruled that such a census was legally permissible.

On March 5, 1964, the Board appointed the Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education. Citizens were drawn from every segment of the community, and it is doubtful if a more distinguished committee could be found anywhere in the country. They were assisted by a Task Force of nationally and regionally respected educators in the conduct of this major research endeavor.

The Report of the Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education entitled, *Because It Is Right—Educationally*, and generally called the "Kiernan Report," was published in April of 1965 after a year of intensive and exhaustive study. Two basic sets of findings stand out in this report which has since achieved national recognition: (1) that fifty-five Massachusetts schools (including forty-five Boston schools) contained more than fifty per cent non-white enrollments, and (2) that racial imbalance was deemed harmful on these grounds: (a) it damages the self-confidence and motivation of Negro children; (b) it reinforces the prejudices of children regardless of their color; (c) it does not prepare the child for integrated life in a multiracial community, nation, and world; (d) it impairs the opportunities of many Negro children to prepare for the vocational requirements of our technological society; (e) it often results in a gap in the quality of educational facilities among schools; and (f) it represents a serious conflict in the public schools with the American creed of equal opportunity.

In our judgment, one cannot emphasize too much the fact that the Advisory Committee placed maximum insistence upon a thorough, penetrating and objective evaluation of a substantial body of research materials which touched upon the basic question: *Is racial imbalance educationally harmful?* It can be stated unequivocally that every reasonable test which objective scholarship could apply to find valid and meaningful answers to this question was utilized.

The Task Force which carried out this charge was representative of several disciplines and contained experienced quality educational services to all children and youth regardless of the extenuating circumstances of background.

Exhibit No. 10

STAFF DIRECTOR, U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS,
Washington, D.C., September 24, 1966.

HONORABLE JOHN W. GARDNER
Secretary
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D.C. 20021.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: On October 4 and 5, the Commission is holding hearings in Boston, Massachusetts on the subject of racial isolation in that city's schools. Our hearing is being conducted pursuant to our statutory authority and the request of the President of November 17, 1965, that we gather facts concerning the extent of racial isolation in the Nation's schools.

Our field work in Boston has convinced us that it is not possible to hold a hearing in that city without considering HEW's policy with respect to the continuance of Federal financial aid to the Boston schools in the context of the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Act. We also are interested in obtaining an evaluation of the implementation of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and its relation to the problems of racial imbalance. In order to explore the above issues, it is our intention to subpoena Mr. Walter W. Mode, Regional Director, Department of Health, Education and Welfare and Dr. Donald C. DeHart, Regional Representative of the Commissioner of Education, to appear at the hearing.

We feel that, to the extent the above-named officials will be unable to fully and completely answer the questions the Commissioners may have for them, it would be extremely useful and helpful if the appropriate persons from Washington were to appear at the hearing.

I will be happy to discuss this matter with you or your representative at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM L. TAYLOR.

cc: Mr. Harold Howe II, Commissioner of Education, HEW
Mr. F. Peter Libassi, Special Assistant for Civil Rights, HEW

Exhibit No. 11

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
Washington, D.C. 20202, August 9, 1966.

[NOTE: This letter was sent to all Chief State School Officers]

HONORABLE AUSTIN R. MEADOWS
Superintendent of Education
State Department of Education
Montgomery, Alabama 36104.

DEAR SUPERINTENDENT MEADOWS: Each day we are faced with more evidence that children from poor homes and from our racial minorities are being doomed to continued poverty and educational deprivation. As you no doubt know from your own personal and professional experience, schools transmit a climate of expectation and self-esteem to students through their enrollment mix and institutional traditions. The child's perception of his school's place in the educational and community structure apparently contributes to his relationship to school and society. There is a general tendency for children to shape their lives after the models visible in their environment. Attendance at a school which reflects economic and racial segregation is much more than an academic experience related to the traditional acquisition of knowledge and skills—it helps to establish low expectations for the future.

A recent study, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, casts new light on the educational problems of poor children and on the inequities of segregated education. I enclose a copy. I would like to mention also that some people have

seen Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act as allowing the continuance of concentrations of poor and segregated children. I do not believe this is true, and I am sending you this letter to suggest ways to prevent the development of such a problem.

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), was designed by Congress to meet the needs of educationally deprived children who live in attendance areas where there are "high concentrations of children from low-income families." Many of these areas are actually segregated housing areas and the children suffer both from impoverished home backgrounds and from isolation from the community at large. If they are to break away from poverty they must overcome their educational deficiencies and develop the social skills they need in order to function effectively in the larger community. A Title I program that does not consider these objectives probably deserves significant reconsideration.

As in all Title I programs, the programs in segregated areas should be devised so as to concentrate the expenditure of Title I funds to a sufficient degree to bring about significant improvements in the behavior of the *most* educationally deprived children. It is not necessary, however, that the children selected for participation in Title I activities receive these services in schools in the low-income areas in which they reside. The development of special educational assistance for them at locations outside their immediate attendance areas is encouraged provided such assistance is specifically designed to meet their special educational needs and the location offers special advantages, such as opportunities for learning in a widely representative social environment.

When such efforts are made we would also invite applicants to include a limited number of children from the area where special Title I assistance is to be located and to select such children on the basis of their needs for the same type of assistance. In some cases, this type of arrangement may require the development of cooperative projects between districts.

Applicants should not reasonably expect, however, to be able to provide effective special assistance for a child in the "most educationally deprived" category merely by transporting him to another school. The child will need other special assistance, and the Title I project should seek to provide for it.

The arrangements for activities and services to be provided under Title I have been delegated to local educational agencies. You are closer to many of the problems than we in Washington, and can work more immediately to make our schools a training ground for leaders and citizens in a free and open society. May I suggest, however, that your office, which is charged with the responsibility and has the authority to determine whether a local project is approvable, exercise leadership in the development of effective programs for educationally deprived children living in low-income areas characterized by segregation.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ HAROLD HOWE II,
U.S. Commissioner of Education.

Enclosure

ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTS PLACED IN THE RECORD

EDWARD J. LOGUE,
Development Administrator,
July 12, 1966.

DR. WILLIAM G. SALTONSTALL,
Chairman of the Board of Education,
State Department of Education,
200 Newbury Street,
Boston, Massachusetts.

DEAR DR. SALTONSTALL: Resolving Boston's imbalance impasse proves to be a lengthy process. In the meantime, the Redevelopment Authority's commitment to the citizens and to the Federal Government to build the first urban renewal project school—on Humboldt Avenue—is daily falling further behind schedule.

Since, as the Board concern, the Humboldt School is planned to meet fully every test of Federal and State policy favoring correction of de facto segregation, and since more than one of such schools are bound to be a component of any

effective plan to eliminate imbalance in Boston, I request that the Board approve the Humboldt School for immediate construction.

Several compelling reasons prompt the conviction that the Board should act now on the Humboldt School.

1. It can be integrated immediately and to the dissatisfaction of no one, and can therefore be an early and useful model for successive new, integrated schools. The Washington Park renewal project has already proved attractive to white families and thus one of the first ghetto-areas in the nation to promise a solution to residential imbalance. Of the first 464 families which came to the new housing in the renewal area, 64 were white or interracial, and 45 of the 64 came from outside the renewal area. They came without being sought out, and when the 502 acre renewal project was less than half completed and at a low point of attractiveness; while the area was still served (as it continues to be) largely by ancient decrepit schools of a traditional pattern.

By the time all of the scheduled 1,500 new housing units on urban renewal sites are built (840 of the new units are to start construction this year), the present vacant land filled, new streets, street lighting, parks and tree planting finished, the civic center installed, and rehabilitation of existing housing completed (presently at less than the half-way mark), and replacements for the Julia Ward Howe (1867) and Boardman (1900) schools constructed, there is little doubt that a level of integration in the heart of Roxbury, once thought impossible, will have occurred. I am convinced that a high ratio of white families will be achieved in the new housing to be built close to the Humboldt School site. The school will be so programmed, staffed and operated, under the leadership of the Boston University School of Education, as to appeal to white and Negro families alike. I believe that Mr. Paul Parks has already communicated to you an optimistic estimate of the potential numbers of such children which it may prove possible to attract on a voluntary basis.

2. Whatever short-term solutions to imbalance may be required of Boston under the Racial Imbalance Act, such as redistricting and busing, the Act surely compels efforts toward long-term permanent solutions, foremost among which must be encouragement of all effective means to end ghetto residential patterns. *At the very least, no act or omission pursuant to the Imbalance Act should foreclose long range solutions.* To deprive urban renewal areas of new schools, or even to delay them until after it is too late to help establish an integrated tenancy pattern in new housing, would be to perpetuate the ghetto for two or more generations to come.

The Board, operating pursuant to the Racial Imbalance Act, and the Redevelopment Authority, operating under Federal and State urban renewal and housing legislation, each has a mandate to treat urban diseases. It would be tragic if one effort reduced the effectiveness of the other. The Humboldt School will have, I am convinced, negligible influence on the School Committee for a specific course of action. Constructed and operating, however, it can be an effective instrument of any plan to reduce segregation.

3. The Roxbury community wants the Humboldt School. As with all aspects of the Washington Park Renewal Plan, the arrangements for the school were discussed repeatedly and in detail at public hearings. Statements made at the hearings clearly demonstrate that better schools in the area are a leading aspiration of the community. Since approval of the Renewal Plan in 1965 the community has demanded the school repeatedly, and has been assured time and again that progress toward construction has been proceeding. It will be ironic if the latest and most serious delay occurs in the name of civil rights. This is not to assert that the community desires to retain neighborhood schools in Roxbury absent efforts to integrate such schools. It is to assert that the community will not stand for a plan to relieve imbalance which graces only white neighborhoods with new schools.

4. The Humboldt School is contracted for, the obligations running between the City and the Boston Redevelopment Authority under a Cooperation Agreement respecting the Renewal Project, dated March 15, 1963, and between the Authority and the United States under a Loan and Grant Contract dated May 1, 1965. The Commonwealth, acting under the provisions of Chapter 121 of the General Laws, through its Division of Urban and Industrial Renewal, approved the urban renewal project and should not withhold approval of a school construction project.

5. The first submission of working drawings for the Humboldt School will be made at the end of this month. Failure of the Board of Education to act before the drawings are completed will mean additional delay.

6. Schools like the Humboldt School are favored by Federal policy which has evolved since the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation opinion and which finds local response in the Massachusetts Imbalance Act. The Report of the 1966 White House Conference on Civil Rights, in the Chapter on Education, stated:

"More admixture of white and Negro pupils will not constitute integration unless other basic changes are produced at the same time. Public and private programs to retain and bring back middle-class white population to central cities and to promote integration in housing, employment, religion, and society in general, are essential to the achievement of genuine social integration.

"Unless we are successful in solving the problem, our metropolitan areas could become frozen into Negro central cores characterized by physical deterioration, poverty, and wasted human resources, surrounded by a white middle-class fringe living in perpetual fear of the central city Negro population."

Elsewhere, in discussing demonstration schools and supplementary centers, of which the Humboldt School will be an example, the Report states:

"Another reason for a demonstration school is that it would not interfere with the traditional freedom of option available to school boards, but rather would function with a voluntary enrollment from inner-city children, perhaps drawing some suburban children back into the city, for such *managed integration* will doubtless at first be necessary."

* * * * *

Such a center within a city—with, for example, the latest science equipment—would attract suburban children or white middle-class children from private and parochial schools in the area. Thus, the city school at which the center was located would play an important role in integration, as well as taking a major step toward *high quality within the ghetto*." (Emphasis supplied.)

Harold Howe, II, U.S. Commissioner of Education, in a May 3 address at Columbia Teachers College, stated, following a list of "local efforts . . . also whittling away at the issue of *de facto* segregation," including pairing of schools and busing, concluded:

"But all of these laudable efforts, both Federal and local, are deemed to failure unless they are fortified by further energies directed at the basic problem.

"The first priority is to make sure the schools which serve our neediest citizens are at the very least equal to the schools that serve our most fortunate."

Mr. Howe's predecessor as Commissioner of Education, Francis Keppel, in his recent book "The Necessary Revolution in American Education" makes the same points:

"Until the schools in the slums and on the edges of the slums are as good as the schools in ambitious suburbia, it is hard if not impossible to prevent the exodus of the middle class from the city and/or from the public school system. The ghetto and the poor schools will both have to go. Full national development, in an economic sense, cannot be based on pockets of poverty and social neglect."

* * * * *

"Some of the current programs suggested, however, are panaceas; "busing" and the neighborhood school issue can become, for example, peripheral questions which divert attention from the primary goals of improving the schools themselves."

* * * * *

"If education of high quality and integrated education are joined, not only could urban Negroes move rapidly out of the depressed class, but many white families might very well give up the financial burden of private

school tuition or high mortgages and return to the public schools of the cities. Some of the white middle class might thus be retrieved for the cities from the suburbs. The realist must repeat that without adoption of some such strategy it is likely that the gap between the classes and races will steadily widen."

* * * * *

"But to put the burden of racial integration of schools on the educators alone, or the Federal Government alone, is to misjudge the American style and the American way of doing things—and the facts. If city schools are to change, real estate boards will have to play the role comparable to school boards. City government will have to join hands with school management. A social revolution is not made by any one section of society; many hands must join if the wheel is to turn."

* * * * *

"The schools must be part of such a program. *They cannot be considered apart from metropolitan planning, or from housing developments, or from transportation.*" (Emphasis supplied.)

* * * * *

7. Quite apart from the question of imbalance, the curriculum which Boston University has designed for the Humboldt School is desperately needed by slum children of both races. It is tailor-made, and a great deal of re-thinking and re-negotiation would be required to duplicate it elsewhere. John H. Fischer, President of Columbia Teachers College, in an article in a new volume, "The Negro American", edited by Talcott Parsons and Kenneth B. Clark, says:

"It is unhappily true, as Kenneth Clark points out, that to ask for good schools in the ghetto is to risk the charge that one acquiesces in segregation. Yet even though supporting better schools in ghettos has become a favorite play of the advocates of separate equality, that fact does not justify neglecting ghetto children. Indeed, many of these children are already so badly victimized by deprivation and neglect that, if integration were instantly possible, strong residual and compensatory programs would still be necessary to give them any reasonable chance to compete or to succeed.

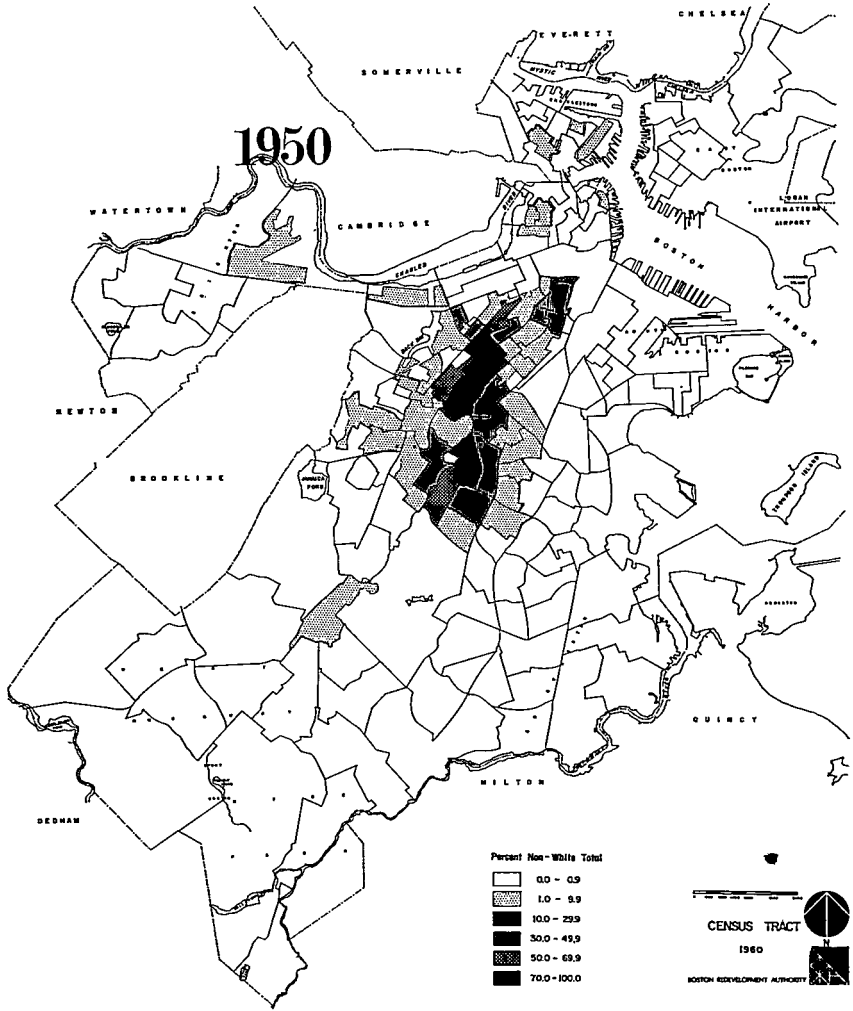
"In designing educational strategies to meet the special needs of Negro ghetto children, the public schools are undertaking tasks they have never really faced up to before. The curricula of slum schools have-almost invariably been no more than adapted versions of those designed for middle class pupils."

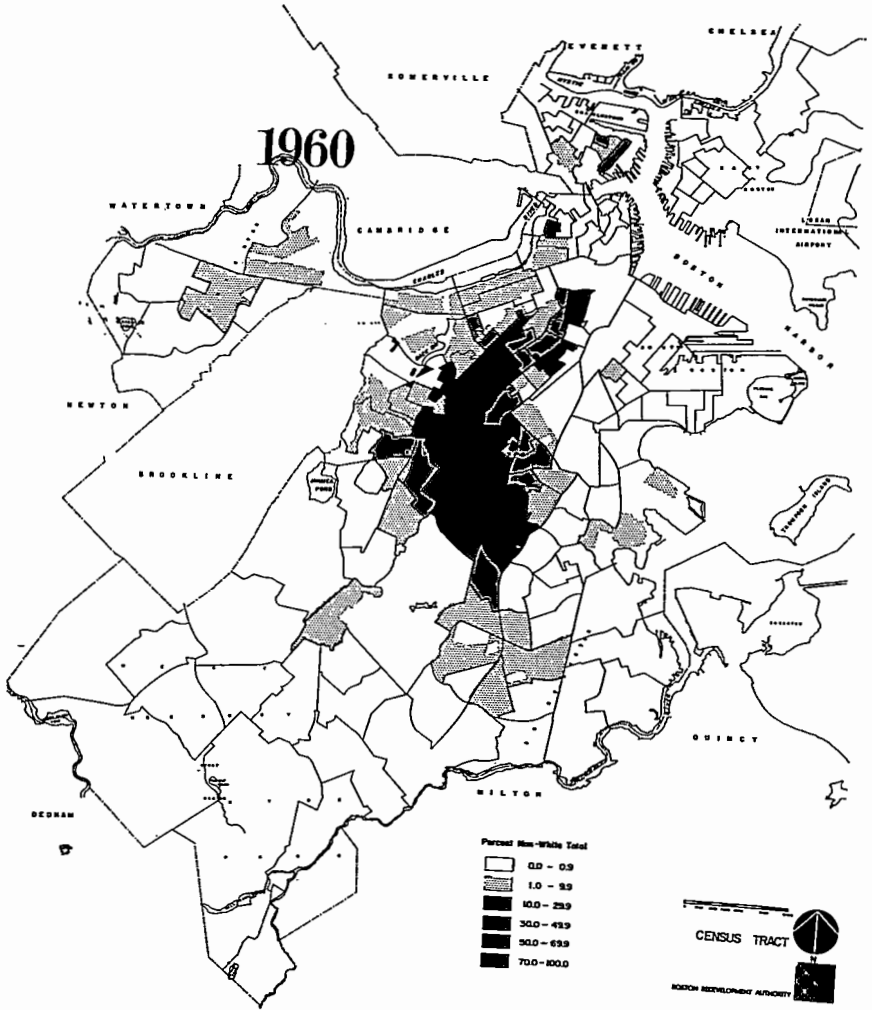
May I hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

(Signed) EDWARD J. LOGUE.

cc: Each Member of the Board of Education

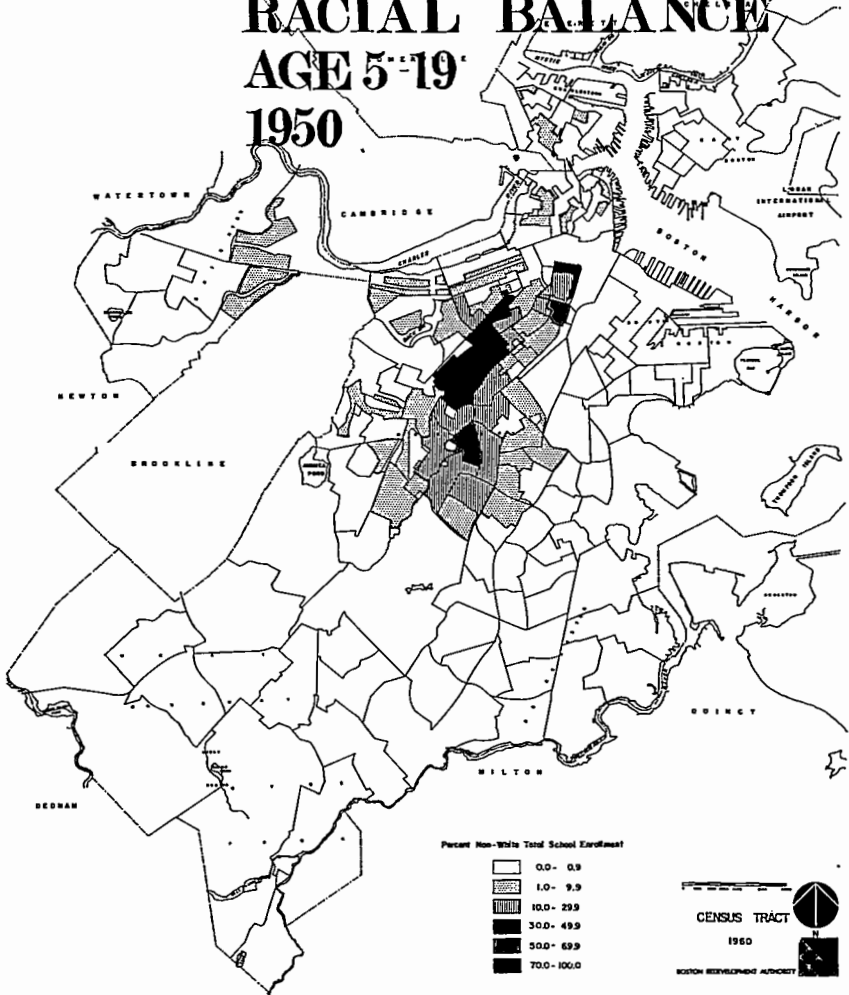




RACIAL BALANCE

AGE 5-19

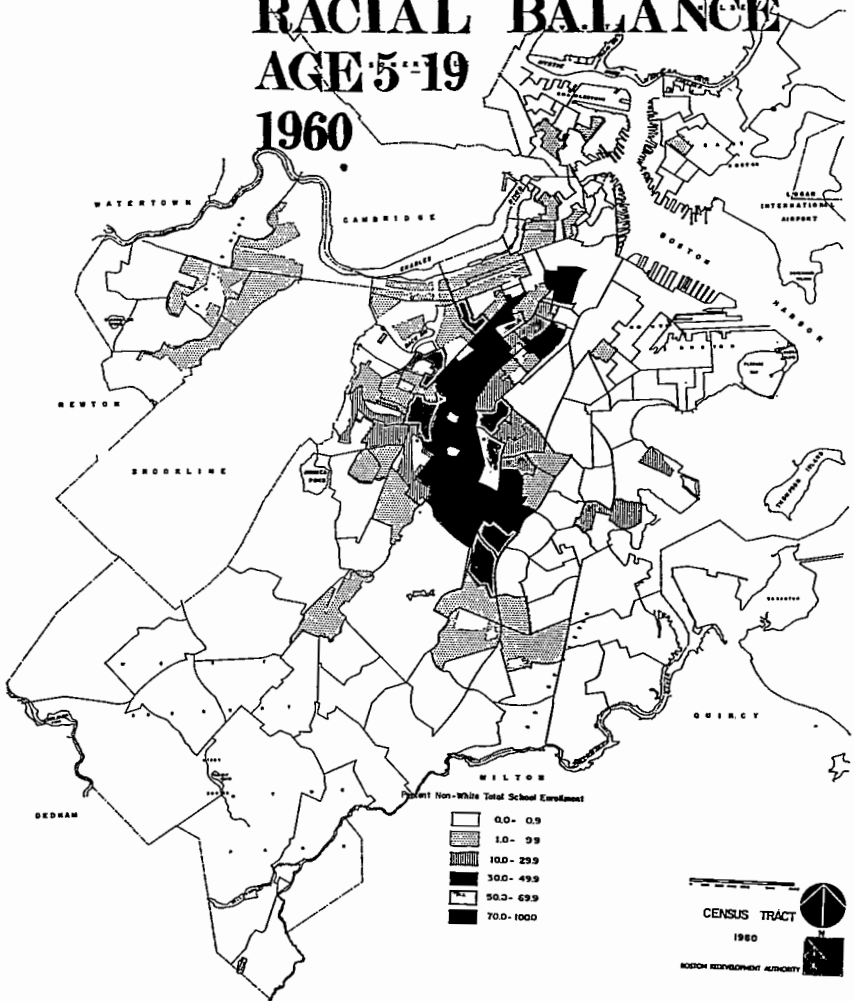
1950



RACIAL BALANCE

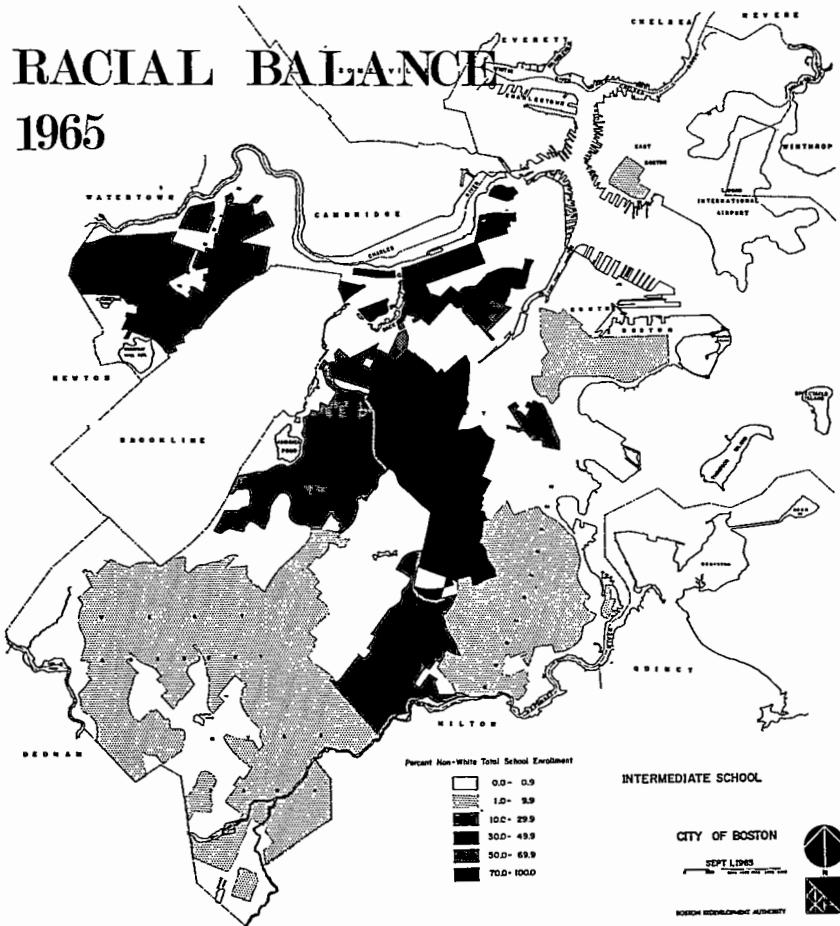
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1960



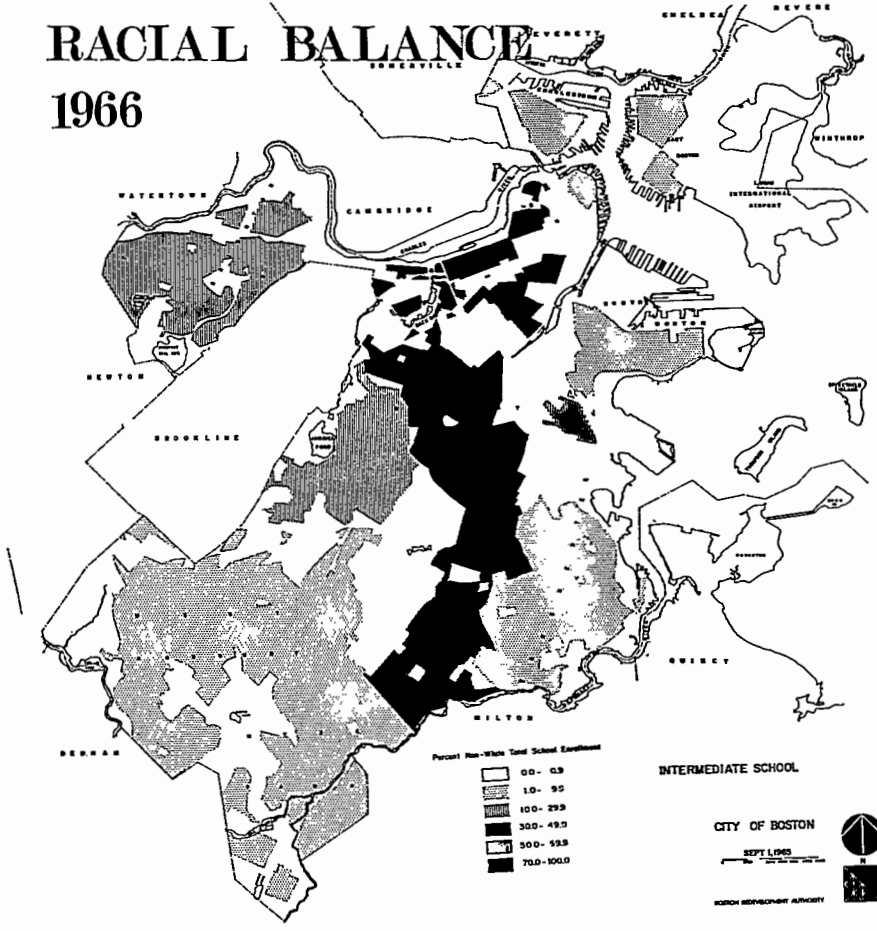
RACIAL BALANCE

1965



RACIAL BALANCE

1966



THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

MR. CHARLES O. RUDDY, *Associate Superintendent*
 MRS. ROBERT B. MATTAIR, *Special Manager*

BOSTON HOME AND SCHOOL ASSOCIATION
 15 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02108

November 28, 1966.

MR. HOWARD GLICKSTEIN, *General Counsel*
 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
 801 19th Street, N.W.
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GLICKSTEIN: At the recent Civil Rights hearings held in Boston, October 4 and 5, 1966, testimony which related to the Boston Home and School Association was given. The majority of this testimony which was negative in nature presented to the Commissioners and to the public a picture of Home and School Association which we find offensive and false.

We have no quarrel with people expressing an opinion!

We do have quarrel with a selective process which allows in the main only those witnesses to testify whose views seem to coincide with those of the General Counsel.

We do have quarrel with Commission proceedings which feature adverse commentary at a time when genuine cooperation between the school and the home is needed more than at any time in the past.

We do have quarrel with the fact that Mrs. Irene Nathanson, President of the Boston Home and School Association (1965-1966) although interviewed at her home prior to the hearings by Commission Staff Attorney Jonathan Fleming, was never subpoenaed to appear as a witness, thus denying to our Organization the opportunity to present, through its' former president, a complete and accurate picture of Boston Home and School Association's activities and accomplishments.

The Boston Home and School Association has been founded with the thought in mind that it be a contributing factor in bringing to the pupils of this City's public schools the finest education possible. For fifty-nine years it has operated on the principle that wholesome constructive communication between teacher and parent carried on in an atmosphere of equality, friendliness, and cooperation, best accomplishes this purpose. To this end the 104 local Home and School Associations which function autonomously under self-drawn constitutions have been established.

The record they make each year in terms of money donated to scholarships, welfare, charity, gifts to schools and pupils is unequalled in the State of Massachusetts. This is not to say that each of the 104 local associations is equally active or successful. In an organization of 52,000 members it is only natural that there is fluctuation in the degree of activity among the locals. There is, however, no geographic pattern which shows a concentration of very active or less active local Home and School Associations in any one section of the City.

It is not our intention to claim perfection for our Organization, yet the heavily weighted expression of dissident views given at the public hearings in Boston compel us to accept the prerogative which is rightfully ours, namely, filing with the United States Commission on Civil Rights this letter and other pertinent material which we feel portray accurately the organizational structure and activities of the Boston Home and School Association.

This letter and course of action is the result of a unanimous vote of the Executive Board of the Boston Home and School Association in session October 10, 1966 and November 7, 1966 and of the Council of Administration of the Boston Home and School Association in session October 10, 1966 and November 28, 1966.

At this time, also, the Boston Home and School Association requests of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, acknowledgement of the receipt of this letter and materials, and assurance that such letter and materials will be entered into the records of the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

Respectfully,

ARCHIE J. WALSH,
President.

mgm

December 7, 1966.

MR. ARCHIE J. WALSH
President, Boston School Committee
Boston Home and School Association
15 Beacon Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02108.

DEAR MR. WALSH: Thank you for your letter of November 28, 1966, concerning the Commission's recent public hearing on education in Boston, Massachusetts. Your letter is critical of the selection of persons who testified at the hearing and notes that although derogatory testimony was presented concerning the Home and School Association, no representative from that organization was subpoenaed to testify. Your letter further states that generally only those witnesses were selected "to testify whose views seem to coincide with those of the General Counsel."

The Commission's hearing in Boston, like our hearing held three weeks earlier in Rochester, New York, resulted in large part from a request President Johnson made of the Commission that we study the problems of race and education in all parts of the country. The President asked that we "gather the facts" about racial isolation in the schools and "make them available to the Nation as rapidly as possible." Our purpose in Boston, as well as in other cities where we have conducted studies, was the quite limited one of focussing on problems of race and education. We were not directly concerned with more general school problems or issues related to the quality of education provided. Our primary concern was whether Negro children are provided an equal education opportunity.

Prior to the hearing, Mr. Jonathan Fleming of my staff interviewed Mrs. Irene Nathanson, past president of the Boston Home and School Association. As in the case of all pre-hearing interviewing, Mr. Fleming attempted to determine whether Mrs. Nathanson had information relevant to the purpose of our investigation and hearing. Mrs. Nathanson informed Mr. Fleming that she had personal opinions on the issue of racial isolation in the schools. Since she had been contacted in her capacity as past president of the Association, however, she was unwilling to express her personal opinions. Furthermore, she informed Mr. Fleming that the Home and School Association had not taken a position on this issue. Because of Mrs. Nathanson's reluctance to state her personal opinions and because the Home and School Association had not addressed itself to the issue we were exploring, it was determined that Mrs. Nathanson should not be subpoenaed to testify at the hearing.

Witnesses were not selected because they reflected my personal views. We sought to conduct a genuine factfinding proceeding. We were interested in obtaining all points of view. It is my feeling that the Commission heard a wide range of testimony on the subject of racial isolation in the schools and no one point of view predominated. Your letter implies that the testimony was overwhelmingly critical of the School Committee, but six witnesses were either employed by or associated with the School Committee, including the Committee's chairman and its superintendent. Granted, some of the other witnesses were critical of the School Committee, but with an issue as controversial as racial isolation in the schools, I do not see how this could have been avoided. Witnesses not associated with the School Committee were selected either because of their involvement with or knowledge of the problems of race and education in Boston. We attempted to subpoena persons closest to and best able to discuss this issue. This required us to hear from Negro parents, community leaders, and other persons familiar with problems in the Negro community.

The Commission also is interested in possible remedies to the problem of racial isolation in the schools. For this reason, considerable testimony was heard from persons who have taken steps toward relieving racial isolation in the schools. The Commission wished to hear directly from those involved about the benefits and problems connected with these programs. It was for this reason that representatives from METCO, Operation Exodus, the New School For Children, and the Boardman Parents Group were heard.

We regret that the Home and School Association objects to the manner in which the Boston hearing was handled, but I hope that I have been able to respond adequately to your inquiries and criticism. I will see that your letter and the material you enclosed is included as part of the official record. Unfortunately, costs and page limitations will prevent us from printing all the documents

you submitted. The Commission appreciates your interest and concern in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

HOWARD A. GLICKSTEIN,
General Counsel.

cc: Offic. file-OGC SD
Reading file-OGC
RFBellman/HAGlickstein/jmm 12-7-66

HISTORY OF THE BOSTON HOME AND SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

BY MRS. ALFRED C. HUGHES, 1952

To the Boston Home and School Association

As a member of the Boston School Committee, I have been deeply impressed by the patient and unobtrusive way the leaders and members of our Boston Home and School Association have offered their assistance and sought advice regarding means of helpful co-operation to improve the Boston schools.

In education the home and the school are inseparably linked for the good of the children. With mothers and fathers co-operating with principals and teachers, splendid possibilities arise to ensure true education for our children—the harmonious development of all the faculties—mental, moral, physical, and spiritual. Such co-operation, eagerly offered, in developing a well-planned program of activities and study will enable the members to devote their co-ordinated energies to undertakings helpful to the school and appropriate for accomplishment by such groups.

I am happy to join my fellow members of the Boston School Committee—Mr. Carr, Miss Fitzgerald, Dr. Foley, and Mrs. Lyons—in expressing deep appreciation for the excellent record of high achievement and unflinching interest in our schools by the Boston Home and School Association.

Forty-five years of accomplishment are but a promise of wider influence and greater accomplishments in the years ahead.

Congratulations to Mrs. Alfred C. Hughes for her industry and research. To the officers and to the thirty thousand members of the Boston Home and School Association, best wishes for a fruitful future. May each one of us never forget the object of our unflinching attention—the child in our care.

Devotedly yours,

ISADORE H. Y. MUCHNICK,
Chairman, Boston School Committee.

APRIL 22, 1952.

BOSTON HOME AND SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

DIRECTORS

1910-1912—Mr. John William Debruyn
1912-1922—Mrs. Eva Whiting White
1922-1950—Mr. James T. Mulroy

SPECIAL MANAGERS

1917-1920—Mrs. William T. Irving
1920-1922—Mr. James T. Mulroy
1922-1930—Mrs. Frederick L. Pigeon
1930-1947—Mrs. Emily M. Woodbury
1947— —Mrs. Robert B. Mattair

PRESIDENTS

1908-1914—Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw
1914-1918—Mrs. Fanny Fern Andrews
1918-1920—Inactive
1920-1923—Mr. Fremont S. Eggleston
1923-1927—Mrs. Willard D. Woodbury
1927-1929—Mrs. Nina Gevalt
1929-1931—Mrs. Jennie M. Studley

PRESIDENTS—Continued

1931-1933—Mrs. Joseph E. Scanlon
 1933-1935—Mr. Thomas C. O'Brien
 1935-1937—Mr. Maurice J. Lacey
 1937-1939—Mrs. Jean V. Dethier
 1939-1941—Mr. Archer M. Nickerson
 1941-1943—Mrs. Thomas P. Dooley
 1943-1945—Mr. George W. Gammon
 1947-1949—Mr. Herbert J. Kinsella
 1949-1950—Mrs. Alfred C. Hughes
 1950-1951—Mr. Thomas D. Craven
 1951-1952—Mrs. Patrick I. McQuillan

HISTORY OF THE BOSTON HOME AND SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

In the year 1906 social workers visiting their club and neighborhood children discovered conditions in the homes which were unnecessarily handicapping the children. Many problems were arising between the home and the school because of a lack of mutual understanding and cooperation between parents and teachers. To discuss this problem, Dr. Fanny Fern Andrews held a meeting of public-spirited citizens at her home. They felt that bringing this new conception of social work into relation with the public school system would help solve the difficulty.

The South End, a congested district of lodginghouses and tenement homes housing many nationalities, was selected as the most fertile field for the work. The first year's trial was sufficient to demonstrate the need of continuing the experiment. Teachers were teaching children whose customs, religion, racial traditions, and even language were unknown to them, and so someone was needed to interpret the school to these foreign parents and to bridge the wide gap existing between the school and the home. As a rule most problems can be solved quickly once the home has been reached, the school's demands on the pupil made clear, and the knowledge of the child's home life brought back to the school. To finance this idea, Dr. Andrews solicited funds from her wealthy friends and acquaintances and also from business firms. The response was great. School visitors were installed in the various sections of the city, and their salaries were paid out of these contributions.

Thus Dr. Andrews began to foster a closer relationship between the home and the school. She realized that neither parent nor teacher can decide to the pupil's best advantage as to what occupation he should enter until his intellectual propensities, as shown by his school work, are measured with his general aptitudes, as illustrated in his home life. The parent must study the problems of child development, those pertaining to physical growth, and problems of education and moral development. The teacher, on the other hand, who is simultaneously moulding the character of the child, needs to know the kind of training the child is receiving at home—whether this is counteracting his efforts or working in harmony with them.

These convictions prompted Dr. Andrews to establish Home and School Associations throughout the various school districts, so that by 1909 there were twenty local organizations. These were:

Sherwin-Hyde	North End	Brighton High
Hugh O'Brien	Chapman	Lyman
Bowditch-Agassiz	Jefferson	Emerson
West End	Robert Gould Shaw	Oliver Hazard Perry
Hamilton	Winthrop	Gilbert Stuart
Francis Parkman	Dudley-Dillaway	Frothingham
Lowell	Prince	

In order to improve conditions of child life in Boston, Dr. Andrews perceived the need of a central organization to unite the local groups. A set of bylaws was adopted, and the name chosen was the Boston Home and School Association.

The object, as stated in the Constitution, was as follows: "The object of this Association shall be to improve conditions of child life in Boston:—by fostering cooperation between the home and the school, and by providing an opportunity for the study of child development—intellectual, moral, and physical; also by

working constructively for the moral and physical improvement of the school district."

The duties of the Officers, Executive Board, and Board of Managers (corresponding to our Council of Administration) were similar to those of today.

There were four classes of members: life, sustaining, general, and branch. The life members; numbering twenty-four, paid \$25; the sustaining, \$5 or \$10; the general, \$1; and each local organization paid 2 cents for each branch member.

The Officers in 1909 were:

<i>President</i>	Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw
<i>Vice-President</i>	James P. Munroe
<i>Secretary</i>	Mrs. Fanny Fern Andrews
<i>Treasurer</i>	Robert Treat Paine, Jr.

The first treasurer's report is interesting:

<i>Balance brought forward</i>	\$33 82
18 life members and pledges.....	1, 135 00
14 sustaining members.....	100 00
37 general members.....	37 00
Annual dues paid in advance.....	4 00
10 branches.....	33 64
(Bowditch-Agassiz, Sherwin-Hyde, Hamilton, Winthrop, Hugh O'Brien, Chapman, Lowell, West End, Francis Parkman, Robert Gould Shaw)	
8 contributors to April 21 meeting.....	143 00
Sundry.....	10 00
Bank interest.....	5 07
Total	\$1, 501 53

EXPENSES

Organizing branch association.....	\$59 95
Franklin Union meeting, February 15.....	48 00
Tremont Temple meeting, April 21.....	174 80
	<hr/>
Printing.....	\$280 75
Lecture Bureau list (700).....	\$22 30
List of committees (1,000).....	30 00
List of books and pamphlets (5,000).....	9 25
	<hr/>
	59 00
	<hr/>
	\$120 55
Further use of school building committee.....	\$5 45
Membership committee (500 circulars).....	6 50
Anti-Cigarette League literature.....	3 00
Clerical expenses, postage, etc.....	566 89
	<hr/>
	\$702 39
Total	\$983 14
Balance	518 39
	<hr/>
	\$1, 501 53

ROBERT TREAT PAINE, JR.,
Treasurer.

In December, 1909, a director, John William Debrun, was employed. His duties were to prepare a plan for social centers in school buildings and to initiate activities connected with the same, and also to act as general administrator of the Boston Home and School Association.

Standing committees such as

Extended Use of School Buildings:

Established lecture system and evening classes.

Books and Pamphlets:

Created interest in reading by publication and circulation of graded list of books for children and parents.

Anti-Cigarette :

Cooperated with Massachusetts Anti-Cigarette League.

Theater :

Investigated theater situation as it concerned children.

Hygiene :

Studied health problems and sanitation of school buildings.

Garden :

Encouraged home and school gardens throughout city.

were formed to plan programs designed to aid parents and teachers to become more efficient trainers of children.

A partial list of the subjects treated was :

The Course of Study and Aims of the Teacher

Evil Results of Playing in the Street

How Parents Can Cooperate with Teachers

The Moral Training of Girls

The Moral Training of Boys

How to Feed Our Children

The Theater Habit Among Children

How to Keep Our Children Well

This civic-minded group promoted the "Education Through Recreation" movement, which prompted an act of the Legislature in 1912. It was voted that costly school property lying idle many hours of the day be used for such educational, recreative, social, philanthropic, and similar purposes as the School Committee might deem to be for the interest of the community. The School Committee formed the Department of Extended Use of Public Schools in response to the above act.

In the minutes of the School Committee for March 22, 1917, we find: "On motion of the Superintendent it was ordered: "That the School Committee approves the organization of Home and School Associations in all districts and herewith assigns the Director of the Department of Extended Use of Public Schools to promote the organization and development of such Associations."

This change of status was caused by two factors: insufficient private funds to carry on the work, and recognition by school personnel of the value of the activities fostered.

In 1920, Mr. James T. Mulroy, Director of the Department of Extended Use of Public Schools, reorganized the association which had been inactive since the resignation of Dr. Andrews in May, 1918. Mr. Fremont S. Eggleston was elected president, and a new set of bylaws was adopted. Since that time there has been a steady growth in the number and activities of local organizations, which now number 108, with an approximate membership of 30,000.

To unify these local organizations, the city was recently divided into sixteen regions, and regional representatives were elected. Their duty is to contact the presidents in their district, with a view to adopting a program for mutual benefit in solving common problems.

The Executive Board of the Boston Home and School Association consists of the Officers, Regional Representatives, Assistant Superintendent in charge, Director of the Extended Use of Public Schools, and Special Manager. The members of the Council of Administration are the presidents of the local organizations and the members of the Executive Board. These two groups meet regularly for exchange of ideas and discussion of policies.

At the present time, Frederick J. Gillis, Ph. D., Assistant Superintendent of Schools, forms the link between the School Department and the community. His sympathy, understanding, and guidance are of inestimable value, and it is due to his leadership that interest and enthusiasm for the whole activity of the home and school movement has been revived.

Mrs. Robert B. Mattair, the present Special Manager, serves in a supervisory capacity, forming new groups, reviving dormant ones, and editing a bulletin designed to acquaint the various groups with plans for meetings and general educational news of interest. Her zeal and warm personality stimulate all to feel a part of the central organization.

At the regular meetings held in October and February the central body endeavors to bring to all the members of local groups a message aimed to further a closer and more effective cooperation between the teacher and parent.

Throughout the year study group meetings designed to acquaint members with some of the educational opportunities offered in the Boston school system and related public and private institutions are held.

The highlight of the year is the annual dinner in May. This affair strengthens the bond of friendship between the members of various organizations as they chat and enjoy together the entertainment provided.

It would be impossible to name all of the accomplishments of the Boston Home and School Association. It sponsored the home and school visitor in many sections, promoted the appointment of school nurses, assisted in establishing playgrounds, and backed the orchestra in the schools.

The activities of the local associations have been many and varied: gifts to the schools—such as pictures, radios, record players, projectors, lecterns, service flags, honor rolls; help given to the community—such as scholarships; and pressure on the School Committee for needed improvements to school facilities and buildings. Add to these numberless pairs of shoes, rubbers, and glasses.

During the war years the home and school associations assisted in registering for selective service, gasoline and sugar rationing, selling bonds, and planting home gardens. Classes were held in home nursing, nutrition, first aid, and canning. The programs at that time were designed to promote patriotism.

Regularly these associations give opportunities to members of the School Committee and Board of Superintendents to speak directly to citizens about proper maintenance and development of the school system and new educational problems.

Of all the organizations designed to assist the development of the youth of our city, the Boston Home and School Association holds a unique place. Combining, as it does, the active efforts of 108 local associations, composed of teachers and parents of the school districts, together with the thorough endorsement of the School Committee and Board of Superintendents, it presents, indeed, a rare opportunity for real service to the child. Nowhere in the country is the Home and School Association more thoroughly organized, more intelligently conducted, and more sensitive to its aims and opportunities than in Boston. An organization whose purpose is to create higher standards in the home, to assist the school, through increased interest and responsibility of parents, to develop a sincere community life, and to unify all the endeavors for the general good of the child, performs a great service, not only for the child of today and tomorrow, but for the adult population which has the city's welfare in its keeping. The functions of the Boston Home and School Association are indeed inclusive and vital.

I wish to express my appreciation and sincere gratitude to all those who have assisted me in my research.

Publications consulted :

Home and School Pamphlets.....	Boston Public Library
Fanny Fern Andrews Papers.....	Byerly Hall, Radcliffe College
School Committee Reports.....	Library, 15 Beacon Street
Superintendents' Reports.....	Library, 15 Beacon Street
Reports.....	Mrs. Willard D. Woodbury
Home and School Visitors Report.....	Miss Miranda Prentiss
Reports.....	Mrs. Frederick Pigeon
File.....	Office of the Director

BOSTON HOME AND SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

THE VERY HEART OF THE HOME AND THE SCHOOL IS THE CHILD

September-October 1966

President—Mr. Archie Walsh, Oliver Wendell Holmes School, Dorchester 02124;
 Vice President—Mrs. Richard Kellan, 61 Thatcher Street, Hyde Park 02136;
 Secretary—Mr. Archie Macdonald, S. J. Baker School, 33 Perrin St., Roxbury;
 Treasurer—Mr. James F. Hughes, Henry Grew School, Hyde Park 02136;
 Special Manager—Mrs. Robert B. Mattair, 15 Beacon Street, Boston 02108;

Associate Superintendent—Mr. Charles O. Ruddy, 15 Beacon St., Boston 02108;
 Editor—Mr. Robert Greenland, Wm. H. Taft Jr. High School, Brighton 02135.

Vol. 49 No. 1 The Boston Home and School Association September-
 October 1966

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

The Boston Home and School Association has been established with one main purpose in mind—that it be a contributing factor in bringing to the pupils of this City's public schools the finest education possible. The Organization believes that this can be accomplished best through a cooperative venture involving educators and parents working for the common good of the child. It places upon neither the mantle of dominance for it recognizes that when this situation prevails, genuine success becomes impossible.

At this, the beginning of a new school year, I ask all parents and teachers to take renewed interest in their local Home and School Association. I urge them to shoulder equally all that pertains to that association for it is only through balanced activity that the purpose of Home and School will be achieved.

ARCHIE WALSH, *President.*

SHARE YOUR BULLETIN

I am sure you know that our budget is very limited and we simply do not have the money to send the Bulletin to every member as much as we would like to do so.

Would you please do your utmost to widely circulate your Bulletin among your members—arrange for some means of circulating whereby it will go from one to another. Also, at your Home and School Association meeting, you might make it a point to ask if the members have read the Bulletin.

When the copy is received in each school building, it is requested that it be posted on the Bulletin Board or in the Teachers' Room.

Thank you.

YOUR EDITOR.

EDITORIAL

Responsible: To Act Responsibly

Incorporated with a job is a degree of responsibility. This responsibility has a greater prominence when the job with which it is affiliated is one of furnishing information from which people develop ideas and formulate opinions. Individuals, institutions, and organizations who occupy such a critical position have a responsibility foremost to act responsibly.

One television station devoted considerable time for an opinion to be expressed as to the worthlessness of the Boston Home and School Association and the local Home and School Associations.

Was the \$18,000.00—plus the organizations gave in scholarships mentioned? No!

Was any coverage to the Boston Home and School Association Conference to which over 2,000 parents and educators attended given? No!

Was the Home and School Banquet, held to a capacity attendance, cited? No!

Were any of the multitudinous activities and interests of the Home and School Associations mentioned? No!

Yet, there was time for the misinformed and poorly informed to speak. This is one kind of information being fed to the public. And I ask, "Is this acting responsibly?"

The series of articles which appeared in a Boston newspaper is still within memory. In this series, a young man, not a college graduate, not an educator, was selected to evaluate and criticize, with near unprecedented space the entire Boston Public School system. The series was practically void of attributing any good in the system. Distorted conditions were presented to the public. And I ask, "Is this acting responsibly?"

We have radio conversation programs whereby individuals may call the radio station and express personal opinions over the air. Have you ever listened to these programs when the Boston Schools are being discussed? It is quite apparent when a caller is finding fault with the Boston School system, he seems to be given unlimited time. But if the caller is speaking in favor of the Boston School system, he is the recipient of some caustic remark and time is abruptly curtailed. And I ask, "Is this acting responsibly?"

The time is long overdue to start giving credit where credit is due. Much good is within the Boston School system. It is not being seen because the people looking don't want to see it. This is not acting responsibly.

ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENTS—AREA ASSIGNMENTS

William L. Cannon—Area I
120 Boylston Street
Boston 02116

Elementary Schools

A. Lincoln VIII (inc.
Day School for Imm.)
Blackinton-Cheverus
Chapman
Dearborn VIII
D. McKay-S. Adams
VIII
Dwight
Emerson
Harvard
Michelangelo IX
Prince
Rice-Franklin VIII
Theodore Lyman
Warren

Junior High Schools

Clarence R. Edwards
Joseph H. Barnes

High Schools

Charlestown
East Boston
Girls' Trade

Alice F. Casey—Area II
598 Columbia Road
Dorchester 02125

Elementary Schools

Bigelow
Edward Everett
Hugh O'Brien
John A. Andrew
John Winthrop
Julia Ward Howe
Norcross
Paul A. Dever
Phillips Brooks
Thomas N. Hart
William E. Russell VIII

Junior High Schools

Lewis
Patrick F. Gavin

High Schools

Boston Business
Girls' High
South Boston

Thomas B. McAuliffe—Area III
1453 Dorchester Avenue
Dorchester 02122

Elementary Schools

Christopher Gibson
Emily A. Fifield
Frank V. Thompson
John Marshall
Mather
Mary Hemenway
Minot

Junior High Schools

Grover Cleveland
Oliver W. Holmes
Patrick T. Campbell
Woodrow Wilson

High Schools

Boston Technical
Boston Vocational
Technical Institute
Girls' Latin

Gerald F. O'Donnell—Area IV
123 Morton Street
Jamaica Plain 02130

Elementary Schools
Charles Sumner
Edmund P. Tileston
Elihu Greenwood
Henry Grew
James J. Chittick
Robert T. Paine
Roger Wolcott
William E. Endicott

Junior High Schools
Solomon Lewenberg
William B. Rogers

High Schools
Dorchester
Hyde Park
J. E. Burke

Florence M. Hawkins—Area V
1864 Centre Street
West Roxbury 02132

Elementary Schools
Agassiz
Beethoven
Francis Parkman VIII
Henry L. Higginson
John F. Kennedy
Longfellow
Patrick F. Lyndon
William L. Garrison

Junior High Schools
Robert G. Shaw
Washington Irving
Mary E. Curley

High Schools
Jamaica Plain
Roslindale

William T. Miller—Area VI
280 Washington Street
Brighton 02135

Elementary Schools
Bennett
Dillaway
Dudley-Hyde-Everett
Ellis Mendell
Horace Mann
Jefferson
James A. Garfield
Martin VIII
M. Gertrude Godvin
Thomas Gardner
Washington Allston

Junior High Schools
James P. Timilty
Thomas A. Edison
William H. Taft

High Schools
Boston Latin
Boston Trade
Brighton
English

THE BOSTON HOME AND SCHOOL ASSOCIATION, REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES, 1966-1967

Brighton—Mrs. Joseph Shwartz

Brighton High
Thomas A. Edison Jr. High
William H. Taft Jr. High
Alexander Hamilton
Harriet Baldwin
James A. Garfield
Winship
Thomas Gardner
Washington Allston

Charlestown—Mr. Thomas P.
McLaughlin

Charlestown High
Clarence R. Edwards Jr. High
Harvard
Warren
Music Education Chapter

City Proper—Miss Gloria DeAngelis

Abraham Lincoln
Joseph J. Hurley
Prince
Charles E. Mackey
Michelangelo-Eliot-Hancock

Dorchester (Section A)—Mrs. Murray Finkel

Jeremiah E. Burke High
Solomon Lewenberg Jr. High
Edmund P. Tileston
Robert T. Paine
Roger Wolcott
Emily A. Fifield
Frank V. Thompson

Dorchester (Section B)—Mrs. James B. Greene

Dorchester High
Oliver W. Holmes Jr. High
Patrick T. Campbell Jr. High
Christopher Gibson
William E. Endicott
Special Education Chapter

Dorchester (Section C)—Mr. Arthur Ashur

Edward Everett
John Winthrop
Mather
Paul A. Dever
Phillips Brooks
William E. Russell

Dorchester (Section D)—Mrs. Mary Connell

Grover Cleveland Jr. High
Woodrow Wilson Jr. High
Gilbert Stuart
John Marshall
Mary Hemenway
Minot

East Boston—Mr. John V. Vozella

East Boston High
Joseph H. Barnes Jr. High
Curtis Guild
Chapman
Donald McKay-Samuel Adams
Emerson
Theodore Lyman

Hyde Park—Miss Marilyn Murphy

Hyde Park High
William B. Rogers Jr. High
Elihu Greenwood
Fairmount
Henry Grew
James J. Chittick

Intown High Schools—Mr. Leo Howard

Boston Business
Boston Latin
Boston Technical
Boston Trade
English
Trade High For Girls
Girls Latin

Jamaica Plain—Mr. James Coyle

Jamaica Plain High
Mary E. Curley Jr. High
Agassiz
Francis Parkman
Jefferson
John F. Kennedy

Roslindale—Mr. Joseph Cotellessa

Roslindale High
Washington Irving Jr. High
George H. Conley
Longfellow
Mozart
Phineas Bates

Roxbury (Section A)—Mrs. Marie Eaves

James P. Timilty Jr. High
Lewis Jr. High
Dillaway
Dudley
Asa Gray
William Bacon
Henry L. Higginson
Julia Ward Howe

Roxbury (Section B)—Mrs. Barbara Jordan

Girls High
Dearborn
Ellis Mendell
Horace Mann
Hugh O'Brien
Maurice J. Tobin
William L. Garrison

South Boston—Mrs. Bernard Panajia

South Boston High
Patrick F. Gavin Jr. High
Bigelow
Hart-Gaston-Perry
John A. Andrew

West Roxbury—Mrs. Catherine Riley

Robert Gould Shaw Jr. High
Beethoven
Joyce Kilmer
Randall G. Morris
Patrick F. Lyndon
Sophia Ripley
Robert Gould Shaw Elementary

STATEMENT RELATIVE TO SALE OF PAPERBACK BOOKS TO PUPILS

1. No paperback books that are used as TEXTBOOKS may be sold.
2. Supplementary paperback books of whatever nature requires a sales tax.
3. Schools and/or Key Clubs, Home and School Associations, etc., that sell paperback books to students must register and collect a sales tax. The schools pay only on the books they sell.
4. Application for registration and necessary forms for making returns to the State—if you are going to continue to sell paperback books—must be obtained from the

Division of Corporations and Taxation -
Sales Tax Division
80 Mason Street
Boston, Mass. 02111

MR. WILLIAM J. CUNNINGHAM
Associate Superintendent
Boston Public Schools.

DONALD M'KAY SCHOLARSHIP WINNERS

The Principal of the Donald McKay School, Mr. John W. Whelan, is happy to announce the two winners of the Annual Scholarships sponsored by the Donald McKay-Samuel Adams Home and School Association. The winners are:

Eric Sanchez—Class of 1962
Sheila Zenli—Class of 1962

The faculty, the members of the Home and School Association and all their friends wish these young people well.

JUNIOR RED CROSS MEMBERSHIP

The pupils of the Boston Public Schools have compiled an outstanding record of active participation in the Junior Red Cross enrollment and service program. The report on the activities of Boston pupils for the school year 1965-1966, which follows, demonstrates the extraordinary record of generous contributions and service. We are confident that the record for this year, 1966-1967, will be equally outstanding.

The Junior Red Cross Service Fund is not a charitable collection but rather a desirable school activity. The money contributed is used to subscribe to the Junior Red Cross magazine for each enrolled classroom and to finance school service projects which are generously donated to those less fortunate. Number of Schools Enrolled: 191. Students Contributions: \$4,390.58. Publications Ordered: 2,395. LOCAL ACTIVITIES: Service to patients in local hospitals, institutions, Veterans and Military hospitals and children in need;

- 1000 Dolls were dressed for children at Christmastime.
- 56 Dresses were made for children who suffered from fire loss.
- 100 Dozen cookies were made for special parties in Veterans hospitals.
- 20 Birthday cakes were provided for patients in local hospitals.
- 360 Pounds of candy were made for patients at Chelsea Naval, Boston VA and Long Island Hospital for Christmas.
- 22 Easter Boxes were made by Kindergarten students for children at City Hospital, St. Elizabeth's and Mass. Eye and Ear.
- 750 Toys, games and other gifts were made in industrial arts classes for children in need.
- 7366 Holiday decorations were provided for patients in local hospitals.
- 290 Christmas stockings were filled with approximately 5800 gifts for elderly patients at Long Island Hospital.
- 7275 Miscellaneous gifts were made or collected to meet local needs of children or patients in the hospitals.

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

- 200 Kits were filled with 4000 gifts for children in Vietnamese refugee camps.
- 800 Friendship boxes were filled for children in Vietnam, Poland and the Solomon Islands with approximately 12,500 gifts.

- 27 Letters were received by 20 schools from children in an orphanage in Malta who were the recipients of friendship boxes last year.
- 87 Paintings from 30 schools were contributed to the International Art program.

Pupils from 58 Boston schools have given thousands of hours of volunteer service in the Chapter programs, local hospitals, and Boston VA Hospital during the year.

ASPIRE PROGRAM BEGINS IN SIX JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

An after school program in remedial enrichment in six Boston Junior High Schools will begin on Monday, October 10, 1966.

The program is designed to provide additional services in reading, mathematics, music, art, science and guidance. The primary objective is to help a student improve his basic skills in an effort to insure success in the classroom. Assistance in homework will be offered to students who are experiencing difficulty in completing assignments connected with the regular school day. ASPIRE will conduct classes from 3:00 to 4:00 P.M. at the following schools: Patrick T. Campbell, Clarence R. Edwards, Patrick F. Gavin, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Frank V. Thompson and the James P. Timilty.

An additional after school program is now in operation at the high school level. Art, typing, and remedial reading classes are being conducted at Girls' High School, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday from 2:50 to 3:50 P.M.

The ASPIRE Program is open to all children enrolled in Boston Schools and both parochial and private educational systems.

THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE OF THE CITY OF BOSTON,
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF DISTRIBUTIVE EDUCATION,
15 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. 02108.

Report of earnings of merchandising pupils from September 1965 to June 1966

Name of School	No. of Pupils Working	Earnings
Brighton High School.....	101	\$79,301.00
Charlestown High School.....	53	32,871.00
Dorchester High School.....	89	59,451.00
East Boston High School.....	141	92,725.79
English High School.....	76	27,407.00
Girls' High School.....	51	19,871.00
Hyde Park High School.....	130	106,371.55
Jamaica Plain High School.....	124	55,424.32
Jeremiah E. Burke High School.....	123	82,289.82
Roslindale High School.....	40	14,284.36
South Boston High School.....	35	9,800.00
Totals.....	963	\$579,796.84

JUNE 23, 1966.

EDWARD B. LEACH,
Director.

TEACHER EXAMINATIONS FOR BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Examinations for teaching appointments to the Boston Public Schools will be held at Boston Latin School, Avenue Louis Pasteur, during the month of December 1966.

Registration for the examination should be made with the Board of Examiners during October and November.

Sample copies of previous examinations and detailed information may be obtained from the Board of Examiners, eighth floor, 15 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02108.

AFTER SCHOOL RECREATION PROGRAM IN BOSTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

A recreational Activities Program, utilizing funds from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, began operations in fifteen elementary schools on Thursday, October 13. The program will be conducted after school hours from 3:05 to 4:05 P.M. during the current school year.

The Departments of Physical Education and Fine Arts will supervise the activities and teachers from the regular faculty of the Boston Public Schools will staff the program.

The Recreational Activities program will include both indoor and outdoor activities. Included in the program will be various organizational games, creative arts and crafts, dancing and other appropriate activities. Participants will be taught various skills in order that they may enter into organized activities recommended for children of elementary school age.

The following schools are involved in the Recreational Activities Program:

District:	Building	Section of City
Christopher Gibson.....	Christopher Gibson.....	Dorchester.
Dearborn.....	Dearborn.....	Roxbury.
Dillaway.....	Nathan Hale.....	Roxbury.
Dudley.....	William Bacon.....	Roxbury.
Dwight.....	Joseph J. Hurley.....	South End.
Harvard.....	Bunker Hill.....	Charlestown.
Henry L. Higginson.....	David A. Ellis.....	Roxbury.
Hugh O'Brien.....	Ralph W. Emerson.....	Dorchester.
Jefferson.....	Jefferson.....	Jamaica Plain.
John Winthrop.....	Nathaniel Hawthorne.....	Roxbury.
Julia Ward Howe.....	Julia Ward Howe.....	Roxbury.
Paul A. Dever.....	Paul A. Dever.....	Dorchester.
Phillips Brooks.....	Quinch Dickerman.....	Roxbury.
Theodore Lyman.....	Theodore Lyman.....	East Boston.
William E. Endicott.....	Sarah Greenwood.....	Dorchester.

BOMB SCARES

The Commissioner of Education has recommended uniform procedures for schools throughout the Commonwealth in the event of bomb scares.

Head Masters and Principals are instructed to act in accordance with the following procedure:

1. Immediately evacuate the school. It is the judgment of the Commissioner that, during inclement weather, pupils may get their wraps as expeditiously as possible before evacuating the building.
2. Immediately notify the Police and Fire Departments, each of which will send representatives to the school.
3. Notify your Assistant Superintendent. He will notify the Associate Superintendent of the level who, in turn, will notify the Superintendent.
4. The Police Department will be in supreme authority in the search for bombs. Fire Department will assist, if needed, at direction of the Police Department.
5. Police Department will determine if and when re-entry is permitted. Notify your Assistant Superintendent of the decision of the Police Department.
6. Send a complete report of the incident to the Superintendent and a copy to your Assistant Superintendent.

In the event of an explosion causing a fire, the Fire Department automatically assumes complete authority with Police Department assisting.

Any decision concerning the dismissal of school pupils and subsequent action after the above procedure has been followed will be made by the Superintendent through your Assistant Superintendent.

WILLIAM H. OHRENBERGER,
Superintendent of Public Schools.

SEPTEMBER 23, 1966.

CIVIL DEFENSE

The Civil Defense Program for each school building is to be continued again this year.

Shelter Areas have been established in all schools and Shelter Drills are being conducted at least once a month until further notice.

It must be a comfort for the parents to know that the welfare of their children is such a vital part of the Boston School Department.

CITY HOSPITAL DOCTORS AND NURSES TO LEARN SPANISH THROUGH BOSTON SCHOOL SYSTEM

A "Basic Spanish Course in Conversation" will be offered to forty doctors and nurses of the staff of Boston City Hospital under the auspices of the Boston School Department. Miss Mary Stavrinis, Head of the Spanish Department of Jeremiah E. Burke High School, will serve as instructor. The course has been in the planning stages since early June. Jeffrey J. Keating, Assistant Director, Department of Vocational Education and Industrial Arts of the Boston Schools; Leon J. Taubenhau, M.D., Deputy Superintendent for Ambulatory Services of the Boston City Hospital; and Theodore J. Hoppe, Training Coordinator for the Administrative Services Department of the City of Boston, have had several meetings in planning the course.

The course is designed to acquaint doctors and nurses attending Spanish-speaking patients with the fundamentals of the language. It is anticipated that problems of patients who speak only Spanish will be more easily interpreted.

Miss Stavrinis of 48 St. John Street, Jamaica Plain, is a member of the Pan American Society and spent two years on the Advisory Board of Foreign Languages for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. A graduate of Emmanuel College, Miss Stavrinis received her Master's Degree from Boston University. She is very enthusiastic about the Basic Spanish Course tentatively scheduled to begin at City Hospital September 22, 1966, and is confident it will be educationally challenging working with the professional doctors and nurses of the Hospital staff.

BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
*Office of Educational Publications and
Informational Services,
15 Beacon Street,
Boston, Mass. 02108*

TUBERCULOSIS CASE-FINDING PROGRAM

Early diagnosis and appropriate treatment are of the utmost importance in the cure and prevention of the spread of tuberculosis.

The Tuberculin Test (Tine, a skin test) is given to discover those who have been in contact with an active case of tuberculosis. All who are found to have a positive reaction to this test will be followed up.

In conjunction with the Boston Health Department and the Massachusetts Tuberculosis Association, the Department of School Health Services is continuing its Tuberculosis Case-Finding Program in the City of Boston. Children in Kindergartens I and II, Grade I and all newly-admitted pupils (current year) to the Boston Public Schools from Grade II through Grade XII including Special Classes, Classes for Conservation of Eyesight, Day School for Immigrants, Horace Mann School for the Deaf, the M. Gertrude Godvin School and Classes for the Cerebral Palsied and Emotionally Disturbed will be offered this test. Consent forms will be distributed. The upper portion explains the Tuberculin Test; the lower portion is to be signed by the parents or guardians who wish their children to be included in this program.

RICHARD J. GORMAN, M.D., *Director,
Dept. of School Health Services.*

LOCAL HOME AND SCHOOL ASSOCIATIONS

High Schools

October 7, 1966—Charlestown High

The Home and School Association invited the new sophomores and their parents to a "Get Acquainted Party." Each boy and girl was asked to take home an invitation to their parents, and, on this particular day, each boy and girl escorted their parents to the Assembly Hall. After a short talk from Miss Bartick, our Treasurer, Mr. Sullivan, Head Master, gave a brief speech of welcome to the parents and students. A Social Hour followed at which the parents could and did meet with the teachers, over a cup of coffee, to discuss the academic future of the students. This was a thoroughly enjoyed meeting and many parents remarked "That the thought of a welcoming 'Social Hour' just for the Sophomores" was wonderful.

June, 1966—Jeremiah E. Burke High

The third and last General Meeting was held preceded by a coffee hour. The meeting was opened by the President, Mrs. Ellen Sciog. Mrs. Beatrice White, Chairman of the meeting, presented Miss Dorothy Crandell, Food Editor of the Boston Globe, who gave a talk on her trip to the Hawaiian Islands and the food contest she had judged. Following a short business meeting, Mrs. Sciog presented Dr. D. Lyons with \$900.00 for scholarships. Parents then visited with the teachers. On May 31st, the Board Members went to lunch with Dr. Lyons as their guest. She was presented a corsage and a gold school charm with her years as Head Master of the School engraved on the back along with her initials. Dr. Lyons will be truly missed by the Home and School Association, for without her support and cooperation we could never have accomplished our goal. We wish her luck in her new field.

Elementary Schools

October 11—Theodore Lyman

The first meeting of the year was held in the Auditorium. Mrs. Janet Palermo, President, presented the tentative schedule of dates for the Association's activities this school year, requesting additions, deletions, or other suggestions for a well-planned and successful venture. The children of the Theodore Lyman School offered a Columbus Day Program which was well received. The special music teacher under the Counterpoise Program helped make the afternoon immensely successful.

October 19—Fairmount-Roosevelt

The Fall Meeting of the Association was held at the Fairmont School. Parent-teacher conferences were held in the classrooms from 7:30 to 8:30 P.M. At 8:30 P.M., Miss Marilyn Murphy, President, called the meeting to order in the assembly hall. Following a short business meeting, the President introduced Mr. John A. Murphy, Principal, who congratulated the parents and the Association for their many accomplishments in providing better educational facilities and materials over the past ten years. Mr. Murphy introduced Mr. Gerald F. O'Donnell, new Assistant Superintendent of Schools, who was the principal speaker. The attendance at this meeting was one of the largest in last twelve years. The door prize was awarded to Mrs. Bruce. A cake sale was held and refreshments were served.

October 3—Emerson District

The first meeting of the year was a reception in honor of our new Principal, Mr. J. Stanley Curran. This gave all the parents an opportunity to hear Mr. Curran's plans for our pupils as well as to meet him personally during the refreshment hour. It was a gala evening and we are very happy to welcome Mr. Curran to our District.

October 11—South Boston High

A very successful Fashion Show was presented in the Auditorium: Students, who were chosen for good posture, were the models. Fashions from Kay's Dress Shop were presented and the coiffures of the models were arranged by Wilfred Academy students. Dorothy McLaughlins' Bridal Shop furnished the Bridal Party gowns. It was a beautiful display and a very good start toward the Scholarship Fund for this year.

October 18—Jeremiah E. Burke High

The Annual Fall Tea was held in the school library to welcome parents of the Sophomore Class. The attractive and delicious collation was prepared and served by the members of the Board. Mr. Kaner, the new Head Master, attended and was introduced to all the members, Mr. Kaner and the teachers circulated among the parents while enjoying the refreshments.

October 18—George H. Conley

The Annual Harvest Supper was held under the direction of Mrs. Rosemarie Mulcahy and Mrs. Doris Doldt. The delicious meal, which was prepared and donated by the members, was enjoyed by many parents and teachers. After the supper the President, Mrs. Doldt, introduced Mrs. Mattair who spoke on the value of the Home and School Association and the many scholarships given by the individual groups. She warned the audience to be on the alert against people who wish to discredit or take over the Home and School Association. The teachers were then introduced to the 200 parents who were present. Mrs. Doldt read a letter sponsored by the Association asking for volunteers to serve in schools that have requested non-teaching aids. This service would be without remuneration. Those interested should consult with Mrs. Doldt.

October 18—Patrick F. Lyndon

At this first meeting of the school year, following a Salute to the Flag, a brief business meeting was conducted. Dr. Harold E. Sanford, Principal, presented a brief summary of the current educational activities of the District. The Association then presented corsages to all teachers in attendance to highlight a very enjoyable social hour, during which refreshments were served.

October 18—Beethoven

The first general meeting was held in the school hall. Plans, activities and budgets for the coming year were outlined and discussed. The candidates for State Representative from Ward 20 were invited on this evening to speak on "Public Education and the State Legislature." Refreshments were served at the close of this most interesting meeting.

October 19—Emerson District

A Cake Sale was conducted in the Patrick F. Kennedy and Sheridan Schools for the benefit of the treasury. The Sale had been planned to run from 11:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M., but despite the very heavy rain storm, everything was sold by one o'clock. This was a very successful sale and indicates a good active year ahead.

Special Education Chapter

Our Annual Outing last month was a grand success. Our heartfelt thanks go to Representative Jimmy Condon who so generously gave us the run of his farm for the day; to the men of the MBTA who financed it with their raffle; to the Mary Ellen McCormack Seniors of Old Harbor Village who volunteered their services for the day; and to our own members who helped make the day a success. Our organization is expanding and we need more volunteers who have the pleasure of our children at heart.

BOSTON SCHOOL COMMITTEE

Thomas S. Eisenstadt, *Chairman*

Louise Day Hicks—Joseph Lee—John J. McDonough—William E. O'Connor

OFFICERS OF THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE

William H. Ohrenberger, *Superintendent*William G. Tobin, *Deputy Superintendent*

ASSOCIATE SUPERINTENDENTS

William J. Cunningham—Thomas F. Meagher—Charles O. Ruddy

Mary Vaughan—Louis R. Welch

ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENTS

William L. Cannon—Alice F. Casey—Florence M. Hawkins—Thomas B. McAuliffe
William T. Miller—Gerald F. O'DonnellEdward J. Winter, *Secretary*; Edwin C. McCaffrey, *Schoolhouse Custodian*;
Leo J. Burke, *Business Manager*

DEPARTMENTS AND SPECIAL SERVICES

Administrative Assistants	Manpower Development & Training Classes
Administration Library	Music Education
Adult Educational & Recreational Activities	Office of Program Development
Attendance	Personnel Relations Coordinator
Audio-Visual Instruction	Physical Education
Boston Business School	Physically Handicapped Child, Inst. of Publications and Informational Services
Boston Vocational Technical Institute	Planning and Engineering, Dept. of Pupil Adjustment Counseling, Dept. of Remedial Reading
Boston Home and School Association	Safety, Dept. of School Health Services, Dept. of School Lunches, Dept. of Science, Dept. of Special Classes, Dept. of Speech & Lipreading Services, Dept. of Statistics, Dept. of Teacher Placement, Dept. of Vocational Ed. & Industrial Arts, Dept.
Board of Examiners	Vocational Guidance
Conservation of Eyesight, Classes for Compensatory Services, Dept. of Data Processing Center	Weekday Religious Education
Day School for Immigrants	
Distributive Education	
Educational Investigation & Measurement	
Elementary Supervision	
Fine Arts	
Home Economics	
Horace Mann School for the Deaf	
In-Service Work Program	
Kindergartens	
M. Gertrude Godvin School	

THE BOSTON HOME AND SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

SECRETARY'S ANNUAL REPORT 1965-1966

President	Mrs. Ralph A. Nathanson
Vice President	Mr. Archie Walsh
Secretary	Mr. Archie S. Macdonald
Treasurer	Mrs. Robert P. Foley
<i>Past Presidents</i>	Mrs. Carodean Robinson
	Mr. John T. Prince

Regional Representatives

Brighton	Mrs. Joseph Shwartz
Charlestown	Mr. Thomas P. McLaughlin
City Proper.....	Miss Gloria DeAngelis
Dorchester	Mrs. Simon Biederman
	Mr. Robert E. Lynch
	Mrs. Murray Finkel
	Mr. Arthur Ashur
East Boston.....	Mrs. John DePietro
Hyde Park.....	Mr. James Hughes
Intown High Schools.....	Mr. Leo Howard
Jamaica Plain.....	Mr. Robert W. Hart
Roslindale	Mr. Thomas J. Kerrissey
Roxbury	Mrs. Eunice Cooke
	Mrs. Beverly Greene
South Boston.....	Mrs. Bernard Panajia
West Roxbury.....	Mrs. Robert Ryan

Mr. Charles O. Ruddy
Associate Superintendent

Mrs. Robert B. Mattair
Special Manager

Business Meetings

Executive Board and Council of Administration

September 22, 1965.....	English High School
October 4, 1965.....	School Committee Building
November 1, 1965.....	School Committee Building
December 6, 1965.....	School Committee Building
January 10, 1966.....	School Committee Building
February 9, 1966.....	School Committee Building
March 8, 1966.....	School Committee Building
April 12, 1966.....	School Committee Building
May 9, 1966.....	School Committee Building

Programmed Activities

"Get Acquainted Tea" for members of The Council of Administration—
September 22, 1965—Charles E. Mackey School—Miss Gloria DeAngelis,
Chairman

"Candidates Night"—October 19, 1965—English High School

A non-partisan forum where all candidates for the Boston School Committee were invited to present their views to the public and answer questions concerning their candidacy. Mr. Archie J. Walsh, Chairman

"Focus on the Boston Public Schools"—March 12, 1966—Jeremiah E. Burke High School for Girls

Boston Home and School Association, Education Conference. A Conference that brought to the public the work being done at all instructional levels in the Boston Public Schools. Classroom demonstrations (a new innovation), audience participation in a Developmental Reading Program, and science experiments were held in the auditorium. Exhibits from each school department were displayed throughout the building with personnel on hand to explain and to answer questions. Luncheon was served in the school cafeteria by the Department of School Lunches. Through the untiring efforts and wise guidance of Associate Superintendent Mr. Charles O. Ruddy, our advisor, this Conference was an outstanding success, attended by over 1,500 people. Mr. Leo M. Howard, Chairman.

"49th Annual Dinner" of The Boston Home and School Association—May 23, 1966—Boston Latin School

At the Annual Dinner this year we are honoring our retiring Deputy Superintendent of the Boston Public Schools, Miss Marguerite G. Sullivan, Mrs. Richard Kellan and Mrs. James Galvin, Co-Chairmen

Field Trips

Thompson's Island Academy—September 29, 1965

165 members assembled at Kelly's Landing in South Boston and were disappointed that the trip had to be canceled due to an epidemic at the school.

Trade High School For Girls—November 15, 1965

Members observed first hand the training given in practical nursing, beauty culture, food preparation, dressmaking, garment production and power stitching. A delicious luncheon was prepared and served by the girls in the food preparation and catering classes.

State House—February 15, 1966

Members observed both branches of the Legislature and met with the Governor of the Commonwealth. An inspiring talk was given on the "Role of Women in Politics" by Executive Councilor Margaret M. Heckler.

ACTIVITIES

Business

Monthly meetings of the Executive Board and the Council of Administration. Presidents of the local associations met with the Executive Board and with much give and take developed policies and programs in traditional democratic fashion.

Revision of the Constitution of the Boston Home and School Association.

Compilation of a "Handbook for Presidents" as an aid for newly elected presidents of local Home and School Association.

Adoption of the official seal of the Boston Home and School Association.

Educational

Field Trip—Trade High School For Girls

Field Trip—State House

Educational Conference—"Focus on the Boston Public Schools"

THE BULLETIN—Published and distributed by the Boston Home and School Association to keep its members informed of activities, decisions, and programs of the Boston Home and School Association along with programs of the local organizations.

A group of members went by chartered bus to Brandeis University to hear our Superintendent, Dr. William H. Ohrenberger, speak on "Boston Attacks the Problems of Urban Education."

Awarding of scholarships by local Home and School Associations to worthy students. Last year's total in June was \$18,150.00. This year's total not yet compiled.

Educational

Encouraged support of the Special Recreation Program for Handicapped Children.

Cooperation with the Juvenile Aid Section of the Boston Police Department in alerting parents to the dangers of obscene literature. Lt. Quinlan of the Boston Police Department addressed members of the Council of Administration on this topic of importance.

Committee formed which attended all School Committee Meetings and reported to membership School Committee Decisions of importance.

Social

Get Acquainted Tea

Annual Banquet

Community

Support of Anti-Vandalism Campaign

Support of W. G. B. H.—T. V. Channel 2 Fund Raising Campaign

Support of the John F. Kennedy Memorial Library

Heart Fund

March of Dimes

Members of local Home and School Associations are constantly encouraged to actively support and work for all worthwhile community activities. Initiated program to give an animal to Boston's new aquarium on behalf of the children of Boston on the opening of the new aquarium.

Attendance National Conference of Christians and Jews Summer Workshop at Framingham, Mass. The BHSA was represented by the largest delegation at the conference.

Award Luncheon of National Conference of Christians and Jews. The following members received Neighborhood Awards:

Miss Jennie Gold—Home Economics Teacher
Miss Gladys S. Wood—Dept. Teacher Placement
Miss Phyllis Schlafman—Guidance Counselor

The following members received letters of commendation:

Mrs. Simon Biederman—Regional Representative President—Solomon Lewenberg Home and School Association
Mrs. Edna M. Instasi—President—Washington Irving Junior High School Home and School Association

Legislative

Support of fiscal independence for Boston Public Schools.

Filed legislation for Franklin Park Wilderness as a desirable site for the new English High School.

Filed legislation transferring to the Superintendent of the Boston Public Schools the responsibility for the school building program.

Election of the following slate to serve as officers of the Boston Home and School Association for the year 1966-1967:

President	Mr. Archie Walsh
Vice President	Mrs. Richard Kellan
Secretary	Mr. Archie MacDonald
Treasurer	Mrs. Simon Biederman

Regional Representatives

Brighton	Mrs. Joseph Shwartz
Charlestown	Mr. Thomas P. McLaughlin
City Proper	Miss Gloria DeAngelis
Dorchester	Mr. Arthur Ashur
	Mrs. William Connell
	Mrs. Murray Finkel
	Mrs. James Greene
East Boston	Mr. John V. Vozzella
Hyde Park	Miss Marilyn Murphy
Intown High Schools	Mr. Leo Howard
Jamaica Plain	Mr. James Coyle
Roslindale	Mr. Joseph Cotellessa
Roxbury	Mrs. Marie Eaves
	Mrs. Barbara Jordan
South Boston	Mrs. Bernard Panajia
West Roxbury	Mrs. Catherine Riley

SUMMARY

It would be difficult to record and measure the countless hours and tireless energies spent by the membership of the Boston Home and School Association in aiding in the development of cooperation and understanding between the home and the school. Certainly the inspiration and encouragement given by our Superintendent, Dr. William Ohrenberger and our advisor, Associate Superintendent Mr. Charles O. Ruddy has played a major role in making the Boston Home and School Association the vital, meaningful organization that it is.

To our Special Manager, Mrs. Robert B. Mattair, our President, Mrs. Ralph Nathanson, our Treasurer, Mrs. Robert P. Foley, our program chairman, our officers and council members we also note the dedication displayed by them in making this past school year such an outstanding success.

Respectfully submitted:

MAY 23, 1966.

ARCHIE S. MACDONALD,
Secretary.

(Additional materials submitted by the Boston Home and School Association are on file with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.)

2 Fidelis Way, Apt. 59
Brighton, Mass. 02135, October 5, 1966.

MR. HOWARD A. GLICKSTEIN, *Gen. Counsel*
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
801 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I would appreciate the inclusion into the record of your Boston Hearings the attached statement I had hoped to make in person plus a copy of my short essay "Path To Unity" which has a bearing on our subject.

With appreciation,
Sincerely,

ALBERT DI NICOLA.

ADN: gv

ALBERT DI NICOLA,
2 Fidelis Way, Apt. 59, Brighton, Mass., 02135, October 5, 1966.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED TO THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS AT HEARINGS IN
BOSTON, MASS.

May I welcome the Commission to Boston? You have a noble mission which I trust you will nobly discharge.

I am here because I wish to join you in your search for truth, hoping that I can in some way help to clarify the issues. My experience as well as my law degree and interest in public affairs qualify me, I believe, to attempt to make a contribution in this direction. Need I say that much depends on how well we do the job?

My interest in these hearings is further stimulated by the fact that I was raised and still live in Boston; went through the public schools here; have a son who graduated the Boston Public Schools and a daughter presently in the tenth grade of this same school system.

In the course of this statement, I shall venture to give my opinion as to the sentiments of Boston voters as I have experienced them and analyzed them, but, obviously, not posing as their official spokesman.

You are in a city glorious for her traditions of liberty and culture. In all her glory, however, she has never claimed perfection any more than does anyone or anything in this world. Look her over. Whatever humanity you might find in her, neither her laws or her spirit subscribe to bigotry or racism. Whatever small exceptions you may come by, it is not the rule here. The bulk of her people have a strong sense of justice and charity. They know their city best. And there's the rub. Twice this electorate—in the utmost good faith—went to the polls and clearly endorsed our present programs. At every turn, however, an irrational, lawless minority has sought to distort the meaning of this result. Unable to win a fair election, they resorted to calling names and are now in the process of trying to use state and federal agencies against their opponents.

What I believe the people of Boston tried to say at the polls was: we don't like segregation, de facto or de jure, and we don't feel it exists here. It is being alleged by a small group, but we know better because we ourselves went to these schools and our children are now attending them. Yes, some of our schools have more negroes (*sic*) than others by reason of being in negro (*sic*) neighborhoods. But negroes (*sic*) have always been free to attend any and all of the other schools under regulations applicable to all. What is so ghastly about this? By the same token, there are schools with more Jews or Italians or Chinese where the neighborhood complex is such that it happens that way. There are no villains afoot trying to hurt anyone. Everything would work out fine if there were not a deliberate disturbance of the peace by elements seeking only personal power and publicity, with many an earnest soul used as unwitting tools.

Opposed to this majority view are those who appear to forget that this is Massachusetts, not Mississippi. Many are busy reading much detail about the cruelties of a long abandoned slavery that never existed here. But what has that got to do with the present day Boston school system? Nothing, really. But it wins them much sympathy. Some claim that it provides the sociological explanation of negro (*sic*) behaviour. However true this may be, negro (*sic*) be-

haviour is not the subject of our study here. If it were, I might be tempted to remind our colored friends that they cannot use it forever as a crutch to excuse every wrong they do. Also, it would be in order to reflect that the time and energy spent throwing Molotov Cocktails could be better spent helping to correct many of the social ills that only the negro (*sic*) can change.

At this point, it would seem appropriate to recall the debate at the Constitutional Convention when our Founding Fathers were confronted by those contemptuous of the free democratic process. Men like Hamilton thought the elite alone should rule. It took Jefferson and his supporters to win respect for the opinion and rights of the common man. I urge this Commission to follow Jefferson and give full faith and credit to the earnest judgment of the freedom loving people of Boston.

I am sure this Commission will agree that if we are going to carry this matter of accidental imbalance to the point where it is a basis for denial of Federal funds and cooperation, then this must be applied to every community in every state. It will no longer be enough that a school has no racial barriers; it will have to expend funds and energy to juggle students to achieve racial balance. Why stop with negroes? (*sic*) Would this not be the absolute breaking point for many of the southern states who are finding it hard enough to simply desegregate *de jure* and *de facto* let alone worry about imbalance? The matter gets a bit complicated after a while and suggests that Federal intervention be limited to matters of segregation. This would, I believe, more appropriately engage the commission's attention. May I highlight these points:

- (1) There is no segregation in Boston, only accidental imbalance.
- (2) The people of Boston have twice differed in some details with Commissioner Kiernan and others in similar position, endorsing the Boston School Committee position.

Is the voice of the people less to be heard than Mr. Kiernan and his group who are appointed officials?

- (3) If all the U.S.A. were as well off as Boston, your commission would not be necessary.

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