Papers prepared for

national conference on equal educational opportunity in america's cities

Sponsored by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

November 16, 17, 18, 1967
Shoreham Hotel Washington, D.C.

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

John A. Hannah, Chairman
Eugene Patterson, Vice Chairman
Frankie M. Freeman
Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
Robert S. Rankin

William L. Taylor, Staff Director

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by Congress in 1957 and directed to:

- Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion, or national origin, or by reason of fraudulent practices;
- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws;
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for information in respect to denials of equal protection of the laws; and
- Submit reports, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

Papers prepared for

national conference on equal educational opportunity in america's cities

Sponsored by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

November 16, 17, 18, 1967
Shoreham Hotel Washington, D.C.

CONTENTS

Chapter | Page

1 URBAN-SUBURBAN COOPERATION AS AN EDUCATIONAL SOLUTION FOR DE FACTO SEGREGATION *By Dr. Alexander J. Plante* 1

2 CAN FEDERAL PROGRAMS HELP NEGROES LEAVE THE GHETTO? *By Bernard J. Frieden* 69

3 SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA *By Spurgeon Avakian* 101

4 THE SYRACUSE CAMPUS SCHOOL PLAN *By Franklyn S. Barry* 121

5 A RE-DEFINITION OF EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS OCCASIONED BY DESEGREGATION AND TITLE IV OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 *By Dr. Elias Blake, Jr.* 139

6 TEACHER TRAINING DESIGNS FOR IMPROVING INSTRUCTIONS IN INTERRACIAL CLASSROOMS *By Mark A. Chesler* 163

7 ALTERNATIVE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS: A RESPONSE TO AMERICA'S EDUCATIONAL EMERGENCY *By Kenneth B. Clark* 199

8 HOW EVANSTON, ILLINOIS INTEGRATED ALL OF ITS SCHOOLS *By Gregory C. Coffin* 223

9 POLICY FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS: COMPENSATION OR INTEGRATION? *By David K. Cohen* 239

10 SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AND WHITE ACHIEVEMENT *By D. K. Cohen* 279

11 BIG CITY SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: TRENDS AND METHODS *By Robert A. Dentler and James Elsbery* 305

12 NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS AND EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY *By Very Rev. Msgr. James C. Donohue* 325

13 COMPENSATORY EDUCATION IN THE EQUALIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY *By Edmond W. Gordon and Adelaide Jablonsky* 335

14 A PROPOSED NEW SCHOOL FORMAT, CONTINUOUS - PROGRESS CENTERS *By Jack Greaves* 391

15 CRISIS IN AMERICAN EDUCATION: A RACIAL DILEMMA *By Robert L. Green* 405

16 SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN SYRACUSE, NEW YORK *By D. H. Jaquith* 435

17 WHITE PLAINS RACIAL BALANCE PLAN *By Caroll F. Johnson* 449

18 BUSINESS INVOLVEMENT IN GREATER HARTFORD'S EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENT *By Harlan C. Judd and James F. English, Jr.* 461

Chapter | Page

19 DESEGREGATION OR INTERGRATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS? THE POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH *By Irwin Katz* 473

20 WHAT TYPES OF COMPENSATORY EDUCATION PROGRAMS ARE EFFECTIVE? *By Michael W. Kirst* 501

21 THE NEW ROLE OF EDUCATION PARKS IN THE CHANGING STRUCTURE OF METROPOLITAN AREAS *By David Lewis* 519

22 LEGAL ASPECTS OF METROPOLITAN SOLUTIONS FOR PROBLEMS OF RACIAL ISOLATION *By Office of General Counsel, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights* 595

23 THE CONSEQUENCES OF RACIAL ISOLATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS: ANOTHER LOOK *By Thomas F. Pettigrew* 625

24 SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: PROCESS IN EIGHT CITIES *By Robert T. Stout* 653

25 SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN BERKELEY: THE SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT REPORTS *By Neil V. Sullivan* 675

26 EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR SYRACUSE *By William F. Walsh* 697

27 TECHNIQUES FOR ACHIEVING RACIALLY DESEGRATED, SUPERIOR QUALITY EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF CHICAGO, ILLINOIS *By Meyer Weinberg* 703

28 URBAN SCHOOLS FOR AN OPEN SOCIETY *By John H. Fischer* 751

29 NATIONAL IDEALS AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY *By Harold Howe II* 769

30 STRATEGIES AND TACTICS FOR CHANGE *By Bayard Rustin* 787

URBAN-SUBURBAN COOPERATION AS AN EDUCATIONAL SOLUTION FOR DE FACTO SEGREGATION

Prepared by
Dr. Alexander J. Plante
Connecticut State Department of Education
Hartford, Connecticut
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

Introduction

Before we seek a solution to a problem, it is essential to determine what purposes we hope to achieve, what goals are important guidelines to follow. Only then can we identify the obstacles to progress. Unfortunately, we have too often neglected this logical sequence in dealing with de facto segregation. As a result, much confusion has been created and a concerted effort to attack the problem has not materialized. It is an important premise of this paper that two educational goals exist which, although in general have overwhelming support, tend to be ignored when we discuss the effects of educating "black" and "white"

children in isolation. They are:

1. To provide our children with the knowledge required to live effectively in the total society.

2. To enhance and further develop the "mainstream" of our democracy by educating all children for a contributing role in an open society free of alienations which restrict social and economic mobility.

To achieve these goals, it is essential that education play a major role in eliminating the barriers which are presently isolating our "black" and "white" communities. <u>This demands some form of effective urban-suburban cooperation in the education of our children</u>.

The Problem

It is common knowledge that a pattern of division is rapidly being instituted which can be generally described as the development of "black" cities and "white" suburbs. Population statistics, sociological studies, or simple observations support the fact that there has been in recent years a rapid acceleration of this process of racial isolation which, if allowed to continue, will create two distinct sub-cultures in America--one an urban "black" and the other a suburban "white." The consequences of this type of division in a political, social, and economic sense are clear and they present us with a problem of such great magnitude that the basic foundations of our democracy are endangered. The alternatives are plain. One alternative is to build a nation

divided on the basis of color. The second is to build a nation in which all persons can achieve social and economic mobility in the "mainstream" of our society. Our choice between these alternatives will be paramount in determining our social legacy to our children.

Recent trends toward isolation. During the past five years, the school systems of our major cities have begun to report that non-white children have become the majority group in their institutions. That urban schools are rapidly approaching the period when they will be essentially "black" is evident from a few typical examples. In 1963, a study conducted by Harvard University in the City of Hartford showed that non-white children comprised 52 percent of the elementary school population. Eight schools which served the majority of the non-white elementary school children of the City were found to be more than 85% non-white. Of these same elementary schools, seven had a non-white membership of 90% or more. This same study pointed out that the percentage of non-white children in the elementary schools of Hartford was increasing at the rate of 5% each year.

A more recent summary of the racial characteristics of students attending the public schools of Detroit indicates that from 1961 to 1966, the proportion of Negro pupils increased from 45.8% to 56.7%. A further analysis of the Detroit situation brings forth another important factor.

Of the 294 public schools in Detroit, approximately 36% of the schools have a Negro membership of 90% or more. If we examine the number of schools in Detroit with a Negro membership of 75% or more we find that approximately 45% are in this category.

The Hartford and Detroit situations are used in this paper as illustrations of a national trend and are not unusual. They reflect a pattern of education which has become accepted as normal for the cities of our country. Philadelphia, Newark, Chicago, Washington--almost any large city school system could have been used as an example of this developing pattern of racial isolation in our public schools.

At a time when our city schools are becoming non-white, the vast majority of our suburban systems reflect an opposite trend in terms of the racial composition of their student populations. A great number of our suburban school systems are completely white and a vast majority have relatively insignificant percentages of Negro students in their membership.

This contrast between the school districts of our country, which is further amplified when schools within the local districts are examined, offers strong evidence to support statements often heard that approximately 80% of the elementary school children in the United States attend

segregated schools. <u>There is no doubt that the schools of our nation, if only by their example, teach segregation and reinforce the isolation of our "white" and "black" communities.</u>

Some Important Considerations

Before stating a position, or before suggesting what educational interventions may be needed to remedy de facto segregation in our public schools, it seems important to review some of the relevant major thoughts which are being expressed by groups or individuals concerned with the problems manifested by racial isolation. It is sufficient for the purposes of this paper merely to list these thoughts, some of which have scientific support, others of which represent widespread opinion, and still others of which can be classified as "expert advice." They are:

1. The "white" community will not integrate with the "black" community. Therefore, social justice for the Negro can be achieved only through the creation of social, economic, and political institutions separated from the "white" power structure and completely controlled by the "black" community. In education, this would mean that the interests of Negro children can best be served by separation from the present structure, with operation and control of their schools delegated to the "black" community.

2. The most promising method to overcome the educational effects of the isolation of Negro children is to provide educational programs which improve instruction and compensate for the deprivation resulting from restricted exposure to the knowledge and experience required to function effectively in the "mainstream" of American life.

3. Quality education can be secured for "white" and "black" children only in a learning environment which reflects the society in which they are expected to live. Racial isolation tends to create a "white" adult who is less tolerant of the differences among people and is more likely to be bigoted. Isolation is likewise instrumental in creating Negro adults without the knowledge or skills required to live productively in the "mainstream" of American life.

4. The Negro child educated in a "ghetto" school and essentially restricted to a "ghetto" environment learns to cope with the style of the inner-city; but in many instances he is completely lacking the knowledge required to enter jobs and post-secondary institutions reflecting "mainstream" values.

5. The division of our nation into isolated "black" and "white" communities is a result of a struggle for social and economic position rather than a manifestation of racial hatred. The Negro, generally assigned to a lower social class position, finds social mobility extremely difficult, if not impossible to achieve. Unlike other ethnic groups, the Negro has been forced to contend with two unique handicaps. First, his orientation into our social system was restricted by his former status as slave or chattle property and later by legal as well as social restrictions designed to prevent his mobility in the society. Second, the Negro by the color of his skin possesses a characteristic which provides constant identity with a minority status.

Although the five concepts or thoughts expressed above do not exhaust the major thinking related to racial isolation, they do represent what appear to be important considerations underlying most of the discussions and writings concerning segregation. They are not, of course, consistent, nor do they provide a single basis for action. Rather they

are intended to focus attention on the diversity of thought which must be considered as we take a position on the thrust needed to bring our educational practices in line with the goals of public education generally accepted as an integral part of our democratic traditions and morality.

Support for the Position of Urban-Suburban Cooperation

From my point-of-view, quality integrated education cannot be achieved in most of the city school districts of our country without cooperation from suburban areas. To expect the cities to "go it alone" is completely unrealistic in view of population characteristics and the social class composition of our urban areas. Movement in the city without similar commitment in the suburbs will only accelerate the process of isolation. Therefore, it is essential that we consider the problem of segregated education as being crucial to the entire nation and not unique to urban areas.

Important national studies. How important is integrated education for our children? A strong case for the necessity of integrated education has been presented by Dr. James S. Coleman in his report entitled "Equality of Educational Opportunity." Referring to the educational opportunities of minority group children presently segregated in urban schools, he states:

> For most minority groups, then, and most particularly the Negro, schools provide little opportunity for

> them to overcome this initial deficiency, in fact they fall farther behind the white majority in the development of several skills which are critical to making a living and participating fully in modern society. Whatever may be the combination of nonschool factors--poverty, community attitudes, low educational level of parents--which put minority children at a disadvantage in verbal and non-verbal skills when they enter the first grade, the fact is the schools have not overcome it.[1]

Later in the report, Coleman, in discussing his analysis of data concerning the relationship between the learning environment and the school achievement of minority group children, presents the following evidence which strongly supports the need for integrated education:

> Finally, it appears that a pupil's achievement is strongly related to the educational backgrounds and aspirations of the other students in the school. Only crude measures of these variables were used (principally the proportion of pupils with encyclopedias in the home and the proportion planning to go to college). Analysis indicates, however, that children from a given family background, when put in schools of different social composition, will achieve at quite different levels. This effect is again less for white pupils than for any minority group other than Orientals. Thus, if a white pupil from a home that is strongly and effectively supportive of education is put in a school where most pupils do not come from such homes, his achievement will be little different than if he were in a school composed of others like himself. But if a minority pupil from a home without much educational strength is put with schoolmates with strong educational backgrounds his achievement is likely to increase.[2]

1/ James S. Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1966, p.21.

2/ Ibid, p. 22.

> This general result, taken together with the earlier examinations of school difference, has important implications for equality of educational opportunity. For the earlier tables show that the principal way in which the school environments of Negroes and whites differ is in the composition of their student bodies, and it turns out that the composition of their student bodies has a strong relationship to the achievement of Negro and other minority pupils.[3]

With findings similar to those reported by Coleman, the United States Commission on Civil Rights published a study dealing with the effects of racial isolation in the public schools. Two of the findings which have particular relevance to this paper are:

> 2. There is a strong relationship between the achievement and attitudes of a school child and the economic circumstances and educational background of his family. Relevant factors that contribute to this relationship include the material deprivation and inadequate health care that children from backgrounds of poverty often experience, the fact that disadvantaged children frequently have less facility in verbal and written communication--the chief vehicle by which schools measure student achievement--and the inability of parents in poor neighborhoods to become as involved in school affairs and affect school policy as much as more affluent parents.
>
> 3. The social class of a student's schoolmates--as measured by the economic circumstances and educational background of their families--also strongly influences his achievement and attitudes. Regardless of his own family

---

3/ James S. Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1966, p. 22.

background, an individual student achieves better in schools where most of his fellow students are from advantaged backgrounds than in schools where most of his fellow students are from disadvantaged backgrounds. The relationship between a student's achievement and the social class composition of his school grows stronger as the student progresses through school.[4]

Two recent experiments. Scattered examples of regional desegregation programs involving cooperation between urban centers and suburban communities are beginning to develop in some areas of the country. Two of the most prominent experiments are being conducted in Hartford, Connecticut and Rochester, New York. Although the experimental periods of these two projects have not been completed, interim reports provide strong evidence indicating the promise of this type of educational arrangement.

Dr. Thomas Mahan, Director of Project Concern (The Hartford Regional Desegregation Project) presented the following information to the 1967 Connecticut General Assembly as it considered legislation related to educating elementary school children in suburban areas:

> The most critical question has to do with the change in academic performance of these youngsters. Final evidence is lacking on this particular issue. Nonetheless, there are some clear cut

---

4/ United States Civil Rights Commission, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1967, p. 203.

indications that support the effect of Project Concern type programs on the academic achievement of disadvantaged youth. These are as follows:

a) Weekly teacher reports give evidence of the high level of motivation and the much improved academic performance of the youngsters.

b) Report cards are suggestive of the same result.

c) As of May 15 it appears that less than 4% of Project Concern youngsters will be considered for retention by the suburban schools.

d) Informal standardized achievement testing of Project Concern children in grades three, four, and five done early in February and based upon approximately eighty percent of the youngsters enrolled in those grades in Project showed average growth in vocabulary, reading comprehension, and arithmetical computation in excess of one grade year. These data must be viewed in the light of the fact that our average fifth grader as he entered the program was functioning at a level consistent with an advanced second grader, our average fourth grader was functioning at a level consistent with a beginning second grader, and our average third grader was functioning at a level consistent with the advanced first grader. On the basis of these facts, incomplete as they are it seems reasonable safe to conclude that the youngsters involved have grown more in the time span from September to February than they have in any previous full academic year in school.[5]

In Rochester, New York, where the school system developed a cooperative arrangement to transport a limited

---

5/ Thomas Mahan, "A Fact Sheet Supporting House Bill 3912 - Intercommunity Compacts for the Education of Disadvantaged Children," Hartford: 1967, (Mimeo.)

number of Negro children to West Irondequoit for their early elementary education, the following achievement test results are reported:

> Statistical significance was found for two of the four Metropolitan Achievement Tests (Word Discrimination and Arithmetic). In both instances, the differences in adjusted means favored the experimental group. On all four subtests the experimental group scored either at grade placement or above grade placement on the unadjusted as well as the adjusted mean raw scores. This fact is particularly striking since the experimental group was considerably lower than the control group in initial readiness.[6]

A Proposal for Action

I feel strongly that immediate steps must be taken to eliminate de facto segregation in the public schools of the United States. A deep commitment must be made to provide equal educational opportunities for all our children. Any solution requiring years of "lead-time" for implementation or which is simply not practical can easily become the rationale for maintaining the status quo through virtual inaction. In other words, any suggested course of action must be achievable--and achievable immediately, for the problem is immediate. We simply cannot afford--and we know now that we never could afford--the luxury of further delay.

6/ Mimeographed report, "An Interim Report On A Cooperative Program Between A City School District and A Suburban School District," City School District of Rochester, New York: July 25, 1967.

Specifically, it is proposed that:

1. Creative preschool and kindergarten programs should be established in our inner-city schools which are designed to compensate for the isolated environment and restricted exposure of minority group children.

2. Early elementary education (Grades 1 through 4) should be abandoned in the inner-city neighborhoods where de facto segregation exists in a school. To provide education for the inner-city children normally attending these grades, arrangements should be made to transport these children to suburban elementary schools for this part of their education. While in the suburban schools considerable attention should be given to the following:

   a. Language development

   b. Basic skill development

   c. Inter-group understanding

   d. Relationships between the families of the inner-city and the families of the suburban areas.

3. Middle schools should be created within city school districts which reflect the fullest possible social, racial and economic integration of students.

4. Secondary schools of city systems should be redistricted so that they are similarly integrated. Further, the secondary schools of our cities should become "status institutions" which are unique in their educational excellence, fully utilizing the university, cultural, and vocational resources of their urban areas. This will require greatly increased financial support for the secondary schools of our cities as well as the massive commitment of business, labor, educational, and civic institutions to participate in this changing concept. Through the development of outstanding secondary schools in the city, which cannot be duplicated in

suburban areas, large percentages of youth residing in the suburban areas will be given expanded educational opportunities through the availability of these "status institutions" in the city.

5. Private schools must make a similar commitment to integration and must participate in the development of "mainstream" education for minority group children. Most certainly, private schools cannot become the institutions which will maintain the pattern of racial isolation in the education of our children.

Great though the effort must be, we can do this--if we the people of America wish to do it. In this, as in every educational effort the question remains, "Do we really want to?"

Descriptive Details Concerning the Hartford Program (Project Concern)

With a posture assumed, it seems worthwhile to examine one program more in detail so that a community with an interest or commitment can review the efforts of one area and use that experience to develop a unique structure of its own. This section of the paper deals with four questions as they relate to the Hartford project. They are:

1. What were the administrative and legal problems which impeded the development of cooperative arrangements between Hartford and participating suburban communities?

2. What is the educational effectiveness of urban-suburban cooperation for white and Negro children?

3. What is the potential of a bussing program as a technique for desegregating urban and suburban school systems?

4. What is the relative affectiveness and desirability

of the Hartford project as compared with other relevant legislative proposals?

Administrative and Legal Problems. During the process initiated by the Connecticut State Department of Education to establish cooperative arrangements between the City of Hartford and surrounding suburban communities to implement this project, a few legal and administrative issues were created by some individuals and groups in an attempt to oppose the project without being forced to display their true feelings. For example, the transporting of children, a practice carried on for more than twenty years in Connecticut, suddenly became a problem when the bussing of Negro children from one school to another was proposed. Bus schedules are not impossible to develop and Negro children are no different from white children who for years have been transported from rural school districts to improve their educational opportunities.

In a positive sense, the Hartford project as presented to suburban school boards, proposed a specific administrative structure. This was important in that those faced with making the decision had a specific administrative proposal to consider. Important administrative principles in the proposed plan were:

1. Entire classes of children (Kindergarten through Grade 5) in predominantly Negro schools were to be randomly selected for participation in the project for a two-year period.

2. A supportive team of a teacher and an aide for each twenty-five children was offered to each suburban community as an instructional resource

for special help and liaison with the inner-city community.

3. The proposal included provisions for after-school transportation to guarantee that the transported children would have the opportunity to participate fully in the life of the school they would be attending.

4. Receiving communities would be paid a tuition charge equal to the cost of educating a child in the elementary schools of their district.

5. Staff members on the supportive team were to be first approved and then placed under the jurisdiction of the school district in which they were to work.

6. Receiving suburban school districts were given the authority to ask, with sufficient reason, that any transported child be removed from their schools.

7. All inner-city children identified as possible participants in the program through a process of random selection were assigned only after the family was visited and permission was given by the parent to transfer the child.

8. The number of children assigned to a specific suburban school was to be determined on the basis of space available.

Although some attention was given to the legal issues considered in transporting children from Hartford to suburban school systems for their education, this aspect of the project was never considered to be a problem. The Connecticut statutes were silent as to this type of arrangement, but the precedents were clear. For years, Connecticut school children have been transported from school district to school district for special reasons. Communities without secondary

schools were, and in some instances still are, transporting pupils on a tuition basis to larger towns and cities. Special programs involving the transporting of handicapped children to other school districts has become an increasingly practiced pattern in the State.

Nevertheless, upon initiating the Hartford project, the Connecticut State Department of Education requested a ruling from the State Attorney General who provided an informal opinion that such cooperation did not violate the statutes or constitution of the State of Connecticut. To further create a legal basis for this type of educational program, a bill was passed by the 1967 State General Assembly which not only sanctioned this type of cooperation but provided funds to encourage expansion in the Hartford area and implementation in other sections of the State.

In summary it seems worthwhile to point out that legal and administrative considerations are really not valid obstacles to urban-suburban cooperation as a means of providing quality education for Negro and white children. After all, an administrative structure and a legal basis can be created if the people involved wish this type of arrangement to exist.

Educational Effectiveness. Because this paper is being prepared at the half-way mark of a two year experimental period, only interim educational results of the Hartford project can be reported. Further, little scientific evidence

has been secured relating to educational advantages for the suburban white children involved. Recognizing these limitations, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that the program is educationally advantageous to the inner-city child.

On pages 11 and 12 of this paper, documentation is provided showing that during the first four months in suburban schools, the inner-city youngsters in the Hartford project improved their basic skills more than they had in any previous school year.7/ Later, in a one-year interim report published by Dr. Mahan, Director of Project Concern, he stated the following tentative conclusions:8/

1. Youngsters who were placed in suburban schools and received supportive assistance clearly outperformed the subjects in the other three treatments. The differences are statistically significant and are found across the full range of grades. However, there are inconsistencies in the results and the differences, although encouraging, are not miraculous.

2. There is no evidence in these data to show that supportive assistance within the inner-city results in more enhanced learning than regular school placement in the inner-city. This conclusion, however, may be somewhat misleading because of the heavy investment in compensatory

---

7/ Thomas Mahan, "A Fact Sheet Supporting House Bill 3912 - Inter-Community Compacts for the Education of Disadvantaged Children, Hartford: 1967, (Mimeo.)

8/ Thomas Mahan, PROJECT CONCERN, An Interim Report on an Educational Exploration, Preliminary Report, Hartford, Connecticut, 1967, p. 47.

programs in all inner-city schools in Hartford by way of Title I, ESEA, and State Act for Disadvantaged Children funds.

3. Suburban placement without supportive assistance, within the limitations of the present data, is not a more effective treatment method than regular inner-city placement. This conclusion must be taken as highly tentative for reasons discussed above.

4. Youngsters transported to suburban schools tend to persist in their school placement, attend regularly, and take part in extra-curricular activities.

5. Suburban teachers report that bussed youngsters fit in well, adjusted quickly, and respond positively to high academic expectations.

6. There are no signs among experimental subjects of increased anxiety, of higher incidence of emotional or behavioral problems, or of a greater school failure.

7. There are no signs that suburban teachers experience unique difficulties in the educational stimulation or classroom management of inner-city youngsters.

8. Inner-city parents apparently are receptive to the concept of suburban education and respond to inclusion in the program by increased participation in school activities.

9. Sex differences in performance are frequently found in the data, but they are inconsistent. At the early grades, girls outperform boys while this trend is reversed in the middle grades. A possible explanation for this may be that suburban placement tends to prevent the oft-noted academic slump of the eight to ten year old boy but this hypothesis needs further study.

It is apparent from the initial data provided by the Hartford program (Project Concern) that the Negro, Puerto Rican, and white children transported to suburban schools

will clearly outperform academically those children with comparable characteristics being educated in the "ghetto" schools of Hartford. These findings are entirely consistent with evidence being reported in similar programs being operated in a few other areas of our nation.

Although no scientific information is available to support the premise that the white children in the participating suburban schools are benefiting from the program, there is no evidence suggesting that their educational achievement is affected in a negative sense. It is expected that the final two-year report on Project Concern will provide further clues related to the educational effectiveness of the program for the white child in the suburban schools.

Potential as a Means of Desegregation. The goal of the Hartford project is to provide integrated quality education for both the white suburban child and the inner-city Negro child. Such education demands at least a partial desegregation of some Connecticut schools. The practicality of such an arrangement for large numbers of children is therefore extremely important to these and other school districts facing similar problems.

From the standpoint of practical operation, no reasonable obstacle exists which would prevent closing all predominantly Negro schools (Grades 1 through 4) in the City

of Hartford and transporting all the children normally attending these schools to suburban communities for this part of their education. Estimates show that approximately 4,000 children attend Grades 1 through 4 in the 8 predominantly Negro schools reported on Page 3 of this paper. Sixteen suburban communities within commuting distance of Hartford have approximately 2,000 classrooms at these grade levels which serve few if any non-white children. It follows, therefore, that if two children were placed in each classroom of the nearby suburban schools together with a supportive team for each twenty-five transported children, the "ghetto" schools of Hartford could be eliminated and this City could concentrate on the development of integrated middle and secondary schools. Yes, from population statistics and geographical arrangements, bussing programs of this type could be a major step forward in desegregating the school systems of many major cities and the suburban communities that are within commuting distance.

Relative Effectiveness. It is a premise of the Hartford project that some form of urban-suburban cooperation is required to provide "mainstream" education for the children of our country. The project goes further in postulating that integrated education utilizing the values of a compensatory program provides us with the greatest promise in the education of the Negro child in terms of his ability to deal with the total society. Obviously, this does not negate other programs

directed at the same goal--quality integrated education.

Although some point to the promise of compensatory education as a substitute for a heterogeneous learning environment, there is some evidence to document the fallacy of this type of wishful thinking. David Fox in evaluating the "More Effective School Program" in New York City reports the following conclusions:[9]

> 3) Equally clear, are the data which indicate that the MES program has made no significant difference in the functioning of children, whether this was measured by observers rating what children did in class, and how they do it, or whether it was measured by children's ability in mathematics or reading on standardized tests. The data of this evaluation show that children in classes in ME schools were not behaving any differently than children in classes in the officially designated control schools or in classes in other special service schools. The achievement test data showed that the profiles of the ME schools were not different than the profiles of these same schools before the program was instituted. Moreover, the academic year gains which previous evaluations had noted, were not maintained over the calendar year, so that overall, in most grades in the old ME schools after three years of MES, the retardation below the urban norms used for reading was no better, and in some cases worse. Children tested in the fourth grade and fifth grade after three years of MES, were further behind the standards of normal progress than when they began the program, and children tested in the sixth grade were not better off. The data from this current evaluation, when compared to the data from previous evaluations, indicate that the MES

---

[9] David J. Fox, Expansion of the More Effective School Program, The Center for Urban Education, New York, N.Y. p. 121, 122.

program has a brief positive effect on achievement, which is not maintained across the summer and moreover is not maintained beyond the first year or two of the program. We see in these data no reason to expect better achievement in reading or arithmetic from the MES program as now constituted, nor any reason to believe that the program will result in significant alteration in the pattern of increasing retardation as a child progresses through the grades. A clue to the discrepancy between the positive finding in the area of morale and climate, and negative finding in the area of academic achievement, is provided by the fourth clear finding.

4) Despite the administrative and organizational changes, little has happened in the way of innovation or restructuring in the basic teaching process. Observers noted that a majority of lessons they saw could have been taught to larger classes with no loss in effectiveness. When asked about changes in "method of instruction" administrators and teachers alike pointed to the small class and the use of specialist and cluster teachers, which we would consider administrative changes rather than changes in methods of instruction. All levels of staff noted that the basic weakness of the program, or their major disappointment with it, centered about the functioning of teachers, which they attributed to inexperience and lack of preparation. All of these comments combine to a general agreement that in the absence of specific preparation, teachers have not revised techniques of instruction to obtain the presumed instructional advantages of the small class and the availability of specialized instruction. In view of this, the lack of academic progress is not surprising.

It should be quite obvious to us at this time that the children of our country must learn together if their fullest potential is to be realized. "Higher Horizon Projects" or "More Effective Schools" cannot compensate for withholding from minority group children the common cup of knowledge. If we really

wish to educate the Negro child for full participation in the "mainstream" of the American society we must provide a type of education which is directed toward this end. At the same time, the white child will benefit educationally, socially, and emotionally, and will also reap the values of expanding his frame of reference and understanding. If this requires integrated schools temporarily supported by programs of compensatory education to make up for the isolation and deprivation of the past, let us begin the task. This is the strength of the Hartford project and seems certain to make an effective and desirable program.

APPENDIX A
A CASE STUDY IN URBAN-SUBURBAN COOPERATION
by
Dr. Thomas W. Mahan, Director of Project Concern

I. Introduction

Project Concern is an educational experiment which is built upon accumulating evidence from two sources. It recognizes the inescapable conclusion that youngsters from lower socio-economic backgrounds living in disadvantaged areas of the inner city fail to respond to the typical school environment in terms of desired academic achievement (Deutsch, 1963: Deutsch, 1964; John, 1963; Kennedy, Van de Riet, and White, 1963). This lack of expected response becomes increasingly dramatic as the youngster moves along in school creating what Deutsch (1964) has called the phenomenon of "cumulative deficit". Although this pattern is reasonably consistent and predictable for all disadvantaged groups, it is clearly more pronounced and devastating in the minority group cultures of the Negro and Puerto Rican (Deutsch, 1964; Osborne, 1960; Pettigrew, 1964). This creates a significant educational problem which has profound implications for the society as a whole.

The apparent remedy for this situation is to change the nature of the inner city school which serves the disadvantaged areas. Programs of this sort, generally termed compensatory, have been tried under a series of circumstances and in a number of forms. The results, although ambiguous, have failed to clarify any universally applicable program or technique which can be expected to prevent or correct the educational deficit so plainly evident among disadvantaged youth. This conclusion seems inescapable in spite of the heroic efforts and considerable expense involved in many of the projects (cf., e.g., Landers, 1963; Marburger, 1963; Shephard, 1963). The question which must be faced is whether the inner city school provides the environment in which dramatic change in educational performance can be expected.

These two streams of accumulating evidence create the matrix from which Project Concern emerges. The stark reality of the educational deficit repeatedly found in disadvantaged youth creates an uncomfortable situation for educational theorists and practitioners alike; yet the easy answer of genetic inferiority will not stand. Out of the drab overall picture arise those dramatic case studies which illustrate the potential for change. At the same time, the research evidence underlines the fact that intra-group differences are far more striking than inter-group differences while the support for the concept of the "educability" of intelligence continues to grow. (Clarke and Clarke, 1953; Klineberg, 1963; Lee, 1951; Pettigrew, 1964; Hunt, 1964; Katz, 1964).

Project Concern is designed to demonstrate that the depressed educational achievement of the disadvantaged child is an artifact of the interaction of the neighborhood and the neighborhood school in environments where schools find themselves focusing on repressive measures for behavioral control rather than on the stimulation of growth and where there is a mutually accepted standard of limited

expectation. In other words, it holds that the observed disability is not intrinsic to the individuals or the culture, but rather results from an environmental interaction which is reinforced by stereotypes cultivated by both the disadvantaged population and the majority. To test adequately this assumption placement in an educational environment which both focuses around stimulation rather than control and is freed of the binding aspect of limited expectation seems necessary. Project Concern is providing this different educational environment by placing inner city disadvantaged youth in suburban schools where the emphasis is on discovery and learning and where expectations are high:

More specifically Project Concern has as its objectives the exploration of the effectiveness of suburban school placement as a stimulant for educational growth of the inner city child and the demonstration of the economic, political, and educational feasibility of such a plan as an educational intervention. In detail the objectives are as follows:

1. To assess the range of possible academic growth for typical disadvantaged youth within an inner city.

2. To determine the relative effectiveness of four different educational interventions as models for programs for disadvantaged inner city youth.

3. To gather data and analyze them in terms of the impact of suburban school placement on inner city youth along a comprehensive domain of dimensions.

4. To demonstrate the fiscal and operational feasibility of urban-suburban collaboration in such a program.

5. To train professional and non-professional staff in the education of inner city youth.

6. To attempt to isolate the pupil, family, school and teacher characteristics associated with significant changes.

7. To provide relevant data for subsequent urban-suburban collaborative efforts.

8. To disseminate information about the findings of the Project.

II. Importance of the Project

Project Concern is of prime importance as an educational experiment because of several unique features. These are summarized below in an effort to communicate the relevance of this project to education as a whole. In terms of numbers alone,

Project Concern could be classified as a token effort; however, in terms of its implications it takes on rather monumental significance. The items below attempt to convey this aspect.

1. *Project Concern* youth have been randomly selected from the total population of disadvantaged inner city youth attending Hartford Public Schools (grades K-5). This allows for inferences in terms of the typical child. This randomness has been preserved in spite of the necessity of parental agreement; only 4% of the original sample declined to participate.

2. *Project Concern* youth have the characteristics associated with inner city poverty situations:
   a) over 50% of the families are on welfare
   b) over 67% of the Ss in grades 3, 4, and 5 have achievement profiles in the bottom decile on national norms
   c) the mean mental ability score is also in the bottom 10% on national norms.

3. *Project Concern* has a carefully designed four cell experimental model which will permit an evaluation of the relative effectiveness of four different interventions:
   a) placement in a suburban school.
   b) placement in a suburban school with remedial-supportive assistance provided by the Project.
   c) placement in an inner city school.
   d) placement in an inner city school with comprehensive and intensive compensatory services.

4. *Project Concern* has a well conceptualized theoretical rationale (cf. infra) as a basis for its operational program.

5. *Project Concern* has been developed in a fashion which will permit replication in other areas without extraordinary expense; it is a financially practicable intervention.

6. *Project Concern* is collecting data designed to answer the following questions:
   a) Is there significant change in measured mental ability?
   b) Is there significant change in measured academic performance along several dimensions:
      i) reading
      ii) arithmetic
      iii) listening
      iv) creativity
   c) Is there an adverse effect upon the suburban class into which youngsters are introduced?
   d) What is the social status of the experimental Ss both in the suburbs and in the inner city neighborhood?

e) Are there signs of change along inferred intervening variables such as:
   i) trust
   ii) sense of self-responsibility
   iii) motivation

f) What is the impact upon parents and siblings? Three major sources will be drawn upon for data: pupils, teachers, and families.

III. Operational Design

A. Present Operational Structure

Project Concern is presently bussing 255 inner city youngsters, grades kindergarten through five, into five suburbs (Farmington [66 children], Manchester [62 children], Simsbury [25 children], South Windsor [24 children], and West Hartford [78 children]) into 33 schools and 123 classes. The current ethnic breakdown is as follows:

Negro	224
Puerto Rican	24
White	7

These youngsters are placed in regular classes in the suburbs corresponding to the class in which they would be if they had continued in Hartford Public Schools.

The 255 experimental Ss are divided into two groups: a) 213 Ss are scattered throughout the five towns in 27 schools and they receive supportive services from a team consisting of a professional teacher and a non-professional aide. A team is provided for every 25 Ss and the team is made up of a mother indigenous to the North End of Hartford and a teacher of Negro extraction. (In actual operation two teachers are of white extraction because of the scarcity of Negro applicants.) These teams provide three major functions:

i) remedial assistance
ii) school-home liaison
iii) positive adult identification figures

a) 42 Ss, all in the Town of West Hartford in six schools, who do not receive supportive service from an external team.

Each school system involved in the Project has assigned to a member of its administrative staff the functions of coordinator with the Project central office. This provides a clearinghouse for communication and increases the ease of operation tremendously.

The central office staff works primarily through the town coordinators and the supportive team. The present make-up of the central office staff is asfollows:

Director	(Thomas W. Mahan, Ph. D.)
Assistant Director	(Albert A. Thompson, Ph. D.)
Coordinator of Aides	(Gertrude Johnson)
Community Worker	(Mary Michelson)
Community Worker	(Neil Kennedy)
Executive Assistant	(Linda I. Forman)
Secretarial Assistant	(Arneita Taylor)

The major facets of the central office operation can be grouped into the following roles:

a) coordination and supervision
b) research
c) public relations
d) community services
e) supportive service to child, family and school
f) planning and evaluation

In addition there are two formally established advisory committees. One is a broad based Advisory Council made up of representatives from participating school boards, State Department of Education, Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Negro community. This Council advises the Director on general operational problems and serves as a forum for discussion of new developments.

The second advisory committee, labelled as the Professional Advisory Committee, is made up of the following members:

Dr. John F. Cawley, University of Connecticut
Dr. John Noble, Brandeis University
Dr. David V. Tiedeman, Harvard University
Dr. Thomas W. Mahan, Project Director, ex-officio

This Committee advises on professional questions relating to the research design, data collection and data analysis areas. Final decisions on such topics are made by this group.

B. Data Collection

The collection of data focuses around a number of major criterion variables and also around a syndrome of inferred intervening variables. The prime emphasis is on the criterion variables which relate to school performance. For this aspect a sub-contract with the University of Connecticut has been let and plans call for four testings: October, 1966 (already completed); May, 1967; October, 1967; and May, 1968. These criterion variables and the data sources are listed below:

1) Mental ability - Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children; Test of Primary Mental Abilities; Draw-A-Man

2) Academic achievement - reading; arithmetic; listening; creativity-flexibility

3) Sociometric status - sociometric questionnaires; teacher ratings.

In addition careful analysis is being given to other dimensions, several of which are best described as intervening variables. Among these are:

1) Pupil attitude - teacher logs; Sarason anxiety scales; interviews

2) Pupil motivation - attendance; homework performance; teacher reports

3) Family participation - teacher and central office logs

4) Classroom climate - teacher logs; observation; motion picture study.

A further area of study is the reaction and performance of the suburban youngsters.

C. Progress to Date

There are as yet, no data available other than the basic results from the pretesting to evaluate progress along the major criterion variables. There are, however, other areas where some data are available and these are presented below.

1) Attendance - average daily attendance exceeds 90%.

2) Drop-outs - from September 7 to September 30 nine youngsters were removed from the program as follows:

a) two moved from Hartford
b) two were removed for emotional problems
c) five (four kdgns; one first grader) were withdrawn at parental request.

From September 30 to January 19 two additional youngsters were withdrawn at their own request because of extreme academic difficulties.

3) Parental involvement - over 90% of the families have participated in at least one school activity in the suburbs.

4) Pupil acceptance - all signs indicate that the experimental Ss have been well accepted. Perhaps the most striking sign of this is their participation in after-school activities.

5) There are no signs of the predicted "psychological trauma" or of the "physical strain" from the experience.

D. Future Prospects

Central to the Project Concern study is its thesis that it is a practical model for large scale intervention in those cities which are fringed by suburbs. The following facts underline the operational and financial feasibility of large scale expansion:

1) There are 16 communities within the present radius of operation;
2) These 16 communities in the current academic year (1966-67) have 1962 classrooms, K-6;
3) Legislation has been introduced into the 1967 General Assembly (HB 3912) which, if enacted, would:

   a) establish the legality of inter-community compacts for education of the disadvantaged;
   b) establish standards for such programs;
   c) provide partial financial assistance for pupil costs, transportation costs, and school building costs;

4) Operating costs for full-scale implementation can be realistically estimated at $300 to $350 per pupil above the tuition cost.

IV. Theoretical Rationale

Project Concern, although directly related to the problem of de facto segregation, is not essentially an experiment in intergration; rather, it is an experiment in educational intervention designed to counteract the limited influence of urban education on the disadvantaged. Research has described the "cumulative deficit" which the child from the low socio-economic environment tends to exhibit in his school performance -- a phenomenon which is dramatically accentuated among the non-white poor -- and has underlined the profound task involved in reversing the trend. A review of the literature quickly communicates the impression that the problem goes beyond special teaching techniques, enriched materials, and better programming.

Project Concern will be evaluated by measured changes in pupil behavior. Nonetheless, it is important to outline, at lease in skeletal fashion, the theoretical base from which these changes are predicted. Basically, the research stems from a conviction that changes in stimuli, environment and other input data can result in changes in response or output behavior. However, it also felt that cognitive patterns for coping with formal learning situations and the affective responses which accompany these

patterns have been well crystallized at the time of school entrance. This results in the use of traditional response patterns which, for the disadvantaged, are frequently ineffective for school goals. To counteract this established tendency it seems best to present the subject with an intense and pervasive experience in a radically different environment so that new responses can be provoked. This is the first stage of Project Concern -- to create some dissonance within the pupil in terms of his usual perception of himself in relation to school and to take advantage of this period of flux by reinforcing positive behaviors and attitudes.

The second aspect of the intervention model is tied to the influence of peers as a basis for the development of role fulfilling behaviors. By placing a limited number of inner city youth (about 10% of the classroom population) in a suburban classroom these same youth will be constantly in contact with models of behavior more in keeping with school values. By limiting the impact of models which reinforce the current, ineffective behavior and emphasizing the impact of different, but reasonably consistent models, it is hoped that some "shaping" of the pupils' learning styles will take place in the direction of increased academic performance.

As a catalyst to prevent too much dissonance which might create a withdrawal and/or rejection reaction, significant adult figures who share much of the child's heritage but also exhibit the desired characteristics in terms of attitudes toward school and learning are provided in the supportive team. The effectiveness of this additional factor in the change process is a focus of the research design and, hopefully, evidence will be available at the termination of the project to determine the differential impact of the learning environment as separated from the impact of adult identification figures.

In essence, Project Concern focuses around the change in perception, already to a large extent stereotyped, which can be accomplished by a confrontation with experiences highly charged with novelty but also in a context of interpersonal support. It is predicted that changes will take place and that they will take place in the direction of the models which the suburban youth present to the bussed pupils.

V. Research Design

Project Concern is designed to determine the relative effectiveness of a radically different educational environment as a preventive and corrective intervention in the education of urban youth from the inner city. The theoretical rationale for the position has been discussed above, but the pragmatic aspects must be mentioned briefly here. The "vacant seat" basis for pupil assignment has resulted in considerable variability in the placement with some classes having only one experimental S while others have four. This in turn has created a situation

which results in the experimental Ss being spread across thirty-three (33) schools while control Ss are drawn from five (5) schools. Hopefully, this diversity will have a self-cancelling effect which will underline the impact of the experimental variable - the treatment procedure. In this same regard, it is also important to stress that the Experimental Ss not receiving external supportive services are all placed in one school system (5 schools) and that generalizations from their performance must be made with that fact clearly in mind.

Nonetheless the design seems adequate to examine the relative impact of four (4) methodologies on the learning, attitudes, and motivations of inner city youth. These methodologies, in order of their predicted effectiveness, are as follows:

1) Placement in a suburban system with supportive team assistance.
2) Placement in a suburban system without supportive team assistance.
3) Placement in an inner city school with supportive team assistance.
4) Placement in an inner city school without supportive team assistance.

Ss assigned to treatment procedures one (1) and two (2) above are considered to be Experimental Ss since they are subject to the impact of the major variable under study: placement in a radically different educational environment. Ss assigned to treatment procedures three (3) and four (4) above are classified as controls. As described above all Ss were drawn from the same population in a random fashion. Schematically, the design is as follows:

	Experimental		Groups		Control		Groups	
Grade	With Support		Without Support		With Support		Without Support	
	N	Schools	N	Schools	N	Schools	N	Schools
Kdg.	32	8	14	3	--	--	50	1
1	38	9	5	2	18	1	40	2
2	47	9	2	2	15	1	40	2
3	30	7	7	3	15	1	40	2
4	25	6	8	4	15	1	40	2
5	41	9	6	2	--	--	40	1

The criterion variables which will serve as basis for evaluating the effect of the treatment variables (suburban school placement and supportive team assistance) can be grouped into four (4) general headings:

a) Mental Ability

1. Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children
2. Primary Mental Abilities

b) Academic Achievement

1. Reading
2. Listening
3. Arthmetic

c) Personal-Social Development

1. Sociometric Status
2. Test Anxiety
3. Attitudes
4. Teacher Ratings
5. School Attendance
6. Vocational Aspiration

d) Creativity

1. Picture Completion
2. Circles

These data will be collected at four points: September, 1966, as a base; May, 1967, to evaluate effects after one year; September, 1967, to assess loss during the summer; May, 1968, to evaluate effects after two years. The basic statistical tests to be used will be analyses of variance and covariance. All data will be analyzed for the interaction of the following variables with the primary variables: age, sex, grade placement, school system, and, where the N permits, school.

In addition, case study materials reported on a weekly basis by teachers will be utilized in an attempt to discover patterns of growth and development. Along with this approach there will be data collected which will indicate parental involvement and attitude as well as neighborhood reaction to a child's placement in the suburbs. It is anticipated that there will be significantly greater growth for the Experimental Ss as a group, but it is also hoped that evidence as to most productive and effective intervention for pupils with differing characteristics may be revealed by careful manipulation of the results.

The techniques described above will be employed on the total samples. However, it is expected that smaller samples drawn from these samples will be used to study other areas such as speech improvement, frustration tolerance, and personality variables. The major outcomes of the Project will be evaluated from this design framework by means of the following specific hypothesis stated here as predictions. For operational purposes, a "statistically significant difference" shall be defined as a deviation of such magnitude that its likelihood of occurring by chance does not exceed one in twenty.

1) Experimental Ss will have significantly greater gain scores than control Ss in:

   a) all measures of mental ability
   b) all measures of academic achievement
   c) all measures of cognitive flexibility (creativity)

2) Experimental Ss will show significantly greater decrease than control Ss in measures of:

   a) general anxiety
   b) test anxiety

3) Experimental Ss will not differ significantly from control Ss in sociometric measures of:

   a) acceptance by classroom peers
   b) acceptance by neighborhood peers

4) Analysis of teacher report data on Experimental Ss will show a pattern of sequential responses which follows the following trend for Ss who show significant gains in academic performance: uncritical acceptance by the teacher; more realistic appraisal by the teacher, but with a tendency to emphasize assets; a tendency to recall and report successes and achievements; attainment of a plateau in terms of reporting pupil behavior as being relatively unexceptional and consistent.

VIII. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blatt, B., and Garfunkel, F. A field demonstration of the effects of nonautomated responsive environments on the intellectual and social competence of educable mentally retarded children. Boston University Press, 1965.

Clarke, A., and Clarke, A. M. How constant is the IQ? Lancet, 1953, 2, 877-880.

Deutsch, M. The disadvantaged child and the learning process. In A. A. Passow (Ed.) Education in depressed areas. New York: Teachers College Press, 1963.

Deutsch, M. The role of social class in language development and cognition. New York: Institute for Developmental Studies, 1964.

Deutsch, M., and Brown, B. Social influence in Negro-white intelligence differences. Journal of Social Issues, 1964b, 20, 24-35.

Equality of educational opportunity. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

Hunt, J. McV. The psychological basis for using pre-school enrichment as an antidote for cultural deprivation. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 1964, 10, 209-245.

John, Vera P. The intellectual development of slum children: some preliminary findings. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1963, 33, 813-822.

Katz, I. Effects of desegregation on performance of Negroes. American Psychologist, 1964, 19, 381-399.

Kennedy, W. A., Van de Riet, V., and White, J. C. The standardization of the 1960 revision of the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale on Negro elementary-school children in the Southeastern United States. Washington: Cooperative Research Program, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1961.

Klineberg, O. Negro-white differences in intelligence test performance: a new look at an old problem. American Psychologist, 1963, 18, 198-203.

Landers, J. The higher horizons program in New York City. In U. S. Office of Education, Programs for the educationally disadvantaged. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963.

Lee, E. S. Negro intelligence and selective migration: a Philadelphia test of the Klineberg hypothesis. American Sociological Review, 1951, 16, 227-233.

Marburger, C. Considerations for educational planning. In A. H. Passow (ed.) Education in depressed areas. New York: Teachers College Press, 1963.

Osborne, R. T. Racial differences in mental growth and school achievement: a longitudinal study. Psychological Reports, 1960, 7, 233-239.

Pettigrew, T. Negro american intelligence: a new look at an old controversy. Journal of Negro Education, 1964, 33, 6-25.

Shepard, S. A Program to raise the standard of school achievement. In U. S. Office of Education, Programs for the educationally disadvantaged. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963.

APPENDIX B

An Interim Report on

A COOPERATIVE PROGRAM BETWEEN A CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT AND A SUBURBAN SCHOOL DISTRICT

THE PROBLEM

On August 27, 1963, the Board of Education of the City School District of Rochester, New York, unanimously adopted a policy to develop plans to reduce racial imbalance in schools in which such imbalance exists. In its policy statement, the Board recognized that "one of the functions of the public schools is to prepare children for life in a democratic society" and that "the fulfillment of this function depends in part upon the degree to which children have opportunities during their public school careers to become acquainted with children from a variety of cultures."

As an outgrowth of its policy statement, the Board of Education, on November 21, 1963, directed the administration to initiate plans to implement the Open Enrollment Plan. On February 3, 1964, more than 500 children from the inner city began a new experience.

As a result of the Open Enrollment Plan, every elementary school in the City School District has some Negro children included in its enrollment. Although a small minority of citizens opposed this plan, the plan received wide commendation and approval from the Rochester community.

On August 28, 1963, the Board of Education of the West Irondequoit Central School District responded to the request of the Commissioner of Education for information and indicated its general agreement with the Statement of Policy adopted by the Board of Regents. Since that time the West Irondequoit Board of Education has discussed with its Superintendent the possibility and methods of providing West Irondequoit children with opportunities to have contact with more non-white children. On December 15, 1964, the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools of West Irondequoit met with the Superintendent of Schools and the Administrative Director for Planning and Research of the City School District of Rochester to discuss a possible extension of the Open Enrollment Plan to West Irondequoit.

It was agreed at this meeting that a letter should be sent to Theron Johnson, Administrator, Division of Intercultural Relations in Education, asking for his advice on financial and legal problems.

Following this letter, Dr. Johnson visited Rochester and discussed the proposed plan with the President of the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools of West Irondequoit and the Superintendent of Schools of Rochester.

Following this helpful meeting, a letter was sent to the Commissioner of Education requesting assistance to make the plan possible.

The City School District has nine elementary schools with a pupil population of more than fifty percent non-white. The percentage of non-white children in the Rochester elementary schools is more than 30% and growing at a rate of more than 2% each year.

On the other hand, the West Irondequoit Central School District had only four Negro pupils in a total enrollment of nearly 5800 pupils at the outset of the program.

The program represents a major innovation in school relationships between an urban and a suburban school district. It holds promise of providing a method of correcting racial imbalance in both suburban an urban school districts. This program stems from the sincere desire of a suburban Board and its Superintendent to participate significantly in one of the great needs of society.

This pilot program has already shown evidence of becoming the lighthouse for similar programs throughout the state and nation. The development of such a program should not be the responsibility of any one district, but rather should be a responsibility in which the entire state must share.

THE PROGRAM

As proposed in the original application, twenty-five first grade children, from William H. Seward School No. 19, were sent on a voluntary basis to six neighborhood schools of the West Irondequoit Central School District in September 1965. In September 1966, an additional twenty-five children began this experience at grade one, while twenty-one out of twenty-four pupils from the first group advanced to grade two. At the conclusion of the 1966-67 school year, forty-four of the fifty children presently in the program were scheduled to return to West Irondequoit in September.

Free transportation was provided for the children involved by the City School District. Lunchroom facilities and supervision were furnished by the receiving school district. Training sessions were conducted in the receiving schools to prepare teachers for this new experience.

The basic purpose of the program is to improve the educational opportunities for both the children in West Irondequoit and the children of the City School District who were sent to the West Irondequoit public schools. Both groups of children were attending school in racially imbalanced settings - one predominantly Negro, the other all white. Neither group had a full opportunity to become acquainted with children from a variety of cultures and, to the extent that this opportunity was lacking, their preparation for life in a democratic society was weakened.

A second major purpose of the program is to demonstrate a metropolitan approach to the solution of the problem of racial imbalance. It is recognized that this is a problem which affects both the city and the suburbs and that there is a need and responsibility for joint action.

This was the second year of a longitudinal program which will include additional children, schools, and grades in later years.

RESEARCH DESIGN

A pool of approximately sixty to seventy incoming first grade pupils from William H. Seward School No. 19 in Rochester were selected as possible participants for the program in each of the two years. School No.19, located at 465 Seward Street, is a K-5 elementary school with an enrollment of nearly 1000 children, 87% of whom are non-white according to the Fall 1966 racial census conducted by the City School District.

The pupils selected were considered average or above average in ability and achievement in the opinion of their kindergarten teachers. By random assignment half of the children were chosen to participate in the project while the other half were to serve as a control group. The parents of the pupils selected were then asked if they desired this opportunity for their children. When the parent of a child in the experimental group said no, a pupil in the control group was dropped. For both years, however, it was necessary to use some pupils from the control group in order to secure twenty-five pupils to go to West Irondequoit. This factor did not adversely affect the comparability of the experimental and control groups at the grade one level the first year but did affect the comparability of the two groups beginning grade one the second year. However, in both years any initial differences were taken into account when analyzing pupil achievement at the end of the school year.

Pupils in the experimental and control classes were compared on reading and arithmetic achievement, as measured by standardized tests, attendance records, promotion rates, social growth, and work habits. The sociometric structure of the classrooms in West Irondequoit where the experimental pupils were placed was studied at each grade level. Observational data were also supplied by the building principals and teachers in the receiving schools.

ANALYSIS OF PUPIL ACHIEVEMENT

The academic achievement of pupils in the experimental and control groups at grades one and two was compared utilizing data from standardized tests administered during the school year. A description of the tests and the subsequent statistical analysis follows.

1. The Metropolitan Readiness Tests (Administration Dates: Present Grade One - September 1966; Present Grade Two - October 1965)

   Test 1. Word Meaning (19 items) -- Measures pupil understanding of comprehension of language.

   Test 2. Sentences (14 items) -- Measures the ability to comprehend phrases and sentences instead of individual words.

   Test 3. Information (14 items) -- Measures vocabulary.

Test 4. Matching (19 items) -- Measures visual perception involving recognition of similarities, a capacity which is required in learning to read.

Test 5. Numbers (24 items) -- Measures general number knowledge, including achievement in number vocabulary, counting, ordinal numbers, meaning of fractional parts, recognition of forms, telling time, and the use of numbers in simple problems.

Test 6. Copying (10 items) -- Measures visual perception and motor control skills which are required in learning to write.

The total maximum possible raw score for these tests is 100 points.

2. The Metropolitan Achievement Tests, Primary I Battery, (Administration Date: Grade One - May 1-12, 1967)

Test 1. Word Knowledge (35 items) -- Measures sight vocabulary or word recognition ability.

Test 2. Word Discrimination (35 items) -- Measures the ability to select an orally presented word from among a group of words of similar configuration.

Test 3. Reading (45 items) -- Measures sentence comprehension (13 items) and paragraph comprehension (32 items).

Test 4. Arithmetic Concepts and Skills (63 items) -- Measures mastery of basic numerical and quantitative concepts that are essential to understanding beginning stages of arithmetic, ability to solve verbal problems, and ability to perform addition and subtraction exercises.

The scores from each of the four subtests are reported independently.

3. The Metropolitan Achievement Tests, Primary II Battery, (Administration Date: Grade Two - May 1-12, 1967)

Test 1. Word Knowledge (37 items) -- Measures word recognition and understanding. The first seventeen items are of the picture-vocabulary type in which the child demonstrates his recognition of a word by associating it with a picture. In the last twenty items a stimulus word is presented in written form and the child demonstrates his understanding by choosing from among four alternative written responses.

Test 2. Word Discrimination (35 items) -- Measures the child's ability to select an orally presented word from among a group of words of similar configuration.

Test 3. Reading (51 items) -- Measures the ability to comprehend sentences (13 items) and to comprehend materials of paragraph length (38 items).

Test 4. Arithmetic (72 items) -- Part A, Concepts and Problem Solving, consists of forty-two items providing a comprehensive measure of the child's mastery of basic numerical and quantitative concepts essential to understanding early stages of arithmetic, and ability to solve verbal problems. Part B, Computation, consists of thirty computational exercises covering addition and subtraction skills ranging in difficulty from basic addition facts to subtraction of three-place numbers.

The scores from each of the four subtests are reported independently.

The statistical technique used to analyze the data at each grade level was a one-way analysis of covariance with the total score from the Metropolitan Readiness Tests as the covariable and each subtest of the Metropolitan Achievement Tests as an independent criterion measure.

The results of these analyses for grade one are summarized in Table I on page 6. The mean raw scores have been converted to grade equivalents so that practical as well as statistical significance may be studied. Statistical significance was found for two of the four Metropolitan Achievement Tests (Word Discrimination and Arithmetic) In both instances, the differences in adjusted means favored the experimental group. On all four subtests the experimental group scored either at grade placement or above grade placement on the unadjusted as well as the adjusted mean raw scores. This fact is particulary striking since the experimental group was considerably lower than the control group in initial readiness.

The control group pupils scored within two months of actual grade placement on all four subtests. The greatest negative discrepancy was in arithmetic where the control pupils were two months below grade placement in adjusted mean score. On the positive side, these same pupils scored one month above grade placement on the reading section of the Metropolitan Achievement Tests and, in this respect, were equal to the experimental group.

The small "N" of fifteen pupils in the experimental and control classes is due to the fact that some pupils missed either the Metropolitan Readiness Tests in the Fall or the Metropolitan Achievement Test this Spring. Pupil mobility was also a factor in the mortality of the control group.

TABLE I

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF COVARIANCE DATA
MEAN RAW SCORES AND GRADE EQUIVALENTS*

Grade One - May 1967

Criterion Tests		Group			
		Experimental		Control	
		R.S.	G.E.	R.S.	G.E.
Metropolitan Achievement Tests Word Knowledge	Unadj.	24.7	1.8	23.6	1.8
	Adj.	25.9	1.9	22.4	1.8
Metropolitan Achievement Tests Word Discrimination	Unadj.	26.4	2.0	21.8	1.8
	Adj.**	27.6	2.2	20.6	1.7
Metropolitan Achievement Tests Reading	Unadj.	22.5	1.9	25.1	1.9
	Adj.	23.9	1.9	23.7	1.9
Metropolitan Achievement Tests Arithmetic	Unadj.	49.9	2.0	41.9	1.7
	Adj.***	51.9	2.1	39.9	1.6
Covariable					
Metropolitan Readiness Tests		51.8		59.3	
Number of Pupils		15		15	

*Tested at grade placement 1.8
**Difference between experimental and control groups significant at .01
***Difference between experimental and control groups significant at .001

The grade two analyses have been summarized in Table II on page 8. As in the case of the grade one data, the mean raw scores have been converted to grade placements.

Statistical significance was found for one of the four Metropolitan Achievement Tests at this grade level (Arithmetic). The difference was in favor of the experimental group.

The results on the reading subtests for the experimental and control classes were approximately equal, with both groups scoring above actual grade placement on both unadjusted and adjusted mean scores. With respect to the arithmetic subtests, the experimental class was four months above grade placement while the control group was one month below grade placement at time of testing. As far as initial readiness is concerned, both groups may be considered equal. The low "N" for the control group is due to incomplete test data and pupil mobility.

In May of 1966 when the present second grade pupils were completing first grade the Metropolitan Achievement Tests, Primary I Battery (previously described) and the Science Research Associates (SRA) Reading Achievement Tests were administered to both the control and experimental groups. The SRA Reading Tests, administered in mid-May 1966, consist of the following four subtests:

<u>Test 1. Verbal-Pictorial Association (48 items)</u> -- Measures the ability to understand words, phrases, and sentences and to differentiate between words that look alike.

<u>Test 2. Language Perception (125 items)</u> -- Measures the ability to discriminate between pairs of words having similar sounds, to identify pairs of identical words, and to associate spoken with written words.

<u>Test 3. Reading Comprehension (36 items)</u> -- Measures the ability to understand a central theme and main idea, draw logical inferences and grasp minor details from varied reading selections.

<u>Test 4. Reading Vocabulary (41 items)</u> -- Measures the ability to understand the meaning of words in context. The vocabulary test uses the same reading passages as the comprehensive subtest.

The scores from each of these four subtests are reported independently.

The statistical analysis for these data was the same as that used for this year's data -- a one-way analysis of covariance with the total score from the Metropolitan Readiness Tests as the covariable and each subtest of the two reading achievement tests (Metropolitan and SRA) as an independent criterion measure.

TABLE II

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF COVARIANCE DATA
MEAN RAW SCORES AND GRADE EQUIVALENTS*

Grade Two -- May 1967

Criterion Tests		Experimental R.S.	Experimental G.E.	Control R.S.	Control G.E.
Metropolitan Achievement Tests Word Knowledge	Unadj.	25.9	2.9	25.5	2.9
	Adj.	25.8	2.9	25.6	2.9
Metropolitan Achievement Tests Word Discrimination	Unadj.	28.8	3.2	28.9	3.2
	Adj.	28.7	3.2	29.0	3.2
Metropolitan Achievement Tests Reading	Unadj.	37.2	3.2	36.3	3.1
	Adj.	37.1	3.2	36.4	3.1
Metropolitan Achievement Tests Arithmetic	Unadj.	59.7	3.2	49.9	2.7
	Adj.**	59.6	3.2	50.0	2.7
Covariable					
Metropolitan Readiness Tests		73.4		72.6	
Number of Pupils		20		14	

*Tested at grade placement 2.8
**Difference between experimental and control groups significant at .001 level

The results of these analyses are summarized in Table III on page 10. Statistical significance was found for three of the seven analyses (SRA Language Perception, Reading Comprehension, and Reading Vocabulary). In all three instances, the differences in the adjusted means favored the experimental group.

With respect to the converted scores, it can be seen that the grade equivalents for the experimental group are fairly consistent on all seven subtests and within one month of actual grade placement at the time of testing. For the control group, the grade equivalents are consistently high on the three Metropolitan subtests but are much lower on the SRA subtests. An explanation for this may be that the pupils in the control group adjusted to the content and format of the Metropolitan Achievement Tests, which are specifically designed for the second half of grade one, more easily than they were able to adjust to the content and format of the SRA Tests, which have more depth since they can be used through the end of grade two. It should be kept in mind that the actual mean raw score difference for the control and experimental groups on the SRA Reading Comprehension and SRA Vocabulary tests is approximately four points. These four raw score points, however, mean a difference of five months in terms of grade equivalents.

The test data for the past two years at grade one and this past year at grade two show that the achievement of the transferred pupils is approximately equal to, and in some instances higher than would be expected had these pupils remained at School No. 19.

At first grade level last year, the experimental group had significantly higher achievement than the control group on three of the seven subtests (SRA Language Perception, Reading Comprehension, and Reading Vocabulary). The data for the past school year show that the reading achievement of the transferred pupils was significantly higher in one case (Word Discrimination at grade one) and that arithmetic achievement was higher at both grades one and two.

The Otis Alpha Mental Ability Test (Verbal Section) was administered to the second grade pupils in West Irondequoit and at William H. Seward School No. 19 in the Spring of this year. The mean intelligence quotient for the experimental group in West Irondequoit was 98.4 compared to a mean quotient of 100.0 for the control pupils at School No. 19. Results of the t-test for independent samples showed no significant difference between the two groups with respect to this variable.

The promotion rate at the end of each grade may also be considered an index of academic success. In West Irondequoit, all first grade pupils, including two repeaters from last year, were promoted; at second grade, two pupils were retained. All control pupils in grades one and two at William H. Seward School No. 19 were promoted. Last year two pupils were asked to repeat first grade at School No. 19.

TABLE III

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF COVARIANCE DATA
MEAN RAW SCORES AND GRADE EQUIVALENTS*
Grade One - May 1966

Criterion Tests		Group			
		Experimental		Control	
		R.S.	G.E.	R.S.	G.E.
SRA Reading 1-2 Verbal-Pictorial Association	Unadj.	14.0	1.7	12.8	1.6
	Adj.	14.3	1.7	12.5	1.6
SRA Reading 1-2 Language Perception	Unadj.	86.1	1.7	70.7	1.3
	Adj.**	86.9	1.7	69.8	1.2
SRA Reading 1-2 Reading Comprehension	Unadj.	14.0	1.7	10.4	1.2
	Adj.**	14.2	1.7	10.2	1.2
SRA Reading 1-2 Reading Vocabulary	Unadj.	12.6	1.9	9.3	1.4
	Adj.***	12.8	1.9	9.0	1.4
Covariable					
Metropolitan Readiness Tests		72.6		74.1	
Number of Pupils		24		19	

Criterion Tests		Group			
		Experimental		Control	
		R.S.	G.E.	R.S.	G.E.
Metropolitan Achievement Tests Word Knowledge	Unadj.	22.2	1.7	22.6	1.8
	Adj.	22.3	1.7	22.5	1.8
Metropolitan Achievement Tests Word Discrimination	Unadj.	23.0	1.8	23.4	1.8
	Adj.	23.2	1.8	23.2	1.8
Metropolitan Achievement Tests Reading	Unadj.	22.6	1.9	22.5	1.9
	Adj.	22.7	1.9	22.4	1.8
Covariable					
Metropolitan Readiness Tests		73.5		74.1	
Number of Pupils		22		19	

*Tested at grade placement 1.8
**Difference between experimental and control groups significant at .01.
***Difference between experimental and control groups significant at .05.

ANALYSIS OF SOCIOMETRIC DATA-GRADE ONE

After the transferred pupils had been in West Irondequoit for two and one-half months, a series of sociometric questions was administered to all pupils in the classrooms involved in the program. A standard procedure was used in administering the questions. The administrator would first spend some time observing the class, becoming familiar with the seating arrangements and the names of the pupils. A seating chart was then developed for recording the responses to the sociometric questions. The questions were asked at a time when the pupils were doing seat work. The administrator called the pupils up individually to a corner in the front of the room and asked each question orally. Because the other pupils were doing seat work, with heads averted, the pupil being questioned had a visual reminder of the pupils in the room and yet had privacy in giving his responses.

The questions were administered first during the month of December and a second time during the month of June. In this latter administration, only three of the eight classes involved in the program participated. One class from three of the four buildings housing the transferred pupils was chosen for this purpose. No strong effort was made to restrict the number of nominations a pupil made in response to a question but after three or four nominations, the pupil was encouraged to go on to the next question. There was absolutely no reference made to race or skin color in any of the questions.

The nominations were tabulated in the form of a sociometric matrix. The observed frequency of nomination was then computed for non-white and white pupils separately and summated across classes. Chi-square analyses were then conducted to compare these observed frequencies for the two groups with the expected frequencies based upon the proportion of non-whites and whites constituting the total group of pupils in the classes under study.

The questions asked and the results of the chi-square analyses are summarized in Table IV on page 12. The comparisons between the December and June administrations are based on the three classes participating on both occasions. On the initial administration no significant differences were found between the number of non-whites actually nominated and the number expected on any of the five questions. (This same conclusion held true when all eight classes were studied on the December administration). On the follow-up administration in June, a significant difference was found only for question five (fewer non-whites were nominated as best friends than would be expected). With respect to question five, it is difficult to explain this change between the initial and follow-up administration without further knowledge of the children involved and the total classroom situation over a period of time.

TABLE IV

SUMMARY OF CHI-SQUARE ANALYSES FOR SOCIOMETRIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Grade One - 1966-67

	Question	Administration Date	χ^2	Significance Level
1.	Which children in the class play "rough"?	Dec. 1966 June 1967	.16 .47	N.S. N.S.
2.	Which children in the class would you like to know better?	Dec. 1966 June 1967	.47 2.97	N.S. N.S.
3.	Which children in the class would you not invite home to play?	Dec. 1966 June 1967	.12 1.90	N.S. N.S.
4.	Which children in the class are always being silly?	Dec. 1966 June 1967	.12 .47	N.S. N.S.
5.	Which children in the class are your very best friends?	Dec. 1966 June 1967	.47 5.80	N.S. .05

ANALYSIS OF SOCIOMETRIC DATA - GRADE TWO

In June of this year, a series of sociometric questions was administered to all second grade pupils in the eight classrooms involved in the transfer program. The questions asked were the same as those asked last year when these pupils were completing first grade. The administration procedure for the second grade pupils differed from that used with first grade pupils in that the questions were self-administered. Dittoed sheets containing the six questions and the names of the pupils in each class were distributed in the respective classrooms. Pupils indicated their choices for each question by placing a specified code letter before the names on the sheet. These data were then summarized and analyzed by the chi-square technique.

The questions asked and the results of the chi-square analyses are summarized in Table V on page 14. Significant differences were found for question one (fewer non-white were nominated as best friends than would be expected) and questions four and five (more non-whites were nominated for getting into fights and being silly than would be expected). On these latter two questions, there were three classes where the non-white nominations were large enough to make the difference significant for the total group. For both questions, the same four boys received the bulk of the nominations.

It is interesting to note that although a significant difference was found for question one(Which children are your best friends?), no such difference was found for question six (Which children would you <u>not</u> want as best friends?). Looking at these two questions, it would appear that although the non-whites are not chosen best friends as often as expected, they are considered possible friends. The results of question three also support this contention.

This same series of sociometric questions was administered to these children twice last year (Fall and Spring) when they were in first grade. The administration procedure was identical to the one followed this year with the first grade pupils. All classes participated in both administrations last year.

The questions asked and the results of the chi-square analyses are summarized in Table VI on page 15. Significant differences were found for question one on the initial testing (fewer non-whites were nominated as best friends than would be expected) but not on the follow-up Spring testing. For questions four and six, significant differences were found on both administrations (more non-whites were nominated for getting into fights and not wanted as best friends than would be expected). On these two particular questions, there were three classes where the non-white nominations were large enough to make the difference significant for the total group. In the remaining five classes, differences were slight. Regarding question five, significant differences were found on the Spring testing (more non-whites were nominated for being silly than would be expected) but not on the initial testing.

TABLE V

SUMMARY OF CHI-SQUARE ANALYSES FOR SOCIOMETRIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Grade Two - 1966-67

Question	Administration Date	χ^2	Significance Level
1. Which children in the class are your best friends?	June 1967	4.08	.05
2. Which children in the class always seem unhappy and sad?	June 1967	1.50	N.S.
3. Which children in the class would you <u>like</u> to have as best friends?	June 1967	.05	N.S.
4. Which children in the class are always getting into fights?	June 1967	21.07	.001
5. Which children in the class are always being silly?	June 1967	4.20	.05
6. Which children in the class would you <u>not</u> want as best friends?	June 1967	3.78	N.S.

TABLE VI

SUMMARY OF CHI-SQUARE ANALYSES FOR SOCIOMETRIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Grade One - 1965-66

Question	Administration Date	χ^2	Significance Level
1. Which children in the class are your best friends?	Fall 1965 Spring 1966	13.75* 2.18	.001 N. S.
2. Which children in the class always seem unhappy and sad?	Fall 1965 Spring 1966	.03 2.13	N. S. N. S.
3. Which children in the class would you <u>like</u> to have as best friends?	Fall 1965 Spring 1966	.02 .00	N. S. N. S.
4. Which children in the class are always getting into fights?	Fall 1965 Spring 1966	13.31 23.19	.001 .001
5. Which children the class are always being silly?	Fall 1965 Spring 1966	.30 5.89	N. S. .05
6. Which children in the class would you <u>not</u> want as best friends?	Fall 1965* Spring 1966	52.43 13.02	.001 .001

*Administered in six of the eight classes

The sociometric data for grades one and two discussed in the preceding sections indicate that, on the whole, the majority of children from School No. 19 are adjusting well to the suburban school situation and are being well-received by their West Irondequoit classmates. With respect to the questions where significant differences were found, it should be kept in mind that factors other than race may have accounted for these differences. Factors such as the sex of pupils (boys getting into fights and acting silly) and the status of the pupils as newcomers, particularly at grade one, may have affected the results to some degree. It should also be remembered that these children are very young and change their preferences quite often in the course of a year.

ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL GROWTH AND WORK HABITS

Information on the social growth (or development) and work habits of the pupils in both groups was available from the report cards used by the two school systems involved in the transfer program. Characteristics determining social growth (or development) include learning self-control, learning to work well with others, respecting the rights and property of others, assuming responsibility for individual activities, and showing perseverence. Good work habits are identified by the ability to follow directions, finish work, do work neatly, show initiative, and utilize time well. This information is summarized for the control and experimental groups at grade one and grade two in Tables VII (page 17) and VIII (page 18), respectively.

The experimental pupils in West Irondequoit showed a varied distribution in the ratings in these two categories. In some instances, no rating was given which is an indication that progress in this trait was satisfactory and did not require a mark. The majority of pupils in grade one showed satisfactory Social Growth but approximately one-half of the group needed to improve in Work Habits. At grade two, most of the pupils showed satisfactory progress in both these categories.

The majority of first and second grade pupils in the control groups at William H. Seward School No. 19 were average or above in these two categories.

These same data on Social Growth and Work Habits were summarized for the experimental and control groups last year when the present second grade pupils were completing first grade. The results indicated satisfactory development in both areas for the majority of pupils in both groups.

It should be kept in mind that the above data on Social Growth and Work Habits are reported for information only and that direct comparisons cannot be made because of the different rating systems used by the two school districts.

TABLE VII

SUMMARY OF REPORT CARD DATA ON SOCIAL GROWTH AND WORK HABITS

Grade One - June 1967

	Control Group			
Letter Rating	Social Growth		Work Habits	
	N	%	N	%
A (Excellent)	4	26.7	7	46.7
B (Better than Satisfactory)	3	20.0	2	13.3
C (Satisfactory)	5	33.3	3	20.0
D (Unsatisfactory)	1	6.7	1	6.7
E (Failing)	-		-	
No Grade	2	13.3	2	13.3
Total	15	100.0	15	100.0

	Experimental Group			
Rating	Social Growth		Work Habits	
	N	%	N	%
+ (Indicates Strength)	7	46.7	7	46.7
S (Shows Improvement)	-		1	6.6
√ (Needs Improvement)	5	33.3	7	46.7
No Mark	3	20.0	-	
Total	15	100.0	15	100.0

TABLE VIII

SUMMARY OF REPORT CARD DATA ON SOCIAL GROWTH AND WORK HABITS

Grade Two - June 1967

	Control Group			
	Social Growth		Work Habits	
Letter Rating	N	%	N	%
A (Excellent)	3	21.4	4	28.6
B (Better than Satisfactory)	2	14.3	1	7.1
C (Satisfactory)	5	35.8	6	42.9
D (Unsatisfactory)	1	7.1	--	
E (Failing)	--		--	
No Grade	3	21.4	3	21.4
Total	14	100.0	14	100.0

	Experimental Group			
	Social Growth		Work Habits	
Rating	N	%	N	%
+ (Indicates Strength)	6	30.0	4	20.0
S (Shows Improvement)	3	15.0	8	40.0
✓ (Needs Improvement)	2	10.0	6	30.0
No Mark	9	45.0	2	10.0
Total	20	100.0	20	100.0

ANALYSIS OF ATTENDANCE DATA

The daily attendance records of pupils in both the control and experimental situations at each grade level were gathered and compiled as an additional evaluative measure. Attendance percentages were computed for each group as a unit by dividing the total number of days actually attended by the total number of possible days of attendance. The pupils in West Irondequoit had attendance percentages of 93.4 (grade one) and 94.6 (grade two) based on a school year of 184 days. The control pupils at William H. Seward School No. 19 had attendance percentages of 96.1 (grade one) and 97.1 (grade two) based on a school year of 182 days.

The difference between the attendance percentages for the experimental and control groups at each grade level was tested for statistical significance using the test for the differences between two independent proportions. At both grade levels, the differences were not significant.

The attendance percentages for the two groups completing first grade last year were 93.2 (West Irondequoit) and 94.3 (William H. Seward School No. 19).

(The following section was prepared by
Mr. L. William Heinrich of the
West Irondequoit School District)

STAFF EVALUATION OF PROGRAM

As a part of the evaluation of the pupil transfer program, an observation form, designed to gather information from teachers, administrators, and other staff members involved, was distributed in the receiving schools during the 1966-1967 school year. (The form is a revision of the one used during 1965-1966.) The form was distributed three times; following the first three months (September-November), the next three months (December-February), and the next two months (March-April).

Directions on the form were as follows:

The Intercultural Enrichment Program is designed to provide opportunities for the improvement of inter-racial understanding. As you are in daily contact with the program, comments by you will be most valuable as a means for estimating the effectiveness of the program. Brevity is encouraged. (Use back of sheet if necessary.)

If you do not have any comments on the program, please do not feel under any obligation to fill out the form. Check this box (no comments).

1. Comments on school experiences or incidents which you feel are related to the program;

2. Comments on administrative, other procedures which you feel are related to the program;

3. Miscellaneous comments which you feel are pertinent;

4. Your opinion as to the effectiveness of the program (influence on inter-racial understanding): very positive, positive, neutral, negative, very negative.

The names of the individual reporting was not required. His area of responsibility was reported and is reflected in the categories used in the report of comments (Table IX) on page 21.

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

As was indicated in the report for the 1965-1966 school year, teachers and other staff members continue to view the school situation as "normal". This is reflected in the limited number of comments submitted during the 1966-1967 school year, as well as the nature of the comments.

1. Experiences or Incidents

Proportionately fewer incidents were submitted this year as compared with last year reflecting concern about the needs of Negro pupils, their social adjustment, disciplinary situations, and establishing communication with city parents.

Evidence of social interaction among city and West Irondequoit pupils, and incidents probably attributable to racial prejudice were about the same as last year.

A small number of learning experiences involving intercultural understanding were reported.

It is apparent that staff members perceived fewer adjustment problems during 1966-1967 than they did in 1965-1966. This supports the assumption that as staff members and pupils spend time in the program and become comfortable with its operation, city pupils will become rapidly assimilated to the point where they will be identified as members of the general school population, rather than as city pupils. As members of the general school population, their individualized needs will not be seen as unique by staff members, unless they are in some way out of the ordinary individual differences.

TABLE IX

STAFF COMMENTS

1966-1967

260 Forms Distributed 110 Forms Returned	First Grade Teachers*	Second Grade Teachers*	Special Subject*	Teachers**	Administrators*	Other Professional Staff (Psychologists, etc.)	Clerk, Cafeteria, Others	Position Not Checked	TOTAL
"No Comment" checked	1	4	3	30	-	10	8	8	64
1. Experiences or Incidents	6	5	5	2	3	-	1	-	22
a. Specific Learning Situations Cultural Enrichment	1	2	-			-	1	-	4
b. Normal or Positive Pupil Social Interaction	2	2	1	1	2	-	-	-	8
c. Incidents-Indications of Racial Prejudice	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
d. Positive Adjustment*	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	3
e. Negative Adjustment*	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	4
f. Discipline Problem*	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
2. Administrative Procedures	4	3	-	3	5	-	1	-	16
a. Transportation (supervision)	3	3	-	2	3	-	1	-	12
b. Sociometric Testing	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
c. Lack of Data*	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
d. Need for Cross-Section of City Pupils	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1

*City Pupils
**No City Pupils

TABLE IX -- contd.

260 Forms Distributed 110 Forms Returned	First Grade Teachers*	Second Grade Teachers*	Special Subjects*	Teachers**	Administrators*	Other Professional Staff (Psychologists, etc.)	Clerk, Cafeteria, Others	Position Not Checked	TOTAL
3. Miscellaneous Comments	2	3	-	3	4	1	2	-	15
a. Suggestions	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	3
1) More community involvement									
2) After-school activities									
3) Gather more data									
b. Poor Attendance*	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
c. Race Awareness (lack of it or lack of attention to it)	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
d. Favorable Comments (in support of program)	-	1	-	1	1	-	2	-	5
e. Other	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	4
1) Brownie Meeting									
2) Negative Incident - Returning City Pupil to School No. 19									
3) Answering Parents - No Reverse Bussing									
4) Referendum Desirable									
4. Opinions-Effectiveness of the Program (Influence on Inter-Racial Understanding)	10	9	4	12	5	2	5	1	48
a. Very Positive	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	4
b. Positive	8	7	2	7	2	1	4	1	32
c. Neutral	2	2	2	4	1	-	1	-	12
d. Negative	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
e. Very Negative	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

*City Pupils
**No City Pupils

It is significant that few incidents revealing classroom discussion of racial differences or other inter-cultural experiences have been reported. Some efforts should be made to determine whether this is due to lack of direction or materials, lack of training on the part of staff members, a reluctance to discuss these topics, or combination of these factors.

2. Administrative Procedures

Comments on transportation and particularly the supervision of city pupils before and after school came from a number of staff members. While some efforts have been made to eliminate this problem, through the use of Future Teachers of America volunteers, no general solution was found for the 1966-1967 school year. It is expected that the addition of a second bus next year will mean that city children will arrive and leave school at approximately the same time as West Irondequoit pupils. The operation of this system should be observed carefully to determine whether or not additional supervision will be necessary.

As in 1965-1966, sociometric testing again was criticized by a small number of parents and some staff members. Comments suggested that the test could be considered invasion of privacy, could be upsetting to some children, and the test worked against some of the concepts being developed by teachers emphasizing positive rather than negative attitudes. Lack of adequate public information about the test was also mentioned.

While the sociometric test has been regarded as a useful means of gathering data about social adjustment, and its use with regard to the criticisms can be defended, no plans have been made to administer the test during the 1967-1968 school year. The data already provided during the first two years of the program are adequate for the purposes for which the sociometric test was designed.

3. Miscellaneous Comments

As was the case during the 1965-1966 school year, staff members continue to submit comments about after-school activities, community involvement, and unique situations resulting from the program. The miscellaneous comments tend to support comments reported in the other sections of the form, or reflect the concern of a particular staff member about a specific situation. No generalizations have been drawn from these comments.

4. Opinions-Effectiveness of the Program

It is significant that the number of those who have positive opinions about the effectiveness of the program outweigh the number of those who are neutral. This is in contrast to last year, when the number of neutral opinions was one less than the number of positive opinions. Last year, one negative opinion was recorded, in comparison with no negative opinions this year. Staff members involved continue to have positive opinions regarding the effectiveness of this program of intercultural enrichment.

Another interesting item is the fact that those directly in contact with the program (teachers who are responsible for city pupils) indicate their opinions much more often than those whose contact with the program is more indirect. Direct experience with integrated education appears to elicit a more positive response regarding the effectiveness of the program. More research on this aspect of teacher attitudes with regard to integration might clarify this assumption.

From the standpoint of the day to day operation of the program and its progress toward the goal of providing wholesome interracial experiences, the reports of the staff are positive. As stated last year, some areas are in need of continued study. No significant changes in the program other than those mentioned appear to be necessary.

SUMMARY

From the data presented and discussed in the preceding sections, it appears that the children involved in the program are progressing well and are benefiting from the experience.

The program is scheduled to continue next year with an additional twenty-five children entering grade one while the present groups advance to grades two and three. Evaluation will continue so that progress of the participating children may be studied as they move through the grades in West Irondequoit.

APPENDIX C

METCO

Suburban Education

for

Urban Children

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL FOR EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY
178 HUMBOLDT AVENUE - ROXBURY, MASSACHUSETTS
617-427-1545

September of 1966 saw over two hundred children and youth from Boston's "inner city" board buses which were to carry them to a totally new educational experience in suburban schools - an experience that would engender new friendships, encourage new dialogue and provide the opportunity to eliminate or reduce the academic gap which would otherwise be a lifetime handicap.

To these young people and their parents who must continue to exert extra effort to attain what should be their birthright, this fact sheet is dedicated.

The Metropolitan Council

for

Educational Opportunity
(METCO)

OFFICERS

President - Leon Trilling

1st Vice President - Paul Parks

2nd Vice President - Mrs. Jerome B. Wiesner

Secretary - Mrs. Warren H. Haussler

Treasurer - Charles P. Harris

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Charles E. Brown
Mrs. Eric T. Clarke
Miss Joyce Grant
Mrs. Hubert E. Jones
Mrs. John A. Keil, Jr.
Mrs. Herbert O. Levine
Miss Elma Lewis
Mrs. Richard G. Mintz
David R. Sargent
Mrs. Michael Stein

ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

Executive Director - Joseph E. Killory

Associate Director - Mrs. Ruth M. Batson

Staff Assistant - Mrs. Elizabeth G. Johnson

RESEARCH STAFF*

Director of Research - David K. Archibald

Research Assistant - A. Robert Phillips

*Funded under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act

METCO IS:

AN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM which provides a suburban education for Boston children almost all of whom are Negro.

FUNDED BY the U. S. Office of Education the Carnegie Corporation, and the Stern Family Fund.

A VOLUNTARY PROGRAM in that participating students and the suburban communities both volunteer.

THE 218 ORIGINAL STUDENTS ARE:

ALL AGES from kindergarten through high school.

AVERAGE IN ABILITY as compared with national norms.

IN SEVEN SCHOOL SYSTEMS including Arlington, Braintree, Brookline, Lexington, Lincoln, Newton, and Wellesley.

THE OBJECTIVES ARE:

A QUALITY, INTEGRATED EDUCATION which will reduce or close existing academic gaps.

A DEGREE OF INTEGRATED EXPERIENCE for the suburban students who will be living and working in a multi-racial world.

AN INCREASE IN DIALOGUE between the urban and suburban communities in the metropolitan area.

THE PARENTS HAVE:

FORMED A METCO COMMUNITY COUNCIL to gain and share ideas about education.

PARTICIPATED IN PTA and other suburban school functions.

ARRANGED SOCIAL EVENINGS for host families.

THE PROGRAM ALSO INCLUDES:

A HOST FAMILY for each student in the suburban community.

A METCO COMMUNITY COMMITTEE for local coordination and logistic help in each town.

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS who determine METCO policy.

THE METCO STAFF IS:

FUNDED BY CARNEGIE CORPORATION under a two year grant to the Council for Public Schools.

A RESOURCE CENTER for parents, children, school staffs, host families, and community committees.

RESPONSIBLE FOR RECOMMENDING STUDENTS to the suburban school systems.

FEDERAL FUNDS PAY FOR:

PUPIL COSTS.

TRANSPORTATION COSTS.

EVALUATION COSTS.

(Note: since METCO is independent of the Boston School Committee, all federal funds are paid to Newton Public Schools, the applicant under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.)

METCO WAS FORMED AS A RESULT OF:

THE CONCERN OF NEGRO PARENTS AND LEADERS for the education of their children.

THE CONCERN OF CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, SUBURBAN SCHOOL AUTHORITIES, STATE EDUCATION AUTHORITIES, AND MANY OTHERS for the quality of education in the segregated (de facto) schools of Boston and the lack of multi-racial learning experiences in the suburbs.

PREVIOUS GROUP EFFORTS which resulted in the passage of the only state statute in the nation which prohibits racially imbalanced schools and authorizes the State Board of Education to withhold funds if proper plans for reducing imbalance are not submitted.

FUTURE PLANS INCLUDE:

AN INCREASE TO 500 STUDENTS next year.

PARTICIPATION OF ADDITIONAL COMMUNITIES (20 more cities or towns have either voted for or are considering METCO participation).

FINANCIAL HELP FROM THE STATE. Chapter 506 of the Acts of 1966 "labelled the METCO bill" authorizes support for METCO-type programs which tend to reduce imbalance.

METCO IS NOT:

THE FINAL ANSWER.

BUT IT IS:

AN ACTIVE ON-GOING PROGRAM WHICH HAS ACHIEVED A HIGH LEVEL OF STATE SUPPORT AND NATIONAL INTEREST.

JEK:jj
4/17/67

CAN FEDERAL PROGRAMS HELP NEGROES LEAVE THE GHETTO?

Prepared by
Bernard J. Frieden, Associate Professor of City Planning
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts

The federal government is heavily involved in shaping the character of America's urban areas. Through grants-in-aid, loans, mortgage insurance, and direct construction of public buildings and facilities, federal agencies influence the basic physical pattern of metropolitan areas and the quality of public services available to their citizens. The highway network, mass transit, hospitals, water and sewer facilities, housing built with FHA mortgage assistance, low-income public housing, and urban renewal projects - all financed with federal aid - together have significant impact on where people of different incomes live and work, who their neighbors are, and with whom their children go to school. Further, the flow of federal aid to individual communities for education, health services, welfare, and antipoverty programs affects the nature and level of services available to different population groups in the metropolitan area.

Total federal spending for urban development and public services is substantial and continues to mount: according to estimates of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, federal programs in urban areas involved total obligations or commitments of some 28.4 billion dollars in 1966, equal to 4 percent of gross national product.[1] Thus the federal government shares responsibility with the states and local communities for the way we are building and servicing our metropolitan areas.

The cities and suburbs that are emerging are a source of deep concern to those who believe in equality of opportunity. We are building into our urban areas a high degree of racial and economic segregation and widespread disparities in the provision of public services. The problems of school desegregation with which the Civil Rights Commission is concerned are symptomatic of an urban pattern that severely limits opportunities and choices for low-income groups

in general and Negroes in particular. Low-cost housing is concentrated mainly in the central cities and a handful of older suburban towns in most large urban areas. Opportunities for low-income families to live elsewhere are restricted by the nature of the housing market. New housing built today in the suburbs is priced primarily for families with annual incomes of $8,000 and above; the current median sales price of new single-family houses is $20,000, with few available below $17,000. Similar housing built a few years ago is still priced beyond the means of low-income groups. Little subsidized housing is being built in the suburbs. Further, discriminatory practices in selling and financing suburban housing exclude even many Negroes who can afford to live there.

As a result, the suburbs are attracting white middle- and upper-income families with children; while the core cities are becoming the domain of the elderly, broken families, low-income groups, and Negroes. This picture is not true in all metropolitan areas, but it does apply generally to large metropolitan areas in all parts of the country and to those of all sizes in the Northeast.[2] Communities where the poor are concentrated are faced with great demands for public service - for welfare, health, public safety, and education - while their tax resources are limited by the low income of their population. Thus the segregated pattern of metropolitan areas leads to a separation of needs from resources, with the central cities increasingly unable to provide adequate services for their people. School programs are particularly affected: most big-city school systems spend less per pupil than the schools of their surrounding suburbs, and often substantially less.[3]

These trends spell out clear implications for school desegregation. In the large metropolitan areas, prospects are dim for desegregation within the central cities alone. Negro population is concentrated in these cities, and the age

composition and family size of this population means that many core cities are heading for predominantly Negro enrollments in the public schools. In 1965, 9 major cities already had Negro majorities in their elementary schools: Atlanta, Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Newark, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Washington. Current population estimates indicate that Negro population is becoming increasingly concentrated in the central cities, while white population continues to decline.[4] Over time, there will be fewer and fewer white students to take part in central-city desegregation plans; predominantly Negro schools will be unavoidable unless desegregation is approached on a metropolitan basis.

This paper will therefore focus on possibilities for metropolitan desegregation, and in a broader context than that of schools alone. School segregation is deeply embedded in other metropolitan characteristics: limited housing opportunities for Negroes and the poor, government policies that limit these opportunities, and the financing of education and other public services.

Major emphasis will be on the current and potential role of the federal government in providing opportunities for desegregation in housing and schools. Several strategies for federal action will be explored, including measures to equalize tax resources, specific requirements for meeting the needs of minority groups in urban aid programs, more effective enforcement of civil rights and fair housing laws, programs to subsidize housing in the suburbs, and federal encouragement of central-city-suburban cooperation.

The Federal Interest

The federal government today is helping underwrite a form of metropolitan development that segregates Negroes and other minority groups and denies them equal opportunities in education, housing, and public services. The title of a recent publication of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing

states this charge forcefully: "How the Federal Government Builds Ghettos." This situation, however, has come about more through federal failure to direct its programs toward positive goals of equal opportunity than through deliberate attempts to use urban aid programs for promoting patterns of segregation. The administration of federally aided programs is largely decentralized to the local level; thus federal assistance is used in ways that reinforce local community development policies. In the suburbs, these policies are often aimed at excluding Negroes and low-income people while using federal aid to benefit white middle-income residents. It is inaccurate to charge that federal programs themselves help maintain forced segregation. But communities whose policies contribute to forced segregation are nevertheless using federal aid to build facilities for their own residents, and by keeping Negroes and low-income people out of the community they are denying them access to these facilities. A possible and exceptional instance in which federally-aided activities do help exclude unwanted people is the use of local planning grants to prepare zoning ordinances, building codes, and subdivision controls that rule out the construction of moderate-cost housing.

Within the central cities and their ghettos, federal and local policies have taken a somewhat different turn recently. Many programs are being mounted to deal with the problems of ghetto residents. With few exceptions, these programs try to improve conditions inside the ghetto without creating new opportunities for some of the ghetto residents to move elsewhere. A strong case can be made for such programs, since it is clear that even the most vigorous policies to desegregate the ghettos would leave large numbers of people living there for years to come. But programs to improve the ghetto cannot in themselves resolve the problems of people who live there.

Ghetto improvement without desegregation - important as it is in the short

run - will fail in the long run for several reasons. First, the rapid growth of urban Negro population means that the ghetto cannot be contained within its present boundaries and still provide decent living conditions. Between 1950 and 1960, nonwhite population in metropolitan areas grew from 9 million to 13.2 million, with 82 percent of this increase in the central cities. According to current Census Bureau estimates, the nonwhite population in metropolitan areas grew by an additional 2.8 million between 1960 and 1966, this time with 87 percent of the increment in the central cities.[5] (During the same period, Census estimates are that central cities accounted for 95 percent of the increase in nonwhite children under 14 - a fact of obvious significance for school programs.) Accommodating population growth of this magnitude in present ghettos would mean rebuilding them on a vast scale beyond any now contemplated, with a need for high-density housing projects and new public facilities to serve ever-increasing numbers of people. Realistically, providing adequate space, decent housing, and needed services for ghetto residents will be virtually impossible unless many of them have opportunities to live elsewhere.

Further, programs to improve the ghetto are not likely to succeed in providing enough jobs for ghetto residents. Efforts to attract firms into the ghetto may yield some token results, but the basic job market is metropolitan-wide. Negroes in the ghetto are cut off from the main centers of growth in industrial jobs, which are in the suburbs. Not only is transportation to these jobs difficult, but the usual informal channels of communication through which blue-collar workers find jobs are not operating. Ghetto residents simply do not hear about jobs in the distant suburbs. While remedial measures are possible, focusing on improvements in job information and in public transportation, the most effective long-run solution is to create more opportunities for Negroes to live near suburban jobs.

Because of the connection between population income and local government tax revenue, measures that imply maintaining Negro ghettos and concentrations of low-income people in the central cities do not offer a sufficient base for providing the extensive public services that are needed. Again, remedial action is possible through federal and state grants to the central cities, but these, too, would have to be on a massive scale to provide for adequate service.

Finally, experience to date with remedial school programs in segregated schools casts doubt on the educational effectiveness of this approach.[6] Although it is possible that new types of programs - or more costly ones - will be more effective than those of the recent past, the case for segregated remedial programs remains to be established. Meanwhile, the Coleman report and subsequent analysis of its data by the Civil Rights Commission does indicate one promising approach to improving educational opportunities for disadvantaged children: integrated education. A strategy of ghetto improvement unaccompanied by desegregation runs a high risk of failure in education as well as in housing, jobs, and public services.

The case for reconsidering federal programs that reinforce present patterns of metropolitan development is basically that these patterns obstruct progress toward a series of important and interlocking national goals. Through legislation and executive orders of the past five years, the nation has undertaken commitments to provide equal opportunity in education and housing and to eliminate poverty. That these goals are closely related to one another, and that they are also linked to the way we build urban areas, has sometimes been noted explicitly in statements of national goals. President Kennedy's Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing acknowledged that discriminatory practices not only denied many people the benefits of federally financed housing, but that

> such discriminatory policies and practices result in segregated patterns of housing and necessarily produce other forms of dis-

crimination and segregation which deprive many Americans of equal opportunity in the exercise of their inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness....[7]

President Johnson, in his 1965 message, "Problems and Future of the Central City and Its Suburbs," stated as a basic goal of federal urban policy:

We must extend the range of choices available to all our people so that all, and not just the fortunate, can have access to decent homes and schools, to recreation, and to culture.[8]

A year later, the President's message proposing the model cities program and related legislation spoke once again of the goal of "Giving to both urban and suburban families the freedom to choose where they will live."[9]

Federal aid in support of policies that stress suburban exclusion and ghetto improvement without desegregation is incompatible with these objectives. If federal urban programs are seen not as independent actions but as important contributors to the structure and organization of metropolitan areas, their impact even conflicts with the spirit of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964:

No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance. (Section 601.)

The urban programs and activities receiving federal assistance can be construed as individual programs to build highways and utility systems, insure housing, and improve services to ghetto areas. More broadly, however, the activity receiving federal aid under a great number of separate programs is actually the building and servicing of metropolitan areas. In this activity of community development, it is clear that many people are denied benefits and subjected to discrimination because of race.

Financial Incentives for Desegregation

Federal urban aid programs could make important contributions toward opening up the suburbs to Negroes and low-income families by undercutting financial incentives that now promote suburban exclusion. Local suburban development policies are shaped in large part by tax considerations. Communities where the poor live pay financial penalties, under our present system of financing local government. This system relies heavily on locally raised property taxes to pay the cost of local government. As of 1962, 70 percent of local government revenue came from local sources - 48 percent from the property tax alone - while 28 percent came from the state government and only 2 percent from federal grants.[10] This dependence on local tax revenues means that a community's ability to provide public services depends to a great extent on the wealth of its residents. In the cost calculations of local government, poor residents bring deficits: they require more in local service costs than they will contribute in local taxes.

As a result, suburbs struggling with the costs of new schools, new utility systems, and expanding services for a growing population have strong financial incentives to exclude low-income residents. They also have policy tools that can serve this end. Land and building development controls can require excessive minimum lot sizes, expensive types of construction, and elaborate street and utility installations in new subdivisions - all of which raise the cost of new housing and help price out families with limited incomes. Further, they can choose not to participate in programs for building subsidized low-income housing. These practices are widespread, and they are prompted at least in part by tax motives, as well as by status concerns and race prejudice.

One way of opening the suburbs to larger numbers of Negroes and low-income families is to remove the tax incentives that promote exclusionary policies.

More substantial amounts of federal and state aid to local government would ease the present reliance on local property taxes and thus weaken these incentives. Education costs are particularly critical: for the country at large they amounted to 45 percent of local government expenditure in 1962. In many growing suburbs, education costs and capital charges for new schools together account for more than half the total budget. Thus the pressure to hold down property taxes often focuses particularly on keeping out additional families with children of school age who would buy moderate-cost houses. Although state aid for education accounts for a large share of local education costs - 37 percent in 1962[11] - there are wide variations from one state to another. And federal contributions are negligible, constituting less than 8 percent of total education expenditures in 1965-66.[12] Further, very few federal programs allocate aid or set matching grant requirements on the basis of local fiscal ability. Most federal aid to local government flows through the states; and as of 1962, less than 20 percent of federal aid took account of variations in state fiscal capacity.[13]

The present system of financing local government rewards communities that manage to exclude the poor. To encourage local action in support of desegregation, this system should be overhauled to reward communities that admit the poor. Federal programs can work toward this end in several ways. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 authorizes larger grants to communities where there are more school-age children whose families have low incomes or receive payments under the aid for families of dependent children program. Other programs could similarly vary the amount of federal grants according to a formula that takes into account the proportion of low-income families in the community or other measures of local fiscal capacity. In programs where the total grant amount logically depends upon particular project proposals, the local matching share could be reduced for communities where low-income people

live; or such communities could be given priority over other applicants for limited funds. (Some urban programs do consider such factors in setting priorities administratively, but legislative authority for this approach would be desirable.) These kinds of rewards to communities that accept poor families should be incorporated explicitly in the major urban aid programs, such as Title III grants for supplementary education centers, health facilities and services grants, urban renewal, low-income housing, urban mass transportation grants, and grants for water and sewer facilities.

Federal Program Requirements

In addition to using federal-aid programs to relax local tax pressures, the federal government could require communities using certain programs to make specific provision for desegregation of low-income and minority groups in their plans. A few federal programs have such requirements, but these are mainly programs used in the central cities. A recent requirement for communities building low-rent public housing, for example, calls for desegregation policies in site selection:

> Any proposal to locate housing only in areas of racial concentration will be prima facie unacceptable and will be returned to the local authority for further consideration and submission of either (1) alternative or additional sites in other areas so as to provide more balanced distribution of the proposed housing or (2) a clear showing, factually substantiated, that no acceptable sites are available outside the areas of racial concentration.[14]

Another example of this approach occurs in the requirements for the Workable Program for Community Improvement, which is a prerequisite for urban renewal grants and certain other aids administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. One provision in the Workable Program calls for

the establishment of mechanisms for citizen participation in planning, including "a subcommittee of the advisory committee or a special committee on minority group housing, with membership to include representative members of the principal minority groups in the community."[15] Guidelines for the Workable Program state further:

> One of the most universally critical housing needs in communities over the country is the provision of adequate housing open to minority groups. This complex matter must have special attention if real progress is to be made in providing the needed housing. For this reason, it is generally expected that there will be established a committee, or subcommittee, to work for full opportunity in housing for all groups. The important consideration is for each community to develop a plan of action that will best carry out its responsibility to work for full opportunity in housing for all groups in their locality.[16]

More than 1,000 local communities now have active workable programs acceptable to the Department of Housing and Urban Development. These programs, however, apply to single localities rather than metropolitan areas. Further, they are seldom prepared by segregated suburbs, since they are not required for participation in FHA or other suburban-oriented housing programs.

An unusual desegregation requirement on a metropolitan basis has recently been added to the Community Renewal Program. This is a program that supplies federal aid for the advance planning of renewal projects and other activities to improve housing and environmental conditions. The CRP is also a single-community program, but new requirements call for the community receiving aid to work with metropolitan planning agencies or councils of government for areawide solutions to minority housing problems. Since 1963, localities preparing CRP's have been responsible for including an affirmative program to meet minority housing needs and to eliminate discriminatory barriers

obstructing open access to housing within their own jurisdiction. The new requirements call for more specific scheduling of this program and for the following additional action:

> To the extent possible, where the applicant is within an urbanized or metropolitan area, the "Affirmative Program" should include measures to enlist the aid of neighboring and nearby communities and urbanized areas in taking measures to insure equal opportunity in housing and in assuming the responsibility of providing low-and-moderate income housing units.
>
> Where metropolitan planning agencies or Councils of Governments (COG's) exist, the CRP applicant should utilize all possible means and measures to seek these agencies' assistance in dealing not only with traditional physical planning elements (e.g. land use, zoning, transportation, and capital programming) but also in effectively treating on a metropolitan regional basis equally important planning and development matters in the area of income and racial stratification between central core cities and surrounding suburban regions. Steps possible ... include: multilateral negotiations within COG's and metropolitan planning bodies; efforts to include low-income and open-housing elements in metropolitan plans; and, where the board or council governing these metropolitan agencies does not adequately represent the concerns of the CRP applicant for equal housing opportunity and the provision of low-income housing, appropriate steps should be considered by the locality to seek revision of the basic organization and representational structure of the metropolitan body.[17]

These requirements appear to offer valuable precedents that could be applied to programs operating in the suburbs or programs operating on a metropolitan-wide basis, including those of other agencies as well as the Department of Housing and Urban Development. How effective they have been in practice is uncertain, however. There has been sufficient experience with the Workable Program requirement dealing with minority housing and with the 1963

CRP requirement for an affirmative minority housing program so that a careful evaluation of the results should now be undertaken. Case studies in the field could help determine the extent to which these federal requirements have been met and have actually influenced local decisions and the use of subsequent federal grants.

Although an evaluation study may suggest ways of strengthening these requirements or improving their administration, a first step can be taken to bring other programs in line with the basic policies that have already been set forth. In particular, specific provisions dealing with minority group needs should be added to federal requirements in connection with aid for metropolitan planning (including metropolitan transportation planning), urban mass transportation, water and sewer facilities, open space, health facilities, supplementary education centers and services, and special grants to assist in planned metropolitan development. These requirements might work in two separate directions. First, program requirements could help assure that the activity receiving aid gives sufficient attention to the needs of low-income and minority groups in the community. Thus a locality applying for mass transportation or health facilities aid would have to show that it is meeting the transportation or health needs of its low-income citizens through its specific project proposal or through other services to be made available. Requirements applying to the specific activity for which aid is sought would help assure adequate services for the poor, but they would not contribute directly to desegregation of housing or schools.

A second approach, more relevant to desegregation, would emphasize participation in areawide plans to expand housing opportunities for minority groups. Most major federal-aid programs for community development already incorporate certain areawide planning requirements. Water and sewer, mass transportation, and open space grants administered by the Department of Housing

and Urban Development all have similar provisions to the effect that each aided project must be consistent with areawide plans for the specific function that is to be assisted, and that these functional plans in turn are to be part of long-range, areawide comprehensive planning. In a typical program guide, comprehensive planning is defined as follows:

> Comprehensive areawide planning is a systematic and continuing process designed to help solve current problems and provide for future needs. It includes the identification and continuous refinement of objectives and criteria; collection and analysis of pertinent data; consideration of alternative courses of action; coordination of local plans and of programs and activities affecting the development of the area; formulation, maintenance and updating of a comprehensive development plan; and improvement programming and other measures to implement the plan. Comprehensive planning covers land use, transportation, water and sewers, open space and recreation, housing, health and education facilities, community development and renewal, and other aspects of physical, economic and social development of significance to the particular urban area.[18]

Housing and schools are specifically included in this definition, but the planning guide says nothing about equal opportunity or desegregation as a necessary or desirable goal of such planning. The question of goals is left to local decisions: "comprehensive planning is conceived and carried out to attain urban area goals and objectives under the policy direction of local elected officials."[19]

The federal position with respect to these grant programs is clearly at variance with the new Community Renewal Program regulations cited earlier. Communities receiving federal aid for CRP's are required to press for areawide planning action to meet the housing needs of minority groups, but communities

receiving other aids are under no such obligation. In the case of the CRP, communities are expected to comply with national goals of equal opportunity in housing. In the other programs, HUD encourages localities to set their own goals. Thus areawide planning councils can expect to face requests for action on minority housing coming from central cities working on CRP's, but other member communities will be under no pressure from HUD to respond. In fact, suburban communities can continue to receive their federal aid for other programs while ignoring HUD-prompted requests from CRP participants. Further, much of the planning undertaken by areawide councils is itself funded under HUD planning grants: these grants do not require attention to minority housing needs and thus fail to reinforce the message given in the Community Renewal Program.

Federal programs could strengthen opportunities for desegregation by redefining comprehensive planning requirements to include an affirmative program to give minority groups equal access to housing, education, and other public services. Communities receiving federal grants and the specific federal-aid projects themselves should be expected to contribute to this program. Thus water and sewer projects should be part of a utility system that serves new low-income housing; and mass transportation grants should support systems that provide needed service for minority groups, such as lines to suburban areas of low-income housing or lines linking ghettos to outlying job centers. A number of grants under these programs do in fact serve such needs; but there is nothing in the program requirements to encourage communities to plan with these purposes in mind.

Grants for supplementary education centers and services (Title III) and for hospital and medical facilities also involve certain areawide considerations which could be expanded. The manual for educational project applicants under Title III notes that this program is particularly concerned with planning for metropolitan areas, and that all projects must be considered in reference to

"the geographic distribution of the population within the State; the relative need of persons in different geographic areas and in different population groups within the State; the financial ability of communities or areas to provide the proposed services and activities; the relative ability of the local educational agencies within the State to provide those services and activities."[20] Grants for medical facilities are reviewed in the light of statewide and in some cases metropolitan area health plans, which also take into account the distribution of population and health needs. These considerations are not as broad as the comprehensive planning requirements of HUD programs, but they do raise issues of the distribution of disadvantaged population groups and of relative fiscal capacity of communities, which in turn reflects the proportion of low-income people living there.

The federal government could give stronger support to metropolitan desegregation by extending these considerations to reward communities that take action to admit low-income groups or to include them in proposed programs. Program requirements could be restated to indicate that priority will be given to communities which provide housing or public services for disadvantaged groups, either in the activity for which federal aid is sought or in other community development activities. This requirement could be met in a number of ways, including building low-income housing, taking part in metropolitan school exchanges of disadvantaged children, or providing facilities which serve significant numbers of low-income people including those outside the community as well as those within it. The U. S. Conference of Mayors has recently urged a similar federal policy to open the suburbs to low-income housing. A resolution adopted at the mayors' 1966 conference calls on Congress to make all federal grants for water and sewer systems, open space, and other community facilities contingent upon a local agreement to provide a "reasonable share" of the low- and middle-income housing in the area.[21]

These proposals would operate through federal requirements attached to specific aid programs. Other federal measures to encourage metropolitan-wide cooperation in support of desegregation will be considered in the last section of this paper, dealing with incentives for joint use of federal programs by several communities and with arrangements for metropolitan planning and coordination.

Fair Housing Laws

Much of the above discussion has centered on federal incentives to make low-income housing available on a metropolitan basis, and thus to offer improved opportunities for residential and school desegregation. Although present patterns of segregation are related very closely to the economic inability of most Negro families to afford the cost of suburban housing, another significant problem is discrimination that prevents Negroes from buying or renting suburban housing that they can afford. If income and housing cost were the sole causes of racial segregation, Negroes would be much more widely dispersed throughout metropolitan areas than they are today.

Thus another important approach to desegregation is to give minority groups equal access to housing available at market prices. Various measures have been taken to prevent discrimination in the sale or rental of housing, but both the legal framework and enforcement procedures are far from adequate. Twenty-one states now have some form of open-occupancy law, but these vary widely in their coverage. Some apply only to publicly aided housing; several exempt owner-occupied single-family houses and rental units in small structures. The absence of a federal fair housing law is a serious gap in this legal framework. President Kennedy's Executive Order, "Equal Opportunity in Housing," applies only to housing built with federal aid or financed with the aid of federal mortgage insurance: this housing currently amounts to less than 20

percent of new housing starts.

Although the subject of state action is beyond the scope of this paper, it is worth noting that most state enforcement procedures rely primarily on individual complaints as a basis for action and fail to make a systematic attack on patterns of discrimination practiced by real estate brokers and mortgage lending institutions.[22] The federal government has begun to institute joint procedures with the states to apply state fair housing laws to federal programs, but primary responsibility for enforcement of these laws rests with the states themselves.

Further federal action to assure equal opportunity in housing should involve both wider coverage of the market and more effective enforcement even for the portion now covered by the Executive Order. For the time being, a national fair housing law has been blocked by Congressional opposition to the administration's proposed Title IV of the 1967 Civil Rights Bill. Broader coverage may be possible, however, through more effective use of the Executive Order. First, it may be possible to extend the Order beyond FHA and VA assisted housing to cover housing that is conventionally financed by federally supervised lenders. If it is determined that sufficient legal authority exists to accomplish this extension, it should be done. Secondly, the Order has been limited by regulation so as not to apply to one- and two-family owner-occupied homes. This means that once the FHA-aided builder sells a house, the owner-occupant is free to discriminate on resale. This exemption should be removed. Thirdly, no effective action has been taken to assure equal access to housing provided through pre-Executive Order FHA assistance. This affects a particularly strategic part of the housing stock: from 1935 through 1961, FHA insured 5½ million housing units, many of which will be coming on the market at prices or rents well within the reach of large numbers of Negro families. Although many of the early mortgages have now been amortized or the FHA insurance terminated, about half the FHA insurance ever written still remains in force. For example, there are more than 300,000 pre-Order FHA multi-family units still receiving FHA assistance. The housing covered by this insurance could offer unparalleled opportunities for Negroes to improve their living conditions and to choose new places to live. Requirements should be imposed to assure equal access to this housing.

Some older FHA-insured housing has come under the provisions of the Executive Order: houses repossessed by FHA for subsequent resale. This housing is

typically sold through real estate brokers who give assurances that they will show them on a nondiscriminatory basis. Fair housing groups in Philadelphia and Kansas City have recently investigated the sales procedures of these brokers, and found discrimination against Negroes in the resale of these properties for FHA.[23]

In the case of newly built housing aided by FHA, implementation of the Executive Order depends mainly upon individual complaints. Complaint procedures put the burden of responsibility on the family that wants a home; this method provides only spotty efforts to secure compliance, since the victim of discrimination often lacks the evidence, time, or disposition to become involved in pressing his case with FHA. The federal government should assign sufficient staff to test the sales policies of developers and brokers who receive FHA aid and should launch its own investigations without waiting for complaints. The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing has suggested further that builders of FHA-insured housing should be required to file regular and detailed reports of occupancy by race; and that FHA should let Negroes know about available housing by, for example, requiring FHA-insured builders to mention federal fair housing regulations in their advertising.[24]

Thus federal action in support of desegregation should not be limited to strategies focusing on the price of housing; discrimination rather than price is often the problem, and the federal role has so far been very limited in equalizing access to the metropolitan housing market.

Low-Income Housing for the Suburbs

Current federal low-income housing programs will contribute little to metropolitan desegregation. They produce only a small amount of new housing, and they are used mainly in the core cities.

Taken together, federal low-income housing, moderate-income projects (under section 221(d)(3)), and housing for the elderly are now producing about 50,000 new units a year. The rent supplement program will reduce rents for low-income families living in new moderate-income developments, most of which are included in the above total. Through January, 1967, contracts had been allocated for 18,000 families to receive rent supplements. These volumes of housing are small in comparison with total national housing starts of about 1.5 million per year and with the 4 million urban families estimated to be living in substandard housing in the mid-1960's.

The major housing subsidy programs - low- and moderate-income housing and rent supplements - all require some form of local government approval, which has been forthcoming mainly in the central cities and in other communities where there are already substantial numbers of low-income residents. Low-income public housing must be sponsored by a public housing authority established by the local government. Congress has stipulated that 221(d)(3) housing and rent supplements can be used only in communities that have prepared a "workable program" - a series of local ordinances, plans, and administrative arrangements that are otherwise required for urban renewal grants and certain additional federal aids. Suburbs that have no need of urban renewal are unlikely to have prepared a workable program, and of course can prevent private groups from developing moderate-income and rent supplement housing simply by not preparing one.

To make these housing aids applicable to suburban use, a first step would be to remove the workable program requirement. Then the initiative would rest with private or non-profit developers who could apply to FHA directly for 221(d)(3) mortgage aid and for rent supplements without securing local government approval, as is the case with other FHA programs. To make this housing more welcome in the suburbs, the federal government might authorize additional public service grants so that new low-income families would not add

to local tax burdens. Precedents exist in the education grants that the federal government now makes to assist local governments in "impacted areas" where military or other federal personnel add substantially to local government costs.

Another approach would involve authorizing the use of rent supplements in existing housing rather than limiting their use to new projects built under FHA mortgage programs. If rent supplements were available to low-income families for use anywhere in the metropolitan area, these families could choose housing wherever vacancies are available in a moderate price range. This approach would have to be used with care, however, for if the vacancy reserve is very small the net result could be to inflate housing costs without adding to the supply.

Another promising direction would be to make greater use of suburban housing in managing the relocation of people displaced by public action in the central cities. A large number of families are displaced every year by urban renewal, highway construction, and housing code enforcement in urban areas: by the late 1960's, it is estimated that the number will approach 100,000 families a year. Relocation procedures vary from one program to another, but HUD-aided programs have now come under a single set of regulations and the federal government has been moving gradually toward standardization of other programs as well. Negroes constitute a very high proportion of all displaced families - the majority in the case of urban renewal. Thus relocation does offer significant opportunities for desegregation. Current HUD regulations require local relocation agencies to list only open-occupancy housing and to work only with brokers who will deal with all displacees on a nondiscriminatory basis.

Nevertheless, most relocation staffs search for housing only within their own community rather than in the metropolitan area at large. Obvious political difficulties forestall one-sided action by a central city to rehouse its

displacees in a neighboring suburb, even if suitable vacancies could be found there. Federal policy could encourage metropolitan relocation, however, by means of financial incentives for the receiving community. These might take the form of the public service payments suggested above; or cooperation in relocation planning might earn a community high priority for its own federal aid with community development projects, as suggested earlier in this paper. HUD relocation procedures now permit certain relocation aids to be given outside the displacing community. In particular, a one-year relocation adjustment payment to help people afford higher rent in their new housing - a limited rent supplement, in effect - is authorized when a family moves outside the locality as well as within it. But there are no federal incentives to encourage metropolitan cooperation on relocation.

Metropolitan Cooperation

A federal stance of allowing joint local action but not encouraging it is typical of urban aid programs. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 permits two or more local educational agencies to carry out programs jointly under Titles I and III; HEW grants for hospital and medical facilities and most HUD grant programs allow considerable flexibility for participation by more than a single community. Many of these programs do, however, encourage or require metropolitan planning as a background for local projects, as noted earlier.

To facilitate desegregation, however, central city-suburban cooperation in actual program operation would be highly desirable. In most large urban areas, Negro concentration in central cities limits opportunities for desegregation within the cities alone. Cooperation on programs of housing and education could be one significant way out of the restrictions imposed by demography and local boundaries. Extra incentive grants for joint central city-suburban sponsorship of education, housing, and renewal programs could conceivably interest the

suburbs in shared activities.

This proposal is especially relevant to two of the newest urban programs, model cities and grants for planned metropolitan development, both authorized in the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966. The history of this legislation, however, illustrates well the obstacles to stronger federal action in support of desegregation at this time. The original administration proposal for this bill contained an explicit provision for desegregation in the model cities program. It would have required the Secretary of HUD, in determining the eligibility of proposed city programs, to "give maximum consideration to whether ... the program will encourage good community relations and counteract the segregation of housing by race or income." Congress deleted this requirement from the final bill, although it did retain a related provision that each program "will contribute to ... maximum opportunities in the choice of housing accommodations for all citizens of all income levels." In addition, Congress amended the administration bill to prevent the Secretary from requiring transfers of students between schools in the model cities neighborhood and schools in the rest of the city as a condition of aid. A similar amendment to Title II, dealing with special grants for planned metropolitan development, forbids the Secretary from requiring communities to participate in school plans to eliminate racial imbalance in the metropolitan area as a condition of aid.

The intent of these amendments seems clear: to tie the hands of the federal program administrators and to serve notice of Congressional opposition to any effort to use these programs to encourage metropolitan desegregation. In the model cities program, limited desegregation may be possible if central cities take advantage of the policy that permits the areas covered by the program to be discontinuous. By choosing a main area within an existing ghetto and a subsidiary area for new low-cost housing in another part of the city, a

community could offer some opportunities for wider residential choice. Possibilities for desegregation would be much improved if a central city and one or more suburbs were to join together in a model city program. Although the legislation permits joint sponsorship, the proposals submitted to HUD in the first year of operation have all been for single-city projects.

The new program of grants for planned metropolitan development, authorized in 1966 but not yet funded, is an example of the use of financial incentives to strengthen metropolitan cooperation. It offers extra federal contributions to reduce the usual local share of federal-aid projects for building hospitals, libraries, airports, water and sewer facilities, highways, mass transit lines, and other public works in communities that participate in effective metropolitan development programs. The metropolitan area in which the project is located must have comprehensive planning under way with adequate institutional arrangements for coordinating local activities on the basis of this planning, and the individual locality must conform to the plan in its own land use regulations, public facilities, and other development policies.

This legislation does offer a realistic way to strengthen metropolitan cooperation beyond the areawide planning called for in individual program requirements. Even with adequate funding, however, its impact on housing and school desegregation will probably be slight. Although it requires substantial metropolitan coordination of development policies, nothing in the law or in other HUD statements on metropolitan planning directs attention to areawide low-income housing or opportunities for desegregation as a goal of such planning. The emphasis in this bill is more on advance planning of public works than on areawide solutions to social problems. Further, Congress specifically prevents the Secretary of HUD from requiring attention to racial imbalance in the schools as a component of required metropolitan planning. Where metropolitan planning councils do choose to draw up areawide programs for low-income housing, however,

the law provides a way of rewarding local compliance: communities receiving the special grants must demonstrate that their zoning and other development controls are in accord with metropolitan plans.

A number of legislative changes would be needed before this program could contribute directly to school desegregation: the present restriction against programs to improve racial balance would have to be removed, and metropolitan planning would have to be defined to include measures to provide equal opportunity in housing on a metropolitan basis. Local applicants could then demonstrate their active participation in metropolitan planning by such means as sponsoring low-income housing, joining central city-suburban school programs, or cooperating with other communities in relocation planning. Within this new framework, federal aid for supplementary education centers could logically be added to the programs for which incentive grants will be available.

As a strategy to promote metropolitan cooperation, the supplementary program attempts to reward local governments that take part in substantial metropolitan planning, enter into areawide coordination arrangements, and align their own local development policies with areawide plans. A different approach to areawide cooperation has also been evolving as federal policy, relying on requirements rather than incentives and focusing on specific project proposals rather than overall local development policies. This approach began with Congressional adoption of program-by-program requirements that federal grants for highways, mass transportation, water and sewer facilities, and open space projects in urban areas must be consistent with areawide comprehensive development plans. Title II of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 extended this approach by requiring metropolitan review of proposed federal-aid projects under most of the major urban development programs, including those for hospitals, airports, transportation, land conservation, and water and sewer facilities.

The new requirements call for an official metropolitan planning agency to review federal-aid proposals and advise the federal administrators on the extent to which each project is consistent with comprehensive development plans for the area. This review is advisory only and does not constitute veto power over local proposals, but it does promise to strengthen metropolitan planning by linking it to the flow of federal aid for local projects.

Although this evolving structure for metropolitan planning and review has received widespread bipartisan support, it has come under occasional attack from the right for intruding on the privileges of local government and for compelling suburbs and central cities to consult with one another. More recently, it has been the subject of another kind of attack, alleging that the new metropolitan apparatus is a threat to growing Negro strength in the central cities. Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward have argued that under these review procedures, "The metro agency will be the control point in an all-embracing bureaucratic system"; that these agencies will be dominated by suburban and inner-city white interests; and that "As blacks rise to power in the city, the city will lose power to the metropolis."[26]

This argument vastly overstates the present and potential power of metropolitan planning agencies. The agencies that exist today in most metropolitan areas have been established solely as advisory groups authorized to prepare studies and plans, offer information and technical advice to local governments, and serve as a regional forum for discussion and consultation. Most councils consist of representatives of local governments in the area, sometimes with additional representatives of the state and at-large members; the councils typically hire a small staff to conduct technical studies and develop plans. They tend to operate by consensus, since they have no power other than the power of persuasion to influence local government decisions.

The planning councils will become more important as they take on review

functions for federal aid programs, but their future evolution can provide opportunities as well as dangers for Negroes in the core cities. Core city residents will want access to suburban job centers, to regional service facilities that will locate in the suburbs, and to suburban housing markets. Metropolitan planning can serve as a forum for bargaining to secure these interests when federal-aid programs are drawn up for transportation, education, public facilities, and housing.

That there will be conflicts of interest over future federal-aid programs is also clear, but it is unlikely that metropolitan planning councils will ever have real control over the flow of federal aid. As long as central cities contain large blocs of voters and generate major demands for federal-aid programs, their wishes will not be ignored in Washington, even when they cannot come to terms with their suburban neighbors on planning councils. As traditional HUD constituents, big-city mayors may well be able to take positions of leadership within metropolitan councils and make use of their bargaining power to influence suburban policies. The dangers that Piven and Cloward suggest seem remote. If the metropolitan councils begin to function as formal centers of policymaking, these dangers can probably be forestalled by timely central-city pressure for voting rules based on population rather than equal votes for all member communities.

In short, there will be a need for some mechanism that will allow negotiation between central cities and suburbs on policies of common interest. Recent federal policies have helped create such a mechanism, which can be useful in serving central city as well as suburban interests. Groups that are concerned with opportunities for desegregation in schools and housing should welcome the development of areawide planning councils which will provide channels for joint action and policymaking. The present councils, however, are still weak and could be pushed in any of several directions including some that would reinforce the fears of Piven and Cloward. Federal influence and local pressure should be brought to bear on the activity of these councils to insure that they broaden

their focus to include programs for equal opportunity in education and housing, and that they give adequate representation to the disadvantaged residents of the core cities.

A Note on Feasibility and Urgency

The proposals in this paper do not suggest radical reorganization of federal urban programs or a federal takeover of local responsibilities. Instead they represent further steps in the evolution of federal policy to deal with critical national problems. Nevertheless it will be argued that these steps are not feasible, that the temper of Congress and the mood of public opinion will not allow more vigorous federal action toward equal opportunity in housing and education at this time. Some will contend that requiring urban planning and development programs to deal with low-income housing and desegregation on a metropolitan basis will lead many suburbs to withdraw from metropolitan planning councils and to stop using federal programs. Those who support a go-slow strategy will maintain that present programs and institutions need time to become established before they can deal with divisive social problems.

As to feasibility, many steps suggested here would not require immediate Congressional action but could be taken by executive and administrative decisions. Those that call for Congressional approval in general follow precedents established in other legislation. Only a few suggestions amount to reversals of prior Congressional action. Although it is possible that some communities will withdraw from federal programs rather than accept new requirements, a much more likely response, where there is resistance, will be to go through the motions of compliance without real commitment. A period of testing new regulations would probably ensue, in which the skill and flexibility of program administrators will have much to do with the outcome.

Concern over whether dealing with divisive issues will shatter fragile urban programs and institutions seems misplaced. Allowing more time for existing planning councils and development programs to mature may well mean solidifying operations that deal with problems of the past, not of the present or future. The problems of racial inequality are pressing. We are running out of time for peaceful solutions. Even the proposals in this paper, which will be controversial, cannot promise early results on a large scale. But they can open new channels to relieve forced segregation, and they can demonstrate that we are determined to build cities and suburbs for equal opportunity.

Notes

1. U. S. Congress, Senate Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization of the Committee on Government Operations, Hearings, Federal Role in Urban Affairs, 89th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1966, Part 1, p. 179.

2. See Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Metropolitan Social and Economic Disparities: Implications for Intergovernmental Relations in Central Cities and Suburbs (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1965), pp. 27-29.

3. U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 26-28.

4. Ibid., p. 13; U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, Series P-20, No. 163, "Population of the United States by Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Residence: April 1966 and 1960," March 27, 1967.

5. Ibid.

6. U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, op. cit. and Appendices: Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967).

7. U. S. Executive Office of the President, Executive Order 11063, "Equal Opportunity in Housing," November 20, 1962.

8. U. S. Congress, House, Message from the President of the United States Relative to the Problems and Future of the Central City and its Suburbs, 89th Cong., 1st Sess., Document No. 99, March 2, 1965.

9. U. S. Congress, House, Message from the President of the United States Transmitting Recommendations for City Demonstration Programs, 89th Cong., 2nd Sess., Document No. 368, January 26, 1966.

10. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Tax Overlapping in the United States: 1964 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1964), p. 36.

11. Ibid., p. 40.

12. U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, pp. 29-30.

13. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, The Role of Equalization in Federal Grants (Washington: ACIR, 1964), p. 42.

14. U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Low-Rent Housing Manual, Section 205.1, para. 4(g), p. 7, February 28, 1967.

15. U. S. Housing and Home Finance Agency, Workable Program for Community Improvement (Washington: HHFA, February 1962), p. 39.

16. Ibid.

17. U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Local Public Agency Letter No. 276, Supplement No. 1, July 5, 1967.

18. U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, "Water and Sewer Facilities Planning Requirements Guide," January 31, 1966, p. 4.

19. Ibid., p. 1.

20. U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, "Title III Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965: A Manual for Project Applicants and Grantees," May, 1967, p. 3.

21. "U. S. Told Suburbs Must Help Cities," New York Times, June 16, 1966, p. 1.

22. See, for example, "The Right to Equal Treatment: Administrative Enforcement of Antidiscrimination Legislation," Harvard Law Review, LXXIV (January, 1961), 526-589.

23. Richard and Diane Margolis, How the Federal Government Builds Ghettos (New York: National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 1967), p. 27.

24. Ibid., pp. 9-10, 28-29.

25. Bernard J. Frieden, Metropolitan America: Challenge to Federalism (Washington: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, 1966), pp. 61-63.

26. Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, "Black Control of Cities: Heading It Off by Metropolitan Government," The New Republic, September 30, 1967, pp. 19-21; and "Black Control of Cities - II: How the Negroes Will Lose," The New Republic, October 7, 1967, pp. 15-19.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Prepared by
Spurgeon Avakian*, Judge of the Superior Court of Alameda County
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

It must be apparent by the year 1967 that school desegregation in the United States requires more than court decisions, Federal monetary inducements, demonstrations, magazine articles, and parlor discussions. The effective decisions must be made by local school boards, and in any particular community the effective means are those which result in the school board taking the appropriate action.

In other words, the problem cannot be solved by applying one particular formula or by following the approach which was used successfully in some other community. Rather, given the independence which each community in our country enjoys over school matters, what

---

* Member, Berkeley Board of Education, 1959-64; President in 1961-62.

is needed is a surge of local leadership which pushes and pulls the school administration, reluctant or timid school board members, and the community in the right direction.

Perhaps it is not too far-fetched an analogy to think of fighting one's way through an uncharted swamp filled with tangled growth. You must explore to find where paths can be opened up, and back away from those areas which are impenetrable until you ultimately work your way through. In such a situation the particular path you are taking is not as important as the direction in which you are facing and the fact that you are making some progress.

With that preliminary observation, we can take a look at what has been happening in Berkeley during the last few years, not as a blueprint for action elsewhere, but rather as evidence that dedication and hard work can change City Hall.

Actually, in an absolute sense, Berkeley has not accomplished very much. Compared to most other communities, it is a bit ahead, but more in the sense of identifying its problems than of having found sure answers and clear-cut solutions. Nevertheless, Berkeley is worth examining, because what happened there can be encouraging to those who might feel the odds are insurmountable in their own communities.

Berkeley is a city of around 100,000 regular residents plus about 27,500 college students. It is located across the Bay from San Francisco and is a part of a physically continuous commercial, industrial and residential area of well over a million

population. It is noted around the world as the seat of the University of California, and around the country, in addition, for its militant student activists. What most people don't realize is that Berkeley is a microcosm of the United States -- not in the sense that it precisely and proportionately represents the whole country, but in the sense that within its city limits it has a substantial portion of almost every ingredient in that social and economic stew which constitutes our nation. It has some very poor people and some very wealthy ones, with a predominance of upper middle income earners. It has flat land, with relatively inexpensive housing and families living on low income or welfare, and hills rising almost to two thousand feet and covered with beautiful, expensive homes. The University is its biggest payroll -- about one hundred million dollars per year -- but it also has some light industry. The intellectual flavor provided by the University faculty is supplemented by a substantial number of successful professional and business people with a real capacity for leadership, which they exercise during the day in San Francisco, Oakland, and the industrial cities of Richmond and Emeryville.

Berkeley has many active political liberals, as well as dedicated conservatives, and one of the strongest John Birch Society chapters in Northern California. The one local daily newspaper has long reflected a conservative philosophy in its editorial policy and news columns. There are enough labor union members to make labor a

significant element in community politics.

About 40% of the school population is Negro (compared with 5% in 1940), and another 10% is made up of other identifiable minority groups (most Oriental, with some Mexican-American).

For many years there was a very decided cleavage in Berkeley, pretty much along town and gown lines. The University tended to be withdrawn and isolated, and the city government (including the school system) was pretty much dominated by what often is referred to as the Shattuck Avenue group (Shattuck Avenue is the main commercial district of the city).

To illustrate the basic orientation that prevailed in Berkeley for many years and how it began to shift, let me relate a series of events which began in 1956. The California State Constitution places a maximum on the tax rate which a local school board may levy to raise money for operating expenses. It can be increased only by vote of the citizens in the school district, by a specific proposal on the ballot. The maximum then was two dollars per one hundred dollars assessed evaluation. The Berkeley school district for many years had been operating on a basis which gave a high priority to holding down the cost of education. The teachers were unhappy because their salaries were significantly below that of other districts in the area, but the Board of Education and the Superintendent said they were helpless; they had no money and couldn't increase the tax rate. More to the point, the Board refused to place a tax increase proposal on the ballot.

Teachers and supporting parents were able, by initiative petition, to get a proposal to increase the school tax rates by fifty cents on the ballot in the 1956 election. Notwithstanding the opposition of the School Board and the Superintendent, the tax increase was approved by the voters. The organization which had been forged in support of this proposal -- perhaps just because of Parkinson's law, but more probably from higher motivation -- decided it was going on, to change the Board of Education. The next time there was a Board election (Board members in Berkeley and most of California are elected by direct vote), they pulled a tremendous upset, unseating the one member who was up for re-election by almost a two to one vote. The man who defeated him, Dr. Paul Sanazaro, in the opinion of Berkeley liberals, has no superior as a Board Member anywhere in the country. He had led his class both as an undergraduate and as a Medical School student at the University of California, was a top faculty man at the Medical School, and possessed a keen, brilliant, analytical mind and the ability to articulate profound matters in clear language. He was able to focus the attention of the community on issues in such a way that there was tremendous stimulation to the community to do more.

In successive elections, over a period of several years, there was an almost complete change in the complexion of the Board. The change was reflected in many different ways: for example, the emphasis was shifted from how little could be spent on schools to

how much represented a good investment for society and its future citizens. The approach on teachers' salaries was not in terms of how low an increase could be negotiated, but how rapidly the Board could move to having the most attractive salary schedule in the area. Teachers were encouraged to join teachers' organizations, and assurance was given that every employee organization (teachers and otherwise) would be given immediate recognition by the Board, and would have representation on the advisory committee which formulated the budget. The old policy rested on deliberately having a high teacher turnover--by hiring graduate students' wives, knowing that a good percentage of them would move away when their husbands got their degrees, making way for more beginning teachers, and thus keeping a high proportion of teachers in a low salary bracket. This policy was reversed in favor of trying to hire good teachers who would make a career of teaching in Berkeley. "Pay-to-stay" was one of the slogans coined to support higher salaries.

In 1958 a citizens' committee was appointed to study the problems of education in a multi-racial school system. The next year the committee submitted a report which would be regarded as quite passe in 1967, but in 1959 it was rather startling. Just about all of that committee's recommendations were formally adopted by the Board within a few months. One of them inaugurated an intergroup training project for teachers. It was entirely voluntary, but teachers participated with a very high degree of interest. Funds were made avail-

able by a private foundation to provide leadership for this project.

The attitude on teacher freedom also changed rather drastically. In the early 1950's, one of the biggest controversies ever to hit Berkeley arose over whether Paul Robeson should be permitted to sing at the Community Theatre, which was under the jurisdiction of the school district. By a 3 to 2 vote of the School Board--and that School Board was predominantly conservative by any standard--Robeson was allowed to sing. Three members felt that the political views of an accomplished singer were no proper basis for denying him permission to sing--a decision, incidentally, clearly required by the law. In the bitter aftermath of that decision those three board members were all replaced on the Board. One of them, who happened to be the treasurer of the local Republican Club, was opposed by a former University of California all-American football player, whose campaign workers urged the voters to "Replace an un-American with an all-American".

This attitude, that the children had to be protected from contamination by dangerous ideas, was completely reversed during the early 60's. Great emphasis was put on teacher freedom, not solely in the sense of defending teachers' rights but also in terms of the positive value of exposing youngsters to all points of view and teaching them to evaluate ideas for their intrinsic value. In the words of Dr. Clark Kerr, who was then President of the University of California, the purpose of education was not to make ideas safe for students, but to make students safe for ideas.

In 1960, a non-discriminatory policy of hiring, placing, and promoting teachers was adopted, after public acknowledgment that the prior Board and Superintendent had "secretly" been following a policy of placing Negro teachers only in schools with a substantial Negro enrollment. Not surprisingly, the schools in the flatlands of Berkeley were predominantly Negro, while the hill area schools were almost entirely white. For many years, teachers associated the hill schools with prestige, and often referred to the flatlands as the "Siberia" to which troublemakers were likely to be transferred.

But in the early 1960's, a growing awareness that the toughest problems in education related to de facto segregation,coupled with the concern of the Board and the Superintendent for interracial problems, led to a desire on the part of many of the more able teachers to work in the flatlands. Many of the experiments and innovations (such as elementary algebra in the third and fourth grades, and--would you believe--physics in the first grade), were created by teams in the flatlands; and some of the hill-dwelling parents began to grumble that theirs were the educationally deprived children.

The community saw that dedicated teachers, eager and encouraged to work on problems, were an essential part of the solution.

Then, during this hectic period, in addition to the election of School Board members every two years, there were seven school tax elections in 3 1/2 years (1959-1962). Two of these involved an

increase in the tax rate for current operations; the first one failed, the second passed. The other five were intended to fund a ten million dollar bond issue for urgently needed school buildings. The California Constitution requires a two-thirds vote of the electorate for a school bond issue. Four times there was frustrating failure, with the "yes" vote running 66 1/3%, 61.5%, 66% and 65.5%. On the fifth try, the vote was 67% -- very little difference, except that it was the difference between winning and losing.

All of these tax elections -- one every six months for 3½ years -- generated a lot of interest and embroiled the community in much controversy, because in every election the opposition challenged the philosophy and program of the school district, as well as the quality and patriotism of its teachers. The elections played a significant role in the evolution of Berkeley's approach to interracial problems, because of the total community involvement. They involved a high degree of participation by parents of school children -- particularly the mothers, who kept physically fit as well as intellectually stimulated by ringing doorbells endlessly. (Throughout the San Francisco Bay Area, many people who disapprove of what has been happening in Berkeley ruefully say, "Protect me from those marching mothers in Berkeley".)

The Board also believed in involving citizens directly in the effort to identify school problems and search for solutions. It appointed a citizens' committee to prepare a statement on educational policy for the district. Perhaps any educator could write a

pretty good statement of educational policy on equal opportunity in a day, and any good Board member could do so in a few days. It took a citizens' committee about a year and a half in Berkeley. The Board knew this would happen, because it had appointed a committee truly representative of the divergent views in the city. There was bound to be a lot of intellectual friction. But in the process many views were modified, and respect was generated not only for people of different views but, in addition, for the processes by which policy was formulated. This approach required a deep faith in democracy, and happily it was justified, because that citizen's committee proposed a good draft of an educational policy statement. It was reviewed by a staff committee and was revised by the Board before adoption but it represented a tremendously good expression from the grass roots of the community.

In late 1962 the Board appointed another citizens' committee to study the problems of *de facto* school segregation in Berkeley. This committee submitted its report in November of 1963, and the next ten months in Berkeley can be described only as total ferment. The committee agreed unanimously that *de facto* segregation was disadvantageous to education, and was pretty close to unanimous on its specific recommendations.

The local newspaper agreed to print the lengthy report in full and, in addition, 15,000 copies wereprinted for separate distribution throughout the city. They were placed in all the schools,

distributed to all the PTA units, set out in all the public libraries, and so on. All of the PTA's studied the matter and held extensive meetings. Ad hoc groups began to organize to study the report or to attack one side or the other. The Board's first public hearing on the report was attended by 1,200 citizens, the second by over 2,000.

The Board decided to concentrate initially at the junior high school level. Berkeley had three junior high schools. Garfield Junior High School in north Berkeley was almost entirely Caucasian, an elite status school. In national achievement tests, over half the Garfield students ranked in the 96th percentile or better. Willard Junior High School was a desegregated school, serving an area in the southern section of the city which ran from the top of the Berkeley Hills to the flatlands of the Bay. Burbank Junior High School in west Berkeley was almost completely Negro.

During the time that the report was being circulated and discussed, one of the teachers at Burbank, Marjorie Ramsey, had become interested in whether junior high schools really were valid educationally in today's society, and had gathered a lot of literature which raised doubts as to the wisdom and placing ninth graders under the same roof with seventh and eighth graders. It occurred to her that a separate ninth grade school would not only achieve the benefits that she saw in eliminating the ninth grade from the junior high schools, but also would solve the problem of de facto segregation in Berkeley's junior high schools. She came forward with a proposal--

soon known as the Ramsey Plan -- that Burbank become a ninth grade school for the whole city, Garfield become a seventh and eighth grade school for northeast and northwest Berkeley, and Willard become a seventh and eighth grade for the southeastern and southwestern half of the city. The Board directed the staff in early 1964 to study and report on the educational feasibility of this proposal. The staff report was submitted in May, 1964, and on May 19 the Board adopted the Ramsey Plan, at a meeting attended by over 2,000 people. At that meeting, before the Board's decision was made, a speaker representing a newly-formed organization called Parents Association for Neighborhood Schools, commonly known as PANS, informed the public at large and the Board that if the Ramsey Plan were adopted, the Board would be faced with a recall.*

The PANS organization was true to its word. A bitter recall campaign was on, energetically pushed by the local newspaper and quietly backed by the Mayor.

On the day after the decision to adopt the Ramsey Plan the Berkeley Gazette had this front page headline:

SCHOOL BOARD RESHUFFLES
3 JUNIOR HIGH BOUNDARIES

There was a front page editorial entitled "IT'S TIME FOR A SHOWDOWN WITH THE SCHOOL BOARD". Here are three paragraphs:

---

* Recall is an innovation of the Western states, originally promoted in California, along with the initiative and the referendum, by progressives anxious to break the strangle-hold of certain major utilities on the State Legislature and local governments.

"The concern of the community--and our own concern--is to halt the flight from Berkeley of good citizens who are sick and tired of the namby-pamby decisions of the Board and to halt the flight, also, of students and teachers from Berkeley schools."

"This flight is not motivated by a fear of integration, or opposition to it; rather the flight arises from disgust with uncertainty, quibbling and the agitation of a "bleeding hearts" segment of our population which has grabbed control of the board of education, the school administration and the city council."

"The adoption of the Ramsey Plan for the junior high schools is the final straw."

For the next few weeks the front pages and the editorial columns of the Berkeley Gazette were full of agitation for recall of the Board. Recall petitions were circulated, and the requisite number of signatures was obtained by mid-summer. Politically, the Board was in trouble. Many of the University people were away, and they represented much of the Board's support. The lone newspaper was, to put it mildly, unfriendly.

The recall petitions falsely stated that the Board had made a decision to integrate not only the junior high schools but also the elementary schools. All of this was in very careful language which did not quite say so on literal reading but which certainly said so to the casual reader. The petitions suggested that with the start of school in September elementary children from kindergarten on up would be bused all around town. All this had to be overcome, and the thousands of dedicated supporters who had worked so hard in the many campaigns from 1959 to 1962 were well equipped to take the challenge. They organized as the Berkeley Friends of Better Schools, and in the period

of two months in which the recall petitions were being circulated, over 100 house meetings were held.

But more than this was needed. It would have been extremely difficult to win a special election held in the summer and publicized one-sidedly by an antagonistic newspaper. A delay was needed until after school started to get all of the troops back and to have more time to spread the truth around. More than anything else, the start of school _without_ the busing of kindergarten and elementary children would be the most effective answer to the false charges of the recall group. Fortunately, the recall provisions of the Berkeley City Charter were ambiguous in certain important respects and had to be resolved by Court action. Litigation commenced by supporters of the Board delayed the election until October.

The election resulted in a better than 60% vote for the incumbent School Board members. In retrospect, it was a good thing that this happened, but it was real torture for all of those involved while it was going on. It was a good thing because it provided an opportunity for education of the community. It forced the community to decide in a clear-cut fashion whether or not it was really willing to do anything about the problem.

There were collateral effects as well. In 1963 the Berkeley City Council had passed a Fair Housing Ordinance, and the opponents, by a referendum petition, had placed the ordinance on the ballot in the regular municipal election of April, 1963. It was defeated by

52 to 48% vote of the citizens of Berkeley. In a basic and realistic sense this was the same issue that the city faced a year and a half later in the School Board recall, and by that time the vote was better than 60% the other way. The month after the recall, in November of 1964, California had on its state-wide ballot an initiative constitutional amendment called Proposition Fourteen, which wrote into the Constitution the right of citizens to discriminate in housing in any way that they wanted.* State-wide that carried by a 2-1 vote, but in Berkeley, in November of 1964, Proposition Fourteen lost by a 65-35% vote. There had been that much change in the community attitude on the matter, largely as a result of the confrontation resulting from the Board's studies and action and the recall election.

The change in community attitudes during the past few years was not limited to educational issues. For several decades the City Council, like the School Board, had been dominated by a conservative majority, the division being mostly 7-2 or 6-3. More or less contemporaneously with the change in the School Board, the balance in the Council also shifted. The liberals achieved a 5-4 majority in 1961 and raised this to 6-3 in 1965. As a result, the City government also has begun working on the problems peculiar to multi-racial communities. This has helped to create a broadly-based atmosphere of constructive concern and healthy hopefulness throughout the City

---

* Proposition Fourteen was declared void, as violative of the Fourteenth Amendment, by the California Supreme Court in 1966 and by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1967.

in relation to all of its problems, and has served to minimize tensions which, in the immediately adjacent cities, have at times generated violence.

The abortive recall election did not mark the end of the Board's concern with de facto segregation. When the Ramsey Plan for integration of the junior high schools was adopted in May, 1964, the Board made a deliberate decision to lay aside any consideration of desegregation in the elementary schools for at least two years. This was received with some unhappiness by those who viewed segregation as an even graver evil in the elementary grades than at the junior high level; and the recall proponents considered it an evasive and deceptive action intended to lull the community into inaction.

The Board's decision was based on a number of solid reasons: (1) The Ramsey Plan presented a formidable task. To bring about a major change in the administrative structure, enrollment, and curriculum of the junior high grades, through the efforts of administrators and teachers already burdened with the full-time tasks of day-to-day classroom responsibilities, and confronted with hostile comments, complaints, and queries by large segments of the community, was enough of a job. Until it was well accomplished, any study of elementary desegregation would threaten failure in both areas. (2) The Ramsey Plan had to be accomplished in conjunction with demonstrable improvement in the quality of the educational program. The familiar complaint that integration will dilute the quality of education offered to high achievers had to be met and answered with results too good to be effectively

challenged . (3) "Progress" had to retain some connection with the community's sense of responsibility. The reaction to the Ramsey Plan in actual operation would greatly affect the public's view as to what should be done at the elementary level.

Despite insistent pressure from both sides, the Board Members refused to commit either themselves personally or future Board policy in either direction, but wisely insisted that future decisions would have to be based on the relevant factors as they might exist when the decisions were made.

Notwithstanding a number of problems, some anticipated and some not, the Ramsey Plan was put into effect smoothly and has been viewed, after two years of operation, with enthusiasm and support by the vast majority of teachers, administrators, pupils and parents. The best indicator is the overwhelming vote of confidence reflected in the public's approval by a wide margin of a whopping $1.50 increase in the school tax rate in June, 1966, at a time when almost every other section of the state was turning down school tax increases amounting to a small fraction of this amount.

In many respects, the 1964 recall election marked the beginning of a new era in the Berkeley schools.

For one thing, all of the controversy over the "new" programs and policies of the preceding few years was crystallized and put to rest by the clear-cut defeat of the recall. The community experienced a catharsis of sorts and stopped looking back.

For another, an almost new Board of Education took over, as a result of a highly unusual wave of "promotions" of Board members to positions requiring them to resign their Board positions.* By April, 1965, only one of the five Board members who a year earlier had persuaded Dr. Neil Sullivan to become Superintendent of Schools was still on the Board. The new members have infused the Board with fresh blood. They do not point to battle scars or decorative ribbons but instead are eager to earn their own credentials.

Most important, a new school administration took over in 1964, concurrently with the recall campaign. The former superintendent, who had energetically tackled the problems of segregation, had announced in 1963 that he planned to resign in 1964 to pursue further graduate studies. An intensive nationwide scouting mission led the Board to Dr. Neil V. Sullivan, who agreed in March, 1964, to take over the superintendency in September. Realistically, he served as the Board's chief consultant and advisor on major policy and personnel matters after March, and the decision to adopt the Ramsey Plan had his deeply-committed approval. A major administrative reorganization resulted in an almost completely new central administrative staff for Superintendent Sullivan -- a staff which is worth the envy of any major school district in the country.

---

* One of those vindicated in the October, 1964, recall election, Dr. Sherman J. Maisel, was appointed a Governor of the Federal Reserve Board by President Johnson a few months later.

The noteworthy events of the past two years range through many areas, including substantial salary increases for teachers, broadened educational programs, protection of classroom freedoms, and innovations in group teaching projects. For the purposes of this paper, the one area which requires special mention is that of desegregating the elementary schools.

In the 1966-67 school year, after two years of experience with the Ramsey Plan, the Board took up for careful study the question of _de facto_ segregation of students in the kindergarten through sixth grade range. In May, 1967, after a number of staff presentations and public hearings, the Board made a firm commitment to desegregate the elementary schools of Berkeley by September, 1968. It set a timetable calling for the staff to report its analysis of various desegregation plans by October, 1967, and specifying final selection of a plan by the Board not later than February, 1968. The staff analysis was actually reported in September, and the Board is in the process -- now familiar to Berkeleyans -- of studying this analysis, publicly voicing its questions, concerns, and inclinations, and absorbing the public's reactions through correspondence and public hearings. When the time for decision arrives next February, the Board members will be thoroughly advised by the professional staff; they will have studied the various proposals carefully, and they will know what the community thinks. Their decision will be surrounded with all the safeguards for wise action that intelligence and dedication can provide. Hopefully, it will not generate another recall election.

If anything at all can be learned from Berkeley in relation to inter-racial problems of education, it is that the most meaningful approach is to force the community to come to grips with the problem. You don't have to be in a policy-making position to start this process. Somewhere along the line you have to reach and affect those in such positions, but you can't wait until the conditions are right; you cannot go on the basis that you shouldn't rock the boat too much, or that you should work on the fringe until you can get people to recognize what should be done, and then move. You cannot go on the basis, in other words, that the problems should be solved first before you try to solve them, because the involvement of the community in the identification of the problem and the search for the answer is itself a major ingredient of any workable solution.

THE SYRACUSE CAMPUS SCHOOL PLAN

Prepared by
Franklyn S. Barry, Superintendent of Schools
City School District Syracuse, New York
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

If, as Disraeli said, the fate of a country depends upon the education of the people, then we must quickly do more than pay lip service to the need for quality education and equal educational opportunity. Most American cities are trying to move to meet this need, but the motion is painfully slow; the problems grow at a rate far exceeding that of the piecemeal solutions being found.

Most existing solutions, in any event, tend to deal with the symptoms rather than the disease. The cancer remains, evident in violence, disorder, and hopelessness.

Each year in which these problems remain unsolved sees another group of young Americans lost to productive lives. With each missed opportunity for taking a step ahead, we may be assumed to have

automatically taken a step backward, for there is no standing still.

Education must make a new forward thrust, and inject a new excitement into our schools and communities. We must go further and plan with a flexibility that will create a workable system for tomorrow. We have a responsibility to provide an education framework in which both today's and tomorrow's children will be able to learn and to grow.

The aim of this paper is to outline a concept of elementary education which will meet these needs.

I will draw on both the traditional and the new in education, incorporating some of the lessons learned from past attempts to provide equality of educational opportunity, and at the same time realistically respecting the economic and other limits imposed by the community.

The community in question is Syracuse, New York, with a population of about 210,000. Industrial without being overwhelmingly so, the home of a large university which is growing rapidly, and the commercial hub of central New York, Syracuse is a good example of a progressive urban center in reasonable economic health; it is knee-deep in urban renewal and superhighways, symphony orchestra and community college, park development and high-rise construction.

The city's population appears to be remaining fairly stable at its current level. The big move to the suburbs seems to be tapering off. As in the last few decades, when white families do leave the city, there is a tendency for their numbers to be replaced by non-whites.

One of the seemingly inevitable consequences of a growing Negro population has been the familiar pattern of racially-isolated schools.

While Syracuse cannot be said to suffer from massive segregation problems, the fact remains that among the city's 31 elementary schools,* one -- with an enrollment of 1,200 -- is 92 percent Negro. At the other end of the scale, there are four elementary schools with a Negro enrollment of less than 1 per cent. All told -- in terms of a formula adopted by the Board of Education for measuring racial imbalance -- 24 of the schools are racially imbalanced. (The formula considers racially imbalanced any elementary school whose Negro enrollment is less than .5 or more than 1.5 times the overall elementary school Negro enrollment pattern of the city.)

This <u>de facto</u> segregation -- which has been on the increase in recent years, especially in inner-city schools -- has been the object of a number of efforts by the City School District. Some of these efforts have resulted in modest successes, and others have proved quite unrewarding.

One of the encouraging signs was provided by what happened when Washington Irving School, a largely Negro elementary school in the heart of an urban renewal area, was closed, along with a junior high school in the same area. These children were assigned and transported by bus to 12 other city elementary schools. Reading scores of one group of 24 of these pupils were compared with the

---

* This figure does not include one special school for the severely mentally retarded.

scores of a control group of youngsters at Croton, the elementary school with the highest percentage of Negro enrollment. The two groups were matched according to age, sex, and I.Q. In September, both groups were reading at the same level. By June, the transferred Irving pupils had pulled five months ahead of the Croton control group.

Naturally, no one pretends that this result is definitive, nor have we drawn generalizations; we simply have taken heart. Another study noted that reading achievement levels of youngsters in a school to which Negro students were transferred were in no way downgraded, either. This in itself is a negative finding, but does support the view that nothing is lost through such efforts at integration.

Under the "open school" policy adopted by the Board of Education in 1966, a voluntary transfer plan came into being. At the elementary level, this would involve transportation by the School District. To date, however, this plan has not generated much response among either white or Negro parents.

A controlled enrollment policy also is designed to bring about a more equitable racial balance in the schools over a period of years, as students transfer within the city school system or come into it from outside. They may be assigned to schools outside their immediate neighborhoods in order to promote racial balance.

Racial isolation in the schools is not the only pressing problem we face in providing equality of educational opportunity. Equality can be denied to white as to non-white pupils, particularly

in the case of the so-called "disadvantaged learner". Syracuse undertook in 1962 the Madison Area Project, a three-year program in compensatory education (which came to an end in 1965), to deal with the problems of such children, Negro and white. Many of its innovations, including the development of new curricula, are part of today's instructional programs. But the number of children who could be reached by the Project itself was of necessity limited; a continuing program of broader dimensions is clearly called for.

Each of these separate undertakings -- and others, with varying degrees of success -- has had merit. Each has accomplished some good for the city's school system. For the individual children whose lives have been touched, each has doubtless accomplished a great deal. But we have almost 18,000 children in Syracuse's elementary schools; how do we extend maximum opportunity to each of them?

Obvious improvements have been made over the past few years. But the fact remains that improving our schools in what can only be called a spotty fashion has not solved the basic problem. We have not provided equality of opportunities, nor have we improved educational opportunity for all students; the educational needs of today and tomorrow are unmet.

Given an unlimited budget with which to work, and unlimited resources of other kinds, it would not be impossible to develop a program for the existing elementary schools which would meet these needs. Ideally, this would probably take the form of a one-to-one pupil-

teacher ratio; the literal equivalent of Mark Hopkins at one end of the log and the student at the other.

Not only is such a dream-world solution unavailable to Syracuse, but the city also is confronted with another school problem. Eight of the 31 elementary schools are more than a half-century old. Several are badly in need of replacement. That they will be replaced is clear; we now are deciding on the best method of replacement. In the long run this may prove to have been a blessing, for the very urgency of the situation has helped to stimulate the thinking which led to the Campus Plan proposal.

Subtitled "A Feasibility Study for Elementary School Construction in Syracuse, New York", the Plan for Campus Schools offers a total elementary educational concept which integrates curriculum and physical structures in such a way as to derive maximum benefit from each. The plan is unique -- it is applied solely to elementary education within an urban school district -- although in some ways it bears a resemblance to its suburban cousins or to other educational park projects.

The Campus Plan study was commissioned in 1966 by the Syracuse Board of Education and cosponsored by the United States Office of Education, Educational Facilities Laboratories, and the Rosamond Gifford Charitable Corporation of Syracuse. It was conducted by the Syracuse Campus Site Planning Center, whose staff called on a number of professional consultants, including economists, architects, and members of the academic and educational communities.

The study involved a population analysis of the city and an evaluation of the physical plants of Syracuse's existing elementary schools. It considered possible site locations for the replacement of neighborhood schools, either leaving attendance areas pretty much as they are, or building four elementary school campuses for about 4,300 pupils each. Most important, it assessed the curricular and extracurricular potential of these two alternatives.

In order to compare costs, a hypothetical first campus was "built" on paper, as were prototype replacements for the eight neighborhood elementary schools which consultants rated most obsolete. Taken into consideration were the costs of land acquisition, demolition, construction, site development, staffing, operation and transportation. In addition, comparisons were made to assess what a long-range capital finance program for each plan might cost the city.

The study's findings showed that on almost all counts the Campus Schools could offer considerably higher educational quality at only a slightly higher cost than brand new neighborhood schools built in their existing attendance areas. Moreover -- and this is the consideration which dollars and cents cannot easily measure -- it offers this quality to all of the city's children, grades kindergarten through six, effectively erasing the false boundaries of rapidly changing neighborhoods, and solving the problems posed by racial imbalance in the schools.

The Campus Plan involves a complex of as many as eight autonomous elementary schools, each with its own principal, clustered around a central core. Each complex would be located near the city's

periphery, where more desirable land is available at considerably lower cost than in the inner-city. Nearly all of the children attending the campus schools would be transported by bus, with the exception of the relatively few who live close to the campus.

For the purposes of planning, the first campus for Syracuse calls for eight elementary schools with each pair of schools sharing some common facilities and all eight sharing specialized staff and major facilities provided by the central core; these would include a library, physical education center, auditorium, art and music centers, and health services. Each individual "satellite" school would be designed for the flexible use of space; gone forever, one hopes, will be the "box" classroom with its military rows of desks.

A 47-acre site has been tentatively selected for the first development, which would offer ample space for sports, nature study, and an area designed to serve as a neighborhood park.

One obvious advantage of the Campus Plan which comes to mind is the efficient use it can make of staff, both teaching and non-teaching. Not only can the unnecessary duplication of the neighborhood schools be avoided, but many staff members would be able to function far more effectively in the campus environment than in the traditional neighborhood school. Two examples may help to illustrate this point.

Among non-teaching members of the elementary school staff, the school nurse plays an important role. As things now stand in Syracuse, only at the predominantly Negro Croton School - which also

happens to have an especially high enrollment -- is there a full-time nurse. The other 30 elementary schools are served by 11 nurses, all on split schedules and working with decidedly limited facilities. On the campus, on the other hand, the services of three nurses could be available full time, in a permanent and well-appointed health center, and without the extra demands of travel time. Clearly this is a better and more efficient arrangement.

Another example of the advantages of the Campus Plan for staff performance -- and an example closer to the heart of the matter -- is that most important figure of all, the teacher. This touches upon a number of advantages inherent in the Campus Plan idea.

In the neighborhood school - short of annual gerrymandering to create elastic boundaries -- there is no sure way to control class size (and even with arbitrary boundary changes, success would be far from assured). Thus, in the neighborhood elementary schools today, some teachers are called upon to teach 40 or more pupils, while other classes number well below the average of 27 pupils. On the Campus, with consolidated attendance, there would be relatively little difficulty in controlling teaching loads. In this way, each teacher has an equal opportunity to teach, much as each pupil has equal opportunity to learn.

But stability of class size is a minor consideration compared with the teaching methods possible in the Campus elementary school. Here is the ideal setting for team-teaching. Not only does team teaching allow for a close coordination of all elements of the

curriculum; it also enables each teacher to emphasize his strongest abilities. This cannot help but improve the quality of teaching in all subject areas.

This is not to say that team teaching cannot be practiced in other types of schools, but at this moment it is an unfeasible approach in many of our neighborhood elementary schools. The Campus, with its flexible classroom spaces and its equally flexible non-graded, continuous-progress curriculum, would make team teaching almost the only logical approach.

Supporting the teaching team in each Campus Plan school, moreover, would be specialists in such areas as art, music, science, remedial reading, and other phases of special education. Again, this is not to say that such specialists cannot be made available in neighborhood schools. We have them in Syracuse, but like the nurses they are shared to the point of being spread rather thin, and the makeshift facilities they "enjoy" in most of the schools are not really very enjoyable, nor are they conducive to productive teaching.

The Campus Plan makes possible permanent areas for these specialized subjects. Here every child, from whatever home background, may be exposed to horizon-broadening opportunities in what are generally considered to be the civilizing influences of our culture. Each child will be encouraged to pursue his interests and test his abilities at his own individual pace, under expert tutelage.

For the good teacher, these will be rewarding experiences. They will come about primarily because the Campus Plan has built into

it the ability to strengthen the fundamental teacher-pupil relationship. The pupil can progress at an individual pace -- not only because of a continuous-progress curriculum, but because teachers will have more time to work with individual children. Teacher aides, for example, can be productively employed in carrying out many of the detailed jobs strictly outside the realm of teaching itself. Far more significantly, teachers in the Campus Plan school may call on technology to a degree not possible -- at least, not within present economic limitations -- in the neighborhood school.

Some people become quite frightened when we start talking about technology in the schools -- in much the same way that the word "integration" can induce a state of panic in otherwise rational citizens. The anti-technologists express the fear that the computer may "take over", and complain that their children are about to be taught by machines. They go on then, of course, to note that technological aids tend to be expensive, characterizing these aids as "frills".

In the January, 1967, issue of The Saturday Review, the president of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters wrote:

> "The cost of technology...has to be assessed according to what it buys. Technology buys time -- time for swift rather than slow change, and time to humanize education by allowing teachers to work more directly with students on an individual basis. ... Technology buys increased quality -- quality derived from the impact of many minds applied cooperatively to instructional requirements."

In the Campus School we think technology not only will buy all this, but will buy it at a bargain price. Repetitive costs for much advanced equipment would indeed be staggering for eight separate neighborhood schools; for one Campus, although they are high, full value will be received.

While we are not presently planning to install a computer center in the first, ample space provisions have been made for this to happen later. To read the report of the consultants on this aspect of Campus Plan education is to see something like a miracle unfolding in matter-of-fact everyday language.

And even without the miraculous computer -- even with already somewhat old-fashioned "teaching machines" and educational television -- we can see individual progress of the most dramatic kind. A pupil works on his own, sets his own pace. He learns, and he is stimulated to learn more. The machine is an invaluable reinforcement for what the good teacher teaches. It is not and never will be a substitute.

Perhaps this sounds like the advocacy of some kind of educational revolution; but it is not. It is a matter of planned evolution. Education for tomorrow must draw on the art of master teaching as much as on the computer for inspiration and techniques. And in the long run, it is the former rather than the latter which will determine true quality of our schools. Technology can help to speed many educational processes, but the confrontation of teacher and pupil remains at the heart of all learning.

New buildings and carpeted classrooms cannot take the place of a carefully planned curriculum. Good acoustics are no substitute for the competent teaching of reading and writing. The physical surroundings proposed for the campus are meaningless without the program for which they are designed; but the success of the program can be aided by the care with which these surroundings are designed.

Whatever the specifics of the campus buildings turn out to be -- at this point we have only a general idea -- they will be shared by all of the children on the campus. Each youngster will attend "his" individual satellite school, and that school will offer precisely the same kinds of advantages as the other seven. Here, at an admittedly very simple but strongly symbolic level, is equal opportunity.

There are other ways in which the satellite schools will resemble each other. In each a racial balance proportionate to that of the city's schools as a whole at the particular grade level will be maintained. This balance will be about 80 per cent white and 20 per cent non-white.

Such a balance could be achieved only with great difficulty in the neighborhood schools, but it could occur almost naturally in the Campus School to which all children are transported by bus. While it is our intention to assign children to schools by their neighborhoods insofar as possible -- partly for the practical reason that they will then also travel together on the bus -- it will be an easy matter to make arbitrary assignments of some youngsters in the interest of preserving racial balance.

There may well be a secondary advantage to the busing plan. Where all of the children are removed from their home neighborhoods and are thus easily able to identify each other as "rich" or "poor" or by any other obvious labels, many social stigmas and other handicaps may tend to disappear, and youngsters may exhibit a greater willingness to accept each other at face value.

Still another benefit accrues to the child whose family moves within the city, which happens to about 10 per cent of the families of Syracuse elementary school pupils each year. It will be much more possible to keep a child in a campus school, thus eliminating the interruptive influence of a transfer.

This continuity may well have its greatest meaning for the child who most heavily depends upon special teaching assistance, such as remedial reading and speech therapy. In the Campus School, with its continuous-progress curriculum and individualized attention, he will have maximum opportunity for being part of things. Progressing at his own pace, he will have the satisfactions of learning on his own level, yet also will be participating in many school activities with classmates who may be more advanced. He need not feel "left out", as such a child often does in the conventional classroom situation.

Even for the special education pupil, there may be unprecedented opportunity for participation in regular school activities. The first Campus Plan complex calls for services for 110 special education pupils. No longer relegated to total isolation from the other

children, these children would become part of the campus life, at the same time receiving their highly specialized instruction. There is hope that these circumstances might work to minimize emotional disturbances and other problems, and help these pupils to have more successful learning experiences.

There also are many other ways, aside from teaching, in which the Campus Plan idea may substantially assist the disadvantaged child. For example, the work of guidance counselors, psychologists, and visiting teachers could be facilitated to make more effective contact with children who need guidance and, where appropriate, with their families. For the schools must educate outside the boundaries of their buildings and campuses. We must do all we can to reach into the home, and through the more efficient use of staff the Campus Plan hopes to achieve this to a greater extent than is now always possible.

This sketchy description of the new elementary schools we envision may sound too perfect. It must be noted that the plan does not include all of the answers, though we believe it contains enough of them to be eminently workable.

For example, there remains the question of how some parents will travel to the campus to participate in the community meetings so essential to the proper functioning of good schools. In suburbia the answer is the family car, but in some inner-city neighborhoods the family car may not be quite as commonplace, and public transit may not always offer a conveniently direct route. We are seeking ways to solve this potential difficulty.

In fact, transportation seems to pose several of the larger questions. The bus transportation required by the Campus Plan would cost more than the city is now expending on elementary school bus services. Here, however, we do have a few answers. One is that present bus service will have to be considerably expanded anyway, if we are to make the necessary transfers within neighborhood schools to achieve racial balance. Another is that State aid will pay for 90 per cent of the regular school busing costs. And a third is that bus transportation will be safer for the youngsters who now walk to school.

Of the overall costs of the Campus Plan to the city, much already has been said and much more doubtless will be forthcoming. In terms of construction, the cost of the first campus is estimated at about $10.5 million, while that of replacing the eight neighborhood schools with roughly comparable facilities in their attendance areas comes to about $11 million. This figure fails to take into account the fact that the campus would accommodate approximately 1,000 pupils (from other overcrowded schools not due for immediate replacement), over the capacity of the neighborhood replacements. The cost of staffing the campus would be higher -- but only 3 per cent higher than that of staffing the neighborhood replacements, while serving 25 per cent more pupils.

The Syracuse Campus Plan appears to be economically feasible. This is true partly because necessary economic limitations have been kept constantly in mind. We have not incorporated into the plan every

single element we would like. It would, for example, be splendid to be able to reduce the pupil-teacher ratio; compared with some nearby communities, our 27:1 ratio is high. But, since we could not realistically hope to do this at present, we tried for the next best thing -- to create conditions which would enable that one teacher to give his very best to those 27 pupils.

In devising the elementary school Campus Plan, we have tried to make flexibility our rule. This means flexibility in the physical structure of the buildings, with movable walls and seating arrangements; flexibility in class size, depending one subject matter and other variables; flexibility in overall planning, to allow for the technological advances we know are coming.

Above all, flexibility applies to the teaching program. It considers each child as a unique person, who will be called upon to face an unbelievably complex world. In seeking to meet urgent needs, the Campus Plan takes full advantage of the opportunities which are so rapidly changing the face of education.

It is certainly not our aim to make of every child a poet or botanist or nuclear physicist -- though it is our hope that those with these potentials will be enabled to recognize and fulfill them more readily as a result of their experience in the Campus Plan school. The aim is to present facilities, environments, and techniques which will help each youngster to acquire the skills and understanding he will need for the demanding decades ahead, whatever his place.

Is the Campus Plan the only answer? Doubtless not. For those who have studied the Syracuse situation, it appears to be the best answer here, and reaction so far to the published study indicates that other communities may also find it an adoptable or, at any rate, adaptable concept.

The historian Dexter Perkins, writing of American education, said that solving the problems

> "will call for high imagination, audacity in the application of new ideas, willingness to pay the price in the form of increased taxation and of increased private benevolence to our institutions of learning. But there are increasing signs of awareness of the problems, and, as the situation becomes more and more apparent, there is reason to believe that it will be met more forthrightly and more vigorously."

The Syracuse Campus Plan represents one of these forthright and vigorous attempts to meet the problem. It is our real hope that it will succeed not only in achieving at least a partial solution to some of the social ills besetting one city, but that it may help to inspire other communities as well.

A RE-DEFINITION OF EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS OCCASIONED BY DESEGREGATION and TITLE IV OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

Prepared by
Dr. Elias Blake, Jr., Institute for Services to Education
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

In Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 entitled "Desegregation of Public Education" the mandates were clear: (1) Section 402; to authorize a report to the president and the congress on "the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin in public educational institutions" (2) Sections 403, 404, 405; to furnish technical assistance, and training institutes for school districts regarding "effective methods of coping with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation". Training institutes could be conducted by institutions of higher education or school boards (3) Section 407; to authorize

the attorney general to "initiate and maintain legal proceedings" in school desegregation cases when the plaintiffs are unable to do so for themselves.

These activities authorized under the Act did not receive so much attention as that part of the Equal Educational Opportunities Program (EEOP) (administratively created, not authorized by legislation as the equal employment commission) assigned to apply Title VI of the same Act to the public schools. Title VI prohibited discrimination by race, color or national origin in federally assisted programs. The political and legal battles over the school desegregation guidelines created by the EEOP overshadowed the activities of the Title IV technical assistance and training institute program. If the application of Title IV to the public schools via the guidelines has been the stick, then the Title IV institute program has been the carrot of the federal presence in public school desegregation.

Though the authorization for a survey of equal educational opportunity (The Coleman Report) was included in Title IV, the Title's main sections (404 and 405), provided for "short term or regular session institutes for special training designed to improve the ability of the teachers, supervisors, counselors and other elementary or secondary school personnel to deal effectively with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation." There is a consultant service, Section 403, but the bulk of the program is the training institutes. Section 404 institutes are held primarily on college and university campuses; section 405 institutes are operated by local

school districts. The intent of these institutes is to build positive leadership for the process of school desegregation.

From the first planning periods for administrative guidelines there were disagreements about the meaning of "special educational problems occasioned by school desegregation." These disagreements concerned whether these were educational problems unique to desegregation as a process or whether the educational problems were standard ones intensified by desegregation. Some planners wanted the institutes to focus on changing negative attitudes of school personnel toward desegregation. Others wanted the institutes to help teachers with concrete techniques and materials appropriate in a desegregated school. These were not mutually exclusive goals but if a decision had been made following either course the administrative manual would have reflected it and in turn influenced what types of proposals came in for funding.

An analysis of the manual sent out to potential grantees indicated an attempt to leave room for a range of types of institutes and thus made the broadest possible interpretation of "problems of desegregation" <u>but with a strong tendency toward problems of the "disadvantaged"</u>. An institute could be funded for everything from helping superintendents prepare compliance plans to the development of pupil personnel programs emphasizing counseling, school attendance and health. It was never clear what degree of articulation with an actual desegregation process was required; No criteria of this sort were included. This was true for institutes funded on college and

university campuses and those funded in local school districts. It was required only that participants be in a "strategic position" to multiply the effects of the training program in a school district.

This lack of definition was based on a strategy of letting the people in the localities define problems of school desegregation. Another guiding principle was that these training institutes would work in the wake of compliance programs or an increase in the momentum of desegregation in a school system. The basic decisions to desegregate were already made and the institutes were to help with educational problems flowing from those decisions.

It is appropriate to review briefly what these institutes have been doing. This will be done in an abbreviated fashion because this paper seeks to emphasize a framework for the future rather than only an analysis of the present and past.

MAJOR CONTENT AREAS IN INSTITUTES

One of the major areas was the disadvantaged child. This area was covered against a backdrop of information about the status of race relations and school desegregation and the economic, political and psychological handicaps of Negroes in the society. These things were viewed as the causes of disadvantage. The general assumption seemed to be that with an increase in desegregation (or its onset) more teachers needed to know more about techniques and materials for teaching the disadvantaged. Such things as reading programs in elementary and secondary schools and multi-ethnic curriculum materials were covered in this area.

Another major area of content was how communities react to desegregation. Primarily these were analysis of the groups in the communities which bring pressure to bear on educators in support of or opposition to desegregation. The major concern here was how to get some degree of desegregation without violence, deep conflict, or emotional campaigns in opposition to desegregation.

The fact that this was the first continuous interracial contact for many participants generated a great deal of discussion about Negro-white relationships, what was wrong with them, and why they are as they are. In this area the strongest affective impact was generated. In the areas above the input was mainly cognitive.

STRUCTURE AND APPROACH

The typical institute was held on a college campus in the summer for a period of 3 to 8 weeks, or in a school district prior to the opening of a school. Some institutes had a winter or academic year phase but generally they were summer institutes. In the current fiscal year there has been a movement toward funding more academic year institutes.

The institutes input were highly verbal. Discussions in small groups and lectures by experts constituted the primary instructional approach. More problems were analyzed than solutions proffered. For persons moving into desegregation, however, it was undoubtedly helpful to be able to anticipate possible problems.

Though some planning of a concrete long range nature occurred it was the exception rather than the rule. Some of the

workshops, however, were quite specific about techniques and materials for the disadvantaged. Very few relationships with the teachers were continued into the regular school year, when they were back in their school districts.

Both the structure and the content were related very much to the fact that the institutes were populated primarily by teachers (about 62%, with 25% principals). It would have been inappropriate to deal with broader educational planning for desegregation with this population.

Only 13% were people with school district responsibilities rather than responsibilities for a single school as with principals and teachers.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS

The picture presented to this point has been altered considerably by a move to funding consultant or technical assistance centers either on university campuses or in state departments of education. Fully half of the Section 404 funds in fiscal year 1967 are for these technical assistance centers. The program has about 6.3 million dollars in training programs this fiscal year.

It is distributed as follows:

TABLE 1: Institute Fundings Fiscal Year 1967: Title IV of Civil Rights Act, 1964

	Total	Tech. Assist. Centers	Training Institutes
Section 404 Higher Educ. Institutes	3.8 millon	1.9	1.9
Section 405 School Dist. Institutes	2.5 million	0.4	2.1
TOTALS	6.3	2.3	4.0

The technical assistance centers on the campuses of colleges or universities (usually in colleges of education) or those in State Departments can hold short term institutes as part of their technical assistance programs. Any personnel can attend, from Board members to superintendents to teachers. The other activity is to use consultants from the university, other universities in the region or school districts to aid districts with their "problems of school desegregation."

TABLE 2: Institute Fundings Fiscal Year 1966: Title IV of Civil Rights Act, 1964

	Total	Tech. Assist. Centers	Training Institutes
Section 404 Higher Educ. Institutes	3.5 million	1.1	2.4
Section 405 School Dist. Institutes	2.7 million	.4	2.3
TOTALS	6.2	1.5	4.7

A comparison of the 1966 fiscal year funding pattern indicates the shift toward more centers. If the trend continues the next fiscal year could see most of the funds (10 million) in centers.

The development of these centers is another phase in the continuing problems of defining what this program should best do with its limited resources. These centers are designed to overcome the criticism that very little lasting assistance is given to the school districts. They also seem to assume that persons from the geographical region might be more effective in helping school districts work out their problems than "outsiders": The centers

work both with districts in the process of desegregation and those already with substantial desegregation. They can also hold short term institutes which so far have included mostly administrators; this is a good sign.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AND THE EDUCATION OF THE DISADVANTAGED

One of the major assumptions in the definition of the educational problems occasioned by desegregation is that with the onset of or increase in desegregation more teachers need to be trained to work with the disadvantaged child. This assumption is based on some peculiar logic. When schools are desegregated there is not an increase in the number of disadvantaged children. They may be distributed in different schools but that does not automatically mean that teachers in these schools are ill-equipped to teach them. Someone was teaching them where they were; the new emphasis on teacher training is either an admission that both white and Negro poor have been neglected, or a substitution of the word disadvantaged for the word Negro. In either case a school system is dealing with problems occasioned by segregation and disadvantage in the case of the Negro child. It was not the intent of the Title IV legislation to reward school systems for tardy planning for the education of the poor, Negro or white.

If a school system wants to orient teachers to working with students of a race different from their own, that has nothing to do with disadvantage in the first instance. The fact that the children in the new school situation are black and white is the

first problem. It could very well happen that the Negro children also are disadvantaged, but the institute program should not get into that problem with its meager resources. To train the teacher to treat the Negro children as something called disadvantaged is dangerous at any rate, and the assumptions involved in that training probably contribute to rapid staff and school population turnover from desegregated to all black.

Only teachers in a desegregated school who are incompetent to teach the disadvantaged need the additional training.

Negro and white teachers who already are skilled in teaching all kinds of children could be concentrated in schools which might have an increase in disadvantaged students during desegregation. Then there is no need for additional training for the disadvantaged related to desegregation. If a system wants to increase its pool of such highly competent teachers, that is a separate problem.

The diagram on the following page tries to show that the number of white and Negro students a teacher has in her classroom is a separate problem from the techniques for teaching the disadvantaged. In a system already desegregating or in the early stages, few teachers would be beyond point one in the racial membership in these classes. In a sense point 7 represents the most unfamiliar new teaching situation for any teacher in a formerly segregated system and the one for which the most new training might be necessary. The new training will have to do with race regardless

of her previous experience with the disadvantaged. The middle column simply indicates that how many students are poor is a different dimension entirely. The greater the shift for either a white or Negro teacher, the greater the justification for involving them in a training program. The program would concentrate on working through attitudes and expectations about the new school setting in biracial institute groups. These should run, most ideally, throughout the academic year on a seminar basis where the problems perceived by the teachers as related to the new racial pattern can be worked through. (See School Personnel Inter-personal Relationships under Problems of Segregation).

Figure 1: Racial Membership in Class and on Faculty and Probable Need for New Training in Problems of Desegregation

	Negro Teachers			White Teachers	
	% Negro Students in Class	% white Students in Class	Possible % Disadvantaged	% Negro Students in Class	% white Students in Class
1	100	0	0 to 100	0	100
2	90	10	0 to 100	10	90
3	75	25	0 to 100	25	75
4	50	50	0 to 100	50	50
5	25	75	0 to 100	75	25
6	10	90	0 to 100	90	10
7	0	100	0 to 100	100	0

	% Negro Teachers	% White Teachers	% Negro Teachers	% White Teachers
1	100	0	0	100
2	90	10	10	90
3	75	25	25	75
4	50	50	50	50
5	25	75	75	25
6	10	90	90	10
7	1	99	99	1

The institutes, then, should leave training for the teaching of the disadvantaged to other agencies (NDEA institutes, ESEA and so on) and deal with improving education in biracial settings.

The underlying problem is that if the content in these training sessions does not deal with the disadvantaged, the institute planners seem at a loss to do anything with teachers and principals. The fact that biracial classrooms exist for the first time suggests some other kinds of training which will be outlined later.

A THEORETICAL CONTINUUM FOR STAGES OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

The following section is an attempt to outline a series of problems of desegregation and to relate them to a time line going from complete segregation to complete integration. Before looking at Figure 2 segregation, desegregation and integration will be defined:

Segregation is defined as the use of racial criteria in determining which school children should go to and to describe a situation where though racial criteria are not openly used to determine attendance, all Negroes or other minority groups attend particular schools which no other racial groups attend. This includes de facto as well as de jure segregation.

Desegregation is defined as the abolishment of racial criteria for school attendance and the actual abolishment of separate schools for racial groups whether by law or by tradition. Arrangements are in force which result in children of different racial groups actually attending schools together; desegregation is evidenced by the actual bi-racial populations in schools as opposed to the provisions allowing for the possibility of a bi-racial population in schools without the physical presence of the two races in any substantial number of schools.

Integration is defined as the absence of any racial distinctions within each school and system, whether such distinctions flow from the pressures of the administration or teachers or from the private preference of the students. All academic and nonacademic school sponsored activities are participated in by all students in each building. (In the ideal case the participation patterns are based on bi-racial peer groupings.) There is not only equal opportunity to participate, but actual participation by all groups (in some proportion) in all areas of the life of the school.

From Figure 2 it is clear that these definitions of desegregation and integration constitute points on a continuum moving from segregation to integration. The ultimate goal is complete integration as defined above. Thus these are ideal definitions representing a perfect state of complete desegregation and complete integration. The fact that the goal has been rarely achieved must not keep us from planning in a way that assumes the goal can be achieved.

Figure 2: Theoretical Segregation, Desegregation, Integration Continuum Along Which Communities in Transition May Move.

Segregation-Desegregation-Integration Continuum	Bi-racial School Relationships	Community Relationship	Physical Arrangement of Negroes and Whites
Complete Segregation	None	White-superior Negro Inferior Status	In separate school
Formal end of segregation a plan	None	Whites fearful of Negro entrance; Negroes fearful of hostile reception	In separate school
Beginning Desegregation	Negative acceptance of Negroes Little or no bi-racial interaction	Concern for vague bad events by whites; concern for survival of children by Negroes	Few Negroes in old all-white schools
Increasing Desegregation	Limited mutual classroom-only association: Focus on classwork of "disadvantaged" group	Concern for continuing quality of education by whites; pressure for compensatory programs by Negroes	Negroes in most "white schools in increasing proportions
Critical Transition Period:	Between increasing desegregation and complete desegregation a community either moves to complete desegregation and to beginning integration or, with exodus of whites from school with largest proportions of Negroes, to new de facto segregation and return to planning stage and through the same 3 stages of desegregation.		
Complete Desegregation	Participation in predominantly "Negro" and "white" school activities, limited Negro academic leadership	Mutual concern across racial lines for high quality school programs	No all Negro or all white or racially imbalanced schools
Beginning Integration	Limited participation in academic, non-academic activities at all levels in bi-racial groups	Cooperative support for specific school programs in bi-racial pressure groups	Same as 4
Increasing Integration	Bi-racial participation patterns plus some Negro Leadership in academic and non-academic life of school	Cooperative bi-racial support for specific school programs and community improvement programs	Same as 4
Complete Integration	Bi-racial participation in bi-racial peer groupings in academic, non-academic life of school	Cooperative bi-racial support plus combination business-pleasure social activities (PTA's Fund Raising)	Same as 4

Related to this theoretical continuum is a definition of the problems of desegregation which should help one decide priorities for what should be worked on first. The problems also offer a more restricted view of the kinds of things that this program should address itself to. The goal of this analysis is to have a framework for evaluating (1) whether school systems have a next step in mind beyond their current training program and (2) whether the school system is working on relevant problems given their desegregation status.

A Definition of Problems of Desegregation

Because the possible problems related to Figure 1 cover such a wide area, they are classified into five broad areas. The classification then attempts to reflect the appropriateness of the area to movement along the continuum from segregation to integration.

1. Community Relations: These problems arise from community forces which can facilitate or hinder the beginning of and progress toward desegregation. These problems are concerned with influencing the community to accept any new plan for moving from any one point on the contimuum to another point. The strategies for dealing with the community often involve the business community, civic organizations, religious groups, organized labor and parent organizations associated with the school. These are leadership groups and the hope is that they will help in the process of desegregation by leading in the development of a positive or at least a

resigned neutral attitude toward change. Problems of community relations may involve acceptance or initial desegregation in one community and the acceptance of open enrollment in another. Basically the school administration is concerned with the community reactions to movement toward complete integration from any point on the continuum. The intensity and pervasiveness of prejudice toward racial and minority groups must be carefully considered; however, community prejudice cannot be a limitation, because schoolmen must desegregate in the face of it. The intensity of prejudice influences planning and strategies, but should not stop or slow down the speed of school desegregation.

2. School Administration - Organization Policies: These are problems arising from making arrangements within a school system's hierarchy to facilitate smooth desegregation once the commitment is made. Some issues around which problems may arise and decisions will have to be made are: the grades and schools to be desegregated first; using the same or creating new school zones and feeder patterns to maximize desegregation; open enrollment, freedom of choice, permissive transfer, or strict geographical zones for attendance policy; transportation plans in a rural area, new bussing patterns; personnel policies for teacher assign-

ment to desegregated schools including Negro teachers in formerly segregated schools (whether they were _de facto_ or _de jure_); policies for curriculum organization or grouping practices (e.g., what if it becomes apparent that ability grouping will result in within school racial separation?) The solutions to these illustrative (not definitive) problems reflect how imaginative and committed school administrations are to moving to complete integration. The options selected in this area can build into the policies of the school system practices which support continued movement toward the goal of integration; they make it easier to bring about positive changes in the new classroom and school building organizational patterns it will be easier to change their patterns of expectations.

3. School Personnel Interpersonal Relationships: The emphasis in this area is on the perceptions, motivations, prejudices or biases of teachers, principals, counselors, supervisors and other school personnel. The expectations which teachers might have about teaching in a desegregated building are dealt with. Fears and concerns which may be based on inadequate or incorrect information about the new racial group are cleared up. The relationship between teachers' expectations about achievement or a group and its actual achievement is a frequent problem. The adjustment to teaching

white or Negro children and developing professional relationships with Negro or white teachers for the first time is included in this area. The basic problem is to develop a tolerance for and willingness to work in a completely desegregated school situation and, at a further point along the continuum, to develop a staff which will work toward integration. This area is as much concerned with problems of Negro teachers as of white teachers, though to this point the role of Negro school personnel in the process of desegregation has been largely ignored. We have been more concerned with how changes affect white school personnel.

4. Student Interpersonal Relationships: This area is concerned with the problems involved in reaching and keeping a balanced participation in the school-sponsored extracurricular activities of the school. This covers the problems of developing bi-racial or minority and majority group participation in school clubs, dramatic productions, debating teams, athletic teams, school government, the school paper, subject-matter clubs (science, social studies, poetry) and all other academic and non-academic activities of a school. The problem in this area revolves around creating an atmosphere which diminishes intra-school divisions along racial and class lines. The general question to which the school people

must address themselves now is: How does one create an environment <u>within</u> a school which reflects the ideals of the broader society rather than its class and racial biases?

5. <u>Desegregation and Learning Programs</u>: This area of problems is not concerned with the disadvantaged, though they undoubtedly should benefit from programs as will be outlined here. The Title IV program probably should not put money into programs like these but should get some assurances that there is some movement in this general direction. Such programs as the non-graded school, the discovery curriculum, special art, music and drama programs, special science programs, or any other truly innovative programs, are included here. The purpose is not just to innovate but to create the strongest academic program possible by system-wide standards. Ideally these programs should be found in the desegregated schools with the largest proportion of Negro students. Bluntly put white parents must see some reasons for keeping their children in a school with 20 to 30 to 50 percent Negro enrollment. Likewise Negro parents must see some educational effects of having their children moved around to go to school with whites. (It would be better if desegregation were two-way but in most cases it is the Negro child who shifts schools). Like it or not the white parents have the mobility to move out of a section of the

city or out of the city altogether. The educational programs must be too attractive to risk leaving. Also, the focus in learning is shifted to the school and its programs rather than to the child and his weaknesses or strengths. The common approach of putting in special programs for the disadvantaged without these other programs reinforces the idea of a sick or weakening school program.

Relationships Between the Problem Areas and Stages of Desegregation

Figure 3 indicates how priorities could be set based on where a school system was in its movement from segregation to integration. Underlying this figure is the idea that though all problems could be worked on at once, some take priority over others. If, as is implied throughout this section, Title IV applied some principles like these it must require some evidence from the school system which would allow it to determine the status of desegregation. The compliance program in Title VI would be invaluable in helping Title IV determine which systems seem committed to some continued change. Certainly for the approach outlined here to be effective, school districts must be willing to aim for integration. If they are not, then some of the programs proposed here cannot be justified. An assumption underlying this discussion is that the system is interested in the last steps on the scale and not simply in limited physical shifting of students. It is a waste of resources to help a school district which is willing to meet only the minimal standards for compliance. The Title VI program is more appropriate for dealing with such cases.

Point on Segregation-Integration Continuum	Priorities for Problem Areas
A. Beginning Desegregation	1. Community Relations 2. School Policies 3. Staff Interpersonal Relations 4. Student Interpersonal Relations
B. Increasing Desegregation	1. School Policies 2. Staff Interpersonal Relations 3. Student Interpersonal Relations 4. Learning Programs 5. Community Relations
c. Increasing Integration	1. Student Interpersonal Relations 2. Staff Interpersonal Relations 3. Learning Programs 4. Community Relations 5. School Policies

The figure does not intend to imply that only if the school system agrees with it would its proposal be funded. If on the other hand the district wants to work on Student Interpersonal Relationships when only a half dozen Negro students are in formerly all white schools, it should be required to give a strong defense of its school policies for substantially increased desegregation. Some indication of its efforts to gain support among community leaders also should be in evidence.

There are implications in the figure for who would be enrolled in the institute or with whom consultants from centers should confer. The top schoool administrators are the only ones of sufficient authority to develop a community relations program or work out the overall plans or school policies. As a part of their planning they could work out a tentative program for getting Negro and white staff started to working on biracial staffs (part of Staff Interpersonal Relations) and into teaching workshops

to probe their attitudes and expectations about working with students of the opposite race. A teaching workshop means an opportunity to teach a biracial class and a chance to review their performance with an astute observer of behavior.

The figure also illustrates how it is necessary to take up problems from the same area at a different stage. It is clear that school administrators need to develop some community support to initiate desegregation in a completely segregated system. The need, however, may not seem as evident after the first steps are "accepted." If new learning programs are started in the biracial schools with the largest minorities of Negroes, these too need selling in the immediate communities from which the schools draw. The same thing would be true if a staff set out in C of Figure 3 to identify talented Negro youth and to encourage them to join academic clubs, newspaper staffs, choral groups in the same proportions in which they play on athletic teams.

Given the legislative history of Title IV in regards to racial balance, some would argue that no activity can be funded beyond "complete desegregation" on the continuum in Figure 1. Be that as it may, Title IV could still require sound evidence of what a school system intends to do to avoid resegregation. Resegregation is occurring in major southern cities, e.g., Nashville, Atlanta, Little Rock. Atlanta's first year of desegregation was as late as 1961. And it now has a majority Negro school enrollment (57% Negro, 43% white). Maybe Atlanta will become the Washington, D.C. of the South, and there is nothing to be done about it. But if Title IV funds are

used in such a system, it certainly ought to be required to say what it has in mind for the schools with 10 to 50 percent Negro enrollment.* The people in its training institutes should come from those schools and some records ought to be kept on whether any trend toward resegregation slows down.

The picture is much more hopeful for applying a scheme like the one here to Little Rock and Nashville, where Negroes constitute 33 and 23 percent of the school populations.

The goal is to force long range planning for desegregation. There are a great many school districts across the South with 15 to 35 percent Negro populations, and not so rigid neighborhood segregation. It may well be that with so few funds Title IV can only stimulate long range planning, in addition to aiding in carrying out immediate plans. Both immediate and long range plans should be a condition of funding. The relationships between the status of desegregation and problems of desegregation is a framework for bringing some order to what Title IV might conceivably do.

THE THEORETICAL SCHEME AND THE POLITICAL REALITIES

The paper has purposely ignored the political "realities". These realities surround a Federal program designed to aid a process for which the society has shown no stomach in 13 years. If one thinks about the ways in which such a program can be gutted or destroyed in this political period, one's pessimism is likely to overpower one's sense of the possible; reason is replaced with despair. There already are some signs that Title IV may become a mere appendage of the Title VI compliance program. putting out

*Nashville has 7 formerly all-white schools with a Negro enrollment of 51 to 75%. Atlanta has 6 formerly all-white schools with a Negro enrollment of 51 to 100%. Little Rock has 1 formerly all-white school with a Negro enrollment of 61%. From the Southern Education Report, 1967.

desegregation brush fires around the country. By this I mean helping the compliance program persuade recalcitrant or footdragging districts, by making training funds available; this is just the opposite of how Title IV should use its resources.

With so few funds, Title IV should be looking for the promising school districts, which show some signs of going beyond the letter of the guidelines. And where the top administrators are interested in developing a first rate school system equal to the second half of the twentieth century. The Title also should be probing ideas of districts interested in availing themselves of the program's services. It is not too difficult to find the limits of tolerance a school district has for a change. If a district is only interested in a smooth process of tokenism in faculty desegregation, and balks at the idea of seriously projecting when there will be Negro principals or supervisors in biracial schools and where those schools are likely to be located and how it might get to that point, Title IV probably ought to do business elsewhere.

Somewhere we have to have models of what is possible and Title IV seems to be the only source of funds for model planning and execution in the Federal arsenal of funds. This is stated in full knowledge of the bussing experiments and the planning grants for educational parks. Beneath the planning some funds are needed for training school personnel so that they see the need for such radical changes. Funds are needed to hold the best staffs in schools threatened this year by resegregation so that these staffs will still be there and committed to teaching all children when the parks come about.

If Title IV becomes too deeply involved in the compliance program it is going to share the political and financial hardships of that program. The relationship between the two should be one whereby Title VI helps Title IV identify the promising areas in which to stimulate better long range planning for more desegregation. These cooperative districts are less likely to bring this program under heavy political fire. If the program defines its efforts, orders its priorities, and encourages some planning beyond the current school year, it might well become a well financed major force in long range desegregation efforts. In the long run there could be an inverse relationship between Title VI and Title IV in school desegregation. As Title VI becomes smaller because compliance (as it is politically feasible to define it) is less and less a problem, Title IV could become a larger force in the field, to show that it is not always necessary to go the way of Washington or Manhattan or of Atlanta in school desegregation.

It would be sad indeed if after all the years of effort this Title had not shown that at least in a few places around the country integration can happen if there is the foresight and the will.

TEACHER TRAINING DESIGNS FOR IMPROVING INSTRUCTION IN INTERRACIAL CLASSROOMS

Prepared by
Mark A. Chesler* University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

Perhaps the most important instructional issue facing teachers in racially desegregated classrooms is how best to improve youngsters' academic learning and social relations within this particular context. Recent evidence suggests that Negro youngsters' academic achievement scores often rise in newly desegregated situations.[1] However, it is also clear from several studies that many special barriers to academic growth are also present in these changing classrooms.[2] A newly

*Mark A. Chesler is a Project Director, Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Appreciation is extended to Ronald Lippitt and Alan Guskin for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

desegregated classroom situation thrusts Negro and white youngsters alike into those threatening environs that they have been warned about or prepared for by peers, parents and media. The range of potentially threatening phenomena present in these classes may include: pressures attendant on youngsters leaving one educational environment and moving into another, and the need to adjust to new travel routes, buildings and peers; pressures generated by youngsters' own feelings of anxiety about being with persons of another race, and the need to deal somehow with a reality they have been sheltered from by the distances of geography, economy and mythology; pressures generated by transferring students' expectations that the new school will be better and more exacting.

These phenomena should not illustrate problems alone, but should highlight areas of potential growth in an interracial classroom; principally the possibility exists that through guided classroom interaction youngsters' interracial attitudes may become more positive and accepting. We speak of "guided" interaction because it is clear that one cannot depend on "natural" contact and relational patterns to improve students' racial views, and certainly not immediately.[3] Too much of what is natural in American race relations is distrustful and separatist; desegregation itself is a departure from our natural social patterns, and other breaks with tradition are vital. Recent reports of newly desegregated classrooms verify some of the negative views or changes in views of race relations that may accompany interracial experiences. The sudden entrance of Negro students may cause white students to be unfriendly and hostile to persons they perceive to be interlopers or sources of threat. This may be

especially true among white students who are themselves socially or academically insecure. Some Negro students come away from desegregated experiences with more pessimistic and/or negatively realistic views of the potentiality for racial harmony.[4] Surely there are instances of positive change as well, but to accomplish this requires great skill, energy, and patience on the part of all members of the school or classroom social system.

The teachers' responsibility for guiding and promoting positive learnings by peers in an interracial situation is very clear. In a number of ways teaching in the interracial classroom is like teaching in any other classroom; similar problems of instructional competence, diagnostic knowledge of one's students, relations with students, management of peer relations, and effective evaluation must arise.[5] The teacher who is a skilled and fully competent professional has a good start on being successful in an interracial situation. But the interracial classroom is different than other more homogeneous situations, although there is insufficient research to state boldly what and how major are these differences. The differences seem to be severalfold:

1. Since the cultural heritage and reality of mutual ignorance and distance, if not antagonism and fear, between the races probably is present in the minds and views of all Americans, the teacher must wrestle with his or her own views of people of another race.[6]

2. In a similar fashion, student peer relations are likely to be constrained and affected by the same set of deeply rooted attitudes and beliefs. In addition to the students' own views, the adult culture validates and supports such peer cleavages and rejection.

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

4. There may be few professional peers who are in the same position of teaching an interracial class, and thus few colleagues with whom to share fears, hopes, tactics, successes and failures.[7]

5. There may be few available sources of special expertise relevant to the particular problems faced by teachers of the interracial classroom. Since most schools that have and will have desegregated facilities are new to these patterns, they will all be experiencing new pains without a body of tradition and experience to call upon to help handle problems.

Teachers are in a position to positively or negatively affect the results obtained from working on these special problems. But because of their training, experience, and perhaps inclination, they will not be able to create positive outcomes without some special instruction relevant to racial relations in the classroom. In these circumstances it seems most appropriate to consider ways of helping teachers teach more successfully in interracial classroom situations. In the remainder of this paper we examine a variety of training or retraining programs that may provide such help and we try to suggest the particular advantages and drawbacks of each device. We do not focus here on the content of "how to teach," but "how to prepare or train teachers for teaching."[8] Moreover, our concern is with designs that could be used in most school systems as they are currently organized. More radical proposals suggesting major revision of certification standards to permit the utilization of para- or non-professionals, massive decentralization of urban schools and transfer of decisions directly into the community's hands, involvement of students in making major school decisions, curriculum restructuring, time sharing

with "freedom schools," and many other proposals are not discussed. These proposals are the content of another paper; our major concern is with teacher retraining potentialities.

DESIGNS FOR TEACHER CHANGE

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

The design of a particular training program requires the selection of some targets and strategies and their integration into a coherent and systematic series of learning experiences. Any planned change program must as well be based upon clear and viable goals, otherwise there can be no rational or conceptually clear basis for selecting certain targets or strategies, nor for deciding upon any particular integration or mix of these elements into a meaningful design. Some appropriate goals, and examples of criteria useful in conceptualizing teacher training programs, are presented in recent papers by Lippitt[9] and Fox.[10] Lippitt suggests that practitioner attempts to articulate and confront personal goals, to identify professional role alternatives, and to create high quality cross-professional collaboration are among the most vital dilemmas facing youth socializers who

Figure 1

Targets and Strategies for Teacher Change in Interracial Situations

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

wish to improve their performance. Fox suggests several more specific goals for teachers involved in in-service training programs including: opening a process of professional self-renewal; gaining skill in utilizing the resources of others; developing skill in designing and executing classroom level action-research projects; contributing to the improvement of dynamic working relationships with colleagues; and gaining skill in communicating experiences in learning to others. These embracing concerns may provide a useful framework for the reader as he examines the particular design elements discussed here.

TARGETS

Each of the aspects of persons or relationships discussed below can be included as the target of efforts to change teachers. Some focus on teachers very directly, others on the professional and organizational environment within which teachers function. None of these targets are mutually exclusive, and any program conceivably could include several or all at once.

Knowledge of Students. One of the necessary foci of a teacher training program would seem to be a clarification and explanation of the characteristic attitudes and behaviors of the youngsters in the classroom. Haubrich, for instance, probably understates the problem when he points out that "there seem to be gaps in the orientation and preparation of teachers for urban schools which leaves the new teacher 'at sea' with respect to methods, curriculum and approaches to the 'discipline' problem."[11] One aspect of such knowledge might well be a review of the cultural styles or biases in the youngsters' or group of youngsters' family or background. In the attempt to fill this gap

it will be critical to avoid the traps of overgeneralization and reverse stereotypy, a difficulty magnified by the scientist's typical concern to make generalizable statements. Another more contemporaneous form of intelligence would include data regarding the attitudes and values of youngsters at present. The kind of data that are important to gather may include assessments of attitudes toward self and school, toward classmates and teacher, or a more specific focus toward racial issues.[12] Certainly reports or locally collected data on how white and Negro classmates, or future classmates, view the prospects or realities of an interracial classroom are very relevant here. Chesler and Segal, for instance, report some of the differences between Negro youngsters' and their white teachers' perceptions of the realities of classroom desegregation.[13] The reduction of such discrepancies in perception could provide many teachers with sounder bases for classroom planning.

Teacher's Own Feeling. Another activity that undoubtedly is a necessary component of plans for teacher change is a self-examination of each individual's personal feelings and values about racially potent matters. The persons, white or Negro, who teach in public or private school classrooms are all part of the American Society; a society which has been built and is maintained upon racially separate living, working and schooling patterns. As such, teachers can be expected to hold many of the same feelings about racial separatism and mutual fear or resentment as do most Americans. Moreover, we can expect that these views in one way or another affect the kinds of alternatives these teachers are able to invent or modify for use in the classroom. Haubrich notes reports of prospective teachers' desires to be located in a good school, where students are like themselves.[14] In addition,

Foley discusses the negative expectations many teachers hold of disadvantaged or minority group youngsters, and speculates upon the development of a self-fulfilling prophecy.[15] The teacher who expects the worst often may create it by his own fear or lack of enthusiasm. The student senses this feeling and is not motivated to exceed or exert himself. Having found the worst, the teacher's expectations thus are confirmed.

For some teachers these views are held consciously and are close to the surface: for others these feelings are submerged deeply and seldom recognized. Serious examination may not lead to changed views, but it may help teachers to understand the potential effects of their views in the classroom and may also help them to control their expression.[16]

Teaching Practices. Many educators and designers of educational change efforts take it for granted that more adequate knowledge of oneself, one's role, and one's students will lead directly to improved classroom practice. But there are many teachers who fail to bridge the gap between increased knowledge or new intentions, and new behavior. The gap may be caused by lack of motivation, lack of skill, or perhaps other barriers, present in the school system. We do not wish to suggest that teachers need a detailed cookbook for classroom use, but some specific focus upon the development of teaching procedures and concrete and feasible suggestions are needed in any training program. It is a highly developed skill to translate theoretical propositions, research findings, or new insights about oneself into behavioral implications relevant for the classroom, and these skills are not found readily in most teachers.[17]

Moreover, changes in teaching are not merely mechanical, they typically require the change of complex behavioral patterns and the examination and alteration of values as well. The problems of deciding to teach differently and actually teaching in new ways are by no means simple.

Peer Relations. Another aspect of individuals' personal attitudes or skills that can be the focus of change efforts is their relationships with professional peers. Many teachers who generate exciting ideas for use in their own classroom never have the opportunity to share these ideas with their peers. Without this opportunity for sharing, and without the possibility of giving or receiving feedback, the potential resources and assistance of peers may be lost. In fact, as Chesler and Fox point out:[18]

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

Collaborative work on school committees and associations, or more informal networks of social and travel arrangements all appear to be related positively to a willingness to be public about new classroom ideas. The organized efforts of teachers to be helpful to one another in the advancement of each others' professional competence may indeed require new styles of bureaucratic management and structure. Instead of each school being provided with an educational leader in the person of the principal, we may need to explore more decentralized and plural forms of initiative and responsibility.

Administrative Relation. The character of the school administration is clearly another potential target for change activities relevant to improving classroom racial relations. Principals and superintendents of schools obviously can play key roles in facilitating and supporting teacher change. Administrators can help by providing extra resources to relieve teachers from some daily routines and to provide funds and support for such training programs as we are discussing here. Moreover, they can help set a systemic atmosphere that encourages teachers to get extra training and generates institutional support for their later efforts to try out new things with their youngsters in classrooms and with peers in informal discussions. It is clearly not enough that principals feel a certain way about these matters; for teachers who are constantly attuned to the nuances of administrator reward or punishment it is important that supervisors publicly and obviously demonstrate their concerns.[19] The tone set by administrators influences not only teachers; students also behave in response to certain administrative cues and leads. For instance, consider these Negro youngsters' reports from newly desegregated schools in the deep south.[20]

> The principal never brought up the question of integration; if he did, he tried to hide it. So the kids kind of rejected us. I didn't have any friends; maybe this was because of the principal also.
>
> The atmosphere this year is very different from last year. I guess, because of the changes in principals. Last year we didn't have as many students come up to us and talk. It wasn't the matter of having so many friends but they wouldn't approach you in any way. I guess this year the new principal doesn't try to hide the situation that is involved like the old one. You who came in this year are fortunate because he

> will talk to you about anything you want. He is trying to get the two races to come together. I think that may be what changed the atmosphere. When you hide things it makes people go around not saying things to each other. Now everybody can talk to one another.

Clearly the principal can act as a model for teachers and students to follow in their own efforts to decide how to behave in new and threatening circumstances.

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

Many educational administrators try to preserve their own autonomy by keeping the community ignorant about what they are doing in the schools. One result of this posture is that both the community

and the school system are systematically deprived of mutual resources and potential help. Parent-teachers organizations represent one easily accessible institution that might constitute a forum within which to discuss issues relevant to school change and within which to build support for new ideas and programs. Various other community organizations and leaders could be focussed upon as targets facilitative to the success of change programs. The major problem seems to us to be one of enabling the school system to see community agents as collaborators and potential helpers instead of perennial enemies.

Many of these targets have been reported by teachers as forces that act as barriers to their own personal and professional invention and growth efforts. A partial range of these barriers experienced and reported by one group of teachers is summarized in Figure 2.

Clearly these barriers can and should be reduced and/or converted into forces that can facilitate professional growth and classroom and school change. How to accomplish this is the concern of the next section of this paper, where a number of strategies for teacher retraining are reviewed.

STRATEGIES

The illustrative list of strategies included here does not presume to exhaust either the actual or potential range of current retraining methods. Moreover, as noted with regard to the targets

FIGURE 2

TEACHER-REPORTED BARRIERS TO EFFECTIVE SHARING
OF DESEGREGATION PLANS[22]

Within Oneself

_____ I lack conviction about the need or value of desegregation
_____ I lack knowledge or background about Negroes, the community, or the decision to transfer students
_____ I have high and/or inflexible standards for classroom performance and expect that Negroes won't meet these
_____ I am a young teacher and therefore am reluctant to tell older teachers what to do; or I feel as an older teacher that young teachers hesitate to suggest their plans to me
_____ I lack confidence about what I am doing in class and fear incompetence in knowing answers
_____ I resent the extra energy required to go to planning meetings, to share with colleagues, etc.

Within Others

_____ Some of my colleagues will criticize my leadership
_____ Some of my colleagues don't recognize the problems
_____ Some of my colleagues want to be left alone; they feel the proper role of a professionally trained teacher is one of self-sufficiency
_____ Some of my colleagues are prejudiced
_____ Some of my colleagues resent extra time required to to meetings or share with colleagues
_____ Some of my colleagues express resistance in ways I do not know how to handle

Within the Administration

_____ The policy about school desegregation isn't clear
_____ Policy about my role as influencers or staff leaders isn't clear
_____ There is a lack of strong support for a staff sharing program
_____ There is a lack of direction for change efforts; someone should tell us what to do and how to do it
_____ There is a lack of support for teacher initiative in the classroom or with colleagues
_____ There is a lack of money for extra time, school meetings, etc.

In the Community

_____ There is a great gap between the school and most of the community with regard to standards for education, values about desegregation, etc.
_____ White parents resist desegregation
_____ Negro parents resist desegregation
_____ The resistance of parents to bussing needs to be met and faced by the administration's justification and legitimation of what we're doing as a school and as teachers
_____ Social class differences introduce misunderstandings and more barriers
_____ There is much prejudice in the community

---

[22]This list was originally created and reported in: Chesler, M. & Wissman, M. Teacher Reactions to School Desegregation Preparations & Processes: A Case Study, Ann Arbor, 1967 (Mimeo).

above, there is no reason why several strategies cannot be combined or used in sequence in any particular change program.

Books. Perhaps the single most traditional strategy relied upon for increasing educators' skills has been to supply them with new written materials. Every year staffs are virtually inundated with books expounding every conceivable type of message, including several especially devoted to almost any curricular or population concern. To date, there have been few that have explicitly focussed on interracial relations in the classroom. Among the most relevant works we would include the pioneering volume by Giles, and more recent briefer efforts by Noar, Bash and Weinberg.[21] Among the tremendous variety of recent works on disadvantaged or deprived youngsters, the Beck and Saxe volume seems to be particularly useful to teachers.[23] Although this work does not omit theoretical issues, the editors have selected a series of fairly pragmatic and concrete articles. Noar's work deals with many classroom problems realistically, but fails to provide any conceptual or operative scheme that would take the teacher beyond these examples to future efforts on his own. Bash seems to underplay consistently some of the real problems in youngsters' peer relations in desegregated classrooms and depends too highly on teacher good will to resolve most personal and instructional issues. Weinberg's excellent review of research and documentary reports only minimally focuses on classroom management aids. While not explicitly focussed on interracial matters, some of our own work may be helpful to orienting teachers to more useful ways of viewing and managing the

classroom.[24] But almost all books are just that, books. They are verbal distillations and abstractions of experience that are rarely provocative and not necessarily generative of change efforts. There is no clear evidence that such stimuli can, in any serious way, help create instructional change. The best we can hope for is to use such works as reference works in a more provocative program, or as jumping-off points for other strategies.

Other Materials. Another variant in the general category of material resources for retraining teachers is the use of films, photographs or recordings. One of the greatest dangers in utilizing such materials, as well as books, is the temptation to let them speak for themselves. Material resources do not and can not stand alone; they should be accompanied by some kind of discussion or practice. Such resources must be seen and used as tools by teachers and discussion leaders and not revered as the reverse; they also should become part of a comprehensive training program and not used simply as additive material or separate experiences. Used in these ways audio-visual materials can broaden communication and learning by including the more immediate senses of feeling, seeing and hearing in the presentation and consideration of findings or phenomena. An interesting series of mixed media packages that attempt this approach currently is being prepared and published by the Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.[25]

The entire cluster of units containing recorded and printed materials which focus on the problems of youth are designed to stimulate discussion around critical questions, to disseminate innovative practitioner efforts, and to present research findings, theories, and practices. The units also provide skill training exercises designed to enable teachers and discussion leaders who are listening and watching to personally adapt the materials that do not focus explicitly upon interracial interaction, but materials that could engender a more sophisticated understanding of youth processes in general. Moreover, with this ground broken, packages of a similar nature that do focus on teaching in desegregated classrooms could be developed.

Laboratory Training. A third strategy for teacher change is the use of laboratory training devices, particularly sensitivity training groups. "T" groups come in all shapes and forms, with a variety of foci ranging from a concentration on intrapersonal or interpersonal dynamics through priority concerns with task or skill-centered learning and organizational development. What seems common in all such groups is the members' attempt to give and receive feedback with peers and to consider making changes in their own interpersonal styles through an analysis of what they feel and see is occurring in their small group.[26] The hope with this technique is that sufficient interpersonal trust can be developed so that persons can be honest and open about their racial views. Such openness is probably a pre-condition for testing one's views with others',getting

feedback and clarification, and trying out new behavior. Most reports of the design and use of such methods in the retraining of school teachers and administrators are documentary commentaries, and little well designed research is available. The general lack of available research, especially when coupled with the zeal and fervor sometimes articulated by laboratory participants, has led some observers to doubt the method's utility. But research is being developed and, in fact, Rubin reports one instance of the use of sensitivity and human relations training groups to increase racial insight and reduce racial prejudice among adults.[27]

Most adherents of laboratory training now go beyond the use of the sensitivity training group as the sole device in a re-education program. Role playing and skill practice exercises are among those techniques also used in a more comprehensive effort to help people achieve change. In role playing a dramatic situation is created which closely reflects a portion of reality. Under the protection of playing out an "artificial" drama, players can take risks in exposing themselves or experimenting with new behaviors that would ordinarily be quite threatening. When these experiences are discussed later, efforts can be made to transfer learning from this dramatic representation of life to actual situations. Skill practice exercises also utilize a deliberately structured situation and a norm of experimentation to support the learning and trying out of new behaviors. Practice in the interpersonal skills of giving and receiving feedback, of value clarification, of conflict resolution, and of listening intently to others' messages are examples relevant to improved teaching. Ellis and Burke report their success in using

such techniques to help prepare teachers for the move toward interracial faculties in schools.[28] Such preparation for more successful faculty interaction could have positive implications for more supportive peer relations and professional sharing.

Survey Feedback. Another strategy that has been used successfully in a variety of change programs is the feedback of survey results. Essentially this strategy involves the collection of data about the performance or processes of a client or client system, and then the feeding back of that data, with interpretations, into the client system. Under appropriate conditions the assumption is that persons who can now see their own performance data may be able to make changes in a direction more fulfilling and satisfying for them. This method most often has taken the form of scientists' collecting data and sharing findings with practitioners. Survey feedback techniques have been utilized extensively with industrial and educational organizations,[29] and there are also several reports of its utility in retraining classroom teachers.[30] As with some of the other change strategies examined here, there are several reports of programs and events but relatively little well designed research or evidence that shows whether change has occurred, or how these feedback programs may have contributed to that change.

Peer Sharing. The establishment of opportunities for productive professional sharing of views and practices may also encourage teacher change. By sharing we mean more than mere information exchange:

although teachers often talk together they seldom make use of those conversations to focus on the development of one's professional skill and expertise.[31] The traditional notion that a teacher is and should be a fully autonomous professional raises the personal risk involved in asking a peer or supervisor for help. Moreover, this conception of the teacher's role also operates to inhibit some teachers from sharing their ideas with others lest they appear arrogant and omniscient rather than helpful or curious. These barriers to sharing, and those already presented in Figure 2, may be reduced under the dual conditions of high priority for professional growth and high trust in colleagues. These conditions are most likely to be generated when school administrators themselves place a high priority on professional growth and can communicate a respect for peer resources and expertise. A program to encourage teacher sharing can probably best be built upon: (1) the establishment or articulation and recognition by peers or authorities of a superordinate "need to know" what others are doing, a need to fill the gaps in common ignorance; (2) the creation of a climate of interpersonal intimacy and trust among colleagues whereby difficulties can be admitted and resources shared without competition and judgment; (3) the reorientation of our conception of professional role relations to include an element of teacher as learner and colleagues as partners in a learning process.

The greatest amount of teacher innovation and adoption seems to occur in schools that also provide opportunities for peer professional exchange, the enhancement of feelings of involvement and influence in school policy-making, and support from teachers' peer groups and principals. These support systems greatly facilitate the sharing of ideas with colleagues, and teachers who learn about new practices under these conditions are more likely actually to adapt or to adopt them for use in their own classroom.[32] In sum, it is clear that teachers do have significant expertise in how to teach, often far more than administrators or scientists credit them with. The failure to capitalize on such resources constitutes a waste of key educational resources as well as a further diminution of teachers' perceived competence and esteem.

Team Formation. A corollary to the encouragement of peer sharing processes is the formation of small groups or teams of peers that have some formal professional responsibility. Research from a number of industrial and governmental settings stresses the relevance of such groupings for feelings of social cohesiveness, for a sense of adequacy of performance and for satisfaction with one's work.[33] In educational systems these teams can work together to help deal with important school organizational as well as classroom instructional issues. For instance, teams of teachers can plan parent-school meetings, can represent a staff to the superintendent's office, can encourage meaningful professional association or unionization; they can also

plan and support the kinds of peer sharing sessions discussed above. Some of the most relevant personal skills that could be included in a training program to help facilitate teacher planning in this regard include: (1) helping a peer identify a classroom problem, (2) diagnosing organizational needs, and (3) establishing colleague and principal support for change. Clearly these skills can be taught; with such expertise at hand school administrators may be influenced to provide the opportunity for their practice in new forms of school organization.

Confrontation Search. Some organizational change experts suggest starting a renewal or change process with a "confrontation-search" design. Essentially what is required is that some presentation be made of a dilemma or serious problem; this presentation needs to be as real or engaging as possible. Then participants are provided with a range of resource materials potentially applicable to an elaboration, investigation and/or resolution of the confrontation. The individual or collective search through such materials reflects and defines the direction of members' major interests. One example of such confrontation materials for use with teachers might include tape recordings and reports of comments made by Negro and white students describing exactly what it is like to attend a newly desegregated classroom.[34] Search resource materials for teachers faced with this confrontation might include colleagues who have had such experiences, a compendia of potentially useful classroom practices, social science

reports, parents and community leaders and perhaps youngsters themselves.

Problem Solving Exercises. One particularly useful strategy for retraining classroom teachers which may grow out of such a search focuses upon the use of personal or organizational systems of problem solving. Schmuck, Chesler and Lippitt list a five phase problem solving process as: (1) identifying classroom problems; (2) diagnosing classroom problems; (3) developing a plan; (4) taking action and; (5) feedback and evaluation.[35] This empirical-rational approach places a premium upon step by step analyses of contemporary states of affairs preliminary to action-taking. For teachers who often operate on purely intuitive or traditionally authoritative grounds there is every possibility that classroom teaching can be dramatically improved through the learning of this self-training methodology. A similar model for use with members of an entire school system has been suggested by Jung, Fox and Lippitt.[36] The major hope of most of these problem solving strategies is that once skills of this sort have been taught, teachers or administrators can continue to apply them to new situations.

Derivations from Behavioral Science. A variant of the problem solving process has recently been proposed by scientists concerned with ways in which behavioral science knowledge and methods can be utilized to improve social practice. A focus on the process by which practical suggestions can be derived from research findings has been

suggested by Jung and Lippitt. These authors stress the fact that: "Research findings seldom provide direct answers about what the educator should do in dealing with a problem."[37] Teachers have to go beyond the data or empirical generalizations to derive implications relevant to their own classroom. In the particular context with which we are concerned, a potentially useful research finding might be: persons from divergent ethnic or task groupings may be able to collaborate if a situation encourages them to commit themselves to superordinate goals that are of a higher priority than personal goals or fears.[38] The problems of deriving classroom practices from this finding include specifying what such terms mean for the classroom, and then devising instructional programs that operationalize such terms. For instance, what are some naturally diverse goals or group formations in the classroom? What could be a superordinate goal? A class that decides to take communal responsibility for raising funds for a war orphan might so commit every person to this work that other problems in social interaction could become secondary. Boys and girls, rival club members, Negroes and whites, and students and teachers, may all be able to foreswear inter-group bickering and distance in their attempt to attain this embracing goal. In the process of this work they may also learn some lessons about the possibility of true collaboration that might affect other elements of classroom life.

It undoubtedly would be useful if scientists were able to present a list of educational and social scientific findings considered

relevant for the interracial classroom.[39] But even if this were done it would only be the first step in the derivation process. School people would then need to specify and program these findings to create classroom strategies. Most appropriately, these alternative strategies should be clarified again with the scientist in order to check the accuracy of their derivation from the original findings or conceptual model. It is possible to begin this derivation process from the practitioners' point of view as well. In this variant a teacher may identify a problem and articulate some needs for knowledge relevant to these problems. When the scientist brings his expertise to bear these inquiry areas the derivation of action alternatives can begin again. In this case this strategy of educational change clearly requires the development of a new collaborative form, a new marriage, between scientists and practitioners.

<u>External Consultations</u>. In any of these above strategies it is possible to employ an external consultant to help deal with the problems attendant upon racial change in the schools. Unfortunately, many school system leaders request such temporary and external agents to <u>solve</u> their problems. Most of the time this is an impossible task obvious even to the most casual observer, but needs to help and to be helped may be so great as to overcome such rational considerations. If we are committed to a person's or a system's continuing ability to grow and develop, the consultation process must include teaching clients ways of solving their own problems.[40] This clearly cannot be

accomplished by a quick meal of all the "right" answers, even if such a menu were available. Perhaps a helpful activity in this regard might involve a short course for educational practitioners on "how to use a consultant." This critical intelligence might assist school systems to build such key external resources into their on-going strategies for educational change in more meaningful ways. One particularly useful way to employ consultant expertise could focus on the more refined or precise design of teacher training programs such as those discussed here. If a panel of consultants from various institutions or disciplines could be collected they might bring a very rich and varied set of resources to bear on the critical problems of designing teacher learning and re-learning experiences.

SOME CONCLUDING DESIGN PROBLEMS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Many of the educational change strategies described in this paper have been tried and reported without benefit of clear research on their actual effects. Moreover, some of the particular combinations of possible targets and strategies may not even have been tried. While we are personally deeply committed to serious and long-range research and evaluation efforts, it is clear that the problems of racial change and improved educational management can not wait for such results. School people, must, on the basis of the best intelligence they can muster, make this leap to action partly on the basis of faith. There are, however, several ways to provide expertise or good guesses about workable programs that rely neither upon well validated research nor

upon faith alone. First, most documentary or descriptive reports typically include some subjective evaluation of their efforts which can be helpful in designing modifications of their approach. Beyond this examination of careful documentation efforts a school system can plan change efforts on the basis of well-constructed and considered theoretical or conceptual models of teaching, of race relations, or of educational change. Probably the most attractive and often overlooked possibility would involve a school system's investment in a pilot project and in an attempt to collect extensive feedback or evaluative data on this effort. These data can then be analyzed, shared with participants, and used as guides to further planning and program refinement.

A number of the strategies we have discussed have not been tried with specifically interracial populations or concerns. That they have not is in part testimony to the reluctance with which even forward looking educators have attempted to deal with matters of race relations in the schools. But those principles and strategies which have facilitated various forms of school and teacher change should be quite relevant with this particular racial focus as well. Although some problems will probably take on a peculiar hue, and some new priorities and problems will undoubtedly arise, the fact that we are dealing with interracial issues should not mitigate seriously the value of good designs for educational change.

It has been mentioned earlier, and should be stressed, that neither list of targets or strategies is mutually exclusive; in fact the most effective retraining designs may include multiple targets and strategies. Just to take the first target as an example; a teacher's knowledge about youngsters can be improved by reading, by receiving survey data on his own class, by engaging in research retrieval activities, or by talking with other teachers working with similar students. Given teachers' probable resistance to admitting publicly his own negative or positive views of racial matters, the second target--a teacher's own views--may be best dealt with through laboratory training or survey feedback strategies; books, other teachers and consultants may not be particularly helpful in this instance. Of course any particular mix or design utilized by a school system will need to be a unique blend of targets and strategies that best meets this system's special characteristics and goals. The selection and combination of particular design elements is a crucially important task and one which also requires a high degree of skill and experience. It might be well for any school system starting out in these directions to experiment with a variety of designs and a variety of ways of creating designs. As noted earlier, the creation of a program is one task for which an external consultant's expertise may be especially important and useful.

Another important feature of the designs and strategies discussed here is their implicit reliance upon long term involvement.

Some of these designs have been tried in one-day, two-day, one-week or one-month programs. Clearly the longer programs permit more extended inquiry and practice, but they are not always feasible within the normal operating and financial conditions that predominate in schools. Regardless of the specific length of programs, one-shot efforts and isolated training institutes have very little chance of enabling changed attitudes and roles, or the best of new intentions and desires, to be translated into new classroom behaviors or new organizational forms. Teachers who are attempting change need the continuing support that can be provided by a series of meetings and a total system commitment to change efforts. The necessity for such commitment raises the problem of how best to recruit the involvement of teachers and systems. Clearly it is unsatisfactory to wait for riots or student-community protests before developing new programs; school systems need to consider what more positive stimuli or rewards can be offered to encourage participation in such professional growth opportunities.

Finally, all of the designs outlined here can be implemented within the context of the contemporary educational establishment. No proposal here refers to a basic restructuring or destructuring of school systems as they are presently constituted. There is every reason to believe that community members and educators of various persuasions can collaborate somewhere within this context; however, there is no reason to assume that this framework should limit our imagination. To go beyond this context is to reduce the possibility of collaboration, perhaps even of collaborative conflict;

it also reduces the amount of control teachers and administrators are likely to have over the change process. But none of this seems to us necessarily to be bad; it does not mean positive and productive change cannot happen when it is neither designed nor controlled by professional educators. It does seem quite clear that unless energetic and committed attention is paid to experimenting with, refining and successfully utilizing designs of the sort noted here, the press of the changing world around the schools will move us rapidly to what will be for most educators more threatening, more disturbing and less palatable alternatives.

FOOTNOTES

1/ Racial Isolation in the Public Schools. Washington, D. C., U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967. Hansen, C., The Scholastic Performance of Negro and White Pupils in the Integrated Public Schools of the District of Columbia, Harvard Educational Review, 1960, 30, 216-236; Stallings, F., A Study of the Immediate Effects of Integration on Scholastic Achievement in the Louisville Public Schools, Journal of Negro Education, 1959, 28, 439-444.

2/ Katz, I., Review of Evidence Relating to Effects of Desegregation on the Intellectual Performance of Negroes, American Psychologist, 1964, 19, 381-399. Katzenmeyer, W., Social Interaction and Differences in Intelligence Test Performance of Negro and White Elementary School Pupils. Dissertation abstracts, 1963, 24, 1905.

3/ Some of the early research in housing and summer camp situations which supports this proposition is summarized in: Selltiz, C. and Cook, S. The Effects of Personal Contact on Intergroup Relations. Theory into Practice, 1963, 2, 158-166.

4/ Some of these students' changes in Northern and Southern situations are reported in: Chesler, M. and Segal, P. Characteristics of Negro Students Attending Previously All-White Public Schools in the Deep South. Ann Arbor, Michigan, Institute for Social Research. Lombardi, D., Factors Affecting Change in Attitude Towards Negroes Among High School Students. Journal of Negro Education, Spring, 1963. Webster, S. The Influence of Interracial Contact on Social Acceptance in a Newly Integrated School. Journal of Ed. Psy., 1961, 52.

5/ A more detailed discussion on some of these issues appears in: Schmuck, R., Chesler, M. and Lippitt, R. Problem Solving in the Classroom, Chicago, Illinois, Science Research Associates, 1966.

6/ The proposition that teachers often hold and communicate low estimates of minority youngsters' abilities to these students is presented in: Niemeyer, J. Some Guidelines to Desirable Elementary School Reorganization. In Programs for the Educationally Disadvantaged. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1962: Youth in the Ghetto, New York, Harlem Youth Opportunities Unl., 1964; Bloom, B., Davis, A. and Hess, R. Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation, New York, N. Y., Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.

7/ Sharing as used here refers to more than information exchange; it also implies the establishment of a professionally helpful and reciprocal interpersonal relationship. The positions that many problems and fears are not shared, that teachers often do not exchange and critique colleagues' styles and techniques, and the importance of such sharing for professional growth and competence are discussed in: Chesler, M. and Barakat, H. The Innovation and Sharing of Teaching Practices 1: A Study of Professional Roles and Social Structures in Schools. Final Report: U.S. Office of Ed. Coop. Res. Project #2636, Ann Arbor; Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1967; Fox, R. and Lippitt, R. The Innovation and Sharing of Teaching Practices, 11: Stimulating Adoption and Adaptation of Selected Teaching Practices. Final Report, U.S. Office of Ed. Coop. Res. Project #D-137, Ann Arbor, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1967.

8/ There is little research, and few efforts at the derivation or retrieval of instructional practices, directly relevant to the particular problems of the interracial classroom. Several useful books that have begun these tasks include: Beck, J., and Saxe, R. (Ed) Teaching the Culturally Deprived Pupil, Springfield, Illinois, C. Thomas Co. 1965; Giles, H. The Integrated Classroom, New York, Basic Books, 1959; Noar, G. The Teacher and Integration, Washington, D.C., National Education Association, 1966.

9/ Lippitt, R. Improving the Socialization Process. In Watson (Ed) Change in School Systems. Washington, D.C., National Training Laboratories, 1967, p. 30-51.

10/ Fox, R. In-Service Education for Innovation and Change. In Rogge & Stormer In-Service Training: for Teachers of the Gifted. Champaign, Illinois, Stipes Publishing Company, 1966.

11/ Haubrich, V., Teachers for Big City Schools, In Passow (Ed) Education in Depressed Areas. New York, Columbia, 1963, p. 246-7.

12/ For a broad range of examples of variables and instruments classroom teachers may find useful in this regard see: Fox, R., Luski, M. and Schmuck, R. Diagnosing Classroom Learning Environments. Chicago, Science Research Associates, 1966.

13/ Chesler and Segal, op. cit.

14/ Haubrich, op.cit.

15/ Foley, W. Teaching Disadvantaged Pupils. In J. Beck and R. Saxe, op.cit. pp. 89-108. See also sources noted in footnote 5, above, and Racial Isolation in the Public Schools.

16/ Coles reports ways in which southern white teachers wrestled with the control of their anti-desegregation views in order to fulfill their professional educational commitments to equal educational treatment: Coles, R. The Desegregation of Southern Schools, Atlanta, Southern Regional Council and Anti-Defamation League, 1963.

17/ This position is amplified, and remedial suggestions offered in: Jung, C. and Lippitt, R. The Study of Change as a Concept in Research Utilization. Theory into Practice, 1966, 5, 25-29.

18/ Chesler, M. and Fox, R. Teacher Peer Relations and Educational Change, National Educational Association Journal, 1967, 56, 25-26.

19/ Chesler, M., Schmuck, R., Lippitt, R. The Principal's Role in Facilitating Innovation. Theory Into Practice, 1963, 2, 269-276.

20/ Chesler, M., In Their Own Words, Atlanta, Southern Regional Council, 1967, p. 6-7.

21/ Giles, op.cit; Noar, op.cit; Bash, J. Effective Teaching in the Desegregated School, Bloomington, Indiana, Phi Delta Kappa, 1966; Weinberg, M. Research on School Desegregation, Chicago, Integrated Education Associates, 1965.

23/ Beck and Saxe, op.cit.

24/ Schmuck, Chesler and Lippitt, op.cit; Chesler, M. & Fox, R. Role Playing in the Classroom. Chicago, Science Research Associates, 1966.

25/ The World of the Troubled Youth, Reading, Mass. Addison-Wesley. Some component units in this series include The Vicious Cycle, 1966; The In-Betweeners, 1967; The Latchkey Child, (In preparation); The Deciders (In preparation); Bridging the Generations (In preparation).

26/ More elaborate discussions of the theory and practice of laboratory learning methods and sensitivity training groups can be found in: Bradford, L., Gibb, J., and Benne, K. (Ed) T-Group Theory and Laboratory Method New York, Wiley, 1964: Schein, E. and Bennis, W. Personal and Organizational Change Through Group Methods: The Laboratory Approach, New York, Wiley, 1965.

27/ Rubin, I. The Reduction of Prejudice Through Laboratory Training. Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 1967, 3, 29-51. A pair of excellent reports discussing and annotating research in the general area of human relations training is: Harrison, R., Problems in the Design and Interpretation of Research on Human Relations Training, and Durham, L., Gibb, J., & Knowles, E. A bibliography of research. Explorations in Human Relations Training & Research, 1967, #1. Washington, D.C., National Training Laboratories.

28/ Ellis, B. & Burke, W. A Design for Training Discussion Leaders. National Training Laboratory Training News 1967, 11, 1-3.

29/ See especially: Mann, F. Studying and Creating Change. In Benne, Bennis and Chin (Ed) The Planning of Change, N.Y., Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1962, pp. 605-615: Miles, M., Calder, P., Hornstein, H., Callahan, D., & Schiavo, S. Data Feedback and Organizational Change in School System. Paper presented at meetings of the American Sociological Association, 1966: Neff, F. Survey research: A Tool for Problem Diagnosis and Improvement in Organziations. In Gouldner & Miller (Ed) Applied Sociology, Opportunities and Problems. N.Y. Free Press, 1965, p. 23-38.

30/ Flanders, N. Helping Teachers Change Their Behavior, Ann Arbor, Michigan, School of Education, 1965. Gage, N., Runkel, P., and Chatterjee, B. Changing Teacher Behavior Through Feedback from Pupils: an application of equilibrium theory. In Charters and Gage (Ed) Readings in the Social Psychology of Education. Boston, Allyn * Bacon, 1963, pp. 173-181.

31/ Fox, R. and Lippitt, R. op.cit. Although the entire report provides several examples see especially Chapter 7. Another example of sharing between schools or school systems is reported by: Shepard, S. and Hunnicut, C., Institute on Urban Elementary School Desegregation (Summary Report) Syracuse, Syracuse University, 1966.

32/ Chesler and Barakat, op.cit.

33/ This literature is reviewed and conceptualized quite clearly in: Katz, D. & Kahn, R., The Social Psychology of Organizations, New York, Wiley, 1966: Likert, R. New Patterns of Management, New York, McGraw Hill, 1961.

34/ Chesler, M. In Their Own Words, Atlanta, Georgia, Southern Regional Council, 1967. A similar resource used in college classes involved a series of brief essays written by white and Negro collegians about their feelings toward people of another race: Chesler, M. (Ed) How Do You Negroes Feel About Whites and How Do You Whites Feel About Negroes. Ann Arbor, Institute for Social Research, 1966.

35/ op.cit.

36/ Jung, C., Fox, R., and Lippitt, R. An orientation and strategy for working on problems of change in school systems. In Watson (Ed) Change in School Systems Washington, D.C., National Training Laboratories, 1967, pp. 89-106. See also: Watson, G. Toward a Conceptual Architecture of a Self-Renewing School System. In Watson, op.cit. p. 106-115: and Schaevitz, M. School System Personnel as Scientific Inquiries. Ann Arbor, mimeo, 1967.

37/ op.cit. p. 26-7.

38/ Just such a finding results from several experiments with adolescent social organizations reported in: Sherif, M. In Common Predicament, Boston, Houghton- Mifflin 1966; Sherif, M. Harvey, O.J., White, B., Hood, W. and Sherif, C. Intergroup Conflict & Cooperation: The Robbers Cave Experiment. Norman, Okla., University of Oklahoma Press, 1961.

39/ A good start of a list dealing with classrooms in general has been prepared by: Schmuck, R. Some Generalizations from Research on the Socialization of Youth. Philadelphia, Temple University, 1966.

40/ Reports relevant to problems incurred in such efforts include: Lippitt, G. A Study of the Consultation Process. Journal of Social Issues, 1959, 10, 43-50; Lippitt, R. Dimensions of the Consultant's Job. Journal of Social Issues, 1959, 10, 5-12; Gouldner, A. Engineering and Clinical Approaches to Consulting. In Benne, Bennis and Chin (Ed) The Planning of Change, N.Y., Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961; Chesler, M. and Flanders, M. Resistance to Research and Research Utilization. Journal of Applied Behavioral Sciences, 1967 (In Press).

ALTERNATIVE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS:
A RESPONSE TO AMERICA'S EDUCATIONAL EMERGENCY

Prepared by
Kenneth B. Clark, President
Metropolitan Applied Research Center
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

I. The Facts

It is now clear that American public education is organized and functions along social and economic class lines. A bi-racial public school system, wherein approximately 90 per cent of American children are required to attend segregated schools is one of the clearest manifestations of this basic fact. The difficulties encountered in attempting to desegregate public schools in the South as well as in the North point to the tenacity of the forces seeking to prevent any basic change in the system.

The class and social organization of American public schools is consistently associated with a lower level of educational efficiency in the less privileged schools. This lower efficiency is expressed in terms of the fact that the schools attended by Negro and poor children have less adequate educational facilities than those attended by more

privileged children. Teachers tend to resist assignments in Negro and other underprivileged schools and generally function less adequately in these schools. Their morale is generally lower; they are not adequately supervised and they tend to see their students as less capable of learning. The parents of the children in these schools are usually unable to bring about any positive changes in the conditions of these schools.

The general pervasive and persistent educational inefficiency which characterizes these schools results in:

1. marked and cumulative academic retardation in a disproportionately high percentage of these children beginning in the third or fourth grade and increasing through the eighth grade;

2. a high percentage of dropouts in the junior and senior high schools of students unequipped academically and occupationally for a constructive role in society;

3. a pattern of rejection and despair and hopelessness resulting in massive human wastage.

Given these conditions, American public schools have become significant instruments in the blocking of economic mobility and in the intensification of class distinctions rather than fulfilling their historic function of facilitating such mobility.

In effect, the public schools have become captives of a middle class who have failed to use them to aid others also to move into the middle class--it might even be possible to interpret the role of the controlling middle class as that of using the public schools to block further mobility.

What are the implications of this existing educational inefficiency? In the national interest it is a serious question whether the United States Government can afford the continuation of the wastage of human resources at this period of world history. We cannot conclusively demonstrate a relation between educational inefficiency and other symptoms of personal and social pathology such as crime, delinquency, pervasive urban decay, but there is strong evidence that these are correlates.

Increasing industrialization and automation of our economy will demand larger numbers of skilled and educated and fewer uneducated workers. The manpower needs of contemporary America require business and industry to pay for the added burden of re-educating the mis-educated. This is a double taxation. The burdens of the present inefficient public education include the double taxation in addition to the high cost of crime and family instability and the artificial constriction of the labor and consumer market.

Beyond these material disadvantages are the human costs inherent in the demand of equality of educational opportunity. This dehumanization contributes significantly to the cycle of pathology--poor education, menial jobs or unemployment, family instability, group and personal powerlessness. This passive pathology weakens the fabric of the entire society.

II. Obstacles to the Attainment of Efficient Education

The obstacles which interfere with the attainment of efficient public education fall into many categories. Among them are those obstacles which reflect historical premises and dogmas about education, administrative realities, and psychological assumptions and prejudices.

The historical premises and dogmas include such fetishes as the inviolability of the Neighborhood School concept which might include the belief that schools should be economically and racially homogeneous.

The administrative barriers involve such problems as those incurred in the transportation of children from residential neighborhoods to other areas of the city. Here again the issue is one of relative advantages of the status quo versus the imperatives for change.

The residual psychological prejudices take many forms and probably underlie the apparent inability of society to resolve the historical and administrative problems. Initially the academic retardation of Negro children was explained in terms of their inherent racial inferiority. The existence of segregated schools was supported either by law or explained in terms of the existence of segregated neighborhoods. More recently the racial inferiority or legal and custom interpretations have given way to more subtle explanations and support for continued inefficient education. Examples are theories of "cultural deprivation" and related beliefs that the culturally determined educational inferiority of Negro children will impair the ability of white children to learn if they are taught in the same classes. It is assumed that because of their background, Negro children and their parents are poorly motivated for academic achievement and will not only not be able to compete with white children but will also retard the white children. The implicit and at times explicit assumption of these cultural deprivation theories is that the environmental deficits which Negro children bring with them to school make it

difficult, if not impossible, for them to be educated either in racially homogeneous or hetrogeneous schools. This point of view, intentionally or not, tends to support the pervasive rejection of Negro children and obscures and intensifies the basic problem.

There are more flagrant sources of opposition to any effective desegregation of American public schools. White Citizens groups in the South, Parents and Taxpayers groups in the North, and the control of boards of education by whites who identify either overtly or covertly with the more vehement opposition to change are examples of effective resistance. School officials and professional educators have defaulted in their educational responsibility for providing educational leadership. They have tended, for the most part, to go along with the level of community readiness and the "political realities." They have been accessories to the development and use of various subterfuges and devices for giving the appearance of change without its substance and, in doing so, have failed to present the problem of the necessary school reorganization in educational terms. This seems equally true of teachers and teachers' organizations. In some cases, teachers, textbooks, and other teaching materials have either contributed to or failed to counteract racism.

Within the past two years another formidable and insidious barrier in the way of the movement towards effective, desegregated public schools has emerged in the form of the black power movement and its demands for racial separatism. Some of the more vocal of the black power advocates who have addressed themselves to the problems of education have explicitly and implicitly argued for Negroes' control of

"Negro Schools". Some have asserted that there should be separate school districts organized to control the schools in all-Negro residential areas; that there should be Negro Boards of Education, Negro Superintendents of Schools, Negro faculty and Negro curricula and materials. These demands are clearly a rejection of the goals of nonsegregated education and a return to the pursuit of the myth of the possibility of an efficient "separate but equal" -- or the pathetic wish for a separate and superior -- racially organized system of education. One may view this current trend whereby some Negroes themselves seem to be asking for a racially segregated system of education as a reflection of the frustration resulting from white resistance to genuine desegregation of the public schools since the _Brown_ decision and as a reaction to the reality that the equality of education in the _de facto_ segregated Negro schools in the north and the Negro schools in the south has steadily deteriorated under the present system of white control.

In spite of these explanations, the demand for segregated schools can be no more acceptable coming from Negroes than they are coming from white segregationists, there is no reason to believe, and certainly there is no evidence to support the contention, that all-Negro schools, controlled by Negroes, will be any more efficient in preparing American children to contribute constructively to the realities of the present and future world. The damage inherent in racially isolated schools was persuasively documented by the comprehensive study conducted by the United States Commission on Civil Rights*.

---

*_Racial Isolation in the Public Schools_, A Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967.

Furthermore, the more subtle and insidious educational deprivation for white children who are required to attend all-white schools is totally impaired by both the black and white advocates of racially homogeneous schools.

III. Attempts at Remedies

In spite of these obstacles in the path of genuine desegregation of American public schools and the attainment of effective, non-racially constrained education for all American children, there have been persistent attempts to compensate for the deficits of racial isolation in the American public schools. A tremendous amount of energy and money has been expended in the attempt to develop special programs designed to improve the academic achievement of Negro children, who are the most obvious victims of inferior, racially segregated public schools.

The United States Commission on Civil Rights report, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, has presented facts which raise questions concerning the long-range effectiveness of these programs. There is some evidence that these special programs do some good and help some children; but they clearly underline the inadequacy of the regular education these children receive. In addition to the fact that they obscure the overriding reality that underprivileged children are being systematically short-changed in their regular segregated and inferior schools, these programs may also be seen as a type of commitment for the continuation of segregated education.

If one accepts the premise which seems supported by all available evidence, and above all by the reasoning of the Brown

decision, that racially segregated schools are inherently inferior, it would seem to follow that all attempts to improve the quality of education in all-Negro and all-white schools would have necessarily limited positive effects. All programs designed to raise the quality of education in racially homogeneous schools would therefore have to be seen as essentially evasive programs or as the first stage in an inferior approach to a serious plan for effective desegregation of public schools. Given the resistance to direct an immediate reorganization of the present system of racially organized schools to a more effective system of racially heterogeneous schools, one may be required to attempt to increase the efficiency of education in all-Negro schools as a necessary battle in the larger struggle for racially desegregated schools.

The problem of the extent to which it is possible to provide excellent education in a predominantly Negro school should be reexamined thoroughly in spite of the basic premise of the Brown decision that racially segregated schools are inherently inferior. Some questions which we must now dare to ask and seek to answer as the basis for a new strategy in the assault against the inhumanity of the American system of racial segregation are:

1. Is the present pattern of massive educational inferiority and inefficiency found in predominantly Negro schools inherent and inevitable in racially segregated schools?

2. Is there anything which can be done within the Negro schools to raise them to a tolerable level of educational efficiency--or to raise them to a level of educational excellence?

If the answer to the first question is _yes_ and to the second question is _no_, then the strategy of continued and intensified assault on the system of segregated schools is justified and should continue unabated since there is no hope of raising the quality of education for Negro children as long as they are condemned to segregated schools--there is no hope of salvaging them. If, on the other hand, the answers to the above questions are reversed it would suggest that a shift in strategy and tactics, without giving up the ultimate goals of eliminating the dehumanizing force of racial segregation from American life, would be indicated. This would suggest that given the present strong and persistent resistance to any serious and effective desegregation of our public schools, that the bulk of the available organizational, human, and financial resources and specialized skills be mobilized and directed toward obtaining the highest quality of education for Negro students without regard to the racial composition of the schools which they attend. This would demand a massive, system-wide educational enrichment program designed to obtain educational excellence in the schools attended by Negro children.

Recent experiences in New York City, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia and other northern cities reveal that this temporary shift in the battleground will not in itself lead to any easier victory. School boards and public school officials seem as resistant to developing or implementing programs designed to improve the quality and efficiency of education provided for Negro children in segregated schools as they are deaf to all requests for effective desegregation plans and programs. The interests and desires of white middle class parents,

groups, organizations and the interests of the increasingly powerful teachers' federations and professional supervisory associations are invariably given priority over the desire of Negro parents for non-segregated quality education for their children. The interests of the white parents, teachers and supervisors are often perceived by them as inimical to the desires of the Negro parents. Furthermore, the capture and control of the public schools by the white middle class parents and teachers provided the climate within which the system of racially segregated and inferior schools could be developed, expanded and reinforced; and within which the public schools became instruments for blocking rather than facilitating the upward mobility of Negroes and other lower status groups. One, therefore, could not expect these individuals and groups to be sympathetic and responsive to the pleas of Negro parents for higher quality education for their children. Negro parents and organizations must accept and plan their strategy in terms of the fact that adversaries in the battle for higher quality education for Negro children will be as numerous and as formidable as the adversaries in the battle for nonsegregated schools. Indeed they will be the same individuals, officials and groups in different disguises and with different excuses for inaction but with the same powerful weapons of evasion, equivocation, inaction or tokenism.

An effective strategy for the present and the future requires rigorous and honest appraisal of all of the ralities, a tough-minded diagnosis of the strengths and weaknesses of the Negro and his allies. We cannot now permit ourselves to be deluded by wishful thinking, sentimental optimism or rigid and oversimplified ideological postures.

We must be tough-mindedly pragmatic and flexible as we seek to free our children from the cruel and dehumanizing inferior and segregated education inflicted upon them by the insensitive, indifference, affably and at times callously rigid custodians of American public education.

In developing a presently appropriate strategy and the related flexible tactics, it must be clearly understood that the objective of increasing the quality of education provided for Negro children is not a substitute for or a retreat from the fundamental goal of removing the anachronism of racially segregated schools from American life. The objective of excellent education for Negro and other lower status children is inextricably linked with the continuing struggle to desegregate public education. All of the public school, college and professional school civil rights litigation instituted by the legal staff of the NAACP arose from recognition of the obvious fact that the segregated schools which Negroes were forced by law to attend were inferior and therefore damaging and violative of the equal protection clause to the 14th amendment of the United States Constitution.

The suggested shift in emphasis from desegregation to quality of education is not a retreat into the blind alley of accepting racial separation as advocated by the Negro nationalist groups; nor is it the acceptance of defeat in the battle for desegregation. It is rather a regrouping of forces, a shift in battle plans and an attempt to determine the most vulnerable flanks of the opposition as the basis for major attack. The resisting educational bureaucracies,

their professional staffs, and the segment of the white public which has not yet been infected fatally by the American racist disease are most vulnerable to attack on the issue of the inferior quality of education found in Negro schools and the need to institute a plan immediately to raise the educational level of these schools. The economic, political, military, social stability, international, democratic, humane and self interests arguments in favor of an immediate massive program for educational excellence in predominantly Negro schools are so persuasive as to be irrefutable. The expected resistance should be overcome with intelligently planned and sustained efforts.

The first phase of an all-out attack on the inferior education now found in racially segregated schools should be coordinated with a strategy and program for massive and realistic desegregation of entire school systems. This more complicated phase of the overall struggle will continue to meet the resistances of the past with increased intensity. It will be necessary, therefore, to break this task down into its significant components and determine the timing and phasing of the attack on each or combinations of the components. For example:

--The evidence and arguments demonstrating the detrimental effects of segregated schools on the personality and effectiveness of white children should be gathered, evaluated and widely disseminated in ways understandable to the masses of whites.

--The need to reorganize large public school systems away from the presently inefficient and uneconomic neighborhood schools to more modern and viable systems of organization such as

educational parks, campuses, clusters must be sold to the general public in terms of hard dollars and cents and educational efficiency benefiting all children rather than in terms of public school desegregation.

--The need to consolidate small, uneconomic and relatively ineffective school districts into larger educational and fiscal systems in order to obtain more efficient education for suburban and exurban children must also be sold in direct practical terms rather than in terms of desegregation of schools.

--The need to involve large metropolitan regional planning in the mobilization, utilization and distribution of limited educational resources on a more efficient level must also be explored and discussed publicly.

--The movement toward decentralization of large urban school systems must be carefully monitored in order to see that decentralization does not reinforce or concretize urban public school segregation--and to assure that decentralization is consistent with the more economically determined trend toward consolidation and regional planning allocation of resources and cooperation.

A final indication that the phase 1 struggle for excellent education for Negro children in ghetto schools is not inconsistent with the phase 2 struggle for nonsegregated education for all children is to be seen in the fact that if it were possible to raise the quality of education provided for Negro children who attend the urban schools to a level of unquestioned excellence it is possible that this would stem

the flight of middle class whites to the suburbs and reattract some of those who have already left back to the city. Hence a phase 1 activity would increase the chances of obtaining nonsegregated education in our cities. Similarly some of the program suggestions of phase 2, such as educational parks and campuses and the possibilities of regional planning and educational cooperation across present municipal boundaries could lead to a substantial degree of public school desegregation involving a significant proportion of Negro and white children.

The goal of high quality education for Negro and lower status children and the goal of public school desegregation are inextricable; the attainment of the one will lead to the attainment of the other. It is not likely that there could be effective desegregation of the schools without a marked increase in the academic achievement and personal and social effectiveness of Negro and white children. Neither is it possible to have a marked increase in the educational efficiency of Negro schools and the resulting dramatic increase in the academic performance of Negro children without directly and indirectly facilitating the process of public school desegregation.

IV. Problems of Educational Monoply

It is possible that all attempts to improve the quality of education in contemporary, racially-segregated public schools,and all attempts to desegregate these schools will have minimal positive results. The rigidity of present patterns of public school organization and the concomitant stagnation in quality of education and academic performance of children may not be amenable to any attempts at change working through and within the present system.

Until the influx of minority group youngsters into urban public schools, the American public school system was justifiably credited with being the chief instrument for making the American dream of upward social, economic and political mobility a reality. The depressed immigrants from southern and eastern Europe could use American public schools as the ladder toward the goals of assimilation and success. The past successes of American public education seem undebatable. The fact that American public schools were effective mobility vehicles for white American immigrants makes even more stark and intolerable their present ineffectiveness for minority group children. Now it appears that the present system of organization and functioning of urban public schools is a chief blockage in the mobility of the masses of Negro and other lower status minority group children. The inefficiency of their schools and the persistence and acceptance of the explanations for this generalized inefficiency are clear threats to the viability of our cities and national stability. The relationship between long standing urban problems of poverty, crime and delinquency, broken homes--the total cycle of pathology, powerlessness, personal and social destructiveness-which haunt our urban ghettos and the breakdown in the efficiency of our public schools is now unavoidably clear. It is not enough for those responsible for our public schools to assert passively that the schools merely reflect the pathologies and injustices of our society. Public schools and their administrators must assert boldly that education must dare to challenge and change society toward social justice as the basis for democratic stability.

There remains the disturbing question--a most relevant question probably too painful for educators themselves to ask--whether the selective process involved in training and promoting educators and administrators for our public schools emphasize qualities of passivity, conformity, caution, smoothness, superficial affability rather than boldness,creativity, substance and the ability to demand and obtain those things which are essential for solid and effective public education for all children. If this is true, then all hopes that the imperative reforms which must be made so that city public schools can return to a level of innovation and excellence are reduced to a minimum, if not totally eliminated, if we are dependent upon the present educational establishment.

The racial components of the present crisis in urban public education clearly make the possibilities of solution more difficult and may contribute to the passivity and pervading sense of hopelessness of school administrators. Aside from any latent or subtle racism which might infect school personnel themselves, they are hampered by the gnawing awareness that with the continuing flight of middle class whites from urban public schools and with the increasing competition which education must make for a fair share of the tax dollar, it is quite possible that Americans will decide deliberately or by default to sacrifice urban public schools on the altars of its historic and contemporary forms of racism. If this can be done without any real threat to the important segments of economic and political power in the society and with only Negro children as the victims, then there is no realistic basis for hope that our urban public schools will be saved.

The hope for a realistic approach to saving public education in American cities seems to this observer to be found in finding the formula whereby it can be demonstrated to the public at large that the present level of public school inefficiency has reached an intolerable stage of public calamity. It must be demonstrated that minority group children are not the only victims of the monopolistic inefficiency of our present pattern of organization and functioning of our public schools.

It must be demonstrated that white children--privileged white children whose parents understandably seek to protect them by moving to suburbs and private and parochial schools--also suffer potentially and immediately.

It must be demonstrated that business and industry suffer intolerable financial burdens of double and triple taxation in seeking to maintain a stable economy in the face of the public school inefficiency which produces human casualties, rather than constructive human beings.

It must be demonstrated that the cost in correctional, welfare and health services are intolerably high in seeking to cope with consequences of educational inefficiency--that it would be more economical,, even for an affluent society, to pay the price and meet the demands of efficient public education.

It must be demonstrated that a nation which presents itself to the world as the guardian of democracy and the protector of human values throughout the world cannot itself make a mockery of these significant ethical principles by dooming one tenth of its own population

to a lifetime of inhumane futility because of remediable educational deficiencies in its public schools.

These must be understood and there must be the commitment to make the average American understand them if our public schools and our cities are to be effective.

But it does not seem likely that the changes necessary for increased efficiency of our urban public schools will come about because they should. Our urban public school systems seem muscle bound with tradition. They seem to represent the most rigid forms of bureaucracies which are paradoxically most resilient in their ability and use of devices to resist rational or irrational demands for change. What is most important in understanding the ability of the educational establishment to resist change is the fact that public school systems are protected public monopolies with only minimal competition from private and parochial schools. Few critics--even severe ones such as myself--of the American urban public schools dare to question the givens of the present orgainization of public education in terms of local control of public schools; in terms of existing municipal or political boundaries; or in terms of the rights and prerogatives of boards of education to establish policy and select professional staff--at least nominally or titularly if not actually; or the relevance of the criteria and standard for selecting superintendents, principals and teachers; or the relevance of all of these to the objectives of public education of producing a literate and informed public to carry on the business of democracy and the goals of producing human beings with social sensitivity and dignity and creativity and a respect for the humanity of others.

A monopoly need not genuinely concern itself with these matters. As long as local schools systems can be assured of state aid and increasing federal aid without the accountability which inevitably comes with aggressive competition, it would be sentimental, wishful thinking to expect any significant increase in the efficiency of our public schools. If there are no alternatives to the present system--short of present private and parochial schools which are approaching their limit of expansion--then the possibilities of improvement in public education are limited.

V. Alternative Forms of Public Education

Alternatives--realistic, aggressive and viable competitors--to the present public school systems must be found. The finding and developing of such competitive public school systems will be attacked by the defenders of the present system as attempts to weaken the present system and thereby weaken, if not destroy, public education. This type of expected self-serving argument can be briefly and accurately disposed of by asserting and demonstrating that truly effective competition strengthens rather than weakens that which deserves to survive. I would argue further that public education need not be identified with the present system of organization of public schools. Public education can be more broadly and pragmatically defined in terms of that form of organization and functioning of an educational system which is in the public interest. Given this definition, it becomes clear that an inefficient system of public systems is not in the public interest:

-- a system of public schools which destroys rather than

develops human positive potentialities is not in the public interest;

-- a system which consumes funds without demonstrating effective returns is not in the public interest;

-- a system which insists that its standards of performance should not or cannot be judged by those who must pay the cost is not in the public interest;

-- a system which says that the public has no competence to judge that a patently defective product is a sign of the system's inefficiency, and demands radical reforms, is not in the public interest;

-- a system which blames its human resources and its society while it quietly acquiesces and inadvertently perpetuates the very injustices which it claims limit its efficiency is not in the public interest.

Given these assumptions, therefore, it follows that alternative forms of public education must be developed if the children of our cities are to be educated and made constructive members of our society.

In the thinking of alternatives all attempts must at the same time be made to strengthen our present urban public schools. Such attempts would involve reexamination, revision, and strengthening of curricula, methods, personnel selection and evaluation; the development of more rigorous procedures of supervision, reward of superior performance and the institution of a realistic and tough system of

accountability, and the provision of meaningful ways of involving the parents and the community in the activities of the school.

In spite of the above, the following are suggested as possible realistic and practical competitors to the present form of urban public school systems:

1. Regional State Schools: These schools would be financed by the states and would cut across present urban-suburban boundaries.

2. Federal Regional Schools: These schools would be financed by the Federal Government out of present state aid funds or with additional federal funds. These schools would be able to cut through state boundaries and could make provisions for residential students.

3. College and University Related Open Schools: These schools would be financed by colleges and universities as part of their laboratories in education. They would be open to the public and not restricted to children of faculty and students. Obviously, public students would be selected in terms of constitutional criteria and their percentage determined by realistic considerations.

4. Industrial Demonstration Schools: These schools would be financed by industrial, business and commercial firms for their employees and selected members of the public. These would not be vocational schools--but elementary and comprehensive high schools of quality. They would be sponsored by combinations of business and industrial

firms in much the same way as churches and denominations sponsor and support parochial or sectarian schools.

5. <u>Labor Union Sponsored Schools</u>: These schools would be financed and sponsored by Labor Unions largely, but not exclusively, for the children of their members.

6. <u>Army Schools</u>: The Defense Department has been quietly effective in educating some of the casualties of our present public schools. It is hereby suggested that they now go into the business of repairing hundreds of thousands of these human casualties with affirmation rather than apology. Schools for adolescent drop-outs or educational rejects could be set up by the Defense Department adjacent to camps--but not necessarily an integral part of the military. If this is necessary, it should not block the attainment of the goal of rescuing as many of these young people as possible. They are not expendable on the altar of anti-militarism rhetoric.

With a strong, efficient and demonstrably excellent parallel system of public schools, organized and operating on a quasi-private level, and with quality control and professional accountability maintained and determined by Federal and State educational standards and supervision, it would be possible to bring back into public education a vitality and dynamism which are now clearly missing. Even the public discussion of these possibilities might clear away some of the dank stagnation which seems to be suffocating urban education today. American industrial and material wealth was made possible

through industrial competition. American educational health may be made possible through educational competition.

If we succeed, we will have returned to the dynamic, affirmative goal of education; namely, to free man of irrational fears, superstitions and hatreds. Specifically, in America the goal of democratic education must be to free Americans of the blinding and atrophying shackles of racism. A fearful, passive, apologetic and inefficient educational system cannot help in the attainment of these goals.

If we succeed in finding and developing these and better alternatives to the present educational inefficiency, we will not only save countless Negro children from lives of despair and hopelessness; thousands and thousands of white children from cynicism, moral emptiness and social ineptness--but we will also demonstrate the validity of our democratic promises. We also would have saved our civilization through saving our cities.

HOW EVANSTON, ILLINOIS INTEGRATED <u>ALL</u> OF ITS SCHOOLS

Prepared by
Gregory C. Coffin, Superintendent of Schools
Community Consolidated Schools, District 65
Cook County Evanston, Illinois
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

In a few brief pages I wish to present a sort of "cookbook" approach to school desegregation. The researchers resent this approach and talk about it in a deprecating way. But I am a pragmatic professional, and as such, I must be concerned with what actually works: I hope that we have theory to cover it.

Let me first of all describe our city to you very briefly. Evanston is small: our school district is only 9.46 square miles. The population of the school district, according to the 1960 U.S. Census, was 88,153. Again using '60 Census figures, we have 69,739 whites, 6,951 Negroes, and 2,593 of other races. This breakdown will not add up to the total. The missing 9,000 live in the Skokie part of our district. These people all are white.

Some people have the impression that Evanston is a wealthy, homogeneous suburb like Winnetka, Glencoe, or Highland Park. This is not the case at all. I don't mean to imply that Evanston is a poverty-stricken city. It's not! But it is reasonably heterogeneous and Table I, giving the percentage distribution of jobs, indicates the

TABLE I
EMPLOYMENT OF EVANSTON RESIDENTS

Professional	23.7%
Clerical	17.9%
Service	17.8%
Managers	13.5%
Sales	11.5%
Craftsmen	6.6%
Laborers	2.3%
Made No Response	6.7%

heterogeneity of the city. The income levels are not low, but Table II shows that they are not comparable, say, to Darien, Connecticut (where I was Superintendent before coming to Evanston), with a median income of over $20,000 a year.

TABLE II

MEDIAN INCOME	$ 9,193
43.8% of Population Earning	$10,000+
Median Home Value	$24,300
Median Rent	$ 133

So there is some heterogeneity in Evanston.

The map, Figure I*, of the school district shows the elementary attendance areas; the dots represent Negro youngsters. The Chicago Sanitary District Canal is our Mason-Dixon line. Schools above it are all white; those along the lake front are all white;

---

* On the last page of this paper.

those along the bottom are virtually all white, with the exception of the central triangle. In the center is the heavy concentration of Negro students.

Actually the school serving this area was all Negro up until 1966; the next school to the south was 65% Negro. There are three other naturally integrated schools: Noyes, Washington, and Central. But the majority of schools were zoned strictly by neighborhood and natural barriers, and given our housing pattern, they were white. This housing pattern appears to be protected by the realtors as though it were sacred. As you drive through the Negro section of town and across the canal, you wonder how this could happen in America today.

That is the situation the Board of Education has been faced with for some time. It has spent a substantial amount of time working on the problem. The chronology in Table III lists some of the things that have been done since 1961. The first recognition that *de facto* segregation in the schools was a problem occurred in 1961. I won't attempt to describe all the subsequent steps, but let me simply point out some of the most significant. The initiation of the voluntary transfer program in 1963 was significant. This provided integration in some previously all-white schools. The action taken in December, 1964 - a resolution by the Board of Education to eliminate *de facto* segregation - was one of the most important steps taken along the way. This was not a wishy-washy, theoretical kind of resolution, but a clearly-written, lucid resolution which said that *de facto* segregation in the schools is detrimental to the education of all

TABLE III

BD. of ED. Actions Toward Achieving Full School Integration

1.	1961	DISTRICTWIDE WORKSHOPS FOR TEACHERS IN HUMAN RELATIONS
2.	SUMMER, 1962	SUMMER SCHOOL AT FOSTER
3.	SEPT, 1963	VOLUNTARY TRANSFER POLICY IMPLEMENTED
4.	OCT., 1963	INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE APPOINTED
5.	JUNE, 1964	MIDDLE SCHOOL CONCEPT ADOPTED
6.	OCT., 1964	APPOINTMENT OF FOSTER SCHOOL COMMITTEE
7.	DEC., 1964	RESOLUTION TO ELIMINATE DE FACTO SEGREGATION ADOPTED
8.	JUNE, 1965	HEAD START LAUNCHED
9.	SEPT., 1965	CITIZENS ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTEGRATION APPOINTED
10.	SEPT., 1965	HIGHER HORIZONS IN HUMAN RELATIONS LAUNCHED
11.	APRIL, 1966	PROJECT BOOST LAUNCHED
12.	AUG., 1966	VOTE TO ESTABLISH KDG. CENTER AND LAB SCHOOL
13.	SEPT., 1966	KINDERGARTEN CENTER OPENED AT FOSTER
14.	OCT., 1966	ADVISORY COMMISSION RECOMMENDS SCHOOL BOUNDARY REVISIONS
15.	NOV., 1966	BOARD ADOPTS NEW ATTENDANCE AREAS
16.	JULY, 1967	300 TEACHERS ATTEND FIVE WEEK INSTITUTE ON INTEGRATED EDUCATION
17.	SEPT., 1967	LAB SCHOOL OPENS - SCHOOLS FULLY INTEGRATED

boys and girls and must be eliminated. The Board at that time resolved to eliminate de facto segregation. In September, 1965, a citizens' advisory commission made up of eighteen people representing a very broad spectrum of the city population was appointed. This commission was appointed not to study the problem further, because lots of study already had taken place, but to develop a plan for eliminating de facto segregation. The commission was directed to report back to the Board of Education within one year. (It was during this year that I went to Evanston and became involved.) The Board made available a limited amount of money - $5,000 - to the commission to employ some computer experts from the Illinois Institute of Technology Research Institute. Some committee members had the idea that the computer might be a helpful tool in seeking alternate solutions to this problem - and indeed it proved to be very helpful. It didn't do everything, but it certainly handled data in a way that we couldn't have handled it ourselves. Incidentally, the Superintendent, one of the Assistant Superintendents, and two principals were members of this 18-member commission.

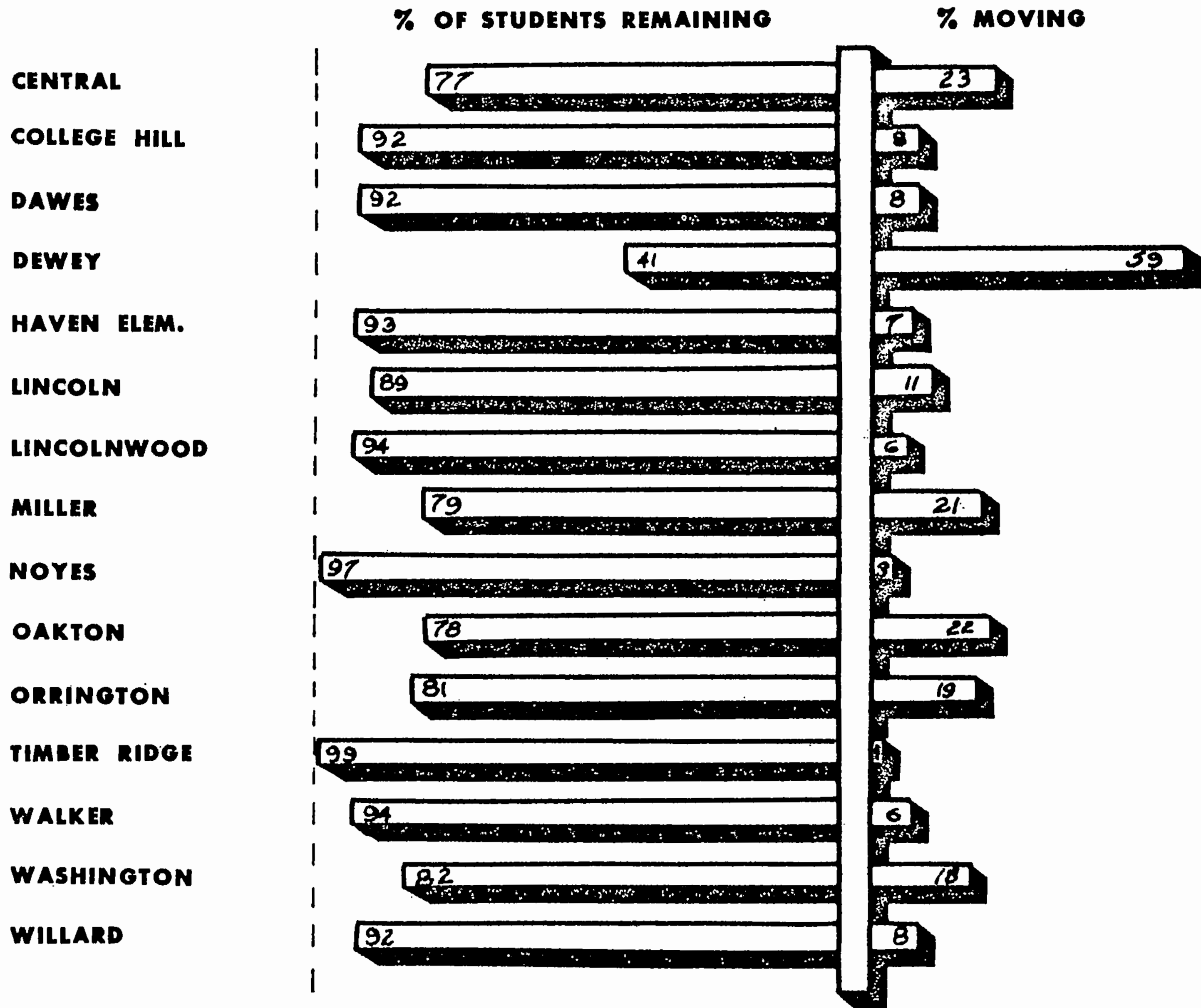
The commission developed its plan and came up with recommendations for the Board of Education. In presenting this plan to the community, we had lots of obstacles to overcome. One of the biggest was misinformation; we had to offer facts where rumor was being pushed, to put facts into information vacuums. One of the main rumors going around was: "Everybody's moving, everybody's changing schools. Why do they have to upset the community this way? Why

can't they do something different or leave us alone and not upset the community?" To deal with this we developed what we call our stability chart, Table IV. This showed that most of the youngsters were not moving. The Foster School (all-Negro) was not shown on the chart because all of the youngsters were moving. But in the Dewey School, which was 65% Negro, 41% remained. In all the other schools much larger percentages were staying. This effectively counteracted the rumor that everybody was moving.

There also was a good deal of concern with neighborhood schools. Evanston is essentially a conservative town; it's predominantly Republican. One thing that the plan did was to permit more effective utilization of the schools and a more consistent use of the neighborhood idea. The computer helped us redistribute the youngsters more evenly throughout the city, and we were able to use our schools more efficiently. This had great appeal to conservative people who wanted a dollar value for a dollar spent in the schools. The computer also was helpful in that it showed us how to reassign most of the Negro student population to schools within walking distance. Under the plan, the lowest proportion of Negroes in any school is 17% and 25% is the highest. Of course, not everything was on a neighborhood basis.

In 1966-67, we had an experimental kindergarten in the Foster School (which was the all-Negro school), in which we beefed up the kindergarten program. The kindergarten center was voluntary and open to children throughout the city. We received 170 applications

TABLE IV



from white children throughout the city. We received 170 applications from white children and were able to take 150 kids. These youngsters came to school in the heart of the ghetto at the request of their parents. In September 1967 that school was converted to an elementary grade (K-5) laboratory school. It is engaged in very extensive educational experimentation. The racial distribution is the same as it is in the rest of the schools - 25% Negro maximum. We had over 900 applications for this school and accepted 650 children.

There were approximately 450 Negro youngsters who could not be assigned to a school within walking distance of their homes. Consequently, these neighborhoods were subdivided into geographic groups (instead of grade levels) of youngsters who lived near each other, and they were designated as groups to five outlying schools.

Such one-way busing is not totally fair, but we were pragmatists - we wanted something that would work, and to work in this case means be voted. Thus the one-way busing. In addition, we compensated somewhat forthe neighborhood selection in the busing process (youngsters going to a school - but not to class - as a neighborhood group), and we've instituted programs to make the parents and the youngsters feel at home, and a part of their new school. These include integration of the scout and all other after-school activities associated with a particular school.

To illustrate further the problems associated with one-way busing, let me discuss a survey we conducted, which was a compromise after a hot controversy within the Board. A motion was made at the critical decision-making Board meeting (attended by over 800 people),

to put the whole issue of integration on a referendum. Some of us felt certain that such a referendum would yield a negative vote, so after a vigorous debate, a compromise was reached. It was voted to conduct a survey among the parents of the youngsters to be bused. They could vote for it or against it. This was an acceptable compromise for the Board, the substitute motion passed, and the next day the administration set about planning for the survey. We knew that the people who were going to be surveyed had to be very well informed about what was at stake. If this survey came out negative it would have had disastrous results for the integration program. Consequently, we very carefully organized an information program for the 450 people who were going to be surveyed. We recruited 50 of our own staff members (40 of the 50 were Negro) and put them through a workshop on survey techniques. A professor from Northwestern drew up a good survey instrument. We developed a time schedule for the survey, and held a luncheon and a breakfast for the Negro clergymen in the community (there are 22 Negro churches) feeling that this was an important channel of communication, as indeed it was and is. We also met with the leadership of about 40 different Negro groups and explained the survey to them so that they could take accurate information back to their organizations. Only then did we start the actual survey process. The interviewers went out in groups of two, at night, after having phoned for an appointment with the parents or guardians. When the surveyers couldn't make contact they went around and knocked on doors. If nobody was home the first time, they went back a second and a third. We received 92% favorable response -

92% of the parents of those 450 kids said, "If the cost of integrated education is busing, then I'm willing to have my child bused". These results were obviously very important.

Just one or two further comments. You cannot anticipate that a plan developed in some other community is going to be perfectly applicable in your community. Every town, every city, has to develop its own plan. Of course there are some elements in any plan which can be incorporated into plans for other communities. And there are some arguments which always are used to attack desegregation plans.

In this connection, you should know that one of the biggest arguments used to attack suggestions that are made is to say that you can't apply what they did in Evanston in another city, because Evanston's only 9-1/2 square miles, or its school district only has 90,000 people, or it has only 22% Negro. These are fallacious arguments. No one would suggest that the Evanston plan could be transferred exactly to Columbus, or Akron, or Dayton, or any other city. But there are elements in the plan which might be useful in any city.

Another of the most dangerous arguments arises when people say that this is not an educational problem but a housing problem; what they mean is that they don't think the schools should be agencies for social change. I find it difficult to know what the schools should be, if not agencies for social change. Social change should be a paramount concern and goal of the schools now, as it has been in the past. After all, we must recognize that the housing patterns are a result of the whole cycle that begins with poor education--

if we say wait for the solution to the housing problem, then we are pushing racial justice off for a long time.

There is another way in which housing and schools are related. In our own community there are tightly segregated sections. We have our own Mason-Dixon line: no Negroes live north of this line, and to the immediate south of this line no white families live. Now up until this September (when all schools were desegregated), a realtor could say to a person: "If you buy a home in this section your youngster will attend these fine all-white schools". The realtor wouldn't say those exact words. He might say: "These are among our best schools". In many cases the innocent home buyer may not be overtly prejudiced, but he has it fixed in his mind that a white school has a better academic standard than an integrated school, and he would weigh that factor in deciding to buy. As of this past September the realtors in Evanston can no longer allude to all-white schools. In sixteen elementary attendance areas, if the home buyer should ask the question about the academic excellence of the school, the response of the realtor can only be on the basis of school quality, not race. There won't be an incentive for the person to buy a home in a section because it has an all-white school. There are no all-white schools. Nor will there be an incentive to avoid another school because it has a 65 percent Negro school. Thus perhaps education can in time have a positive effect upon housing patterns.

The most frequently expressed excuse for doing nothing about *de facto* segregation is to say that it is the housing segregation that

has to be eliminated first. We must really move on both fronts. Otherwise we are going to wait an awfully long time for anything to happen.

Another frequent argument centers around money. People will argue, for example, that Evanston is relatively wealthy, has a high per-pupil expenditure for education, and that this is the reason why they could afford to desegregate. Thirty-eight thousand dollars for busing, out of a $10,000,000 budget, is the only additional local money spent to implement the desegregation plan. The U. S. Office of Education gave the school district a grant of $123,000 under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to conduct an institute this past summer. Approximately 300 teachers and administrators took part in this program.

Evanston always has supported education at a high level; the citizens have an appetite for good education, and whether integrated or segregated the cost is the same. We had our compensatory education programs, and we found they just didn't do the job; they were some help, but they didn't solve the problem.

So, when Board of Education members, or Superintendents of schools come back with these arguments, they're stalling. You can do it if you want to; but you have to want to do it. I would say that virtually any city or town can go a long way toward integrating all of its schools, if it really wants to do it. If it doesn't want to do it - if it doesn't have the basic community awareness which says "we've got a problem, and we want to solve that problem" - then all

the plans in the world aren't going to make a difference.

Another argument that often is used is that only the liberal communities can do anything. But I've already said that Evanston is conservative. Don't think for a minute that we had a lot of extreme liberals on our Board of Education. We didn't and don't. We did have many organizations - civil rights organizations, churches, League of Women Voters, civic organizations of various kinds - that over a period of time were constantly exerting pressure on the Board of Education, to educate the members to the problem. This was the first job. The next was to develop a concrete, workable plan. Very prominent among the supporting groups were the civil rights activists; they helped the board move. We kid ourselves frequently, and make believe we've been especially virtuous and altruistic in taking these successive steps. However, protest activity was indeed a factor. It does make a difference. Some degree of militancy at the right time and the right place was helpful. I'm using militancy to mean things like demonstrations, and threats of boycotts. I think these were an essential ingredient in the whole picture. Maybe some communities have achieved some degree of success with this whole problem without such activities, but they must be few and far between.

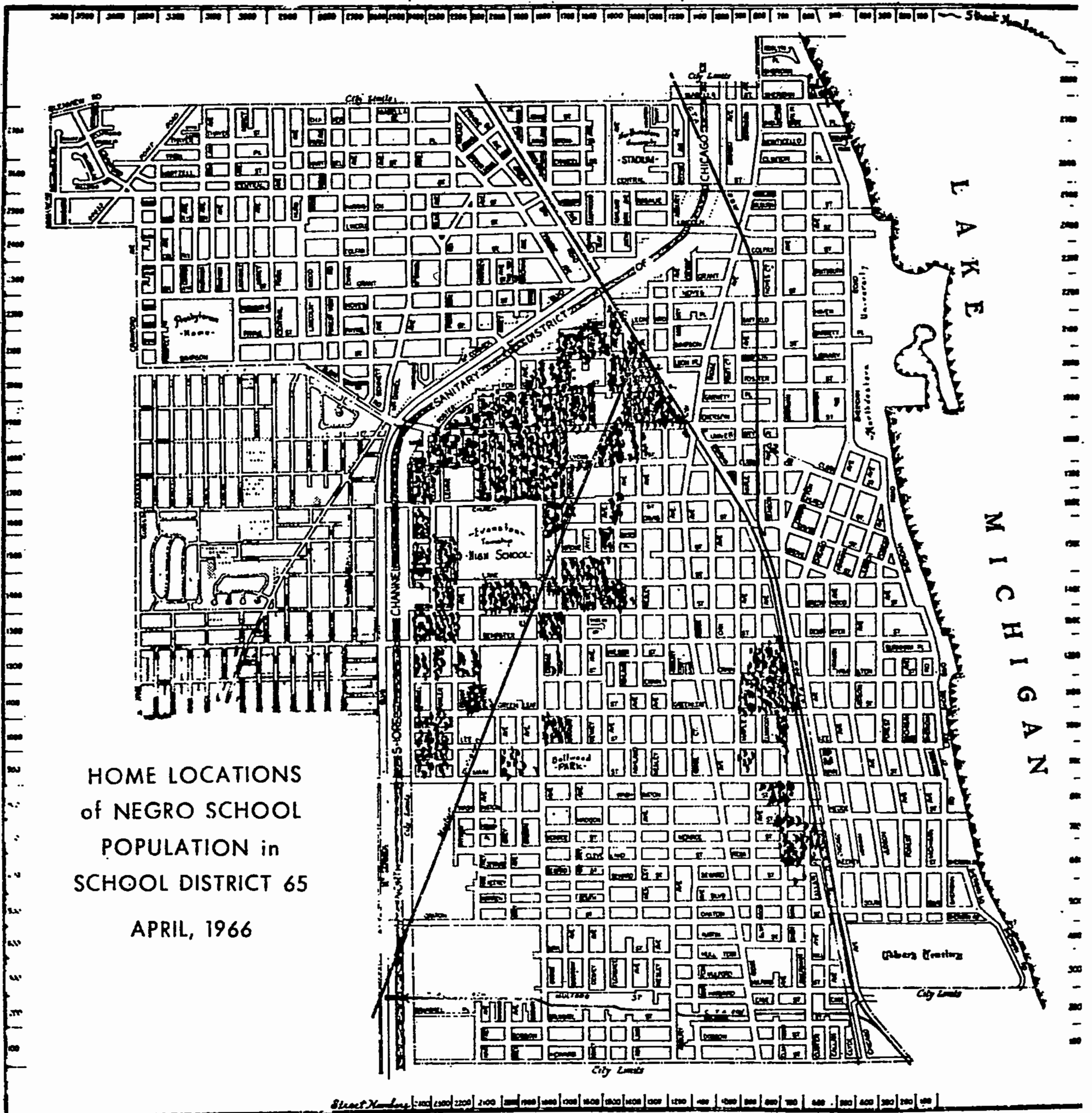
At the time things were going on, as a matter of fact, I was very resentful about some of the things that were happening and I said (fallaciously, I realized in retrospect), that this was creating a white backlash and was not helping. But looking back now I can see that these activities _were_ helping. Not only were they

helping, they were an essential part of the total picture. You have to understand that the white power structure of the city never became involved; it remained aloof. The mayor, the city council, the downtown service clubs, and the big businessmen remained completely aloof, at least in terms of the public record. Much of the effective influence that was brought to bear on the Board of Education came from civil rights people. We are very fortunate in Evanston to have in the NAACP and the Urban League very enlightened leadership, intelligent activists, who were willing to sit down with other members of the community and plan strategy and then implement the strategy together.

Finally, we're just starting! All we've done thus far is move to desegregation; we now have both white and black children in the schools. Our efforts from this point on are directed toward psychological integration. Now we're beginning to focus in on some of the real problems of the classroom teacher in the desegregated situation, and to identify the things that teachers do unwittingly which may perpetuate invidious racial distinctions. We try to point up these problems in as dramatic a way as we can. Some of our textual material for these programs has come from Feiffer's cartoon book. Incidents have been dramatized and put on television tape for teacher viewing and discussion. As I mentioned previously, we received a grant of $123,000 under Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act for a summer institute dealing with problems of integration. Three hundred of our own teachers enrolled in this institute. Its focus was

to bring in practitioners, people who can give the teachers the nuts and bolts about how, when the classroom is integrated for the first time, how you handle the situation. Achieving psychological integration, which is essentially a state of mind, and the manifestations growing out of that state of mind, will take at least as many years as have been consumed in physically desegregating all of the district's schools.

FIGURE I



POLICY FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS: COMPENSATION OR INTEGRATION?*

Prepared by
David K. Cohen, Visiting Associate
Joint Center for Urban Studies for Harvard and MIT
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

It sometimes seems that national policy on critical public issues is not so much decided as backed into. Such appears to be the case with problems of education in the cities, chief among them school segregation.

For nearly a decade urban education has been the focus of national attention, and problems of race always have been prominent. Although some civil rights groups have shifted their demands from desegregation to school improvement, race still is the leading issue. As in past years, the leading public policy question currently appears to be whether to take students and school attendance patterns as they are, and seek to improve Negro achievement by improving educational quality in the existing schools, or to desegregate schools and thus improve educational opportunities for Negro students.

Although the debate goes on at all levels, there is less ambiguity the further one recedes from the federal scene. Most urban school systems are firmly committed to compensation as the remedy for

---

*This paper was prepared for the United States Commission on Civil Rights Nov. 16-18 1967 Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity. It is not for other publication without permission.

the achievement gap; this seems to be more uniformly true the larger the cities. The federal position never has been quite this clear. To judge by the various speeches and statements of officials in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, there is a general view that school segregation is harmful to all children, that it does Negroes specific educational damage, and that it should be eliminated. But federal practice, most clearly embodied in Title I of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, reflects local priorities; the act provides unprecedented funds to improve education in the existing segregated schools.

Although there is every sign that this effort will continue and be expanded, the speeches and statements decrying segregation continue. More funds are directed to segregated schools, but the public position against such segregation remains. It is likely that--all other things being equal--come the end of the Vietnam war a Democratic or liberal Republican administration would seek legislation to increase substantially existing expenditures on ghetto schools. One easily can imagine the maintenance of an anti-segregation public posture while--in response to federal and local pressures--increasingly large amounts of federal funds are channeled into ghetto schools. Since the Congress might well allocate these new funds for school construction--thus fixing more segregation upon the existing ghettoes--and since a whole new bureaucracy with a vested interest in certain approaches to "cultural deprivation" is being created, the stakes are considerable. If, as it seems, a policy is in being or very nearly has been created, it will have major conse-

quences for some time to come. The issues involved merit careful consideration.

The arguments for assigning high priority to compensation and low priority to desegregation rest upon three related judgments:

(1) For the time being at least, the political climate is unfavorable to any efforts to desegregate schools;

(2) Desegregation--especially in the older and larger cities--also is unfeasible from a fiscal and administrative point of view. The intergovernmental arrangements, and the costs of busing and/or school construction, are simply too great;

(3) In any event, desegregation is not really appropriate. The problem of racial disharmony is not nearly so acute as the problem of Negro underachievement; the latter is a result of cumulative deprivation which requires improved education, not racial mixing.

For one or more of these reasons it is argued that major efforts should be directed at improving the academic competence of Negro students in existing schools. Compensation is advanced as an alternative policy to desegregation, one which is more appropriate educationally, politically more likely to be accepted, and probably cheaper and easier to implement. It is put forward as a practical policy which can provide immediately workable remedies for Negro underachievement. Desegregation is regarded as a visionary and long range solution, a policy which will have to wait for more funds, more intergovernmental flexibility, and more likelihood of white acceptance.

It is on the basis of these claims that the existing programs are justified or attacked, and new approaches recommended. To further

complicate the matter, conclusive data are not available on some of the major questions. But policy is being made, and it is on the basis of these claims, and what data there are, that the alternatives must be evaluated. Is compensation a more appropriate, and politically more likely remedy for unequal educational opportunity?

The evidence presented in this paper suggests that the social, economic, and political requirements for effective segregated compensation are much greater than existing programs or policy discussions suggest. From a fiscal point of view they are likely to be of roughly the same order of magnitude as a policy of desegregation _and_ substantial educational improvement. And the social damage likely to arise from a policy of segregated compensation raises serious questions about its desirability.

SCHOOL QUALITY AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF ACADEMIC COMPETENCE

Programs of compensatory education typically proceed on the assumption that children who experience academic retardation do so mainly because their preparation for school is seriously deficient. Poor children come to school with less well developed verbal skills, lower motivation, and less family support for academic success. They begin badly and do progressively worse.

Programs based on such a definition seek to make up for children's individual deficiencies by intensifying schools' educational services. A quick review of compensatory program descriptions, or for that matter the criteria for Title I ESEA eligibility, leaves little doubt that most educators and public men regard the children's de-

ficiency as the major educational problem.[1] Notwithstanding the many unimaginative compensatory programs, the underlying idea is in the tradition of liberal social reform: to make of the schools an instrument for removing the educational consequences of the social and economic inequities which society gratuitously imposes upon small children.

Some object to the view that children are deficient and must be adjusted to schools, and argue that there is at least an equal deficiency on the part of the schools. If children can be defined as "culturally deprived," they say, then schools must be described as institutionally deficient. But whether the deficiency is alleged to be the quality of the children or the quality of their schools, the basis of social reform is seen to lie in improving the schools.

There have been a few years of experience with such efforts; what have the results been?

By now the existing evidence is fairly well known: compensatory programs in schools isolated by race and social class have resulted in no substantial or lasting improvement in students' academic competence. Evaluations have been undertaken in a number of different school systems, on programs with different emphases, under varying conditions of expenditure for school improvement. The data are scarce and very imperfect, but the uniformity of results cannot be ignored.[2]

What accounts for this rather poor record?

The evaluations--and recent research--suggest two basic problems. First, compensatory programs misconceive the sources of

academic failure, locating them in individual children's "cultural deprivation." Second, there has not been a clear definition of the nature of the required changes in the schools' programs, or the magnitude of the costs.

With respect to the first: if we agree that poor children typically experience difficulty in school, does this imply that "cultural deprivation" is the main cause? Does it imply that improved instruction alone will eliminate the children's academic deficiencies? Not unless there also is a covert assumption that the only critical elements in children's formal education are the processes of interaction between parent and child, and between teacher and child.[3]

But there is strong evidence that this assumption is unwarranted. Everything we know, from research and as a matter of common experience, suggests that there is a third set of processes--those involving social and academic interaction among students--which have a powerful cumulative influence upon the development of academic competence.

For Negro students in urban areas the impact of these processes is apparent in the relationship between the social class and racial composition of student bodies and achievement. The Equality of Educational Opportunity survey, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, and a variety of earlier studies show that the racial and social class composition of student bodies is very closely related to student achievement.[4]

The "average" poor child who attends school with a substantial majority of children from more advantaged homes performs at a higher academic level than a poor child--similarly situated in all other re-

spects--who attends school with a majority of poor children.*

In addition to the negative effects of low social class schools, for Negro students there is a special effect of their racial composition. Even when their social class origin and the social class level of their schools are taken into account, those Negroes in school with a majority of white students perform at a higher level than those in school with a majority of Negro students.[5]

Most Negro children, of course, attend schools which are predominantly Negro and predominantly poor, and thus there is a double disadvantage. The consequences, viewed at the end of the children's school careers, are devastating--the overwhelming majority are academically crippled. The average Negro student in the Metropolitan Northeast enters grade 12 reading below the level of ninth grade whites.[6] But the Negro student who is in school with a majority of advantaged children, and who has attended class with whites since the outset of his school career, experiences less than half this disadvantage.[7] Only a tiny fraction of Negro students are in this last group.

Not all of the specific processes by which schools' social class and racial composition affect achievement have been established. But whatever they may be, <u>none have been recognized as barriers to learning in the design and execution of compensatory education pro-</u>

---

*The social class composition of schools affects children regardless of color, but it has particular implication for Negroes. A far greater proportion of urban Negroes than urban whites are poor. As a result, Negro children are much more likely than whites to attend school with a majority of poor children, and therefore are more often exposed to the handicapping effect of a "disadvantaged" student body.

grams. Can the theory and practice of compensatory education programs be so adjusted as to take account of the effects of student environments upon student achievement?

Some have said that the studies cited earlier show that the only way to deal with the effects of social class and racial segregation on achievement is to eliminate the segregation. None of the studies say this; indeed, it would be absurd to argue that under no circumstances could the effects of a weak student environment upon the development of academic competence be remedied in segregated situations. The lackluster results thus far are no basis for such a view. The question is not whether student performance could thus be improved, but rather how: with what programs, under what circumstances, at what level of investment, and with what major second-order effects?

This is not the place to discuss in detail all the specific program elements which will produce successful compensation; among other reasons, to do so would require a wide variety of successful programs, and they simply do not exist. But the research just discussed, and experience with some programs, do permit a few inferences about the elementary structural changes which probably would be required to provide the conditions for effective compensation.

It is important that discussion focus on structural changes in the conditions of learning, and not on unique personalities or programs. The latter may be informative, but policy must be framed in light of the broad changes which will allow most students, teachers, and principals to function more effectively. Only such changes can promote improvement for more than a few.

Most important, it would be necessary to abandon the educational practice which is based upon the naive idea that the major barrier to effective learning lies in individual students' cultural deprivation. If the student body is the immediate medium in which instruction and learning occur, its collective advantagement or disadvantagement can facilitate or impede intellectual growth. One change in school organization consonant with this would be very drastic reductions in the number of students assigned to every teacher. As long as each teacher must divide himself over twenty or thirty students, the low academic level of the class impedes effective learning. A weak student environment is a non-conductor inserted in the learning process. Until that obstacle is overcome the problems of individual children cannot be reached and remedied. The logical conclusion would be the tutorial situation--completely individual attention--where the teacher is the student environment.[8]

The More Effective Schools Program in New York City is the only compensatory program known to have made serious efforts in this direction. This program sharply reduced the number of students per teacher so as to intensify substantially the attention which could be devoted to individual students' needs. It cut the number of students per teacher by more than half (from 28.3 in 1963 to 12.3 in 1965), and as a result raised per pupil expenditures for instruction by a similar factor (from $457 in 1964 to $946 in 1965).[9]

The MES Program was a significant departure in compensatory education. No other program so dramatically intensified the instructional attention to individual children. If MES were to be made national policy, it would require roughly a nine-fold increase in the

annual Title I ESEA outlay for instruction--from about 60 to about 500 dollars per pupil. This would increase the total annual Title I instructional outlay from .5 to 3.5 billion.[10]

But there is no evidence that such a policy would change the relative position of advantaged and disadvantaged students. Students in the MES schools--after two years--exhibited the classical pattern of increasing academic retardation.[11] If a pupil-teacher ratio of 12:1 produces no improvement in academic competence, how closely must pupil-teacher ratios approach the tutorial situation before basic improvements would result? Let us assume that if pupil-teacher ratios reached 6:1, a point midway between the tutorial situation and present MES levels, substantial improvements in academic competence would become possible. This would require doubling the instructional cost per pupil of the MES program over present levels; nationally, such a policy would require a five-fold increase of teachers over the present level (about 28:1). If this were generalized to the present Title I ESEA pupil population, it would raise annual ESEA expenditures for instruction from .5 to about 8.6 billion dollars.[12]

There are two other related factors which must be considered. First, such a drastic reduction in pupil-teacher ratios would require an equally drastic increase in the supply of teachers. But the national supply of qualified teachers, as estimated by recent studies, may be as little as 50% of existing demand.[13] Each September the major urban school systems open with less than their required complement of teachers, and each day their slum schools are short-staffed. The cost of college training required to provide one teacher for every 6 ESEA children would be about 5.8 billion.[14]

Second, although the MES program reduced pupil-teacher ratios drastically, it reduced average class size to only 20, from 28. Further reductions in class size would require the provision of additional space through construction of new classrooms. Although national surveys reveal a serious shortage of classroom space, let us assume that class size could be reduced by half (for the Title I ESEA target population), by building classrooms for only slightly more than one third of these students. This would cost roughly 6 billion.[15]

These estimates are very rough, but they suggest the rather substantial costs of reducing pupil-teacher ratios. The increase in annual expenditures for instruction alone would raise what presently is being spent annually on salaries for poor children's teachers from about 1.7 billion to about 8.6 billion, or from 8% to 43% of present total annual public school instruction expenditures for all children.[16]

But there is a second--cost related--difficulty with the MES and most other compensatory programs: drastic reductions in pupil-teacher ratios are a necessary but not a sufficient condition of effective compensation. To improve academic competence not only the conditions of instruction, but also its quality must be improved. The final evaluation of MES pointed out that:

> Despite the . . . organizational changes, little has happened in the way of innovation or restructuring in the basic teaching process. Observers noted that a majority of lessons they saw could have been taught to larger classes with no loss in effectiveness. . . . All levels of staff noted that the basic weakness of the program, or their major disappointment with it, centered about the functioning of teachers, which they attributed to inexperience and lack of preparation.[17]

A more general way of putting this is that compensatory education programs have concentrated heavily upon the deficiencies of children, and neglected to give serious attention to the deficiencies of schools. So much has been made of the deprivations children are supposed to have inflicted upon the schools that hardly any serious thought has been given to the institutional deficiencies of schools which regularly are inflicted upon children.

What are the critical deficiencies? The best evidence available seems to show that the presence or absence of teachers with certain characteristics is closely related to the performance of disadvantaged students. Three teacher characteristics which show strong association with student achievement were the teachers' social class origin, their verbal ability, and the quality of their education.[18] Disadvantaged students whose teachers rated high on these three criteria performed at higher levels than similarly situated students whose teachers rated low on the same criteria.

Our concern is the prospects for change in this distribution of teacher quality; it therefore is important to note that the existing pattern of inequity is an integral feature of the structure and status of schools, and of recruitment to and within the teaching profession. Change is not likely to be produced by brief workshops, or other such familiar programs of in-service training.

If the usual superficial efforts to improve teaching for the disadvantaged are not likely to yield substantial results, what would improve the quality of teachers' training?

As we have just seen it is very difficult to estimate the cost of effectively improving education. Let us assume the best: that college students in general and future teachers in particular are more sensitive to improvements in school quality than public school students, and that a 50% increment (about 600 dollars more per year) in existing expenditures for college education would very substantially increase the skills of future teachers.* If this increased expenditure was allocated to the education of the number of new teachers required to reduce ESEA pupil-teacher ratios to 6:1, it would cost about $2.4 billion.[20]

But many would argue that the more difficult question is how such improved teachers could be better distributed, so as to create a resource inequality in favor of predominantly Negro schools. The

---

*It is worth noting that the order of magnitude of this effort is about the same as the National Science Foundation's estimate of the cost of improving the quality of science teachers; the N.S.F. seems to believe that a full, intensive year of retraining is the best and most productive approach.[19]

existing suggestions for achieving such a redistribution illustrates the lack of serious thought which has been given to this basic aspect of effective compensation.

The suggestions fall into three categories: those which propose some system of salary incentives to attract teachers to "inner-city" schools; those which propose to capitalize on the so-called "Peace Corps spirit," of existing or potential teachers, to attract highly motivated individuals to ghetto schools; and those which assume that inequities in the distribution of teacher resources can be redressed only by improving the conditions of teaching in deprived schools.*

The first two proposals rest on the view that either the profit motive or missionary idealism will overcome social class and racial prejudice, and what are perceived as poor working conditions, to reverse the present maldistribution of competent teachers. There are no precedents for the hope that missionary idealism will be widespread. It exists in limited quantities, and although it is impossible to object to a dedication which is not patronizing, it simply is not an everyday quality. Wise policy cannot be made on the assumption that most people will be heroic.

The situation is no more encouraging with respect to the profit motive. There is no basis for the idea that of itself more money effectively stimulates improved teaching. It seems dubious that children's learning could be improved by offering "combat pay" to attract teachers to or hold them in deprived schools when, all other things being equal,

---

*This last is manifested in the inclusion of MES programs as a main demand of the A.F.T. in collective bargaining, along with more traditional items.

the teachers prefer to be elsewhere. After all, it is the children who constitute the "combat" condition for which the special pay is offered, and that is a poor basis for a productive student-teacher relationship. On the whole, there seems to be little hope either for a mercenary or a missionary approach to improving the distribution of teachers to slum schools.

The third proposal is more to the point. It is based on the assumption that present inequities in the distribution of teacher quality can be reversed only if the status of schools is sharply raised by dramatically improving working conditions. At a minimum this proposal recognizes that the problem of teacher maldistribution will not be solved by the voluntary action of individuals.

But the available evidence on its potential efficacy is not very encouraging. It suggests four major difficulties.

First, improving working conditions--reducing class size--for teachers in low-status schools deals with only one aspect of these schools' perceived status. There also is the matter of their students' color and class. Although we know little about the changes in job preferences which might be associated with improved working conditions, something is known about teachers' racial and social class preferences.

Even under very favorable conditions, only a tiny proportion of teachers express a definite preference for teaching in all or predominantly Negro schools. Negro and white teachers in predominantly Negro schools are a good deal less likely than those in predominantly white schools to want to remain in their present assignment. And the higher teachers' verbal ability the less likely they are to want to

remain in predominantly Negro--or predominantly working-class--schools. High ability Negro teachers in predominantly Negro schools are--of all teachers--the group most likely to be dissatisfied with their present teaching position.[21] The better teachers, then, are least likely to prefer teaching in predominantly Negro, or blue-collar schools.[22]

Second, the status of schools is ascribed in part on the basis of their students' performance, and this too is reflected in teachers' preferences. Teachers typically prefer to teach in an academic school oriented toward college preparation. And again, the higher a teacher's verbal ability the more likely he is to prefer such schools; the best qualified teachers are the least likely to prefer teaching in those schools which Negro children are most likely to attend.[23] The desired end result of improved teaching--high student performance--appears to be an important condition for recruiting improved teachers to schools in the first place.

Third, there is no evidence of basic change in these preference patterns in the future.* College students who plan to teach are no more likely to prefer teaching in predominantly Negro schools than experienced teachers. More than half of the whites express a preference for teaching only white students, and this is as true of high as of low ability students. Furthermore, over half of these college students--Negro and white--express a preference for an academic school, oriented toward college preparation. This seems to be somewhat more pronounced for high ability students. These preference patterns are

---

*These are data on the attitudes and preferences of non-Southern Negro and white college students.

as true of college freshmen as of college seniors.[24] If changed recruitment patterns are required to improve the quality of teaching in predominantly Negro schools, the existing data offer little promise.

This state of affairs, and recent developments in some cities and some civil rights organizations, have prompted suggestions for a policy of recruiting only Negroes to teach in ghetto schools. This, it has been argued, would remedy the problems which arise from white teachers' preferences. In fact this proposal represents nothing new in most of the older and larger cities; in most there already is substantial racial matching of teachers and students, and as city-wide student enrollments grow progressively more heavily Negro, so do the teaching staffs. Most Negro students, it seems, will attend schools with predominantly Negro faculties.[25]

Unhappily, this may only have the effect of perpetuating the closed and inferior educational system which now exists in urban Negro ghettoes. The effects of segregation are cumulative; its impact upon past generations is visited in a variety of ways, and with a vengeance, upon those of the present. Negro students who are taught by predominantly Negro faculties--whose education was segregated and inferior--now and in the foreseeable future are likely to be taught by faculties of relatively low verbal ability.*

The trend is unmistakable. As Table I shows, over two thirds of Negro teachers fall below the mean verbal ability scores

---

*Although verbal ability is by no means the only important attribute of teachers, it is an important one.

Table I. Teachers' verbal ability, by race and experience.*

Teachers' experience	% who scored below white mean	
	Negro	White
10 years' or more experience	75.8	37.8
5-9 years' experience	69.7	31.6
5 or less years' experience	74.8	36.1
Future teachers: College seniors	75.5	46.7
Future teachers: College freshmen	85.4	43.5

*Source: Coleman, _et al._, _op_. _cit_., Table 4.5.1, 345.

of white teachers; only one third of white teachers fall below that mean score. This comparison is not weakened when older or more experienced teachers are contrasted to younger or less experienced teachers, nor is there any improvement for future teachers. These data offer little support for the idea that increased teacher-pupil racial matching will improve the quality of education in ghetto schools. They suggest rather that the cumulative effects of segregation will not be eliminated as long as the closed system from which they arise exists.

The data presented here do not show that changed patterns of teacher distribution to and within school systems are impossible. Indeed, the limited changes undertaken by the MES program did appear to improve teacher morale, and undoubtedly such programs would therefore change teachers' preferences and job choices to some extent.[26] But

there is a difference between changing some teachers' preferences and job choices, and the basic change in preferences and assignments which would be required before school systems could select the best candidates from an oversupply of applicants, all of whom wanted to teach in predominantly Negro schools. Merely stating the problem suggests the enormous barriers to basic change. It suggests that no program designed to reverse existing teacher distribution patterns can be effective unless it changes the major factors--in addition to working conditions--which determine schools' status and teachers' preferences; the schools' color, class, and achievement composition.

* * *

This does not exhaust discussion of effective segregated compensation--it merely suggests some of the leading problems. The first ten year cost for an effort such as that outlined above would probably be between 100 and 160 billion dollars. The calculations on which these figures are based are not precise, but are intended only to suggest in a rough way the order of magnitude. They suggest an order of magnitude which would require major reallocation of national social and budgetary priorities, and therefore of political priorities as well.[27] And there are other problems, illustrated by teachers' preferences, which would not as easily yield to fiscal formulation or economic solution.

This does not say that effective compensation in schools segregated by color and class is impossible. It only suggests the fundamental changes in the organization of schools and the production and

distribution of educational resources which probably would be required. It also suggests that little serious attention has been given to the elements of such a policy, or to its economic and social costs. Most policy discussion and formulation seems to have been carried out on the assumption that segregated compensation would provide a relatively easy remedy. All the evidence suggests that this is not so.

LIMITATIONS OF THE SEGREGATED COMPENSATORY APPROACH

In addition to these limitations, there are a few basic objections to a policy of segregated compensation. First, although there is direct and indirect evidence that integration will improve achievement, there is little such evidence for segregated compensation. Second, there is direct evidence that segregated compensatory programs will compound other major educational problems.

With respect to the first, it is not unfair to say that if policy were made only on the basis of available data, American schools would be desegregated. There is a fair amount of data which show a substantial performance increment associated with social class and racial desegregation.

The *Equality of Educational Opportunity* survey data, for one, show that Negro students who attended school with whites for most of their elementary career experience, on the average, less than half the academic disadvantage of those Negroes who have attended school only with Negroes.[28]

Studies of elementary school desegregation in a number of

cities, for another, show achievement gains for Negro children placed in majority white schools over Negro children remaining in predominantly Negro schools. It may well be asked whether this is an effect of racial or of social class integration but given the present American social structure, the question is academic. There are so few middle class Negroes that social class desegregation for Negro children could not be accomplished without racial desegregation.[28a]

Finally, there is pretty convincing evidence that these school performance differences for Negro students are in fact related to specifically racial contexts and conditions. There is, for example, the fact that students' higher performance in interracial classrooms[29] is specifically related to the schools interracial climate. Negro and white students in schools with little or no reported interracial tension perform at higher levels than similarly-situated students in schools where considerable tension is reported.[30]

Another bit of evidence along the same lines is the association between interracial acceptance and performance. Negro students in desegregated classrooms who report no interracial acceptance achieve at a lower level than those, in the same and similar classrooms, who do report such acceptance.[31] Similarly, white students who are accepted in predominantly Negro schools perform at lower levels than those who are not.[32] Just as acceptance in a predominantly white school facilitates Negro performance, acceptance in a predominantly Negro milieu has a depressing effect upon white performance. This evidence points to specifically racial conditions which affect

achievement. It suggests that in addition to the facilitating effect which predominantly white schools have upon Negro achievement for social class reasons, there also is a facilitating effect of racial composition, given interracial acceptance.[33]

With respect to the second basic objection to segregated compensation: there is good evidence that schools shape children's racial preferences, and their interracial behavior as adults. Consider the attitudes and associations of Negro and white adults as they relate to the racial composition of the schools they attended as children. Those who attended racially isolated schools are likely to express fear, distrust, and hostility toward members of the other race. White adults who attended racially isolated white schools are more likely than those who attended desegregated schools to oppose measures designed to secure equal opportunity for Negroes. They are more likely to live in segregated neighborhoods, and to express a desire to continue living in such neighborhoods. Their children are more likely to attend all white schools, and they are more likely than "desegregated" whites to reject the idea of their children attending desegregated schools.

Likewise, Negroes who attended segregated schools not only are likely to fear and distrust whites, but they also are quite likely to express the idea that they would like to "get even" with them. There are manifestations of that in the cities every summer now. Negroes who attended segregated schools are much less likely than Negroes who attended desegregated schools to live in desegregated neighborhoods, and they are more likely to oppose sending their children to desegregated schools.[34]

These differences are taken apart from the particular neighborhoods in which these adults lived as children, and apart from their relative poverty or affluence; we see here the racial effect of schools. A dramatic illustration of this is that high-status (college educated) Negroes who attended segregated schools are less likely to live in integrated neighborhoods than lower-status (high school educated) Negroes who attended integrated schools.[35]

As racially isolated public schools shape children's values and attitudes they set the mold for adult associations. As they create and reinforce preferences for association only with persons of one's own race, they build the foundation for adult housing and school decisions. Governmental support of segregated schools creates and compounds residential segregation and governmental efforts to eliminate residential segregation will be impeded by the barriers created in racially isolated schools.

This evidence on the adult effects of education also bears on the effectiveness of the programs which seek to improve segregated schools. Let us assume that compensatory programs will make substantial improvements in Negro achievement. There still is a stronger relationship between students' interracial experience and their racial attitudes and preferences than between their academic performance levels and racial preferences. Students with high levels of academic competence who attend isolated schools are less likely to express a preference for desegregated schools and friends of the other race than those who do less well academically, but attend desegregated schools.[36] Improvements in academic competence are not likely to reduce the

schools' contribution to increasing segregation and racial friction. Even if programs of compensatory education could substantially improve academic competence in schools isolated by race and social class, the schools would continue to compound segregation, and thus intensify the specifically racial damage it generates for white and black Americans. Negro achievement is no more a remedy for segregation and the racism and separatism it produces than white achievement has been in the past.

All of this suggests again that any educational policy-making agency seeking to decide logically between integration and segregated compensatory education would choose integration. But in a sense this may be unfair; most of the school systems which have desegregated have not spent much more per pupil as a result. Their costs comprise mostly transportation, which is relatively inexpensive. But discussions of national policy--which must be geared closely to the larger metropolitan areas--must take a somewhat different tack. There are two important considerations.

First, there is the fact that although desegregation improves performance, it does not entirely eliminate the gap between the distribution of achievement for Negroes and whites.[37] This implies that educational improvement should be combined with desegregation.

Second, the racial and social class demography of the older and larger cities compels a metropolitan approach to school desegregation. There are not enough suburban Negroes to desegregate schools outside these central cities, and not enough affluent city whites to desegregate schools within them. The distribution of educational quality follows roughly these same lines, and this is another reason for making

substantial improvements in the quality of education in desegregated schools; without such improvements, it is dubious that suburban districts would become involved in large-scale cooperative arrangements with the central cities.

The schools most likely to meet the requirements for metropolitan attendance and substantially improved education are education parks. These larger schools--by consolidating pupil attendance and educational resources--would permit improvements in the quality of education, and desegregation. Studies suggest that the direct savings on construction-associated costs alone would be 15-20% over neighborhood schools, and that the educational benefits of consolidation would be manifold. Chief among them would be greater individual attention to students, and greater occupational specialization and diversification for teachers. Any educational institution which offers these two things in the context of a majority-advantaged student body, is likely to have few problems attracting and holding competent teachers.[38]

How does such a policy compare with the costs of segregated compensation? The first ten years' cost, the cost of building education parks (including in the estimate twice as many advantaged children), of providing all with daily transportation, and of increasing per pupil expenditures by 500 dollars (about double present levels), might be as much as 20% more than the first ten years' cost of segregated compensation.[39]

* * *

These comparisons are quite rough and some of the data are not very good. But public schools and public policy go on; despite some limitations of the data, they suggest a few conclusions.

First, it seems possible that the academic competence of Negro students can be improved--without desegregation--if certain structural features of their present school environment are radically altered. These changes, which probably would have to include very sharply reduced class size and pupil-teacher ratios, and very sharply improved teachers, would center upon compensation for the barriers to learning which educationally weak student environments pose. They would represent a basic revision in the theory and practice of educational compensation; school organization would have to be structurally changed to provide substitutes for the academic stimulation deriving from educationally rich student environments.

Second, such changes would be very costly in terms of fiscal and social effort. From a fiscal point of view, they would require an expansion of present ESEA allocations by twenty or thirty times, to between $100 and $160 billion in the first ten years of such an effort. Even half of this would require a major reallocation of national budget priorities. And the required changes would be difficult to accomplish in other ways. The barriers to changing the entire system of educational resource allocation--typified in the problem of teacher quality discussed above--are formidable; there are no plans on the horizon or programs in operation which seem likely to overcome these obstacles.

Third, there may not be a very substantial difference in the

order of magnitude of the costs involved for school desegregation. It seems that either policy would require very serious revisions, not only in the structure of schools and classrooms, but also in the organization of schools and the levels of investment in education. Whether we consider the matter from an educational or social perspective, the required investment will be much more than presently is allocated to educational improvement. Either policy would require far-reaching and fundamental change.

Given this rough fiscal parity, it is of particular importance that discussion of and choice between the two policies not be based simply on immediate fiscal or educational considerations. Policies often are implemented or rejected, and work or fail to work, for other than purely educational or fiscal reasons. Two questions are directly relevant. First, what are the major second-order effects--those not directly related to academic competence--of each policy likely to be? Second, what social and political considerations bear upon the likelihood of either policy working?

With respect to second-order effects, there is little doubt that desegregation is the more desirable alternative. Compensatory programs institutionalize segregation, and therefore compound racism in a number of important ways. First, by definition compensation maintains segregation in schools, and thus maintains institutions which produce racist and separatist attitudes and behavior. Second, such programs create ever larger bureacracies with a vested interest in the maintenance of compensation--and thus segregation. Third, existing compensatory programs support a local tendency to build more

segregated white and Negro schools. If large quantities of new federal funds are made available for compensation--even in the unlikely event that none are allocated specifically for construction--they would lend enormous support to this tendency toward huge capital investments in segregation. As a result, what is now a difficult discussion would, for all practical purposes, become entirely academic.

It typically is argued, however, that these considerations are outweighed by the simple fact that a policy of segregated compensation is more workable--that is, politically and socially more practical and acceptable. But there is reason to believe that effective compensation will be very nearly as expensive as a policy of desegregation and educational improvement. The same legislators who oppose desegregation have in the past, do now, and probably would in the future oppose programs of massive sustained superior treatment for Negro children, or for the children of the poor. Perhaps more to the point, there is little reason to believe that legislators who represent Caucasian sections of metropolitan areas would be willing or politically able to support such massive unequal treatment. The probable costs of effective compensation throw a somewhat different light on its political feasibility.

This brings to mind the historic and political experience out of which the integration strategy in part evolved. The experience, in brief, was that even in crude tangible respects separate never was equal; an entire series of commitments to enrich the ghetto went unmet. The conclusion drawn from that experience was that the only politically feasible way to gain access to the same resources as whites

was to be there with them. This principle applies as well--or perhaps with even more political force--to the problem of establishing massive inequalities in favor of segregated Negroes.

The corollary of this principle is that desegregation is not a process in which every Negro gain implies a corresponding white loss. The political wisdom of the integration strategy is that it produces a situation which renders discrimination very much more difficult than does the segregated situation. The corollary in the case of education, is that every desegregated school should involve concrete and apparent improvements in educational quality for whites and Negroes. The education parks are perhaps the chief example of this, for they promise very substantial improvements in the quality of education for all children. If such a system of schools were built in a metropolitan area, whites who refused to send their children would have to reject better and higher status education in order to reject desegregation. This principle applies to their legislators as well. But as long as it is only a matter of ghetto improvement, whites can reject that, or maintain it at minimal levels, at no apparent or immediate cost to themselves. That has been the case for time out of mind, and in all probability will be the case with future programs of ghetto improvement.

When everything else is said, then, and all the educational and fiscal evidence is in, <u>the most compelling reason for a policy of improved and integrated schools is that only this policy will make it politically feasible for the destinies of America's two separate nations to become bound up together</u>. A policy of segregated compen-

sation cannot provide that binding tie; failing that, it can promise only the continuance of a segregated, closed, and inferior system of education for Negro Americans.

Footnotes

1. U. S. Department of HEW, The First Year of Title I, ESEA: The States Report, Washington, 1966. "In practice, the goal of Title I is to provide 'compensatory education' for the millions of schoolchildren whose crippling background offers them little hope for successful schooling" (vii).

2. The largest number of compensatory program evaluation was brought together by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, in Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, Washington, 1967, Vol. I, 120-137 (thereafter cited as U.S.C.C.R.).

After reviewing the evaluations of various programs, none of which seemed to show any sustained academic improvement, the Commission concluded (139) that:

> . . . the compensatory programs reviewed here appear to suffer from the defect inherent in attempting to solve problems stemming in part from racial and social class isolation in schools which themselves are isolated by race and social class.

The Commission report, however, noted proposals to double expenditures in city schools, and said that "short of such steps" compensation was unlikely to work (139-140).

The lack of sound evaluation and the lack of results are exemplified by and attested to by the California State Department of Public Instruction's report, The First Year of Title I, ESEA, (summary of 1965-66 Annual Report), Washington, 1966. The report assessed the success of projects conducted in 1,044 school

districts in the state. If only those projects which definitely require quantitative evaluation (reading improvement), are included, the report shows that only 2.6% showed "substantial" (statistically significant), gains in student achievement (8 and 15). If all projects are included, 2.3% showed "substantial" gains in student achievement. See also, Fox, D. J., Expansion of the More Effective Schools Program, New York City, 1967, 120-124.

3. This assumption underlies the current practice of compensatory education. It is perhaps best illustrated in a sentence from a joint publication of the U. S. Office of Education and the Office of Economic Opportunity, Education: An Answer to Poverty, Washington, (n.d.), 20.

> If a three or four year-old child can be stimulated in a prekindergarten to learn the simple things he does not learn from his parents . . . he may get a head start on later success in school.

4. The relationship persists when the social class background and race of students is controlled. There are two studies which impressively document the relationship between school social class and student achievement: Coleman, J., et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington, 1966, shows that the educational background of students' classmates accounts for more variation in achievement than any other school-related factor (302-312). Even when teacher and school quality are allowed to "explain" as much variance as possible first, student body factors still account for a very substantial proportion of the total

between-school variance in achievement (Table 3.25.3, 319).

Some objections have been raised to the cross-sectional character of the Coleman report, on the grounds that students' initial ability could not be measured and controlled. Alan Wilson, in <u>Educational Consequences of Segregation in a California Community</u>, 165-206, in U.S.C.C.R., <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., Vol. II, had the required longitudinal data; controlling on first grade I.Q. he found that by the 6th grade the cumulative social class composition of schools was as closely related to achievement as individual social class (Table 17, 181).

5. U.S.C.C.R., <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., Vol. I, 90. For a discussion of the measurement and analysis problems associated with this "racial composition effect," see Vol. II, 35-47.

6. U.S.C.C.R., <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., Vol. II, Table 4.2, 67. This also is true of other regions; Coleman, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., 242, 243.

7. Because the appropriate variable in the Coleman survey data was mis-coded for grade 12 (see U.S.C.C.R., <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., Vol. II, 37, note 6), this measurement is possible only for grade 9; for that data, see U.S.C.C.R., <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., Vol. II, Table 2.2, 50.

8. This is suggested by a few other sources than the studies cited above on the effects of student environment. One is the experience of Project Headstart, which has small class size, and even lower pupil-teacher ratios. Another is the apparent success of some tutoring programs, notably the Homework Helper Program in New York City. Another, and perhaps most important, is that federal officials appear to be moving toward this position. The

Advisory Committee on Follow-Through, U.S.O.E., Preliminary Report, Washington, 6, lists as its second major criterion for Follow-Through programs a pupil-staff ratio of 7-9:1 (6).

9. Fox, op. cit., Appendix A, A2-A3, A8-A10.

10. This figure is arrived at by multiplying the total ESEA population (8 million), by the total MES increment per pupil over prior expenditures, which was roughly 500 dollars. The ESEA information was derived from U. S. Department of HEW, op. cit., v. This understates the cost, since New York City spends more per pupil than the national average on instruction.

11. Fox, op. cit., 63.

12. The total was computed as explained in Note 10, above.

13. National Education Association, Teacher Supply and Demand in Public Schools, 1966, Table 25, 50. This estimate is based on the "number of new teachers needed to immediately achieve a standard for minimum quality in the staffing of public-school classrooms" (29). For a full definition, ibid.

14. This was computed by figuring the number of additional teachers required to cover classes at 6:1. Eight million (ESEA) students ÷ 6 = 1.3 million teachers total, minus .26 million (at 30:1) = 1.0 million teachers. The U. S. Office of Education (Projections of Educational Statistics to 1975, Washington, 1966, 66), estimates the direct cost of producing an A.B. degree to be 5,800 dollars. The total was computed by multiplying this cost figure by the 1 million teachers required. Although it may seem unreasonable to suppose the need to train all these teachers, the

NEA (op. cit., 51), estimates suggest a continuing tendency for teacher supply to fall well below demand, even at existing pupil-teacher ratios.

15. This assumes a need for 200,000 classrooms, and a construction cost per classroom of 30,000 dollars. School Management (July, 1966) estimates that the average construction cost per classroom in 1965 was 43,700 dollars; the cost figure per classroom was arbitrarily reduced about 30%, to 30,000, to take account of smaller class size, and this cost figure was multiplied by the needed number of classrooms. No account was taken of rising construction costs, classrooms needing replacement, or classrooms needed to reduce class size nationally to 24. The Office of Education (Projections, 40) estimates the cost of meeting these needs by 1974-75 will be 29.5 billion. It seemed reasonable to assume that any construction beyond that would have to be financed by non-local sources.

16. There is no analysis of teachers' salary by students' socio-economic status, so the 1.7 billion figure was computed by dividing the ESEA pupil population (8 million), by the national pupil-teacher ratio (25:1) (U. S. Department of HEW, Fall 1965 Statistics of Public Schools, 3), and multiplying that by the average 1966-67 salary ($7,119) (NEA, Estimates of School Statistics, 1966-67, Washington, 1966, 14).

17. Fox, op. cit., 122.

18. Coleman, et al., op. cit., 317, note. For a fuller definition of these three variables, 316-17.

19. The National Science Foundation is the only agency which has made a serious effort to improve teachers' competence--albeit in special subject areas--and it is important to note that they invest only about nine percent of their total annual budget for teacher training (3.5 million out of 36.5 million), in school-year in-service programs. Twenty-three million (nearly 70%) is invested in intensive summer institutes, and the remaining 10 million (about 20%) is invested in full-year, full-time training. The cost per teacher of each is, respectively, 250, 1200, and 6500 dollars. One of the main goals of the summer institutes is to provide teachers with an M.S., and four summer institutes (4800 dollars), are required for this. This seems to be a proper model for improving teachers' competence in other areas. _Telephone interview with Dr. Russell Phelps, N.S.F._, 10/18/67.

20. This was computed by multiplying the one million new teachers needed (see Note 14, above) by the cost of a 4-year, 50% improvement (2400 dollars). This is a very conservative estimate, as the preceding data on N.S.F. shows. It also is a gross underestimate of the cost, since it is figured only for the additional teachers needed, and thus does not take any attrition or market factors into account.

21. Coleman, _et al._, _op. cit._, Table 4.8.1, 350.

22. _Ibid._

23. _Ibid._, Table 4.10.1, 350. For the ability control (which only was used for future teachers), Tables 4.11.6, 362; 4.11.8, 364.

24. _Ibid._, Tables 4.11.6, 362; 4.11.8, 364.

25. Ibid., 126; U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. II, Table A-2, 8-10.

26. Fox, op. cit., 120-1.

27. The Table below shows the method of computation for these figures.

Item	Cost (in billions)
Construction: 200,000 classrooms x $30,000. 10 years total . . .	6.0
Teacher training (1 million teachers needed at 6:1 x $5,800). 10 years total	5.8
Teacher salaries ($7.1 billion per year at pupil-teacher ratio of 6:1). 10 years total	71.0
Improving teacher qualifications. 10 years total	2.4
	85.2

That this is a very conservative estimate can be seen by comparing this total with the total based on the annual per pupil cost of Headstart, which is roughly 1000-1200 dollars. If a ten year total using this as a base is computed, the grand total would be 95-110 billion. And, if--as is almost sure--the estimates of teacher retraining and training were much too low (as Note 19 above suggests), and the construction estimates were too low (as Note 15 above suggests), the total could easily be 20 or 30 billion higher. Passow, in the Summary of his report on the Washington, D. C. public schools (New York, 1967) estimates the costs of effective compensation to be three or four times what presently is spent in advantaged school districts (25-26). This would about double my estimates.

28. U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. II, Table 2.2, 50.

28a. Three evaluations of school desegregation which merit attention are: Mahan, T. W., Project Concern, Hartford, Conn., September 1967, 47; Buffalo Public Schools, Buffalo, N. Y., Study of Achievement of Pupils Transferred to Achieve a More Desirable Racial Balance, March 1967; Philadelphia Public Schools, Philadelphia, Pa., The Effect of Bussing on Achievement, December 1966.

29. U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. II; Tables 4.1-5.7, 66-92, suggest that even with very rigorous controls, the racial composition effect remains.

30. U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. II, Tables 6.1, 93; 6.2, 94; 8.12, 142.

31. U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. II, Table 6.9, 100.

32. Pettigrew, T. F., Race and Equal Educational Opportunity, paper presented at A.P.A. meetings, Washington, D. C. (9/3/67).

33. As the Tables cited in Notes 30 and 31 above show, desegregation will probably not have a positive effect unless at least certain minimal interracial conditions also are met.

34. This entire analysis is derived from the results of a survey published in U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. I, 112-13; Vol. II, 211-241.

35. Only the Negro adult survey data permitted control of neighborhood racial composition. This comparison is found at U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. I, Table 11, 113.

36. Singer, D., Interracial Attitudes of Negro and White Fifth Grade Children in Segregated and Unsegregated Schools. Ed. D. Disscertation, Columbia University, 1966, Chapters III and IV.

37. The best available evidence for this is presented in the following Table, derived from U.S.C.C.R., _op. cit._, Vol. II, Table 2.2, 50. It presents 9th grade Negro verbal achievement scores (in terms of grade levels relative to whites), for the Metropolitan Northeast.

Parents' education	School average Parents' education	Earliest grade in class with whites	Percent white in class	
			None	Most
less than high school	less than high school graduate	1, 2, 3	-3.2	-2.1
		Never	-3.4	---
	high school graduate or more	1, 2, 3	-2.1	-1.3
		Never	-2.8	---
high school graduate or more	less than high school graduate	1, 2, 3	-3.0	-2.0
		Never	-3.3	---
	high school graduate or more	1, 2, 3	-1.6	-1.8
		Never	-2.6	---

38. For a collection of papers on this subject, and a good brief bibliography, see U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, _Education Parks_, Washington, 1967.

39. The following table presents the cost figures and the methods of computation involved.

Cost of construction: at current classroom costs, for 20 million children (ESEA population x 2.5)	34.4
Cost of transportation for 20 million students (average per pupil cost, 1964-65, 43 dollars; U.S.O.E., Digest of Educational Statistics, Washington, 1965, 29). <u>Ten year total</u>	.9
Increase per pupil instructional expenditure for 20 million students by 500 dollars per year = 10 billion. <u>Ten year total</u>	100.0
Total	135.3

D. K. Cohen
The Joint Center for Urban Studies of Harvard and M.I.T.
56 Boylston Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

School Desegregation and White Achievement*

There are wide differences in the social, economic and racial characteristics of those communities which have faced school desegregation, but in each case one question is repeated: "Won't desegregation impair the performance of white students?"

In many cases the question could be dismissed as simply another expression of stereotyped thinking. But that is not adequate. First, the view that desegregation will impair white achievement is not restricted to anxious parents in the midst of heated conflict, or for that matter, to advocates of racist theories of intelligence. Some social scientists have expressed the view that desegregation may lower white students' achievement levels, and negatively affect their behavior patterns.[1]

Second, there is a large body of research which shows that lower class white and Negro students in majority lower class or majority Negro schools perform at lower levels than other similarly situated children who attend majority advantaged and majority white schools.[2] It seems reasonable to ask if the converse also holds: Do lower social class levels, and lower levels of academic stimulation in schools with a majority of disadvantaged Negro (or white) children have a negative effect upon the performance of white (or advantaged) children? The answer to that question is of some significance for educational policy.

There is a related set of questions which also has policy significance. In a

*This paper is not for publication without permission.

recently published evaluation of one school district's desegregation experience, a significant proportion of white parents were reported to have expressed the view that their children had developed negative attitudes toward Negro children, as a result of systematic achievement and social class differences.[3] It is impossible to check on the consistency of this response with measures of prejudice and attitudes toward desegregation; thus the accuracy of this report cannot be determined. But there is some research which suggests that specific intra-school conditions may either facilitate or block successful desegregation.[4] If there are such conditions, their identification would be important for school policy and practice.

Existing research can throw some light on these questions. Although the data are tentative, and by no means conclusive, they can provide some suggestions and indicate lines of further inquiry.

THE PRESENT STATE OF KNOWLEDGE

Within recent months a few studies of local efforts to desegregate schools have been released. These provide, at last, some early evidence arising from the first-hand experience of individual school systems. These evaluations of school desegregation were undertaken by school authorities in four cities--Syracuse and White Plains, New York; Kansas City, Missouri; and Berkeley, California.[5] Each evaluation attempted to assess the effects of planned, compulsory school desegregation upon the achievement of Negro and white students.

The results of the evaluations are encouraging to proponents of school desegregation. The Kansas City study noted a conclusion reached in the other evaluations:

> There was not a decline in the measured scores of the home-school white pupils (from pre- to post-tests).[6]

In White Plains an improvement in the achievement of white students who attended desegregated schools was reported.[7] In Kansas City and Syracuse, white students in desegregated schools achieved above the citywide average, and equaled the performance of white students in all white schools.[8]

These results are encouraging, but they raise even more questions. In each case, only a small proportion of Negro students was involved--nowhere exceeding a small minority of a school.[9] Would higher proportions have changed the result? In two cases--Berkeley and White Plains--we know that ability grouping was involved; the two other studies make no determination on this point. But the results are not differentiated by ability group; the question of whether ability grouping maintained existing performance levels cannot be answered. Finally, none of these three studies provide any basis for assessing the effect of variations in schools' interracial climate upon the achievement of white and Negro students.

Data gathered in the fall of 1965 for the Equality of Educational Opportunity survey offer a chance to pursue some of those questions further. The analysis published in the survey itself contains one finding of direct importance here. It reports that white students in general, and advantaged whites in particular, are less sensitive than Negro youngsters to variations in their school environments. Whether the variations involve the quality of teachers or school facilities, or the characteristics of other students, the achievement of advantaged whites seems to be little affected.[10] If this stands up to further analysis, its policy implications are substantial. It suggests that desegregation will not have its widely-anticipated negative effects on those white children usually residing furthest from Negroes--the children of the affluent, but that desegregation is more likely to have a negative effect on the very white

children--those from less advantaged families--who often live and attend schools much closer to Negroes.

Some exploration of the data upon which this finding was based appeared in the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights 1967 report, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools. Although this was a very limited analysis, the questions of differential sensitivity and the effect of racial composition were explored.[11]

Table I--which is derived from the Commission report--suggests that there are substantial changes in white performance associated with changes in the racial composition of schools and classrooms. Regardless of whether white students' parents were well or poorly educated (reading down the columns), those in half or more than half Negro classrooms performed at lower levels than those in more than half white classrooms. This suggests a negative effect of majority Negro classrooms upon white students' performance similar to their negative effect upon Negro students' performance.

But second, note that this classroom effect varies with the racial composition of schools. It is greatest in majority Negro (0-49% white) schools, moderate in majority white (50-89% white) schools, and non-existent in nearly all white (90-99% white) schools. The racial composition of schools interacts with the racial composition of classrooms. A closer look shows that students in majority white classrooms exhibit no performance variation at all by school racial composition. Whether they are in majority Negro or majority white schools, white students in majority white classrooms perform at the same level as those in all white schools. Students in majority Negro classrooms, however, perform at much higher levels in majority and nearly all white schools than in majority Negro schools.

Table I. Twelfth Grade White Students' Verbal Achievement and Racial Composition.*

Parents' education	Proportion white classmates	Percent white in school							
		0-49		50-89		90-99		100	
Less than high school graduate	Less than half	277.54	(254)	276.37	(256)	282.37	(126)		(4)
	About half	280.69	(225)	279.75	(576)	280.88	(25)		
	More than half	286.51	(241)	283.17	(1,128)	284.48	(1,635)		(5)
	All	285.34	(103)	281.74	(181)	285.24	(1,573)	281.22	(537)
High school graduate	Less than half	279.10	(189)	279.72	(211)	290.92	(184)		(8)
	About half	281.67	(253)	282.53	(437)	276.67	(18)		(2)
	More than half	290.39	(315)	287.90	(1,079)	290.33	(1,989)	285.80	(371)
	All	290.22	(162)	287.47	(205)	290.82	(2,079)	287.91	(10)
At least some college	Less than half	286.16	(25)	294.59	(46)	297.78	(81)		(5)
	About half	290.80	(35)	290.26	(91)		(4)		
	More than half	297.80	(101)	297.61	(309)	297.60	(655)		(8)
	All	296.24	(46)	294.95	(56)	299.57	(797)	297.32	(172)

*Source: U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. II, Table 8.2, p. 135.

Although no differential sensitivity related to white students' social class is revealed by this analysis, it does show a differential effect of schools' and classrooms' racial composition upon achievement: White students in majority white classrooms, in schools of any racial composition, perform at levels comparable to white students in all white schools. But the combination of majority Negro schools and classrooms apparently is associated with a fairly substantial performance deficit.

FURTHER ANALYSIS*

More detailed analysis of the Coleman survey data was undertaken in an effort to explore some of the questions raised in the Commission report and by the local evaluations. Two principal points were pursued:

1. The relationship between racial composition and white students' achievement,
2. Interracial conditions which seem to affect white students' achievement.

It must be emphasized again that the results reported here are tentative. Although they reveal some trends, further research will be required before firm conclusions on some points can be drawn.

School Social Class and Racial Composition--One explanation for the association between predominantly Negro schools and classrooms and low achievement is that the social class and racial composition of schools is confounded; perhaps the apparent effect of predominantly Negro schools is really the effect of predominantly lower class schools.

---

*Mr. Robert Riley (Department of Social Relations) supervised the data analysis. All subsequent Tables are for 9th grade white students in the urban northeast.

This possibility is explored in Table II. The table suggests rather strongly that the effects of racial composition and school social class are not--at least in any simple way--confounded. The table shows a pronounced effect of school social class, in schools of different racial compositions. The changes in schools' social

Table II. Schools' Racial and Social Class Composition, and White Students' Achievement.[12]

School Social Class Level	Parents with less than high school education		Parents with more than high school education	
	SCHOOLS' RACIAL COMPOSITION			
	0-10% Negro Schools	51-100% Negro Schools	0-10% Negro Schools	51-100% Negro Schools
0-39% of parents, high school graduates	26.5 (64)	19.5 (697)	35.3 (10)	27.6 (89)
80-99% of parents, high school graduates	33.1 (542)	33.5 (54)	42.6 (2787)	41.9 (163)

class are associated with large performance differences in majority Negro schools, and more modest differences in nearly-all and all-white schools.

This table also shows no effect of racial composition in schools with rather advantaged student bodies. Controlling for the social class level of schools--at least at the highest level of school social class--seems to eliminate the apparent effect of racial composition.

Table III expands this comparison, so that the relationship between racial and social class composition at various levels of schools' social class can be assessed.

The table suggests that it is only in schools with a fairly substantial majority of advantaged students that there is no association of majority Negro schools with

Table III. Schools' Social Class and Racial Composition; White Students' Achievement.[13]

School Social Class Level	PARENTS' EDUCATION: Parents with less than high school education		Parents with more than high school education	
	SCHOOLS' RACIAL COMPOSITION			
	0-10% Negro Schools	51-100% Negro Schools	0-10% Negro Schools	51-100% Negro Schools
0-39% of parents, high school graduates	26.5 (67)	19.5 (697)	-- (10)	27.6 (89)
40-59% of parents, high school graduates	28.5 (913)	23.0 (975)	37.3 (273)	31.7 (256)
60-79% of parents, high school graduates	28.8 (1929)	26.2 (32)	38.3 (2246)	40.6 (67)
80-99% of parents, high school graduates	33.1 (542)	33.5 (54)	42.6 (2787)	41.9 (163)

lower white performance. In schools with more than half less-advantaged students, there is a pretty strong negative effect of predominantly Negro schools upon white students' achievement.

Tables II and III, then, suggest that the "effect" of raciql composition upon performance is not simply a result of school social class factors. They also seem to show that a predominance of Negro students is associated with lower white performance only in schools with a majority of less advantaged students, not in majority advantaged

schools.

Reading down the two right-hand columns in Table III also suggests that students from fairly advantaged backgrounds may exhibit rather marked performance variations, associated with differences in their schools' racial and social class compositions. The table does not support the idea that individual advantaged students are less sensitive to changes in their student environment, as a result of stronger family background than are students from educationally weaker homes. It does show, however, that they are much less likely to be in school with less advantaged whites or Negroes than are students from less well-educated families. It also shows that when students of <u>any</u> social class level are in majority advantaged schools that there is no apparent negative effect of a majority Negro student body.

It is important to note that the racial composition of schools is only one dimension of students' racial context; there also are--at a minimum--their classrooms.

Table IV presents white students' achievement on these two dimensions of racial context, for students in low social class schools. The table reveals that

<u>Table IV. School and Classroom Racial Composition, and White Students' Achievement (Parents less than high school graduates).</u>

	RACIAL COMPOSITION OF CLASSROOMS		
RACIAL COMPOSITION OF SCHOOLS	Predominantly Negro	Half and more than half white	Mostly and all white
Predominantly Negro	22.3 (382)	27.6 (359)	28.1 (88)
Half and more than half white	23.8 (135)	25.9 (227)	26.3 (93)
Mostly and all white	25.5 (473)	29.2 (1199)	32.1 (1941)

classroom racial context is as important for white as Negro students. Students in majority white classrooms in predominantly Negro schools perform at a higher level than students in majority Negro classrooms in nearly all white schools. It confirms--with school social class controlled--the dual impact of schools and classrooms suggested in the Civil Rights Commissions' analysis.[14]

Since advantaged white students simply are not found in predominantly Negro schools which also have more advantaged student bodies, it is impossible to inspect all aspects of the school social class-racial composition-classroom relationship. But one further essay at the classroom "effect" is worthwhile.

Table V depicts the association between white students' achievement and classroom racial composition, in schools which have more advantaged student bodies.

Table V. Classroom Composition in Mostly White Schools, and White Performance.

	COMMON RACIAL COMPOSITION		
PARENTS' EDUCATION	Predominantly Negro	Half and more than half white	Mostly and all white
Less than high school	27.5 (53)	31.2 (225)	33.5 (927)
High school graduate	30.1 (94)	33.4 (336)	35.3 (1440)
At least some college	36.2 (43)	37.5 (176)	41.1 (676)

It shows that classroom composition has a steady relationship to achievement, even in majority white schools. And it is worth noting that this association is not dissolved

when tracking is taken into account; within high and low track placements, the association between classroom racial composition and performance persists.[15]

There is one other observation which can be made on the basis of the data presented thus far. Controlling schools' racial composition does not eliminate the relationship between school social class and white performance in all and nearly-all white schools. White students--whether from educationally weak or strong families--appear to perform at substantially higher levels when in schools with a substantial majority of advantaged students, than when in school with a majority of less advantaged students.[16]

Interracial Conditions--Existing research on schools and race suggests that the interracial climate of schools may be as important a dimension of students' racial context as the physical composition of their schools.[17] The Coleman survey data offer two main avenues for exploration in this connection: interracial tension--as reported by teachers, and cross-racial friendship--as reported by students.[18]

Tension--The Racial Isolation report found that Negro students' achievement was lower in schools where relatively high levels of tension were reported.[19] Does a similar relationship exist for white students?

Table VI presents data on the white students--those from low-status families--

Table VI. Interracial Tension and White Students.

	RACIAL COMPOSITION OF SCHOOLS			
	Predominantly Negro Schools		About Half Negro Schools	
PARENTS' EDUCATION	Low Tension	High Tension	Low Tension	High Tension
Less than high school education	41.8 (120)	39.8 (304)	-- (0)	25.1 (408)
At least some college	23.6 (395)	24.4 (680)	-- (0)	29.4 (80)

which we would suppose to be most likely to be in schools with an incidence of interracial tension. The most important conclusion which the table suggests is the difficulty of assessing the effects of tension. There apparently are no teacher reports of low tension in about half white schools, and relatively few cases of low tension in predominantly Negro schools. Additionally, the table reveals no discernable association between interracial tension and white students' verbal achievement. When the racial composition of classrooms was taken into account, only slight and inconsistent differences emerged.

When attention is shifted to majority white schools, however, a clearer picture seems to appear. There is a clear, strong, and quite consistent relationship between levels of reported tension and white students' verbal achievement.

As Table VII shows, the performance differences associated with tension do not

Table VII. Tension, Classroom Composition, and White Students' Performance in Predominantly White Schools.

PARENTS' EDUCATION	RACIAL COMPOSITION OF CLASSROOM	TENSION LEVEL	
		Low Tension	High Tension
Less than high school	Mostly Negro	29.0 (85)	23.6 (116)
	About half white	30.3 (467)	28.3 (384)
	Mostly white	32.5 (1514)	34.0 (314)
At least some college	Mostly Negro	38.5 (84)	33.3 (34)
	About half white	39.3 (342)	38.0 (219)
	Mostly white	41.6 (937)	43.3 (192)

eliminate the positive association between predominantly white classrooms and higher achievement. They do, however, somewhat change the relationship. At both education levels, controlling for the degree of tension magnifies the "effect" of classroom composition in high-tension schools. The performance increment in majority white over majority Negro classes is twice as great in high as in low tension schools. Since the mean scores in mostly white classes are roughtly the same, this effect seems to be almost entirely due to the depressing effects of tension in predominantly Negro classrooms. In effect, the presence of tension seems to exacerbate the effects of majority Negro classrooms, although its presence does not have a parallel effect in majority white classes.

Given the limited conditions under which the effects of tension upon white achievement can be explored, only limited conclusions can be drawn. It appears that the relationship is not school-wide, but classroom specific, and that it is apparent--at least with existing measures--only in majority white, not majority Negro schools. In the former, there is a clear and consistent negative relationship between high levels of reported tension and white performance.

Cross-racial acceptance--Earlier studies in the sociology of schools suggest that students' social context and performance are in part defined by friendship patterns, as well as student body characteristics.[20] Further analysis of the Coleman survey data in the Racial Isolation report showed that the positive association between interracial classrooms and higher Negro performance was mediated by the presence or absence of cross-racial acceptance.[21] Is white students' achievement similarly related to cross-racial acceptance?

Table VIII suggests that when patterns of friendship alone are considered, there is a modest but consistent positive effect of having mostly white friends. But, of course, this may be only a result of classroom racial context. More interesting are

Table VIII. Cross Racial Acceptance and White Students' Performance

PARENTS' EDUCATION	FRIENDS WHITE		
	Few and None	About Half	Most and All
Less than high school	26.2 (531)	25.9 (475)	30.6 (6140)
High school graduate	30.5 (547)	29.0 (342)	34.9 (7222)
Some college	38.0 (377)	36.5 (159)	41.4 (5184)

the frequencies in the table which reveal that only about one-fifth of the white students report having more than a few Negro friends.

When the data in this table are discriminated by classroom racial context, a somewhat different result emerges.

Table IX summarizes these findings by categorizing white students four ways: (1)

Table IX. Classroom Context, Cross Racial Acceptance, and White Students' Achievement.

PARENTS' EDUCATION	CLASSROOM - FRIEND CONTEXT			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Less than high school graduate	30.7 (5959)	29.2 (310)	26.2 (506)	22.5 (320)
High school graduate	35.1 (6984)	33.6 (376)	29.6 (474)	24.3 (228)
Some college	41.5 (5022)	40.1 (278)	36.8 (274)	32.1 (121)

Those in predominantly white classes who have predominantly white friends; (2) Those in predominantly white classes, but who report half or more Negro friends; (3) Those in predominantly Negro classes, but who report mostly white friends; and (4) Those in predominantly Negro classes who report predominantly Negro friends.

The results of this table are of considerable interest, for it shows that friendship and classroom context must be considered together--they appear to have joint effects which would be lost or obscured in serial analysis. This is best illustrated by consideration of the association between friendship and achievement in majority white (categories 1 and 2), and majority Negro (categories 3 and 4), classrooms. Very substantial performance differences are associated with the presence or absence of white friends in majority Negro classes, and only very small--and perhaps negligible--differences are associated with the friendship variable in majority white classrooms. These results remain essentially unchanged when schools' racial composition is controlled.[22]

The second result which seems to flow from this table has as much to do with the question of Negro achievement as it does with white achievement. The table shows performance differences for white students which seem to be of a specifically racial character. White achievement appears to be affected by interracial contexts in roughly the same fashion as Negro achievement. This suggests that in some part at least, the achievement effects of integration for Negroes and whites are due to racial, as well as social class context factors.

Given the close relationship which seems to exist among the basic context variables--schools, classrooms, and friendship--it is advisable to return to the analysis

of tension, to see if the findings remain undisturbed by introducing the friendship variable.

Deriving an answer to this question is not easy, again due to the relatively few white students with Negro friends in predominantly Negro, low tension schools and classrooms.

As a result, Table X is restricted to predominantly white schools. Introducing cross-racial friendship and tension simultaneously produces results which require

Table X. Classrooms, Cross-Racial Acceptance, Interracial Tension, and White Students' Achievement.

TENSION	PARENTS' EDUCATION	% FRIENDS WHITE: Few			Most		
		% CLASS WHITE					
		Few	About Half	Most	Few	About Half	Most
Low	Low	27.6 (25)	30.6 (51)	31.3 (116)	27.8 (42)	30.4 (368)	32.4 (1196)
	High	35.6 (20)	38.5 (43)	40.2 (57)	38.8 (45)	38.9 (200)	41.8 (744)
High	Low	22.0 (37)	23.4 (60)	30.4 (20)	23.9 (44)	28.3 (45)	34.3 (254)
	High	-- (8)	32.2 (25)	39.6 (13)	33.5 (16)	38.6 (142)	44.1 (152)

some modification of earlier interpretations. Patterns of friendship seem to have no relation to achievement in low tension schools; further analysis shows that this is not an artifact of majority-white schools.[23] But there is a positive relationship between

achievement and friendship in high tension schools. This suggests that the importance of white friends to achievement is a peculiarity of schools which have an undesirable interracial climate.

This section suggests that interracial tension has a negative relationship to white performance over most variations in classroom and peer racial context; the effects are minimal, or disappear, only in majority white classrooms. In majority Negro and about half white classrooms, the effects are substantial. Having more or less white friends seems to have a more limited effect; it is of importance only in high tension schools. But there also is a slight tendency for there to be a greater effect of classroom composition when students have a majority of white friends. Although present in both high and low tension schools, this seems to be stronger in the former.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The analysis reported here has very real limitations, perhaps the most important of which is that the data are cross-sectional, not longitudinal. As a result it is only with substantial reservations that generalizations about the causal ordering of variables can be ventured. These limitations of the present analysis can best be summed up in three suggestions for further research.

First, there should be further investigation of the temporal dimensions of schools' racial and social class contexts. In part this can be carried out with the Coleman survey data, but it could best be done through the collection of data over time on the same students. The second approach allows control of childrens' early achievement, and therefore permits more accurate specification of the relationships between school social class and racial contexts, and differential academic growth.

Second, there is a need for exploration of the attitudinal outcomes of schooling, especially those which relate to racial and social class preferences, and their relationship to achievement in different racial and social class contexts. The _Racial Isolation_ report already has suggested the close relationship between racial context and racial preferences. In longitudinal studies this aspect could be more fully probed by direct sociometric techniques. But more important is exploration over time of the relationship between interracial acceptance and the differential development of academic competence.

Third, the analysis reported here includes no effort to take account of the association shown in the Coleman survey[24] between teacher quality and student performance. Although analysis of the Coleman data can and should be continued, again the main need is for longitudinal data.

Given these limitations, and the research needs they suggest, a few tentative general conclusions can be ventured.

> --There does appear to be an "effect" of racial composition upon the achievement of white students. Its basic dimensions can be roughly summed up by noting that the same school and classroom contexts--majority Negro, majority disadvantaged--which produce low achievement for Negroes produce low achievement for whites. Conversely, the school and classroom contexts which are associated with higher achievement for Negro students--majority white, majority advantaged--also are associated with higher achievement for white students.

> --There does not appear to be any less sensitivity of advantaged than disadvantaged white students to majority-Negro schools and classrooms, except in the sense that such students are very likely to be in school mostly with a majority of other fairly advantaged children. And in such schools there are no discernable negative effects of majority-Negro student bodies. Given the demography of the Nation's urban areas, such schools are not nearly as likely to be located as near Negro residential areas as are schools with a majority of less advantaged whites. The white children who are often physically easiest to integrate

with Negroes are children who--in such integration--would be likely to produce bi-racial, lower class schools. If such schools were majority white, the students would probably not suffer academically, and as other research has shown, they would be likely to gain a good deal in the way of eliminating racial bigotry. But by virtue of their social class composition, such schools would not offer either the white or Negro children the achievement benefits which appear to be associated with attending a majority advantaged school. Thus, the schools which in some cities may be physically easiest to desegregate racially do not offer the prospect of the most productive student social class composition. Increasingly, those schools lie outside the central cities.

--In all dimensions which existing data offer, it seems that interracial tension is as damaging for white as Negro achievement.

All of this can best, and most easily, be summed up by saying that those schools which seem to be most productive for Negro students' academic growth--majority advantaged, low tension, majority white--are also most productive for white students. In many smaller and medium sized cities such schools can be created within the corporate limits of central city school jurisdictions. In the older and larger metropolitan areas--which contain roughly half of the urban Negro population--such schools increasingly would require urban-suburban cooperation among school districts.

FOOTNOTES

1. Bronfenbrenner, U., "The Psychological Costs of Quality and Equality in Education," paper presented at a conference on Psychological Factors in Poverty, Madison, Wisconsin, June 22-24, 1967.

2. Coleman, James, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington, 1966, 302-325; Wilson, A., "Educational Consequences of Segregation in a California Community," 165-206 in Vol. II of U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, Washington, 1967.

3. White Plains, New York Public Schools, An Evaluation of the Racial Balance Plan, Section III, 8. This evaluation is not of very good quality, and it should be used with a fair amount of caution.

4. The relationship between tension and performance for Negro students was reported in U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. I, 157-158; there is one table for white students, Vol. II, 142. For a good review of experimental research which bears on this area, Katz, I., "Review of Evidence Relating to Effects of Desegregation on the Intellectual Performance of Negroes," American Psychologist, June, 1964.

5. White Plains, op. cit.; Moorefield, T. E., The Bussing of Minority Group Children in a Big City School System, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1967 (Abstract); Marascuilo, L. A., Report to the Board of Education---, Berkeley, 1967; Beker, J., School Desegregation and Integration, mimeo, 1967.

6. Moorefield, op. cit., 29.

7. White Plains, op. cit., Section I, 13-14.

8. Beker, op. cit., 26-27; Moorefield, op. cit.

9. Beker, op. cit., 24-25; Moorefield, op. cit., 7-8, (it is not entirely clear what the classroom compositions were in this study); White Plains, op. cit., Introduction, 2.; Stout, R., School Desegregation: Progress in Eight Cities, Chicago, 1966, Vol. II, Ch. VII, 107-110.

10. Coleman, op. cit., 304.

11. U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. II, 46-47, 134-142.

12. This table arises from further analysis of the Coleman survey data under way at Harvard; it was supplied by Mr. Marshall Smith of the Graduate School of Education.

13. Ibid.

14. U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. II, p. 42.

15. Appendix Table I reports results for grade 12. It was provided by Mr. James McPartland, Center for the Study of the Social Organization of Schools, The Johns Hopkins University.

16. Appendix Table II reports the results for grade 12. Thanks again are due to Mr. McPartland.

17. Katz, _op. cit._

18. The student item was: "Think now of your close friends. How many of them are white?" (A) None (B) Less than half (C) About half (D) More than half (E) All. The teacher item was a yes-no response to the statement: "The different races or ethnic groups don't get along together."

19. See note 4, above.

20. A good review of the research is found in McDill, E., _et al._, _Sources of Educational Climates in High Schools_, Johns Hopkins University, 1966, Ch. II.

21. U.S.C.C.R., _op. cit._, Vol. II, 42-43, 100-101. T. F. Peetigrew has discussed some of the dimensions of this in "Race and Equal Educational Opportunity," paper read at the A.P.A. meetings, Washington, D. C., 9/3/67.

22. Appendix Table III displays the full array of data.

23. See Appendix Table III.

24. Coleman, _op. cit._, Table 3.25.3, 319.

APPENDIX

A few words are necessary to supplement the preceding and following Tables.

a. Non-response on any question eliminated students from this analysis, save parents' education.

b. Parents' education was determined by cross-tabulating mother's and father's education, as reported by the students. Non-response for one parent was re-coded for the reported education of the other. Dual non-response and blanks were treated as a separate category, not reported here.

c. In the analysis above, school's racial composition is trichotomized: 0-49% white; 50-69% white; 69-100% white. The other categorizations are self-evident.

d. The tension variable was dichotomized; 0-9% vs. 10+% of teachers reporting some tension.

Appendix Table I. Tracking, Grade 12.

Parents' Education	School Social Class	Racial Composition (% white)	High English Track: Few, no whites	High English Track: About half	High English Track: More than half	High English Track: All	Medium and Low English Track: Few, no whites	Medium and Low English Track: About half	Medium and Low English Track: More than half	Medium and Low English Track: All
Less than high school graduate	Low	0-69	283.4 (72)	287.0 (92)	289.4 (183)	287.0 (13)	272.3 (164)	275.5 (243)	277.2 (247)	272.0 (46)
		70-99	279.1 (7)	279.7 (13)	291.7 (66)	293.6 (99)	274.4 (54)	275.1 (58)	286.0 (3)	277.6 (20)
		100	0.0	0.0	0.0	295.0 (30)	274.0 (1)	0.0	291.5 (40)	290.7 (31)
	High	0-69	297.7 (4)	296.6 (17)	298.4 (28)	298.9 (12)	281.7 (41)	283.2 (73)	287.5 (95)	287.0 (44)
		70-99	295.6 (23)	289.0 (23)	298.1 (170)	298.0 (148)	281.1 (69)	279.3 (74)	283.1 (541)	283.3 (451)
		100	291.0 (1)	0.0	0.0	293.1 (25)	280.0 (1)	0.0	0.0	281.3 (54)
High school graduate	Low	0-69	287.5 (35)	290.7 (60)	293.1 (123)	293.5 (13)	272.2 (87)	273.3 (123)	280.2 (129)	270.5 (17)
		70-99	293.1 (10)	289.8 (12)	292.4 (126)	297.1 (71)	276.8 (22)	274.1 (29)	281.6 (294)	280.9 (166)
		100	302.0 (1)	278.0 (1)	294.0 (1)	293.9 (28)	262.0 (1)	0.0	279.0 (1)	281.0 (76)
	High	0-69	291.2 (11)	292.2 (23)	298.9 (34)	299.4 (15)	279.7 (38)	281.8 (78)	288.9 (96)	290.5 (36)
		70-99	294.6 (25)	291.1 (41)	298.6 (196)	301.2 (194)	284.7 (68)	278.4 (43)	285.7 (531)	286.1 (490)
		100	0.0	0.0	285.0 (1)	298.1 (16)	282.0 (1)	0.0	280.0 (1)	286.7 (37)
At least some college	Low	0-69	294.5 (23)	293.8 (32)	296.3 (112)	299.8 (15)	273.6 (29)	281.2 (46)	281.9 (63)	278.1 (7)
		70-99	292.8 (7)	294.3 (4)	296.5 (98)	301.9 (52)	285.7 (16)	283.6 (15)	286.9 (103)	282.7 (60)
		100	0.0	0.0	0.0	294.0 (29)	271.0 (1)	0.0	293.0 (1)	285.5 (29)
	High	0-69	302.6 (14)	298.6 (43)	305.5 (88)	304.3 (36)	283.0 (22)	286.2 (49)	294.0 (87)	291.6 (42)
		70-99	301.9 (53)	293.3 (7)	304.0 (442)	305.2 (483)	292.2 (54)	279.9 (31)	291.1 (462)	292.7 (521)
		100	296.8 (4)	0.0	304.7 (5)	305.4 (62)	301.0 (2)	0.0	306.0 (2)	294.3 (99)

Appendix Table II: Grade 12, School Social Class and Racial Composition.

Parents' Education	School Social Class	School Racial Composition (% white)	Classroom Composition: Few, none		About half		More than half		All	
Less than high school graduate	Low	0-69	275.3	(343)	278.9	(454)	282.8	(571)	274.8	(77)
		70-99	276.5	(108)	277.3	(105)	282.0	(1223)	282.8	(770)
		100	274.0	(1)	0.0		280.0	(5)	280.0	(430)
	High	0-69	283.0	(58)	285.4	(131)	289.1	(190)	290.2	(93)
		70-99	283.9	(127)	280.4	(136)	286.3	(1020)	286.8	(918)
		100	285.6	(3)	0.0		0.0		285.5	(107)
High school graduate	Low	0-69	276.1	(182)	278.5	(254)	285.3	(348)	275.7	(66)
		70-99	282.4	(56)	278.0	(62)	284.7	(694)	284.6	(390)
		100	282.3	(3)	278.0	(1)	277.7	(3)	283.4	(175)
	High	0-69	281.1	(68)	284.5	(142)	292.0	(181)	292.5	(86)
		70-99	287.6	(125)	281.3	(80)	289.2	(1082)	289.8	(1076)
		100	285.5	(2)	296.0	(1)	280.0	(4)	290.4	(80)
At least some college	Low	0-69	283.4	(68)	287.1	(100)	291.2	(238)	291.0	(29)
		70-99	288.9	(31)	286.5	(24)	291.5	(311)	291.5	(167)
		100	278.5	(2)	0.0		293.0	(1)	287.8	(70)
	High	0-69	290.1	(48)	291.8	(124)	298.5	(239)	294.8	(107)
		70-99	296.2	(156)	282.6	(151)	297.2	(1365)	297.7	(1434)
		100	298.0	(6)	0.0		305.9	(10)	297.9	(218)

Appendix Table III: White Achievement by Friendship, School, and Classroom Context.

Parents' Education	Majority Negro Schools				About Half White Schools				Majority White Schools			
	(1)*	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Less than high school graduate	27.8	25.7	25.0	18.4	25.4	24.4	26.8	25.2	31.4	30.5	26.7	23.9
	(586)	(30)	(121)	(104)	(339)	(26)	(44)	(34)	(4220)	(213)	(228)	(109)
High school graduate	34.7	32.0	28.3	23.1	28.8	28.9	25.2	19.4	35.2	33.6	29.7	26.4
	(592)	(29)	(84)	(67)	(229)	(13)	(35)	(21)	(5009)	(276)	(248)	(104)
At least some college	41.4	40.2	33.4	27.3	31.6	--	--	--	41.6	39.8	38.1	33.0
	(460)	(28)	(45)	(29)	(65)	(4)	(10)	(9)	(3436)	(184)	(145)	(55)

*Categories as defined in the text.

BIG CITY SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: TRENDS AND METHODS

Prepared by
Robert A. Dentler and James Elsbery
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

Introduction

This paper asks and attempts to answer four questions:

(1) What is the current situation with respect to school segregation in the largest central cities of the United States?

(2) What steps have been taken, or at least have been formally proposed and received the serious attention of school policy makers?

(3) What are the least and the most promising techniques for achieving school desegregation in these cities?

(4) What are the most promising strategies to implement these techniques?

The first question was approached through data on record with the Bureau of the Census and the Civil Rights Commission. The second was answered by collating evidence from published reports, field visits, correspondence and phone calls with school officials and informed persons within the twenty cities selected for analysis.

We note in advance that few programs are in operation. In addition, it is impossible to identify all of the plans and proposals that have been generated within the twenty cities; we can provide only estimates. These estimates have been drawn in the interest of avoiding false optimism.

We have focused upon the 20 largest central cities in the United States, for the racial, ethnic, and class minorities are heavily concentrated in these communities, and it is here that school segregation is most intractable in extent and depth. We also have concentrated upon the racial isolation of Negroes in the schools. There are other groups affected, and the effects of isolation may be greater at present among Puerto Ricans than among Negroes in the metropolitan northeast.[1] Nevertheless, the scale of Negro isolation combined with the greater absolute size of the urban Negro population makes us believe that highest technical and political priority must be given to the elimination of segregated educational facilities and services for Negroes; pursuit of this priority offers greatest promise for reducing the isolation of other groups.

The Current Situation

Of the twenty U.S. cities with populations in excess of 500,000, 13 approach the Tauber Index score of 100 which signifies total residential segregation.* Except for Washington, the few less segregated cities are located in the West, but the rate of Negro in-migration there will soon bring the West into line with the South and the Northeast. What is more, Houston and Dallas are only now moving from de jure into de facto school segregation.

---

* See Table I, at end.

Barring new policies, we expect that by 1975 the twenty largest cities of the nation, which together account for nearly half of the nation's Negro population, will be uniformly characterized by extreme residential, and hence extreme de facto school segregation. This effect is magnified by the fact that roughly six out of ten white pupils are enrolled in public schools, contrasted with nine out of ten Negro pupils. According to present findings, this disproportion is increasing. The evidence suggests that 70 percent of all Negro pupils attend schools that are composed of 90 to 100 percent Negro pupils. By 1975, barring new policies, we estimate that 80 percent of all Negro pupils in these cities will be attending 90 to 100 percent Negro schools.

Each of the 20 cities, as Table III shows, has operating or planned one, two, or three limited remedies. But only a few cities have in operation comprehensive programs. One of these involves a single "supplementary center" in Cleveland. There, pupils are being brought together for part of the day for enriched and remedial instruction that goes beyond what is available in isolated neighborhood schools. An informed source in Cleveland indicates, however, that classes are kept along home school lines, thus producing segregated groupings in a desegregated setting.

Another potentially comprehensive program is located in Baltimore, where some elementary schools have been clustered. In Boston, more than 250 Negro children are being bussed from the city into the schools of six cooperating suburban school districts. Although this program, conducted by the Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity (METCO), is very small, it represents the most significant program mechanism operating in the largest cities.

There is a great difference between a big city school desegregation program that is in operation and one that has been proposed or planned. The only programs in general operation are those involving free choice transfers of pupils, limited open enrollment, or changes in attendance zones. For the most part, the open enrollment schemes now in operation are without significance; as Table III reveals they are unsupported by bussing and thus depend upon the initiative and private funds of parents.

Exclusive of New York City, then, other types of programs have merely been proposed. There is little reason to expect any implementation of desegregation proposals -- again barring changes in state or federal legal requirements -- in the next several years. In New York City, grade structure revisions have been mandated but will take a decade or more to implement; pairing has involved no more than ten schools; and the bulk of new school construction continues to be sited in extremely segregated subcommunities, although some selections have been made recently with a view to preventing further segregation.

But Table III and the qualitative data from which it was derived oblige us to conclude that applied research and planning toward school desegregation programs are increasing in extent and quality among the big cities. Some of this trend has resulted from federal expenditures for planning. At the same time, however, big city school segregation continues its annual increase and is <u>nowhere</u> being reduced or prevented.

An impressive, potentially influential "talking game" is going on in New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, New Orleans, Seattle, and Buffalo. Successive waves of planning toward comprehensive desegregation in each may seem in the short term to do little more than deter action. Yet each wave is also an educative force, and it may be that in one or two of these cities the tide of decision will turn. Planners, government officials, and academics should be cautioned, however, against assuming that "talking games" signify decisions. Thirteen years of inaction and inadequate implementation since the Brown decision suggest the intractability of this problem, barring new policies at the federal level.

Feasible Techniques

None of the limited techniques, alone or in combination, can prevent, let alone eliminate, segregated education for Negroes in the largest central cities. But each is of educational value if well planned and carried out. Indeed, we have evidence that open enrollment programs can provide more immediate and positive educational benefits than programs of compensatory education carried out in segregated Negro schools.[2] We also have evidence that limited pairing programs, when executed mechanically and with little concern for instructional improvements, can redound to the disadvantage of the students who are sent, the students who are left behind, and the students in the receiving schools.[3]

The limited techniques should be continued and extended in all of the largest cities. They can be designed to improve educational opportunity, and they stimulate progressively greater commitment to com-

prehensive school desegregation programs. It is unlikely that federal, state, or local agencies will take giant steps to remedy a problem unless there has been experience in the small interim steps. Limited programs of free choice, grade structure revision, pairing and bussing, also serve to thaw an otherwise frozen complex of local school customs and mores. Quite apart from the challenge of school desegregation, big city school systems face such a host of social changes and rising public expectations that established procedures must be modified in countless ways if alternatives to failure are to be discovered. Well planned, well implemented, yet limited desegregation schemes should be encouraged. Hasty mechanical experiments should be avoided; they harm some students, and they <u>depress</u> confidence in the desirability of comprehensive school integration.

<u>Magnet Schools</u> - The magnet school offers specialized courses or educational services in a number of carefully located public schools in an effort to provide attractive, desegregated schooling to all those enrolled. Ideally, some minority group pupils are released from racial isolation and are also enriched by the curriculum, while majority pupils are "held in" the system by the special advantages of attendance or the prospect of future admission.

The magnet school concept is attractive politically but regressive educationally. Boston and New York City demonstrated fifty years ago that public school systems could create and operate exceptionally distinguished elite or specialized institutions. The price of most of these has been a reduction in the quality of education at other in-

stitutions within the same system, as both staff and students are skimmed off for special benefits. We agree with the Allen Committee's report on New York City which stated, "While some special-purpose schools may well be justified, the policy should be to eliminate those in which attendance seems to imply a stigma, which show a trend toward increasing racial homogeneity".[4]

Magnet schools pose new stresses for big city systems. These include public claims of unfair admission practices; disenchantment with non-magnet school offerings; and new strains in the personnel policies on recruitment, assignment, and salary. Some versions of the magnet school are also purely additive. Far from contributing to the effective integration of the system, they are tacked on as extra "academies" or supplements which are duplicative or redundant.

None of these reservations is meant to be absolute or dogmatic; feasible magnet schools can be created.

Clusters or Complexes

The educational complex is an administratively and geographically bounded network of public schools whose chief officer has the authority and the means to increase integration among staff and students in the member schools, and to make the best local adaptation of schools to student needs and to the reduction of ethnic isolation.[5] A complex would contain fairly proximate schools. Students would be assigned to Home Schools according to current neighborhood boundaries, but each would be not more than 20 minutes of bus travel time apart from one another or from the headquarters school. In the complex, teachers and services would be pooled, so as to best combine their time and skills

through sharing of common classes and exchanges of students or in other ways. The concept emphasizes the partial desegregation of existing facilities, staffs, and student bodies. It also exploits the concept of administrative decentralization less for purposes of local control and more for the goal of desegregation.

The strength of complexes is that the scheme can be adapted to make room for new school construction, sited to reduce or prevent further segregation. It can operate along with and reinforce the benefits of pairing and free choice transfers. Grade structures can be revised within clusters. Perhaps most important, it offers a concrete way of moving from neighborhood-based systems to larger districts, and paves the way for educational parks.

The weaknesses are equally noteworthy. Apart from one effort to cluster elementary schools in Baltimore, we know of no instance where a large city has attempted the complex. We think this is so because substantial administrative and staff reorganization is essential. Feasibility studies of Queens and Brooklyn in New York City indicated that further segregation could be partially prevented and that slightly less than one third of existing levels of school segregation could be eliminated. But a one third effect may seem too small a gain in return for substantial restructuring of personnel assignments, titles, and responsibilities. In New York City, the bath water of decentralization has been turned on but the baby of desegregation has been lost in the splash.[6] The surge toward local control has occurred along lines that reinforce existing neighborhood patterns of segregation.

Educational Parks

The feasibility of educational parks in large cities will be tested only when several have been created and operated for some time in more than one city. At present, not a single educational park has been built in any of the twenty largest cities.

An educational park would be a very large consolidated unified school plant, built in a campus-like arrangement and zoned to serve many surrounding neighborhoods, subcommunities, or combinations of communities.

Parks have potential for meeting all criteria for educational desirability and feasibility. Moreover, as a survey of all states and 457 school districts recently indicated, 85 communities have already discovered that in planning educational parks they may promote solutions to a variety of urban problems. The problems that come within range of solution include new school construction economies, inner city redevelopment, metropolitanization, economies and improvements in the pooling and scheduling and distribution of special services, and class and ethnic as well as racial integration. To the imaginations of planners, social scientists, and some professional educators, parks are tremendously attractive and feasible instruments for adapting schools to late twentieth century educational requirements.

Among our 20 cities, educational parks have been proposed and partially planned in New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Detroit. Public and professional discussion has begun in at least four other great cities. In New York, where detailed preparation is underway, the two educational parks that will be built in the next several years

are not so located as to reduce or prevent racial segregation in the public schools. The Philadelphia Board of Education, according to reliable sources, is discussing the construction of three educational parks. Unfortunately, according to two reliable sources, if these parks are constructed they would be built in residentially segregated neighborhoods (two in essentially all Negro areas). If such a plan were carried out, at least five segregated elementary schools, two segregated junior high schools, and one desegregated high school would remain or become segregated. In Chicago, only a proposal exists and it asserts that it would take thirty years to create a system of parks.

To prove economically feasible, educational parks in the largest cities would have to be financed as part of a federal urban redevelopment program. Consider the financial magnitude of the New York City task, for example. If grades five through twelve were included, and if each park were to serve about 10,000 students, about 80 educational parks would have to be built. If a 1,000 pupil school with modest facilities now costs a minimum of two million dollars, each park would cost at least 25 million dollars. The total cost would be at least two billion dollars; it should be pointed out that considerable physical and social rehabilitation of residentially and commercially deteriorated areas could be built into the development process.

The history of resegregation of Washington and Baltimore schools demonstrates, finally, that educational parks, even if painstakingly sited, could not achieve the aim of desegregation in most of the twenty largest cities unless urban-suburban district consolidation

were involved. This fact is acknowledged in the Hobson v. Hansen decision in Washington,[9] and it is proven in a recent analysis of the Baltimore school system.[10]

Even in New York City, where desegregation policies of a sort are being practiced and where a margin for effective action continues to exist, educational parks would not desegregate the schools unless they were constructed on an inter-district basis and involved participation by predominantly white suburbs. If New York City began tomorrow to erect educational parks and succeeded in establishing ten of them by 1980, its public school pupil enrollment would still exceed 70 percent Negro and Puerto Rican.

Suburban-Urban Cooperation

Among the 20 cities, only Boston operates a program that involves suburban schools. Similar programs exist in several smaller cities, but we assumed at the opening of this paper that a variety of alternatives exist for smaller cities, making the experience of Hartford and Rochester interesting but less than critical.

Boston's METCO is private, voluntary, and small. It costs the participating school boards virtually nothing and raises no complex legal questions. No obligations exist within the program concerning continuation for the long term or expansion to include more districts or pupils. Thus it provides no direct empirical basis for assessing the feasibility of suburban-urban cooperation.

Nevertheless, nothing short of the evolution of the METCO concept will achieve big city school desegregation. By evolution, we mean the extension, expansion, and public legitimation of such pro-

grams to a point where public educational services are freed from fiscal restriction, district boundaries, and neighborhood parameters. Legally and politically, metropolitanization is the only viable, durable remedy that exists. Moreover, it is apt to prove most feasible if it is first attempted in those metropolitan areas such as Washington and Baltimore and Chicago, where the suburban districts are few enough in number to make incorporation and unification imaginable to both the public and public authorities.

Our point of view on this matter is demographic and ecological: Suburban white segregation (see Table II) in the metropolitan areas of the twenty largest cities always has been extremely high, and this will persist through 1985. Residential densities, average age of adults, and occupational mixes in central cities are such that the historic trend toward the massing of Negroes and other minorities in the inner city neighborhoods will also persist over the same period.

A very gradual ethnic redistribution across the entire metropolitan field may be seen in the oldest cities of the East. This will gradually erode the foundation of _de facto_ segregated public education. But the pace of change, barring policy intervention, will be such as to create ghettoes of miseducated minorities inside every suburban community, producing little more than an areal multiplication of the present big city situation.

Strategies for Implementation

In our judgment the recommendations advanced in the final section of the United States Civil Rights Commission report, _Racial Isolation in the Public Schools_, represent essential but not complete

elements of a strategy for achieving urban school desegragation. A Congressional uniform standard; firm assignment of state responsibility; sizeable federal fiscal assistance; adequate time, or controlled pacing; and the controls recommended over private and public housing and urban renewal, constitute the elements which must be present if the grave problem of school segregation is to be remedied.

To these steps we would add the elements of a local strategy and those of federal legislative and administrative integration. A necessary local strategy is consistent emphasis upon the ways in which the reconstruction of educational services will benefit all citizens and their children. We mean that an emphasis upon the moral principle of integration is an emphasis most likely to defeat the achievement of the objective; where an emphasis upon improved services for clients can capture and harness rising public expectations and serve the moral principle quietly and more effectively at the same time.

Educational park planning illustrates this vividly. In several cities, citizens from a variety of interest groups have endorsed the practical educational potential of the park because the park can be shown to offer a host of related improvements. Desegregation is perceived as obtainable incidentally or en route. A moral and legal approach to school integration can be achieved in smaller communities, but in the largest cities this approach is confounded and fragmented by political cross-pressures that cannot be managed or channelled.

We believe that local moral pressures on behalf of limited solutions should be maintained. Without these, ground is lost to extremists on both sides. Moreover, comprehensive urban programs fail

unless they evolve out of small experiments and demonstrations of what is desirable and possible. But the local strategy of greatest importance -- and the one that is now beginning to come into focus in a few cities -- is one of visualizing and persuading educators and the public of the great instructional and service gains and economies to be enjoyed through resource pooling and inter-district cooperation.

This local approach, even in concert with the recommendations of the Civil Rights Commission, will fail, we believe, unless there comes into being a legislative obligation for the progressive integration of federal programs. Currently, the gaps between Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, and the housing and renewal programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development are the moral equivalent of distance in inter-stellar space. They will not be closed through the occasional formation of task forces, but when direct cooperation is obligatory if programs are to be continued or enlarged from year to year. Some of the elements of this strategy are embodied in the original Model Cities plan, which was partially emasculated in the process of enactment.

We are arguing, in conclusion, that a federal legal and legislative basis for solution is essential but that this basis must include an integrative restructuring of federal programs aimed at solving urban problems.

A closing note concerning strategy: the limited desegregation devices we have cited and taken seriously will not evolve into comprehensive remedies if left free of new incentives or legal requirement.

Open enrollment and zoning changes have merit as first steps, but they offer few impacts upon the *status quo*. Changes in racial composition and changes in quality of educational services will occur only when and if new forces and new resources are introduced into local systems from above. Our ecological view buttresses this strongly; it shows that only giant steps will reach the goal. The best analogy is the history of school district consolidation from 1940 to 1967. Rarely did districts merge as a result of local discussion and campaigns. Rather, they merged because of state pressure and financial incentives. If this was true for consolidation, how true will it be for the much more fundamental change involved in metro-area school desegregation.

References

1. Robert A. Dentler, "Equality of Educational Opportunity: A Special Review", The Urban Review, December 1966, Vol. I, No. 5, pp. 27-29.

2. David Fox, Expansion of the Free Choice Open Enrollment Program, Center for Urban Education, Project #06, October 1967. Contrast this with David Fox, Expansion of More Effective Schools Program, September 1967, Center for Urban Education, N.Y., Project #08.

3. Richard P. Boardman, Comparison of The Academic Performance and Achievement of 5th and 6th Grade Pupils in a Program of Pupil Transfer, (unpublished thesis), 1967.

4. State Education Commissioner's Advisory Committee, Desegregating the Public Schools of New York City, New York State Education Department Document, 1964, p. 15.

5. Robert A. Dentler, et al, The Educational Complex Study Project, Memoranda 1 through 14, mimeographed, 1965. Feasibility study prepared under contract with the New York City Board of Education.

6. Arthur Tobier, "Decentralization: Waiting for Something to Turn Up", The Center Forum, Center for Urban Education, N. Y., August 28, 1967, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 1-6.

7. An Explanation of the Educational Park Concept, N. Jacobson, Ed., Board of Education of New York City, 1964; "Problems of Urban Education", Journal California Teachers Association, October 1966.

8. Max Wolff, Educational Park Development in the United States, 1967: A Survey of Current Development Plans, Center for Urban Education, N.Y., 1967.

9. "Hobson v. Hansen - What is Law For?" The Center Forum, Center for Urban Education, N.Y., July 5, 1967, Vol. 2, No. 1, Entire Issue.

10. Dollie Walker, Arthur Stinchombe and Mary McDill, School Desegregation in Baltimore, John Hopkins University, Project #6-16100.

TABLE I. SUMMARY DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ON

20 LARGEST U. S. CITIES AND METRO AREAS

CITY	1960 SMSA Pop.	1960 City Pop.	1960 City Non-White Pop.	1960 City Non-White %	1964 Est. SMSA Pop.	1960-64 Est Change in Migration	1960 City Res. Seg. Index**	1950-60 Change in Seg.Pattern	1960 Sub. Res. Seg. Index**
NEW YORK	10,695,000	7,781,984	1,141,322	14.7	11,260,000	115,000	79.3	-8.0	77.5*
CHICAGO	6,221,000	3,550,404	837,656	23.6	6,591,000	3,000	92.6	0.5	88.7
LOS ANGELES	6,039,000	2,479,015	417,207	16.8	6,674,000	286,000	81.8	-2.8	83.7*
PHILADELPHIA	4,343,000	2,002,512	535,033	26.7	4,617,000	56,000	87.1	-1.9	82.0*
DETROIT	3,762,000	1,670,144	487,174	29.2	3,914,000	-80,000	84.5	-4.3	87.6*
BALTIMORE	1,727,000	939,024	328,416	35.0	1,829,000	Z	89.6	-1.7	80.9
HOUSTON	1,418,000	938,219	217,672	23.2	1,640,000	108,000	93.7	2.2	-
CLEVELAND	1,909,000	876,050	253,108	28.9	1,958,000	-51,000	91.3	-0.2	-
WASHINGTON	2,002,000	763,956	418,693	54.8	2,323,000	173,000	79.7	-0.4	87.8
ST. LOUIS	2,105,000	750,026	216,022	28.8	2,203,000	-24,000	90.5	-2.4	90.3
MILWAUKEE	1,233,000	741,324	65,752	8.9	1,262,000	-50,000	88.1	-3.5	-
SAN FRANCISCO	2,649,000	740,316	135,913	18.4	2,894,000	107,000	69.3	-10.5	79.7*
BOSTON	2,595,000	697,197	68,493	9.8	3,177,000	-81,000	83.9	-2.6	65.5
DALLAS	1,084,000	679,684	131,211	19.3	1,256,000	89,000	94.6	6.2	-
NEW ORLEANS	907,000	627,525	234,931	37.4	1,001,000	32,000	86.3	1.4	-
PITTSBURGH	2,405,000	604,332	101,739	16.8	2,368,000	-132,000	84.6	0.6	-
SAN ANTONIO	716,000	587,718	43,221	7.4	787,000	8,000	90.1	1.8	-
SAN DIEGO	1,033,000	573,224	44,712	7.8	1,131,000	19,000	81.3	-2.3	-
SEATTLE	1,107,000	557,087	46,528	8.4	1,178,000	9,000	79.7	-3.6	-
BUFFALO	1,307,000	532,759	73,388	13.8	1,319,000	-54,000	86.5	-3.0	82.3

* Where more than one suburb is clustered about a city an average segregation Index is calculated.

** Adapted from the Tauber's Racial Segregation Index, Negroes in Cities, Tables 1 and 12, pp. 32-33, 59.

Z Less than 500 or .05.

TABLE II. REGIONAL AVERAGES FOR 20 CITIES

ON SEGREGATION, RACIAL COMPOSITION, AND SIZE

	NORTH	SOUTH	MID-WEST	WEST	TOTAL
1960 City Pop.	2,063,790	753,699	1,769,481	1,087,411	1,404,625
1960 City Non-White Pop.	389,776	195,246	410,923	161,090	289,910
1960 City Non-White %	22.8	25.2	22.7	12.9	21.4
1964 Est. SMSA Pop.	4,177,000	1,453,000	3,431,000	2,969,000	2,969,000
1960-64 Est. Change in Migration	13,000	36,000	45,000	105,000	27,000
1960 City Res. Seg. Index	83.5	90.8	89.1	78.0	85.7
1950-60 Change in Seg. Pattern	-2.6	1.3	-1.9	-4.8	-1.7
1960 Sub. Res. Seg. Index	79.1	85.6	88.2	81.7	82.4

TABLE III AND SCHEME OF OPERATING PROGRAMS
AND PLANS FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN
20 LARGEST CITIES

	TYPE OF PROGRAM										
City	Open Enrollment or Free Choice	Zoning Changes	Bussing Provisions	Grade Structure Changes	Site Selection	Pairing	Magnet Schools	Clusters or Complexes	Educational Parks	Suburban Urban Interchange	Metropolitan Region District
1 New York	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	P	P	P	
2 Chicago	0	0	P		P	P	P	P	P	P	P
3 Los Angeles	0	0					P				
4 Philadelphia	P	P	P		P	P	P		P		
5 Detroit	0	0									
6 Baltimore	0	0	0		P		P	0	P	P	
7 Houston	0										
8 Cleveland							0*				
9 Washington		0									
10 St. Louis		0									
11 Milwaukee		P				P					
12 San Francisco		0				0**					
13 Boston	0						0			0	
14 Dallas	0	0									

This Table schematizes our findings about steps that have been taken or authoritatively proposed to remedy racial isolation within each of the 20 cities. In completing this table, we identified plans or proposals with P only in those instances where a public agency commissioned, contracted for, or gave some formal reception to a plan or recommendations. If the suggestions of interest groups were added, the number of plans shown would increase. Categories along the horizontal axis run from the least costly, least comprehensive remedy - free choice transfer or open enrollment schemes - to the most far reaching proposal made public to date - full scale metropolitanization. For reasons discussed above, we distinguish between limited and comprehensive solutions at a point that falls roughly between the provision of bussing and the establishment of magnet schools.

NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS AND EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

By

Very Rev. Msgr. James C Donohue, Ph.D.
Director, Department of Education
United States Catholic Conference

Prepared For

National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities

Introduction

With an enrollment of close to ten million students, the nation's nonpublic schools are a central factor in the issue of equal educational opportunity. Any discussion ignoring their potential contribution to the solution of the problem is shortsighted.

This paper attempts to do two things: First, to indicate how parochial and private schools affect the academic rating and socio-economic composition of urban public schools. Second, to suggest ways in which nonpublic schools can help provide for equal educational opportunities in the cities.

Interaction of Public and Nonpublic Schools

Public and nonpublic schools in large urban areas do not exist in a vacuum. Richard P. Boardman in a study appearing in the Urban Review for November 1966, proposes "That the presence of parallel education systems

in an urban area has consequences for the form and quality of educational services in that area."[1] The Boardman study is the first serious attempt to document a theory that many public and private school educators have talked about for many years. In this writer's opinion it is successful. Boardman's conclusions are worth noting here because they form a background against which our particular concerns will take on greater clarity.

Boardman's study was conducted in a typical northern city where the parochial school enrollment was approximately 10,300 and the public school enrollment was 24,400. About 60 percent of the total city population was Catholic. In this city, which Boardman calls Mittelville, parochial schools enroll only half of the Catholic school-age population. Inasmuch as 95 percent of the Negro population is non-Catholic and 50 percent of the Puerto Rican population is "functionally non-Catholic," the ethnic composition of each school system is effected. Program offerings in both school systems likewise reflect the makeup of the student body.

Boardman concludes:

> Given that two or more educational systems are present in any given urban community, it is important to determine under what circumstances the relationship between the systems can be considered constructive. It seems apparent from the description of the situation in Mittelville that dysfunctional elements are present. By allowing those aspects of the relationship to continue, the public system has no choice but to suffer the consequences...
>
> At some point it must become apparent to parochial and public educators alike that the troublesome educational consequences of maintaining the present relationship are out-

> weighting the advantages for a particular system. When, for example, the size and relative strength of one of the systems begins to influence the size and direction of the other, it becomes important to reevaluate the structure and goals of all educational services in the area. Failure of the two systems to develop an adequate exchange of ideas on education can reduce the effectiveness of that education for the entire population.

Implicit in Boardman's study is the fact that nonpublic schools attract children whose socio-economic status is relatively high. While the parochial schools generally show a wider range of socio-economic status than independent non-church-related schools, nonetheless many people living in urban areas tend to send their children to nonpublic schools if they can afford to. For example, some Protestants, both Negro and white, send their children to Catholic schools to get what they believe is a better social and academic environment for them. For this reason it is conceivable that in certain inner-city neighborhoods the public schools could become academic "dumping grounds."

But what of the nonpublic school becoming a "refuge" for white children in the cities, contributing to the further segregation of the public school? Up to the present time there has been relatively little statistical research to back up the charges and the countercharges made on the issue. In order to glimpse the real truth it will be necessary to examine what happens in large cities like New York, Washington, Chicago, etc. A paper prepared by the Research Institute for Catholic Education in New York State entitled, "Do Catholic Schools Really Promote Segragation," reports on the problem as follows:

> When the New York City public schools lost nearly 25,000 white pupils in 1966, it was stated or implied by some that these white children had fled into parochial schools.

This kind of assertion is demonstrably false. In fact, there is mounting evidence that parochial schools slow down the flight of whites from a changing neighborhood and act as a stabilizing force. A close examination of changing neighborhoods seems to reveal that the Catholic school has greater "holding power" for whites than does the public school and has a special role to play in integration. A number of considerations are pertinent here:

1.) An ethnic survey of Catholic elementary schools during 1966 revealed that the Catholic elementary school enrollment in Manhattan was 46% Negro and Spanish-speaking; in Manhattan and the Bronx together, it was 30% Negro and Spanish-speaking. These figures exist despite the fact that only a very small percentage of Negroes are Catholic. It is intriguing to note that 20% of the Negroes in the Catholic elementary schools in Manhattan are not Catholic.

2.) A 1964 ethnic survey of Catholic elementary schools in Manhattan and the Bronx revealed that in 35 racially mixed neighborhoods the Catholic elementary schools were better integrated than were the neighborhoods.

3.) Even in the relatively small community of Malverne (Long Island), the fleeing white pupils did not enter Catholic schools. During the past few years, the Catholic elementary school in Malverne has had no increase in the usual number of first grade applicants, and the total enrollment has actually decreased slightly. The same is true of other small Long Island communities such as Freeport and Roosevelt.

4.) A survey of Catholic elementary schools in Manhattan and the Bronx revealed that there was a higher percentage of relatively integrated Catholic elementary schools than was the case in the public school system. The New York City Board of Education classifies any school not having more than 90% white or more than 90% minority group (Negroes and Spanish-speaking) enrollment as a "mid-range" school. To be very specific, in this method of classification, only 12 out of 48 Catholic elementary schools in Manhattan are more than 90% white.

5.) A close analysis of long-term trends in large cities strongly suggests what is really happening. When minority groups such as Negroes and Spanish-speaking people begin to move into an area, some white parents of Catholic school children refuse to panic and move. (Perhaps they value Catholic education very highly and fear that they will be unable to get their children

into another Catholic school if they move.) The local public school soon becomes almost completely non-white, while the parochial school starts becoming integrated. This has already happened in Washington, D. C., and it now seems to be happening in the City of New York.

6.) For 100 years, the Catholic school has served mostly the poor and the immigrant. In addition, the Catholic elementary school has usually enjoyed a broader mixture of social and economic classes than has the public school.

The public school has been somewhat handicapped because it tends by its very nature to be a local neighborhood school; in a typical area of any city or suburb there are five public elementary schools, each serving a section of the area and each drawing pupils from a limited territory (each territory usually quite homogeneous in social and economic class). The one Catholic elementary school serving the same area would draw from all five sections and from all of the social and economic classes represented (including the very poor because little or no tuition was being charged until recently).

Now it appears that the Catholic elementary school may have a special role to play in helping to integrate the races. The previously mentioned facts suggest this. In addition, consider two case studies:

(a) The Nativity School, a Catholic elementary school in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, enrolls 766 pupils of which 441 are Negro and Spanish-speaking. The other 325 pupils are white. These white children are bussed from 31 white neighborhoods into the Bedford-Stuyvesant ghetto and into an integrated school. The obvious motivation of the parents is a desire for Catholic education for their children. They are willing to bus little children into an integrated school in order to get it.

(b) The Catholic secondary school known as Rice High School in the heart of Harlem has 913 students. Of these, 324 are Negro and Spanish-speaking boys. More than 500 white boys from white neighborhoods come into the Harlem ghetto and into an integrated high school in order to obtain a Catholic education.

7.) What about the 25,000 white pupils who fled the New York City public schools in 1966? Certainly they did not go into the New York City Catholic elementary schools because the total enrollment of the Catholic schools decreased in 1966 by 5,000. Nor did the 25,000 white children from the New York City public schools flee

into other denominational schools; their enrollments have not registered such a notable increase. Nor did the 25,000 fleeing whites go into private, non-denominational schools; their total enrollment in New York City is 26,000.

Where did the 25,000 fleeing white children go? A little reflection should convince anyone that the thousands of white children fleeing the public schools in the inner city each year are going into public schools elsewhere — there is no other place for them to go. Incidentally, a simple investigation of transfer records would reveal precisely to what schools they have transferred. But no one seems interested enough to make such a study. The charge that Catholic schools promote segregation is inaccurate at best, slander at worst.

Nonpublic Schools and Equal Educational Opportunity

Any discussion of the role the nonpublic school can play in solving the educational problems of the cities must begin with two basic assumptions:

1. Nonpublic school educators must be willing to renounce any and all chauvinistic goals and concern themselves exclusively with the improvement of educational opportunities for the total community.

2. Public school educators must be willing to accept nonpublic schools as partners (not competitors) in the search for equality of educational opportunity.

Given a reasonable amount of agreement on these two assumptions a mutually fruitful exploration of solutions can proceed.

Last spring I made the following proposals and they seem as valid to me now as they did then.

> City-surburban exchanges of pupils from Catholic schools, with 'cooperative ventures between rich and poor parishes,' including after-school and special projects.
>
> Where appropriate an offer of available Catholic classrooms and staff to public schools to relieve crowding and to provide 'special programs for children who need them most -- without proselytizing.'

> Cooperation with public schools in educational parks and supplementary centers, where children from wide geographic areas could come together, 'with better education for all.'
>
> Initiation of programs that extend the influence of the school and the parish into the home in new forms 'to reach even infants and to help parents provide the intellectual stimulation for their children that flows almost automatically into middle-class homes.'
>
> Construction of new schools with new curriculums and parish programs in the inner cities.

Perhaps the place where nonpublic schools could play their most effective role would be at the kindergarten-preschool level. Here the federal government is committed to spending large sums of money for education of socially disadvantaged children under the compulsory attendance age, and is able to make grants to nonpublic schools and other private agencies for Head Start programs. Nonpublic schools have proven themselves effective in these areas. Would it be impossible to broaden the programs now in existence and mount more substantial programs for children whose ages ranged from 3 to 5 years.

The problem of funding any worthwhile programs is an acute one for nonpublic school educators. In the 1967 Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I., Donald A. Erickson and Andrew M. Greeley, in a chapter entitled "Nonpublic Schools and Metropolitanism", proposed the following:

> Grants of public funds to nonpublic schools to pay for tuition of pupils from low-income families. The amount of the grant could be related to the economic situation of the parents and could be contingent on approval of a plan which would integrate Negro or low-income white pupils with the existing clientele of the school.
>
> Grants of public funds to nonpublic schools which have proven their ability to specialize in programs for the socially disadvantaged. Such grants might be stipulated for expenses beyond the normal cost of operating a school, and might go to schools with a successful record of serving the disadvantaged.

Tuition grants to needy parents to allow them to send their children to nonpublic schools, under conditions worked out with and approved by the local public school administration.

Proposals such as this would require court tests, but the public mood is now favorable to novel and experimental procedures for attacking the complex problem of urban-metropolitan society, and the courts would probably find it in the public interest to use government funds through private and even church agencies so as to serve disadvantaged children and youth better.

These suggestions are not intended to imply that Catholic and other nonpublic schools can or should take over the function of educating a majority of disadvantaged children. No doubt the public schools must carry the major responsibility. And major improvements in public schools should be paid for at the same time that nonpublic schools receive smaller amounts of money for their special contributions. There is evidence in several cities that the public school system regards the Catholic system as an important resource and is prepared to recommend the use of public funds for cooperative attack on urban educational problems.

The final proposal I shall make, (and it is unquestionably the most controversial), is based on the concept of freedom of choice for all in education. It is the Milton Friedman — Christopher Jencks idea wherein: "Government, preferably local government units would give each child, through his parents a specified sum to be used solely in paying for his general education; the parents would be free to spend this sum at a school of their own choice, provided it met certain minimum standards laid down by the appropriate government unit. Such schools would be conducted under a variety of auspices: by private enterprises operated for profit, nonprofit institutions established by private endowment, religious bodies, and some even by governmental units."

Professor James Coleman, author of the Coleman Report agrees that if there was a private contractual arrangement in education the performance of

children would increase because "the profitability (is) wholly contingent upon results," for the contractor.

The U. S. Chamber of Commerce report, "The Disadvantaged Poor: Education and Employment" endorses the concept. "The results of such a fresh approach would very likely be dramatic. Great changes would probably take place in our educational system, and especially in our public school system. But change and innovation are needed, and the results might be salutary indeed." Certainly this idea is worth serious discussion.

Conclusion

The freedom and independence of the nonpublic school should enable them to carry out challenging experiments that can benefit all of American education. It would be pompous to suggest that the nonpublic school can solve the problem of equal educational opportunities for all. But it would be shortsighted not to recognize that they can help achieve a real breakthrough.

A REPORT TO THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

COMPENSATORY EDUCATION IN THE EQUALIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

A Summary Evaluation
of Compensatory Education, Some
Models for Its Improved Application
And Some Projected Costs of Their Implementation.

Edmund W. Gordon, Director
Adelaide Jablonsky, Associate Director
ERIC - Information Retrieval Center
on the Disadvantaged
YESHIVA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

11/17/67

This report was prepared under contract with the United States Commission on Civil Rights by the staff of the Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged at Yeshiva University. The Center is a field unit of the United States Office of Education's Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC). The report has been assigned the accessions number UD 04317. After it is announced in _Research in Education_, the monthly index to ERIC acquisitions, additional copies may be secured through the Bell and Howell Company, 1700 Shaw Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44112.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

I. Evaluation of Current Programs of Compensatory Education

Project Head Start
Titles I and III ESEA Projects
Upward Bound
School Dropout Programs
Project 100,000 United States Department of Defense
Banneker Project of St. Louis, Missouri
More Effective Schools Program of New York, New York
Higher Horizons Program of New York, New York
Project Case II: MODEL of Washington, D.C.

II. General Criteria and A Model

Improved Instruction
Extensions of the School
Involvement, Motivation Identification & Self-Concept
Health, Nutrition & Financial Assistance
Perceived Opportunity & Self-Concept
An Organizational Model for Compensatory Education

III. Estimated Cost

Demography & Definition
Present Per Pupil Cost
Estimated Cost of Expanded Program

IV. Is Compensatory Education the Answer?

INTRODUCTION

Three questions concerning compensatory education constitute the principal foci of this paper:

1. To what extent have compensatory education programs changed patterns of educational achievement in children disadvantaged by economic and ethnic status?
2. What program elements and conditions seem essential to the success of compensatory education for such children?
3. What would it cost to implement such program elements and conditions?

Compensatory education is a term which has come into use since 1960 to refer to those pedagogical efforts directed at overcoming or circumventing assumed deficiencies in the background, functioning and current experiences of children from economically deprived, culturally isolated and/or ethnically segregated families. A wide variety of elements have been introduced under this banner. They include: 1) Modifications in training, recruitment and utilization of staff; 2) remedial reading and language development; 3) enrichment and modification of curriculum; 4) expanded guidance services; 5) enrichment of extracurricular activities; 6) increased parental and peer involvement; and 7) extended reciprocal involvement of school and community. Particular emphasis has been given to the prevention and salvaging of school drop-outs and to the preparation for school through preschool programs. Although most of these programs have concentrated on improved or increased cognitive input, some have sought to introduce affective experiences or affect laden materials designed to improve self-concept

and motivation. Unfortunately, despite the wide acceptance of compensatory education models and the enthusiasm with which some of these programs have been heralded, when one looks at their impact on academic performance in the target population it is obvious that compensatory education as presently practiced is either insufficient or irrelevant to the needs of disadvantaged young people who are not making it in academic settings. There are some aspects of compensatory education which seem to have some promise with some children. There are other aspects projected - but not yet tried - which would logically seem to have good potential for success. Some of these more promising elements are in the direction of what we might expect excellent programs of education to be. Others are in the direction of what we might expect of a good and humane social order - "The Great Society." Both of these utopian but obtainable goals are costly in terms of material resources and humanitarian concern; however, they may be prohibitive in cost in competition with distorted national values.

In this paper we have reviewed a number of primary and secondary sources for data and information concerning the nature, effectiveness and cost of compensatory education. From identifiable programs and practices, from implicit needs and theoretical projections we have outlined what might be an adequate program. From too limited information and even more limited experience we have estimated the cost of such a program based upon the cost of present efforts.

Section I: Evaluation of Current Programs

The several programs of special education for the disadvantaged have been described as compensatory since they are usually attempts to compensate, to make up for or to overcome, the effects of hostile, insufficient, different and/or indifferent conditions of prior experience and stimulation. The aim of these programs is to bring children from these backgrounds up to a level where they can be reached or served by existing educational practices. To the degree that these young people improve in academic achievement and approach the mean age-grade achievement levels established for the general population, compensatory education would be said to be effective or successful. It has been this standard which has guided practically all of our efforts at evaluating compensatory education.

For all of these programs the question is asked, "What changes can be observed in the academic achievement or intelligence test scores of the children served?" Although many aspects of these programs have been directed at other categories of function, and despite the growing skepticism that cognitive function is the optimal system through which immediate gains are reflected, the prime criterion of success or failure of these programs is academic achievement. Whether one likes this circumstance or not, it is at least understandable since the central public push of these programs has focused on bringing these children up to levels of performance comparable to those of the children with whom the school feels it succeeds.

The largest compensatory education program undertaken to date is Project Head Start. This nationwide program has served almost one million children since its inception. It was designed to take young children, just prior to school entry, and through a broad based program of educational, medical and social services to better prepare them for primary school. Despite the broad based program, the many efforts at evaluating the impact of this program on children have emphasized changes in intelligence scores. These evaluation efforts have resulted in varying findings.

In general, the test scores of children served by the program have been higher at the end of the program than they were when the children entered. When compared to expected growth patterns, the Head Start children tended to be performing better than would have been expected without the program. When compared to children not served by Head Start, the children in the program tended to show better progress. There were, however, many instances in which Head Start children showed no significant differences in scores from children not served, but the dominant trend was in the direction of improved performance for the children served.

In several attempts at determining the persistence of these gains, equivocal findings are reported. In some of these studies children served by Head Start continued to show higher achievement levels

throughout the first grade (the longest period reported so far). At the other extreme are studies which indicate no persistent difference in achievement levels after two, four or six months in kindergarten or first grade. In the latter studies, often cited when "fade out" is discussed, it should be noted that it is the difference between the two groups that fades and not the prior gains. Equalization of performance seems to be a function of the non-Head Start children's having caught up rather than Head Start children's having lost some of their developmental gains.

After reviewing almost 100 major and minor studies of Head Start as an approach to compensatory education, it is clear that the introduction of broad based but highly diversified services at the three to four year old level is associated with some gains in intellectual function for the population served. These gains are reflected in higher performance levels for these children than for children not served. The persistence of these gains is not consistent. Subjectively assessed changes in social-emotional maturation and general readiness to benefit from the formal learning experiences of the primary school are more universally reported and are perceived by teachers as being more persistent. However, the long term impact of Head Start as an antidote to the destructive influence of poverty and inferior status on educational and social development is yet to be established.

A second category of program is that which has developed with support from Titles I and III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. With even more diversity with respect to program elements and quality than is true of Project Head Start, this program has been directed at improving the capabilities of the schools, in areas where disadvantaged children are concentrated, to meet their special needs and problems. The legislation and regulations give the states and school systems wide degrees of freedom to develop programs and resources directed at the needs of poor children. Most of the eligible school systems have eagerly accepted the challenge to do something for the disadvantaged. Some have mounted elaborate programs. Practically all of the 50 states have done something under one or both of these titles.

Reports on these efforts are available for 1965 and 1966. The review of these data is not encouraging. The reports indicate that: (a) in most instances money was made available in such haste as to limit the quality of planning and development of programs; (b) many programs have been operative for too brief a period to be effectively evaluated; (c) many programs were funded at levels insufficient to the requirements necessary to do an adequate job; (d) most programs could not find adequate and appropriate specialized personnel to mount major efforts; and most programs were unable to report appreciable improvement in academic achievement for the target populations.

Among programs reporting positive findings, the tendency was toward improved morale, higher teacher expectation, improved staff-perceived climate for learning, improved attendance and reduced school drop out rates. These gains are not to be demeaned. But the development of compensatory education under support from Titles I and III has not yet resulted in a major change in the schools' success patterns with children from disadvantaged backgrounds.

UPWARD BOUND

Upward Bound is a national program designed to assist and increase the number of disadvantaged youth who enroll in some sort of post-secondary education. The program's primary focus is on developing interest in higher education among 10th and 11th grade pupils from poor families.

In the summer of 1965 pilot programs were conducted on 18 college campuses. In 1966 the program was expanded to include 215 colleges, universities and residential secondary schools. Elements common to these programs are (a) a six to eight week residential summer phase designed to remedy poor academic preparation and increase the pupils' possibilities for acceptance and success in college and (b) a follow-up phase conducted during the regular academic year which is designed to sustain the gains made during the summer months. In general, both phases include academic content that does not make an attempt to parallel the regular secondary school work. Both phases also include cultural enrichment experiences designed to increase total effectiveness.

Data from six of the original programs indicate that 80% of the students enrolled continued their education; 78% of these students entered college. Data on their success in college have not been reviewed, but from a similar group of students in a program of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, there is reason to expect that college completion and achievement patterns for these youth will be superior to expectations for comparable but untreated youth.

SCHOOL DROPOUT PROGRAMS

In the early 1960's considerable national attention was directed at the problems of the school drop out. In the summer of 1963 President Kennedy set into motion a large scale national campaign focused on 63 of the larger cities in this country. Almost 60,000 young people were contacted in that initial effort. Other school drop out projects have expanded on that crash program. They have generally been organized by high schools, community groups and by private industry. These projects have included intensive guidance services, remedial education, specific job training in and out of formal school settings and large scale "Stay in School - Return to School" publicity campaigns.

Data on the initial effort in 1963 indicate that 52% of the youth contacted actually returned to formal school affiliations. National figures on the total effort subsequent to that time are not available.

The need for large scale programs which combine intensive guidance services with remedial education, specific job training and remunerated work is clear. A review of the nation's attempt at doing this indicates that money and resources, when applied, are seldom sufficiently concentrated to achieve the obvious goal.

PROJECT 100,000 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Project 100,000 was designed as an attempt by the armed services to become involved with and help to alleviate social and educational problems of the poor. In October 1966, 40,000 young men were taken into the armed services under lowered entrance standards. These men fall between the 10th and 30th percentile on Defense Department qualifying tests.

The 40,000 soldiers were tested in July on the Metropolitan Word Recognition, Reading and Arithmetic Fundamentals sections. The average was grade 6.5 on word recognition and arithmetic fundamentals, and grade 6 on reading. Seventeen percent of this group were reading below the 4th grade level.

The first program which is basic training takes 8 weeks for the majority of soldiers. In the total army population 98% of these are expected to pass the performance and academic tests given at the end of the program. Of the 2% that fail, one-half fail because of medical reasons.

In the special program, 95% are expected to succeed in passing the performance and academic tests. However, about 8% of this group require re-cycling, that means doing a week or several weeks' work over again, before they can be passed; 4% are discharged for physical and academic reasons.

After basic training some soldiers are sent directly into a combat area; most go through advanced training. For many of these advanced training courses, the language used by the instructors and in printed materials has had to be simplified in order to accommodate the program to the low reading level of these soldiers. In addition to the change in language, there are programmed texts in basic arithmetic skills, video tape and simulators with which it is hoped that soldiers will be trained to do a specific job in the service. For the individuals in this project, however, instructors in the practical courses such as automobile mechanics take the slow learners for after-hours tutoring. This tutoring may include either mechanical or basic academic assistance. In a recent speech Secretary McNamara indicated that the earlier estimates of anticipated success were in general consistent with the performances of these men.

BANNEKER PROJECT OF ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

"Operation Motivation" was initiated in the Banneker School District of St. Louis, Missouri in 1957, under the direction of Samuel Shepard. The program is an attempt to raise the academic achievement of children

in kindergarten through eighth grade by concentrating on attitude change on the part of pupils, teachers and parents rather than through specific curriculum modification.

The Banneker Project attempted to appeal directly to the sense of pride and competitive spirit of the pupils. Techniques employed were pep rallies, honor assemblies, competition contests, a radio program giving children suggestions on "how to succeed in school" and ungraded classes with heavy emphasis on reading. Teachers were encouraged to give pupils a sense of the direct relation between present day school work and future employment, to "quit teaching by I.Q....quit their attitudes of condescension...assign home work...and visit the homes of the parents." Meetings were held with parents at which they were persuaded to look forward to a better future for their children and to inspire their children to regard school as the best means of self-fulfillment and upward mobility.

In the evaluation of the Banneker Project, student performance was compared with national norms and with norms found in other nearly all-Negro and all-white schools. A comparison of eighth grade reading levels shows that students at the Banneker schools made a slight improvement after three years, but reverted back to their original position of at least a year below the national average. When compared with other all-Negro schools, the Banneker schools' academic standing showed no advance during the Project years. In 1965-66 the position of the Banneker schools relative to nearly all-white schools remained

inferior. Dr. Shepard, looking at more than academic achievement test scores, has reported that the children have been more interested in school, have been better behaved and have better attendance, that teachers have been working harder, and that there has been excellent cooperation from parents.

MORE EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS PROGRAM OF NEW YORK, NEW YORK

The "More Effective Schools" Program was initiated in 1964 in ten New York City elementary schools and expanded in September 1965 to include eleven additional city schools. The Program was intended to create basic changes in curriculum, personnel, school plant and organization and school-community relations. Specific program elements were to include provision of teacher specialists, team teaching, reduced class size, heterogeneous class grouping, and intensive work with parents and community.

An evaluation of the More Effective Schools Program was completed recently. Perhaps the most important finding of the study was that despite certain administrative and organization changes, "little has happened in the way of innovation or restructuring in the basic teaching process." There was general agreement among both observers and school staff that "teachers have not revised techniques of instruction to obtain the presumed instructional advantages" of reduced class size and the availability of specialized services.

While reviewing the data on cognitive and attitudinal changes in ME classes, one must note both the provision of reduced teacher-pupil ratios and specialized psychological, social and health services and the absence of any radical revision in instructional practices. On the basis of both standardized tests (of reading and mathematics) and classroom observations, children in ME classes made no more achievement gains than children in designated control schools or in other special service schools. Moreover, after three years of the Program, the retardation below the urban norms used for reading was no better, and in some cases was worse. The data also reveal that, even in the cases where the Program had a positive effect on achievement, gains were not maintained beyond the first year and sometimes not even across the summer.

Despite the lack of measured cognitive gains, a clear sense of "enthusiasm, interest and hope" was reported among administrative staff and teaching faculty as well as parents and the community in general. As indicated in that evaluation, "The creation of such positive feelings and climates in a school system which in recent years has evidenced considerable internal stress and school-community conflict is an important accomplishment" and, we might add, a rather ironic one.

HIGHER HORIZONS PROGRAM OF NEW YORK, NEW YORK

The Higher Horizons Program was conceived in large measure as an

extension of the "successful" Demonstration Guidance Project. The Demonstration Guidance Project involved approximately 700 junior and senior high school students in Harlem. Counseling and remedial education staffs were significantly increased at the schools involved to provide a high concentration of supplementary help. The results were quite dramatic. Approximately 60% of the students who had joined the Project in seventh grade gained an average of 4.3 years in reading achievement after 2.6 years in the Project; the drop out rate from high school for these children decreased from 40% to 20%, and a significant portion were motivated to continue their education beyond high school.

The Higher Horizons Program was an attempt to replicate the Demonstration Guidance Project on a much wider scale and at minimum extra cost. Higher Horizons was begun in 1959 to serve 12,000 children from 31 elementary schools and 13 junior high schools and was expanded in 1962 to include 64,000 children. The major purpose of Higher Horizons was to "develop techniques for the identification, motivation, enrichment and education of the culturally disadvantaged children and to perfect means for stimulating them and their families to pursue higher educational and vocational goals." The foci of the Program were intensive individual and group counseling, cultural and occupational experiences, remedial services and parent education. Several hundred specialized personnel were added to the staffs of the project schools. The extra teachers were used as curriculum assistants, teacher training specialists, or subject matter (particularly reading) specialists;

each teacher was expected to spend a good part of his time on parent and community education, cultural activities and teacher training, as well as curriculum improvement and remedial work.

Any evaluation of the Higher Horizons Program must take into account that at least as far as budgeting was concerned, the Program was not supported financially to the extent originally planned. For example, in 1959 one additional teacher or counselor was provided for every 108 children, but by 1962 there was only one teacher or counselor provided for every 143 children. On a per capita basis, more than three times as much money was spent on the Demonstration Guidance Project as on Higher Horizons. In 1964 an evaluation was completed for the New York City Board of Education. The study concentrated on students in eight Higher Horizons schools matched on a one-to-one basis (of I.Q., reading comprehension, ethnic composition, geographic location and size of school) with non-Higher Horizons students. For the period of the study (1959-62) the Higher Horizons schools had a somewhat smaller average class size, lower rates of pupil and teacher transiency and larger percentages of regular teachers. The evaluation reported that there were no significant differences between Higher Horizons and control group children on reading and arithmetic achievement, ratings of school attitudes, self-image and educational-vocational aspirations. The only significant differences noted were gains made by Higher Horizons elementary school children in arithmetic. Despite these disappointing results, the professional staff in the program were observed to be favorably disposed to the Program. They

felt that it was most successful in providing cultural opportunities and extra remedial guidance services and that its least effect was on students' behavior, study habits, and educational goals.

PROJECT CASE II: MODEL

NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR BOYS OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Institute for Behavioral Research began its project Case II: MODEL (Contingencies Applicable to Special Education-Motivationally Oriented Designs for an Ecology of Learning) in February, 1966 under the direction of Harold Cohen. Twenty-eight young men in the National Training School for Boys were involved. The basic goals of the project were to increase the academic behavior of all twenty-eight and to prepare as many as possible within a one-year time schedule for their return to school. The age range of the group was fourteen to eighteen, their average I.Q. was 93.8, 85% were drop outs from school, and only three had never been sentenced and institutionalized before.

Case II was based on the idea that each learning experience should have built into it a series of reinforcing steps to maintain the student's interest. This meant direct tangible reinforcement as well as an individual sense of success and group approval. Cohen used money as an extrinsic immediate reinforcement -- "...our student-inmates want to know, 'Man, what's the payoff now?' For them, as well as for the bulk of Americans, they work for money." Each student became an Educational Researcher and went to work on 140

programmed educational courses and 18 programmed classes. When they performed on tests at 90% or better, they were paid off. A point system was utilized, each point representing one penny. With his money earned, the student provided for his room, food, clothing, gifts and an entrance fee and tuition for special classes. "A student who does not have sufficient funds goes on relief -- sleeps on an open bunk and eats food on a metal tray. No student has ever been on relief more than two weeks."

A specially designed 24-hour contingency-oriented educational laboratory was designed to provide, in effect, 24 hours of educational therapy. "Where and when a student sleeps, eats, makes contact with another student, with a machine, with a group, a program or a teacher is part of the educational ecology.... Every student in this program is being counseled by those people he selects during the day. He talks to his friends, to the librarian, the teacher, the cook, the secretary, the research staff and visitors. He can select a particular counselor on request, e.g., his minister, psychologist or caseworker, for which he pays a small professional service fee."

The vital aspect of the structured environment is that it programs the individual for success. This is attained basically by (1) structuring each curriculum unit at a level where the individual can perform successfully step by step; (2) providing direct pay-off for achievement. This work is primarily directed at developing new and more appropriate behaviors under a schedule of reinforcement while eliminating

inappropriate antisocial behaviors by a schedule which is non-reinforcing.

Cohen's intermediate findings are quite impressive. Increases of the I.Q.'s of the students have averaged 12.09 points. For every 90 hours of academic work, there was an average increase of 1.89 grade levels on the Stanford Achievement Test and 2.7 grade levels on the Gates Reading Survey.

SECTION II: General Criteria and Promising Models

The rather modest success of these and many other efforts at compensatory education, when combined with the Coleman findings indicating that school factors account for a small amount of the variation in school achievement, could lead to the conclusion that improvements in the quality of education are hardly worth our effort. But just as the Coleman finding is based upon an examination of several factors which are probably not crucial in the determination of the quality of education, much that we see in the several approaches to compensatory education consists of educational features which may be necessary to the educational process, but evidently are not sufficient to make the difference in terms of greatly improved academic achievement in socially disadvantaged children. Most of these programs have either attempted to modify basic cognitive processes, to change levels of content mastery or to change the motivation of the young people served. However, most of these programs represent vast increases in the quantity of effort directed at improving function with very little improvement in the quality of program offered. The efforts directed at changed cognitive function are very traditional and have brought little that is new or changed in pedagogy. One does not see in these programs any reflection of current thinking relative to learning theory and behavioral organization. With but one exception, there is no representation in the programs reviewed of the application of behavioral analysis and contingency management to the learning experiences of these youngsters. Yet, as we have indicated, this is one of

the few approaches to compensatory education which seems to be bearing fruit. In approaching improved content mastery, the programs seem to have concentrated on either an enriched or watered-down presentation of material to pupils. Again, drastic reorganization in the presentation of material, the quality of material and the conditions under which materials are presented are not present in these programs. At the level of increased motivation and attitude change we have somewhat more promising signs in the effort of many of these programs. Several programs have sought more active involvement of parents and representatives of the communities from which these children come in the planning and conduct of educational programs. This emphasis, however, is by no means a widely accepted and dominant one. At least at the level of meaningful participation there continues to be strong resistance on the part of the education establishment. This has been particularly exhibited in recent struggles between school personnel and community groups. Despite the tradition of community control of the public school, when that control is likely to pass into the hands of poor and minority group persons the school resists strongly. If compensatory education is to compensate for the learning problems of young people who are thought to come to school without the necessary background of experience to optimally benefit from school, or of youngsters who come to school poorly motivated toward the goals of the school or of youngsters who come to school lacking certain cognitive habits and skills, and of young people who come to the school attitudinally unprepared to participate or to sustain participation in academic learning tasks, there are then several criteria which might guide the development of

compensatory education.

1. Effective instructional programs and practices must be a part of such an effort. If this is to be achieved, we will need to give greater attention to the dynamics of group interaction in their relationship to the teaching-learning process. Professionals concerned with such fields as psychotherapy and decision processes have developed elaborate systems of theory and practice based upon concepts of group dynamics. This sophistication has not yet been appropriately applied to education. Effective instruction will also require that we explore different ways of organizing learning experiences to meet individual differences in readiness and style. Readiness and style may vary with respect to the functional capacity to discriminate between things seen, heard, tasted or felt. They may vary with respect to habit patterns that have been established around these sensory functions. They may vary based upon the dominance of one aspect of sensory function over another. It may well be that children whose life experiences vary drastically may have also significant variations in the hierarchical organization of sensory function and response modalities. Furthermore, if individuals, independently of experience or station in life, differ with respect to the degree to which they are inclined to respond with one or another of the senses, it may be that one of the significant variables in learning ability and disability is the quality of support provided when the learning task presented does not complement the sensory organization of the learner.

Another emphasis deserving of attention in our efforts at more effective instruction involves the utilization of behavioral analysis and contingency management in the design of learning experiences. In another context, one of the authors (Dr. Edmund W. Gordon) has stressed the importance of qualitative as opposed to quantitative analysis of intellectual and other behavioral functions as a prerequisite for the development of prescriptions for learning. In behavioral analysis one is concerned with the detailed analysis and description of behavioral function, so that strength, weakness, style, preference, etc. are identified, and a course of action for directed learning may be established. In contingency management, one is concerned with limiting the contingencies surrounding behavior, so that the possible outcomes can be controlled, making possible the anticipation of consequences of the behavior. Such understanding and manipulation permits us to tie consequences of behavior to the antecedents of behavior and to use these consequences as reinforcers of desired behaviors.

2. If effective instructional programs can be achieved, compensatory education will need to reach children earlier, serve them over longer periods of the day, week, and year, and possibly follow them later into life. This latter need may increase as the need for continued learning and instruction as lifetime processes becomes more accepted in our society. The program then must provide for intensive and extensive care from the cradle at least until productive work or college. In many instances it will need to

provide, through the school, child care and instructional services ten to twelve hours a day, six or seven days a week and twelve months of the year. If we are concerned with insulating the child from many of the destructive elements in disorganized communities and families, there is little choice but to drastically expand the periods for which the school is responsible for the child.

3. This enriched school experience will have little effect, unless it can come to be valued and respected by the children and families served. Unless involvement in the school and respect for its values can become positive norms in the lives of the children, the productiveness of the school will be impaired. There is mounting evidence suggestive of the relationship between goal determination and task involvement. It would appear that participation in the determination of the policies of schools which these children attend, by their parents and community members with whom they identify, would be positively reflected in increased commitment to the objectives and programs of the school. A corollary of this involvement is another attitudinal asset. The increasingly recognized sense of environmental control would seem also to be a potential product of this increased involvement in decision-making in school affairs. Participation in decision-making is by no means the only road to personal involvement. Of equal importance is the need that the school, the curriculum and the materials it uses provide points of identification for the learner. In this connection, materials which are widely

representative of the variety of cultural, economic and ethnic groups in this country are essential. Staff members who also represent this variety of backgrounds are a necessary ingredient.

4. If the school is to meet the special needs of youngsters who are handicapped by lower economic status, special attention and provision will need to be made to protect and insure good health, adequate nutritional status and the material resources necessary for effective school learning. In some instances, this will mean elaborate programs of health care. In other situations, food supplements will be required. In many situations, stipends may be necessary to enable the youngster to provide the necessary supplemental school materials and pocket money for minimal social interaction. For these children the school must alleviate or circumvent economic, cultural, social, experiential and educational deficiencies in their environment. Many of these are functions the school was not originally designed to perform.

5. The influence of the school is by no means limited to the period during which the youngster is responsible to the school. What the youngster perceives as opportunity to utilize the school's products and to participate in the mainstream of the society may be as important to his adjustment and progress within the school as it is to his development in the post-school period. Again, in reference to the all-important sense of environmental control, it may be that in the absence of perceived opportunity

to do something with his life, all of our innovations and educational improvements will be for naught.

6. Since so much of the school's influence is mediated through verbal interaction, its program for these children will have to reflect respect for the languages with which these children come to school. In some instances, basic education may have to be provided in the vernacular of the child until development has progressed to a point where a transition to standard language forms may be achieved.

7. Since high degrees of mobility and transiency are characteristic of many families in the target populations, special provisions to accommodate transiency must be made. This may require comparability of basic goals and programs at each level of instruction and sufficient intimacy in teacher-pupil relationships to provide for emotional and physical security particularly at points of transition. This goal can be partially achieved through the provision of sufficiently small organizational units so that each child is enabled to achieve a sense of identity and involvement in the essential aspects of the educational process. In this setting the child will need to experience a real sense that what he does and what he decides can influence his progress, achievement and future.

8. The implementation of programs which approach these criteria will to a large extent depend upon the availability of excellent school staffs. In the achievement of this goal special attention will need to be given to the preparation, supervision and circumstances of work of the school's personnel. The dimensions of the necessary training programs have not yet been specified. Wide variations are possible in the backgrounds and training of persons utilized if emphasis is placed upon supervision and accountability. Particularly in these schools, non-professionals and para-professionals indigenous to the backgrounds from which the children come should be utilized, and these persons like all other staff members should be actively represented along with non-school employed members of the target community in decision-making in all aspects of the school's functioning.

9. The school must be adequately provided for in terms of material support. For the target population, facilities and resources do make a difference. Quality of teachers is important. There must be available the monetary and status rewards necessary to attract and hold able teachers in classroom instruction.

10. Cultural, economic and ethnic integration in education are often viewed as alternatives to compensatory education. Increasingly, they must be viewed as integral parts of compensatory or quality education. Probably more efficient than all the above stated factors excellently provided would be the mixing of children from

more limited backgrounds in schools where the majority of pupils come from more privileged circumstances of life. Instead of a choice between integration and compensatory education, we advocate integration as an essential feature in compensatory education.

An Organizational Model for Compensatory Education

Within the framework of these several criteria, a comprehensive model for compensatory or quality education can be projected to meet the needs of socially disadvantaged children. The model which follows provides at the early years programs particularly for the disadvantaged. As we move into the elementary school, the plan is particularly designed for children from disadvantaged backgrounds, but optimally it should include children of all backgrounds. At the level of secondary school, our plan requires inclusion of the total population in that age group. From the design of these program elements, it is clear that the authors of this paper feel that when education is appropriate to the characteristics of the learners and adequate to the achievement of certain basic criteria of academic and social function, compensatory education and integration in education become less the issue and education of high quality available to children in relation to their need is the primary concern.

For families where economic, social and/or psychological factors make it difficult or impossible to afford the infant and young child care which insures optimal development, provisions should be made for optional services. However, these must provide, in addition to physical, nutritional and medical care, warm personal relationships and opportunities for the kinds of experiences which help to develop facility in the use of language, perceptual discrimination skills, integrated perceptual-motor functioning, conceptual problem solving skills and attitudes of appreciation for and challenge by learning.

Where the parents so elect, the child should be placed for the first two months in an extended nursery facility. The facilities should provide for an option of daytime care or around-the-clock care. They should provide an opportunity for mothers and/or fathers to visit with and remain with their children for as long and as often as they are able.

This program should be implemented by a Bureau of Child Welfare within the criteria previously established. It should provide the children of this age opportunities to develop, experience and learn to the point where within the third year of life the following achievements have been met:

1. The child has the physical coordination and skill required for walking comfortably, feeding himself and is capable of normal

control of toilet functions for this age level.

2. The child has the verbal ability and vocabulary to make his wants understood, understands simple directions from adults and has basic language facility for this age level.
3. The child has begun to show a balance between dependence and independence in his behavior, reflecting a view of the environment as phenomena to be explored, manipulated, utilized and mastered.
4. The child is judged sufficiently mature by the faculty of the school to make the transition to the primary school. Transfer to the primary school could take place on previously established dates six times during the year, so that the receiving school would begin orientation programs for newly admitted children in groups sufficiently large to permit group orientation to the structure and program of that school.

THE PRIMARY SCHOOL: Three through Five Years of Age

This school should be patterned on the present Head Start program with several alterations. Each school should be headed by a head teacher and should accommodate about 150 children, in five groups of thirty. Each group of thirty should have a head teacher, one assistant teacher, two student teachers or para-professionals and two community non-professionals. Each school should have two social workers, a nurse and a part-time psychologist.

A coordinating council should be established for each 6 to 8 schools in a neighborhood to be headed by an administrator who is not

necessarily an educator but is responsible for all the business affairs of the cluster of schools. Working with him should be a coordinator of food services and the full-time educational psychologist serving the center. A science specialist and a recreation specialist will not be based at the central headquarters but will be assigned on a rotating basis to each of the schools to work with the teachers and the children in enhancing those aspects of the program.

This school would function six days a week from before breakfast until after dinner. It would be segmented into two levels, one primarily for the three to four year olds, and the other level for children ready to make the transition at the five year old level. At both levels there should be explorations beyond the school facility itself into the community in order to learn its various elements. However, these experiences should be much more frequent and enriched at the five-year-old level.

In addition to the usual rest periods, specific blocks of time of several hours should be established for purely recreational purposes using neighborhood parks or, if necessary, providing transportation to parks for these activities when weather permits. The parks, in addition to being used for recreation, could also provide the environment for nature studies.

Transition from the lower to the upper level of this school should take place when the child is judged by the faculty to have developed

maturity, attitudes toward learning which are demonstrated by normal curiosity and desire to explore, normal problem solving skill and evidence of the concept that what the child does influences his present and his future.

At the upper level, the transition should be begun to a cognitive emphasis with a strong drive toward pre-reading and reading skills, introduction to writing and drawing, introduction to basic arithmetic and listening skills.

Transfer out of the primary school should take place four times a year. The later fives and early sixes would be transferred when they were judged by the faculty of their school to have developed sufficiently in perception, cognition, motor, emotional and social skills to adjust to the program of the elementary school.

Each executive committee of a cluster should be held accountable to a central city or school district board for the achievement and development of the children in its care. This executive committee as previously established in the basic criteria would consist of administrators, teachers, parents and community representatives.

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL: Six through Eleven Years of Age

While it would probably be more desirable to provide new educational structures for all children in these schools, reality forces us to

design these schools around the presently existing facilities. The utilization of these facilities, however, will require the changes indicated below. Due to the lack of sufficient facilities to provide these accommodations for all disadvantaged children, it will probably be necessary to secure other available space in apartment houses, community structures, stores, business facilities or temporary structures, until the building program can provide sufficient and appropriate space for this level.

Starting with the smallest unit, a class will consist of approximately 54 children, under a master teacher, further subdivided into two groups of approximately 27 children each, each with a fully licensed teacher. Each teacher is to have working with her one student teacher or para-professional and one non-professional parent or community person. Each unit (of 54) is to have complete use of three standard contiguous classrooms. Two of the classrooms remain as presently structured for group instruction of 25 to 30 children at a time. The third classroom would have partitions constructed to provide cubicles varying in size from individual study carrels to small group instruction rooms for 3 to 9 children at a time.

Each unit of children and their teachers would remain together for approximately two years with children being admitted at each level (6-7,8-9,10-11) four times a year as children are judged by the faculty as being ready for the next level. Each school would consist of six or nine units depending on population needs. The school would be

headed by a head teacher or principal, whose major responsibilities would be educational leadership for the school, quality control and accountability. He would have two major assistants, one in charge of administrative affairs including maintenance, the supervision of non-professionals and feeding. The second assistant would concern himself with educational matters. His assignment would be within the classrooms rather than in an office. He would fill in for master teachers when they are absent, would take part in daily instruction and remediation and would coordinate in-service education of the teachers, para-professionals and sub-professionals.

Each elementary school would have a library for books and all other educational resources including film strips, films, records, etc. It should be staffed by two librarians, one whose major function would be to work with the teachers, supplying them with materials and the understanding how to use new and useful materials, the second to work directly with the children providing their needs for materials in individual projects or in group or class projects. They are to be assisted by a non-professional, preferably a man, who would take care of audiovisual equipment and make it available to teachers on request and assist in physical care of the library.

Each school would have a science teacher whose responsibilities would be to coordinate all science activities in the school, having all equipment and supplies necessary for a rich program. He would have a separate facility for housing materials and displays which would

be difficult to move from class to class, but would also give lessons weekly in each of the classes and supply the teachers with necessary materials and background to carry on the science lessons he initiates with their co-planning.

A physical education consultant would have a staff of three para-professionals and 6 to 9 selected high school students. This staff would be responsible for the recreational activities for recreation periods.

At each school there should be an Independent Study Center (ISC) available to all children in the school. Pupils would use the ISC as a resource where they could obtain advanced work and direction if they were moving ahead of the class to which they were assigned or special remedial help or modified curriculum materials if they were lagging behind. The Center staff would help with the study skills, would provide brief, intensive refresher or compensatory units of courses, assistance with special projects or individualized instruction as requested by pupils. The staff would also serve as a consultant resource to teachers.

A medical doctor on call, a full-time nurse, a full-time psychologist or psychiatrist, two social workers, one guidance person and a community coordinator would complete the cluster staff.

The present day strictures on curriculum would be lifted and master

teachers, teachers and central staff would have the responsibility for evolving an appropriate curriculum for each school which would result in the following outcomes:

1. Each child would have developed self-concept characterized by awareness of his worth as an individual and an awareness that his own behavior influences his present and his future.
2. Each child would have the social development which would make him comfortable in relating with peers and adults.
3. Each child would have the communication skills which would make it possible for him to express himself adequately at his age level in face-to-face conversation and in informal and formal reports to larger groups. He would also have the ability to listen attentively and to demonstrate a follow-up on what he has heard.
4. Each child would have the literacy competence expected of his age level. He should be able to read and enjoy reading, to comprehend increasingly more difficult materials. He should have the ability to write standard English.
5. Each child should be able to think in mathematical concepts and to do appropriate arithmetic computations for his level.
6. Each child should have an ever growing awareness of his relationship and man's relationship to his family, his neighborhood, his society, his school, his country and the world. The social studies curriculum would focus on the present, with the past being introduced where appropriate for reinforcement, but with the major purpose of preparing the child to function in tomorrow's world.
7. Each child should understand and be able to function in the use of

the scientific method and have an adequate content background in science for his level.

8. Each child should have experiences which provide a growing awareness of expressive and receptive art forms. Where talent can be developed, these experiences should also lead to the development of competence and skill in the art medium of his choice.

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL(S): Twelve through Seventeen Years of Age

The schools for the 12-17 year olds present certain problems at this time and in the near future because of the need to provide two approaches to education for disadvantaged youth. One program would provide for those students who had proceeded through the quality education program outlined above and were functioning at or beyond the expected level of performance. The second, however, would need to be heavily remedial in order to overcome the problems in learning which had been established through the experiences in today's schools and to overcome the serious deficiencies in basic skills and in content which are demonstrated by current measures of academic performance by a large percentage of the disadvantaged secondary school population.

All of the basic elements indicated at the elementary level would be continued into the secondary schools with several additions and organizational changes. We take no strong position in the present controversy concerning the relationship between junior and senior high schools, although we have some preference for keeping the 7th to 12th

grade classes within one building. This will again place accountability on the shoulders of one professional group for this six year span of education and will eliminate the projection of blame for failure onto a prior school organization.

School Organization

Realizing the advantages which can be derived from enlarged educational complexes at the secondary level, we are proposing the establishment of facilities to serve a large geographic area. This will provide for representation of broader social, ethnic and economic groups. Centralized facilities such as gymnasiums, theaters, swimming facilities and highly specialized academic centers could be provided to enrich the school experiences of these children. However, since anonymity is a serious problem in large installations of this kind, we propose that units or clusters be established for each group of 600 students, consisting of two units of 100 students at each of the following age levels, 12-13, 14-15 and 16-17. While current educational statistics indicate a drop off in attendance at the upper age levels, we are assuming that quality education will lead toward student retention through the 18th birthday. Each school could service any multiple of 600 and still give each student in the smaller units real and meaningful participation in decision-making in relation to his own activities and the welfare of the group.

Each 100 children would have four teachers, an English-speech instructor, a social studies teacher covering all the disciplines, a science teacher capable of teaching general science, earth science, astronomy, chemistry and physics at this level, and a math teacher. This would constitute the basic responsible unit of staff. They would be responsible for four classes among themselves, preferably for the entire six year span. For each two units, that is for each eight classes totaling 200 children, the teaching staff would be augmented by a foreign language instructor, an art teacher, a music teacher, a physical education teacher, vocational and academic counselors and a battery of shops including carpentry, automobile, electronic, commercial, plumbing, electrical, etc. As at the elementary level, provision would be made for additional space for small group and individual study, the availability of rich library resources of materials and personnel, and an Independent Study Center would be available to each cluster.

The administration of a school of 1,200 students would be similar to the central administration at the elementary level, with the addition of a coordinator for work experiences and whatever staff would be needed to implement a work-study program.

Each child should be expected to participate in a work-study program in which he would be exposed to a graduated series of work experiences from his admission at 12 years of age to the secondary school until his completion of the program at the age of 18. The early phases of this

program should provide several hours of work a week at appropriate levels of remuneration. These should be exploratory in nature, affording each child several opportunities to learn from appropriate models in different institutions or organizations. The program should heavily involve the concept of apprenticeship, using skilled community resources wherever appropriate. The program should provide assistance for younger children and leadership roles for the 16 and 17 year olds in preparation for their transition to out-of-school employment or for higher education.

The school would be opened from breakfast through 10 P.M., providing periods for instruction, recreation, study and the work periods with flexible grouping and student selection of some units of learning. Units of study should be organized for short-term completion (6 to 8 weeks), providing frequent and periodic appraisal and review. Programs as agreed to by the central executive committee for the school would extend for six days a week and twelve months a year, including a period of camping.

CAMPING

Of the several possible approaches to extension of the influence and service of formal instruction, the use of camping offers unique opportunities. The change in pace, the change in setting, the esthetic values of nature, the intimacy of small group leadership and other advantages of camp life make this an untapped resource which

can be developed for compensatory education. In the model advanced, it is proposed that beginning with all 10 year olds a two-month-per-year camp experience be provided through the summer of the year of completion of high school.

The camp experience would be used to serve several purposes. The program would include a strong component of cultural enrichment with intensive exposure to arts, crafts, nature, trips, etc. Equal attention, however, would be given to personal social relationships, the identification and fostering of values and to contemplation and recreation. A third component of the camp program would be an extension of the Independent Study Center services. Aspects of the ISC would be available in camp with the study resources utilized in relation to pupil need and interest. Some pupil-campers would be doing supplementary and advanced studies. Some would be doing remedial work. Some would concentrate on refresher units. Others would be doing special projects designed to extend specific competencies or to compensate for specific deficits in knowledge or skill.

The camp season which could run from late spring through early autumn, April to October in the Northeast, should run concurrently with the extended school year. Grouping patterns should provide for age group mixing and certainly accommodate ability group mixing. Camper to counselor ratio should not exceed 7-1, yet opportunities for larger and smaller group activities must be available. Camp facilities need not be elaborate but should be adequate to protect health and safety.

Health and food services should permit special or remedial treatment for children with chronic diseases or nutritional problems. For some young people hosteling and other combinations of camping and travel should be provided. For some, apprenticeships in nature-related industries should be developed. For youngsters of advanced high school age, work as counselor aides and other working camping experiences should be provided. For the recent high school graduate, the camp season might be used for an introduction to post high school study or work.

An as yet unresolved problem relates to parental involvement in this aspect of the child's education.

SECTION III: Estimated Cost

The accurate estimation of the cost of establishing a nationwide system of compensatory or quality education for all disadvantaged children is a task which will require more time, money and resources than the nation is likely to allocate for that purpose at this time. Based upon the experiences of several school districts and projections by groups which have struggled with this problem, it is possible to arrive at crude estimates which suggest the magnitude of this undertaking.

If we define the disadvantaged primarily and realistically in terms of family income, we may be talking about 30,000,000 to 35,000,000 individuals of all ages. The Office of Economic Opportunity has taken both family size and urban and rural factors into consideration in establishing annual cash income thresholds to poverty. Some selective figures from their present criteria are:

Family size Persons	Non-farm	Farm
2	$1990	$1390
5	$3685	$2580
7	$4635	$3245
10	$6135	$4295

Using these criteria, O.E.O. provides the following information for children and youth:

Persons in Poverty

Age	Millions	% of poor who are non-white	% of all poor and non-poor in this age group
Under 6	5.8	40	24
6-15	8.1	38	21
16-21	3.0	30	17

The total of almost 17 million children and youth then form the hard core of the poverty group. It is patent, however, that the group of disadvantaged children and youth to whom the educational establishment is relating extends far beyond this number. Since these income figures are minimal, factors such as one parent families, father absence, inadequate housing, physical malfunction, malnutrition, and others are not taken into consideration. One fourth to one fifth of all young people are in the poverty group. Many others must be considered disadvantaged when we include educational criteria.

We should establish as a minimum educational goal for 14-18 year old youth, with moderate intelligence and limited background, that our education system bring them to the level of demonstrating basic skills in reading and arithmetic equivalent to the expectation at the 8th grade level, with commensurate content acquisition for that level. We then present a base upon which each young man and woman can be ready for either apprenticeship or vocational education to equip him or her with the knowledge and skills required for full employment as an adult. Every child then, at younger age levels, should be considered disadvantaged if his academic development is not progressing at a rate which will

assure the accomplishment of 8th grade academic achievement by ages 14-18. Each of these criteria is measurable. We have purposely eliminated from our statistical estimates criteria such as educational background of parents, housing conditions, and behavioral disorders because of difficulty in securing appropriate measures. Included in these projections is the small proportion of youngsters from backgrounds of poverty who nevertheless are making acceptable progress in school. For them as well as for all children our proposed organization for instruction must compensate for deficiencies and complement their assets. In designing the program we have not segmented the statistics by farm and non-farm population or by white and non-white population, because we assume that compensatory education in the United States must serve all children who require it.

Taking 50% of the population at each age level as operating at or below grade level and reducing that by 10% representing the mentally retarded and seriously physically handicapped, or other children needing intensive professional attention, we can establish a forty percent overall figure. The figure of 10% is used by the armed services in screening out men for their special Project 100,000. The 10% therefore will not be reflected in our budget; however, the federal government will need to make provision for these children. The budget for these purposes would probably exceed the per capita figures indicated in this report.

It would perhaps be justified if we were to include in the target

population all non-white children in the United States, since their education is routinely retarded by factors of discrimination beyond the problems faced by the poor. Another group requiring special attention, but not included as a special group, are children above the poverty level with language difficulties and/or cultural or social deficiencies resulting from geographic isolation or from limited resources of home and community. If we were to include these children and youth we would need to add another 5% to each category of persons. The following total population requires compensatory education. We have rounded figures to represent the annual average for the period 1967-1970.

		Total
Birth to 2 years of age	5,000,000	5,000,000
3-5 years of age	5,000,000	5,000,000
6-7 years of age	3,200,000	
8-9 years of age	3,200,000	
10-11 years of age	3,000,000	9,400,000
12-13 years of age	3,000,000	
14-15 years of age	2,500,000	
16-17 years of age	2,500,000	8,000,000
18-19 years of age	3,000,000	3,000,000
		30,400,000

In the review of compensatory education programs by Gordon and Wilkerson per pupil cost for isolated and at times limited special programs ranged from $25 per pupil to more than $1,000 above basic educational costs. The average for the more active and better rated ancillary programs would be approximately $500 per child. These programs were modest in design and in effect, yet to apply them to the entire target population would cost $15 billion per year over current costs for 30 million children. This does not provide for additional basic costs for children under 6 years of age not presently served by the education system. None of these programs approximate the intensity, comprehensiveness and quality of the programs we have proposed. From evaluation reports of many of these programs, we could not anticipate the desired results from this limited additional financial investment.

Another way of establishing this budget is to take the average per pupil expenditure in our more advanced school systems and to add to it the amount needed for quality education. Exclusive of capital investment and of federally funded programs the average per pupil cost in five of these systems ranges from $700 to $1200. The round figure of $1000 per child represents a nine to ten month school year, five days a week, from 9 A.M. to 3 P.M. Considering:

1. the lengthening of the school day from 8A.M. to 6 P.M. or 10 P.M. at the different age levels,
2. the inclusion of a sixth school day each week,
3. the need to further improve teacher salaries and working conditions, with upgrading for the master classroom teacher,

4. the need to enhance the technical preparation and employment circumstances of the para-professional and the non-professional,
5. the funds required for inservice refreshment and enhancement of teacher competence,
6. the reduced adult-pupil ratios,
7. the addition of nutritional, health, medical and social services,
8. the urgency of continuing intensive research and evaluation,
9. the desirability of multiple and varied programs and activities for involving parents and community representatives in the education of these children,

the lowest defensible estimate for the ten month program is $2500 per child or youth each year exclusive of capital investment or about $75 billion. The summer program providing care for the young children for the two months of the summer and camping for two months for the older children and youth would cost about $600 per individual for a total of $18 billion.

The monetary supplements for the work program at the secondary level should provide $15 to $30 a week per youth from 12 through 17 years of age. We assume that the income for the 18-19 year olds would come from industrial or other sources. These supplements for 8 million youths would total approximately $8 billion.

To summarize the budget, therefore, we must take:

1.	the expensive capital investment needed to provide adequate facilities	
2.	cost of school program	$75 billion
3.	cost of summer program	$18 billion
4.	monetary supplements for work program	$8 billion
		$101 billion

Since this budget relates only to the 30.4 million disadvantaged children, and since all children in our country are entitled to this high quality level of education, it is clear that this figure must be extended to educate 77 to 80 million children and youth under 20 years of age. In addition, higher education of equal quality should be provided for all those who qualify for advanced study.

SECTION IV: Is Compensatory Education the Answer?

It can be argued that no price is too high to pay for good and effective education for all of our children. In a cost-conscious society, however, social programs are judged in relation to economy of operation. Given our concern with improving or even optimizing educational achievement for poor and minority group children and in considering the economics of compensatory education, we might ask the question: "Is the most effective approach one which involves major and extensive innovations in curriculum content and school organization?" The data presently available to us indicate that most of the things we know how to do and have been willing to apply to improve education are of modest help to the target population. These efforts do not represent substantive changes in quality nor have they resulted in greatly improved academic performance. On the other hand, a much less complex innovation, economic and racial integration in the schools, seems to be associated with more substantial gains in quality of functioning in the target groups. If we are forced into a choice between compensatory education as currently practiced and school integration it appears that school integration, at our present level of knowledge and practice, is the treatment of preference.

To dichotomize this issue, however, may be an error. One should not be forced to choose the treatment which will provide the greatest gain, but rather the treatments necessary to achieve the goal. There is increasing conviction that just as compensatory education alone

may be insufficient, ethnic integration in the school may also be insufficient. In many instances where movement toward integration has been achieved, further separation by race or economic group has nonetheless followed as pupils have been grouped on the basis of their present achievement. Clearly, where youngsters come to a learning situation with different backgrounds and different degrees of readiness, we have no choice but to institute educational programs which build upon and compensate for their functional characteristics. At the same time, since we know that a large measure of pupil functioning seems to be influenced by non-cognitive factors related to the social-psychological circumstances under which they study, the school also has responsibility for the manipulation of those circumstances to serve the learning needs of pupils. In this instance, the provision of learning experiences in the context of culturally, economically and ethnically integrated pupil groupings is indicated.

Even if compensatory education could do the job, several leaders have cautioned against dropping the demand for integration. They feel it is only the threat of racial integration which will lead the white majority to provide the resources we need to do an acceptable job of compensatory education. We recall that it was the threat of racial mixing that pushed the Southern schools of the 1940's and 1950's to equalize at least the educational facilities available to Negroes. We wish that this estimate of the nation's values in this area were wrong. But given the immorality of our destructive "defense" of autocracy and corruption masquerading as "democracy" in Vietnam, the inhumanity of

our pursuit of that military victory, and the financial drain and waste involved in that military effort, the disadvantaged of our nation would be wise to expect little gratuitous assistance. Equalizing educational opportunity is not yet a priority goal in our country.

A PROPOSED NEW SCHOOL FORMAT, CONTINUOUS-PROGRESS CENTERS

Prepared by
Jack Greaves
Assistant Superintendent for Secondary Schools
Seattle, Washington
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

The city is Seattle. Once a quiet metropolis in a far corner of the country, Seattle recently has had bestowed upon it (by no less an authority than the New York Times) the doubtful distinction of being the nucleus of a great and growing megalopolis. It is the youngest, and some say the fastest growing metropolitan area in the country.

Tens of thousands of people are moving to the Seattle metropolitan area. The engineers, the managers, and the skilled workers settle largely to the comfortable suburbs. The less advantaged people, the poor and unskilled, come for the most part to the city. Although the city is coming of age culturally, its great universities, symphony

orchestra, and burgeoning artistic activities are accompanied by crowded freeways, inadequate mass transportation, and ghetto conditions.

About ten percent of Seattle's citizens are Negro, and the percentage is growing. An open-housing referendum recently was voted down, and Seattle may have been close to having a riot several times last summer.

That there was no riot, was perhaps partially due to bold steps planned by the school district and the city government, to bring disadvantaged and minority people into the mainstream of life.

It is widely believed in Seattle that there is still time to take preventive action. School people firmly believe this, and are striving to make necessary changes to insure educations' relevance to the conditions of urban living.

Seattle Public Schools already are trying to cope with de facto school segregation. For a number of years in-service courses have been provided to help teachers understand the life-style and special problems of poor children.

There is a voluntary transfer program which provides that any student may transfer from one school to another if in doing so he improves the racial balance at both the sending and the receiving school. Thus, Negro students may leave an inner-city school and white students may come to the inner-city. Currently there are approximately 1,125 Negro and other minority students participating in this program.

A mandatory transfer program designed to relieve crowded inner-city schools by bussing boys and girls to less crowded schools on the periphery has been in operation for three years, and under this program 375 Negro children are attending formerly all-white schools on the periphery.

A reverse transfer program (a phase of the voluntary transfer program mentioned above) encourages Caucasian students who seek an inter-racial school experience to attend school in the inner-city. At present there are 90 Caucasian students in this program.

Altogether then, there are this year 1,500 Negro students (ten percent of the total Negro enrollment) and 90 Caucasian students participating in programs designed to improve schools' racial balance.

Those who watch the racial situation in Seattle closely have been pleased at the reception accorded Negro students who transferred to formerly all-white schools in peripheral areas of the city. Much credit can be given to the support of the PTA, Council of Churches, and such inner-city groups as CAMP (Central Area Motivation Program). In addition to this, there is an apparent lessening of suspicion and fear on the part of parents in receiving schools, and there has been no noticeable flight to the suburbs to escape integration.

In addition to a substantial Title I program of compensatory education and additional district-supported efforts, the schools have sought to develop alternatives to the traditional school program such

as, work-study programs, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Project Interchange, or the Re-Entry Program designed to keep droupouts from losing touch.

THE CONTINUOUS PROGRESS CONCEPT

While all of the projects outlined above are heart-warming and gratifyingly successful, one cannot seriously believe that of themselves they will solve the problems of racial isolation in Seattle. The percentage of nonwhite persons in the population is growing steadily; there is no indication that the stream of migrants will cease for many years. The thoughtful observer turns ambivalent: optimistic that experimental programs work so well; cynical about the long-range prospect because, despite such efforts the situation in the inner-city and in other pockets of poverty clearly is worsening from year to year.

Against the background outlined above, Seattle schools have developed and are already implementing a dramatic new format for instruction which in the next few years may challenge the relevancy of virtually every unit of curriculum and every instructional strategy in the elementary and secondary schools. The purpose is to devise a school program that will best fit urban living as it will be within the lifetime of the boys and girls now in school. If the growth of the megalopolis is inevitable, as it appears to be, then a new type of school based on the most relevant curriculum content, and using the most suitable instructional strategies must be developed now. This is what Seattle's <u>Continuous Progress Concept</u> is designed to do.

In a generic sense the word "education" means to "lead forth." The Continuous Progress concept aims to lead individual children forth into the intellectual realm, and into the realm of urban reality. The concept can be implemented in a limited way in traditional neighborhood schools, but its complete realization demands a different organizational plan. By the turn of the century, only thirty-three years from now, eighty percent of all of Americans will be urbanites. They will face a new sort of urban reality. Judging by such present conditions as clogged arteries of transportation, unsafe streets, and racial isolation and conflict, one can predict that it will be no easy matter to find peace or harmony or personal fulfillment whether one resides in the city center or in the suburbs.

Since cities first were established they have been centers of trade and culture, religion and art, science and invention, and they always have drawn country people to them. What must be devised is a new approach to public education based on the concept of "cosmopolitan man" -- the individual who knows and appreciates the great city and feels at home in it. Such an educational scheme will make use of the variety, diversity, complexity, and challenge of the city as a classroom in which lessons of cosmopolitan living can be learned.

Today's city school draws its pattern, its form, and much of its curriculum from a rural America of decades past; it is not well designed to do this job. The city is vast and diverse. If a child is

to learn not to fear it but to participate in its stimulating life, he must be led forth in easy stages from the restricted geographical, cultural, social, and aspirational environment of his home neighborhood to a broader understanding and familiarity with the cosmopolitan scene. As a consequence, he can learn to navigate the complex urban society successfully.

At the same time the distinct value of each individual must be preserved. Even while the child learns to become an active participant in the life of his city, his schooling must also help him to find identity and fulfillment there.

Since present schools, serving as they do their small neighborhoods, tend to reinforce racial, social, and cultural isolation, an alternative is proposed which replaces the neighborhood school with a more appropriate institution.

Seattle now is considering the reorganization of the schools into Continuous Progress Centers.*

PRIMARY CONTINUOUS PROGRESS SCHOOLS -- Children up to about age nine will attend neighborhood primary schools, organized on the continuous progress format to serve the children normally found in Headstart, pre-kindergarten, kindergarten and grades one through four.

---

* For some definitions of the technical aspects of the center, see Appendix A, attached to this paper.

Intermediate Continuous Progress Center -- Children approximately nine to thirteen will attend community intermediate continuous progress centers each serving a wider community than the primary school. The total enrollment of such a center would be 1,800 to 3,000, but within the center each child will belong to an individual school, and will have close identity with a homeroom teacher and with a small group of fellow students. At the same time the size of the center -- drawing students from a wide area -- will provide two advantages: (1) Improved use of staff, facilities, materials, technologies, with significantly wider experiences for learners, and (2) A social milieu which offers each boy or girl a chance to know and understand children of his own age from a wide spectrum of racial, economic, and social backgrounds.

Secondary Continuous Progress Center -- Children aged thirteen to seventeen will attend metropolitan secondary continuous progress centers, each school serving 5,000 or 6,000 students and offering in a larger way the advantages in the intermediate center. Five such secondary centers will serve the entire city. In addition to the advantages of diversity and specialization and the improved availability of the newest material and teaching technologies, these great secondary schools could offer a strong occupational program. The faculty and the student body will be drawn from varied racial, economic, and social backgrounds; the school would reflect the racial, social and economic variety of the city. The secondary center will be followed by the cosmopolitan community college.

Barriers such as those which now exist between elementary and high school would not be present to block the movement of appropriate students between the neighborhood primary school, the intermediate center, secondary center, and the community college; the limits would be nominal rather than actual. Many students, each working at his own pace, would cross from one institution to the next at an earlier or later age than suggested here. The movement would be consistent with the notion of self-pacing and continuous progress.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLAN

More than two years ago the Seattle School Board asked Superintendent Forbes Bottomly to examine the Seattle schools carefully and offer suggestions for their improvement. The Superintendent then appointed an Instructional Development Council composed of educators at all levels and responsible to the Superintendent himself, to guide and direct the innovative effort. The Continuous Progress Concept which has emerged is a synthesis of ideas from many sources, and since many elements of the plan are already developed in certain Seattle schools, these new proposals are based on practical experience with the dynamics of change. Feeling that such a dramatic proposal deserves extensive public debate, the Seattle School Board appointed a Citizens' Committee of 100 persons to study the plan carefully for a year and make recommendations.

While the Citizens' Committee was studying these plans, several related events took place. In November, 1966, the voters approved a bond issue for capital outlay which, as an alternative, provided funds for the building of the first intermediate center in case the Citizens' Committee endorsed the idea. There was and still is consistent opposition from a group called SONS (Save Our Neighborhood Schools) which vigorously opposes the "center" idea (and has both Negro and Caucasian members).

The "center" plan became an issue in recent School Board Elections, but candidates who opposed "centers" fared poorly, and the outcome was considered by many as an endorsement for the "center" idea. Even with these signs of support the Seattle School Board will no doubt proceed cautiously, not wanting to risk losing annual special-tax-levy elections. Unique laws governing special-levy elections in the state of Washington require a sixty percent favorable vote for passage, and no levy election is valid unless there is a total vote on the issue equal to or exceeding forty percent of the turnout in the last previous general election. To further complicate the matter, special levies can be voted for only one year at a time. Thus to support today's schools, the Districts must successfully pass a special levy every year. In recent years Seattle has lost and resubmitted five times. Since more than twenty percent of the budget depends upon successful passage of the levy, small groups that oppose Board action are tempted to "blackmail" the School Board simply by threatening to stay home on

election day. The Board is expected to make up its mind about building the first intermediate center sometime in January, 1968.

The report of the Citizens' Committee is completed. Both the minority and the majority have endorsed the concept of continuous progress as a pattern to be followed in all Seattle schools. The majority also has endorsed the building of the first intermediate continuous-progress center. The minority, although approving of the concept, stands firmly for continuation of the neighborhood school.

Meanwhile the planning and development go on. A special task force has outlined a plan for converting to continuous progress. Task groups are now involving school faculties in discussions and planning. Appropriate in-service courses are under way, and many separate elements of the continuous progress format such as, nongrading, independent study, flexible scheduling, team-teaching, and the development of learning resource centers are being tested by local faculties in nearly one-third of the schoools.

CONCLUSION

As the public debate continues there is clearly a swing toward the continuous progress concept and growing acceptance of the idea of large centers (instead of neighborhood schools) which can provide powerful, relevant, urban education, and at the same time largely eliminate racial segregation above age eight. There is excitement in the air, not only in the city, but to a certain extent in the suburbs as well, and this

is heartening because a problem as difficult as racial segregation cannot in the long run be completely solved inside the city limits. Experience in older cities indicates that without the participation of the suburbs in school desegregation, the city schools can ultimately be expected to become overwhelmingly Negro. This is another phase of the problem. The significant consideration now is that Seattle has a powerful plan based on an ideal; in terms of the calendar of urbanization, Seattle has time to bring its plan to realization.

APPENDIX A
Continuous Program Center: Some Definitions

Definition of Continuous Progress. The instructional format known as continuous progress provides for each student a unique set of learning experiences designed and constantly re-designed to promote optimum progress at his own pace.

Flexibility is the Key to Continuous Progress. The utilization of time, facilities, talents, and space, and the employment of techniques of learning will remain flexible, Formats of instruction will be developed which bend and yield to meet the interests, abilities, and needs of individual students.

Some specific characteristics of a "Continuous Progress" School:

Curriculum -- The content that is taught will be based upon the recognized and relevant "structure of knowledge" in each discipline as determined, not by tradition but by a careful and critical examination by experts in each field.

Psychology of Learning -- Instructional strategies will be based on the theories of such investigators as Bruner, Ilg, and Bloom about how children learn. The process will include inquiry as a strategy wherever possible in every subject.

Technology -- The newest technologies, materials, books, and equipment will be used, and such techniques as games and simulations will be common.

Instructional Format -- In order to prescribe for each student an optimum program designed to serve his unique needs, the format will be nongraded and flexible. In order to use most effectively the varied skills of teachers, teachers will work together as teams; planning, teaching, and evaluating in collegial groups.

Basic Skills -- Great attention will be given to learning and retaining essential communicative and computational skills.

Subject Matter -- Subject matter will be organized on the basis of concepts to be mastered. A student will be judged to have completed a course when he has mastered an optimum number of concepts; rather than when he has successfully completed twenty weeks in class.

Self-Pacing -- A student will progress as rapidly from one concept to another in each course as his individual achievement rate will permit.

Challenge -- When the student fails to progress either because the challenge is too great or too little, a new path will be found for him immediately.

There may be as many routes to graduation as there are students in the school. Advanced placement within the school will be granted on the basis of proven achievement.

Non-Graded Format -- Classes will be separated from one another on the basis of levels of achievement rather than on age classifications.

Independent Study -- As he learns self-direction, the student will be freed somewhat from the requirement of attending all classes. Older students might ideally spend up to one-third of their time pursuing independent studies.

Team-teaching -- Where feasible, the teachers will work in teams so that each can specialize in the task he knows best. Teams will work together to plan and evaluate instructional strategies.

Class Size -- Where small class size is not essential, classes will be much larger. Where small size is essential, classes will be smaller.

Lay Assistants -- There will be wide use of para-professional persons to do routine tasks, freeing teachers to plan and carry out the instructional tasks for which they have prepared.

The Principalship -- The function inherent in the word, "principalship," will be shared by the principal with instructional experts on his staff in exercising leadership in instructional improvement.

Involvement -- A new dimension in teaching will require extensive participation among colleagues in planning and carrying out instructional programs, and in arriving at decisions which are based on the collective wisdom of a team or a staff.

Rigid patterns must give way to flexible and continually-evolving patterns which will be designed, and constantly redesigned, to enhance the learning climate by providing a continuous challenge for each individual student.

CRISIS IN AMERICAN EDUCATION: A RACIAL DILEMMA

Prepared by
Robert L. Green, Michigan State University*
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

Once again, America was shocked by the anger and fury directed by urban Negroes at its institutions and social symbols during the summer of 1967. The violent upheavals occur, seemingly on an annual basis, in the so-called "Ghetto" sections of our large cities. This fall many of these same rebellious urban youth returned to uncomfortable, segregated, and often inferior public schools.

In the past this country has had the strength, stamina, and motivation to cope directly with issues of domestic, social, political, or educational reform. Resources have been quickly mobilized when a domestic problem threatened the Nation's safety, prestige, or national pride. When thousands of immigrants came to this country

---

* The author wishes to acknowledge the research assistance of Mrs. Ermon Hogan in the preparation of this paper. Mrs. Hogan is a Ph. D. candidate at Michigan State University, majoring in curriculum development with emphasis on Urban Teacher Education.

untrained, and unfamiliar with its language, customs, and behavioral patterns, we not only taught them how to read and write (the beginning of adult education) but found jobs for them. (Cass, 1967). When this country saw that its destiny as a world power was related to open communication with other nations, school curricula changed to reflect this in foreign language courses, and academic majors in international affairs. The greatest curriculum change in math and science programs came when Russia launched its first Sputnik. And the current American-Asian land war suggests again the quickness with which appropriations are provided when Americans feel a crisis is imminent.

However, for years we have proceeded with business as usual while the educational-social problems of Negro Americans become more critical. The outbursts of urban Negro youth during the last four summers, along with the growing general problems of urban education have at last attracted attention. Racial disturbances represent the cumulative effect of systematic, hard-core racial discrimination, historically practiced against Negro Americans. Active racism in housing, employment and education has brought about the most crucial American domestic crisis of the twentieth century. This current crisis in American life is an outgrowth of a dual standard of social justice based on race.

Social scientists [Myrdal (1944), Frazier (1957), and Clark (1966)] have predicted that as the Nation prospers, the Negroes' hopes will be raised; they will expect and demand basic institutional changes, to provide equal opportunity. Many Negro leaders have warned that violence was bound to become a weapon in the struggle for social jus-

tice as long as dual standards of life and justice prevail. Author James Baldwin's terse statement voiced widespread Negro sentiment when he wrote:

> "To be a Negro in this country and to be relatively conscious is to be in a rage almost all the time."

In spite of such predictions, much of the Nation's reaction to the summer disorders has been shock. Many white Americans have assumed that Negroes had made notable advances in occupational distribution, income, housing and above all, education. However, the U. S. Labor Department's report, <u>The Negroes in the United States, Their Economic and Social Status</u> (1966), documents the increasing disparities between white and black Americans in employment, housing, and education. Sociologists agree that urban unrest is highly related to such disparities, and acknowledge that these disturbances tend to solidify white Americans' negative attitudes toward Negroes.

In commenting on this, Dr. Kenneth Clark writes that Americans are accustomed to judging the state of peoples' minds by the most visible aspects -- the presence of a TV antenna indicates affluence, and a neat lawn suggests a middle-class home. He states that in many neat, small homes live families whose members hold servile jobs, have little education, and have a burning rage at the society that excludes them from the things it values most. (Berson, 1966). He reminds us that racism

> "...must be seen not only in the bigotry of segregationists. It must be recognized in the moralizing of Northern whites who do not consciously feel themselves afflicted with the disease of racism, even as they assert that the Negro rioting justifies ending their involvement in the civil rights cause. It must be recognized in the insistence that Negroes pull themselves up by their own bootstraps, demonstrating to the liberal and white communities that they have earned the right to be treated as equal

> American citizens. These are satisfying self-righteous arguments but they cannot disguise the profound realities of an unacknowledged racism." (Berson, 1966).

What role can education play in facilitating positive social change? Although we do not assume that educational changes alone can eliminate this American dilemma, we do know that education has and can make a major impact on our social order. If it is the task of other social institutions to make structural changes in our society, education should assume a more vital role to assist in restructuring our urban communities.

What tasks are we asking education to speak to, and what monumental failures must it grapple with?

> Education is being asked to compensate not only for its own failures but for society's failures as well. Education's fault has been its inability to identify its own problems and its moral callousness in allowing massive failure and miserable educational conditions for a substantial segment of the school population. For example, segregated schools carry with them poor education, partly because there traditionally has been in them no middle-class group demanding quality. Generally speaking, education has been satisfied to offer an inferior intellectual diet in the urban ghetto, and the demand for change has come not from educators but from external social forces demanding equality of opportunity. (Deustch , 1966).

Yet changes are taking place within American education: curriculum innovations, early childhood programs, multi-ethnic texts, reduced class size, enrichment and compensatory programs, and additional use of educational specialists. However, educators are beginning to discover that although these innovations are helpful, the one critical variable in the learning environment of disadvantaged students is the teacher. Wilkinson (1965) writes that even highly professional teachers commonly lack the insights, social attitudes, and instructional skills which are essential for integrating social class and ethnic

diversity in the classroom. The recent USOE report, Equality of Educational Opportunity (1967), supports the assumption that one factor closely related to the achievement of disadvantaged students is the quality of instruction and the teacher's attitudes.

What plans and programs are there for improving the quality of teaching in urban schools? Do they represent an adequate assessment of the problems of urban education? Do teacher education institutions play a useful role in teacher training for urban education? Do these institutions provide education and training for future teachers that will allow them to teach effectively in urban schools?

PRE-SERVICE TRAINING PROGRAMS

A comprehensive survey of the ten major producers of initially certified public school teachers in the United States* showed that these colleges and universities produced approximately 15,000 teachers in 1966 (AACTE, 1967). Of this number less than 3 percent had been enrolled in or exposed to programs designed to provide well-trained, competent, teachers for disadvantaged students in urban areas. When one contrasts this with the fact that urban areas are becoming increasingly populated with economically and educationally disadvantaged students, it appears that urban schools will be staffed with teachers untrained for -- and too often uncommitted to -- educating poor youth. In fact, a survey by Grade Teacher Magazine found that the average June graduate entering teaching was more concerned with pay than a productive academic career - only 23% said that professional challenge was the most important factor in accepting an assignment. More to the point, only 13%

---

* Indiana University, Michigan State University, Fresno State, Western Michigan University, Ohio State, Illinois State University, California State at Long Beach, Kent State University, Wayne State University, and Ball State University.

planned to teach in inner-city schools.(Janssen, 1967).

Most often, inner-city education for the disadvantaged means Negro education. Educators who speak of a polarity between middle class and lower class values in education are speaking of their inability to accept and understand the cultural patterns and life styles of lower income or minority groups. Given the growing percentage of Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican,and other low-income minority group children in urban schools, it is easy to build a strong case for the revision of teacher training programs.* Teacher training institutions are not realistically facing the problem of providing quality teachers for urban youth. One-third of the newly trained teachers in the New York City area refused to accept assignments in inner-city schools in Manhattan (Krathwohl, 1967). Havighurst (1966) reports that in 1964 the Chicago inner-city schools employed 36% full-time substitutes, in contrast to 6% in the "high-status" schools, 9% in the "conventional" schools, and 14% in the "common man" schools. Eighty-two percent of all Chicago substitutes were placed in the inner-city schools. The median years of teaching experience in the inner-city was four, in comparison with 19 in the "high-status" schools, 15 in the "conventional" schools, and 9 in the "common man" schools.**

---

* The Baltimore public school system is approximately 62% Negro, Chicago is 57%, Cleveland is 51%, Detroit is 58%, Philadelphia is 60%, St. Louis is 62%, and Washington, D.C. is 90% Negro.

** This problem reached the critical point in the fall of 1967. As a result of the summer's riots, many teachers refused to work in urban inner-city schools. The director of teacher recruitment in the Chicago Public Schools, Dr. Louise Dieterle, recently stated, "We don't have a teacher shortage, only a shortage of teachers willing to work full-time where they are needed. By that I mean the inner-city schools, particularly in the heavily Negro areas on the West Side." This problem was so critical that summer crash pre-service training programs were devised in Chicago in order to train individuals with a college degree (not in education) for service in inner-city schools. In essence new, and unprepared college graduates were sent to the inner-city for instructional purposes. Dr. Forrest E. Orebaugh, and Dr. Franklyn S. Berry administrators in the Cincinnati and Syracuse Public School System respectively, reported shortages of teachers to work in disadvantaged schools. (Lansing State Journal, 1967).

SPECIFIC PROGRAMS

Wayne State University, located in the inner-city of Detroit, Michigan, produced 1182 teachers in 1966, very few of whom had been specifically prepared to work in Detroit's inner-city. Although this university is a training center for the National Teachers Corps, they do not have an undergraduate program designed to prepare prospective teachers for urban areas.

The National Teachers Corps program at Wayne State University is representative of the 32 Teacher Corps centers developed throughout the country. Sixty-nine liberal arts graduates have enrolled in this two-year program, oriented toward preparing teachers for assignments in depressed areas. Forty-two students are beginning their first year of study and 27 are completing their second year. The curriculum leading to a Master of Arts in Teaching, emphasizes three areas: the school, the community, and graduate study. Cooperating with Wayne State in education of the trainees are four local school districts: Detroit, Pontiac, Oak Park and Inkster, Michigan. First year corpsmen are now in a pre-service orientation period focusing on the social-learning problems of disadvantaged youth. At the end of their orientation they will be assigned to one of the cooperating institutions. Each corpsman is assigned to a team headed by a professional public teacher sensitive to the needs of urban education. Corpsmen involvement is stressed in the program, and the enrollees tutor disadvantaged children, participate in community-centered projects, and engage in numerous after school activities. Graduate course work includes the Sociology of Urban Schools, Psychology of the Disadvantaged, Negro History,

as well as more traditional academic subjects.*

Western Michigan University, nationally the fourth largest producer of initially certified teachers, has developed programs on both the graduate and undergraduate levels to prepare teachers for inner-city teaching positions. Both programs provide coursework and field experiences that enable the student to examine educational theory in the actual school environment. The undergraduate program, which recently has been revised, will place students in urban schools on a half-time basis throughout the training program. This represents a comprehensive approach extending far beyond the usual course or two on the disadvantaged. In addition to focusing on the learning problems of inner-city youth, this program also will prepare teachers to work with migrant children. Although aspects of the program have been initiated on a limited basis, the total program including student placement in urban schools will begin during the winter semester, 1968.

Michigan State University, in cooperation with the Mott Institute for Community Development, has initiated a teacher education program for elementary education majors, with emphasis on teaching in urban disadvantaged schools. Detroit and Flint, Michigan inner-city schools serve as laboratories for students in this program. Students are assigned to the off-campus centers for two terms. The first term methods instruction is provided by university personnel and inner-city master teachers. The students also observe and assist

---

* Although the graduates are not obligated to work in disadvantaged areas at the conclusion of their program, it is hoped that they will develop a moral commitment to request such an assignment upon completion of their training.

in the classroom where they will do their student teaching. The second term the students teach full-time and are closely supervised and supported by the university coordinator and the master teacher to whom the student is assigned.*

Many smaller colleges have viewed the problem of providing competent and highly motivated teachers for disadvantaged children realistically, and have designed appropriate pre-service programs. Since 1962 Ursuline College in Cleveland, Ohio, has offered a special program developed cooperatively by the education and sociology departments to prepare teachers for poor urban communities. This interdisciplinary approach is appropriate, for sociologists very frequently can relate an understanding of community life to educational deficiencies that are apparent both in the home and school settings. In addition to coursework the students in this program participate in the following field experiences: (1) a one-semester community service assignment involving supervised informal contacts with inner-city youth, (2) increased observation of classes in inner-city schools, (3) guest lectures by teachers and administrators from these schools, (4) an internship program worked out in cooperation with the Cleveland Board of Education through which juniors who are preparing to teach spend one morning a week for ten weeks in an inner-city school prior

---

* Indiana University has developed a program in which inner-city high school graduates are themselves enrolled in a teacher education program designed to provide school personnel for poor urban areas. The associate dean of the college of education, interviewed regarding this program, indicated that he felt that students who themselves were from impoverished backgrounds could more readily relate to poor children. While Indiana University's recruitment approach has much merit, students other than those from disadvantaged backgrounds should be included in such curricula in order to not structure an educational training program that becomes social class oriented.

to doing their student teaching, and (5) follow-up workshops for graduates who are teaching, to discuss their problems and elicit their suggestions for revising the education program in the light of their needs. (Ursuline, 967).

The Hunter College Program, Project True, is perhaps the best known pre-service program. This program was developed on the theory that prospective teachers should be prepared in the schools where they will teach, (Haubrich, 1963), and is perhaps one of the more effective pre-service training programs. The teacher candidates receive instruction centering around students whose families have low income, low educational backgrounds, and cultural-language diversity. The program involves combined study, observation, laboratory experiences, and practice teaching, followed by regular full-time teaching in the New York City Schools over a two year period. The corpsmen all have liberal arts degrees but lack training in education. Gold (1967) states that "This program is intended to lead to certification, a regular position in the schools, and a master's degree for those candidates who meet matriculation and degree requirements in the college in which they are enrolled". Initially 24 corpsmen from the National Teacher Corps and six experienced teachers were assigned to Hunter College. Rather than using the campus for this project, a school building in the central Harlem area was utilized.

Hunter College's comprehensive effort involving the use of federal, state, and city funds, is indicative of the wide scale approach that teacher education institutions might consider.

Project Y-003, a one year experimental program to prepare teachers of disadvantaged students was developed to ascertain if inter-

cultural misunderstandings in inner-city schools could be eliminated by seeking out prospective teachers from among the ethnic and cultural groups served, and preparing these teacher-candidates for work in inner-city schools. Students selected for this program conducted at Coppin State College in Baltimore, Maryland, were volunteers from the junior and senior classes at this school who were perceived to have the academic and personal characteristics necessary for quality teachers. Courses in "The Sociology of the City", "Minority Peoples", "The History of the Negro in America", and "Education of the Culturally Different", were provided for these students in addition to field experiences. The objective of the curriculum was to deepen the understanding of the positive values that inhere in the subcultures of American life. A unique feature of the seminars held for the prospective teachers were lectures by members of minority groups who had succeeded and who were from disadvantaged backgrounds. Inner-city parents and leaders were invited to the lectures. Supervising teachers in the schools selected for student teaching experiences were enrolled in a summer institute in order to assure that their attitude and behavior toward disadvantaged children was appropriate. Nineteen students were enrolled in this experimental one-year program. The students who completed their training during this academic year were employed by the Baltimore Public Schools and "appear to be working successfully" in inner-city schools. (Reddick, 1967). The Baltimore city schools in cooperation with several area colleges, (Coppin, Morgan, and Towson State College) established a preservice training program (project mission) in which intern teachers work closely under the supervision of project professors and successful master teachers within the confines of the inner-city. Epstein (1967)

reports that

> "...students can be attracted to work in inner-city schools - students who are eager, dedicated and enthusiastic ....Through close association with the community, much of the initial fear and apprehensiveness of the prospective teacher was alleviated and wholesome attitudes and perceptions were acquired. The experience became a challenging and rewarding one, both professionally and personally, for most of the interns."

However, the program at Hunter, like others, must be constantly and systematically evaluated in terms of their ability to increase teaching effectiveness. We need to more accurately determine whether teachers who receive special training are more effective as teachers in inner-city schools. They should be evaluated (along with those who have not received such training) by their fellow teachers, administrators, parents, and students. Do they remain in inner-city communities for longer periods of time? Do their students improve academically? And, do they keep abreast of current educational practices? These are very pressing questions that only systematic long-range evaluation can answer.

SUMMARY

Within the context of this paper it is not possible to review all of the recent innovations that are becoming evident in pre-service teacher education for the disadvantaged. However, a brief overview has been presented of several programs that are attempting to provide quality teachers for depressed areas. Hopefully other educational institutions will glean from ongoing programs curriculum designs that they can utilize.

On the basis of information obtained from numerous teacher training institutions in the United States, it appears that far too few universities are training teachers to meet the needs of disad-

vantaged youth. Those who are aware of the problem have often structured fragmented approaches such as an elective course in "urban sociology" or one course in "Teaching Disadvantaged Youth", located perhaps within the special education department. As one college official in a metropolitan area proudly stated, "All of our students are required to have at least one contact with an inner-city community during their teacher training sequence". This "contact" involved two clock hours.

Others frankly admit that they don't have the training or know-how to provide meaningful education related to the learning problems of disadvantaged youth. Several stated that they were cognizant of the problem and are now beginning to formulate plans to broaden their curriculum. Others admitted that the greatest impetus for considering changing their teacher training programs was the summer urban unrest and rioting of 1965-67.

Considering the pre-service programs that have so far been developed, the following considerations are most critical at this time:

1. Administrative personnel in colleges of education must rapidly begin to provide in-service training for their own staff regarding the learning problems and social and emotional adjustment of disadvantaged urban youth. An important aspect of this in-service training should be the opportunity for faculty members to critically view their own attitudes regarding these students. Revision of curricula will have little impact if educators are themselves insensitive to disadvantaged and minority group students.

2. Faculty members who teach methods courses in such programs should have continuing experience with disadvantaged children, in either a school or community environment. This is necessary to effectively relate theoretical concepts to classroom situations.

3. An effort must be made to involve minority group members in teacher training programs. Excellent public school master or supervisory teachers identified through student teacher placements should be encouraged to participate in on-campus methods instruction. Representatives of teacher training programs admitted that their students not

only see education as being white and middle class, they themselves have no Negroes or members of other minority groups working full-time or part-time in their teacher training programs.

4. Comprehensive rather than piecemeal teacher training programs must be developed, so that substantially improved competence and sensitivity result. A course in urban sociology, or a two hour contact in a inner-city community is not sufficient, and a very substantial reworking coursework in education and liberal arts will be needed.*

5. Students in colleges of education should receive coursework and field experiences that will realistically prepare them for urban areas. Our country has changed from an agrarian, close-knit society to a cybernetic, extremely mobile one, yet we fail to prepare teachers for many aspects of the latter society. The Report of the School-University Teacher-Education Project (1966) makes sound recommendations for the curricular content and experiences of pre-service education for teachers in depressed areas. These recommendations are also appropriate for all students who wish to teach in urban areas.**

---

* Classes in Negro and Minority History should be required of all students on the undergraduate level. At the present time all students receive twelve years of thorough coursework in White American and European History. To compensate for a major deficiency, colleges and universities should require coursework in Negro and Minority History. This is essential in order for students to acquire an appreciation and respect for the contributions nonwhites have made to the growth of this Nation and in order to understand the background of current social problems. Courses should be developed focusing on cultural pluralism, the debilitating efforts of poverty, community alienation and its concomitant of powerlessness.

** The first area, "Knowing (Foundational Knowledge)", should include:

...a one-year course in urban studies taught on an interdisciplinary basis and specifically directed toward the particular urban area in which the teacher-education program is being offered. The course, for example, might consist of units in the following areas: sociology (demography, ecology, housing patterns); political science (city government and local power structure as it relates to school organization and administration); social work (characteristics of the disadvantaged); and consumer economics.

The second area, "Doing (Applied Knowledge and Skills)", should include a constant pattern of direct experiences with disadvantaged children and of increasing responsibilities. The prospective teacher would progressively assume greater responsibility in working with individual students and in classroom management and control. Courses in methodology, psychology, and curriculum should be synthesized and offered in conjunction with the direct experiences.

The third area, "Being (Knowledge of Self)", would include individual conferences and seminars during which students should be encouraged to explore introspectively their attitudes toward pupils, colleagues, and the neighborhood in which they are working. They should also engage in self-evaluation regarding their motivations, fears, threats, etc.

6. Educational institutions and metropolitan school systems should cooperatively develop fifth year programs for new teachers that would continue the program of pre-service training. New teacher seminars should be held regularly on school time in order to provide teachers with the opportunity to exchange problems, experiences, and successful instructional strategies. University personnel could keep the teachers informed of educational research and new practices. School personnel could give suggestions and recommendations for improving instructional quality and serve in a supportive role.

IN-SERVICE PROGRAMS

In-service and graduate programs for teachers and supervisors of economically and educationally disadvantaged youth have mushroomed in the last three years. School systems, professional organizations, and teacher education institutions have created programs intended to increase teacher sensitivity to the educational problems of disadvantaged urban youth. These range from one-week summer workshops to full-year programs leading to graduate level degrees.

One of the most comprehensive year-long training programs is now in operation at Northeastern Illinois State College's Center for Inner-City Studies, in Chicago, Illinois. The Center is located in a densely populated, high poverty area of Chicago. The major objective of the Center is to provide teachers with skills which will allow them to effectively teach school-age children who may see the educational establishment as alien. The curriculum in Inner-City Studies is a "multi-disciplinary curriculum designed to solve problems of inner city teaching. The program consists of courses in education, history, anthropology, psychology, sociology, literature and communications" (Smith, 1966). It utilizes a saturation approach in the effort to create positive teacher attitudes toward the learning ability of disadvantaged children. Combined with course work on the psychology and sociology of urban life, experienced teachers in the program live and

work full time in the poverty-stricken location of the school. The combined approach of living, working, and receiving didactic instruction in a disadvantaged community is perhaps more realistic than a campus placement with occasional visits to areas in which disadvantaged youth live.

Bank Street College of Education has taken a somewhat different approach, and focused its in-service training efforts on teachers' supervisors. The College asserts that:

> The approach to teachers alone which is customarily employed, ignores the structure and relationship of the total school system, and sometimes produces teachers who are willing to and capable of moving faster than their administrators and supervisors will permit.
>
> If the desired type of change is to be facilitated, it would seem expedient again to select supervisors of teachers as the core of the Institute. Educating supervisors to become agents of change not only reinforces teachers who want to make positive changes in their teaching of the disadvantaged, but also spreads the climate of change throughout the school and reaches teachers who cannot or do not come in contact with these programs in other ways. Changing one teacher results in improved education for, at the most, thirty to forty children in a year. Changing one supervisor of teachers can result in improved teaching on the part of from fifteen to six hundred teachers and can affect the education of from 450 to 18,000 children. (Risikoff, 1967)

In essence, unless positive changes are brought about on the part of those in supervisory positions, classroom teachers will not function at full effectiveness.

A summer institute at the College (1967) was designed to serve supervisory personnel from five urban areas. A major administrative person in each public school system served as a member of the instructional staff during the summer institute at Bank Street College. The same individuals will conduct follow-up sessions during the 1967-68 academic year in their school communities with teachers from their

district who also participated in the institute. The curriculum of the institute was designed to fulfill three broad objectives: (1) development of supervisor competence; (2) helping the supervisor to increase his motivation and intellectual understanding, and (3) increasing his capacity to acquire new techniques and procedures for working with teachers.

The design of this institute, then, provided for diffusion of learning experiences by individuals actually in a position to institute change. The involvement of school administrators and the agreement to employ trained personnel in supervisory positions are often omitted from many programs. Noteworthy is the follow-through program during the school year.

During the summer of 1967 the Flint, Michigan, Public School System, in cooperation with Michigan State University (Smith et al, 1967), conducted three two-week workshops for its teachers in which the focus was on: (a) the development of positive teacher attitudes toward the learning ability of disadvantaged youth; and (b) the acquisition of new teaching skills in two areas that urban schools see as being most important: reading and arithmetic. Major emphasis during the workshops was on identifying positive teacher behavior, verbal and non-verbal, that would enhance the student's self-concept and perception of his or her ability to benefit from school. In addition, specialists in urban sociology, Negro history, reading, and arithmetic instruction, worked closely with the participants during each workshop. A strong effort was made to attract consultants who themselves had had experiences working with disadvantaged youth and who at the same time were strongly committed to the principle that all youngsters are educable. A major

assumption underlying this workshop was that it is not only necessary to compensate for disadvantaged youth, but also to compensate for the inadequate training and failures of the teacher and the public school itself. Enrollees in the workshop were drawn from both inner and outer city schools to enable both groups to gain an appreciation of the commonality of their problems and experiences.*

During the summer of 1967, Eastern Illinois University conducted an institute limited to teachers of disadvantaged youth who also supervise student teachers. The institute sought to identify more effective teaching strategies for supervisors of student teachers, suggest means of working more effectively with parents of inner-city youth, and develop an awareness of the need to prepare student teachers to work effectively in disadvantaged urban areas. Racially mixed classes were structured for demonstration instructional purposes.

Alverno College in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, held a seven week summer institute for teachers of disadvantaged students that was divided into three phases. The first phase involved three weeks at the college for an intensive study of the sociological and psychological factors affecting the learning of disadvantaged youth. The second phase involved a three week "live-in" in Chicago's inner-city, and the final phase included one week at the college for evaluation of the practicum. During the "live-in", the enrollees resided at Chicago's Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. The criterion used for participant "growth" as a function of the workshop experience were pre and post

---

* A booklet based on Relevant Teaching Behaviors identified by teachers in the workshop will be published by the Flint Public Schools for use within the system.

measures on the Authoritarian Personality scale, a newsletter published twice during the year following the institute (using contributions provided by the participants), and a questionnaire sent to the enrollee's principal (seeking evidence of positive growth in classroom teaching techniques, community involvement and increased professional reading and concern for disadvantaged children).

Since Milwaukee has disadvantaged youth within its community, the workshop "live-in" might have been more meaningful if it had been held there rather than in Chicago. A noteworthy aspect of this workshop, however, was its effort to systematically measure participant attitude and behavioral change, rather than relying on teacher reports in the form a Questionnaire answered at the end of a workshop, which is the approach frequently used.

In addition to its pre-service efforts, Ursuline College for Women conducted a summer workshop for experienced teachers involving sensitivity training for the participants, in an attempt to assist them in relating more effectively to administrators, fellow-teachers, and disadvantaged youth. Working cooperatively with the National Training Laboratory for Group Development, the institute was limited to teams of teachers from six inner-city schools. Fifty-four underachieving inner-city seventh grade boys were included. Each enrollee developed a close tutorial and counseling relationship with two of the boys. The focus was on the personal-social and learning needs of the students. The final five days of this workshop will be held during the 1967-1968 academic year in order to more specifically relate the workshop experience to learning problems that the teachers will encounter during the year within their own classrooms.

SUMMARY

Although in-service training programs designed to increase the teaching effectiveness of inner-city school personnel have increased rapidly during the past three years, there is a need to provide financial support for many more. Major limitations of many of the in-service programs for experienced teachers are related to program duration, content, staff, evaluation, program follow-up, and selection of enrollees.

Many school systems devote one or two days of in-service education each year focusing on a variety of topics, including the subject "educating disadvantaged youth". Such programs are usually quickly planned, and involve consultants who are familiar with the problems of poor youth only through a book of readings or an occasional visit. Even though such programs are well intentioned, they are only the beginning. And summer institutes, although very effective in the exploration and understanding of the problems of disadvantaged students, are held in an atmosphere quite unlike the school-learning environment of disadvantaged youth. Many of the behavioral changes exhibited during a two, four, or six week institute may not survive the rigors of the classroom.

In-service programs have utilized a variety of approaches in efforts to understand the background and personality of the disadvantaged student, including discussions by consultants and reading. However, it is important that direct contact with disadvantaged students and their parents, in both formal and informal settings, be included in workshop curricula. Intensive involvement of the enrollees in the community in which the program is held would increase understanding and appreciation.

Observations of master teachers working effectively with disadvantaged students, and using the many new instructional materials should be integrated into workshop curricula. Living in a disadvantaged neighborhood during institute attendance should aid the enrollees in understanding the life style of the children they will teach.

Program evaluation and follow-up are critical aspects of all in-service programs. One, two, or eight week summer programs that do not provide for well-planned, objective follow-up may not have a lasting impact on teacher behavior and utilization of information. Follow-through should be closely related to the actual classroom experiences of those who have had the benefit of the workshop. Training personnel should visit the classrooms of teachers who have been enrolled in the in-service program, and even become involved in joint or team teaching efforts, in order to more effectively relate theory to practice.

The majority of the programs cited in this paper have been fairly successful in locating staff who have had extensive experience with urban programs and inner-city teaching. No in-service program should be developed without instructional personnel who themselves are knowledgeable about inner-city life. An occasional visit to depressed areas is not sufficient. College supervisory and public school administrative personnel should themselves be actively involved in ongoing programs for the disadvantaged.

Evaluation focusing on attitudinal change as measured by standardized instruments, in addition to evaluation by school administrators during the following school year (on criteria established by the workshop professional staff), are possible criteria for the long

range program effectiveness.* Seminars should be held periodically during the following school year in order that teachers may discuss and exchange approaches to problems and practices that were effective in their schools.

Selection of enrollees for in-service programs is a very difficult task. The programs are attractive to teachers who would like to earn academic credit and receive a weekly stipend. Many may adopt the facade of a concerned, committed individual when actually they are materialistically inspired. Also, individuals with excellent academic records and good literary skill may impress program directors with their concern. It would not be wise to eliminate such individuals from in-service institute, particularly if they are employed in inner-city schools, because change among such personnel is imperative. However, institute directors must look beyond this group and also select teachers with a strong desire to become a competent urban educator even though their past training may not have been in accredited colleges. Criteria other than undergraduate grade point average and qualifying test scores should be used. Stalley (1967) has developed a series of questions appropriate for interviewing candidates for institute participation and possible urban placement.

The Bank Street College of Education in cooperation with the U.S. Office of Education (Klopf, 1967) has made an extensive survey of in-service and pre-service programs throughout the United States. They distributed 1,127 questionnaires to colleges of teacher education and

---

* Fleming has developed two instruments for identifying changes in teacher attitudes toward the disadvantaged (1967) and Hilliary (1966) is also in the process of constructing an instrument to measure teacher attitudes toward the disadvantaged.

departments of education in institutions of higher learning, in-service programs in selected school system, summer institutes for teachers of disadvantaged youth financed under Title XI of the National Defense Education Act and teacher education programs financed under the Economic Opportunity Act. Five hundred and three of the 1,127 questionnaires were returned, 54% from school systems and 35% from colleges and universities. This project, called Project Aware, also involved visits to 59 programs. The Aware teams have made excellent recommendations with suggestions for implementation for institute-type programs, in-service programs in school systems, and for programs in institutions of higher learning.

The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education in cooperation with Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana (AACTE, 1967) have been funded for a National NDEA Institute for Advanced Study in Teaching Disadvantaged Youth. This institute is designed to improve programs for personnel who are engaged in or preparing to engage in the teaching of disadvantaged youth. The program, (which is in its second year of operation,) operates on two levels. First, special attention is given to the identification and clarification of the fundamental problems and issues relevant to teaching the disadvantaged and to the preparation of teachers. Recommendations for substantive changes and appropriate strategies for the improvement of teacher education will be made. Their second concern is to provide opportunities for educational personnel to exchange information regarding effective teaching practices, develop teacher competencies, and to provide the National Committee with specific information regarding the problems and issues which constitute its continuing agenda on the preparation

and retraining of teachers. Hopefully this organization will impress upon its members the need to construct effective programs for teachers of the disadvantaged, and to provide an effective procedure whereby candidates with a desire to work with the disadvantaged may enroll in such programs.

RECRUITMENT

Recruitment of committed, highly motivated, and dedicated teachers is one of the most critical and pressing problems confronting the urban education crisis. Unless academically competent teachers who respect social-class and racial differences are recruited for inner-city schools, program or curricular changes will be to no avail.

The New York State Department of Education (Gold, 1967) has offered scholarships to teachers in the metropolitan area for graduate study in the area of the problems of bilingual students. This was done in an effort to train teachers for assignments in schools with Puerto Rican children. This approach could be used in order to attract capable teachers for inner-city placements. There may be individuals who desire to become teachers in urban areas, but are not able to finance the schooling needed for certification. Scholarships should be large enough to provide stipends as well as tuition, so that the students can devote full-time to their studies.

Competent but non-certified, and/or substitute teachers in inner-city schools should be identified and encouraged financially by their school systems to return to school either on a full-time, half-time, or summer study program, in order to gain the additional course-work necessary to become qualified for permanent assignments within the

inner-city. Programs such as the Mott-Michigan State University cooperative teacher training program should provide scholarships for off-campus intern students in order to provide housing and other expenses involved in relocation for the six-month internship period.

The U. S. Office of Education might consider increasing loans and scholarship aid to education students who have indicated a desire to work in disadvantaged areas. Programs similar to the National Teachers Corps should be designed for undergraduate training and developed nationally and cooperatively between University teacher training institutions and public school systems.

Master's degree and specialist programs should be developed on college campuses with an emphasis on preparing supervisory and administrative personnel for inner-city schools.

Many educators bemoan the paucity of Negro candidates for programs already in existence. The lack of Negro students in these programs may be related to the fact that students who are graduates of inner-city schools may not wish to return to an educational environment which they are striving to overcome. Negro as well as white students may see a placement in an inner-city school as a low status assignment (Green, 1966). Also, many of the programs require more hours of instruction and field placement than the traditional training programs, thus interfering with necessary part-time employment. However, financial aid would assist in alleviating the monetary support problem.

A major and earnest effort must be made to attract dedicated as well as competent teachers, both Negro and white, to schools that are looked upon as difficult. However, along with quality teacher

recruitment, efforts must be made to offer additional administrative, instructional, as well as financial support to the same teachers in order to offset the negative perception that is associated with a placement in an urban school setting.

SUMMARY

The crisis in urban education is upon us now. Our Nation's school leadership must project both short-range and long-term programs related to up-grading the overall quality of declining urban public school systems. Bold new programs are needed, and not only school administrators but those who supervise teacher education programs must face up to the issue of quality education. We must not only view this educational dilemma as one in which we compensate for the background of poor youth, but we must also compensate for the inadequate training of our teachers, administrators, and curricula. Even though environment contributes greatly to the disadvantaged child's underachievement, the schools themselves appear to fail. (NCSPS, 1966).

We need programs that will build and support the educational strengths of teachers who work in urban communities. Let us take the heat off the students and put the heat on the educational establishment itself, including school boards, administrators, and teachers. We need not only pupil change, but change diffused throughout the entire structure of educational institutions. "In the 1920's", stated June Shagaloff, educational director of the NAACP, "people said the underachievement of Negro children was because Negroes were inherently inferior. Now it isn't polite to say that, so they say he's culturally disadvantaged instead. The bureaucrats developed a lot of things to improve the disadvantaged child instead of to change the criminally neglected schools". (Janssen, 1967).

In-service workshops and/or institutes should be conducted for school board members, as well as members of state legislatures. School Board members should become familiar with the sociology of urban life, the needs and aspirations of poor people, and the disparities between inner and outer city schools. Visits to their own as well as other central city schools should be made to determine successful and unsuccessful practices and procedures. Programs and possibly institutes should be developed for members of the legislature responsible for appropriating funds for urban communities, as well as for the other members who have the final vote on such bills.

The challenge of urban education is not to remake disadvantaged youth, but to recreate a healthy educational system for all children. An educational system that is structured to meet only the needs of middle-class society will not meet the needs of large segments of poor people who have been psychologically locked out of the educational process.

Urban unrest is not totally related to education's failures, but the inadequate educational training that so many urban children experience in their lives is highly related to dysfunctional urban life. We have to take a hard look at the reason why teachers report to inner-city schools, and leave after three weeks. This is not totally due to the "personalities of the children", but could well be related to the depressed climate of the school environment.

Dr. John Fisher (1967) President, Teachers College, Columbia University, stated at the Conference on Urban School Planning held at Stanford University:

> "We must set our sights not on making schools equal, but on devising whatever means are required to enable every child to develop his own potential. Whatever his possibilities, wherever he begins, he should have the help he needs to reach maturity prepared to compete on fair terms in an open society. To live with this conception of equal opportunity, the community must be willing and the school must be able to furnish unequal education."

Our educational system must take the lead in reforming the American social order since other social institutions have failed so miserably. (Banks, 1967) But it must first put its own house in order. The urban school crisis is a monumental challenge to our educational structure. We must make major changes now, for time is running out.

References

1. Alverno College, Institute for Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth, Milwaukee, Wisconsin: The College, 1967.

2. American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, Teacher Productivity - 1966. Washington, D.C.: AACTE, 1967.

3. Bank Street College of Education, NDEA Institute for Supervisors in Staff Development Roles for Disadvantaged Youth, New York: The College, 1967.

4. Banks, James A., "The School's Contribution to Urban Race Riots", East Lansing: Michigan State University, unpublished paper, 1967.

5. Berson, Lenora E., Case Study of a Riot, New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1966.

6. Cass, James, "The Schools as a Social Barometer", Saturday Review, Sept. 16, 1967.

7. Clark, Kenneth, Dark Ghetto, New York: Harper & Row, 1965.

8. Conlin, Marcia R. and Martin Haberman, "Supervising Teachers of the Disadvantaged", Educational Leadership, Vol. 24, No. 5, February 1967.

9. Conrad, Earl, The Invention of the Negro, New York: Paul S. Erikson Publishing Company, 1966.

10. Deutsch, Martin, "The Principal Issue", Harvard Educational Review, Fall, 1966.

11. Eastern Illinois University, NDEA Institute for Special Cooperating Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth, Charleston, Illinois: The University, 1967.

12. Epstein, "Project Mission", Educational Leadership, January, 1967.

13. Fisher, John, "Unequal Education May Be the Most Equal of All", Nation's Schools, August, 1967.

14. Fleming, Margaret and Donald K. Carew, "Princeton-Trenton Institute Evaluation, Summer, 1966", in Teaching Urban Youth, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967.

15. Frazier, E. Franklin, Black Bourgeois, New York: MacMillan Company, 1957.

16. Gold, Milton J., "Programs for the Disadvantaged at Hunter College", Phi Delta Kappan, March, 1967.

17. Green, Robert L., "After School Integration--What?" Problems in Social Learning, Personnel and Guidance Journal, March 1966.

18. Haubrich, Vernon F., "Teachers for Big City Schools", in Education in Depressed Areas, New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.

19. Havighurst, Robert J., Education in Metropolitan Areas, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, January, 1967.

20. Janssen, Peter, "The School Crisis", Newsweek, September, 1967.

21. Kontos, Peter G. and James J. Murphy (editors), Teaching Urban Youth: A Source Book for Urban Education, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967.

22. Klopf, Gordon J. and Garda W. Bowman, Teacher Education in a Social Context, New York: Mental Health Materials Center, Inc., 1967.

23. Myrdal, Gunnar, The American Dilemma. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966.

24. National NDEA Institute for Advanced Study in Teaching Disadvantaged Youth. Washington, D.C.: AACTE, February 1967.

25. NCSPS Newsletter. "The Roots of School Failure: A New Perspective", Washington, D.C.: National Committee for Support of the Public Schools, October, 1966.

26. "Races: Trigger of Hate", Time, August 20, 1965.

27. Reddick, L.D., Better Teachers for Inner-City Schools, Y-003 Final Report, Baltimore, Maryland: Coppin State College, 1967.

28. Smith, Donald H., "USOE Grant Supports Chicago's Center for Inner-City Studies", Education Today, December 1966.

29. Smith, Mildred, Petronella Heile, Robert L. Green, Ermon Hogan and Fred Howe. Teaching the Disadvantaged. Flint, Michigan: Flint Public Schools, July, 1967.

30. Stalley, Marshall, "Teacher Interviews as an Evaluation Tool", in Teaching Urban Youth. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967.

31. U.S. Department of Labor. The Negroes in the U.S., Their Economic and Social Status, Washington, D.C.: The United States Government Printing Office, Bulletin No. 1511, June 1966.

32. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

33. Ursuline College for Women. NDEA Summer Institute for Teachers and Supervisors of Programs for Disadvantaged Youth in Cleveland's Inner-City Junior High Schools, Cleveland, Ohio: The College, 1967.

34. Usean, Michael and Frederick Bertolaet (editors), The Report of the School-University Teacher Education Project, Teachers for the Disadvantaged, Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1964.

35. Wilkenson, Doxey, "Quality Integrated Education", IRCD Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 4, September, 1965.

SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

Prepared by
D.H. Jaquith, President, Syracuse Board of Education
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

Syracuse is a reasonably typical, moderate-sized city. The public school system has about 31,000 children, about 18% of whom are non-white. The proportion of non-white children has been increasing about one percentage point per year and presumably will continue to increase on this basis for the years immediately ahead. There are 32 elementary schools, 7 Junior High Schools, and 4 Senior High Schools. There is a seven-member School Board, which serves without pay, and is elected bi-annually on a city-wide basis for overlapping four-year terms; the nominations are made by the political parties.

Although the Syracuse School system has not solved the problem of racial balance, the School Board has been exercising some

leadership in this area. This is quite an important fact, for I am convinced that School Board leadership is essential if very much is going to be accomplished in this or any other highly controversial area. A School Superintendent, however able, dedicated, and persuasive he may be, simply cannot do it by himself.

Not all the efforts in Syracuse to assure quality-integrated education for all children have been successful, and some of the things which apparently have been helpful may have been the result of good luck rather than good planning or good leadership. But in recent years, our typical School Board member has been willing to put in a significant amount of time and effort to carry out his educational responsibilities. I would guess that individual Board members have averaged fifteen to twenty hours a week in this connection. Fortunately the Board reflects a reasonable cross-section of the city, including individuals who have membership in or close connection with the so-called business and political power structure. The present Board includes one Negro, a former President of the local NAACP Chapter. Given the exploratory nature of many of our efforts, these factors have been a help.

Five years ago Syracuse had two elementary schools and one Junior High School with a predominantly non-white student population. When the question of _de facto_ segregation first arose, the Board's position was that the school system had not caused segregation and therefore had no responsibility to do anything about it. Although in 1962 the Board did vote, over my objections, to consider race as

an additional factor in the drawing of school boundaries, nevertheless our major efforts were first directed toward what is commonly known as compensatory education. When the New York State Commissioner of Education issued his 1963 directive to New York State School Boards to the effect that any school which was more than 50% non-white was, *per se*, inferior, and that every School Board with such a school must submit a program or plan to eliminate racial imbalance, my initial reaction was that this directive was ill-considered, illogical, and -- I hoped -- illegal.

Beginning in September, 1962, we had what I believe was a well-conceived, well-staffed and well-financed program of compensatory education in the three predominantly non-white schools. We did most all of the things normally done - small classes, special instructional materials, extra guidance counselors, remedial specialists - you name it and we had it. Two-thirds of the extra costs involved were picked up either by the Ford Foundation, or by a special New York State grant. The initial program commitment was for a three-year period. The Board became increasingly concerned toward the end of the period when, in spite of all the money which had been spent and the effort put forth, we couldn't demonstrate any significant or even measurable improvement in educational achievement. I don't think anyone expected a three-year miracle, but I, for one, thought that there ought to be some measureable improvement in reading ability or other comparable areas. Thus, when the Superintendent proposed that we transfer and bus 80-odd first, second, and third grade non-white stu-

dents to a high-achieving white school, such transfer was promptly approved by the Board, although it was clearly opposed by a majority of the community. Individual Board members simply did not believe that these few young, non-white children would have any major adverse impact on an 1100-pupil, all-white school - and if we couldn't demonstrate that what we had been doing in the prior years was having much educational impact, it was surely time to try something else. For this program we had the misfortune to get a Federal grant to study the integration process. The net result of the Federal grant was that we had so-called observers sitting in the classrooms and psychologists running around the halls talking with teachers, pupils and parents. This created such an abnormal situation that we really didn't find out much about integration under what would be normal conditions.

Simultaneously, for reasons not solely connected with integration, we transferred thirty Junior High School pupils from the predominantly non-white Junior High School to a predominantly white, high-achieving school. My own conversion from negative to positive on racial balance resulted from this second transfer, because it shortly became obvious to all concerned that most of the thirty students so transferred had a significant, and in several cases, a dramatic improvement in their levels of educational achievement. Because these children as a group were doing so much better than they had in prior years, each one was interviewed by the staff of our compensatory project and was asked essentially the same question: "Last

year you were in a small class, with many special services, and still you didn't do very well. Now you're in another school, with no one paying any special attention to you and you're doing much better. How come?" The answers boiled down to this. The kids said that if, in the predominantly non-white Junior High School, they cooperated with the teacher and did their homework, they were regarded by their classmates as "kooks". In their present school if they didn't cooperate with the teacher and do their homework they were regarded by their classmates as "kooks". To put it in academic terms, our compensatory education program apparently had not been successful in creating an achievement-motivated classroom environment. In the high-achieving white school, the favorable environment already existed, and most of the children responded to the environment and "caught" motivation from the other pupils. As a result of this experience the Board was receptive to the Superintendent's subsequent suggestion that we close two of our three predominantly non-white schools and disperse these children by busing around the city to available seats in existing classrooms, with not more than three or four assigned to any single class.

Individual Board members and the Superintendent and his staff spent untold hours in meetings with all kinds of groups in advance of Board action on this recommendation. At the time the question came to a vote, the Board had on hand resolutions of support

for the recommendation from such organizations as the Chamber of Commerce, the Syracuse Teachers Association, the Metropolitan Development Association (probably our most potent civic organization), the Urban League, the NAACP, the Parent-Teachers Association, the Council of Churches, the local Taxpayer's Association, and many more. Thus there was very substantial broadly-based support for our first really major step toward integrated education, although I must stress that this favorable climate came into being because of special effort by the Superintendent, the staff, and individual Board members. The program had been well-publicized, well-explained, well-justified, and under these circumstances it was not difficult for individual Board members to approve it.

This out-busing program brought no particular problems - no drop-off in achievement levels in the receiving schools, no drastic increase in discipline problems, no flight of people from the city. On the other hand, there was some statistically significant improvement in achievement levels in reading achievement for a randomly selected group of the transferred children, matched against a control group in our one remaining predominantly non-white school. As a matter of fact, the advancement in reading achievement for the transferred pupils in the next school year was about double that of the control group. At this point both the Superintendent and the Board thought the solution to our racial balance problem was in sight. The Superintendent recommended that we close our one remaining predominantly non-white school over the next few years as classroom space could be

provided elsewhere, and thus eliminate _de facto_ segregation by a system of out-busing. This proposal brought little or no resistance from the white community. However, there was an immediate reaction from the Negro community. It was said that out-busing alone was unfair - that busing was a burden and it should not be borne solely or primarily by the Negro students, who certainly had not caused segregation. The Negro demand was for cross-busing - the transfer of an equivalent number of white students into the predominantly Negro school. This was the only issue I can remember in the past seven or eight years on which the Negro community was absolutely united. When it become apparent that his proposal could be carried out only by completely alienating the Negro community, the Superintendent either changed his mind or saw that the Board would not approve, and he withdrew the recommendation. We had reached an impasse, since any form of compulsory cross-busing also seemed unacceptable to the white community.

With the out-busing solution dead, the Superintendent worked through the Council of Churches and the corresponding Catholic and Jewish organizations to set up a "voluntary" program of cross-busing. Personally, I never had the slightest degree of optimism that the clergy would have any effective influence with parents on this subject, and endeavored to persuade the Superintendent not to make the proposal at all, since it would not be accepted and we would be worse off than before. We were looking for 700 volunteers and actually got less than fifty. When this plan failed, the Board came under significant press-

ure from the Negro community who felt there was reason to question the good faith of the Superintendent and the Board. In effect, the Negro community wanted us to use compulsion on the white community to bring about integration - after all, we had closed two non-white schools and "compelled" the non-white students to attend other schools. Communication between the Board and the non-white community disintegrated. We had about six months of no dialogue and no progress.

After some months of inactivity, we got underway again last spring. In the first place, the Board adopted a new policy statement regarding racial balance, setting goals much more stringent than those which earlier had been imposed by the State Education Department. In effect, the Board declared its intent to work toward racial balance in each school, and defined racial balance as a percentage of non-white students not less than 50% nor more than 150% of the city-wide average for the grade level. In other words, if the city-wide average in elementary schools were about 20% non-white - and this is approximately the situation - we would consider any individual elementary school racially imbalanced if it had more than 30% or less than 10% non-white students. As of last spring, when the policy was adopted, we had one predominantly non-white elementary school, and four more elementary schools where the percent non-white was around 50%; there were seven or eight elementary schools that were imbalanced because there were too few non-white students. Of our secondary schools, none was imbalanced because of too many non-whites, but several were imbalanced because of too few.

The program recommended by the Superintendent to bring about this racial balance has two short-run facets already approved by the Board and one long-run proposal still under discussion. One of the short-run proposals was a system of controlled registration, whereby we propose to assign some non-white students who were new to any neighborhood to schools in a manner which would promote racial balance. Any non-white student already living in a neighborhood would be permitted to attend his neighborhood school, but new arrivals in the neighborhood might be assigned to other schools - and bused - in the interests of racial balance. This compulsory reassignment applied to non-white students only - but even for them was effective only for the current school year - any child so assigned to a school other than the normal neighborhood school had the option of returning to his neighborhood school for the next school year if he so desired, but it is our hope that most of the students affected by the program will graduate from the schools in which they are placed. The Negro community is less than enthusiastic about this aspect of the program, because it does use one year compulsion on some non-white students which is not applied equally to white students. In effect, we are asking some non-white students to carry the burden of this program; of course, it almost certainly will operate to their individual benefit. I should add that the same program includes a provision for voluntary transfers, with transportation provided, which contribute to racial balance, but the Board has had a voluntary transfer policy in effect for many years and in Syracuse this has not and probably never will

contribute appreciably to the solution of the racial balance problem.

The second interim step is the conversion over the next three years of the predominantly non-white school to an integrated "excel" school for gifted children. In this school this fall we have made provision for 210 students, with "excel" programs in language, science and mathematics which are not available elsewhere in the city and to which children may come by application or invitation only. Within thirty days after the announcement of the program we had almost 400 applicat ons for the initial 210 spaces - obviously attracted by what will be an outstanding educational program. With white students coming voluntarily into the school we were successful, through the efforts of some persons in the Negro community and some of our own staff, in securing enough volunteers out to provide classroom space for the "excel" program. Unless there are some unforeseen difficulties, we expect the number of students in the program to at least double next year, and think the entire school will be converted the following year.

On the basis of the present programs it is probable that in September, 1968, no school will be more than 50% non-white; I think we could hold this level for several years ahead on the basis of present programs and policies alone. However, the ultimate achievement of racial balance in each school in the city probably depends on the implementation of a plan for elementary school construction in a campus plan - the development of an elementary school complex or complexes,

each serving 4,000 to 5,000 students. Each complex would consist of six to ten individual classroom buildings, each administratively a separate school, and each connected to a core building housing the expensive facilities such as auditoriums, cafeterias, physical education stations, health rooms, art rooms, language labs, science labs, etc. A detailed plan for the first such facility has been prepared and presumably will be recommended by the Superintendent for adoption by the School Board in the immediate future. Once again there will be a major attempt on the part of the Superintendent, the staff, and individual Board members to explain the program to the total community and to see that all questions are considered and, insofar as possible, satisfactorily answered. Hopefully, the same kind of organizational support for the program will be generated as was generated for the closing of two inner-city schools two and one-half years ago.

The campus schools can provide facilities and programs which could not conceivably be afforded in small, geographically dispersed, elementary schools; I think we will be able to demonstrate that such a facility could have elementary educational programs far superior to anything now available in Syracuse, or, for that matter, in our suburbs, and at roughly equivalent per-pupil operating costs. Syracuse does have the fiscal ability to proceed promptly with the initial campus; although our detailed planning for this complex and program was supported in part by foundation and federal grants. We may secure some special assistance from the same sources toward the con-

struction costs for the first campus. Our school system is fiscally dependent in the sense that for operating and construction funds the school system is just another department of the city. Syracuse has an able and progressive Mayor, however, and the establishment of a special office to study the campus plan and to prepare specific construction and program recommendations was announced jointly by the Mayor, the Common Council, the Superintendent, and the School Board.

Once we have the first campus site in full operation -- hopefully within three years -- our problem of racial balance will have been solved. There will be so many children bused that busing will no longer be looked upon as a problem. Incidentally, in New York State the State reimburses local school districts for 90% of most busing costs. We will have the ability to control racial balance by selecting the children who attend each individual campus school, or in some cases, who will fill spaces in other schools which will have been vacated because some of those children go to the campus schools. Indeed, it is likely that our major problem will be that we will have more parents who want their children to have the advantage of the campus program than can be accommodated on the initial campus.

Syracuse has not yet solved its problem. We do have a substantial degree of School Board community commitment to quality-integrated education. This was a commitment reached, at least on my part, somewhat reluctantly. Most of our community now recognizes that either we must find some effective method of educating disadvantaged chil-

dren or we're going to support them for the rest of their lives - and education, whatever it costs, is cheaper. We still have in Syracuse a few articulate advocates of compensatory education instead of integration. I don't think anyone can say with assurance that compensatory education cannot be made to work; but we could not make it work in Syracuse at any reasonable cost, and I don't know that it is working outstandingly well in any other urban area.

The only feasible approach is to work toward integration in a manner which "protects" the achievement levels of white students - since the white community will not stand by for any averaging down, nor should they. Time is critical, since the non-white community will not tolerate the continuation of the "second-class" educational environment now existing for many of their children, nor should they. I can visualize for Syracuse a system of quality-integrated education which we can afford, and which will be acceptable to all but a few of the "lunatic fringe" on both ends of the spectrum. At least for Syracuse the problem is solvable, although solutions to these kinds of difficult problems are never easy, and require a high degree of effort on the part of those responsible. Furthermore, any solution must be acceptable to and supported by the total community - and such acceptance and support are obtainable only if the School Board and staff provide the kind of leadership which both informs the community and inspires confidence in the programs and policies proposed. The real challenge to School Boards and School Staffs is to provide such leadership.

WHITE PLAINS RACIAL BALANCE PLAN

Prepared by
Carroll F. Johnson, Superintendent of Schools
White Plains, New York
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

White Plains, the County Seat of Westchester County in New York, is a suburban city with a population of approximately 55,000, and a kindergarten through 12th grade public school enrollment of 8,700. Seventeen percent of all pupils are Negro and most Negro students are children of economically disadvantaged families living in the center of the city.

In 1964 we closed a predominantly Negro elementary school located in the heart of the city and began transporting most of its pupils to predominantly white elementary schools in outlying residential areas. Assignments were made under a Racial Balance Policy adopted by the Board of Education on April 16, 1964. Under that policy, the Negro enrollment in each school must be within a range of

approximately 10 percent minimum to approximately 30 percent maximum.

Our comprehensive senior high school already was integrated by virtue of being the only senior high school in the city. To maintain the prescribed Racial Balance in our three junior high schools, it was necessary to make only minor adjustments in some existing attendance areas.

Racial balance was achieved in the White Plains public schools without demonstrations or representations from Civil Rights groups: we acted before the crisis stage.

The goals we established as a framework for our Racial Balance Plan were: 1. To maintain the neighborhood school for as many children as possible; 2. To keep change to a minimum, for both white and Negro pupils; 3. To provide an equitable distribution of Negro pupils among all schools; 4. To insure both permanence and flexibility in implementing the Racial Balance Policy.

In closing Rochambeau, the center city school where Negroes constituted 67 percent of the 500-pupil enrollment, it was necessary to redraw attendance lines for the other 10 elementary schools and to reassign 20 percent of our elementary pupils. In some instances reassignment meant that a pupil was only a few blocks farther away from school and could still walk to school each day. Children who were assigned to schools more than one and one-half miles from home were transported by school bus. The new transportation policy -- we previously had no school bus service -- involved busing for one of every 10 elementary pupils. However, no student travels more than four miles from home to school.

Rochambeau School was converted to an adult education and Manpower Development Training Center and thus has retained its function as a neighborhood facility while becoming a focal point of citywide educational activity.

The road to full integration of the White Plains schools was long and never smooth. The closing of Rochambeau actually culminated the efforts of many years to prevent de facto segregation from developing in our public schools. In the end, the best solution was the one we chose. Residential housing patterns and the concentration of urban renewal and low-income housing projects in the center of the city made it impossible to integrate our schools without an explicit balance policy coupled with busing of students.

Though the Board of Education and the school administration had been struggling with this problem since 1957, I do not believe that we could have solved it even one year sooner than we did. "There is a tide in the affairs of men which taken at the flood leads on to fortune." We were able to close Rochambeau when we did in 1964 because the national climate for abolishing de facto segregation had become sufficiently plain to the residents of White Plains. They saw the handwriting on the wall. They also had witnessed the earlier attempts of Board and administration to solve the problem of piecemeal reassignments, periodic adjustment of attendance lines and construction of new schools. It was evident that everything had been done -- short of providing transportation for racial balance.

It was also our good fortune that we had only to deal with a minority group enrollment of 17 percent.

Most relevant to our success was the fact that we _could_ balance racial percentages in our schools without removing white children from predominantly white schools and reassigning them to predominantly "Negro" facilities. The truth is that cross-busing would have presented major difficulties and might in the end have been rejected. Our residents are characteristically fair and their educational background is above-average. They wish for the most part to provide equal opportunity for all children -- even at some inconvenience to themselves. But I do not believe that they would have willingly sent their own children into center city schools to leaven the lot of disadvantaged pupils there.

We in White Plains take pride in the effectiveness of our Racial Balance Policy and in the community pride it has engendered. But we would not cite our plan as a blueprint for other communities. In many of our larger cities, only concerted action by all municipal agencies can possibly diminish _de facto_ segregation in the schools. _Nowhere_ can the schools alone effectively stop the tide of deprivation and discrimination. But we believe that the schools should and must do all that they can -- supply leadership, take initiative, face facts realistically, and accept their share of responsibility, recognizing that racial segregation, no matter what its cause, is harmful to minority and majority alike.

Although each community has cut its pattern of school integration to fit the community's peculiar socio-economic and geographic cloth, certain aspects of our White Plains experience may be applicable to other situations.

In retrospect, many of the steps we took were well advised and have been productive. In retrospect, we also see that we failed to do some things, and in some instances did things which we might better have left undone!

To put this retrospective wisdom in its proper context, it is first necessary to give you a brief chronology of our fight against the encroaching tide of *de facto* segregation.

Racial balance is not a recent concern in White Plains. Since World War II the number of minority group families has steadily increased, and the proportion of Negro pupils in the older schools of the city has increased more substantially. Various preventive measures were devised to counteract city housing patterns which were creating ghetto schools. We drew and redrew attendance areas. We chose school sites with integration in mind; the mid-nineteen fifties decision to build a single senior high for the entire city was largely dictated by the determination that segregation by color, economics, or social or academic status must never be an indirect result of Board of Education policy.

In planning for a new high school, the Board of Education considered numerous locations but it was apparent that two high schools would lead sooner or later to segregation -- no matter where a second high school might be located. Therefore, an all-city senior high was constructed and the former high school was converted into a combination elementary school and junior high school. The new senior high opened in 1960 and elementary and junior high attendance areas were rezoned at that time. The Post Road School, formerly a junior high, became an

elementary school at the same time the old high school was converted to junior high and elementary use. These changes established a much better racial balance among the junior high schools, which had come close to becoming predominantly white in one case and heavily Negro in another.

In 1957 the old Ferris Avenue Elementary School, which had maintained predominantly Negro enrollment was abandoned. Church Street School, a new elementary facility was opened and the Church Street attendance area drew from both center city and adjoining white residential neighborhoods to achieve a balanced enrollment. The Ferris Avenue School, before it was closed, had a Negro enrollment of 67 percent, whereas the percentage was reduced to 25 in the new Church Street School.

The real problem, however, was in the heart of the city where low income apartments in the urban renewal area were turning the schools into ghetto facilities. Attendance lines for the Rochambeau School were redrawn in 1960, reducing Negro enrollment from 57 to 46 percent. But the percentage was up to 53 by the following September, rose to 60 by 1963 and was up to 64 percent by mid-February of 1964 as new Negro families moved into the new high-rise housing facilities.

It was at this juncture that the Board of Education decided the time had come to seek a permanent solution. Although the mechanics of the plan we devised are directly related to the unique characteristics of our city, some aspects of the strategy through which we achieved school integration may be generally applicable.

A factor of major importance was the total commitment of the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools. This commitment

is an absolute prerequisite. As details of the integration plan evolved, we also received the unanimous endorsement of the Administrative-Supervisory Staff, composed of all principals and supervisors in the city school system.

The PTA, which earlier had fought for scattered housing as opposed to low income apartment projects concentrated in the center city, also was a mainstay. The citywide PTA Council endorsed the racial balance plan not only on paper but, more important, vocally and visibly at all important public meetings on the subject. This PTA support lent the appearance of the extensive community support and prevented small groups of articulate opponents from upstaging the Board in public meetings and in newspaper accounts. I cannot emphasize too vigorously the importance of having an articulate, organized PTA play an active, highly visible role in the support of a step so potentially controversial.

Time for citizen education is another crucial element in the success or failure of such plans. The White Plains Board of Education and members of the administrative staff had met at intervals over a period of several years with citizens interested in school integration. During the winter and spring of 1963-64, when the Board was moving toward adoption of the Racial Balance Plan, these meetings were stepped up and were focused directly on specific solutions to the problem of racial imbalance in time for the opening of school in September of 1964. We met frequently with parents in the attendance area of Rochambeau School. We obtained consultants to work with us in connection with these meetings. After details of the balance plan were completed, the Board held its first meeting with representatives of all community organizations.

Attendance was by invitation, thus underlining the importance of the event, and of the "official" status of delegates sent by the various civic groups. Many meetings throughout the city followed.

Still another, and most important tactic, was keeping the press informed on a background basis as the plan evolved. The resultant news and feature coverage, and editorial support for the plan, were of inestimable value in gaining community acceptance.

To a lesser extent we involved the classroom teachers through the White Plains Teachers Association. The Association's executive board endorsed the plan and later appeared as *amicus curiae* when a group of six parents went to court in an effort to block integration.

We believe now, however, that we should have involved our teachers to a greater extent and in depth early in 1963-64 when we were still working out the details of our Racial Balance Plans. With the wisdom of hindsight, we would have established a joint teacher-administration committee to consider a kindergarten through 12th grade approach to human relations, grouping, discipline, and other problems which inevitably arise when any dramatic change is made in the human "mix" of a classroom or school building. There is no doubt in my mind that the three transitional years we have just undergone would have been even smoother had we more fully utilized the tremendous resources of our entire professional staff during the planning stages.

Even without advance involvement, the support and dedication of our teaching staff has been most impressive. In a confidential survey in June of 1965, at the end of the first year of racial balance,

89.5 percent of the teachers who answered survey questionnaires indicated approval of the plan and said it should be continued. Only six of the respondents indicated outright dissatisfaction. The continuing interest of all teachers has enabled us to make substantial progress since then in making integration a human success as well as a physical achievement.

This spring, the White Plains Teachers Association formed an equal educational opportunities committee, and the work of this group has been exceptional, indeed. The committee surveyed the entire professional staff to determine positive and negative aspects of integration and to ascertain how the teachers themselves think we can improve educational opportunity for ALL children -- white and Negro, privileged and underpriviliged.

This group's first report was presented in June to the Administrative-Supervisory Staff, setting forth guidelines for an in-service program in human relations, child development, and community resources, and pinpointing areas of professional concern. As a result, we shall be studying cross-grade grouping at the elementary level, a redefinition of the role of Helping Teacher, ways to maximize the use of supportive services provided by the school psychologist and guidance counselor, and audio-visual materials which could be incorporated in the various subject areas in order to promote interracial understanding.

As I have said, we in White Plains would be the last to claim full and complete success of our School Racial Balance Plan. What we have to tell is not a success story, achieved by some overnight magic, but a heartening story of solid progress -- socially and academically. We believe that we're on the right track, we believe the community is

better for having supported the schools in the step we took in the fall of 1964, and we can see at the end of this third year benefits to all pupils, white and Negro.

We are now in the midst of analyzing four-year achievement test scores, the teacher questionnaires administered this spring by the Equal Educational Opportunities Committee and parent questionnaires sent in March to a random sampling of the families listed in our school registration rolls. These data will form the basis for a full evaluation report on a racial balance plan. The report will be presented to the Board of Education and made public so that all residents may better understand both the problems we have encountered and the progress we have made in connection with school racial balance in White Plains.

A preliminary evaluation of the data indicates that the integration of our elementary schools has not impeded the academic progress of white children who were enrolled in all-white or mostly white schools prior to the plan, and that Negro youngsters who changed from a predominantly Negro elementary school in the center city to outlying elementary schools are making satisfactory peer group adjustments and are showing academic gains.

Preliminary findings on the basis of teacher and parent questionnaires indicate support for the racial balance plan by the majority of respondents. These questionnaires also reflect certain problems of adjustment associated with the integration plan. These include, on the part of teachers, emphasis on the need for reasonable class size and adequate supportive services, such as clerical services

and the assistance of school psychologists, social workers and home-school counselors. Negro parents have been concerned about the adjustment of the children to "new" schools, as any parent is when his child is transferred to a different setting. PTA units have been concerned about the difficulty of getting large numbers of center city parents to attend PTA meetings in the outlying elementary schools, and some PTA units and principals have conducted kaffee klatches in center city homes, or planned special meetings of particular interest in the schools, to draw Negro parents into fuller participation in and closer identification with the schools.

We who work in the classrooms and school offices each day have already observed many salutary results of the balance plan. We have seen individual pupils blossom academically and become more useful, productive students. We have noted with great satisfaction a definite change in attitudes, self-confidence, self-respect and ambition. We also have learned that we must give special attention to helping economically privileged children understand children from severely disadvantaged homes, and vice versa. Encouraging the development of mutual interests -- getting these youngsters to accept each other naturally and without self-consciousness - has been a continuing concern of the faculties in the newly integrated buildings. Substantial progress is evident. In the first weeks of the Racial Balance Plan, during the fall of 1964, the children who came to school in buses from the center city tended to stick together as a group on the playgrounds, in the cafeteria, and in class. But as the newcomers became adjusted to their new environments, and the children who had

already been in those schools became adjusted to the newcomers, the situation slowly changed. Now, three years later, there is less evidence of "cliques" based on color or socio-economic backgrounds.

We know, furthermore, that the racial balance plan has given impetus, along with Head Start, Project Able and other special programs, to the development of better teaching techniques, the acquisition of new and effective instructional materials, and the increasing individualization of instruction. That the community has also grown in its recognition of educational needs is evidenced by the passage of the tax limitation referendum on May 2. The limitation had been 1.5 percent of the five-year-average full value since 1952, and two previous referenda (in the spring and winter of 1963) failed to receive the 60 percent vote needed to increase the limit to 1.75 percent. This year, we received an affirmative vote of 67.8% establishing the new limitation. We consider this referendum success major evidence of community confidence in the public schools.

We believe the community takes rather substantial pride in a school board which had the courage to integrate its schools <u>before</u> any civil rights crises developed.

BUSINESS INVOLVEMENT IN GREATER HARTFORD'S EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENT

Prepared by
Harlan C. Judd, Manager, Community Services Department
Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce
and
James F. English, Jr., President
The Connecticut Bank and Trust Company, Hartford, Connecticut
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

More than a decade ago Greater Hartford's business community committed itself to the physical rehabilitation of the region's core city, then rapidly succumbing to cancerous blight, congestion and decay.

Today the region's business and professional leaders are equally committed to a comprehensive attack on the region's social ills.

Mark of an early success in the physical rehabilitation program -- which is still continuing -- is Constitution Plaza, one of the nation's eminently successful urban renewal projects.

Victories in the campaign against the region's social ills are not so immediately evident as Constitution Plaza, but they do exist. The launching of Project Concern -- the busing of 265 children from Hartford's predominantly Negro section to schools in five suburban towns -- that started in the fall of 1966 is definitely one of them.

Commitment to the physical rehabilitation of the core city sprang from the business community's realization that their heavy financial stake in the well-being of the community was endangered by deterioration in the heart of the region.

As the beauty of Constitution Plaza replaced the ugliness of one of New England's worst downtown slums, business leaders rapidly came to recognize -- if they did not already -- that reconstruction of the City demanded not only new buildings but new approaches to the social and cultural needs of its people.

They perceived that social blight at the center of the Greater Hartford region would be as much a deterrent to the future progress and prosperity of the region as physical blight.

Moreover, beyond the desire to attack the inhibiting influence of the City's social blight on their balance sheets, there were business and industrial leaders who expressed the attitude, "We should do it because it's right".

Hartford's social problems are common to many American cities today. During the 1940's the Negro population rose from about 7,500 to about 12,500, while the City's total population increased from 166,300 to 177,400. During the next decade, the Negro population doubled while the total population decreased by 15,000.

Since 1960, while the total population within the City has held steady at about 162,000 to 163,000, the Negro population has risen to over 30,000.

Meanwhile, there has been a substantial exodus of white collar workers and executives to the suburbs. Approximately 90,000 people

moved out of Hartford during the 1950-60 decade. The people who have moved into the City have included many from rural areas of the South, and from Puerto Rico -- poorly educated, unskilled and unused to urban living.

Despite the drop in the City's population between 1950 and 1960 enrollment in its public schools rose from 19,443 to 23,148; by 1966 it was 26,458.

Of this number 42.5 percent were Negro, 9.5 percent Puerto Rican, and 47.7 percent white. In the high schools, the percentages were 35.1 Negro, 4.8 Puerto Rican and 59.8 white but in the elementary schools 44.7 Negro, 10.9 Puerto Rican, and only 44.1 white!

These figures provide one profile of the changing population of the core city. Another is the increase of general family assistance welfare payments by the City, from $1,325,000 in 1951 to more than $2 million last year. Taking all types of state and local welfare assistance into account, about 15 percent of Hartford's entire population was dependent in whole or in part on welfare payments, as against 3 percent for the State as a whole.

A hard core of unemployed and under-employed men and women is known to exist, although their numbers are difficult to determine, during a period in which the Greater Hartford economy has enjoyed unprecedented growth and general prosperity.

All these factors are of concern to the business community; it recognizes that the City of Hartford is not competing with its suburbs for its future prosperity and development, nor the suburbs with

each other. It is the Greater Hartford region as a whole that is in stiff competition with other rapidly developing regions of the nation for people, business, and industry.

To examine the problems of the region and to determine what could be done to meet them on a regional basis, the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce in 1964 sponsored a conference of the region's business, professional, governmental, political, educational and ethnic leaders.

Called the Town Meeting for Tomorrow, Greater Hartford's Conference on Metropolitan Cooperation and Development attracted 565 men and women; they spent three days in concentrated study and discussion of the region's problems and challenges. Their deliberations were preceded by extensive research by a specially organized team of political and social scientists. Their reports were widely publicized in advance of the conference, and most of the delegates did their homework before the meeting. At its conclusion delegates agreed that "a major inhibiting factor in the development of the region is the complex of social and economic problems in the core city, especially among the non-white population".

The Town Meeting delegates further agreed that "these problems, specifically, are housing, education, employment, and that they are inter-connected and self-perpetuating unless they are attacked on a broad basis with all the talents and resources our region possesses".

The Town Meeting for Tomorrow helped to crystallize a regional concern for the region's problems and a determination to attack them on a regional basis.

Meanwhile, Hartford's schools were steadily becoming more and more overcrowded. Moreover, many of the school buildings were long since obsolete. Virtually everyone was agreed that something had to be done about the City's schools, but Hartford's Board of Education and the Common Council, the city's legislative body, had arrived at an impasse on exactly what should be done.

To resolve the difficulty, the business community, through the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce, urged that a competent third party be brought in to study the school situation and make recommendations for action.

As a result a team from the Harvard Graduate School of Education was retained by the Board of Education and Common Council. Their report in the summer of 1965 included several far-reaching proposals, including adoption of the "middle school" principle of organizing the schools, and a massive program of busing children from Hartford's poverty areas to classrooms in surrounding towns.

The Chamber's Education Committee, under the chairmanship of Sterling T. Tooker, President of The Travelers Insurance Company, conducted a searching examination of the Harvard report, meeting with representatives of the Harvard study team, representatives of the boards of education and school administrators of Hartford and its suburbs, and of the permanent Regional Advisory Committee, a citizen group established at the urging of the Town Meeting for Tomorrow. As a result of this activity, and as one follow-up to the Town Meeting for Tomorrow, the Chamber formally adopted in January of 1966 a coordinated program calling for prompt and effective action in the related fields of housing, employment and education.

In the education section of this program, called "Operation Go", the Chamber called for the launching, on a voluntary basis, in the fall of 1966 of a pilot busing program to involve about 400 students.

In urging the Chamber's Board of Directors to adopt the policies and projects outlined in "Operation Go", Mr. Tooker declared:

> "I have been asked to identify the problem before you today but I'm sure this is really not necessary. I am sure you are as familiar with the problem as I am. It might be classified as the problem of every urban community in the United States today. Or, it might be called a problem of social justice."
>
> "This Board and this Chamber, for several years, have been expanding their horizons beyond those originally contemplated by the typical chamber of commerce. Many years ago, we committed ourselves to a broadened horizon beyond the question of simply the downtown business community and, I think, in the process you gentlemen, as well as the many members and committees which are working in this Chamber, have all made the commitment to the totality of the region ... and this was demonstrated in the Town Meeting for Tomorrow."
>
> "It is clear that this Board and the business community have identified the problem as one of totality, of this region's ability to compete effectively with all similar regions in the United States. And we have committed ourselves to the total social, economic and political vigor of this community, so our problem is simply an extension of what has gone on here in the past."

Mr. Tooker further declared:

> "I think it is clear that the problems that beset us here have come about by a variety of circumstances; principally because of the mobility of our people and specifically, people moving from a rural society to an urban society for which they have been ill-equipped; in addition, by people moving out of urban areas, leaving them to decay, and further, because of technological change, divisiveness within and between local governmental officials and community leaders, as well as numerous other reasons."
>
> "I think, if you believe as I do, that the future economic well-being of this region is dependent on regional cooperation and action, then you must also believe that we must go forward toward this goal and try specific regional programs even if we make mistakes in the process."

"...If you believe that the core city's problems are indeed regional problems;

"...If you believe that how people live day in and day out is important;

"...If you believe that the decisions being made in the fields of housing, education and employment in the city and in the region within the next year may well affect the future of this region and its people for the next fifty years;

"...If you believe that technological progress and change must be accompanied by major innovations in the social area or else technological progress and change will be largely unproductive;

"...If you believe that the business community cannot be shown to be weak in one area, such as housing or education or in employment opportunities, without being assumed to be weak elsewhere;

"...If you believe that business community leadership in housing, education and employment is inescapable, is indivisible and is without practical substitute -- then I suggest you have only one course of action -- to move for the adoption of this report and to do so NOW! "

Of the educational recommendations, including the busing proposal, Mr. Tooker said:

"We are businessmen -- not professional educators. We are not competent to determine what is the best educational system but ...

"...we can say that Hartford can afford and demands nothing less than excellence;

"...we can say education should be decently housed;

"...we can say that community colleges should be regional;

"...we can say that segregated education is inadequate preparation for citizenship;

"...we can say that the region has a responsibility to the people of the core city and vice versa..."

The Chamber Board of Directors voted unanimously to adopt "Operation Go".

William J. Sanders, Connecticut's Commissioner of Education, believed that a program of busing significant numbers of city children to suburban schools could be sold to the Greater Hartford community. He developed specific proposals for such a program, to be supported by State and Federal funds, and with members of his staff began work with representatives of the Hartford and suburban town educational systems to put the program into effect.

On recommendation of the Chamber's Education Committee the Board of Directors unanimously reiterated its support of the busing program. Chamber officers and committee members appeared at public hearings in their home towns to endorse the proposal, both on behalf of the Chamber and as voting residents of their towns. The Chamber's support for the program was expressed in official letters to the members of the boards of education and town officials.

Over the signature of Howard A. Moreen, Senior Vice President and Secretary, Aetna Life & Casualty, then chairman of the Chamber, and with a copy of "Operation Go" enclosed, the letter called particular attention to the community leadership represented in the listed roster of committees which had developed the Chamber's policies and recommendations.

It declared:

> "In the course of our committees' discussions...most, if not all, of the legitimate questions about the possible effects -- on the school systems, on both city and suburban students and their parents -- were raised and thoughtfully considered."

"It was recognized that busing students from the city to the suburbs would obviously not be a panacea for the extremely complex problems which the City of Hartford and the suburban municipalities of the Greater Hartford region face in common as an economic and social entity."

"In recognition of this, the City of Hartford, for its own part, is now embarked on one of the largest and most comprehensive school building programs, tied in with a major curriculum revision and efforts toward racial integration within the city, that any comparable American city has ever undertaken. Moreover, the housing and employment opportunities aspects of the problem are being attacked wholeheartedly by the leaders of the community. Our educational systems obviously cannot solve the problems alone."

"Nevertheless, an experimental busing program was sincerely advanced as one of several steps that are immediately possible as part of a concerted campaign to help solve one of the most critical problems that hinders the forward progress not merely of one segment of Greater Hartford's population but of all the people of the entire region."

"Until the State Department of Education came forward with its experimental busing offer to be cooperatively financed by federal, state and City of Hartford funds, there was no specific program for the suburban towns and the City of Hartford to try out. Now there is, and we earnestly hope that you and the citizens of your community will give it your favorable consideration."

"We strongly believe that the experimental program deserves nothing less than a fair and carefully evaluated trial..."

"If a substantial number of towns in the Greater Hartford region which have room for a few children should offer to participate in launching the experiment this fall, we think it would be additional evidence that the vast majority of the people of Greater Hartford do recognize the broader aspects of their regional citizenship and are thoroughly imbued with the faith, courage and willingness to act promptly and decisively that is so urgently needed."

Members of the Chamber's Board of Directors were furnished with copies of the letter, together with a list of members of the boards of education of the suburban towns, indicating their places of employment or occupation, with the suggestion that the Chamber directors might wish to add a personal note to any of these local officials they happened to know.

Needless to say, the Chamber position was well and thoroughly publicized in all news media.

In addition to this type of public action, Chamber members, both volunteer and staff members, also held frank discussions of the pros and cons of the busing proposal in informal, person-to-person sessions with key officials and board of education members in the several suburban towns. They also worked with _ad hoc_ citizen committees that sprang up in several of the towns to support the program.

Every effort was made to line up support for the program from both major political parties and from every influential segment of the communities and to prevent its being turned into a partisan political issue.

The Chamber's action helped contribute toward the climate of acceptance that enabled the busing of the school children from Hartford's poverty areas to five suburban towns -- West Hartford, Farmington, Simsbury, Manchester and South Windsor -- to get underway last fall so smoothly that few residents of the region realized that a major revolution had been quietly accomplished.

During the 1967 session of the Connecticut's state legislature last spring, the Chamber strongly backed legislation which gave the program explicit statutory authority. Its support of this legislation was expressed in appearances at public hearings and in work with the State's political and legislative leaders.

Today Project Concern is one-year old. One town, Farmington, asked for and is getting 25 additional students. They have been enrolled in a new school that opened this fall, not so much for any

altruistic purpose of helping the City of Hartford in the solution of its problems but in order that Farmington might help educate its own students in the realities of the world in which they live. The Catholic Archdiocese of Hartford this fall opened its parochial schools in suburban towns to 50 students from Hartford poverty areas and provided them with tuition scholarships "as a manifestation of the Church's sense of responsibility".

Proposals are being formulated for the continuation and expansion of Project Concern beyond the two year experimental period for which it was instituted, because the record of the first year's operation has given strong indications that the experiment has been a success.

The region's business community, through the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce, is certain to support and actively work for this continuation and expansion, both within the five towns currently cooperating in the program and in other towns of the region. This is a significant mark of the entire region's commitment to the welfare of all its citizens.

DESEGREGATION OR INTEGRATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS? THE POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH

Prepared by
Irwin Katz, The University of Michigan
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

The dominant fact that emerges from the recent research endeavors of the U.S. Office of Education and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, is that educational opportunity is greater in racially balanced than in racially isolated schools. These historic studies show beyond any reasonable doubt that the academic attainments of both white and Negro pupils are significantly higher in majority-white classrooms than in majority-Negro classrooms.

There is continuing debate over what causal factors underlie this unequivocal finding.* Much of the discussion arises from the inability of the two federal documents (reports of large-scale survey data), to provide detailed information about the psychological processes

* Some writers even have maintained that racial composition of enrollments *per se* is not an important determinant of the obtained school differences in pupils' achievement.

that mediate superior learning in racially balanced environments. Such information can best be obtained from relatively small and intensive studies of children's reactions, in carefully controlled achievement situations.

The purpose of this paper is to bring relevant knowledge from such psychological research to bear on the issue of desegregation and its scholastic effects. It will be seen that racially balanced classrooms can generate both favorable and detrimental influences on the performance of minority-group students: the conditions promoting one or the other define the difference between mere physical desegregation and true racial integration.

THE COLEMAN AND COMMISSION REPORTS

I will begin by reviewing briefly the findings of the two Federal reports on the scholastic effects of racial balance and isolation. The survey of the U. S. Office of Education, executed by James Coleman and others in 1965, involved administration of questionnaires and objective tests to a fairly representative sample of about 650,000 pupils in over 4,000 public elementary and high schools throughout the Nation.[1] All teachers, principals, and district superintendents in these schools also participated. The report indicates that the achievement of both Negro and white pupils, when their family background characteristics are controlled statistically, is more closely related to the social class backgrounds of their classmates than to all objective school characteristics together (curriculum, expenditure per

pupil, physical facilities, size of classes, and so on) and to all teacher characteristics together (type of education, experience verbal ability, attitudes, and the like). In the upper grades the apparent influence of student body characteristics on individual achievement was two to three times greater for Negro pupils than for white pupils.

Given the close relationship between socio-economic status and race it is not surprising that as the proportion white in a school increased, Negro achievement rose, and that the effect was cumulative. The seeming impact of desegregation can be illustrated by comparing scores on reading comprehension for Negro high school students in the metropolitan North who never had a white classmate with scores of metropolitan northern Negroes with similar family backgrounds who attended racially mixed schools from the early grades. When figures from Table 3.3.2 of the Coleman report are consolidated, it is revealed that Negro ninth graders in predominantly white classes whose first interracial experience occurred in the primary grades had an average score of 48.2. This is about five points below the white norm for the same region, but less than two points below the national norm of 50. In contrast, Negro ninth-graders who had never had white classmates averaged 43.8--almost 10 points below the white regional norm. Thus it seems as though desegregation reduced the racial achievement gap by almost half. The results based on Negro twelfth-graders are similar to the foregoing findings for ninth-graders. In addition, the

data reveal considerably more variability in the test scores of Negroes in majority-white classrooms than of Negro children in classrooms with a smaller proportion of whites.

Due to the time pressures under which it was prepared, the Coleman report devoted relatively little attention to the effects of desegregation. Therefore, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights undertook to analyze more thoroughly portions of the Coleman data bearing upon this question, and to carry out new investigations as well.[2] The Commission was particularly interested in establishing whether the apparently favorable effects of desegregation on Negro scholastic achievement could be attributed at least in part to racial composition _per se_. Hence the following factors were controlled by means of cross-tabulations: (a) quality of educational services available; (b) academic ability and social-class background of classmates; and (c) academic ability and home backgrounds of the Negro students. Even with the influence of these three sets of factors neutralized to a large extent, the Commission found a consistent relationship between racial composition of the classroom and Negro test scores. The apparent benefits of desegregation were not linear; that is, Negroes in predominantly white classrooms scored higher on the average, but those in classrooms where Negroes constituted a majority did no better than pupils in all-Negro situations. As in the Coleman report, the beneficial effect of desegregated experiences appeared to be greatest for

Negro children whose biracial contacts began in the early grades. As regards white children, the achievement test scores of those in classes with some, but less than a majority of, Negroes, were just as high as the scores of children in all-white classes.

To sum up, the Federal data strongly suggest that (a) on average, children of both races, of all levels of ability, and from high and low social-class backgrounds learn best in schools with majority-white enrollments; and (b) racial contact in and of itself contributes importantly to the effect. Those who prepared the Civil Rights Commission's report were fully aware of the ideological implications of these findings. Elsewhere, Thomas Pettigrew, Chief Consultant of the Commission's study, has pointed out that Negroes can rightfully reject the implication that "white is right," that predominantly Negro schools cannot be "good schools."[3] Pettigrew referred to a statement by Commissioner Frankie Freeman of the Civil Rights Commission in which she addressed herself specifically to this issue:

> The question is not whether in theory or in the abstract Negro schools can be as good as white schools. In a society free from prejudice in which Negroes were full and equal participants, the answer would clearly be "Yes." But we are forced, rather, to ask the harder question, whether in our present society, where Negroes are a minority which has been discriminated against, Negro children can prepare themselves to participate effectively in society if they grow up and go to school in isolation from the majority group. We must also ask whether we can cure the disease of prejudice and prepare all children for life in a multiracial world if white children grow up and go to school in isolation from Negroes.

Why does satisfactory progress in school on the part of Negro children demand day-to-day contact with majority-group peers and adults? To answer the question, one must analyze the psychological dynamics of racially mixed and isolated learning environments. While the Coleman and Commission reports suggest that the conditions generally prevailing in northern desegregated classrooms are, on balance, favorable to Negro performance, it is important to recognize that these biracial situations can possess academically detrimental features as well. As mentioned earlier, the Coleman survey revealed considerably more variability of performance among Negroes in classrooms where Negro pupils were a majority. In its reanalysis of these Coleman data the Civil Rights Commission was able to relate between-school differences in Negro achievement and attitudes to the quality of interracial contacts, as measured by teachers' reports of interracial tension. In desegregated schools where most teachers reported no tension, Negro students were more proficient, college-oriented, and optimistic about being rewarded for their efforts.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF BIRACIAL LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

In order to clarify the behavioral effects of various types of biracial achievement situations I and some colleagues embarked several years ago on a program of experimental research that is still in progress.[5] Though most of the research has been done on college

students, the main findings have implications for younger age groups as well.

Our first discovery was that biracial situations can have notably detrimental effects upon the intellectual performance of Negro youths. In two early studies conducted at a northern urban university, various mental and physical tasks were assigned to male groups composed of two Negro students and two white students, all of whom initially were total strangers. In general, Negroes displayed marked social inhibition and subordination to white partners. When teams were engaged in cooperative problem solving, Negro subjects made fewer proposals than did whites, and tended to accept the latter's contributions uncritically. On all tasks combined, Negroes made fewer remarks than did whites, and spoke more to whites, proportionately, than to one another. White men, on the other hand, spoke more to one another, proportionately, than to the Negroes. These behaviors occurred even when group members could expect a monetary bonus for good teamwork, and were informed that their abilities were higher than those of subjects in other groups.

In the second experiment we made special efforts to increase the self-confidence of Negro subjects. Negro and white team mates were matched on intelligence by means of individual pretesting, and were then told that they were matched. In addition, they were made to display apparently equal ability on certain mental tasks that were

administered in the group situation, through secret experimental manipulation of the tasks. Despite these procedures the Negro subjects later revealed feelings of inferiority and anxiety. On a post-experimental questionnaire they ranked the whites higher on ability on the very tasks that had been rigged, and expressed relatively low satisfaction with the group experience.

That this type of face-to-face biracial situation produced genuine impairment of intellectual functioning in the Negro students, rather than just an inhibition of outward behavior, is apparent from another study that was conducted at the same northern college. Racially mixed pairs of subjects were given a series of mental problems to solve cooperatively. But before discussing each problem the men had to record privately their individual solutions. <u>Negroes made more errors than they had made on the same problems at a prior, individual testing session</u>. White subjects, on the other hand, made <u>fewer</u> private errors than they had made previously.

Similarly, in a study conducted in the South, individual Negro students from a predominantly Negro college were told that they would receive a painful stimulus (electric shock) while working on a digit-symbol task. The performance of those who worked in the presence of a white peer and a white tester was more adversely affected by the shock instructions than was the performance of subjects in a Negro peer-Negro tester situation. Thus, we see that feelings of insecurity at being alone in a strange white environment made the Negro highly vulnerable to additional stress.

These experiments suggest three factors that may detrimentally affect Negro students in face-to-face confrontations with whites. First, it can be assumed that novel types of contact with white strangers possess a social threat component for members of a subordinated minority group. Negroes may be fearful of arousing white hostility by being assertive or displaying intellectual competence. The degree of social threat should be a direct function of (a) the amount of evidence of white hostility (or the extent to which evidence of white friendliness is lacking) and (b) the amount of power possessed by whites in the contact situation, as shown by their numerical predominance, control of authority positions, and so on. Note that in all of the experiments described, except the one that used electric shock instructions, white subjects tended to ignore their Negro partners, the institutional setting was a predominantly white college, and the experimenters were white faculty members.

It seems likely that Negro children would be under some degree of social threat in a newly integrated classroom. Cold indifference on the part of white peers could frustrate their needs for companionship and approval, resulting in lowered self-esteem and a desire to escape from an unpleasant environment. The Negro child would thereby be distracted from the task at hand, to the detriment of performance. An example of how the presence of white adult strangers can seriously disrupt verbal learning in Negro children of grade school age is provided by an experiment we recently carried out in a

Negro section of a large northern city. Negro boys of average age 8 were tested individually by either Negro or white adult males. They were required to learn a list of paired words. Irrespective of actual progress on the task, half of them periodically received approval from the adults and the other half just as often received disapproval. The results were clear-cut: for each type of examiner, approval was more effective than disapproval, but regardless of type of feedback, children learned better with Negro testers than with white testers. The poorest learners were boys with a high need for approval, as measured by a personality test, who experienced disapproval from white testers. In short, the white adults' experessions of approval were relatively ineffectual, while their disapproval was sometimes highly disruptive. Apparently, Negro pupils in northern segregated schools react anxiously to white strangers in authority roles. However, it is entirely possible that a relatively brief period of friendly acquaintance would dispel the Negro child's apprehensions. Our experiment did not explore that possibility. It is also noteworthy that the adults in the experiment were male. When we conducted a similar experiment using female examiners, there were no differences in learning due to the race of the adults. That white males had a detrimental influence, but not white females, can perhaps best be explained in terms of relative strangeness--children whom we tested had had one or more white female teachers but no white male teachers.

Another factor that could detrimentally affect Negro students' performance in biracial situations is <u>low expectancy of success</u> in competition with white standards. Our northern Negro undergraduates may have lacked motivation to engage in the experimental tasks for this reason. The experiments indicate that the Negro's low expectancy of success may result from feelings of inferiority that have no basis in reality, but likely reflect an emotional accommodation to the demeaning role in American society that has been imposed upon his racial group by the dominant white majority. However, because of the lower achievement standards and inferior educational services that often mark the predominantly Negro school, low expectations of success on the part of newly desegregated minority group pupils will often be quite realistic. When the Negro transferee enters a school that has substantially higher standards than he knew previously he may become discouraged and not try to succeed.

As a third type of detrimental influence, the Negro college students in our northern experiments may have anxiously anticipated disapproval, disparagement or rejection by their white partners and the white experimenter as a consequence of poor performance. This factor can be called <u>failure threat</u>. A high expectation of failure at a task does not by itself constitute failure threat--it is necessary also that the failure have a <u>socially punitive meaning</u>. For the elementary and high school pupil, academic failure often entails strong disapproval by parents, as well as by teachers and perhaps classmates.

To diminish the adverse influence of the three factors that have been mentioned--social threat, low expectation of success, and failure threat--the Negro child should begin his desegregated experience as early as possible. Recall that this principle is well supported by the Federal data. There is also objective evidence to suggest that as social threat diminishes in biracial situations--that is, as white acceptance increases--Negro academic attainment benefits. An investigation of southern Negro scholarship winners who attended predominantly white colleges in the North revealed that those who participated in extracurricular activities and had a satisfactory number of friends got better marks than those who did not.[6] Similarly, the Civil Rights Commission found that in predominantly white classrooms, Negro pupils who said they had one or more close white friends tended to have higher achievement scores and college aspirations.

Returning to our experiments with college students, it follows logically from the foregoing analysis that if Negro subjects could be made to perceive intellectual competition with whites as neither socially threatening nor hopelessly difficult their performance would improve markedly. To test this proposition, northern Negro undergraduates were placed in a secretly controlled problem-solving situation. They were given instructions which, in effect, <u>forced them to disagree openly</u> with a white partner while displaying competence equal to that of the partner. As a result of this experience, the Negroes were able to function more effectively and

autonomously when they later worked on another, unrigged task with the same white person. This study demonstrated that in biracial situations, Negro _inhibition_ could be removed quite readily through an appropriate type of training.

More important, in a later phase of our research program we were able to establish that under certain conditions biracial environments actually have a _facilitating_ effect upon Negro intellectual achievement. We discovered that _with anxiety-arousing factors minimized by various experimental procedures, Negro youths performed better when anticipating comparison with white peers, or evaluation by white authorities, than they performed in all-Negro settings_. While our evidence at present is limited to Negro male college students, there is no reason to doubt that further research can extend the finding to younger age groups.

Four types of experiment have thus far been done. The first type consisted of studies in which the anxiety of Negro subjects was diminished by presenting a task (digit-symbol) with instructions that emphasized its lack of evaluative or competitive significance. Two such experiments were carried out at a private, predominantly Negro college in the Upper South, that is known for its high academic quality. The first used instructions which stated: "This is not a test of any kind. Your scores will not be shown to anyone at your college, and you will not be compared . . . [with other students]." Subjects worked at the task in two racial settings. One featured a Negro

confederate who posed as a second subject, and a Negro experimenter who introduced himself as a psychologist. In the other condition the confederate and experimenter were both white. The white environment, we found, occasioned higher achievement scores.

The second study was similar to the one just described, except that subjects worked individually with no confederate present. Again digit-symbol scores were higher with a white tester than with a Negro tester.

To account for the social facilitation effect of the white adult, it was assumed that he was perceived by Negro subjects as a more powerful and prestigious figure than the Negro examiner. (Whites, after all are the economic gate-keepers in American society.) Therefore, the prospect of white approval had high positive incentive value, while the prospect of white disapproval had high negative incentive value. Since the task was explicitly defined as non-evaluative subjects were not unduly fearful of doing poorly, and could strive to make a favorable impression on the white authority figure. That Negro students view white experimenters as more powerful evaluators than Negro experimenters was confirmed in a subsequent study at another Negro college, where subjects rated the former as being more "competent" and "important."

In another type of experiment, such tasks as digit-symbol, arithmetic and scrambled words were presented to students at predominantly Negro colleges as tests of intelligence. Instructions typically

read: "This test is part of a new scholastic aptitude examination that all students will take. It will be used to evaluate your intellectual ability. Your score will be used in advising you about your academic and professional potentialities. . ." In addition, subjects were informed either that their scores would be compared with norms for students at their own, predominantly Negro college (Negro comparison), or with norms for all college students throughout the state (white comparison). Finally, to allay anxiety the tester was always a Negro.

Five experiments of this type were done, involving four colleges. Two of these were in the Deep South and at the time of testing had relatively low admission standards. Subjects at these colleges achieved higher scores when they expected to be compared with other Negroes. The other three experiments used one of the same Deep South colleges after a new, selective admissions policy had been introduced, as well as two non-selective, state-supported institutions in the Upper South and North. Better performance was obtained in the white comparison condition. In sum, when tested by a Negro, and not placed in face-to-face confrontation with white peers, students in Negro colleges of moderate academic quality were favorably motivated by the challenge of white-norm comparison, while students in Deep South institutions of relatively low quality worked better in competition with Negro norms.

Our interpretation of these results is that, except in the most depressed types of segregated learning environment (Deep South non-selective colleges) the opportunity for biracial comparison is highly

stimulating because it provides more useful information for self-evaluation than does comparison with other Negroes. This is so because, in general, white standards of intellectual ability and achievement are more relevant to future career prospects. _Thus bi-racial peer comparisons are socially facilitating because of their informational value_. By using only Negro testers in these experiments the biracial facilitation effect was not offset by subjects' fear of eliciting white disapproval if they failed to meet what was for them a difficult standard.

The outcome of the peer-norm comparison experiments is all the more remarkable when one notes that most of the subjects had never sat in a biracial classroom throughout more than twelve years of schooling. The facilitation effect of cross-racial comparison should, if anything, be even greater for younger Negro pupils, who likely are well aware of the significance of white achievement standards, but who have had less time to fall behind them in segregated schools. This generalization is consistent with what we know about the superior performance of Negro children who entered desegregated classrooms at an early age. Moreover, as Pettigrew points out, Negro pupils in predominantly white schools who have white friends, and therefore are apt to be particularly aware of the importance of white standards, are higher achievers than Negroes in the same schools who do not have white friends.[7]

Consider a third type of experimental demonstration of biracial facilitation of the achievement of Negro college students. Again, simple mental tasks requiring speed and accuracy were used in conjunction with intelligence-test instructions. But now, the race of the tester was varied, while the race of ostensible peer norms was either varied or held constant by means of suitable instructions. To maximize the social effect of the experimenter, the subjects--all freshmen--were told that immediately after completion of the testing the experimenter would see each of them privately, score his work, and explain what the score meant with regard to prospects of future academic and vocational success.

We found, as our theory predicted, that the white examiner occasioned better performance than the Negro examiner when Negro norms (that is, a relatively easy standard) were employed, while the Negro examiner was more favorable for achievement than the white person when white-peer norms (that is, a relatively hard standard) were used. The poorest experimental condition was the combination of Negro tester and Negro norms.

To review the principles upheld by the results, when there was no anxious anticipation of possible face-to-face devaluation by a white authority figure, the riskier but also more informative white-peer standard was preferred by the Negro subjects. On the other hand, when white evaluation *was* expected, the less informative but also less risky Negro-peer standard was preferred.

It would of course be fallacious to make a literal application of these findings to the desegregated classroom--that is, to conclude that Negro pupils should not have both white teachers and predominantly white classmates at the same time. On the contrary, what our study suggests is that even when performance is endowed with strong evaluative significance both cross-racial comparisons and cross-racial evaluations can improve Negro motivation, provided ego-threatening features of the situation are kept at a minimum. Here emotional supportiveness on the part of teachers would be of critical importance, both in its direct significance to Negro children, and in its influence upon the social reactions of their classmates.

Of considerable import are the findings of another experiment of the type just described. It differed from its predecessor in two ways: it was conducted at a Negro college with relatively high standards of admission, and all subjects were told they would be evaluated against white-peer norms. Now, even though only the cross-racial comparison was used, higher test scores were attained with a white examiner than with a Negro examiner. Apparently, for the able Negro students who had been accepted into this college, meeting a white standard of competence did not seem so difficult as to dampen their desire for evaluation by a white authority figure.

Finally, I come to a fourth type of research on the factors that produce optimal achievement in biracial environments. Its special feature is the experimental manipulation of subjects' expectations of

success on an ability test, accomplished by giving them different types of information, ostensibly based upon their scores from a prior administration of the same test. Subjects at a non-selective State college in the Upper South were told that they had either little chance, a moderately good chance, or a very good chance of equaling the norms for their age groups. The most relevant finding has to do with the impact of expectancies under white-norm instructions. In this condition low expectancy of success was highly detrimental to performance, while in a Negro-norms condition the low-probability feedback did not impair motivation. Both groups had sharply higher test scores when expectancy of success was moderately high, and then declined somewhat as it became very high. The results suggest that in cross-racial competition, Negro students may be readily discouraged by unfavorable feedback, but also highly responsive to reasonable chances of success.

To recapitulate, research on minority group youths and children is on the whole consistent with a five-factor model of Negro achievement in biracial educational settings. On the negative side of the ledger are the following:

Social threat--given the prestige and power of the white majority group, rejection of Negro students by white classmates or teachers should tend to elicit emotional responses (fear, anger and humiliation) that are detrimental to intellectual functioning.

Low probability of success--where there is marked discrepancy in the educational standards of Negro and white schools, or where

feelings of inferiority are acquired by Negro children outside the school, minority-group newcomers in integrated classrooms are likely to have a low expectancy of academic success; consequently their achievement motivation should be low.

Failure threat--when academic failure entails disapproval by significant others (parents, teachers, and perhaps also classmates), low expectancy of success should elicit emotional responses that are detrimental to performance.

On the positive side are these factors:

In an atmosphere of social acceptance Negro pupils will desire to meet the high academic standards of white classmates because of their high informational value for self-evaluation, and the high incentive value of favorable evaluation by white adults and peers.

Our experiments indicate that when the strength of negative factors is kept low, biracial environments facilitate high Negro achievement.

DESEGREGATION AND THE LOW-ACHIEVING NEGRO PUPIL

One might too hastily conclude from the evidence presented in the preceding section that desegregation benefits only the more capable Negro. But according to the analysis of the Civil Rights Commission the apparent gain in achievement test scores associated with racially balanced schooling is roughly as large for Negroes of low ability as for those of medium and high ability. Why is it that the low ability children give no indication of being demoralized by the

large achievement gap between themselves and their white classmates? I do not know the answer, but should like to suggest where it may lie. Research recently conducted by myself and associates in an all-Negro elementary school in the North revealed that boys of mediocre ability (and this included most of the boys in the school) tended to be harshly self-critical of their work, even when they were not being observed by teachers. In contrast, the superior students were more readily satisfied by their private efforts. The low-achieving students were also highly anxious about their school work in general, and felt inadequate with their parents. It was as though these overly self-critical, segregated children had accepted a grossly exaggerated conception of their inferiority as Negroes.

The Commission's data on achievement suggest that an opportunity to compare themselves with white peers would have a corrective influence on the self-evaluations of these Negro children, thereby improving their will to learn. The Federal reports provide a little additional information pertinent to this line of reasoning. The Coleman questionnaire included items on self-concept regarding school ability, but it is difficult to interpret the meaning of Negro responses, which were not different from whites' and were not closely related to school achievement. However, another attitude was closely related to school performance. This was the child's belief in the responsiveness of the environment to his achievement efforts (that is, his sense of fate control). Negroes had less sense of fate control than whites. But the Commission's analysis shows that attending

majority-white classes increased the sense of control of Negro children from homes of both high and low educational attainment. The gain occurred whether the desegregated schools had student bodies from homes of similar or dissimilar educational attainment. Since scholastic ability is closely related to the education quality of the home, these data suggest two things: that desegregation increases the Negro child's sense of competence in that he feels more adequately rewarded for his efforts, and that the attitudinal gain is as great for children of low ability as for those of high ability.

THE INFLUENCE OF TEACHERS

For reasons already mentioned, the behavior of teachers in desegregated classrooms is of far greater importance to Negro children than to whites. Anxiety about one's social worth and intellectual adequacy is bound to be more prevalent among the minority newcomers. Hence the research of Seymour Sarason and his associates on school anxiety is particularly relevant for this discussion.[8] From their observations in classrooms, the Sarason group have concluded that teachers vary greatly in the degree to which they provide direction and support to children who approach academic tasks apprehensively. They write:

> In some classrooms failure or lack of progress by a child is responded to by the teacher in a way that increases the child's feeling of inadequacy. In other classrooms such a child is responded to in a way that, while it recognizes the child's failure or rate of progress, does not make him feel that the teacher is rejecting or derogating him, i.e., the teacher likes and accepts him despite his inadequacy or failure. It is too

> frequently forgotten by parents (and also by teachers) how important a figure the teacher is in the life of the child. From the standpoint of the child, what he thinks is the teacher's attitude toward him is of great moment to him, particularly if he likes the teacher and wants to be liked by her...It is when the child is disposed to like and respect the teacher that the ways in which the teacher responds to an adequate performanceof the child are of great significance. This would be especially true for the anxious child, who, as described previously by us, is dependent on the positive attitudes of others toward him for a sense of security (p. 272).

Two related points can be made about the Sarason group's emphasis upon the emotional impact on children of the teacher's behavior. First, their own research shows that the relationship between anxiety and scholastic progress is quite substantial. In their most recent study, grouping children on the basis of test anxiety and defensiveness scores revealed mean differences in test performance as large as two years in reading achievement. Controlling for differences in IQ showed that the gap between high-anxious and low-anxious children in average grade assigned by teachers was about as large as differences between children in the highest and lowest of four IQ levels. A second point has to do with the long-term changes that occur in anxiety scores. Hill and Sarason report moderate test-retest correlations over two-year intervals, but little relationship between scores over a four-year interval. Moreover, changes in anxiety scores were associated with changes in academic attainment. It stands to reason the changes are in large measure a reflection of different types of experience in the classroom and in the total school culture.

Also pertinent to the situation of the desegregated Negro child is the ingenious and widely publicized experiment of Rosenthal and Jacobson on the effect of teachers' expectations upon the intellectual growth of their pupils. Elementary school teachers were told at the beginning of the year that certain children were likely, on the basis of fictitious test scores, to "spurt ahead" intellectually during the ensuing year. At the lower grades the randomly designated "intellectual bloomers" showed larger IQ gains at the end of the year than their classmates. The effect was due entirely to the expectation that had been implanted in the minds of the teachers.

Unfortunately, there is reason to suspect that some teachers are inclined to react negatively to minority group pupils. For example, Davidson and Lang found that <u>regardless of their scholastic</u> standing, elementary school pupils from blue-collar homes tended to perceive their teachers as rejectant.[9] In two small-sample studies the race of teachers seemed to make a difference in how they viewed Negro students, with white teachers being more critical of their motivation and ability.[10]

ABILITY GROUPING

It has often been remarked that when ability grouping is practiced, teachers' attitudes and expectations tend to get frozen into rigid patterns that are particularly disadvantageous to minority group children. Yet the placing of pupils at the beginning of each

year in so-called "homogeneous" ability groups is a widely accepted policy throughout America. All too often, the effect is to create racially isolated classes in schools that are nominally desegregated.

The arguments in favor of ability grouping are usually taken for granted. As Joseph Justman observes, "If one were to ask an elementary school supervisor why he uses ability grouping...he would probably cite a number of reasons--pupil achievement is better, teachers find it easier to teach classes showing a narrow range of ability, the slower children do not become a hindrance to those who learn more readily, etc."[11] But Justman notes that when the research in the field is examined, the findings are generally inconclusive. One of the problems has been the ambiguity of the terms "homogeneous" and "heterogeneous." A so-called "heterogeneous" class drawn from a population with a narrow ability range may actually show less variation in ability than a so-called "homogeneous" class drawn from a broad-range population.

Both my comments about the influence of teachers' attitudes and expectations, and my earlier discussion of the benefits of being exposed to white achievement standards, clearly imply that ability grouping as usually practiced cannot be helpful to Negro pupils, and indeed may be detrimental. In this connection, a recent study by Justman in New York City is illuminating. Justman's is perhaps the most comprehensive and adequately executed evaluation yet done on the academic effects of ability grouping. Parallel forms of the Metropolitan Reading Test were administered to third-grade and fourth-grade pupils

in two successive years. Scores for a total of almost 5,000 pupils in 181 classes drawn from 42 schools were available for analysis. The standard deviations of class scores at the initial testing were used to divide them into high, medium, and low homogeneity categories. These categories were then cross-tabulated with the average achievement levels of classes, also divided into three categories of high, medium and low. The results show that on the Word Knowledge and Reading subtests the effects of various degrees of homogeneity were not consistent for different levels of class ability. However, for all ability groups combined, average and low homogeneity groupings were more effective than high homogeneity. Low-homogeneous classes showed the highest mean growth in reading ability.

Justman concludes that ability grouping is of little value unless definite programs, specifically designed for the several ability levels into which classes are grouped, are developed.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL POLICY

The psychological evidence that I have presented is consistent with a definition of racial integration which emphasizes the beneficial effects to Negro pupils of attending racially balanced classes, <u>when an atmosphere of genuine respect and acceptance prevails</u>.

Integration must be seen as the end-goal of all long-range educational planning. Where full integration is not immediately feasible for technical reasons, educational standards of Negro schools should be raised to the level of white schools, so that when minority

group children eventually enter desegregated classes they will have a good chance of succeeding academically. This means, among other things, that the quality of training received by Negro teachers and the criteria used in selecting them for jobs must be raised to white levels, where they are not already at those levels, and racial integration of school faculties must be carried out.

Programs must be instituted for contacting parents and helping them to understand what they can do to prepare children for schooling, and to foster achievement once children are in school.

There should be in-service training of teachers and other personnel in newly desegregated schools to develop awareness of the emotional needs of children in biracial situations. The training should include the imparting of techniques for helping children get acquainted with one another.

The widely accepted practice of assigning children to homogeneous ability groups should either be abandoned entirely or modified to afford maximum opportunity for periodic re-evaluation of potentiality. Ability grouping tends inevitably to freeze teachers' expectations as well as children's own self-images, hence it is particularly dangerous to intellectual development in the early grades.

FOOTNOTES

1. Coleman, J. S., et al. Equality of Educational Opportunity. United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1966.

2. Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, a Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

3. Pettigrew, T. F. The Negro and Education: Problems and Prosposals. Paper read at Conference on Research in Race Relations, University of Michigan, April, 1967.

4. U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, op. cit., p. 214.

5. Much of the research is reviewed in the following article by this author: "Review of evidence relating to effects of desegregation on the intellectual performance of Negroes," American Psychologist, Vol. 19, June, 1964, pp. 381-399.

6. National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students. Annual Report 1959-1960. New York: NSSFNS, 1960.

7. Pettigrew, op. cit.

8. Sarason, S. B., Davidson, K. S., Lighthall, F. F., Waite, R. R. and Ruebush, B. K. Anxiety in Elementary School Children. New York: Wiley and Sons, 1960. Hill, K. T. and Sarason, S. B. The relation of test anxiety and defensiveness to test and school performance over the elementary school years: a further longitudinal study. Monogr. Society for Res. Child Develpm., 1966, 31 (Whole No. 2).

9. Davidson, Helen H. and Lang, G. Children's perceptions of their teachers' feelings toward them related to self-perception, school achievement and behavior. J. exp. Educ., 1960, 29, 107-118.

10. Clark, K. B. Dark Ghetto. New York: Harper and Row, 1965. Gottlieb, D. Teaching and students: the views of Negro and teachers. In Webster, S. W. (Ed.), The Disadvantaged Learner. San Francisco: Chandler, 1966.

11. Justman, J. Ability grouping--what good is it? The Urban Review, Feb. 1967, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2-3.

WHAT TYPES OF COMPENSATORY EDUCATION PROGRAMS ARE EFFECTIVE?

Prepared by
Michael W. Kirst, U.S. Office of Education
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

My charge is to analyze and describe the types of compensatory education that are effective - given the racial and economic composition of schools as they exist now. In short, what types of evidence do we have as to the types of compensatory education programs that "work" in ghetto (racial or economic) schools. The answer to this question is relatively simple. We have very little hard data about compensatory education programs that result in lasting gains in pupil performance in an academic or achievement sense. I must hasten to add that the evidence is not so much positive or negative as ambiguous. Nevertheless, we can point to some shafts of light that emerge from the darkness. This paper will attempt to analyze why we find ourselves in such darkness and what some of those light rays may be.

EVALUATION PROBLEMS

I think the basic cause of the lack of projects exhibiting clear benefits of compensatory education is that the evaluation of practically all educational program components or process variables has been largely inconclusive! We have had a plethora of studies of the impact on student achievement caused by decreasing class size, but as yet no general conclusions have emerged. The same can be said for the many studies of different techniques for teaching reading.[1] In sum, we should not expect more definitive (or positive) results from experimental education programs for pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds than for other students.

Moreover, evaluations of compensatory education programs have had their own special problems. There are very few projects which collected achievement data over several years and conducted longitudinal studies of the performance of particular pupils.[2] Evaluation of compensatory education has been hampered by the difficulties of setting up controlled experiments and isolating treatment effects. Random assignment of students to various compensatory projects has often been politically unfeasible (especially in Title I, which is not viewed as a research effort). Control or comparison groups often are decimated from year to year because of the extremely high turnover of students in slum schools. Given the many environmental factors (home, parental, peer group, community) that can affect disadvantaged students' performance, the problems of isolating compensatory education treatment effects are often insuperable.

If we define effective compensatory education programs to be those which increase rates of learning, we need to confront the standardized achievement test problem. Standardized tests - especially in the early grades - are not well adapted to the disadvantaged student or particularly sensitve to academic gains by the most deprived and lowest achieving students.[3] In many cases there has been a mis-match between the aims of compensatory education programs and the measuring instruments chosen. There is a lot of talk about increasing a student's "self image," but as yet there are no nationally accepted attitude measures that record "increases" in self image. The Higher Horizons Project in New York City is a good example of the poor results produced by behavioral ratings of teachers, another type of frequently used evaluative technique.

In sum, at the present time there is not a theory of learning of sufficient specificity to arrive at a consensus about what are the essential process components of an effective educational program (compensatory or otherwise). In recent years there have been many correlational studies of inputs and outcomes of education. Project Talent and the Coleman Report, Equality of Educational Opportunity, are two of the better known. For the most part, these studies have not arrived at clear conclusions about what school variables (as opposed to socio-economic) are important for education of the disadvantaged, the advantaged, or any other group.[4]

SOME LIGHT RAYS

With this overview of the state of the art in mind, I will now plunge into some hypotheses about what compensatory education programs are effective. I will define "effective" as increases in rates of learning, which I freely admit ignores other measures of effectiveness such as attitudes, attendance, better student-teacher interaction, etc. I think we have some evidence that a high per pupil expenditure increment ($500 and $750) very often is a necessary but not <u>sufficient</u> condition.

Title I of ESEA is designed for children who come from families with incomes of less than $2,000. In many of the Title I schools in the South and North, the Title I students are Negroes who have the scars of racial discrimination. The Coleman Report indicates quite clearly that the great majority of these children are behind national achievement norms and are getting farther behind in terms of grade equivalents the longer they stay in school. In short, <u>effective</u> programs must be comprehensive and, consequently, very costly. I mean by a comprehensive program one that: (1) adapts academic content to individual needs and environmental realities of poor children and Negro experience; (2) provides attitudes and curriculum training for many teachers who have not been able to bring academic performance to an adequate level; (3) concerns itself with food, welfare and health needs; (4) employs techniques for involvement and reinforcement of what the school is trying to do.

We have some examples of costly programs that have dramatically increased rates of learning. The PreSchool Project in Ypsilanti, Michigan has found a consistent jump in measured intellectual ability in each of four small groups of disadvantaged Negro children. The Ypsilanti project spends $1,500 per pupil in a program that includes home visits, psychologists, medical services, and a special "task oriented Curriculum." The achievement gains for the experimental group is significantly better than the control group from entrance in preschool through grade two.[5]

Another example of a successful but expensive ($ per pupil) compensatory education program was the initial stages of The Higher Horizons program.[6] After 2.6 years in the program, 147 of 250 participants showed a gain of 4.3 years in reading achievement. Three hundred and twenty-nine children began the project in the seventh grade and continued through high school graduation.

The Civil Rights Commission study indicates that the achievement of Higher Horizons students became statistically insignificant when the cost per pupil was diluted to $50-60 increase per student (from about $250). As well as decreasing the per pupil expenditure in the later stages of Higher Horizons, (1) participation was not limited to students who showed academic promise, and (2) there was evidence that the additional expenditure supplanted rather than supplemented regular school expenditure.

Part of the ambiquity in the evaluation of compensatory education programs stems from the short time that Title I of ESEA has been operational. The only data we have this far are based on less than one year of Title I.

The isolated cases on which we have achievement data on comprehensive high expenditure programs are supported by the observations of the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children (NACD). The Council employed teams of expert consultants who observed a national sample of Title I programs. The Council's view on the essential need for comprehensive and costly programs is summarized in the following quotation from their report on summer programs:

"Educators have stressed a need to look beyond conventional school practices for widening the child's total learning environment - involvement of parents as motivators, exposing children to community resources, bringing the world of school into realistic harmony with the world of work, and providing simple guarantees that a child is reasonably well-fed and clothed . . . to a child whose world is darkened by the mood of hope-bereft adults (parents and teachers alike), by ignorance of patterns of life outside an urban or rural slum, and the physical stresses of hunger, poor teeth, and faulty vision, it is hardly a welcome favor to pile an extra hour of remedial drill upon an unsuccessful school day. To this child, new opportunity must be offered in large variegated, carefully tied, packages, designed to change a life outlook, not merely a report card."[7]

TEACHER ATTITUDE

At the outset I stressed that a high cost per pupil does not guarantee an effective compensatory education program. This is the trap that some leading newspaper commentators are falling into - if every school district doubled the expenditure for poor Negro children, then achievement would spurt ahead dramatically. The More Effective Schools Program in New York (MES) provides evidence that more money alone is not the answer.

MES costs about $560 that is added to a New York City base of about $434 for instruction (excludes capital costs). This level of expenditure approaches or exceeds school costs in our wealthiest suburbs. MES reduced class size to an average of 20.5 students and the ratio of instructional personnel to pupils was 12.3 to 1. Other special MES services included heterogenous ability grouping, teacher materials, audio visual techniques and coordination, teacher specialists, special staff recruitment, teacher preparation periods, and the use of community relation experts. Although team teaching was used, the nongraded bloc was tried in only one of 21 MES schools.

With respect to student achievement in arithmetic the evaluation by the Center for Urban Education concluded:

"Overall, one would conclude that the MES program has not had any significiant or consistent effects on the children's performance in arithmetic problem solving and concepts."

With respect to reading the Center for Urban Education stated:

1. "Overall these data indicate three full years of MES did not have any effect in stopping the increasing retardation of children who began the program in grades two or three, but did have some initial effect, albeit not maintained, on the retardation of children who began the program in grade four."

The Center hypothesized that the data suggest a Hawthorne effect in the first year or two of MES, which is not maintained for the third year.

The classrom observers from the Center for Urban Education did not feel that instructional content and method in the MES schools differed significantly from that which prevailed in other New York schools. They found little of an innovative or experimental nature and little that was geared to reach the disadvantaged child.

Based on the evidence we now have, I suspect More Effective Schools may not be showing achievement gains because in many classrooms two ingredients are missing: (1) a high quality teacher; and (2) instruction that is adapted to individual needs of disadvantaged students. The More Effective Schools Program devotes only minor resources to inservice training of teachers in terms of attitudes and curriculum techniques. Yet several studies have isolated teacher quality as crucial.

A recent analysis of the Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey by Henry Dyer of ETS indicates the importance of teacher quality for academic achievement.[8] Dr. Dyer correlated various school and student

variables with the results of academic achievement tests administered to over 600,000 students by the Coleman study. He concluded:

"By contrast, the school characteristics that tend to be associated with differential levels of academic performance are often the ones that are likely to be hardest to change. They include staff attributes like teachers' verbal facility, the quality of the college at which teachers were trained, their willingness to teach children from the slums, and their attitudes toward racial integration. They include student body attributes such as the socio-economic level of the school population, the general level of verbal ability, the proportion of white children in the school, and the proportion who are headed for college."

An especially interesting study in San Francisco, California, demonstrates the importance of teacher attitude toward students. Robert Rosenthal, Professor of Social Psychology at Harvard University, designed an experiment for an elementary school in South San Francisco to show that students believed by their teachers to be academic "spurters" would make dramatic academic gains in their school work.

All children in the 18 classrooms in the school were administered the Harvard Test of Inflected Acquisition in the fall of 1964. Teachers were told not to discuss the test findings with the students or their parents.

Twenty percent of the children were designated as academic spurters and their names were given to their respective teachers. The spurters' intellectual potential was supposedly established by their test score, but their names were picked from a table of random numbers. The difference between the spurters (experimental group) and the undesignated (control group) children was purely in the minds of the teachers.

Eight months later 17 of the 18 classes were retested. In 15 of the 17 classrooms, children of the experimental group gained more IQ points than did control group children. First and second graders gained the most. In the first grade the spurters gained over 15 more IQ points than did the control group and in the second grade, the spurters gained 10 IQ points more than the control group. Of the first and second graders listed 2½ times as many spurters gained 20 or more IQ points than did control group children. Besides showing greater intellectual gain of children who were designated spurters, Rosenthal's study also points out that teacher's overall perception of children may be prejudiced by his expectancy of the child.

Teachers were asked to describe the pupils at the end of the year. Despite the fact that many of the control group children gained intellectually, they were not rated favorably by their teachers. The children for whom intellectual growth was expected were described as curious, adjusted, and affectionate, etc., while the control group children who gained in IQ were regarded as less interesting, less well adjusted, and less affectionate.

Rosenthal also analyzed the children's test results with their placement into ability tracks. He found that children of low ability track who had a low predicted intellectual growth rate (control group) were not rated favorable by their teachers.

When these slow track children were in the control group so that no intellectual gains were expected of them, they were rated more unfavorably by their teachers if they did show gains in IQ. The greater their IQ gains, the more unfavorably were they rated, both as to mental health and as to intellectual vitality. Even when the slow track children were in the experimental group, so that IQ gains were expected of them, they were not rated as favorably relative to their control group peers as were the children of the high or medium track, despite the fact that they gained as much in IQ relative to the control group children as did the experimental group children of the high group. It may be difficult for a slow track child, even one whose IQ is rising, to be seen by his teacher as a well-adjusted child, and as a potentially successful child intellectually.

Rosenthal tested the hypothesis that teachers were spending more time with the spurters than with the control group children and that as gains of the spurters increased the less would be the gains of the control group. This robbing Peter hypothesis proved negative. He found that the greater the gains of spurters in a classroom, the greater the gain of the control group in the classroom.

Teachers were also questioned about the time spent with children of experimental and control groups. Estimates showed a tendency, not statistically significant, for teachers to spend less time with spurters than with control group children.

Rosenthal concluded that it was probably the type of interaction which took place between teachers and their pupils which led to the differences in experimental and control groups rates of intellectual development. What teachers said and how they said it to their pupils, combined with their teaching behavior may have helped the children learn.

There are two important implications from Rosenthals' experiments - First - that if teacher training institutions inculcate prospective teachers the possibility of anticipating pupil performance, the children may, in fact, fulfill the prophecy; secondly, that if all new educational practices are tested with expectancy control groups it would be possible to see if it is the practice itself or the expectancy of the teacher which produces results. The relatively inexpensive manipulation of teachers' expectancies could then be compared to the cost of compensatory education projects.

This study reconfirms the conclusions that Dr. Kenneth Clark gleaned from his survey of schools in Harlem. Dr. Clark used a questionnaire with 120 personnel in Harlem schools (teachers and principals) that was designed to elicit pupil expectation. Questions included number of students who were thought to have potential to finish high school, go

to college, etc. Dr. Clark also interviewed many school professionals. He found that generally student expectations were very low, especially those of principals. In these Harlem schools students were usually three to four grades below grade level by 12th grade.

Clark attributes the initial success of Higher Horizons to a very large increase in teachers confidence in pupils' ability to learn. Prior to the projects teachers felt they were helpless and students incorrigible. In its initial phases Clark points out the Higher Horizon project managed to redefine the role of student and teacher and insisted on teacher's overt recognition of the positive image of the pupil.[9]

The importance of teacher attitude was reconfirmed by the observations of the NACD consultants who viewed firsthand a national sample of Title I compensatory education programs.

"Above all the factors in improving education that were named in the reports, one was identified by observer after observer as a necessary ingredient in substantial change - and the greatest hurdle standing in the way of change. This is the quality of the relationship between the teacher and the child . . . the differences between success and failure in projects they visited, the observers said again and again, pivoted on the subtle aspects of mutual understanding, commonness of purpose, and warm human contact between teacher and pupil, which they described by the word "rapport."

Since the quality and attitude of teachers are crucial to the success of disadvantaged child, we must face the fact that most school systems and universities admit their inability to mount programs that

significantly change behavior of experienced teachers. How do we make high quality teachers out of existing practitioners? There is no magic formula or curriculum that is widely known. The same can be said for the difficult job of changing teacher attitudes and expectations of the poor. Much time and motion go into in-service training but little payoff is evident. Those who say compensatory education is "Easier than integration" must not overlook the difficulty of upgrading existing teachers whose initial preparation did not equip them for teaching in ghettos. Could the lack of large achievement gains in More Effective Schools be caused by teachers who are teaching 20 kids using the same methods, attitudes and contents as they used with 40 children?

INDIVIDUALIZED INSTRUCTION

This brings me to the achievement gains of effective individualization of instruction. Hartford, Connecticut, currently is operating three intensive reading instructional teams (IRIT). The teams carry out the project as follows: extensive use of motivational and multi-media techniques; the use of pupil-teacher conferences to motivate, correct, and individualize each child's reading program, and close contact with the parents to continually assess the effects of the IRIT on the child in his home. The teams provided 469 fourth, fifth, and sixth-grade students with intensive small-group reading instruction that was individualized for each student daily. The student was returned to his regular class after one hour of IRIT.

Results from pre-post testing with the California Reading Achievement Test showed statistically significant gains in vocabulary, comprehension, and total reading achievement compared to control groups. Follow-up study reveals that the gains are still being maintained, although not necessarily improved on.[11]

A very interesting example of an effective individualized instruction program is the Homework Helper program in New York City. In 1963 Homework Helper established after-school tutoring of pupils in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades by senior high school students. The tutors were mostly girls.

On the average, the tutored pupils, who received four hours of tutoring a week, showed a grade level gain of six months, and the controls gained only 3.5 months across the five months of research.[12]

But the improvements in the reading scores of the tutors were even more striking. In the six months of the research, the mean scores of the control group improved 1.7 grade level while those of the tutors improved 3.4 grade levels; the student tutors were particularly successful with young pupils most severely retarded in reading. The researchers suggest that this is due primarliy to the increased individual attention without the sense of ridicule of condescension that severely backward readers have often come to expect from many teachers.

There are some studies that indicate individualized tutoring is most effective if it concentrates on ages one to three. A National Institute of Health Project in Washington, D.C., tutors children in their homes starting at 14 months with four one hour sessions per week. At 27 months the tutored infants (total of 30) had IQ's significantly higher than the control children. Preliminary analyses show even great differences in verbal skills. Such experiments indicate the need for remediation might be headed off before the child reaches school age.[13]

CONCLUSION

Sharp and incisive questioning of effectiveness of compensatory education in racially and/or economically isolated schools is increasing among lay, professional, and government people. As yet there are not enough carefully designed evaluation studies to answer the effectiveness question except in an ambiguous fashion. The existing studies can be viewed only as the barest beginning. Methodological problems still confound evaluators searching for conclusive learning results. Moreover, there are not many widespread comprehensive compensatory education programs to evaluate. As the NACD observed:

> "We have not yet learned to group projects into total programs and to spread such program throughout whole school areas where disadvantaged children are concentrated."

We have some clues that parent involvement is a significant factor in raising pupil achievement. Yet, here again we have only scant evidence that supports this assertion, and almost no research on what techniques of parent involvement are most effective.

The few studies we have seem to point to teacher quality and attitude, individualized instruction, and high expenditure comprehensive programs as crucial. None of these three attributes can be achieved for 11 million disadvantaged children without great increases in expenditure and massive retraining programs using largely undiscovered training techniques.

Title I of ESEA has stimulated a vast number of new programs for disadvantaged children. Our task needs to be systematic evaluation of these efforts in order to find out what works. Title I has just entered its third year which provides us the opportunity to conduct evaluation over several years. We must take advantage of this opportunity.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Harold J. Clark, Cost and Quality in Public Education, Syracuse University Press, 1963.

2. HEW has contracted with GE - TEMPO for such studies in 13 cities. Results are expected this spring, 1968.

3. See article the Journal of Social Issues, "Guidelines for testing Minority children," April, 1964.

4. See paper by Henry S. Dyer, "School Factors and Equal Opportunity," American Psychological Association Symposium, September 3, 1966.

5. David Weiksart, "Preliminary Results from a Longitudinal Study of Disadvantaged Children," 1967, Table 2.

6. See U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Racial Isolation In the Public Schools, P. 123-5, 1966.

7. See report of the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children, Summer Education for Children of Poverty, pp 8-9.

8. Henry S. Dyer, "School Action and Equal Opportunity," America Psychological Association, September 3, 1967.

9. See Dr. Kenneth Clark's recent book Dark Ghetto. Clark also points out St. Louis Bannaker project's initial success rested on changed attitude of teachers and principals. There were no drastic changes in curriculum or instructional technique yet achievement rose significantly, p.143-144.

10. This lack of know-how to implement effective in-service teacher training programs was stressed repeatedly in the schools NACD observers visited.

11. Source Robert J. Nearine, Coordinator of Evaluation, Hartford Board of Education. See also the results of the PLATS language arts program in Dade Co., Fla. (Source Mel Tennis, Superintendent of Education Research) Each class was divided into special needs groups with a master teacher for oral language development, reading instruction, and composition. PLATS children realized "small" positive gains but control groups decreased.

12. Source Studies in Tutoring, 1966, Robert Cloward, p. 59.

13. Source Earl S. Shaefer, National Institute of Health, Bethesda, Maryland.

THE NEW ROLE OF EDUCATION PARKS IN THE CHANGING STRUCTURE OF METROPOLITAN AREAS

Prepared by
David Lewis, Urban Design Associates
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D. C.
November 16-18, 1967

INTRODUCTION

Much has been written on education parks as a means of dealing with *de facto* segregation in schools.[1]

In a word the problem is this:

> "Negro children suffer serious harm when their education takes place in public schools which are racially segregated, whatever the source of such segregation may be.
>
> "Negro children who attend predominantly Negro schools do not achieve as well as other children, Negro and white. Their aspirations are more restricted than those of other children and they do not have as much confidence that they can influence their own futures. When they become adults, they are less likely to participate in the mainstream of American society, and are more likely to fear, dislike, and avoid white Americans. The conclusion drawn by the U. S. Supreme Court about the impact upon children of segregation compelled by law--that it 'affects their hearts and minds in ways unlikely ever to be undone'--applies to segregation not compelled by law."[2]

To counteract this situation, the education park concept has been advanced:

> "a scheme under which several thousand ghetto children and a large number from middle-class white neighborhoods would be assembled in a group of schools sharing a single campus";[3]

> "an innovation in the organization of schools clustering them to make maximum use of commonly shared educational facilities...in response to the nationwide search for high quality, integrated education."[4]

It is clear, however, that high quality integrated education by itself cannot change the demographic trends in major American cities, or in any fundamental way alter their socio-economic and political structure. The outmigration of white families to suburban areas and the inmigration of Negroes is rapidly placing several cities in the position in which percentages of Negro children in the public school system as a whole are rising to points beyond the possibility of integration.*

Ironically, it often is said that the present drive to integrate schools in major American cities is hastening rather than halting the segregation process. It has been suggested that the emphasis on integrating education, by transporting children into and out of

---

* The situation in Washington, D. C., where 93 percent of the public school population is Negro, is well known. Other major cities with majority-Negro (elementary) school enrollments in 1965 include Atlanta (54%), Baltimore (64%), Chicago (53%), Cleveland (54%), Detroit (55%), Newark (69%), Philadelphia (59%), and St. Louis (63%).[5] Results, recently published, of demographic and socio-economic studies in the Central and South Brooklyn area of New York (population approximately 1.5 million) show that heavy inmigration of Negro and Puerto Rican families, paralleled by an outmigration of white families to other New York metropolitan areas, has already resulted in a present level of 52 percent nonwhite student population in the public schools; and the same study predicts that if present trends continue the level will be over 80 percent within fifteen years.[6]

racially unbalanced school districts (white or Negro) until the enrollments of all schools show a just racial balance, provides added incentives to white families to move to suburban areas, or to send their children to private schools. For they feel that educational quality will be higher, and difficult social problems will be avoided, in schools with few or no children from culturally deprived, residentially segregated, and low-income backgrounds. There is very little evidence that the reverse also can be true--that integrated education of high quality is an incentive for white families to recluster in the cities. According to the 1960 Census, 51 percent of the total Negro population and 68 percent of all school age Negro children lived in central cities.[7] These figures continue to rise, particularly in the major cities.

The fundamental problem facing urban educational and physical planners, then, is not the mechanics of achieving high quality integrated education; <u>it is whether racial balances, once achieved, will last</u>. Turning to education parks, we can say categorically that the greatest single challenge to their chances of success <u>is not the concept at all</u>, but whether the struggle for integration in other fields--in housing, employment, leisure, and marriage--can succeed simultaneously with the achievement of quality integrated education in cities. For without rapid advances in these other fields the question of school integration is likely to become academic regardless of the device.

Education is linked directly and positively to the whole social spectrum. Segregation in education reflects the urban ghetto. And integration in education without freedom and self-esteem in every other aspect of urban life may lead to bitterness and alienation. Once again we run into a tragic irony. Under current circumstances, in which the other aspects of freedom from social and racial circumscription are lacking or are subject to willful discrimination, any increase in the quality of education and of educational environment can only exaggerate the frustration, the waste of intellectual ability, and the ultimate alienation of the whole Negro minority. It is clear that urban education is only part of what has to be a comprehensive approach to the problem.

Considerations of this kind have led recent education parks thinking away from the campus form involving only schools. In the Pittsburgh Plan for Great High Schools--one of the first major urban education plans to move into detailed design and construction--the physical planners have attempted to exploit a massive expenditure on education ($150 million) as the catalyst for incorporating other large-scale developments. These include housing, cultural and commercial facilities, office blocks, and public open spaces, planned comprehensively with the schools themselves, to be built in phases by both the public and private sectors.[8] Similarly in New York, the Linear City proposals outlined for Brooklyn by consultants to the Board of Education would involve the largest comprehensive development this country has seen.[9]

These projects will be discussed in further detail later. The point to be made here is that education planning now recognizes that the drive for integration cannot be allowed to stop short at political or statutory acknowledgement. Educational goals as called for by the U. S. Supreme Court in its basic desegregation decision in 1954,[10] demanding quality education for all based on socio-economic and racial integration and equality of opportunity, are regarded as meaningless unless minorities are able to exercise their options as full citizens in all aspects of urban life. Education alone cannot integrate urban society. The importance of the two projects cited is that they insist on comprehensive, inter-agency approaches to the problem on a scale so large that the projects which result have the capacity to reshape whole sectors of the city, or even the whole city itself.

NEW URBAN STRUCTURES: GROWTH CHARACTERISTICS

High among the major obstacles to overcoming racial imbalance in city schools is the mass of administrative and jurisdictional dichotomies and contradictions which exist between city and county governments in virtually every metropolitan area in the United States. It is upon these dualities that middle-income and upper-income whites capitalize when they move to suburban areas, leaving, in many cities, the low-income Negro metropolitan minority in a majority position within the city itself.[11]

The task of removing these obstacles by political means (for example, through the establishment of metropolitan government;

or through coalitions of agencies to form regional instruments of broad policy and fiscal discretion) is recognized to be extremely difficult, and for many politicians undesirable, particularly within the short space of time left to us by the rapidly increasing gravity of the ghetto problem. Nevertheless we must--and can--find other approaches to the problem on a metropolitan scale: for it is obviously on a metropolitan or regional scale that solutions have to be found.

In a world transformed by science and technology, we have to recognize that urban structure itself has also been fundamentally changed--in particular by accelerating population pressures and by the "hard" and "soft" technologies of mobility and communications. In fact we are witnessing today the first basic revolution that has occurred in urban form since man first began to inhabit cities. And the fast-changing forms of this revolution may be used to provide formulae for opening up the use-options of urban life, in education, housing, cultural and health facilities, recreation, commercial areas, etc. etc., to all citizens, irrespective of their socio-economic origins. This can be done in such a way that jurisdictional obstacles are overcome or rendered less effective through promoting new use-patterns in the urban and regional environment which are in themselves more potent.

The "Closed Form" Cities of the Past

Cities in the past were "closed form" cities. Usually built behind defensive walls, compact and at high densities of human concentration, their buildings, narrow streets and public squares were scaled to the pedestrian. Such cities were small in today's terms; and they were largely, if not entirely, autonomous units of survival and government--a self-sufficiency emphasized by the very sharp juxtaposition of their dense urban form to the open country around them, and their distance from other cities in times when travel was slow, difficult and dangerous.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the closed form city here, other than to point out:

--historically this form persisted up to the present era;

--pressures of population and technology have now completely revolutionized the closed form. The autonomous structure of urban settlement is utterly obsolete;

--nevertheless traditional closed form residues still remain, such as neighborhoods, ghettos etc., and still form a basis of official planning attitudes (viz. the Model Cities program, as a recent example);[12]

--and traditional closed form or separatist jurisdictions and political machinery, such as the structure of local government, and tax boundaries etc.--which contradict the continuities of modern urban use-patterns, mobility, communications and economics--are still in use with consequent strain, particularly upon the center city itself;

--the revolutionary changes in urban structure, as a result of the demographic and technological pressures everywhere apparent, are in fact far from a *fait accompli* but are accelerating, thus making planning and government according to traditional modes more and more difficult as time goes on;

--nevertheless, in spite of this acceleration of change, we can grasp the inherent structure of the new urban evolution well enough to be able to capitalize on its development.

The "Open Form" Metropolis

The contrast between the closed form cities of the past and today's typical metropolis is absolute, not only in this country but in every country in the world.

The main facts of gross population growth throughout the world are, of course, well known. From the dawn of history to the time of the Mayflower the total population of our globe had gradually expanded to a half billion people. By 1830, the world's population stood at one billion. By 1930, a century later, it had expanded to two billion. By 1960, a generation later, it was estimated to be three billion. At current rates of growth, only 15 more years would be needed to reach the fourth billion--that is, by 1975. And by the year 2000, some predict that there will be seven billion people on this planet.[13] The majority of these people are clustering in cities, as human society seems destined to become rapidly and totally urban.

In *Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World* Charles Abrams forecast that in Africa the present urban population of 58 million will grow to 294 million by the year 2000. In the same thirty-five year period urban populations in Latin America will grow from 144 million to 650 million, and in Asia from 559 million to 3,444 million.[14] Whether these forecasts based on current growth characteristics will be proved accurate only time will tell. But one thing is certain; the escalation of population growth in the last few generations, coupled with various technological factors, confronts cities with fundamental changes in form.

In the United States today 75 percent of the total national population of 200 million lives in urban areas. Within a generation the national population is expected to have risen to between 320 and 350 million, of whom 90 percent or more will live in urban areas. This means doubling the size of our present day urban clusters. Part of the reason for the extremely rapid growth of cities throughout the world in this century is migration from rural areas. Overall figures for the United States published last year by the Department of Agriculture show that in 1929 the proportion of the national population employed in agriculture was 25 percent; by 1950, it had dropped to 15.3 percent; by 1960, it was 8.7 percent; by 1965, it was 6.5 percent; and by 1975, it is expected to be less than four percent. Yet diminution of agricultural population has not meant losses in food production. Technological changes and the management sciences are transforming not only cities but the whole character of the production, automated processing,

distribution, and marketing of food. But we also know that cities are not receiving new population equally. Rural cities are remaining stagnant or declining in population, while the very large metropolises increase in population cluster at an accelerating rate. Los Angeles had a population of 100,000 in 1900; by 1930 it was two million; by 1950, it was four million. Today the city's 469 square miles has a 2,800,000 population--third in the nation, after New York and Chicago--at the center of a 5,000 square mile sprawling metropolitan area which has over seven million people, and which is gaining new population at a current rate of 200,000 a year.

But population pressures alone are not responsible for the fundamental revolution in urban structure. If it were, we could cosily imagine the future form of cities as basically similar to the urban settlements of the past, only very much larger--and a lot of planning thinking (for example, green belts around cities aimed at retaining an _ad hoc_ shape and structure) still clings to this idea. The fact is that the old shape of cities has been blasted open by mobility systems--by railroads and highways, and very recently by air corridors. (Figure 1)

One Dimension of the New Metropolis is Commuter-Time

When we look at a modern city, say from the air, we are struck by the power of circulation systems, the great radical parkways feeding the city center, and the size of free-flow interchanges which today absorb some 30 - 40 acres, in themselves as large as the central areas of many a traditional city of medium size. And as we look down, we see that the center of the metropolis acts as a generator and concentrator of complex, vibrant activity, to which men and women

in the thousands commute daily from dormitory areas by automobile and transit.

So crucial has the commuting index become that the size and shape of a metropolis today may well be given, not in square miles or even in population, but in commuter-time from the metropolitan edges to its core. Thus one comes to a simple law that the faster and more fluent one's mobility systems into the center of the radial metropolis (the construction of more limited-access high-speed parkways, the insertion of computer-controlled constant-headway rapid transit systems, the extensions of metropolitan airports to handle growing volumes of passengers), the more one will encourage suburban expansion without increasing commuter-time. It is already quite common for air lines to advertise flights between major cities as "commuter flights", echoing the growing reliance of corporation executives, salesmen, and even university professors, on air travel to enable them to fly between cities for a day of consulting, returning in the evening with the same ease as they make their daily journey from the suburbs to the center of the city.

From our aircraft, then, it is not surprising to see suburban expansion related to mobility corridors. (Figure 2) Nor should it be surprising to hear that among the seven million people of Los Angeles County--the metropolitan area most famous for freeways--

there are four million automobiles, and that the number of new automobile registrations currently exceeds population growth. And just as we see, from the air, these highway networks extending the metropolitan area outwards in terms of ground-travel speeds, so too, if we were to be in a spacecraft, we would see air corridors linking major metropolitan areas together in new and very real urban configurations. Air commuter services are already an accepted part of the systems connecting the "northeast corridor" cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington. And a city like Pittsburgh, where I come from, is splendidly placed, like the hub of a carriage wheel, between the northeast corridor cities, the Great Lakes cities of Chicago and Detroit, and midwest cities such as Indianapolis and St. Louis.

Soon we will reach the point where there will be one automobile on the highways to every adult of the national population. Projections for cities show that by 1975, 225 million people will be moving around in 80 million automobiles.[15] Meanwhile in the air the gross number of passenger-miles travelled grows by millions annually. Since 1961 commercial airlines in the United States have shown an average continental increase of 13 percent per year; an intercontinental increase of 20 percent; and an increase of 26 percent on local feeder lines. Last year commercial airlines made some seven million scheduled flights from 600 airfields. Estimates show that passenger air travel, inside the United States alone, will double today's volumes within ten years, and gross freight distribution will double in seven. And indications are that these estimates are likely to prove conservative. STOL

(Short Take-Off and Landing) and VTOL (Vertical Take-Off and Landing) may soon be in commercial use for short runs and long; VTOL particularly--an aircraft capable, like the helicopter, of landing in restricted areas but, once in flight, of performing with the speeds and capacities of the turboprop and smaller jet--will certainly further promote the closer interrelationship of major metropolitan areas.[16] The revolution in urban structure which results from such "hard" technologies is profound.

As the major metropolitan areas of this country grow larger and their interdependences become more complex and multiple, their traditional autonomy and self-sufficiency decrease. For urban autonomy is contradictory to the complex and rapidly developing networks of communications, services, the distribution of skilled personnel and of highly differentiated specialist products on which cities increasingly depend, and to which they themselves contribute.

The closed urban forms of the past, the finite, autonomous single-center city of past tradition, give way to a new species of urban form in which the basic factor is mobility. It gives way to an open form, multi-directional metropolis which is infinitely additive and infinitely variable in its capacity for growth and change.

The Metropolis as a Federation of Centers

We are well aware that in addition to residential suburbs, industrial and commercial decentralization in the form of industrial parks and shopping centers has become a component of metropolitan open-form structure. (Figure 7) There are four main reasons for this decentralization: availability of inexpensive clear land; proximity to fast highways; and the encouragement of the metropolitan

counties--often backed by inducement--which under our present system are in competition with the center city for tax base. The fourth is rather more insidious and has a more direct bearing on our subject: namely, the middle- and upper-income suburbs provide the shopping centers with a lucrative and secluded market, and they provide certain light and research industries with a skilled, college trained employment pool.

The metropolitan area thus grows as a loose federation of cores or centers linked by a highway network, reaching out toward, and in due course absorbing, satellite or dormitory cities. (Figure 8) As one highway corridor becomes pre-eminent, hitherto separate metropolitan areas may gradually link up with each other. This is occurring quite rapidly in the northeast corridor, particularly between New York and Newark, and in the Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington corridor.[17] And population projections place 22 million people by the year 2000 in the Los Angeles section of a continuous Southern California Metropolis stretching from Santa Barbara to San Diego.[18]

The economic and physical planning benefits of accepting such growth characteristics and actively planning for them are, I believe, quite clear. Figure 10 shows theoretically the regional or megalopitan development of three related metropolitan clusters. In the diagram these clusters are organized along high-speed corridors on which there may well be various modes of transportation on rapid transit and highway rights-of-way--but the volumes of which are established in advance. And on the basis of these volumes "ceilings" of development in terms of population, residential density, commercial

and industrial development, local public open space and recreation, and so forth, can be placed. Once these ceilings have been reached, or simultaneously with them, other corridors (A) may be scheduled for development, and new cities (B) may be planned along them to encourage linear growth. The corridor system enables us to conserve leisure areas, mountains, forests, or desert areas, in direct relation to megalopolitan growth, but away from high-speed corridors. And in these areas we may rehabilitate traditional rural cities or build new leisure-oriented settlements (C).

Multi-directional options are a fact of today's life, in leisure as in work, over short distances and long. Almost all of us are completely dependent on the use of vehicles. In the air, at speeds of 550 - 700 m.p.h., even on short-haul runs, we are seated with two hundred other passengers in soft air conditioned comfort with drinks, dinner and movies. Or private automobile, silent engined, air conditioned, with full orchestra playing, conveys us at speeds and in a comfort undreamt of by the richest mogul of thirty years ago to any point in the metropolitan region of the nation. The structural effect is a lattice of communications on a national scale; a macrocosm of the metropolitan network which I have attempted to describe. At the interstices of the lattice (Figure 12) are the major cities, just as there are cores and subcores at the interstices of the lattice at the metropolitan scale.

Physically urban man may belong to a neighborhood which is focussed on its own urban core. But his professional, kinship and friendship patterns are maintained over thousands of miles; not within the geographic boundaries of a single community, but across the city, the nation, and even intercontinentally.[19] Communications and mobility extend man's vocabulary of options, and as he exercises these options wider and wider options continue to compound.

The nearest urban core may be the one in which he shops for food; but he may shop for clothes in another, for books in another, and his favorite restaurants may be dispersed throughout the city or be located fifty miles away in the countryside. His theater, like Stratford, Ontario, may play nightly not to local but to international audiences; and in the winter he may exercise the option of skiing in Vermont or skindiving in the Caribbean, with thousands of other leisure seekers. And, college educated, his cultural life is as open as his city. His metropolitan museums (a relatively modern invention) offer him the cultures of all ages and countries; and on his television screen via telstar satellites he receives world news, documentaries, sports, clean love, concerts, instantaneously.

The New Urban Structure and the Urban Ghetto

All this may seem to be a far cry from the ghetto problem in the central city, but it is not. The general mass of Negroes is excluded from participating in virtually everything I have described. Yet the unabashed pretence of our culture, and of our educational goals within that culture, is its universality. My main position here, as I said earlier, is that our educational goals are in fact actively harmful

in the present situation, a confidence trick--and are bound to lead to increasing frustration and violence--unless rapid advances are made in enabling restricted minorities to exercise fully the options implicit in the open-form cultural and environmental growth characteristics of the cities of which they are so dynamic a part.[20]

According to the 1960 census, 24 percent of all Negroes in the United States lived in the center cities of the twelve largest metropolitan areas--a gain of over 60 percent since 1950--in conditions of 80-95 percent residential segregation. As we have said earlier, migration from small cities and rural areas into major metropolises continues. According to estimates made by the Real Estate Research Corporation the 14.3 million Negro population now living in center cities will expand during the five year period 1968-1975 to "somewhere between 16.7 and 17.1 million....Thus, if dispersal of nonwhites were to take place at a large enough scale to keep central city ghettos at their 1968 level during the subsequent five years, there would have to be a movement of between 2.4 and 2.8 million nonwhites into the suburbs. This amounts to between 480,000 and 560,000 per year. The suburban nonwhite population in all 212 metropolitan areas grew a total of only 74,000 per year during the decade 1950 to 1960. In that decade, the white population of suburban portions of our metropolitan areas (the so-called urban fringe) increased by about 1,626,000 persons per year. Certainly some of this population increase was caused by an exodus of whites from central cities in response to the growth of nonwhite population therein. If future nonwhite population growth

in central cities were stopped by a large-scale dispersion policy, then white population growth in the suburbs would be definitely smaller than it was from 1950 to 1960. Thus, a policy of dispersion of this magnitude would mean that future suburban population growth would be somewhere between 25 and 33 percent nonwhite, as compared with less than five percent nonwhite from 1950 to 1960..."[21]

The Negro ghetto differs from previous immigrant ethnic ghettos (Irish, Italian, Jewish, Polish, etc.): Negroes are Americans. They do not want to preserve a different ethnic culture or religion. The Black Muslim and Black Power movements are forced on them in the frustration of being denied their identity as first class citizens and through being denied their options to cluster or disperse, even in the second or third urban generation. If we want alternatives to the Black Muslim and Black Power movements in the ghettos we have to recognize that these movements are strong and natural answers of people to the need to establish identity in a situation where the identity they would otherwise seek is denied to them. For Negroes have not migrated into cities to join Black Power enclaves.

Yet the stark situation which faces them is an increasing density of segregation in the center city, as optional dispersal continues to be denied them and as suburbs extend in geographic area and in open-ended affluence and amenity. Today "barely four percent of the total suburban population of metropolitan areas with a population of half a million or more are Negroes, and a substantial portion of

this number live in little fringe ghettos, or in old Negro pockets that have survived suburban expansion."[22] In the ghettos themselves Negroes find squalor, obsolescence and restriction magnified not only by increasing densities but by any increases in the quality of education and social services which intensify the frustrations resulting from rising expectations not being met. Unemployment among the urban Negro remains double that of urban whites and the median income of the urban Negro family is barely more than half that of white families in cities.

These confinements are reflected in urban structure itself. The high speed transportation rights-of-way, highways, railroads and rapid transit, which have given metropolitan areas their open form radial expansion have decimated the center city with manmade barriers as formidable as any natural forms such as steepsided valleys or rivers. In cities built on relatively flat land (Chicago, Detroit) these barriers are in themselves major urban form-givers. In cities with strong topographical configurations of rivers, hills and valleys (Pittsburgh), manmade barriers endorse the natural topography by following river banks and valley floors. But whether the metropolitan area expands along transportation routes as in the case of topographically flat cities (Figure 2) or along hilltops in Pittsburgh's case (Figure 3) the result is much the same--an expanding city the inner residential areas of which are cut into sectors and neighborhoods (Figure 4). These sectors become the basis for segregated residential areas, white or Negro (Figure 5), contained within city limits, as suburbs expand outwards into the metropolitan counties (Figure 6).

III

EDUCATION PARKS

An education park is basically "a clustering of educational facilities in a campus-like setting. But a mere cluster of school buildings on one site is not automatically an educational park. Centrally organized common facilities serving the schools on the campus are the added essential ingredient of the educational park."[23]

This basic description of an education park presents nothing new in form. In 1894 Preston Search, Superintendent of Schools in Los Angeles, proposed a school park of two hundred acres[24] which would accommodate the entire city school system in separate but related buildings, "a community by itself and under one management".[25] (Figure 14) Application of Search's idea to the problem of racial integration in schools has occurred only recently and so far only in theory. No campus which fulfills such definitions of an education park has been built. Perhaps nearest to it is the education plaza proposed for East Orange, New Jersey, (Figure 15) which would incorporate the entire public school system from kindergarten through twelfth grade on one central site.[26]

Although several major cities are investigating the feasibility of the education park theory, certain drawbacks to the park as prescribed here are immediately apparent. One of these is optimum locations in dense cities where land values are high, unless one is prepared to face considerable problems in relocation. A second drawback is that not all cities need to build an entire public school system at once in one place. In Pittsburgh, for example, high schools are

the prime need. A third drawback is the institutional nature of the park. Many educators are not convinced that a campus, with its traditional formal roots in monasticism, is the best contemporary form for schooling. Nor are they convinced that the very big campus implied by the education park theory is best for very small children.

The Corde Corporation report for Philadelphia[27] illustrates three school distribution concepts: the scattered concept; the compact cluster concept; and the linear concept. (Figure 16) Although these concepts, as illustrated, are for neighborhood situations requiring fewer schools and less acreage than the educational park theory calls for, we could say that the compact cluster concept is parallel with the education plaza proposed for East Orange, that the scattered concept is parallel with the four peripheral sites proposed for Syracuse, and the linear concept is parallel with the Linear City proposed for Brooklyn and the Pittsburgh Plan for five Great High Schools.

Unlike the Pittsburgh Plan, the Syracuse proposal (Figure 17) is largely for elementary schools, since "27 out of 31 schools are 37 years of age or older and eight of this total are over 50 years of age". In recommending four peripheral sites (called the Campus Plan) the Syracuse report claims that the plan will "minimize the effects of transfer between schools, maintain a racially balanced pattern, provide the added space for outdoor activity, and, with appropriate busing service, avoid either over-crowding or under-utilization of facilities. In addition, the Campus Plan will provide educational facilities and capabilities not available to neighborhood schools except at a substantial increase in costs. It will also

provide techniques directed to the objective of individualized education and expand the educational environment for all pupils at a substantial saving in costs. The Campus Plan not only approaches the desired criteria for school sites in offering outdoor areas; it will be able to add facilities for cultural enrichment and a wide variety of experiences designed to stimulate learning and interest for all students in a richer life, including greater contact with the arts, the sciences, the world of work, physical education, the dramatic arts, and a greater realization of the values of education."[28]

Two principal points about the Syracuse plan are its institutional character and its reliance on transportation. It is institutional in the sense that each campus is dedicated to education from kindergarten through sixth grade only:[29] there are no other uses. And as each site is peripheral, walk-in is minimal. One key to the public's acceptance of such a plan must be its acceptance that the majority of children have to travel. And with it comes the demise of the neighborhood school.

"In a comparative study of new neighborhood sites for schools versus the Camp Site Plan, it is evident that such individual sites can be located within population centers in the inner-city area. However, such sites are far below accepted standards in size and location, are very costly, will not reduce inter-school transfers because of family mobility, and will continue in time, to contribute

to the ever-present problems of under-utilization and over-crowding as urban rehabilitation expands, a hazard of the neighborhood school of the inner city. Land costs are found to run over $100,000 per acre in contrast with land near the city's periphery where the cost ranges from $7,000 to $20,000 per acre. The neighborhood school also tends to perpetuate racial imbalance, parallel to the housing patterns of the inner city."[30]

The Syracuse plan thus confronts the city with two opposing alternatives. The first is the in-city school, on expensive land, starved for recreational space and unable to expand, and likely to become _de facto_ segregated because of its neighborhood orientation. The second alternative is the peripheral park, which redresses all the physical disadvantages and controls racial balance because everyone travels. The question is whether these are the only alternatives, applicable to all cities. The major drawback to the Syracuse plan is that the sites are peripheral, and they are institutional. They have only one function, and that is education. They do not dynamically affect the urban structure of the city as a whole or the renewal of the inner city; and they contribute little as a focus for community integration in the fuller sense.

The theory of the Pittsburgh Plan--which is now through its detailed three-dimensional environmental design phases and into the architectural design of buildings--and the Corde Corporation recommendations to Philadelphia, points toward new ways of integrating large-scale education noninstitutionally and dynamically with the city. _In a word, the theory is to use the large education component as the hub of a_

new and dynamic radial system of renewal and rehabilitation, so that the total environment is charged and changed by the insertion of the new focus--a new core. And the new core is based on city-wide transportation so that it is part of a city-wide network of similar new cores, as well as being the particular and characterized core of a particular sector of the city. In Pittsburgh there will be five such new cores--all based on transportation networks, and all interdependent so that they will amount to a single interrelated system. (Figure 21)

The "Satellite Core Park" for Philadelphia

In outlining this theory in their report to Philadelphia, Corde described the 'satellite core park' as follows:

> As the urban population has spread outward from Center City, certain areas with very high accessibility have developed as intensive commercial and office centers, adjacent to major transportation terminals where commuter rail lines, subways, suburban bus facilities, and major arterials provide the opportunity for moving from one mode of transportation to another. Their potential for an even more important role should be utilized. Such a satellite core provides a major opportunity for the development of still another type of park complex. (Figure 18) Air rights, underutilized or obsolete industrial and institutional sites, and low-displacement urban renewal sites would be used. In addition, existing schools in surrounding residential areas and small scattered sites in those areas would be connected to the park core.
>
> A network of recreational facilities and pedestrian ways, within the surrounding residential areas, would connect existing and new schools to the functions of the core.

> This park would be located between predominantly white and predominantly nonwhite areas, of different income levels, and joint use of the same facilities will contribute to integration. Secondly, the high accessibility of the core facilities will make them available to a broad diverse student body.
>
> The strategy of development of this complex, which will utilize the accessibility and the private development which exists, is the immediate construction, on available sites developed through air rights or through the clearing of obsolete industrial land, of major educational facilities near the existing nucleus. These public inputs, strategically located, will act as a catalyst for the additional development, and the implementation of the plan for the core as a major business, residential, transportational, and educational center. 31

The Pittsburgh Plan

The five cores planned for Pittsburgh are each based on a Great High School of 4,000 to 4,500 students. The first studies for the system were made in 1964.[32] (Figure 19)

Beginning with a city of hills, rivers and valleys, and with strong inward-looking neighborhood and city-sector traditions of hilltop residential areas separated by steep topographies and man-made barriers, highways, industries, and railroads (Figure 20 A), the Pittsburgh Plan proposes a new focus, built to use air-rights over transportation systems, and directly accessible to segregated communities. (Figure 20 B)

Five of these foci are joined by transportation systems--limited-access high-speed highways, and rapid transit--to form one interrelated system. (Figure 21) The interrelationships achieve racial balance. They also enable each school to invest in and specialize in facilities, equipment and faculty--one in engineering,

another in the visual and performing arts, another in astronomy, and so forth--to a degree impossible in a dispersed system. And the advanced or specializing students will use the transportation systems between each school, riding between the rapid transit concourses on which each school will be based, no further distant than ten minutes at the outside.

Intelligent entrepreneurial attitudes towards these specializations are encouraged to attract clusters of similar uses. For example, the campus specializing in the visual and performing arts will be suitable as a location for a repertory theatre and theatre workshops, for public exhibition halls for the arts, arts society and dealer art galleries, studios for arts and crafts and so forth; while the campus specializing in engineering and sciences will be suitable for R & D industries and exhibition halls and conference facilities related to the industries of the metropolitan region.

Uses of this kind encourage the cluster of further series of uses; for example administrative offices, motels, and speciality shops. At the same time, working from the other end of the spectrum, there is a series of public programs in fields other than education which can be coalesced at each of these foci. Every city has a large housing backlog in the public and private sectors which would respond to the cluster of amenities offered at these points. Thus in the Pittsburgh Plan townhouses and high rise apartment blocks, to be built by the public and private sectors and by cooperatives, are sited adjacent to the schools, the public open spaces, the commercial areas and the transportation center.

In this way the program which began in Pittsburgh as a citywide interrelationship of large and integrated high schools has become a federation of full-scale sub-cores of housing, industry, office blocks, commercial areas, cultural facilities and major schools, based on transportation systems and amounting to a major restructuring of the center city itself. Each subcore is planned to be an integrated focus for 120,000 people; and each will be, in turn, the center of a subsystem of one-way traffic streets and landscaped pedestrian ways leading to and from points of interest and importance in each community. In education terms these are middle and elementary schools. (Figure 22) But other typical points would be churches, neighborhood shopping streets, landscaped squares and parks, play areas, etc.; and their interrelationship by means of regulated traffic flows, one-way street systems, pedestrian malls and plazas becomes the structure for environmental conservation and rehabilitation, and the regeneration of community and environmental pride.

The Brooklyn Linear City

The insertion of major cores into Pittsburgh is the means for drawing into environmental continuity neighborhoods which by long traditions have been separate, and which in recent years have become segregated enclaves, white or Negro. The Long Island Railroad, running transversely through Brooklyn, acts as a manmade barrier which presently is becoming a boundary, like some of the topography of Pittsburgh, of huge racial dimensions. This right-of-way is now the line of a proposed cross-Brooklyn Expressway, to run on an elevated structure over the railroad; and it is proposed[31] to take the opportunity of this large-scale construction to integrate with it a continuous linear city of combined residential, commercial, educational,

industrial, cultural, recreational, and transportational development. (Figure 24)

<u>The Physical Reality of Large-Scale Education Park Development - The Pittsburgh Experience</u>

It is difficult to describe the physical reality of an innovative architectural concept when no examples have yet been built or even designed in detail. However, some remarks can be made, based partly on the Pittsburgh urban design experience which, in order to complete its task of determining the environmental impact of inserting an element so large into each of the five urban locations, was forced to design an optimum mass and scale for each facility, and partly on comparable architectural experience in scale and continuous structure.

In Pittsburgh each of the Great High Schools--4,000 - 4,500 students--is not in itself big by contemporary constructional standards. However, by the time housing, commercial areas, cultural facilities, office blocks and administration, recreation, parking areas and the transportation center were added, the total operation had considerable size. The urban design for the East Liberty subcore showed, for example, over half-a-mile of continuous building structure. Yet although organizationally the size is large by any modern developmental standards, analyzed in terms of its various components the problem is by no means overpowering. The most crucial danger of all to be avoided in a development of this size (no less than in the city itself) is the loss of human scale and identity.

The Pittsburgh urban design solutions, show no compromise either with massive scale or with human scale. The educational specifications in this case call for a solution based on a categorical division of each Great High School into three components: the educational, the social, and the administrative. The educational component is subdivided into departments (rather like a college or a university, the Great High Schools will each have a department of English, a department of mathematics, a department of science, and so forth). The social component is divided into four houses, which in turn are subdivided into smaller counselling units. And administratively each school is a decentralized and virtually autonomous unit.

Translated into architectural mass these requirements each proclaim their own scale and their own optimum position in the site itself. For example, although the specifications for each site are by and large the same (except for the specialist departments of each school) each site is in itself very highly characterized. Each has its own topography, its own geological characteristics of bearing, its own traffic configurations, its own scale of surrounding urban areas, its own peculiarities of utilities and services, and so forth. In the case of the Northside solution illustrated here the diagonal rail and rapid transit line is the critical barrier to be overcome in relating the Negro ghetto in the Manchester area on the left to the predominantly white Central Northside area on the right. The urban design solution shows two vast departmental blocks, one in the form of a giant C-shaped structure, and the other as a long slab, running left to right. And these are elevated on columns thirty

feet high, so that smaller buildings may penetrate underneath them and the experience of the pedestrian (the student) of the scale of the surrounding city as he approaches the complex continues uninterrupted, underneath these giant blocks, on through the scheme.

By elevating the main structures in this way two design objectives are achieved. The first is that a structure much bigger than the surrounding city is visible against the skyline from near and far, a gesture or symbol at large scale proclaiming the new and integrated focus that has been established in the city. The second objective is by irony almost the reverse of this. By elevating these structures on columns an internal space of very intimate human scale is established, infinitely various in its built form, offering changes of pace and level and landscaping as one moves from one asymmetric court to the next. Here are located the dining halls, debating rooms, auditoria, open air theatres and sculpture courts, the art studios, and the precincts of study rooms and counselling services. To sum up, the attempt is to provide an architecture which at once fits closely and sensitively into the surrounding city, yet is sufficiently different and identifiable to the young people who use it to become a symbol of their identity, irrespective of their socioeconomic origins, a youth city within the city.

General Specifications for Education Parks

Not all specifications for education parks will accord with the specifications for the Pittsburgh Plan, but will be determined by each school system devising such plans. However, it is possible

to discuss some general problems which all programs will need to face.

Size. It is natural for people to express some concern over the fact that education park plans call for relatively large numbers of students. One may question how strong the sense of belonging the average student feels within present school arrangements; but the new concept suggests that the larger size will exacerbate the problem.

It is not necessarily the absolute number of students that an educational center serves which determines the individual's feeling of identity and worth, but rather the kind of activity in which he participates. In other words, it is possible for children to feel a sense of purpose, personal success, psychological acceptance, and even physical safety in large schools.

A range of alternatives now exists in educational planning which can be used within the educational center. Each school system can determine what it views as optimum size for classroom and school and then design its physical facilities to comply. Each unit within the large educational center can be selected to any quantity desired. Primary units thus can be limited to just a few hundred students per unit, with those few hundred divided in even smaller classroom groups than schools now contain if this is the desired goal. This procedure may be followed for middle and high school grades as well.

The fact that the large educational center may contain many such units does not need to affect the individual student within each unit, so long as attention is given to his individual needs. The large educational center will be viewed as a facility serving many clusters of student activities. (Figures 26, 27, 28)

Grouping Practices. It is safe to assert that the more traditional methods of grouping students by grade levels, (abilities determined by test scores, track systems, honors programs, etc.) have limited research support for their educational efficacy. A case may be made for their administrative and organizational convenience, but they do not necessarily provide a sound educational milieu. Further, given the past disparities in educational achievement between average Negro and white students, the common grouping practices have a tendency to resegregate students within the desegregated schools.

The challenge is to develop an array of new grouping practices which provide valuable group experiences and maximize the individual's opportunity to learn. A method which some educators have advocated, which seems to be gaining support of late, has been termed "multi-age grouping". The initial group in which a student is placed is purposefully arranged for a wide range of age levels. It is believed that the educational experience is then enhanced by the variety of educational responses and attitudes made possible.

The continuous development plan, sometimes called the non-graded program, has been the most well-received of the newly discussed grouping plans. The organization of students is oriented around identified activities rather than grade levels. With this plan the student is grouped to move through graded activities at his own rate. A number of school systems have achieved great success with this procedure.

The teaching method most often considered when flexible grouping arrangement is desired is team teaching. In these programs, students within a large group are continuously programmed within groupings of various sizes under the direction of one or more teachers. A student might view a film in an auditorium containing several hundred students, then participate in an explanation session with one or more teachers with perhaps seventy-five students, then move to a discussion with 15 students and the teacher, and then conceivably meet alone with a teacher to clarify what he has learned. This approach affords great opportunity for the creative use of student grouping. The scheduling requires complex arrangements, but school systems using this method have had little difficulty. (Figure 29)

Individualized Attention. Ultimately the question of a student's success in school needs to be determined irrespective of his participation in various groups. The orientation of the school needs to be geared toward the obtaining of maximum achievement for each student. In these terms the individual shares many of his educational experiences with groups of various sizes, but also spends considerable time working alone. The responsibility for

determining what the individual's activities will be on a given day may be shared between teachers and students, but attention must be directed at each student's progress rather than at the progress of groups.

It is questionable if the school system could successfully achieve the goal of individualized attention given past technologies. The variables that could be identified for a given child would be almost numberless. But with the introduction of computer technology, this attention is clearly possible. The computer can schedule the activities of large numbers of students, fully accounting for all of the identified aspects of each student's learning profile. A student's educational success and difficulties can be monitored and appropriately attended to, as subsequent activities are planned. Though the plan for each student may be unique, the congregate of individual plans constitutes how groups are formed and scheduled.

A particularly significant use of the computer is seen in its promise for assisting instruction. An individual learning station contains units which cover a range of audio-visual methods, all of which are linked to a computer, so that a student's responses to the material presented may immediately determine what his next instructional activity shall be. Computer technology makes possible the simulation of many experiences for individual students otherwise not available. In mathematics, for instance, a student's learning console could contain mechanical gloves similar to those used by researchers in the handling of radioactive materials. The hands of the student inserted in these gloves could actually "manipulate"

(with corresponding feeling) the simulated pictures on the television screen. He could examine, turn, and intersect geometrical solids. He could then erase most of the picture of the objects, leaving only the lines of intersection. For language arts, a film could appear on the screen of a French village. The student could use a "light pen" to point to any store of his choosing. The photo-sensitive screen would respond by changing the scene to the inside of the store. The clerk, next pictured, speaking in French, could then point out and describe the various objects in the shop. A lesson in geography could reveal a small slice of the earth's surface on the computer screen. The student could then choose a spot on this part of the globe with his "light pen", moving it in such a manner as to enlarge the area until it becomes recognizable. The process could continue until a specific street of a specific city came into focus.

Though these examples have an aura of science fiction, they all are technically feasible. Further, school facilities should not be planned without giving cognizance to the kinds of activities in which students will engage. School systems must be oriented toward academic success for students as individuals, and all programs that enhance this process need to be considered. (Figure 30)

Teacher Needs--New Educational Roles. The above discussions suggest that the education park will require dramatic changes for teachers. Teacher involvement in planning, administering, and supervising the many educational activities outlined will obviously necessitate changed conceptions of the teacher-task. Further, the many radical departures from past educational practices clearly

will make necessary elaborate in-service training programs. These new in-service experiences for teachers will require the employment of many specialists specifically engaged to serve teacher growth. Though it is possible for a teacher to perceive his changing role as an overwhelming burden, the principal strategy for dealing with his anxiety makes sound sense educationally. That is, one of the chief responsibilities for the planners and administrators of the education park is to develop service arms for teachers. These teacher resources would at once aid the teacher and, at the same time, have a positive effect on student learning.

As exploration develops regarding changing expectations of teachers and by teachers, what is certain to occur is a realization that new educational roles will be required. A useful comparison may be drawn with the medical profession. The most important relationship in a hospital is that of the doctor and the patient. Though this is so, almost all patients are diagnosed and treated by a number of other physician specialists at the request of the patient's doctor. Further, these physician-patient relationships are not possible without a complex organization of technicians and aides to assist in the diagnosis and treatment. In education the principal relationship exists between teacher and student. The specialist teacher-student relationship will exist, but then the comparison with medical practice just about ceases. In the education park, however, the complex educational activities will require a vast organization of technicians and aides to assist in educational

diagnosis and learning prescription. Again, the strategy for providing amenities as compensation for increased responsibility is served as well as an obviously improved opportunity for student learning. (Figure 31)

Community Relations. In increasing numbers parents have been articulating the need to improve their participation in school policy decisions. The education park concept, as a dramatic departure from more traditional school planning, will require great community support.

Many educational changes will be required in the education park. Task forces comprised of educational personnel and parents can be formed to help develop new plans. A whole series of curriculum studies might easily flow from such groups. Second, community people could be used as aides to the educational process; that is, many individuals could be engaged, either through salary or as volunteers, to provide a range of assistance in the education center. Audio-visual technicians, library helpers, group leaders, community liaisons are just a few examples. Finally, most education park plans indicate that the educational activities would not be oriented only toward young people, but that many opportunities would be provided for adult education. The discussion in this paper would suggest that, in addition to these extremely worthwhile educational programs for adults, those individuals serving the educational center, whether as members of study groups assisting in planning or as aides to the teaching program, would participate in special educational programs specifically preparing them for their service tasks.

This paper has discussed only the design of the education park and its variations. But in order to maximize local participation it might be wise to consider neighborhood meeting areas that would serve to develop preliminary decisions affecting the policies and curricula of the larger center. Every effort must be made, especially in the initial stages, to guarantee that parents have a sense of control over the development of the new educational centers. Procedures should be developed to maximize their participation at the center itself, and the centralizing of educational facilities should not block opportunities for meaningful parent participation. (Figure 32)

THE NEW CITY WITHIN THE CITY

The Impact of Technology and the New Range of Options

From the education point of view the challenges presented by today's technologies are great opportunities. Revolutionary hardware is being produced, particularly in the areas of computer retrieval systems, data banks, and audio-visual techniques. Much of this new hardware already exists, or is on the drawingboards. In other words it is sufficiently known, in effect and dimension, to be incorporated in schools.

The impact of the new hardware will be felt on every area of school organization and administration without exception; on curricular development, on the roles and techniques of teachers, on teacher retraining programs, and on the training of new teachers in colleges, as well as on every aspect of office administration and student evaluation. Its revolutionary and inescapeable effects must

be planned for now, in both the policy-formation and architectural/ environmental areas of decision. Otherwise school systems will be caught again with all the problems which arise from having to make radical changes in new environments already obsolete.

But it will be, and must be, on student motivation and achievement--and on all the social ramifications which flow out from this--that the impact of the new technologies will be most profound, and, properly guided, most creative. Increasingly the new hub of the teaching process will be the resource materials center with its audio-visual studios, data bank and consoles.

Every student will have the capacity, and self-confidence, to program his own studies under teacher guidance. The best minds in the world can, and will, be gathered and made available to any student in any school, even in the most deprived sector of the city. As systems increase in size, much larger resource materials centers, built to be either part of a school or as a separate specialist operation, and equipped with their own closed circuit television studios, will serve a group of schools. The range of options opened up to the questing mind of any student will of course be enormously broadened and deepened. And as he is encouraged to exercise his learning options more and more widely, the implicit intellectual discipline will not be the imposition of an *a priori* value-structure but his own pursuit and motivation.

It is against this open order of educational background that a corresponding architecture for the new school becomes really pertinent. In the Pittsburgh design which we discussed earlier, the simple

and very large elevated structure is visible, as a large-scale point of identification, from a considerable distance across the city. But within it lies a series of asymmetrical and intimate semi-enclosed and open spaces, landscaped plazas, sculpture courts, open air theaters, flights of steps, broad ramps and vistas, places of human-scale identity--a "youth city" within the city where the student creates a new identity for himself and the cross-racial friendships which must be the real test of integration.[33]

The new architecture of schools must confirm education's essential democracy in these days of change and stress in cities. "The function of public schools (in the United States) has been not only to develop a child's intellectual and learning skills, but also to develop his awareness and appreciation that we are a nation of diverse people and cultures. It is this dual role which separates public education in the United States from public education in many other nations, and it is at least one reason why people regard integration as inseparable from quality education."[34]

The Role of Education in the Open Metropolitan Form

The question is--how will these values of intellectual and social freedom, basic to education, affect urban structure? Are they compatible with the open-form metropolis? For, as we said earlier, education cannot by itself change the demographic trends of cities. Indeed, education--by affirming the very values we are now

discussing--will only exaggerate the frustrations of the disadvantaged and socially circumscribed unless parallel options in every other area of urban life are programmed comprehensively and at the same time. The time has therefore come to pull together the various complex strands of this paper into one relationship.

1. Open Metropolitan Structure. The overall pattern of metropolitan growth is suburban expansion. There are few restraints to limit this growth. With a population today of two hundred million, 75 percent of whom live in urban areas, less than two percent of the country's land surface is in fact urbanized. And with a population of three hundred and fifty million in the year 2000, 90 percent of whom will live in urban areas, less than four percent of the country's land surface will be urbanized.

In fact, not restraint but encouragement is given to these expansionist tendencies. Metropolitan counties are frequently in competition with the center city for industries, commercial developments, and middle- and upper-income residential development. During the period 1950 to 1960 nearly 18 million people settled in suburbs. Between 1960 and 1980, it is estimated that 40.9 million more people will settle in metropolitan suburban areas.[35]

2. Demography. Suburban settlement is almost exclusively white--88.5 percent. Matching the outflow of white families to the suburbs, the inflow of population into the center city is almost exclusively nonwhite. Between 1950 and 1960 the nonwhite populations of center cities rose from 6.3 million to 10.3 million, or 63.5 percent. Between 1960 and 1965 the increase was a further 2.1 million

or 20 percent. Much of this increase is due to heavy in-migrations to major metropolitan areas from the rural south. "But even if the estimate of net in-migration is cut in half, the 1978 nonwhite central city population would be about 19.2 million."[36]

Chicago's public schools, for example, are today 52.3 percent Negro, as compared with 50.9 percent last year and 46.5 percent in 1963.[37] At present rates of increase, the center cities of several major metropolitan areas, including Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Detroit, Cleveland, and Baltimore, will have school systems approaching 90 percent Negro by 1983.[38] Segregation in schools merely echoes segregation in residential patterns. In Chicago, field surveys show that "about 2.9 city blocks per week are shifting from predominantly white to nonwhite occupancy, mainly on the edges of already nonwhite areas. This is somewhat lower than the 3.5 blocks-per-week average from 1960 to 1966, but above the average of 2.6 from 1950 to 1960."[39]

Thus, as time goes on, <u>de facto</u> segregation in city schools becomes increasingly inevitable through the physical expansion of ghettos. The gravity of this situation is increased by two factors which lie imbedded in the general trend. The first is that the white families which are moving out are for the most part young and of childbearing age. As a result, the middle-income white population of cities is not being renewed. For example, in Chicago the outmigration of white families from the city to suburban areas between 1960 and 1965 totalled about 200,000 people; but the outmigration should in reality be shown as some 30 percent higher or 270,000 people, due to young families having their children in the new suburbs. Conversely, it is

also the younger Negro who migrates. Thus, the figures for Negro inmigration should in reality be increased likewise by at least one-third due to the childbearing age of the majority of inmigrants. This has accelerating repercussions on patterns of residential ownership, land values, density, and rehabilitation.

The second factor within the general trend, and in the long run perhaps even more important for the struggle to upgrade education in the center city, is that inmigration to the center city is not confined to Negroes. The outmigration of middle-income whites is in fact more rapid than official figures show, because there is a counter migration of low-income rural whites, particularly from Appalachia. Similarly, within both the Negro and rural white inmigrations there are Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans. And thus the educational problems within city districts compound.

3. Mobility, Multi-level Centers, and the Open Metropolitan Structure. It becomes clear that there can be no solution to the educational problems of the center city unless it is part of a total solution, on a metropolitan or regional scale, involving the suburbs. In several major cities, careful socioeconomic balances in schools are planned as a means of arresting the trends outlined above, and of achieving a residentially stable *status quo* in otherwise rapidly changing sectors.

But the stability of populations in cities is not in itself achievable through building fine schools which provide quality education (whether within or outside the education park concept), nor through the permutations of school districting. Boards of Education cannot control population growth.

The incontrovertible fact is that the total nonwhite population of the United States living in center cities will rise from its 6.3 million total in 1950 and its 10.3 million total in 1960 to 19.2 million by 1978. Thus--in any city with appreciable nonwhite immigration--the stabilization of one sector will inevitably accelerate change in another; and increase and intensify the ghetto.

Integration can be achieved only through approaching the problem on a far broader and more comprehensive scale than any plans have so far encompassed. Solutions must be metropolitan. For the full variety of metropolitan options must be open to all citizens without exception, and cannot be closed off to one section of the population arbitrarily and intolerably discriminated against on the basis of color. These options include residential cluster, employment, education, leisure, and culture. How do we progress towards these goals? One key to capitalizing on metropolitan urbanism is mobility.

As we have said, mobility is the fundamental structure of the new metropolitan form and its growth. In the macrocosmic sense, the nation as a whole can be seen as a mesh or network of mobility systems (air corridors, highways, railroads), at the interstices of which are cities. In the same way, mobility systems (highways, mass and rapid transit) link every part of each metropolitan area in a single network, at the interstices of which--interchanges, concourses, etc.--occur shopping centers, industries, and decentralizing office blocks, for the same reasons of high accessibility.

The most recent enclosed and air-conditioned shopping malls, well known to all of us, bring together a hundred or more commercial outlets of every size and variety, within a single and unbroken micro-climate, and are based on indisputable economics of shared structure

and rational freight and pedestrian circulation systems. It does not take a great feat of the imagination to envisage a more total complex of housing, schools, cultural facilities, offices, entertainment and recreation, and even light industries, built over parking decks and transit concourses, and similarly linked to all parts of the city and metropolitan region by highway and transit networks.

Implicitly, the new shopping centers, sophisticated though they may be in themselves, are primitive urban centers in a fuller sense. A rationally planned metropolitan region could capitalize on the decentralizing population-settlement trends they represent by collating public and private programs, in a variety of fields of development, into comprehensively planned nodes. (Figure 25) The metropolitan structure would then evolve from its original radiocentric form into a federation of urban cores linked throughout the region by mobility.

These cores--the natural product of an open and additive metropolitan structure--would be dedicated to the concept of open options, and would be built specifically to encourage the exercise of options. Housing developments at these nodes, based on graduated subsidy and mortgage programs, would be specifically designed to encourage full interaction of social groups on new levels of self-respect.

School systems in our larger metropolitan areas do not need to lose any of their traditional autonomies through interrelating educational programs and specialist facilities. On the contrary, much is to be gained. For, just as the metropolitan region as a whole becomes a federation of urban cores linked by mobility, so the metropolitan

education system may be conceived as a federation of education centers, each specializing in one area in addition to general education, i.e sciences, engineering, visual and performing arts, liberal arts, and so forth. In this way, capital investment in specialized equipment and faculty could be made far more effective as a concentration than in dispersed form; and State and Federal financing programs for such centers could be contingent on a required enrollment--in all metropolitan schools without exception--of a minimum percentage of students from nonwhite or deprived families.

The New City Within the City

Much needs to be done, and done urgently. The ghettos in our major cities must be broken. The only way of doing this--and we have to be categorical about it--is by opening up options. For the basic definition of the ghetto is circumscription; and circumscription is clearly made every day more intolerable by the range of modern communication systems. This is a time of rapidly developing international cultures; and education is intensifying an utterly contradictory situation. The content of education and the development of community technologies which will bring the finest minds and materials to the most deprived child, are in open and intolerable conflict with socioeconomic and locational circumscription.

People always will cluster. We have to create the conditions in which they can do so in freedom. A cluster of middle-income suburban whites or low-income center city Negroes is not in itself deplorable if it is free and without enforcement. The multi-level

high density cores we have been describing should also be constructed in the center city. They should be built if possible on "neutral turf" between presently segregated communities. There they can act as large-scale proofs-positive and foci of our determination to integrate cities.

These cores can be the key to the rehabilitation of rundown center city residential areas. Subsidy and mortgage programs to encourage owner-occupancy of dwellings now held by absentee landlords may be accompanied by urban landscape programs providing play areas, shade trees, small public squares, lighting and code enforcement, and also by "architectural clinics", conducted rather like health clinics, to provide guidance to owners on the co-ordinated rehabilitation of their properties. Schemes of this kind will stimulate community pride and stability, a basis for community leadership, and a sense of identity and continuity to the urban young.[40]

At the heart of each there will be, of course, the education center in addition to its housing, commercial and cultural facilities, its offices, and its parking decks and transit concourses. The larger school will reflect the variety, richness and interchangeability of the socioeconomic and community base of the city. And the greater the architectural power of the school design to generate 'identity' for the students within the school, the more will interracial and intersocial friendships be fostered, which must be the real and final basis of integration.

The core school will be able to specialize in buildings, equipment and faculty in addition to its general education programs, and thus be part of the total metropolitan system and exchange of

students. It also will experiment with nongraded education programs, varieties of grouping, counselling services, special courses for the handicapped, and many other programs designed to overcome provision of quality education for all--the hazards to our society, in its determination to overcome the hazards of discrimination and disadvantage, and provide every student with the full and free opportunity to capitalize on his own special powers.

On a similar basis of citywide and metropolitan specialization and exchange, the core school will offer specialist facilities for adult education and manpower retraining programs, cultural programs for the city, teacher retraining and reorientation programs, and special curricula experimentation.

On a similar basis of citywide and national specialization and exchange, the core school will offer specialized facilities for adult education and manpower retraining programs, cultural programs for the city, teacher retraining and reorientation programs and opportunities for experimentation.

The new role for the education park concept is to be part of an open, comprehensive and additive metropolitan system. Its buildings will not be institutional, but will be part of a series of new cores each a total complex, and each a catalyst for urban regeneration integral with the development of a full life for all citizens. Thus the new metropolis would be a federation of cores, each based on the fullest exercise of options in housing, employment, culture and leisure.

FOOTNOTES

1 Among the growing literature on this subject is the group of working papers forming Appendix D.2 in Vol. 2, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967, pp. 253-293.

The papers are:

"The School Park", by John H. Fischer;
"Desegregating the Integrated School", by John I. Goodlad;
"Educational Technology and the Educational Park", by Francis Keppel;
"Towards Educational Equality: the Teacher and the Educational Park", by Dan C. Lortie;
"Desegregation Techniques", by Neil V. Sullivan.

2 Op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 193.

3 John H. Fischer, op. cit., p. 253.

4 Educational Park Development in the United States, 1967: a Survey of Current Development Plans, by Max Wolff, The Center for Urban Education, August 1967.

5 Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, Vol. 1, p. 13, footnote 56.

6 A System/Feasibility Study of Linear City Education Facilities, by the Re-Entry Systems Department of the General Electric Company, Final Report, August 31, 1967, Vol. 1, p. 3 - 21; also Figures 3.1-4 to 3.1-6. The report notes that the current inmigration of approximately 10,000 Puerto Ricans and 8,500 Negroes per year is encouraged by an aging white population as the outmigration of white families in the younger age-groups and middle-income brackets continues: op. cit., pp. 3-6, 3-7, 3-8.

7 Segregation, Northern Style, by Fred Powledge, American Education, December 1966 - January 1967. Reprinted as a pamphlet in March 1967 by the American Jewish Committee, Institute of Human Relations, New York.

8 Pittsburgh Goes Back to School, by James Bailey, The Architectural Forum, July 1967, pp. 40-52. Also Bulletin No. 1, Urban Design and Education Divisions, Urban Design Associates, August 1967.

9 Memorandum of the Corde Corporation to the New York City Board of Education, 21 February 1967, including "a suggested alternate plan which consisted of a combination residential, commercial, educational, industrial, cultural, recreational, and transportational development along the Long Island Railroad right-of-way from Brooklyn College to the Industrial Park--this development to be combined with the proposed Cross-Brooklyn Expressway"; see A System/Feasibility Study, op. cit., p. 1-1.

See also A Broad Conceptual Plan for the Development of a Linear City Complex, by McMillan, Griffis and Mileto, February 23, 1967.

FOOTNOTES

10 Supreme Court decision, Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka et al., 17 May 1954.

11 "The appearance of large numbers of lower class Negroes in Northern cities has led many persons to assert that we are in the grip of a unique problem. It seems to me that it is not yet clear whether this is so, but it may turn out that it is. In the meantime I would certainly agree with James Q. Wilson that 'for the present the urban Negro is, in a fundamental sense, the "urban problem"'". The Urban Negro is the 'Urban Problem', by Daniel P. Moynihan, Trans-Action, October 1967, p. 36-38, report of Senate subcommittee hearings.

12 For a defence of neighborhoods, see Milton Kotler, Making Local Government Truly Local, Trans-Action, October 1967, report of Senate subcommittee hearings.

13 "World Population Growth", by Harold F. Dorn, in The Population Dilemma, edited by Philip M. Hauser, Prentice-Hall, N.Y., 1963, pp. 7-29; papers from the Twenty-Third American Assembly, 1963.

14 Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World, by Charles Abrams, M.I.T. Press, Boston, 1964, p. 294, quoting estimates by Homer Hoyt, Study of International Housing, United States Senate, 88th Congress, First Session, March 1963, p. 17.

15 The City is the Frontier, by Charles Abrams, Harper & Row, New York, 1965, p. 14.

16 "Straight helicopters, compound helicopters, as well as lift engine, fan-in-wing, tilt engine, and tilt wing VTOL and STOL aircraft are being tried for important roles in the military battlefield and near battlefield transportation. Most of the technical points which are important for future aviation are being developed for these military projects. As successes in certain models become apparent, civil aviation will be able to use them, or reasonable modifications--helicopters for intra-city and short-range inter-city transportation, and more advanced VTOL aircraft for longer-range feeder lines. It is my opinion that this area is not being neglected in the development of aircraft. I do believe that as the VTOL aircraft are developed, the air traffic control system must be prepared to incorporate them in its total transportation picture. And I also think that Congress should study ways to encourage airline operators, or entirely new entrepreneurs, possibly by subsidies, possibly by changes in regulations, to try some experiments in actual VTOL transport companies. This could easily be an important part of the Northeast Corridor--Boston/New York/Washington experiment." H. Guyford Stever, "Will Air Transportation Improve?", an unpublished paper before the Carnegie Conference, June 1966.

FOOTNOTES -

17 Megalopolis, the Urbanized Northeastern Seaboard of the United States, by Jean Gottmann, M.I.T. Press, Boston, Mass., 1961.

18 Centropolis 4, Plan for the Central City, Los Angeles, by the Los Angeles City Planning Department, vol. 4, 23 November, 1964, p. 7.

19 "In a traditional society, if we ask a man to name his best friends and then ask each of these in turn to name their best friends, they will all name each other so that they form a closed group. A village is made of a number of separate closed groups of this kind. But today's social structure is utterly different. If we ask a man to name his friends and then ask them in turn to name their friends, they will all name different people, very likely unknown to the first person; these people would again name others, and so on outwards. There are virtually no closed groups of people in modern society." A City is not a Tree, by Christopher Alexander, Design, No. 206, 1966, p. 51; also The Architectural Forum, April and May, 1965.

20 "I think that we are going to become serious about the problems of our cities and our slums and our ghettos only when more privileged people understand that the pathology of the ghettos cannot be confined to the ghettos and that the interests of the privileged are at stake. There is not immunity to the consequences of squalor." .....The Interests of the Privileged are at Stake, by Kenneth B. Clark, testimony at Senate subcommittee hearings, op. cit. p. 39.

21 Integrating Suburbia - The Dispersal Strategy, by Anthony Downs, testimony at Senate subcommittee hearings, op. cit., p. 51, 52.

22 The City is the Frontier, by Charles Abrams, op. cit., p. 61.

23 The Educational Park, by Max Wolff, Integrated Education, April-May, 1967.

24 An Ideal School or Looking Forward, by Preston Willis Search, Appleton & Co., New York, 1901, 1902.

25 The Education Park, Report to the School District of Philadelphia, by the Corde Corporation, January 1967, p. 1-3, also Figure 1.

26 The East Orange Education Plaza, pamphlet by the Board of Education, East Orange, New Jersey, drawings by Emil A. Schmidlin AIA, 1964.

27 The Corde Report to Philadelphia, op. cit., p. 60 ff.

28 The Campus Plan, report to the Syracuse Board of Education, by David F. Sine, Project Director, Syracuse Campus Site Planning Center, 1967, p. viii.

29 The Campus Plan, op. cit., p. 81.

30 The Campus Plan, op. cit., p. viii.

31 The Corde Report to Philadelphia, op. cit., p. 65 ff.

32 The stages of the Pittsburgh Plan are as follows:

1964: Urban Design Associates, under contract with the Board of Education and aided with a grant from Educational Facilities Laboratory, began education park studies based on the urgent need to overcome de facto segregation in Pittsburgh schools. 1965: studies in demography, socio-economics, education planning, performed by the Center for Field Studies (directed by the late Dr. Vincent Conroy), Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, the results of which were published in their Report, Education for Pittsburgh, March 1966. 1966/67: Urban Design Associates, under joint contract to the Board of Education and the Department of City Planning, carried out detailed urban designs of four of the five designated sites, including locations, traffic, etc., for which a fully illustrated report is under active preparation to be published by the City. 1967-: architects Helmuth, Obata and Kassabaum of St. Louis appointed.

33 See Equality of Educational Opportunity, Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, & Welfare, July 1966.

34 The Corde Report to Philadelphia, op. cit.

35 The Future of American Ghettos, by Anthony Downs, at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences Conference on Urbanism, Cambridge, Mass., 27-28 October 1967.

36 The Future of American Ghettos, op. cit.

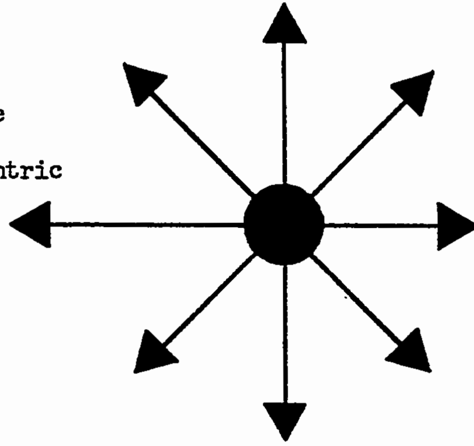
37 Figures released by James F. Redmond, Superintendent of Public Schools, Chicago, 25 October, 1967.

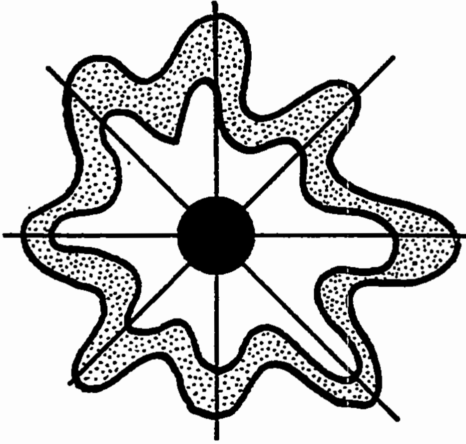
38 The Future of American Ghettos, op. cit.

39 Op. cit., quoting field surveys performed by the Real Estate Research Corporation, Chicago.

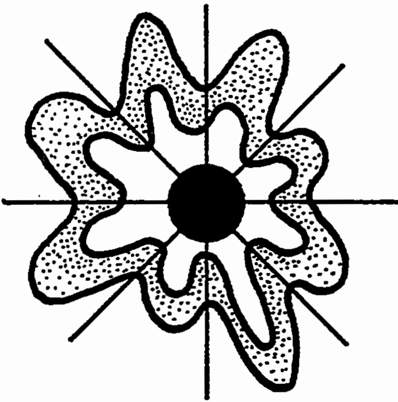
40 Attention is drawn to the project by ACTION-Housing, Inc. under the directorship of Bernard E. Loshbough, in the Homewood-Brushton all-Negro area of Pittsburgh.

1 Mobility breaks open the traditional closed form of cities: the radio-centric metropolis.



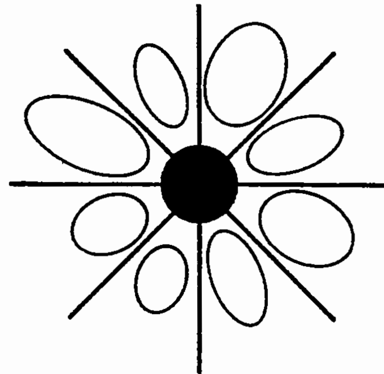


2 Metropolitan areas expand along highways (flat-topography cities)

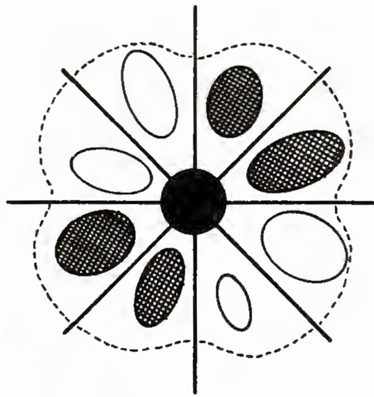


3 Metropolitan areas expand between highways (hill-and valley cities)

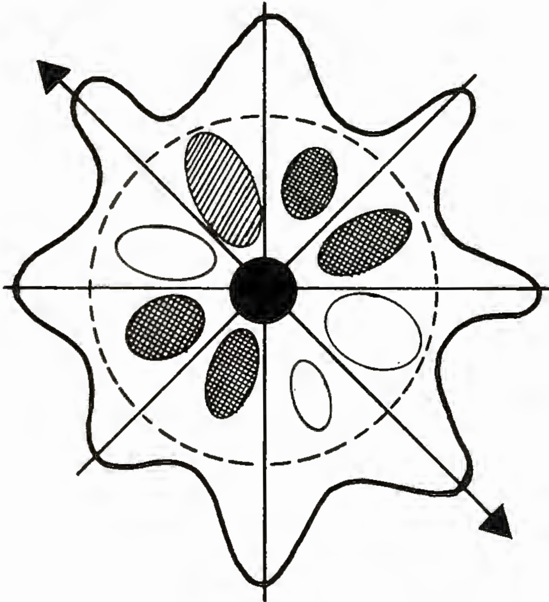
4 Highways as manmade barriers: City sector and neighborhood formation



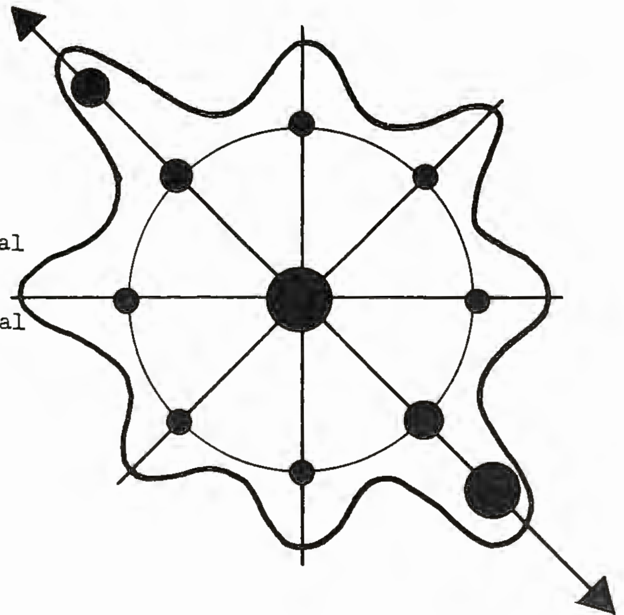
Figures 1, 2, 3 & 4



5 Structure of segregation

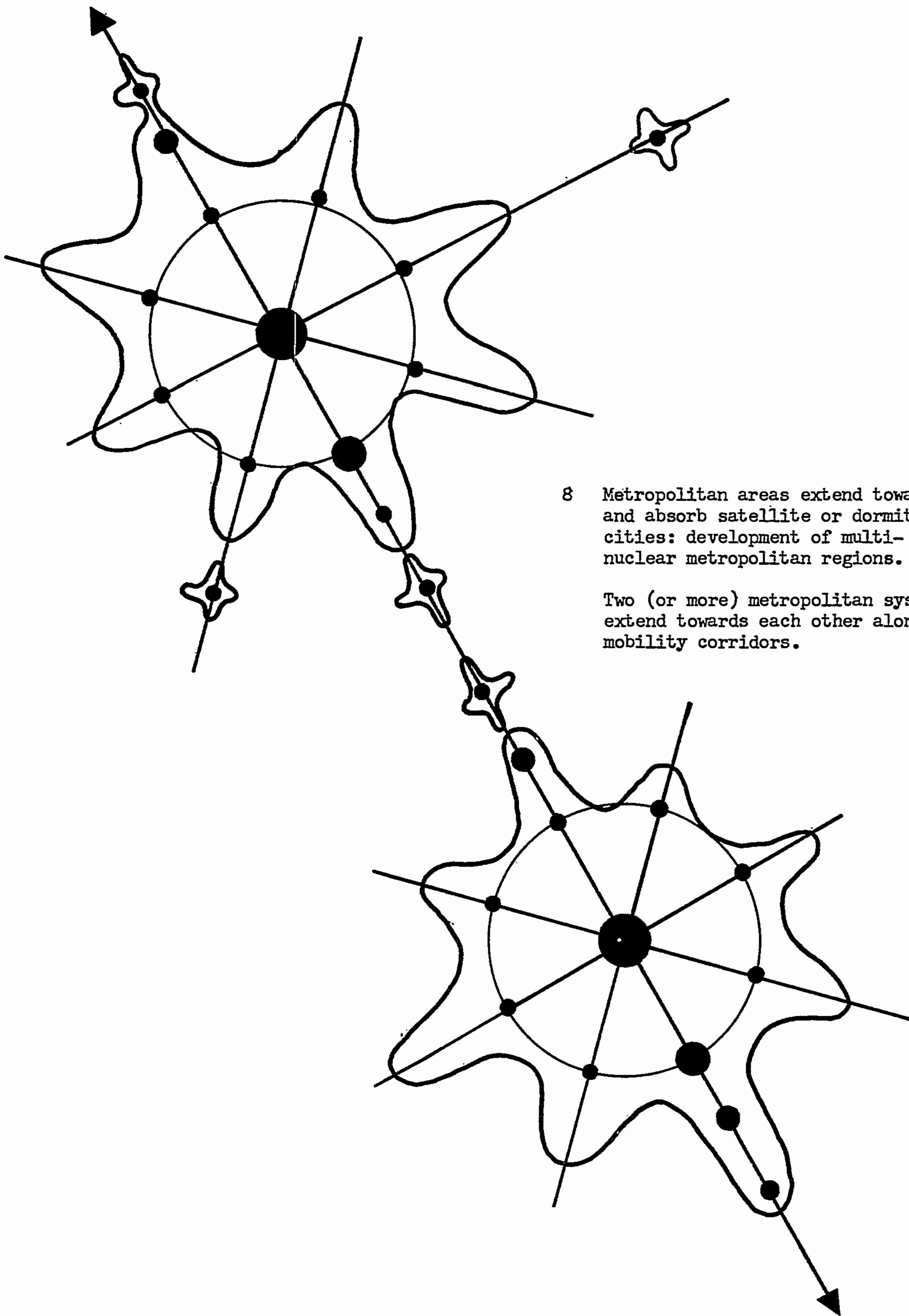


6 Ghettos contained by city limits while metropolitan area extends outwards with white middle class suburban expansion



7 Decentralization: industrial parks, shopping centers, related to radial highways and circumferential beltways

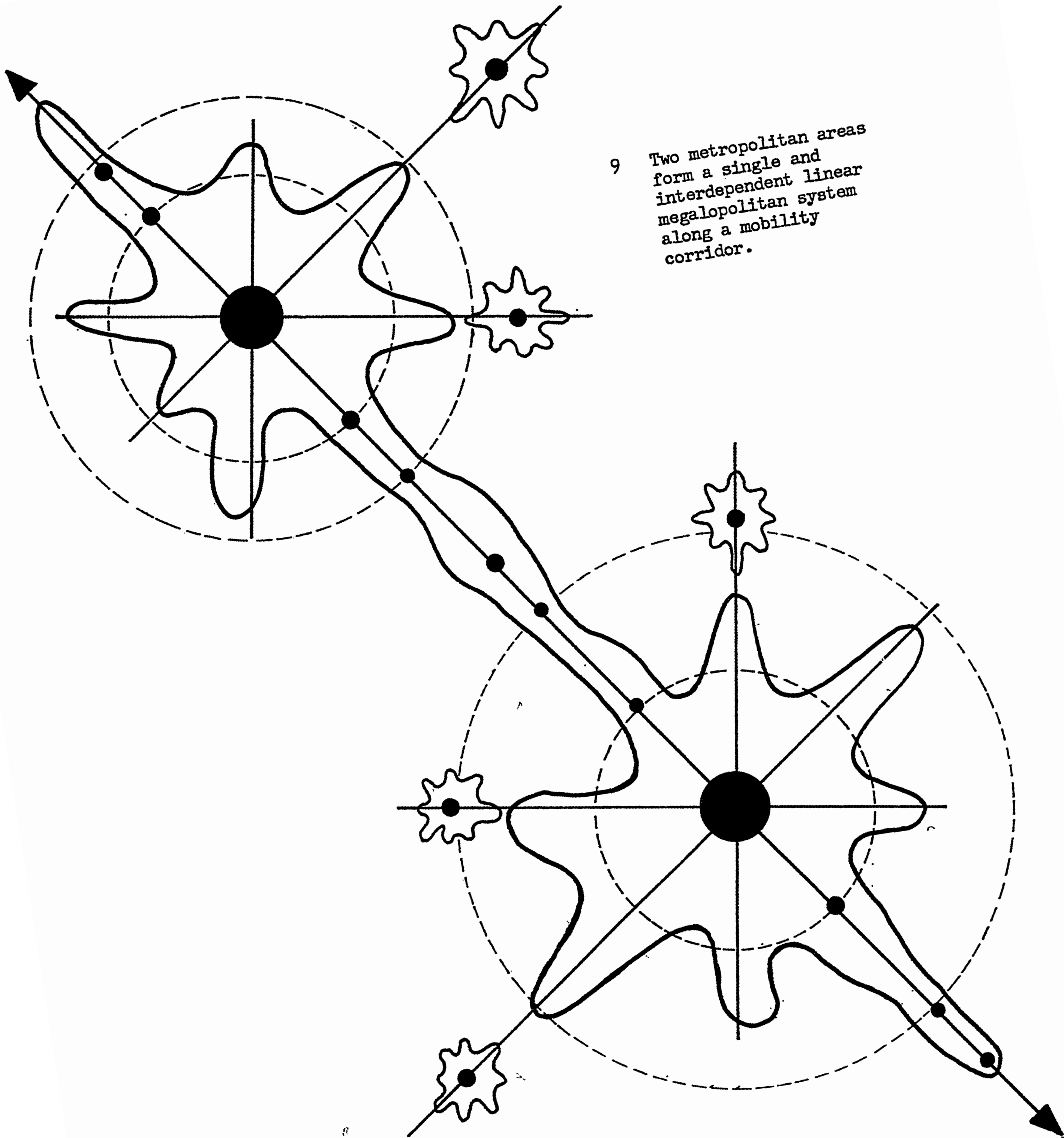
Figures 5, 6, 7



8 Metropolitan areas extend towards and absorb satellite or dormitory cities: development of multinuclear metropolitan regions.

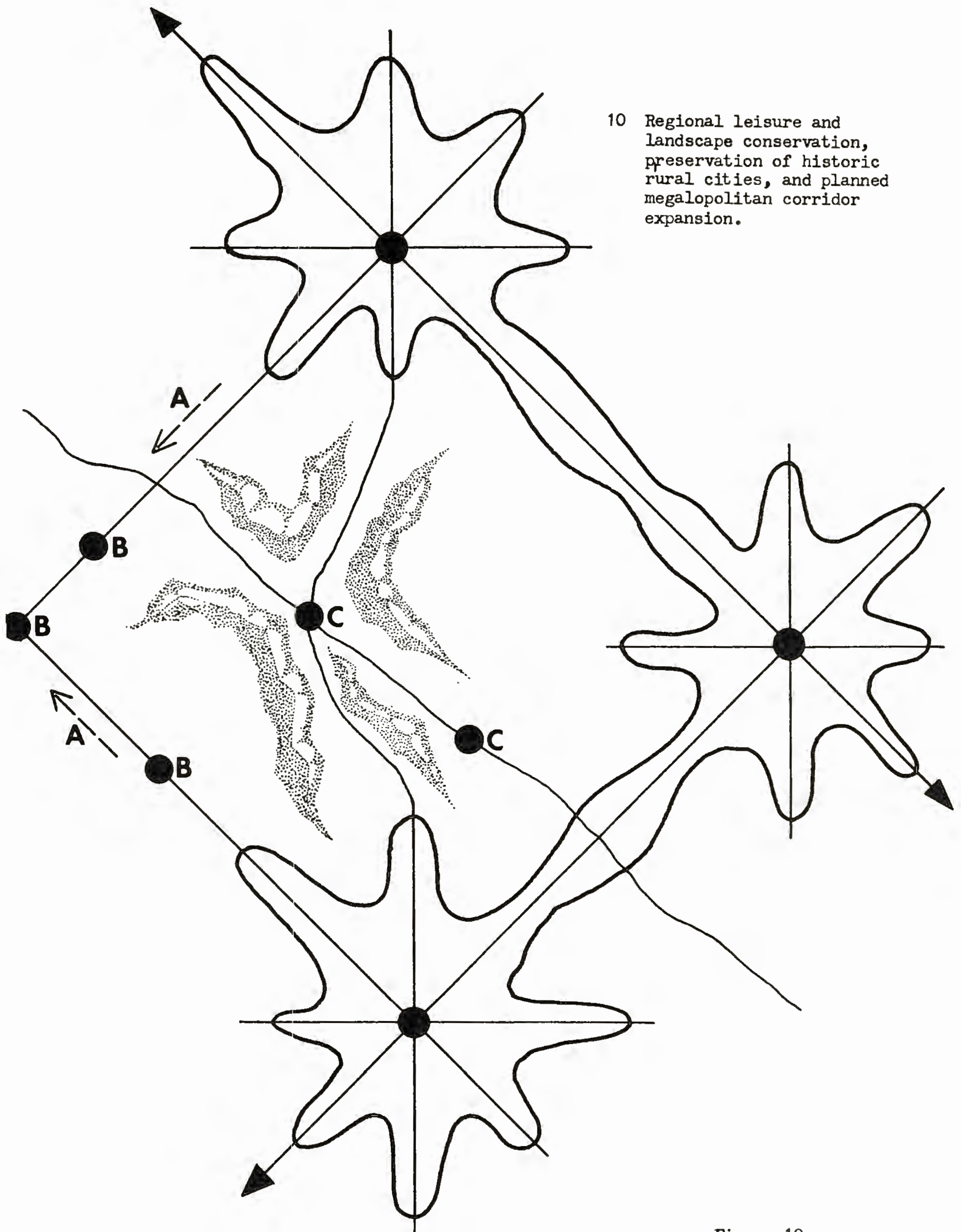
Two (or more) metropolitan systems extend towards each other along mobility corridors.

Figure 8



9 Two metropolitan areas form a single and interdependent linear megalopolitan system along a mobility corridor.

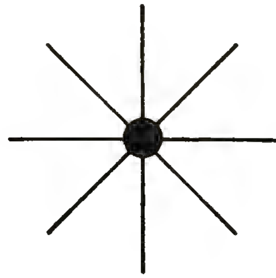
Figure 9

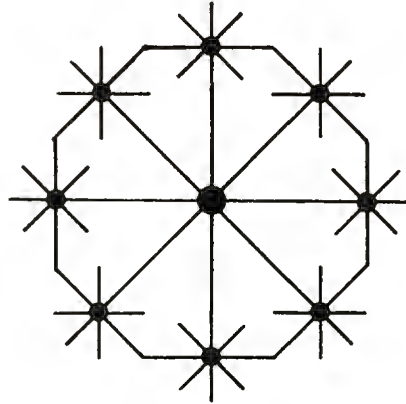


10 Regional leisure and landscape conservation, preservation of historic rural cities, and planned megalopolitan corridor expansion.

Figure 10

11 Single center radio-centric metropolis

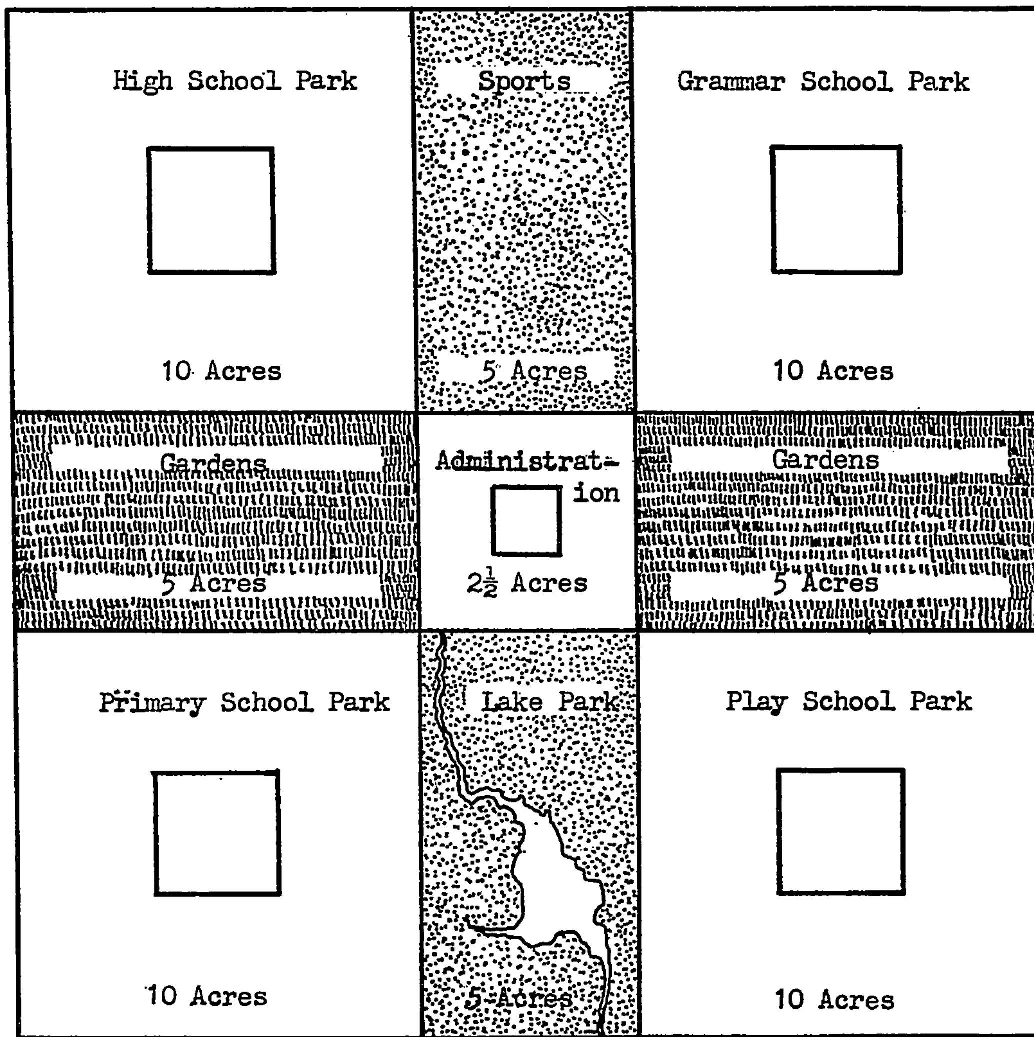




12 Diagram of lattice of cities and radio-centric mobility systems on regional or national scale

13 Linear megalopolis composed of a multinodal region, each node or center being the hub of its own sub-radial system

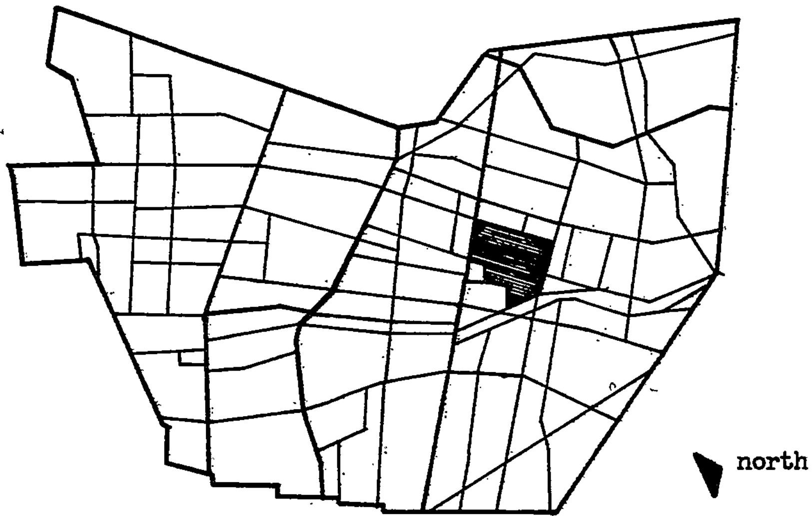
Figures 11, 12, 13



Education Park proposal for Los Angeles, 1894, by Preston Willis Search.

(From The Education Park, Report to the School District of Philadelphia, by the Corde Corporation, January 1967.)

Figure 14.



Stadium

Middle School
Davey Center
Grades 5 - 8
(Phase One)

Primary School
The Kentopp
Center
Grades k - 4

High School
The Scott
Center
Grades 9 - 12

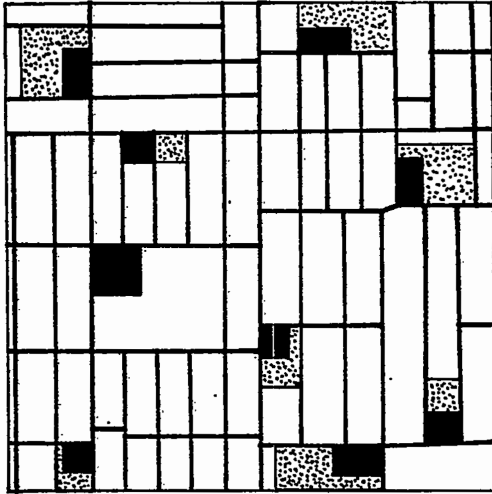
The
Resource
Tower

Parking

Redman
Gymnasia &
Starr Lively
Arts Center

Education Plaza for East Orange, New Jersey

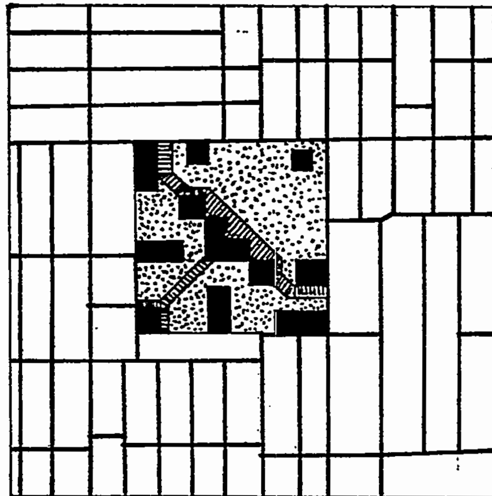
Figure 15.



SCATTERED CONCEPT

Dispersed Neighborhood Schools with Minimum walking distances

Total land required for 4 Elementary, 4 Middle, 1 High School: 65 acres

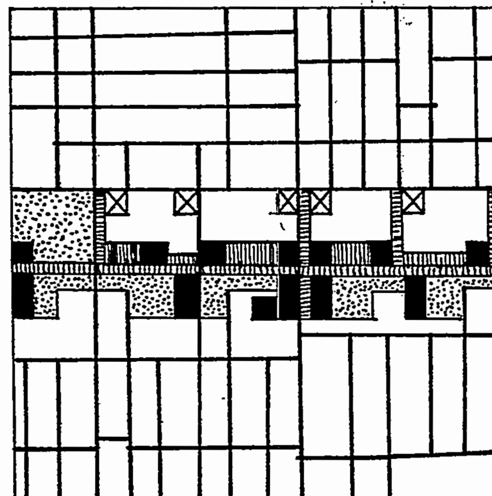


COMPACT CLUSTER CONCEPT

The above schools clustered on a single site, sharing common functions.

Total land required: 55 acres

Walking distance standards maintained



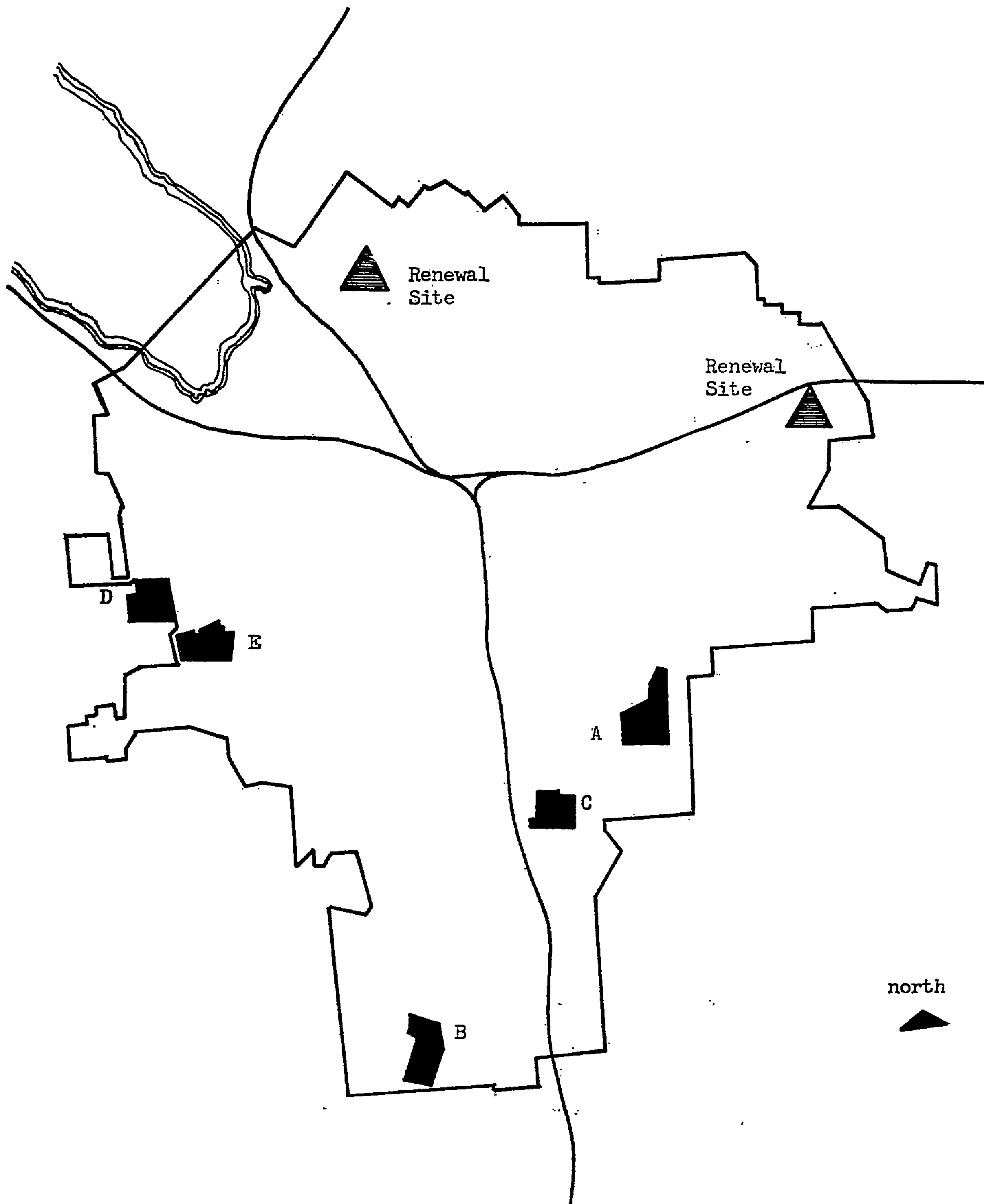
LINEAR CONCEPT

Grouping of individual sites along linear strip permitting the sharing of common and more specialized functions: integration of Park and other Community functions.

Total land required: 55 acres

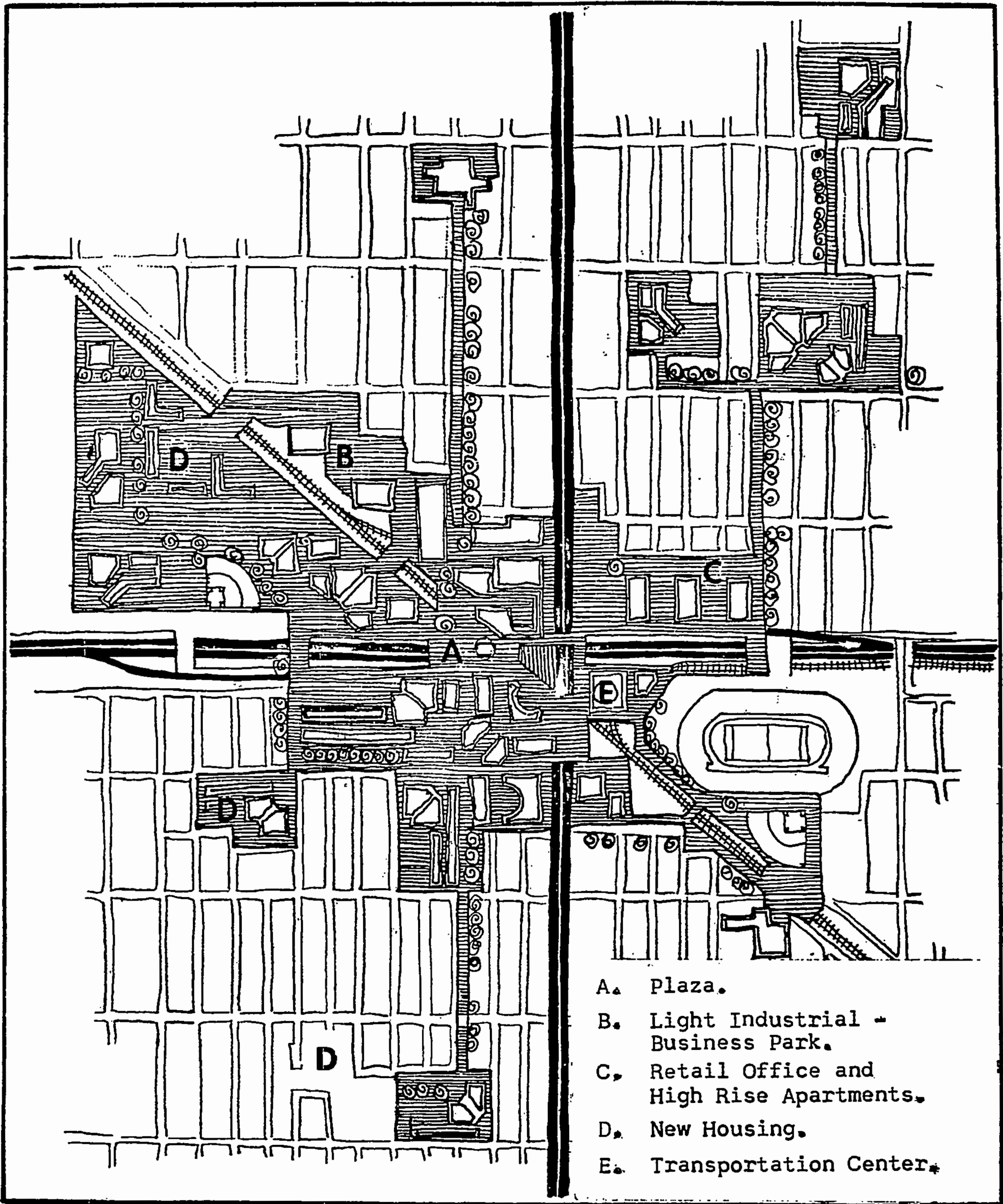
Extracted from Education Park, Report to the School District of Philadelphia, by the Corde Corporation, January 1967.

Figure 16.



Syracuse, New York. Seven Alternative Sites for Peripheral Education Campus Locations.

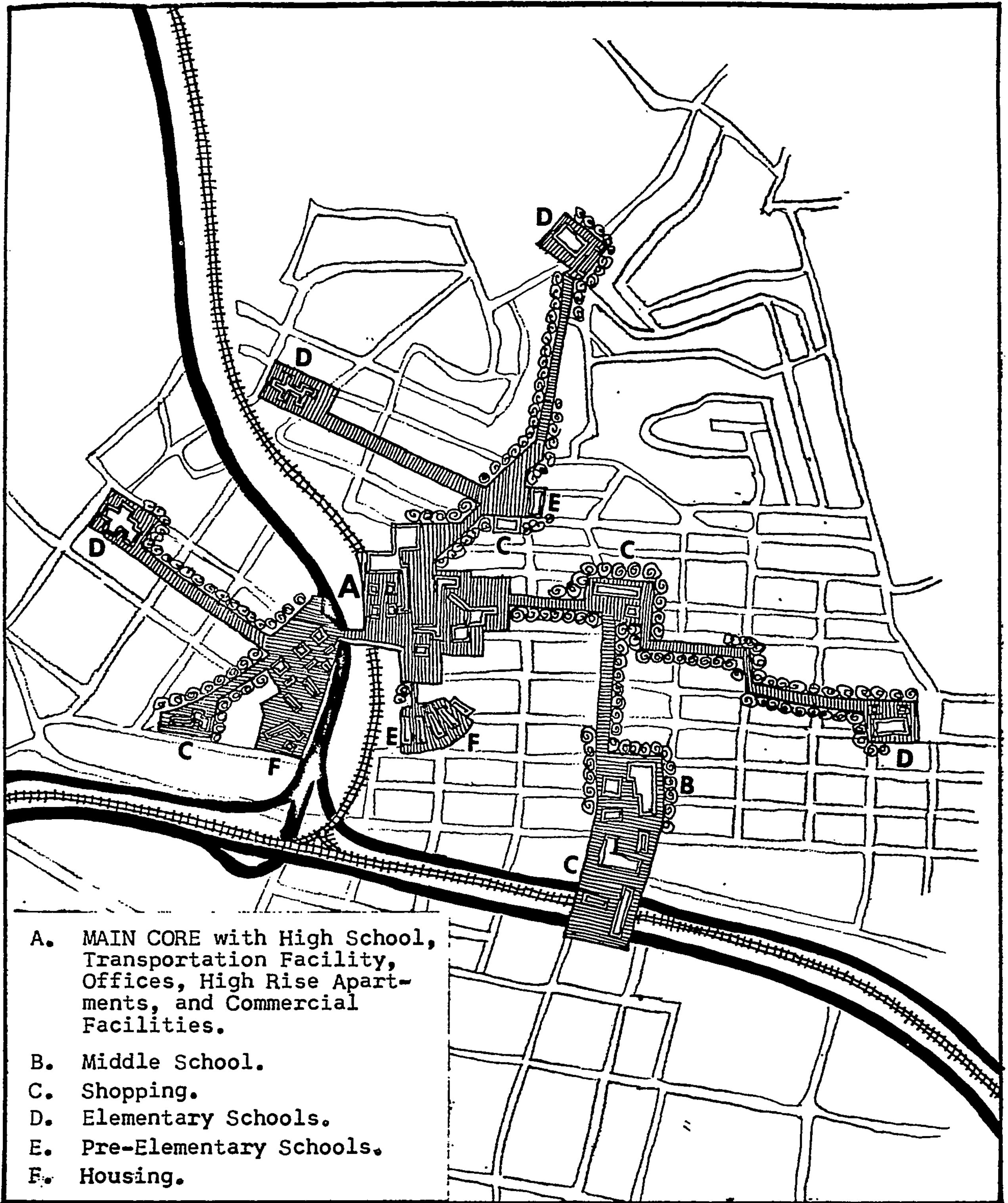
Figure 17



The Satellite Core-Park Concept

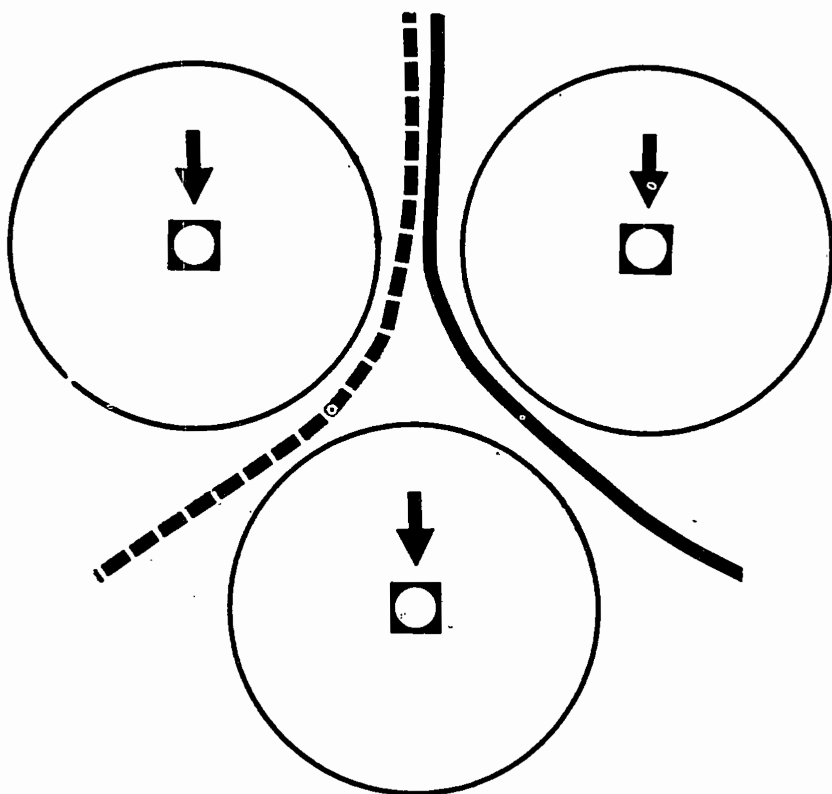
(from The Education Park, Report to the School District of Philadelphia, by the Corde Corporation, January 1967)

Figure 18.



PRELIMINARY GREAT HIGH SCHOOL STUDY FOR PITTSBURGH, in the East Liberty section of the City, designed by Urban Design Associates, 1964.

Figure 19



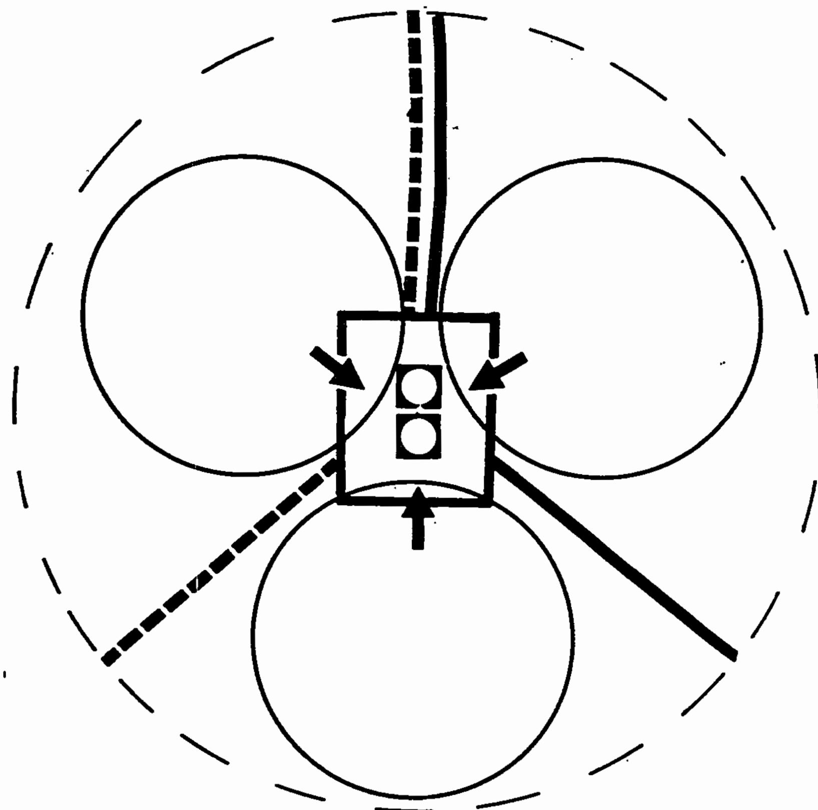


Figure 20

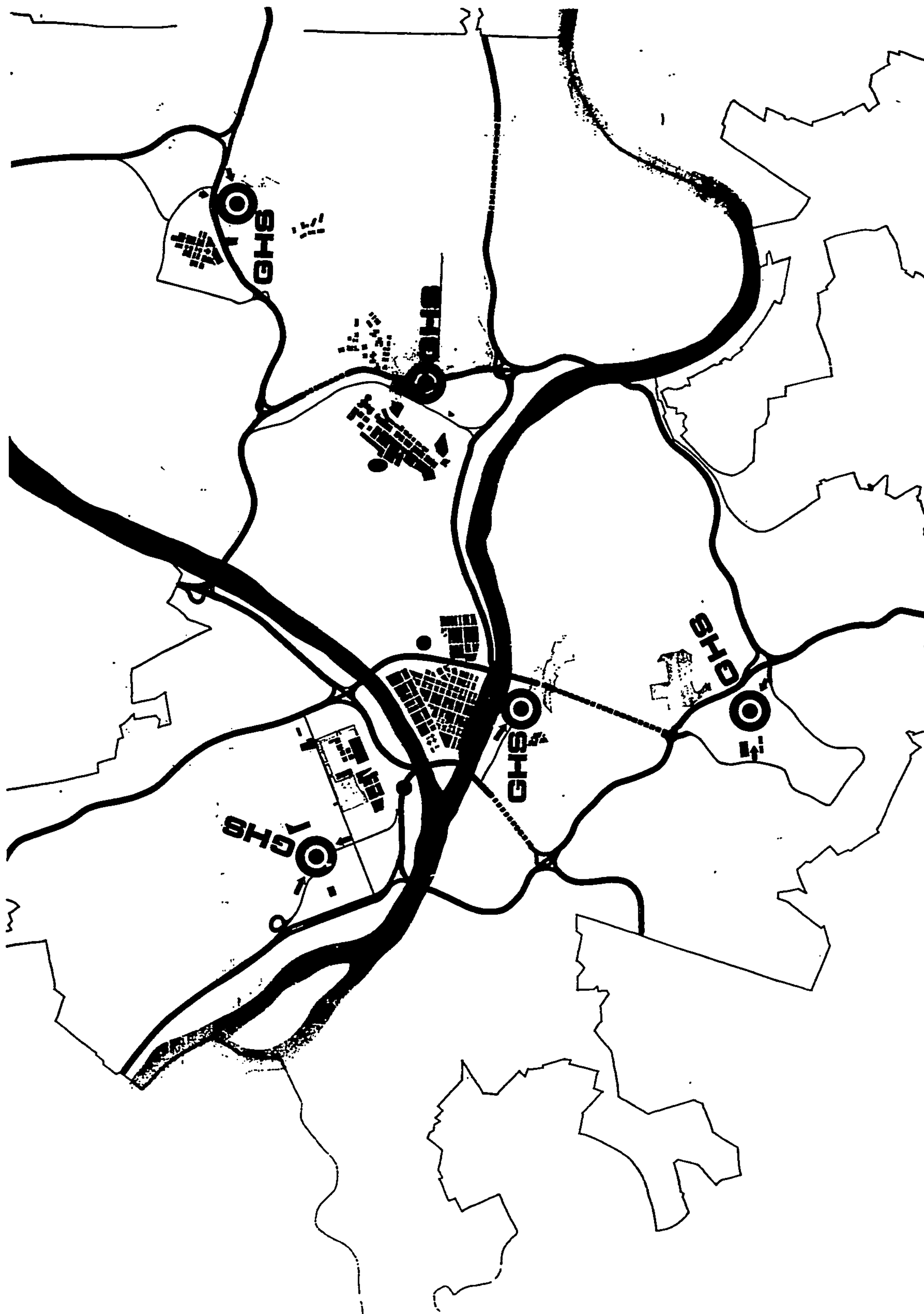


Figure 21.
GREAT HIGH SCHOOLS FORMING A FEDERATION OF SUB-CORES IN THE CENTER CITY, PITTSBURGH, BASED ON TRANSPORTATION ROUTES, Urban Design Associates, 1966

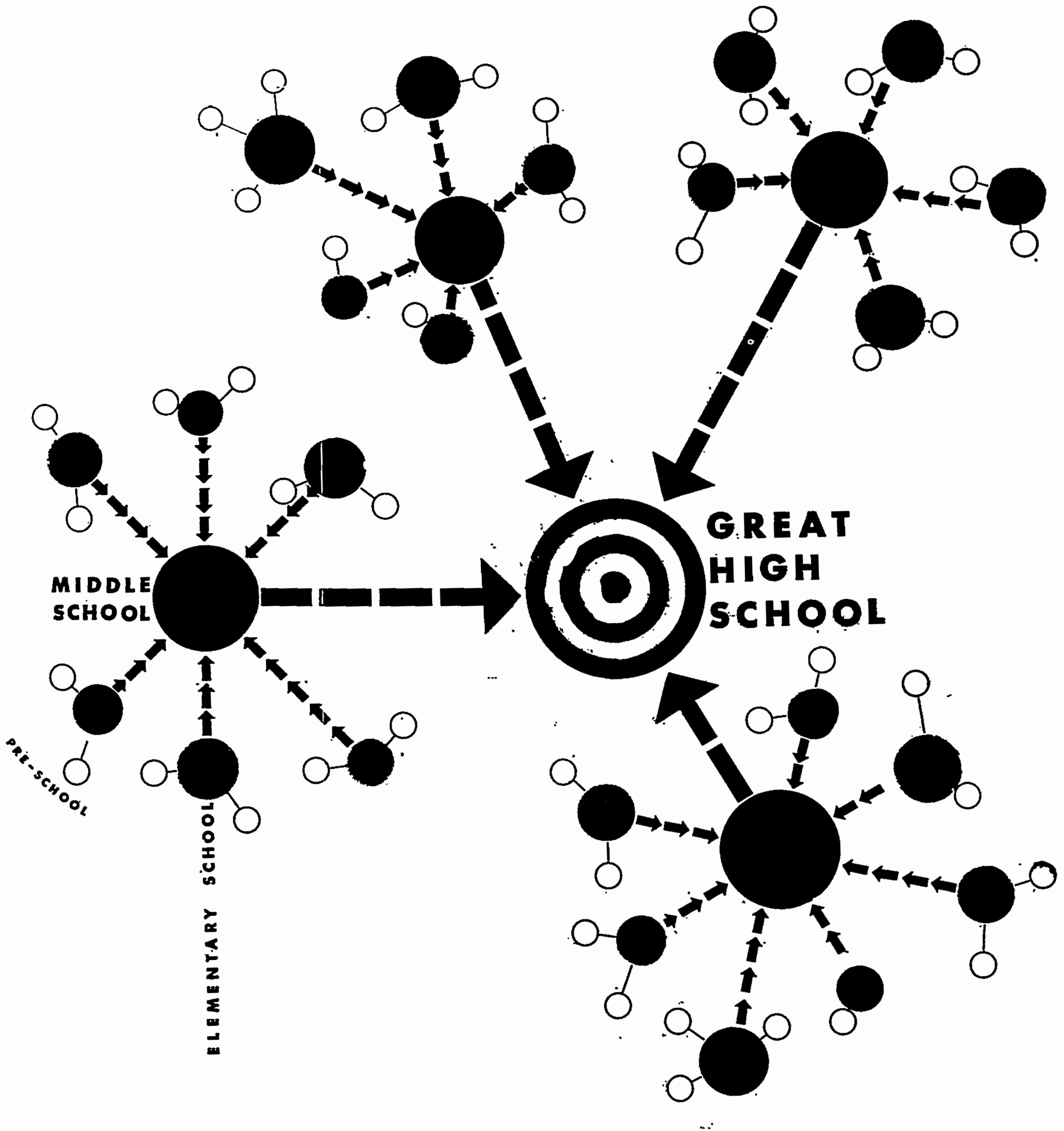
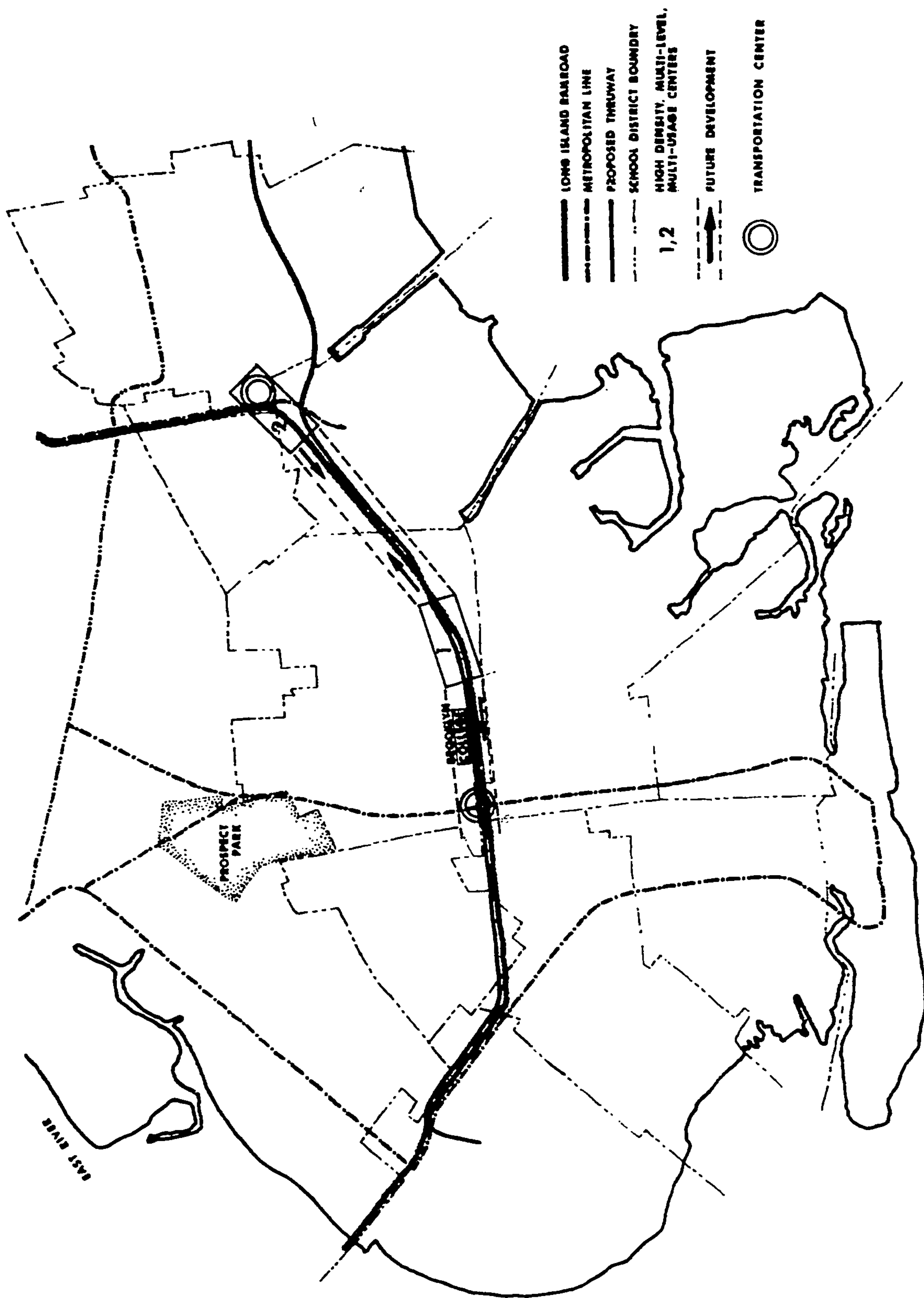


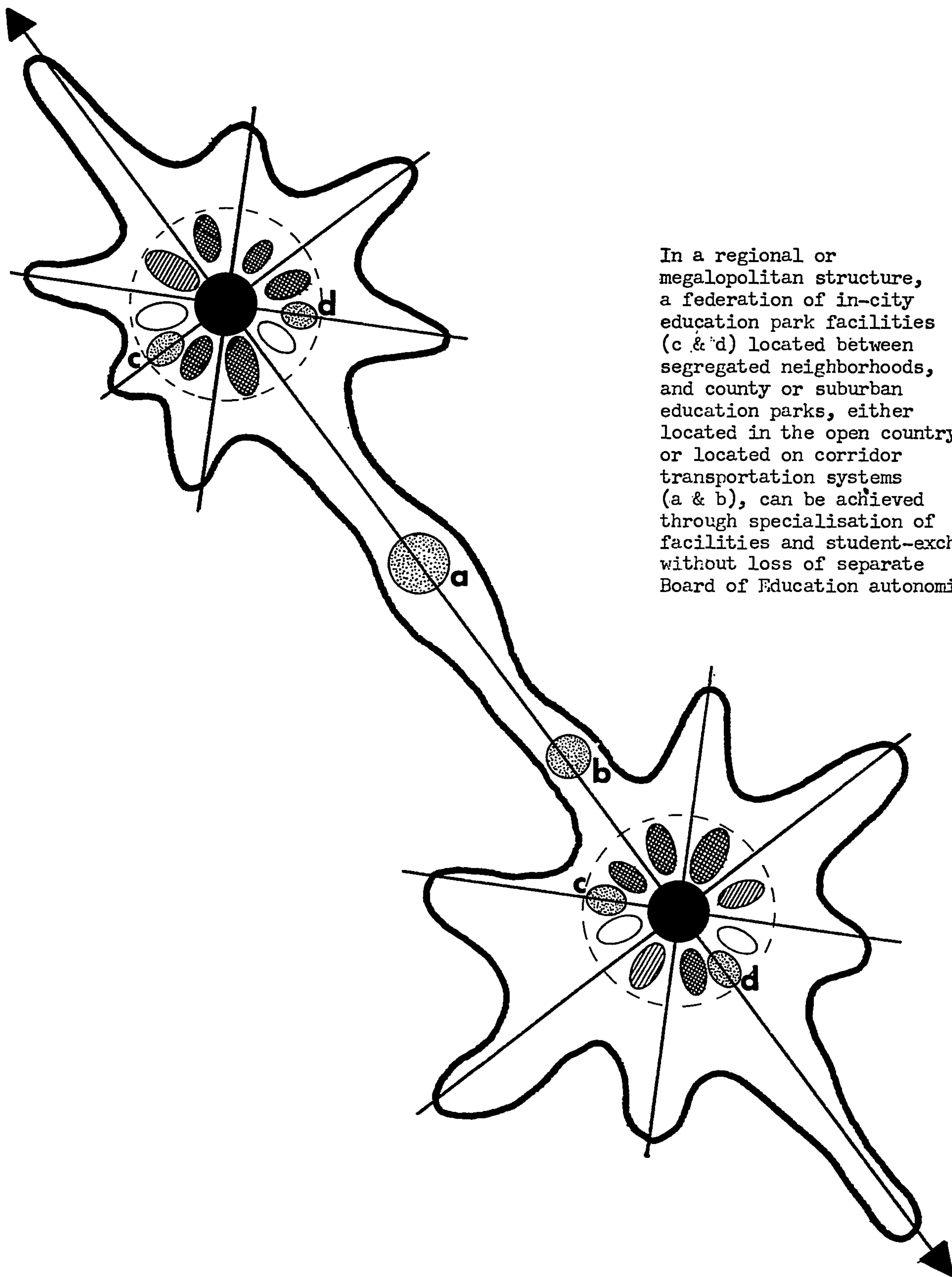
Figure 22

Figure 23

Model of the Urban Design for the Northside Great High School, Pittsburgh, 1966.

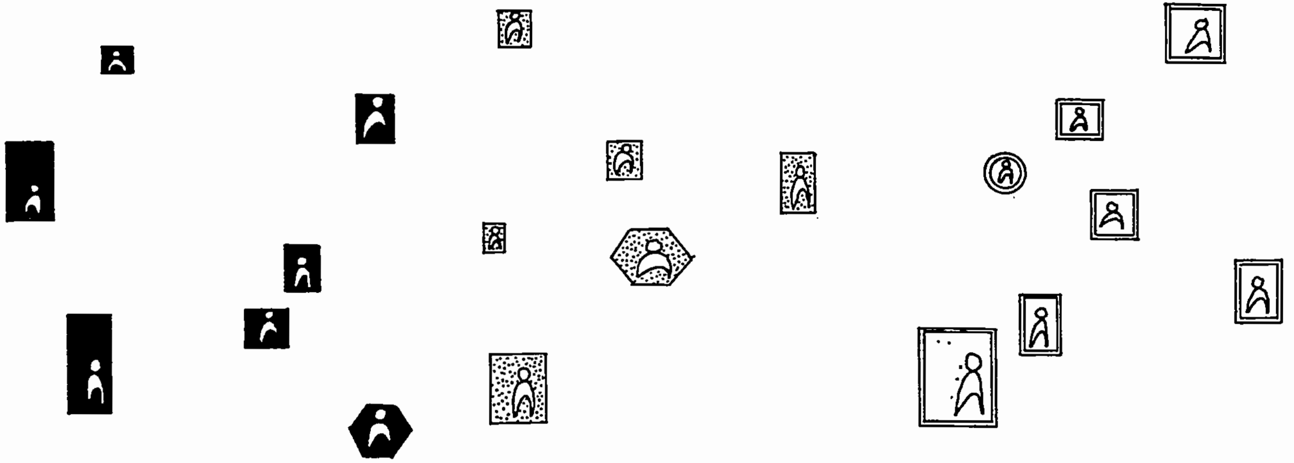


Linear City, Brooklyn, from UDA Report, 1967, to the New York Board of Education. Figure 24.

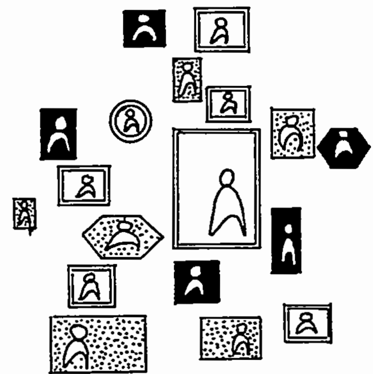


In a regional or megalopolitan structure, a federation of in-city education park facilities (c & d) located between segregated neighborhoods, and county or suburban education parks, either located in the open country or located on corridor transportation systems (a & b), can be achieved through specialisation of facilities and student-exchange without loss of separate Board of Education autonomies.

Figure 25



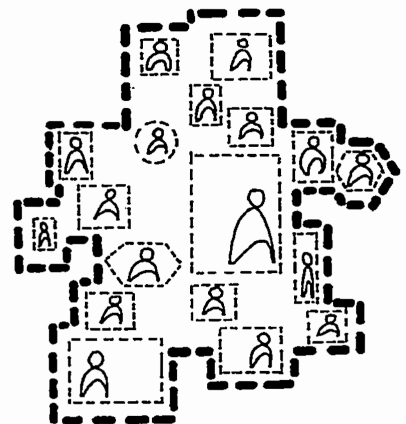
Diverse and scattered units Figure 26



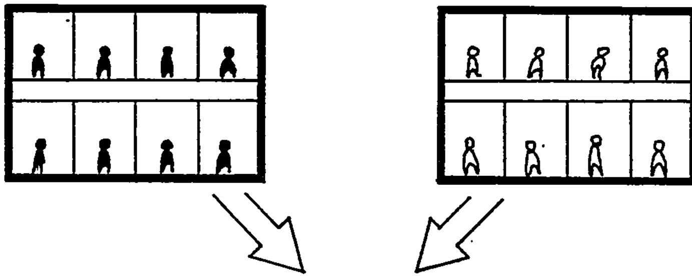
Scattered units brought together Figure 27

SIZE AND RETENTION

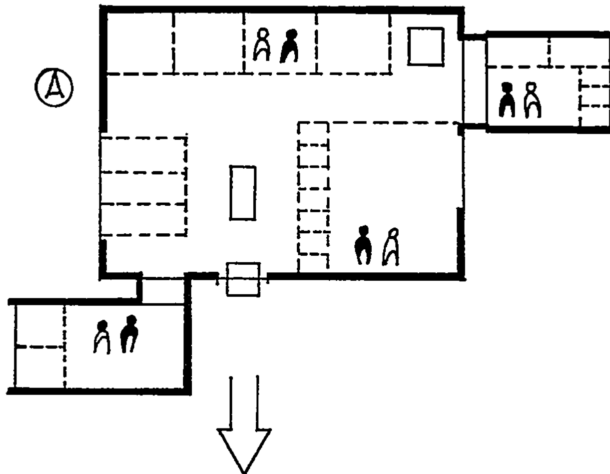
OF IDENTITY.



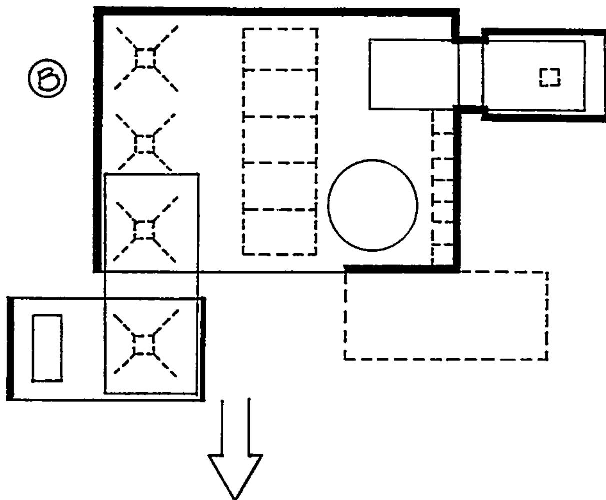
Individuals retaining identity in the larger center Figure 28



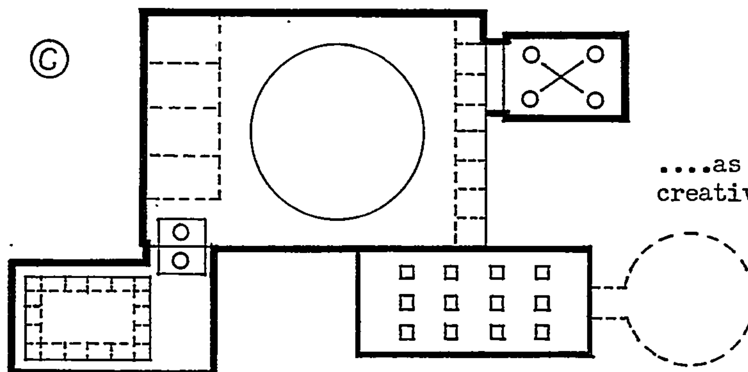
Typical Education Unit......



.....becomes a component of educational requirements, maximizing the individual's opportunity for learning....



....which can be reorganized or reconstructed or regrouped, orienting students around intensified activities rather than grade levels.....



....as desired, to accomplish creative use of student groupings.

Figure 29

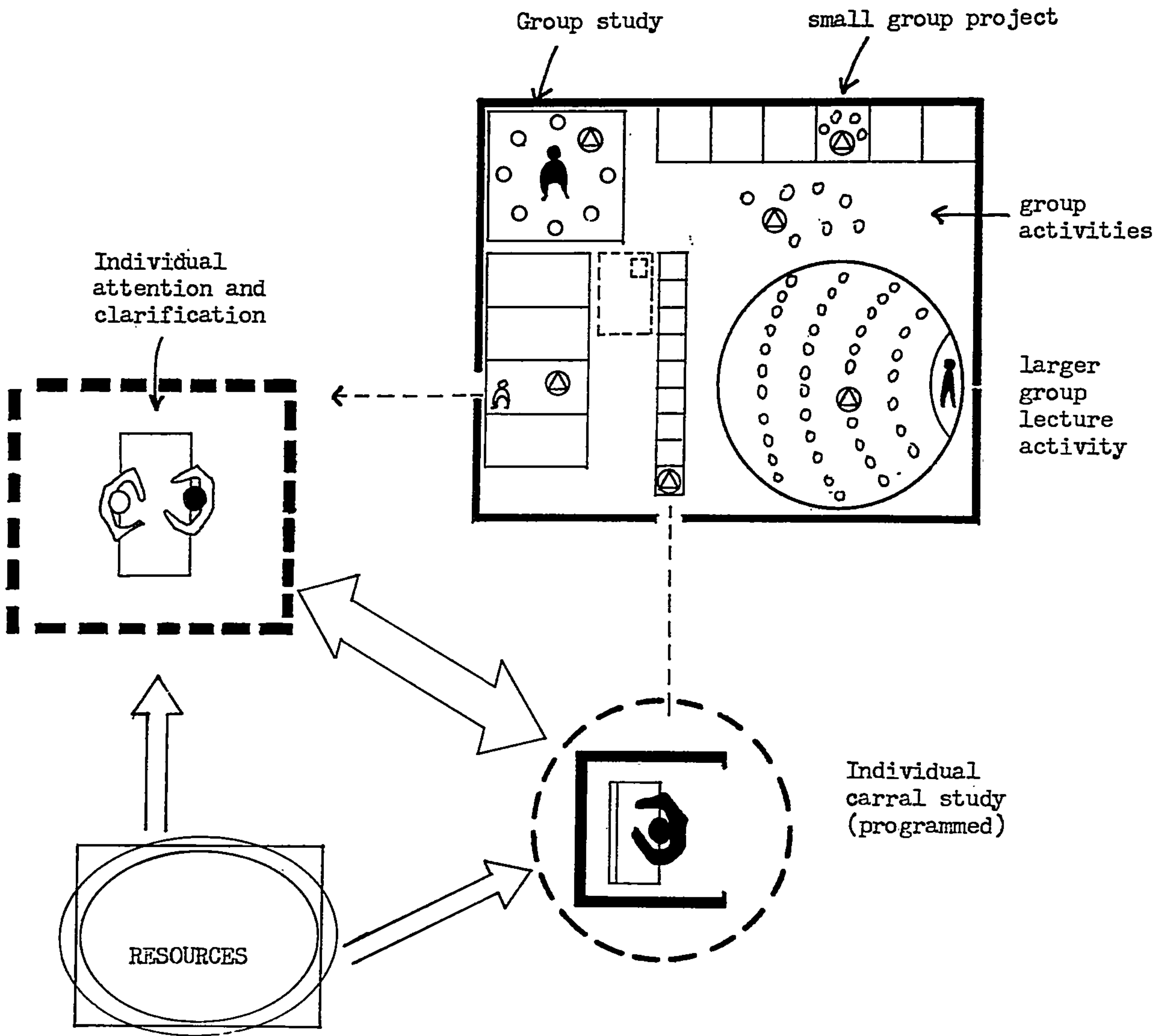


Figure 30

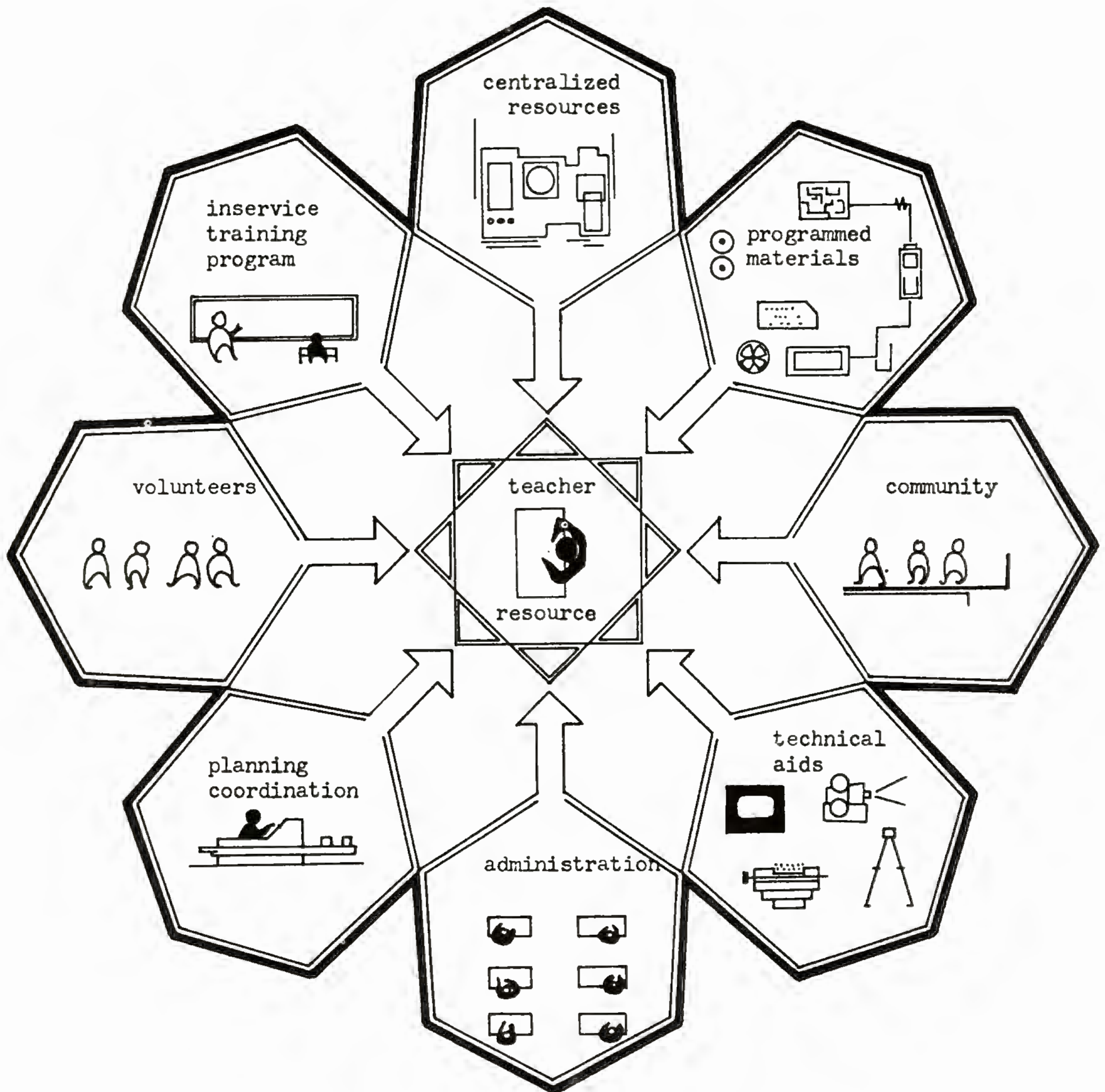


Figure 31

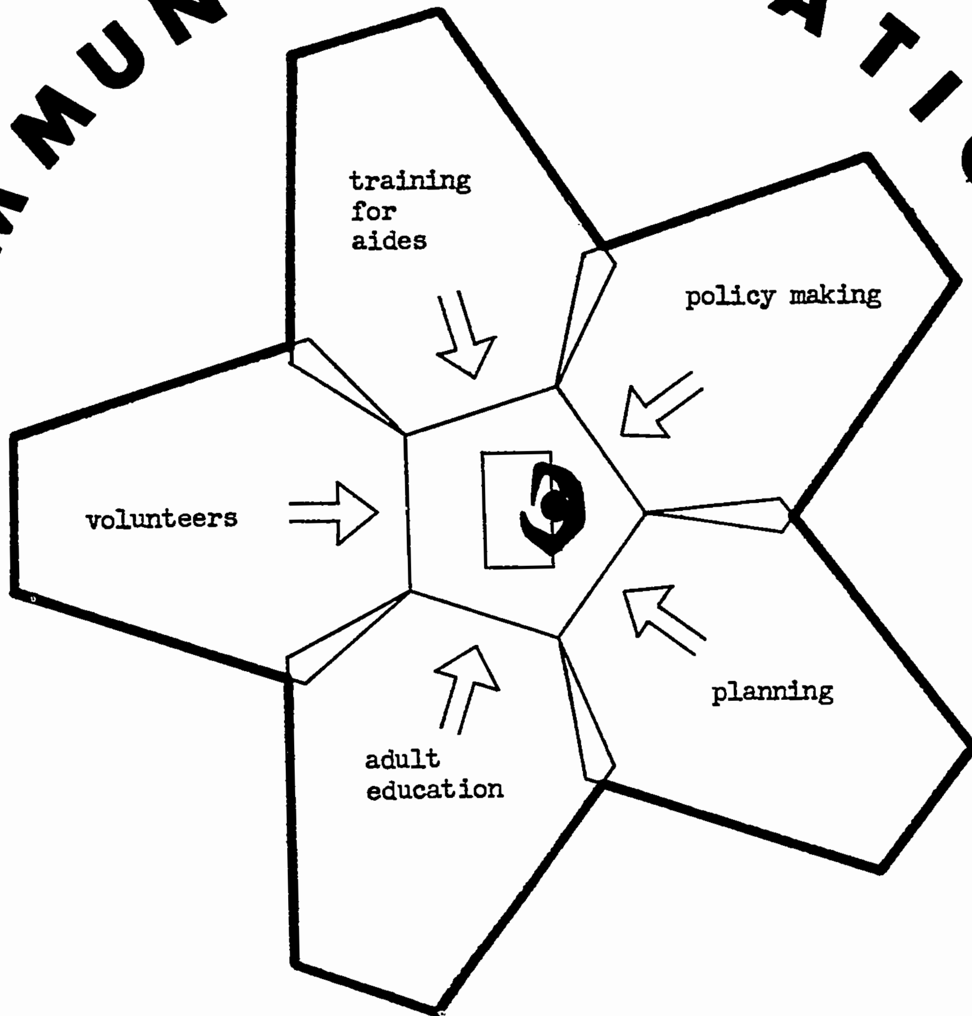


Figure 32

LEGAL ASPECTS OF METROPOLITAN SOLUTIONS FOR PROBLEMS OF RACIAL ISOLATION

Prepared by

Office of General Counsel
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights

for the

National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D. C.
November 16-18, 1967

A. Organization of Public School Districts in the United States

1. Introduction

The organization of public school systems in the United States varies from state to state. The 1962 Census of Governments found that in more than 20 states local responsibility for public schools was vested in local school districts which operated as independent government units. In other states, public schools in some areas were operated by independent districts; while elsewhere in the same state, some other type of local government control prevailed. In the District of Columbia and four states public schools were administered by school systems which were agencies of county, city or town governments, or of the state.[1/]

1/ U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public School Systems in the United States, 1961-62, Preliminary Report No. 3 (1962), p. 1. See also Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Performance of Urban Functions: Local and Areawide (1963), pp. 61-62.

This Census also showed that in 1962 there were 6,605 public school systems operating in those areas designated standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSA's).[2/] These districts were administered in a variety of ways; 601 were administered by State, county, municipal or township governments and 6,004 by independent school districts.[3/]

The pattern of school district organization varies greatly from state to state. The Los Angeles-Long Beach SMSA, for example, has 142 individual school districts.[4/] Yet, the entire State of Hawaii has only one school district and the State of Maryland, 24.[5/] Nebraska and South Dakota have between 2,000 and 3,000 each.[6/]

To add to the complexity of the problem these school districts often are not coterminous with other local government units.[7/] Detroit, Michigan, is located in the SMSA encompassing Wayne County. This County has 43 separate school districts, 27 enrolling more than 3,000 persons.[8/] Only 4 of these districts are coterminous with other local government units.[9/]

2/ A standard metropolitan statistical area is defined by the U.S. Bureau of the Census as a single county containing a central city of at least 50,000 or "twin cities" with a combined population of 50,000, or a group of counties which have substantial urbanized areas contiguous to the central city. The number of SMSA's in the 50 states was 212 in 1960 and 224 in 1965. The data in this report uses the 212 SMSA's since statistical material has not yet been prepared by the Census Bureau on the schools in the 12 SMSA's created since 1960.

3/ Public School Systems in the United States, 1961-62 supra at 2.

4/ U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Governments: 1962, Local Government in Metropolitan Areas, Vol. V (1964), Table 4 at 38-39.

5/ Keppel, The Necessary Revolution in American Education (1966), p. 83. See also U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (1967), fn. 261 at 182.

6/ U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Governments: 1962, Government in California, Vol. VII, No. 5 (1964), Table 34 at 72-3.

7/ The 1962 Census of Government found that of the 6,004 independent school districts in the SMSA's, 1,476 were coterminous with other government areas and 4,528 were noncoterminous. See also Performance of Urban Functions: Local and Areawide supra at 63.

8/ U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Governments: 1962, Government in Michigan, Vol. VII, No. 22 at 36 and Local Government in Metropolitan Areas supra at 71.

9/ Local Government in Metropolitan Areas supra at 70.

School systems which have boundaries coterminous with counties, cities, or townships of which they are a part are considered "dependent." This means that whether their boards are elected or appointed (by the mayor, the county board or other authority), they cannot levy taxes or issue bonds without approval by the general local government. There are approximately 2,300 dependent school systems.[10/]

The 25,000 "independent" school districts now in existence account for approximately 78 percent of public school enrollments. Their boundaries are seldom coterminous with other units of government and their boards are usually elected at large -- often in separate elections and usually on "nonpartisan" ballots. These districts levy property taxes and issue school bonds subject to provisions of state law without much reference to actions of other local governments.[11/]

10/ Committee for Economic Development, Modernizing Local Government (1966) p. 31. Hawaii maintains such a system statewide and all or most of the pupils in Connecticut, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Rhode Island, Vermont and Virginia attend dependent schools. In New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin over one-third of the pupils are in such schools.

11/ Modernizing Local Government supra at 31. More than 3,000 of these independent school districts do not in fact maintain schools either because they have no children of school age or because they send their few school-age children to other districts on a tuition basis. Id.

2. Trend Toward Reorganization and Consolidation

In recent years there has been a marked reduction in the number of individual school districts. 12/ Consolidations forced by state action, either mandated or encouraged by state school aid formulas favorable to consolidation, have reduced the number of independent districts by 75 percent since 1942. The number of school systems in the counties or parts of counties constituting the 212 SMSA's in the 1960 Census dropped from about 15,400 in 1942 to 7,900 in 1957 and 6,605 in 1962. 13/

Most of this consolidation of districts has taken place in rural areas. The consolidation movement grew out of the population migration from farm to urban areas.

> Population migration resulted in declining enrollment, smaller classes, poorer use of staff, and ever higher per-pupil costs year after year. ... The most striking result of the consolidation movement was the near elimination of the one-teacher school as an important part of rural school organization. 14/

12/ In 1932 there were 127, 530 school districts; in 1955 the number was 59,270 and in 1962 it was 37,025. Performance of Urban Functions: Local and Areawide supra at 63. See also American Association of School Administrators, School District Organization (1958). Chapter VIII, "Legislation for School District Reorganization" has a somewhat dated but still relevant discussion.

13/ Performance of Urban Functions: Local and Areawide supra at 63.

14/ The Necessary Revolution in American Education supra at 83.

There is a great variation in the way in which states have reduced the number of school districts. Some states have wiped out existing districts either by constitutional amendment or statute and substituted new districts based mainly on county boundaries.[15/] Other states delegated the authority to reorganize districts to the state agency and a county agency jointly without requiring them to refer the issue to a popular vote.[16/] In these states, the county was compelled to act within a specified time and the state agency was given authority to approve or disapprove. The New England States have passed legislation abolishing existing districts and substituting new ones based chiefly on townships and cities. Because some of these districts have proven to be too small, however, several of these states have taken further steps to reduce the number of districts.[17/]

School systems in the large metropolitan areas have participated to a limited extent in this reduction in the number of school districts. School systems in the 212 SMSA's, while representing only 18 per cent of the school systems in the country, had 59 percent

---

15/ These states were: Maryland, Louisiana, West Virginia, Florida, Nevada, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Utah, Virginia and Georgia. Performance of Urban Functions: Local and Areawide supra at 64.

16/ These states were North Carolina, New Mexico, South Carolina and Mississippi, Id.

17/ Id.

of the pupils enrolled. These metropolitan areas also have the major portion of all relatively large school systems (those enrolling 1,200 pupils or more) and the bulk of public school enrollment within the SMSA's is accounted for by these systems. There are, however, large numbers of small school units in these areas -- 2,638 with fewer than 300 pupils each in the 1961-62 school year.[18/]

In a few states every city has been combined, for school purposes, with the remainder of the areas in the county in which it is located.[19/] In Maryland, Utah and Louisiana all cities and counties are part of the same administrative unit except in a few instances. San Francisco city and county form a single school district, for example, while Baltimore is the only exception to this organization in Maryland.[20/]

The voters of Dade County (Miami) Florida, approved consolidation of ten school districts into a single, countywide system in 1945 and, more recently, a single countywide district was formed in Mecklenburg County (Charlotte) North Carolina.[21/]

18/ Local Governments in Metropolitan Areas *supra* at 2-3.

19/ Florida, West Virginia and Nevada follow this pattern of organization. School District Organization *supra* at 282-83.

20/ *Id.* at 282.

21/ Performance of Urban Functions: Local and Areawide *supra* at 81.

B. School District Reorganization

1. Types of Legislation

The legislatures in all of the states have provided for a variety of ways in which changes in school boundaries can be affected. This legislation can be broadly classified into three general types:

(a) Mandatory Legislation. This type of legislation reorganizes school districts by direct legislative action without referring the action to the voters for approval. For example, West Virginia by one direct legislative act abolished all existing districts and established the county as the local unit for organization, administration and financing the schools.[22/]

Another type of mandatory legislation delegates authority to reorganize districts to state agencies without voter approval. Mississippi, for example, gave the authority to county boards of education and required them to reorganize the districts in their counties in a way which would meet the approval of the State Finance Commission.[23/]

Still other types of mandatory legislation require the abolition of districts under a certain size by delegating authority to county committees or state agencies to annex to adjoining districts those districts falling below stipulated limits with respect to such matters as pupil enrollment and average daily attendance.[24/]

22/ School District Organization supra at 168.

23/ Id. at 160-70. As a result of legislation the 1417 local districts that existed in Mississippi in 1953 were reorganized into 151 districts.

24/ Id. at 175-75.

(b) Permissive Legislation. Generally this legislation does not require any approval at the county or state level. Such legislation frequently does not go beyond permitting voluntary reorganization of districts. Local school board action or petitions signed by a specified number or percent of the electors in a local area may start the initial procedure for the joining of two or more districts before final approval or rejection by the voters.[25/] A number of states have a variety of laws designed to fit certain situations and permitting districts of varying sizes, classes and types to be annexed or consolidated but do not provide for well-planned district reorganization.[26/]

(c) Semipermissive Legislation. This type of legislation requires that essential preliminary steps be taken in preparing plans and proposals for reorganization and in submitting them to the voters for approval or disapproval. Most of the state laws which provide for this type of reorganization include detailed procedures to be followed at state, county and local levels.[27/]

25/ *Id.* at 175.

26/ *Id.*

27/ *Id.* at 179-80.

2. Constitutional Obstacles to School District Reorganization

School district financing plays an important role in encouraging or discouraging reorganization. Financial considerations were very important, for example, in the movement to consolidate the predominantly rural school districts.[28/]

In some states financial incentives for reorganization were provided by the state. In Illinois, for example, which reduced its number of school districts from almost 12,000 in 1955 to less than 2,500 in 1960, state aid was denied to districts below a certain size.[29/]

Other states which permit reorganization have financial provisions which tend to retard consolidation or other reorganization. In Michigan, for example, financial support given to small schools, allowances for tuition of nonresident pupils, and the payment of transportation costs for pupils going to school outside of their own district have made it less attractive to reorganize. Because of state aid formulas, moreover, reorganized districts probably would receive less aid than the total received by all of the constituent districts.[30/]

28/ School District Reorganization *supra* at 212-13.

29/ *Id.* at 233-34.

30/ *Id.* at 224.

In addition, state constitutional provisions often create financial problems which affect possible school district reorganizations, by establishing different tax bases between communities of different sizes. These differentials would have to be resolved before any of the methods for combining school districts could be utilized, particularly in those states in which reorganization of districts is voted upon by the taxpayers in the affected areas.

The New York Constitution, for example, places percent limitations on amounts to be raised by real estate taxes for local purposes. The amount to be raised by property taxes in any county cannot exceed an amount equal to one and one-half percent of the average full valuation of taxable real estate of the county; the amount in any city or village is two percent.[31/] The rate in any school district which is coterminous with, within or partly within a city of less than 125,000 is one and one-fourth percent;[32/] and the rate for New York City is two and one-half percent.[33/] The Constitution does provide that if there is consolidation of a school district located within or partly within or coterminous with cities of less than 125,000 people with any one or more school districts, the legislature can prescribe a limitation not to exceed two percent for the consolidated district.[34/]

31/ N.Y. Const., art. VIII, § 10(a)-(d).

32/ N.Y. Const., art. VIII, § 10(e).

33/ N.Y. Const., art. VIII, § 10(f).

34/ N.Y. Const., art. VIII, § 10(e).

The Michigan Constitution, by way of contrast, provides simply for uniform tax limits for all property in the state and provides further that in any school district which extends into two or more counties, property taxes at the highest rate available in the county containing the greatest part of the geographic area of the district may be imposed.[35/]

An additional problem may arise from debt limitations imposed by state constitutions. Schools districts can contract indebtedness for school purposes such as capital improvements or the building of new schools. In most jurisdictions the indebtedness is contracted in anticipation of taxes levied and to be collected. State constitutions often put restrictions on the amount of indebtedness school districts can incur based on their size. In New York, for example, the state constitution provides that each city of less than 125,000 people, each town, and each village has a limitation which is not to exceed an amount equal to seven percent of the average full valuation of taxable real estate. Any school district coterminous with or partly within or wholly within a city of less than 125,000 has a limit of 10 percent.[36/]

35/ Mich. Const., art. IX, § 6. See also Ill. Const., art. IX, § 12 and Ind. Const., art. 13 § 1.

36/ N.Y. Const., art. VIII, § 4.

Since the debt limitation is based on the valuation of taxable real estate and the amount which can be raised by real estate taxes in a particular city, town or school district also is limited by the state constitution, a difficult financial problem is posed. For example, New York City is limited in the amount which it can raise by real estate taxes to two and one-half percent of the average full valuation of taxable real estate and the State Constitution limits the indebtedness which it can incur to 10 percent. A small school district outside of New York may have a tax limit of 2 percent and a restriction on indebtedness of seven percent.[37/] If these two school districts were to combine the smaller district might face a tax increase to support the raised debt limitation, which probably would be incurred in building new schools or improving the existing ones.

3. Methods of School District Reorganization

There are several approaches which can be used to effect school district reorganization within the broad categories of legislation discussed in a preceding section of this paper. Assuming particular state legislation would permit it, metropolitan school systems could be achieved through a merger of the central city and the suburbs into a single administrative unit for schools and perhaps for other functions as well. This form of organization generally has been used in combining all of the municipalities in a particular county into a single administrative unit as, for example, in Dade County (Miami) Florida.

37/ *Id.* *See also* Pa. Const., art. IX, § 8.

Annexation of outlying territory also has been a traditional means of enlarging or changing city boundaries. In recent years, however, annexation has been used in relatively few urban areas. During the period 1950-60, only 22 of the country's largest 130 cities annexed territory to their respective areas and in only 12 of these instances was the territory added to the city as much as 60 square miles. In New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut, for example, no territory was added to any of the major cities. 38/

Another approach to city-suburban reorganization is that of extending the boundaries of a city school district without extending municipal boundaries. This differs from annexation since only the suburban schools become a part of the city and a school district whose boundaries are not coterminous with the city is created. The Los Angeles City School District, for example, includes within its boundaries the city of Los Angeles and a number of other separate jurisdictions. 39/

Whether or not any of these methods would be feasible in a particular jurisdiction would depend, of course, on a wide variety of factors, including legislation in the particular state. 40/ The Appendix discusses such legislation in California, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, New York and Pennsylvania.

38/ The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Governmental Structure, Organization and Planning in Metropolitan Areas (1961), pp. 21-24.

39/ School District Reorganization supra at 286-89.

40/ When considering particular state legislation the interrelationship between the statutory provisions discussed above and the constitutional tax and debt limitation provisions discussed previously should be noted.

4. Alternatives to Reorganization

As an alternative to reorganizing school districts, it is possible for school districts to enter into cooperative agreements and contracts. Several states, including California, Michigan and New York, have specific constitutional authorization for interlocal cooperation.[41/]

The absence of specific constitutional authorization has not been a major factor in deterring this type of cooperation, however.[42/]

Michigan also has a statute which may serve as a useful model. It provides:

> Any municipal corporation shall have power to join with any other municipal corporation or with any number or combination thereof by contract or otherwise as may be permitted by law for the ownership, operation, or performance ... of facilities or services. 43/

In 1965 all but five of the 221 units of local government in Southeast Michigan (encompassing the Detroit SMSA) were involved in one or more forms of interlocal cooperation in performing their functions. None of these agreements involved public educational facilities or programs.[44/]

41/ Calif. Const., art. 11 § 4-112; Mich, Const., art. 7 § 28; N.Y. Const., art. IX § 1(c).

42/ *See* Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations, *A Handbook for Interlocal Agreements and Contracts* (1967). This pamphlet provides models for these agreements and also provides an extensive discussion of problems which might arise in their use. *See* pp. 5-8.

43/ Mich Stat. ann., tit. 5 § 5.4082 (1959).

44/ *A Handbook for Interlocal Agreements and Contracts* *supra* at 12, 33.

In Southeastern Pennsylvania, however, (the City of Philadelphia and the surrounding counties) there was a total of 693 interlocal cooperative agreements covering both formal or written compacts and informal agreements reported in 1961 and 347 of these agreements involved school districts, authorities and municipalities.[45/]

A more recent survey in 1965 reported that the City of Philadelphia had more than 25 formal agreements with other jurisdictions involving functions and services such as public health, sewage disposal, streets and highways. None of these agreements involved schools.[46/]

45/ *Id.* at 12.

46/ *Id.*

A P P E N D I X

Legislative Provisions in California, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, New York, and Pennsylvania Relating to Reorganization of School Districts.

California

California reorganized its education law in 1963 to provide for a system of optional reorganization of school districts by electors. The California law now provides that the organization or reorganization of school districts can be initiated by a petition signed by at least 25 percent of the registered voters in any school district affected. The law provides for the organization and reorganization of school districts under the jurisdiction of different counties;[1/] the creation of new districts;[2/] and the formation of new districts by combining existing districts.[3/] In addition, there are provisions for annexation[4/] and consolidation of school districts.[5/] The law also provides that every city organized before September 11, 1957, will constitute a separate school district unless otherwise prescribed in its original charter.[6/]

1/ Calif. Ed. Code §§ 1681-1686 (Supp. 1966).

2/ Calif. Ed. Code §§ 1972, 1992, 1993-1996 (Supp. 1966). The Code provides that the State Board of Education shall establish minimum standards for the formation of districts which it shall apply in approving or disapproving the formation of new districts. Calif. Ed. Code § 1972 (Supp. 1966).

3/ Calif. Ed. Code §§ 2021-2023 (Supp. 1966).

4/ Calif. Ed. Code §§ 2091-2098 (Supp. 1966).

5/ Calif. Ed. Code §§ 2031-2036 (Supp. 1966).

6/ Calif. Ed. Code § 1974 (Supp. 1966).

To understand the way the law operates we can take the hypothetical situation of two existing districts wishing to combine into one larger district. Section 2031 of the California Code permits new districts to be formed by combining existing districts. The action for combining these districts is initiated by filing a petition with the superintendent of the county in which the districts are located. This petition must be signed by:

> (a) at least 25 percent of the registered electors residing in each of the districts proposed to be combined or,
>
> (b) The Governing Board of each of the districts proposed to be combined. 7/

After the petition is filed, the County Superintendent, within 20 days after the petition is received, must order an election in each of the districts. If a majority of the votes cast in each of the districts is in favor of the new district, it will be formed. 8/

Thus, in California, the burden of initiating proceedings for consolidation or reorganization rests with the voters in the particular areas involved. The California legislature also has established provisions for tax rates in these reorganized districts. 9/

7/ Calif. Ed. Code § 2022 (Supp. 1966).

8/ Calif. Ed. Code § 2023 (Supp. 1966).

9/ Calif. Ed. Code §§ 1791-1796 (Supp. 1966).

Illinois

Illinois law is similar to California's. It also provides that voters in particular school districts take the initiative in reorganizing school districts or changing school boundaries "by detachment, annexation, division, dissolution ... consolidation or any combination thereof."[10/] A majority of the legal voters residing in each district affected, or two-thirds of the legal voters residing in the territory which is to be detached, or in each of the one or more districts proposed to be annexed or consolidated can begin proceedings by petitioning the county board of school trustees in the county affected. The board of education in these districts also may petition the county board to change district boundaries.[11/]

If the change of boundaries is to occur in districts which are in two or more counties, concurrent action must be taken by the county boards of school trustees in both of the counties. Once again, a petition for change may be instituted either by the boards of the districts involved or by the voters residing in the communities concerned.[12/]

10/ Ill. School Code § 7.1 (1965).

11/ Id.

12/ Ill. School Code § 7.2 (1965). Petitioners bear the cost of publishing notice of the hearing, any transcript taken at the hearing and if an appeal from the county board's decision is sought appellants bear the cost of preparing the record for appeal, Ill, School Code § 7.6 (1965).

Once a petition is filed the county board conducts a hearing on the petition, and at the conclusion of the hearing, the county superintendent has 30 days in which to either grant or deny the petition.[13/]

The law also provides that an appeal from an adverse decision of the board may be taken,[14/] and will be heard before the circuit court in the county in which the petition is filed with the county board.[15/]

13/ Ill. School Code § 7.6 (1965).

14/ Id.

15/ Ill. School Code § 7.7 (1965). Illinois also has legislation permitting contiguous territories having a population between 1500 and 500,000 and an assessed valuation of not less than $5,000,000 and bounded by school district lines, to organize into a community consolidated school district. A petition by 20 percent or 200 (whichever is less) of the voters residing within the territory may initiate such an action through a petition filed with the county board of trustees. Provisions also are made for the election of a board of education to represent such a district. As in the case of changes in boundaries, an election is required to establish this type of school district.

These community consolidated school districts must set forth the maximum tax rates for educational and building purposes the proposed district will be authorized to levy upon all of the taxable property in the district. This rate cannot exceed the combined existing maximum rate of any high school district and any elementary school district included in the territory of the proposed district. Ill. School Code §§ 11.1-11.6 (1965).

Illinois has established special provisions relating to cities having a population of more than 500,000. Under these provisions each city shall constitute one school district under the charge of a board of education.[16/] Among the powers delegated to the board in cities of this size is the power to "as soon as practicable, and from time to time thereafter change or revise existing subdistricts or create new subdistricts in a manner which will take into consideration the prevention of segregation and the elimination of separation of children in public schools because of color, race or nationality."[17/]

Indiana

Indiana has recently enacted a unique legislative scheme providing that:

> In any county or adjoining counties, any two [2] or more school corporations, 18/ joint schools, metropolitan school districts or township school districts, whether or not such consolidating school corporations are of the same or of a different character, may consolidate into one metropolitan school district. 19/

16/ Ill. School Code § 34-2 (1965).

17/ Ill. School Code § 24-18 (1965). The Supreme Court of Illinois recently held that this provision, known as the Armstrong Act, was unconstitutional and that "programs to create equal educational opportunities must be administered without regard to race." Tometz v. Board of Education, Waukegan City School District No. 61, Ill. Sup. Ct., No. 40292 (June 22, 1967). On September 27, 1967, the Supreme Court granted a petition for rehearing which, in effect, permits the Court to reconsider this decision.

18/ A school corporation is defined as any "public school corporation of the state located in whole or in part in a county containing a civil city of the first class." Ind. Stat. Ann., tit. 28 § 28-2338(a) (Supp. 1967).

19/ Ind. Stat. Ann., tit. 28 § 28-2442 (Supp. 1967).

This consolidation can be accomplished in the following ways: (1) The governing body of each school corporation to be consolidated can adopt a resolution providing for the consolidation or, (2) in lieu of the adoption of the resolution in one or more of the school corporations to be consolidated, a number of registered voters equal to five percent of the number of votes cast for secretary of state at the last general election can sign and file a petition requesting consolidation with the governing body of the school corporation.[20/]

If there is a protest to the resolution filed within 30 days after its passage or if the governing body of the district or districts involved disapproves of the petition filed by the requisite number of voters, a referendum election will be held.[21/] This special election will be held in the entire proposed metropolitan district.[22/] The district created will be governed by a metropolitan board of education representative of the entire area involved, which will have the power to appoint a superintendent and to levy and collect taxes.[23/]

In the opinion of the Attorney General of Indiana a metropolitan school district will be formed if a majority of those voting approve of it even though a majority of the voters in one of the corporations to be included had voted against its formation.[24/]

20/ Ind. Stat. Ann., tit. 28 § 28-2442(a) (h) (Supp. 1967).

21/ Id.

22/ Ind. Stat. Ann., , tit. 28 § 28-2442(c) (Supp. 1967).

23/ Ind. Stat. Ann., tit. 28 § 28-2444-2451 (Supp. 1967).

24/ Ind. Ops. Atty. Gen., No. 31, p. 153 (1959).

Indiana also provides for the consolidation of any two or more school corporations whether towns, cities, townships, joint schools or consolidated schools.[25/] This consolidation may be accomplished by a resolution of the school trustees of the districts involved. Twenty percent or more of the legal voters residing in any of the school corporations may petition the school trustees of their respective corporation for an election to determine whether or not the majority of the voters in the school corporation favor the consolidation.[26/]

Until recently Indiana had specific provisions for cities of various classes based on population. Many of these provisions were repealed in 1967. In those cities in which these provisions are applicable, the schools in the city are made "school corporations," designated as school cities and are separate from the civil corporations of the same cities.[27/] These generally are second class cities.

The most comprehensive legislation of this type relates to schools in first class cities, those having a population of more than 300,000 (Indianapolis).[28/] In these cities the school corporation is to be coextensive with the corporate boundaries of the city.[29/]

25/ Ind. Stat. Ann., tit. 28 § 28-5901 (Supp. 1967).

26/ Ind. Stat. Ann., tit. 28 § 28-5902 (Supp. 1967).

27/ Ind. Stat. Ann., tit. 28 § 28-1837 (Supp. 1967).

28/ Ind. Stat. Ann., tit. 28 § 28-2301 to 28-2347 (Supp. 1967).

29/ Ind. Stat. Ann., tit. 28 § 28-2301 (Supp. 1967).

Provisions are made for cities falling into this category to annex territory from other corporations by joint resolution.[30/] The annexation is effective unless a majority of the land owners in the annexed territory or the owners of 75 percent or more of the assessed valuation of the real estate in the annexed territory file an objection in the circuit or superior court of the county where the annexed territory is located.[31/]

The statutes applying to these first class cities provides that their provisions "shall not be construed to repeal the act ... concerning the consolidation of two or more school corporations."[32/]

Michigan

Michigan has perhaps one of the simplest reorganization schemes. School districts in Michigan are organized into districts of the first, second, third or fourth class.[33/] These districts are then

---

30/ Ind. Stat. Ann., tit. 28 § 28-2340 (Supp. 1967).

31/ Ind. Stat. Ann., tit. 28 § 28-2341 (Supp. 1967). The grounds on which a remonstrance can be filed are specified in the statute. One ground is that "The benefits to be derived from the annexation are out-weighed by its detriments taking into consideration the respective benefits and detriments to the schools and of the pupils residing in the acquiring school corporation, the losing school corporation and the annexed territory." Ind. Stat. Ann., tit. 28 § 28-2443 (Supp. 1967).

32/ Ind. Stat. Ann., tit. 28 § 28-2347 (Supp. 1967).

33/ Mich. Stat. Ann., tit. 15 § 15.3001 (1959). There also are some primary school districts which enroll less than 75 pupils. Mich. Stat. ann., tit. 15 § 15.3052 (Supp. 1965). A fourth class district enrolls more than 75 children and less than 2,400; a third class district, more than 2,400 and less than 30,000; a second class district, more than 30,000 and less than 120,000; and, a first class district, more than 120,000 pupils. Mich. Stat. ann., tit. 15 §§ 15.3052, 15.3102, 15.3142 and 15.3182 (Supp. 1965).

further organized on a county by county basis and the local districts in a particular county form the intermediate school district of the county.[34/]

Two or more adjoining intermediate districts can combine to form a single district upon approval of a majority of the voters of each constituent district of each of the intermediate districts.[35/] The procedure can be initiated by a petition signed by a number of registered voters of the constituent school districts of each intermediate district, equal in number to not less than five percent of the enrollment of each constituent district.[36/]

Constituent districts, except districts of the first and second class, also may consolidate. The consolidated district will then be a third or fourth class district depending upon its population.[37/] Once again, the procedure begins at the local level either by board resolution or by petition.[38/]

34/ Mich. Stat. Ann., tit. 15 § 15.3292(1) (Supp. 1965).

35/ Mich. Stat. Ann., tit. 15 § 15.3302(10) (Supp. 1965).

36/ *Id.*

37/ Mich. Stat. Ann., tit. 15 § 15.3401 (1959).

38/ Mich. Stat. Ann., tit. 15 § 15.3402 (1959).

New York

New York's law differs from any of those discussed before. For example, school district boundaries may be altered by district superintendents, with the consent of the school trustees of the affected districts and in school districts having a population of 4,500 or more, with the consent of the board of education involved.[39/]

If the trustees of any district affected refuse to consent, the district superintendent may make the alteration and the decision can be appealed to the State Commissioner of Education.

It has been held that "nearly unanimous opposition to the order by the residents of territory transferred and the fact no substantial advantages are to be gained by the projected change of boundaries, make necessary the vacating of the district superintendent's order altering boundaries."[40/] School districts also may be consolidated by the vote of qualified electors.[41/]

39/ N.Y. Educ. Code § 1507c (McKinney 1966).

40/ Op. Educ. Dept., 40 St.Dept. 229 (1931). See also Op. Educ. Dept., 53 St.Dept. 140 (1936).

41/ In order to consolidate, certain procedures must be followed:

(1) Two-thirds of the qualified electors of each two or more districts in which there are less than 15 qualified electors (or if there are 15 or more electors, 10 or more electors) sign a request for a meeting to be held to determine if consolidation shall take place.

(2) The consolidation proposal is submitted to the Commissioner of Education for approval, and if he approves, the trustees or board of education must give public notice that a meeting of qualified electors will be held to vote upon the question of consolidation.

(3) A resolution to consolidate the districts may be adopted at the meeting if the requisite number of electors are in favor of the proposal.

(4) The district superintendent then issues an order consolidating such districts. N.Y. Educ. Code §§ 1510-1513 (McKinney 1966).

In addition, the qualified voters of a school district, contiguous to the city school district of a city with less than 125,000 inhabitants, can adopt a proposition to consolidate their school district with such city school district. If the board of education of the city district approves this consolidation by resolution, the Commissioner of Education may order such consolidation.[42/]

The Commissioner of Education in New York has a unique office. He has certain powers not found in any of the other states discussed. He has the discretionary power to enlarge city school districts by consolidating city school districts of cities of less than one hundred twenty-five thousand inhabitants with an area or areas contiguous to the city school district.[43/]

The law does provide, however, that such areas shall not be consolidated with such city school district until a majority of the qualified voters of the area adopt a proposition to consolidate with the city school district, and until the board of education of the city school district has consented to such consolidation by a duly adopted resolution.[44/]

42/ N.Y. Educ. Code § 1524 (McKinney 1966).

43/ N.Y. Educ. Code § 1526 (McKinney 1966).

44/ *Id.*

If the proposition to consolidate an area with a city school district is adopted, the Commissioner may, by order, consolidate such area or areas, and all of the school districts and parts of school districts included become parts of the city school district.[45/] The courts in New York have held that Section 1526 is not unconstitutional because the voters of the city school district are not permitted to vote on the issue of consolidation.[46/]

It should be noted that the six largest school districts in New York state cannot consolidate with other districts.[47/] There are no statutory provisions which authorize consolidation for these "dependent" districts in which the boundaries are coterminous with cities and the school and city finances are integrated.

The one exception to the general rule that there are no statutory provisions for consolidation by the "big six" districts is Section 715 of the General Municipal Law of New York State which provides that if a city annexes territory, the Commissioner of Education also must annex that territory for school purposes.

45/ N.Y. Educ. Code § 1526(14)(15) (McKinney 1966).

46/ Janonsky v. Parsons, 285 App.Div. 601, 136 N.Y.S.2d 676 (1955).

47/ These six districts are New York, Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Yonkers, and Albany.

Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania also has some unique features in its reorganization statutes. In Pennsylvania any two or more school districts may combine to create a larger district.[48/] A majority of the board of school directors of the districts seeking to combine are each required to adopt a resolution outlining the areas to be combined and file this resolution with the Superintendent of Public Instruction who either approves or disapproves the consolidation.[49/] An application which is not approved must be returned to the applying districts for resubmission in accordance with any recommendations attached.[50/]

Whenever two or more school districts are consolidated into a school district of the third or fourth class[51/] approval must be given either by the State Department of Public Instruction (if no hearing is requested by the affected school districts) or by the State Council of Basic Education (if a hearing is so requested) -- the council to consider whether the creation of such new district is desirable and "whether the welfare of the pupils within the territory affected thereby will be promoted by the creation of such district ... ."[52/]

48/ Pa. Stat. Ann., tit. 24 § 2-224 (Supp. 1966). This provision complements the compulsory reorganization provisions discussed infra.

49/ Id.

50/ Id.

51/ There are five classes of school districts: A first class district must have a population of 1,500,000 or more; a first class A district is one with a population of 500,000 or more, but less than 1,500,000. A district of the second class has a population of 30,000 or more, but less than 500,000. A district of the third class has a population of 5,000 or more, but less than 30,000, and a district of the fourth class shall have a population of less than 5,000. Pa. Stat. Ann., tit. 24 § 2-202 (Supp. 1966).

52/ Pa. Stat. Ann., tit. 24 § 2-228(a) (Supp. 1966).

In 1963, the General Assembly determined that the then existing system of more than 2,000 school districts was "incapable of providing adequate education and appropriate training for all the children of the Commonwealth ... ."[53/] and it established procedures and provided strandards and criteria under which school directors, district administrators, county boards of school directors and county administrators "shall have the power and bear the duty of determining the appropriate administrative units to be created in each county" to provide for the education and training of the Commonwealth's children.[54/]

The State Board of Education was authorized to adopt standards for the approval of administrative units, taking into consideration such factors as "topography, pupil placement, community characteristics, transportation of pupils, use of existing school buildings, existing administrative units, potential population changes and the capability of providing a comprehensive program of education."[55/]

53/ Pa. Stat. Ann., tit. 24 § 2-290 (Supp. 1966). Under the provisions of this law the number of school districts in Pennsylvania has been reduced to 500. Interview with Mr. Warren G. Morgan, Assistant to the Chief Counsel, Pennsylvania State Department of Education, Oct. 13, 1967. Many of these cases are now in litigation.

54/ Id.

55/ Pa. Stat.Ann., tit. 24 § 2-291 (Supp. 1966).

If the Council of Basic Education has not approved a county plan prior to January 1, 1965, the Department of Public Instruction is authorized to prepare and place on the Council's agenda a plan of organization of administrative units and when approved by the Council such plan is to be deemed the approved plan of organization of administrative units for the county.[56] Any school district which deems itself aggrieved by a plan of organization approved by the Council may appeal to the State Board of Education.[57]

56/ Pa. Stat. Ann., tit. 24 § 2-295 (Supp. 1966).

57/ Id.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF RACIAL ISOLATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS:

ANOTHER LOOK

Prepared by
Thomas F. Pettigrew
Harvard University
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
National Conference on Race and Education
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

Suppose the racial isolation and segregation of America's public schools had no seriously negative effects upon either Negro or white children. If this were true, the increasing pattern of so-called de facto racial segregation of public education throughout the nation need not concern us. Indeed, there would be little need for this Conference. Thus, Chapter Three, entitled "Racial Isolation and the Outcomes of Education," of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights' report on Racial Isolation in the Public Schools assumes special importance and deserves another look.[1]

I. The Chief Correlates of Negro Academic Achievement

To evaluate adequately the academic consequences for Negro American children of racial isolation, the findings must be placed in the context of the chief correlates in general of Negro student achievement. Such a context is provided by the much-discussed and often-misinterpreted Coleman Report.[2] Called for by Congress in Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and supervised by the U. S. Office of Education, this massive study of Equality of Educational Opportunity tested over 600,000 children and thousands of teachers and school administrators throughout the country. No short summary of James Coleman's survey can do justice to this complex

work. But combined with the extended analyses of the Coleman data later performed by the Commission on Civil Rights, a few generalizations can be ventured about Negro academic achievement in public schools.

Two basic correlates of achievement emerge from the Coleman data: "home background of the child" and "student body quality of the school." Though each of these factors are measured in the report by a number of indicators, both basically involve social class differences and are effectively represented by parents' education. Home background can be tapped by the average of the parents' education of each student; and student body quality can be rated by the education of the parents of all of the students comprising a particular school. Measured in this manner, it is perhaps more accurate to speak of these two major correlates as individual social class and school social class.

The individual social class factor is often said to be the principal correlate of achievement in the Coleman study, but this flat statement requires qualification. Individual social class proved a more important predictor of test scores for white than Negro children.[3] And it proved of declining importance from the sixth to the twelfth grades.[4] As shown in considerable research on adolescents in American society, the influence of the family recedes as the influence of peers strengthens. Consequently, the school social class variable becomes particularly powerful in secondary education; and it is a far more important correlate of Negro than white achievement.

These trends can be detailed with data from the metropolitan Northeast. By the twelfth grade, lower-status Negro children attending

higher-status schools perform as a group slightly better than higher-status Negro children in lower-status schools.[5] Combining the two variables for the scores of these children, their verbal achievement averages range from slightly below an eighth-grade level for low-status students in lower-status schools to almost an eleventh-grade level for high-status students in higher-status schools - a decisive difference of three full grades.[6]

School social class, then, is easily the most important school correlate of achievement scores, white as well as Negro, although Coleman also looked closely at teacher ability and school facility variables. Teacher variables - ranging from years of teaching experience to years of formal education and vocabulary test score of the teacher - prove important, however. In similar ways to the school social class factor, the teacher factor is a stronger correlate of Negro than white student verbal achievement scores and is much more powerful in the secondary than elementary years.[7]

By contrast, school facilities do not relate highly to pupil performance. Once individual social class is controlled, for example, per pupil instructional expenditure in grades six, nine, and twelve is not significantly associated with achievement save in one notable case of marked extremes - Negro children in the South.[8] Nor do such variables as pupil-teacher ratio, library volumes, laboratories, number of extracurricular activities, comprehensiveness of the curriculum, strictness of promotion, ability grouping, and school size reveal any important and consistent relationships with achievement.[9] These essentially negative findings concerning the influence of school facilities have received great attention

and have apparently threatened many educators who ponder what chances for success their next school facilities bond referendum will have. Much of this concern, however, is caused by a misreading of these results. The chief finding is that school social class is such a critical achievement correlate that with a gross survey approach it will simply overwhelm any smaller school effects.

Moreover, the Coleman data do not mean that school facilities are unimportant. What they do signify is that the range of facilities now found in the nation's public schools is not great enough to explain wide differences in student performance. Consider the pupil-teacher ratio variable. Most American classrooms range between twenty and forty students per teacher. Within this relatively narrow range, Coleman could not show any consistent relationships with achievement scores. Yet one can still reasonably argue that it makes a major difference whether one is teaching five or 500 students; but Coleman could not test this proposition since actual pupil-teacher ratios of five and 500 are virtually non-existent. In short, Coleman could only test the effects of variables as they range in present-day schools. Just where below twenty and above forty pupils-per-teacher the instructional ratio variable becomes crucial for student performance must await more detailed, experimental studies.

II. Racial Composition of the Classroom and Negro Achievement

A key finding of the Coleman Report, then, and one of special importance for this paper and Conference is that the most significant school correlate of achievement test scores of all types of children is the social class climate of the school's student body. Measured by the social class origins of all of a school's students, this variable appears

most critical in the later grades and somewhat more important for Negro than white children. Put bluntly, children of all backgrounds tend to do better in schools with a predominantly middle-class milieu; and this trend is especially true in the later grades where the full force of peer-group influence is felt. This basic result of the Coleman Report has been vigorously challenged by a number of methodological critics, none of whom seem aware that the identical finding has been obtained by four other studies which employed sharply different measures and samples from those used by Coleman.[10]

The racial significance of this fundamental aspect of the Coleman Report becomes obvious as soon as we recall that only about one-fourth at most of the Negro American population can be accurately described as "middle-class."[11] Apart from strictly racial factors, then, extensive desegregation is necessary to provide Negro pupils with predominantly middle-class school settings. On these class grounds alone, Negro children in interracial classrooms would be expected to achieve more than similar Negro children in all-Negro classrooms, and these expectations are supported in the Coleman data. Negro children from "more than half" white classrooms score higher on both reading and mathematical achievement tests than other Negro children; and this effect is strongest among those who began their interracial schooling in the early grades.[12] In addition, Negro students in "more than half" white classrooms yield as a group higher standard deviations in test scores than Negroes in classrooms with fewer whites - that is, their scores deviate more widely from the group average.[13]

But are these achievement benefits of the interracial classroom _completely_ a function of the school social class factor? Or are racial composition factors independently related _in addition_? The text of the Coleman Report is equivocal on this point; it speaks of the desegregation effect being"...largely, perhaps wholly, related to ...," or "...largely accounted for by...," other student body characteristics. [14] The Civil Rights Commission's re-analysis of these data, however, focuses further attention upon this particular question and finds that there _is_ indeed a critical racial composition correlate. The re-analysis uncovers relatively large and consistent differences in favor of those twelfth-grade Negroes who are in "more than half" white classrooms even after the two major factors of the Coleman analysis have been controlled - family social class and school social class. [15] The most relevant chart is published on page 90 of _Racial Isolation in the Public Schools_ showing the verbal achievement scores of twelfth-grade Negro children in the metropolitan Northeast (the only region with enough Negro children in both segregated and desegregated classrooms to furnish meaningful comparisons). Since this chart presents, perhaps, the most critical data of the entire report, it is reproduced here.

Observe several major trends. First, both social class and racial composition of the school are importantly related to the verbal scores. The differences at the extremes for twelfth-graders represent roughly three grade levels of achievement - a most significant contrast. Thus, students in lower social class schools with no white classmates attain only a seventh-grade standing (note bars 1 and 9) compared with nine-and-a-

half to ten-and-a-half grade standings for those in higher social class schools with "more than half" white classmates (note bars 8 and 16). Second, within the same student and school social class clusters, the proportion of white classmates still makes a marked difference at the extremes of from one to one-and-a-half grade levels (compare bars 1 with 4, 5 with 8, 9 with 12, and 13 with 16). Third, these apparent benefits for Negro achievement of interracial classrooms are not linear; that is, the test scores do not gradually increase as the percentage of white students increases. Note that Negroes in predominantly-white classrooms score sharply higher than others in each of the four comparisons, but those in classrooms with "less than half" whites tend to do no better than those in all-Negro classrooms. We shall return to this important fact later.

Further aspects of the Commission's re-analysis of the Coleman data extend these results. The importance of interracial education in the primary grades is borne out at numerous points in the Coleman and Commission Reports. The improved Negro academic performance under desegregation, for instance, appears greatest for those Negro children who begin their biracial training in the early grades. Controlling again for both individual and school social class, those ninth-grade Negro children in the metropolitan Northeast who had been in interracial classrooms in the first three grades consistently scored from a half to a full grade above comparable students.[16] (See the reproduced figure taken from the Commission Report at page 107). As the Commission Report made amply clear, the results of the critical chart on page 90 of the Report are not easily interpreted. A number of explanations can be offered for these findings which maintain that racial composition of the classroom itself is not the crucial variable, but

rather other factors which co-vary with racial composition are crucial. Each of these explanations deserves examination. Thus, it could be maintained that even in the metropolitan Northeast predominantly-Negro and predominantly-white schools vary sharply in school quality, especially teacher quality, and that it is these quality distinctions that are responsible for the improved scores in predominantly-white institutions. This argument could be challenged by the failure of the Coleman study to uncover sharp quality differences between "Negro" and "white" schools in the metropolitan Northeast; but this Coleman finding can itself be questioned.[17] In any event, school quality controls narrow slightly the performance differentials attributable to desegregation, but do not by any means exhaust them.[18]

A second type of explanation involves possible selection biases. One special form of the selection argument involves ability grouping. It can be argued that all the Commission found was that schools in the metropolitan Northeast do a reliable and accurate job of placing Negro students in ability groups or "tracks." Given the social handicaps many Negro children bring to the school situation, goes the argument, only the very brightest do well; and these gifted Negro children eventually are assigned to high-ability groups where most of their classmates are white. But less exceptional Negro students will find themselves assigned to low- or medium-ability groups where many or most of their classmates are other Negroes. Consequently, those Negroes with mostly white classmates score highest on academic achievement tests simply because they were brighter to begin with.

Another form of the selection explanation concerns parental choice of community and school. It maintains that within a given social class group more ambitious Negro parents will somehow manage to live in communities with interracial schools. Thus, what appears to be an advantage wrought by interracial schools is actually a result of the self-recruitment of especially motivated children of educationally-minded Negro parents within each Negro social class. A third possible selection argument involving relatively more drop-outs of poorly achieving Negro students from predominantly-white schools is not viable here, because the Commission results can be replicated on ninth-graders before the vast majority of present-day drop-outs have occurred.

These selection explanations receive some empirical support from Wilson's research in Richmond, California conducted for the Commission.[19] He found that "...Negro students who attended integrated schools had higher mental maturity test scores in their primary grades, and came from homes better provided with educative materials."[20] Thus, when Wilson held constant the early elementary achievement of these students, he found that the school class effect remained but that "the racial composition of schools, while tending to favor Negro students in integrated schools, does not have a substantial effect." [21]

Wilson's conclusion is limited, however, in four ways. First, it applies to schools, not classrooms - the principal unit of the Commission's analysis. This is not an unimportant distinction, of course, since formally desegregated schools often have largely segregated classes within them. Second, unlike the Coleman data, the number of Negro students in desegregated

schools in Wilson's study of Richmond, California is quite small. The eighth-grade verbal reasoning test data, for example, are available for only 128 Negro children in predominantly-white schools compared with 777 Negro children in predominantly-Negro schools. [23] Third, among these 128 desegregated eighth-graders, only 8 of them (6%) were in lower-status schools; but among the 777 segregated eighth-graders, 378 of them (49%) were in lower-status schools. In other words, there is not enough variance in school social class among desegregated eighth-graders for Wilson's statistical procedures to separate out the school social class and racial composition factors convincingly. Likewise, four, another type of Negro child critical to Wilson's analysis is in especially short supply. While he has Negro students with both high and low test scores when they entered segregated primary schools and others with high test scores when they entered desegregated schools, he lacks many examples of Negro children with <u>low</u> test scores when they entered <u>desegregated</u> primary schools. This missing group is the most crucial of all for analytical and practical purposes.

Since the Wilson study leaves open the question about the effects of desegregation upon the more disadvantaged Negro students, the Commission employed Coleman data to check on the effects of interracial classrooms on the verbal scores of less gifted Negro ninth-graders in the metropolitan Northeast. [23] These students had poorly educated parents and reported themselves to be in low- or medium-ability tracks. Both in high and low status high schools, these Negroes who were from predominantly-white classrooms performed on the average from one-half to two-thirds of a grade better than comparable Negroes from predominantly-Negro classrooms.

The ability grouping argument is directed at the finding that predominantly-white classrooms are associated with higher Negro scores. But it does not address itself to the additional finding that multiple tracked, predominantly-white schools also tend to relate to higher Negro performance. More importantly, the ability grouping contentions lose force from the time sequence involved. Recall that the largest effects of interracial classrooms occur when the experience begins in the earliest elementary grades. Yet ability grouping does not typically begin in American public schools until the middle school grades and does not become nearly universal until the high school grades. Therefore, desegregation would appear to afford a better explanation for who gets into the high-ability tracks than ability tracks do for desegregation effects. A Negro child of medium ability who begins his education in a desegregated school, for instance, has a far higher probability of being selected later for a high ability track than a Negro child of comparable ability going to a school of similar social status who began his education in an all-Negro school. Ability grouping, then, can serve as a magnifier of the differences already begun by classroom differences in racial composition, a catalyst adding to the cumulative deficits of the segregated Negro.

The parental choice of community and school idea is in some ways the reverse of the ability grouping contention. It aims to account for the fact that predominantly-white communities and schools are associated with higher Negro achievement; but it cannot fully account for the fact that the Commission shows interracial classrooms are also associated with higher Negro achievement - unless one is willing to assume that there is widespread

selection by Negro parents of classrooms as well as communities and schools. There are other assumptions, too, that this particular line of reasoning must make that are at best dubious. Since lower-status, low-ability Negro pupils also benefit from desegregation, these contentions require that poor Negro families possess a sophisticated knowledge of where to go to find the better interracial schools and the funds and freedom of mobility to move accordingly. All that is known about the extreme residential discrimination practiced against Negroes, especially poor Negroes, in American metropolitan areas today make such assumptions most improbable.[24]

Two additional explanations argue that at least some of the apparent racial composition effect revealed by the Commission's re-analysis still reflects the operation of the powerful school social class effect. One chain of reasoning is based on the difficulty of controlling for social class across racial groups. Since the floor of Negro deprivation is below that of whites, for example, it can be maintained that "lower class" Negroes who attend a predominantly-white school comprised largely of "lower class" whites are still benefiting from a higher social class student climate than "lower class" Negroes who attend a predominantly-Negro school comprised of "lower class" Negroes. While there is some merit in this reasoning, it should be remembered that the Commission's differences for twelfth-graders by racial composition of classrooms (averaging about one-and-a-third grades holding the two class variables constant) were approximately 80% as large as those attributable to school social class directly (averaging about one-and-two-thirds grades holding the individual social class and racial composition variables constant). Hence, it would seem that the small school

class residual under discussion could account for only a small portion of the racial composition effect.

The other class explanation is limited, but, perhaps, the most subtle of all. It applies only to certain lower-status Negro students who attend predominantly-white, lower-status schools. Even if the lower-status Negro child is of fully equivalent status to that of the whites, he might well benefit from membership in a minority comprised largely of middle-class Negroes. This possibility is not as remote as it may sound, for a larger percentage of middle-class than lower-class Negroes attend predominantly-white schools and the argument assumes only that the Negro minority will serve as a more positive and salient reference group than the white majority. Though of limited scope, this ingenious possibility elegantly illustrates the subtleties and difficulties inherent in this type of research.

None of these counter explanations, taken singly or together, appearsto eliminate the relatively large relationship found by the Commission between the racial composition of the classroom and Negro test performance. This means that while the social class composition of the school remains the dominant factor, there is in addition a significant contribution of the interracial classroom upon the Negro child's academic achievement. The lengthy discussion to reach this conclusion had two purposes. One was to illustrate in depth the operation of many of the special problems of interpreting race and education survey research results. A second reason for this discussion is that the issue is in fact of vital theoretical and practical significance. While it is not critical for determining the <u>need</u>

for desegregated schools, it is crucial for determining the actual processes through which desegregation affects both Negro and white children. If it is merely a school social class effect, that fact limits our search to non-racial processes that should not be unique to interracial schools. If, however, there is also a racial composition effect, then our net must be cast wider to include specifically racial considerations. The writer believes the evidence at this point. It points to the operation of both social class and racial composition factors; and that this heightens the importance of the considerations stressed in the paper written for this conference by Professor Irwin Katz.

III. Useful Definitions of "Segregation," "Desegregation," and "Integration"

The Coleman and Civil Rights Commission results strongly suggest some empirically-based definitional distinctions that could prove clarifying to this semantically confused realm. To begin with, the legal distinctions between de jure and de facto segregation is of no practical importance for the consequences of racial isolation in the schools. The Commission's data speak to this issue directly; they suggest effects of de facto school segregation just as negative as those reported earlier for de jure school segregation. The legal distinction has little relevance for the Negro child in the all-Negro school.

Indeed, a realistic look at so-called de facto school segregation in cities today calls into question even the legal separation of the two forms of segregation. While de jure apartheid has its roots in blatant state legislation, so-called "de facto" apartheid generally has its roots in state action, too. Such state action may include anything from school

board decisions to urban renewal plans and zoning ordinances. At some future time in American history, as Paul Freund has suggested, the judiciary will have to come to terms with the implications of the state action similarity between de jure and de facto forms of school segregation.

The Coleman and Commission data also have implications for the question of numbers and percentages. Two major alternatives had been previously proposed. One manner of defining "segregation" and "desegregation" is to peg the definition to the non-white percentage of the area's over-all school population. Thus, if twelve per cent of a system's students are non-white, then ideally each school in the system would approach a non-white student composition of twelve per cent. There are at least two criticisms of this approach: it is often impractical in all but reasonably small areas; and it treats the individual school as a simple reflection of the community, rather than an integumented institution with its own dynamics and requirements.

A second definition of a racially desegregated school attempts to meet these criticisms with a relatively fixed, rather than variable, gauge. On the basis of several social psychological considerations, the ideally desegregated school is one whose student body includes from roughly 20 to 45 per cent non-whites. The disadvantage here is that uniracial schools could still result in systems with fewer than 20 per cent or more than 45 per cent non-white children. The federal studies suggest a simpler set of definitions: a segregated school is one whose student body is predominantly non-white; while a desegregated school is one whose student body

is interracial but predominantly white. Such definitions stem from the previously mentioned finding that the beneficial effects of interracial schools for the academic performance of Negro children are not linear; that is, Negro test scores do not rise evenly with increasing percentages of white children in the classroom. Rather, both the Coleman and Commission analyses point to a discontinuity at just past the mid-point with the highest Negro verbal test scores reported from "more than half" white classrooms.[25] Indeed, enrollment in classes with "less than half" whites is associated with scores not significantly different from those all-Negro classrooms.

These simpler definitions receive further support from white test performance. Dr. David Cohen's paper for the Conference treats this issue in detail. Suffice it here to note that, as long as the class is predominantly-white, the achievement levels of white pupils in interracial classrooms do not differ from those of white pupils in all-white classrooms.[26] But attendance in predominantly-Negro classes is associated with lower white test scores. In other words, the same classes relate to higher scores for both Negro and white children; and these classrooms are predominantly-white and may usefully be defined as "desegregated." Similarly, the same classes relate to lower scores for both Negro and white children; and these classrooms are predominantly-Negro and may usefully be defined as "segregated."

The ideological difficulties of such definitions are readily apparent. As mentioned before, Negroes can righfully argue that such definitions imply that "white is right," that predominantly-Negro schools cannot be

"good schools." Commissioner Frankie Freeman of the Civil Rights Commission addressed herself specifically to this issue in a supplementary statement to the Commission report:

> "The question is not whether in theory or in the abstract Negro schools can be as good as white schools. In a society free from prejudice in which Negroes were full and equal participants, the answer would clearly be "Yes." But we are forced, rather, to ask the harder question, whether in our present society, where Negroes are a minority which has been discriminated against, Negro children can prepare themselves to participate effectively in society if they grow up and go to school in isolation from the majority group. We must also ask whether we can cure the disease of prejudice and prepare all children for life in a multiracial world if white children grow up and go to school in isolation from Negroes."[27]

The two federal reports also suggest that another useful distinction can and should be made between "desegregated" and "integrated" schools. Note that the definition of desegregation involves only a specification of the racial mix of students - namely, more than half whites. It does not include any description of the quality of the interracial contact. Merely desegregated schools can be either effective or ineffective, can boast genuine interracial acceptance or intense interracial hostility. In short, a desegregated school is not necessarily a "good school."

Recall that the Coleman Report revealed consistently larger standard deviations for the test scores of Negro children in desegregated (i.e., "more than half" white) classrooms.[28] Many of these children are doing extremely well, but others are not doing nearly as well. What accounts for these wide differences? The Commission's re-analysis of these Coleman data suggests that the explanatory intervening variable is *interracial acceptance*. In desegregated schools where most teachers report no tension, Negro students evince higher verbal achievement, more definite college plans, and more positive attitudes than students in tense desegregated schools.[29] White students also evince benefits from the interracially harmonious school. Professor Katz's paper for this conference sheds further illumination on this process.

The term "integrated school", then, might usefully be reserved for the desegregated school where interracial acceptance is the norm. With these usages, "desegregation" becomes the prerequisite, but "integration" is the ultimate goal.

IV. The Non-Academic Consequences of Interracial Education

While important, high achievement test scores are surely not the only goal of education. Indeed, many advocates argue for integrated education solely in terms of the non-academic benefits of diverse contacts. Preparation for the interracial world of the future, they insist, demands interracial schools today for both white and Negro youth. The Coleman and Commission data speak to this issue, too.

The Coleman Report itself shows that white students who attend public schools with Negroes are the least likely to prefer all-white classrooms and all-white "close friends"; and this effect, too, is strongest among those who begin their interracial schooling in the early grades.[30] Consistent with these results are data from Louisville, Kentucky on Negro pupils. In an open choice situation, Negro children are likely to select predominantly-white high schools only if they are currently attending predominantly-white junior high schools.[31] In short, integration leads to a preference among both white and Negro children for integration, while segregation breeds further segregation.

A Civil Rights Commission survey of urban adults in the North and West discussed in the Report suggests that these trends continue into adulthood. Negro adults who themselves attended desegregated schools as children tend to be more eager to have their children attend such schools and do in fact more often send their children to such schools than comparable Negro adults who attended only segregated schools as children.[32] They are typically making more money and more frequently in white-collar occupations

than previously-segregated Negroes of comparable origins. Similarly, white adults who experienced as children integrated schooling differ from comparable whites in their greater willingness to reside in an interracial neighborhood, to have their children attend interracial schools, and to have Negro friends.[33] Thus, the cumulative nature of integration is not limited to just the school career of the child, but tends to span generations.

The consistency of these results and their practical importance commend further and more detailed work in this area. Longitudinal research and more sensitive methods than crude surveys seem indicated. Such future work could give us a clearer conception of the _process_ by which these effects are generated. One hint as to a mediating mechanism appears in the Commission's analysis: namely, many of the attitude and behavioral consequences appeared to be mediated by cross-racial friendship. Consistent with the findings and ideas expressed earlier about a truly _integrated_ school, many of the adult results were greatly enhanced if the respondent had had interracial schooling _and_ a close friend of the other race. Those who had received a desegregated education but who had not had a close friend often showed few if any positive effects. To sum up, it appears that _integrated_ schools do in fact prepare their Negro and white products for interracial living as adults.

In addition to improved interracial attitudes, an interesting personality benefit of the biracial classroom emerges in Coleman's data which in turn is directly connected with academic performance. Student personality variables are surprisingly strong independent correlates

of test performance in Coleman's data for all groups of children, though different measures predict white and Negro achievement. An "academic self-concept" variable -- measured by such items as "How bright do you think you are in comparison with the other students in your grade?" -- proves more significant for white performance. But a brief scale of "fate control" -- indicated, for example, by disagreeing that "Good luck is more important than hard work for success" -- is much more important for Negro performance. The critical point is that this sense of fate control among Negroes tends to be greater in desegregated schools.

Clearly, these personality-achievement findings result from tapping into a complex process involving a two-way causal pattern. Not only do those Negro children with a sense of fate control subsequently do better in their school achievement, but those who do well in school achievement undoubtedly begin to gain a sense of fate control. Nevertheless, it is tempting to speculate with Coleman that each child faces a two-stage problem: first, he must learn that he can within reasonably broad limits act effectively upon his surroundings; and, second, he must then evaluate his own relative capabilities for mastering the environment. The critical stage for white children seems to be the second stage concerning the self-concept, while the critical stage for Negro children seems realistically enough to involve the question of manipulating an often harsh and over-powering environment. In any event, more detailed experimental work along these lines appears warranted.

V. Is Compensatory Education in Segregated Schools an Effective Substitute for Integrated Education?

Since the initiation of the much-touted "Higher Horizons" project in New York City and similar early programs elsewhere, so-called "compensatory

education" has been put forward as an effective alternative to racially-integrated education. Now the roughly billion-and-a-half dollars annually invested by the Federal Government into this type of strategy through Title I of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act makes this alternative even more attractive and widespread. Moreover, it is politically expedient, for it solves -- temporarily, at any rate -- a real dilemma many school superintendents and boards of education in urban districts face: on the one hand, one must act to change the incredibly-ineffective education of impoverished Negroes that has been occurring for years; but, on the other hand, racial desegregation of public schools is often a controversial and stoutly-resisted action. Compensatory programs allow one to act and to avoid controversy -- especially if Federal funds pay the bill.

There is only one difficulty with this "solution": there is no solid evidence that it works. Indeed, there is mounting evidence from throughout the nation that it resoundingly fails. This is not to say that these enthusiastically-initiated programs do not improve for a time the tenor of many ghetto schools -- not an unimportant achievement. But it is to say that it remains to be demonstrated that these programs can lead to lasting and significant academic gains. So far the record of these programs is not encouraging.

To account for repeated failures in this realm, one need only recall the chief finding of the Coleman Report: the principal resource a school can offer a disadvantaged child is close association with advantaged children. As we have seen, a major reason why integration leads to lasting significant academic gains for Negro children seems to be the association

with middle-class children that it often provides for working-class Negro children. Compensatory programs for disadvantaged youngsters without such contact are, to put it mildly, struggling uphill to achieve meaningful effects with mere curriculum changes under the same isolated conditions as before. One may speculate if this is not one of the reasons for the Coleman Report's unpopularity in some quarters. Striking as it does at the heart of a politically-expedient strategy which is supported by a billion-and-a-half dollars, the Report understandably, perhaps, has been suppressed and irresponsibly criticized. Released late on a rainy Saturday afternoon of a July 4th weekend, the Coleman Report is now out of print and one is cheerfully told by both the U.S. Government Printing Office and the U.S. Office of Education that it will not be reissued.

The Commission Report explores this crucial area further. Though widely misinterpreted as attacking "compensatory education" in general, the Commission expressed skepticism over the efficacy of such programs _in ghetto schools_. It came to this conclusion after studying in detail such programs in St. Louis, New York City, Syracuse, Philadelphia, Berkeley, and Seattle (see chapter 4 of _Racial Isolation in the Public Schools_, Volume I).[34] It noted with interest that comparable Negro children in the last four cities who were bussed out to predominantly-white schools did show sustained academic gains, whereas those who had remained behind in the ghetto schools for special programs did not.

The Commission's conclusion is obvious: Why not have both integration and remedial education as needed? Of course, the two intervention strategies are often pitted against one another as either-or alternatives, since realistically they compete for the same funds, have rival educational

ideologies undergirding them, and have different political constituencies. These are political reasons why we do not combine them; in educational terms, there is every reason to coordinate both measures into a single strategy.

Finally, it should be said in fairness that the general failure of ghetto compensatory programs to date does not necessarily mean failure of future and radically different programs. One cannot evaluate a program yet to be tried. It is the responsibility, however, of those who honestly believe that compensatory education can in fact be a viable alternative to racial integration to reject the null hypothesis with rigorous data; that is, the advocates have the burden of proof that it can yet be accomplished.

VI. Practical Implications

By way of recapitulation, the following practical considerations for educational policy can be deduced from the material reviewed in this paper:

(1) Careful attention to the "social class" mix of school student bodies is indicated, for children of all regions, groups, and classes tend to academically perform best in schools characterized by a middle-class milieu.

(2) Teacher quality, but not the typical range of school facilities, relates to student achievement. Special attention to upgrading a system's teachers seems justified, especially in the verbal achievement domain.

(3) Racial composition of the school and classroom is important for academic, attitude, and personality reasons; and it operates in addition as well as in concert with the more powerful school social class factor.

(4) In terms of the achievement consequences for both white and Negro children, it is useful to define a "segregated" school as one that is predominantly Negro, a "desegregated" school as one that is interracial but predominantly white, and an "integrated" school as one that boasts both desegregation and cross-racial acceptance and friendship. Valuable means of moving from a merely desegregated school to an integrated one are discussed in Professor Katz's paper for this Conference.

(5) The academic and attitude benefits of integrated education for children of both races are maximized when they begin their interracial experience in the earliest primary grades. It is, of course, politically most difficult to desegregate the elementary level; but it is also true that it is most difficult to achieve real integration -- as opposed to desegregation -- when the biracial contact begins at the junior high and, particularly, the high school levels.

(6) On the basis of the record of the many popular attempts to date, it does not appear that so-called "compensatory" education in segregated schools is an effective substitute for integrated education. While these programs generally represent an improvement in school morale and climate, they have not led to lasting academic improvement of Negro student achievement. When at all politically and financially feasible, the most attractive possibility is to combine such programs with school desegregation.

FOOTNOTES

1/ U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, Volume I and II, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967. Hereafter footnoted as "CCR, I or II."

2/ Coleman, J.S., Campbell, E.Q., Hobson, C.J. , McPartland, J., Mood, A.M., Weinfeld, F.D., & York, R.L. Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966 (No. OE-38001). Hereafter footnoted as "Coleman."

3/ Coleman, P. 300. Replicated by Wilson in his work in Richmond, California; See: CCR, II, pp. 165-206.

4/ Coleman, p. 300.

5/ CCR, I, p. 85.

6/ CCR, I, p. 85.

7/ Coleman, pp. 316-317.

8/ Coleman, pp. 312-313.

9/ Coleman, pp. 312-316.

10/ Cleveland, Stuart, A tardy look at Stouffer's findings in the Harvard mobility project. Public Opinion Quarterly, 1962, 26, 453-454; Michael, J.A. High school climates and plans for entering college. Public Opinion Quarterly, 1961, 25, 585-595; Wilson, A.B. Residential segregation of social classes and aspirations of high school boys. American Sociological Review, 1959, 24, 836-845; and Wilson, A.B. Educational consequences of segregation in a California community. In: CCR, II, pp. 165-206. The first three of these studies were conducted prior to the Coleman study. The fourth, completed since the Coleman work, replicates the basic

school social class finding in a research design that is longitudinal and controls for achievement levels upon entering school. These additional components are important safeguards, for some critics of the Coleman result claimed it to be merely a methodological artifact of a research design without these features.

11/ This crude estimate derives from three modest and measurable definitions of "middle class": approximately one-quarter of adult Negroes are high school graduates; slightly more than one-fifth of Negroes in the labor force have white-collar occupations; and about one-quarter of Negro families have an annual income in excess of $6,000.

12/ Coleman, p. 332.

13/ Coleman, p. 333. The scores of the few Negroes with all white classmates have the highest standard deviations of all, though smaller cell sizes obscure the interpretation of this result.

14/ Coleman, pp. 307, 330.

15/ CCR, I, p. 90.

16/ CCR, I, p. 107.

17/ CCR, I, p. 94.

18/ CCR, I, pp. 98-100. Recall, too, that school facilities as such did not prove to be closely related to achievement in these Coleman data. Only teacher quality predicted well among "quality variables," and this factor was therefore controlled in the Commission re-analysis.

19/ CCR, I, pp. 100-101.

20/ CCR, I, p. 100.

21/ CCR, I, p. 101.

22/ CCR, II, p. 185 (Table 23).

23/ CCR, I, p. 101.

24/ Karl Taeuber and Alma Taeuber, Negroes in Cities. Chicago, Ill: Aldims, 1965.

25/ Coleman, p. 332; CCR, I, p. 90.

26/ CCR, I, p. 160.

27/ CCR, I, p. 214.

28/ Coleman, p. 333.

29/ CCR, I, pp. 157-158.

30/ Coleman, p. 333.

31/ U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Civil Rights USA: Public Schools, Southern States, 1962. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963.

32/ CCR, I, pp. 111-113.

33/ CCR, I, pp. 111-113.

34/ For a more recent example of vast claims made for a compensatory program and the realistic evidence, see the following exchanges concerning the more effective school program of New York City: Joseph Alsop, "No More Nonsense About Ghetto Education!" The New Republic, July 22, 1967, 157, 18-23; and Robert Schwartz, Thomas Pettigrew, and Marshall Smith, "Fake Panaceas for Ghetto Education," The New Republic, September 23, 1967, 157, 16-19.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: PROGRESS IN EIGHT CITIES*

Prepared by
Robert T. Stout, Claremont Graduate School
Claremont, California
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

This paper summarizes this research, carried out in the summer and early fall of 1966. As part of a larger effort by the Commission, we examined school desegregation decisions in eight Northern and Western cities. The focus of our attention is on efforts to eliminate *de facto* school segregation. It was and is an unprecedented issue. The definition of *de facto* segregation has not been established (witness the expanded definition which derives from *Hobson v. Hanson*). It has aroused conflict in hundreds of communities around the country, yet the mechanisms of conflict resolution have not been developed. And, sadly, the results of positive action still await documentation by social scientists.

* The research reported here was financed through a contract with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Mr. Morton Inger is co-author of the original study.

We have chosen to speak about desegregation rather than about integration. By desegregation we mean a deliberate change in school policy, such that children who formerly attended racially homogeneous schools now attend racially heterogeneous schools. By integration we mean desegregation coupled with other policies which tend to foster equal educational opportunity for all children.

In general, the policies of the school boards surveyed here have been limited to desegregation, and thus limited in the degree to which they foster full equality of educational opportunity.

We believe that there is no question about the good faith of the various school board members involved. In each case they made decisions, without real pressure from civil rights activists, which prompted opposition from some segments of the communities' Caucasian majorities. They also have adopted policies which have the potential partly to equalize educational opportunity. They have adopted or are adopting multi-ethnic textbooks and beginning to include the role of Negro historical and contemporary figures in regular social studies and history courses. They are making preliminary attempts to recruit Negro teachers and to place them in desegregated schools and are becoming cognizant of the potential for in-service teacher training.

However, what we observed in the eight cities was desegregation. Although they are becoming committed to integration, we have seen little evidence that the commitment has been realized. Nevertheless, the critical point is that in the eight cities which we studied a commitment was made. The purpose of this paper is to explore the manner in which the commitment was arrived at.

The eight cities were situated in four states. They range in size from 10,000 to 300,000 persons. They range in structure from urban centers to suburbs and self-contained small towns. Their economic bases are industrial, residential, and commercial. The political structures range from non-partisanship to relatively tight one-party control. An index of citizen participation in community decisions would range from low to high. Thus we have some confidence that these eight cities represent a fairly wide spectrum of American communities.

Although geographic location of decisions is important for an understanding of our findings, the political location also is crucial. The decision to desegregate is still a local decision, almost unaffected by other than local conditions. This is not to argue that other factors are totally absent; perhaps the most pervasive of these factors is the American ethos which positively values equality of opportunity. For communities to overtly and consciously deny opportunity to large segments of school age children requires a callousness difficult to sustain.

Access to information about other communities also is a factor. The precise extent to which such information played a role in determining action is conjecture. But we do know that any knowledgeable person in White Plains, New York, <u>had</u> to be looking over his shoulder at New Rochelle. Similarly, people in Teaneck, New Jersey, wanted to avoid having "another Englewood" with demonstrations, sit-ins, and general anxiety. Finally, the state and federal governments have been sources of influence as well. But in the main these influences have been intermittent, diffuse, and on occasion self-contradictory.

We saw, then, largely a process by which local citizens exercised local prerogatives.

Because the Constitution of the United States makes no explicit provision for maintaining a public school system, the responsibility for such provision has devolved to the individual states. In turn, they have delegated much of the responsibility to local school governing bodies. Local citizens make demands, and the schools respond. Although the schools have responded to demands on other levels as well, we believe it fair to say that the relationship between the schools and their local communities has been and continues to be more intense than that between the schools and any other organization.

The intensity of the relationship is not without cause. Local citizens have supported local schools on the basis of self-imposed taxes. They have depended on the schools to teach local norms and locally needed skills. They have expressed through the schools their concerns for the future of the community and their pride in it. As a result, school decisions are perceived as major community decisions. Conflicts over school decisions have been as numerous and intense as conflicts about any other phase of American life. Over time, however, the public school system has survived, grown, and improved.

School desegregation, as a local school decision, could prove to be a highly divisive issue, or it could become one over which entire communities express a commitment to genuine equality among citizens. My view is that the path a community takes is mainly a result of the efforts of the school board and the school superintendent.

The Decision Process

Community Response to School Board Indecision

School desegregation is widely feared by school administrators and school board members as a dangerously disruptive issue. The fears are based mainly on the educators' perceptions of how the white community will respond. Their perception is that the white community will be so aroused over desegregation that it will rebel against the school system in general, refuse to support needed bond issues, and (in the case of elected school boards) turn the incumbents out of office.

A controversy over the school system that arouses the hostility of the public can generate "excessive" attention over the school system, drawing to the issue people who are normally uninterested in school affairs and ordinarily willing to let the educators have a free hand. There is ample evidence that controversy over school desegregation also attracts people who have grudges against the school system because of a belief that the schools are spending too much money and getting too few results in general.

Educators have seen and heard of these disruptive controversies. Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Oakland, and Buffalo are vivid examples of cities whose school systems are believed to have been hurt in general by a public fight over desegregation. No realistic educator would willingly subject his school system to the strains experienced in these cities. Boycotts, emotional name-calling, petitions -- these are anathema to the school administrator. Like any administrator, he prefers "to get on with his work". (Lawsuits, too, are time-consuming and disruptive but are much preferred to the other forms of opposition. To a large extent the lawsuit can be turned over to the attorneys.)

Since the controversies arise in great part from white objections to and fears of school desegregation, it would be well to make them explicit. The most consistent opposition comes from ethnic minorities -- chiefly Italian, Irish, and Polish, and occasionally Jewish -- who feel themselves in some kind of competition with Negroes. The brunt of the opposition comes from those who have only recently emerged from the ghetto. For these people their homes and their neighborhoods are both the physical manifestation and the symbolic representation of a life-long ambition. Their neighborhoods frequently adjoin the Negro ghetto. Consequently they see school desegregation as a dual threat. Since their status depends to a large extent on their real and perceived separation from the ghetto, a desegregation plan which erases the separation lowers it. Perhaps a typical response is, "I worked hard to get where I am and I'll be damned if I'll allow it to be taken away". Secondly, and this is especially true for desegregation plans involving adjoining schools, desegregation raises for these whites the specter of a residential invasion and the consequent loss of the neighborhood as a racially homogeneous unit.

For whites higher up on the social scale, desegretation is feared for the perceived effect it might have of dragging down the achievement level of their children. For these whites, desegregation also is feared because it means that their children will have to associate with lower social class children whose behavior deviates from middle-class norms.

There are other, more generalized fears: among the middle and upper-middle class whites there is a general dislike of controversy and conflict (which are viewed as lower class phenomena) and consequently

of anything that brings about controversy. When school desegregation is the outgrowth of a militant civil rights movement which creates public controversy, these white people are disturbed. Further, among the middle-to-lower class whites the civil rights movement and the demands for integration are seen as threats to the political power which they -- particularly the working class ethnic minorities -- have built up over the years. Understandably, many good school superintendents and board members think an issue that arouses such fears is too dangerous to handle.

Because the decision to desegregate is located in school boards and administrations, and because of the conditions under which the issue was broached, some of the key actors shall be described. Typically the question of desegregation was brought to a board of education. The impetus first lay outside the local school governing body, with a state official, as in New York, or with a representative of civil rights group. In either case the issue was brought to an essentially naive board of education.

The school board members represented in this study came to the school board by various routes. But however they become school board members, they bring to their task their own feelings about how a school system should be run, their own attitudes about the school's clients, and a general willingness to devote a great deal of time and energy. Beyond that, they bring perceptions of what the citizens of the community desire. They generally do not bring an understanding of the educational process or of their duties as school board members. If school boards make policy, it is accepted by many educational writers that superintendents teach school boards the boundaries of the policy-making role.

For purposes of description, the model school board member in the cities we studied was a Caucasian male engaged in a professional or managerial occupation; he had no previous experience with educational policy-making and was attracted to the schools by his wish to improve education. He was asked to be a candidate for or to accept an appointment to the school board, has lived in his community for several years and enjoys the life there, and has children in the public school. He speaks of his school board membership as a civic duty, takes his job seriously, and has no desire to use his position as a base for personal political ambition. Finally, he says he wants to provide the best possible education for the children of the community.

In many respects such a group of men is ideal for governing a school system. They are able to comprehend most educational questions; they understand the necessity to recruit able superintendents and are willing to offer high salaries to such men, and they are accustomed to dealing with policy matters.

But such a school board experiences some disadvantages, particularly with respect to school integration. Because the board members do not concern themselves with the everyday functioning of the school system, it is possible that they do not know as much about the systems which they govern as would be desirable in view of their roles as decision makers. Since they are busy men it is inconceivable that they could read and analyze all the important information which school systems collect. It is conceivable that when the issue of segregation was first presented the board members did not know its extent in their schools. We believe this to have happened in Syracuse, for example.

A second, and we think very serious disadvantage facing such a board is that in their normal business and social interactions they are unlikely to have come into contact with Negroes who might be considered social class equals. In addition, it is unlikely that they will have had first hand experience with poverty in any form, let alone Negro ghetto poverty. Although they seemed able to comprehend poverty as an abstraction, we found that at first they were genuinely ignorant of the conditions in which some of the Negro children lived.

The forty or so men and women we have described were ultimately responsible for decisions to desegregate and many of them will be responsible for decisions to integrate. The obvious question is, "Why did these school board members act when school board members in other cities have hesitated or refused to act?"

One possibility is that they were put under extreme pressure by advocates of integration and acted to avoid open and prolonged conflict. This argument is not credible in light of the fact that only in Englewood and Syracuse was there any semblance of active sustained civil rights pressure.

A second possibility is that they believed that the whole community wanted integration. Again, the argument can be discredited in view of their efforts to present the plans in ways such that the community would be unable to express its hostility. It is unlikely that the school board members were unaware of the probable hostility of large segments of the white community.

A third alternative is that these forty persons believed that desegregation was morally right and educationally desirable and that they acted on these beliefs. We were able to ask school board members

how they felt about several questions involving desegregation. While their responses might be termed moderately liberal with respect to civil rights issues in general, they were overwhelmingly committed to school desegregation. For example, 90 percent of them believed that schools could overcome some of the deprivations caused by poverty backgrounds; 85 percent of them believed that Negro children would learn more in an integrated school than in a segregated school. If we remember that when the study was conducted, unlike today, the volume of supporting evidence for this position was quite small, their belief was more a statement of faith than of fact.

The school board members were not alone in their beliefs. Their superintendents shared this view. Every superintendent expressed the conviction that integration was a proper and important goal for the public schools. Englewood's superintendent, Mark Shedd (now superintendent of the Philadelphia public schools), said he favored integration because it was educationally sound and because it was profoundly valuable socially. Teaneck's superintendent, Harvey Scribner, believes for educational reasons that every school should represent the ethnic, economic, racial and social makeup of America, not just Teaneck.

Although each of these cities achieved some measure of desegregation, the process of decision differed. In some the process was halting and open to participation by many members of the community. In others the process was sure and was treated as a normal educational matter, well within the boundaries of standard school board consideration and not open to public discussion. In view of what are believed to be prevailing white attitudes toward integration, the white response to the decision in these eight communities is interesting. In four of

the cities there was either no conflict or else the opposition took forms -- such as lawsuits -- which helped to legitimate the school system's plan. In the other four cities there was open conflict (in varying amounts), but the school system in all but Englewood was able to retain control of the situation. In all eight the community ultimately accepted the school plan.

The differences among the eight cities can be seen as differences in the ways the school systems presented the plans. The eight cities range from Englewood, where first the school officials and then the city administration asked all the citizens to vote on whether to integrate, to White Plains, where the school administration worked skillfully to keep the issue from ever going to the public. It always is difficult to categorize cities because of the many variables, but it is relatively easy to place these eight on a continuum of open community conflict and noise about the plan. From high to low; Englewood with sit-ins and demonstrations; Berkeley, with a recall election and heated public meetings; Teaneck, with a neighborhood school election slate and heated public meetings; to Rochester and White Plains which had virtually no public controversy.

If we construct another continuum, admittedly more difficult, to represent the way the issue was presented to the public, we see an almost perfect correspondence in city positions. The city with the greatest noise and the most difficulty in obtaining community acceptance -- Englewood -- was the city in which the school and city officials went to the greatest pains in asking the public for its advice and opinion. The city with the greatest ease in obtaining community

acceptance -- White Plains -- made the least effort to get widespread approval. Instead, the White Plains school officials skillfully co-opted the leading community organizations and made it appear that the integration plan had the support of the community. As Superintendent Johnson explained to us, "Who would ask for a show of hands on a moral issue?"

We believe the lesson of these eight cities is clear. The more the public is asked for its opinion, the less the likelihood the public will easily accept the plan. One can pick cities from any points on the continua and find the argument supported. White Plains is especially satisfactory because community acceptance was won from a rebellious community which had just decided twice in the previous year that it thought the schools were spending too much money. Teaneck is another good example for despite the vitriolic conflict, the community quietly accepted the desegregation plan once it was put into effect; only when the board of education demonstrated uncertainty about its position was hostility prevalent.

At the risk of going beyond our data we offer a rationale for the relationship between community conflict and public participation in the decision. A school board is a governmental decision-making body. The job of a school board is to make school policy, and when it hesitates or refuses to do so -- by inviting the community to make decisions for it -- it has abdicated its legitimate responsibility.

By so doing a board of education creates a decision vacuum. This tends to be filled by competing interest groups all of whom want to convince the board that they fully represent the community. Typically the groups are polarized along racial lines, and typically they

demand exclusive representation. Such competition quickly evolves to a contest in which only extreme positions are represented. The conflict which emerges frightens most people away and becomes an issue between "those Negroes" and "us whites". Such a public controversy disturbs the foundations of the community and causes many whites to reject the whole disturbance, including the idea of integration which "caused" it.

Having thus deferred to the public, the school board is in the untenable position of being unable to define the particular position which it will take. Given the competing views, how is the board to decide what the"public" wants? Threats and noise do not constitute educational grounds for decision. When the board attempts to regain its responsibility to decide the issue it often is accused of tyranny and duplicity, accusations which render many boards immobile.

Response to School Board Decision

As several of the eight cities demonstrate, abdication of decision-making responsibility does not always occur. When it does not the issue and the response are changed.

School integration is an educational issue which can be treated in a variety of ways. At one extreme school integration is an encapsulated issue to be dealt with in a discreet time period and then forgotten as an issue. An obvious example occurs when a school system moves children around one year and then forgets about them. On the other end integration is seen to affect every educational decision a school board makes. The members of the boards of education we studied (at the time we studied them), were closer to the "encapsulated issue" end of the continuum. The school superintendents however, seemed to

see integration as an issue which is to be considered thoroughly and constantly. We believe that the superintendents in these eight cities played crucial roles in the decisions made by the boards. Committed as they were to integration, the school superintendents in these eight cities deliberately and carefully set about to accomplish the elimination of segregation. We are tempted to refer to the school superintendents as the prime movers in the decision to desegregate. However, Superintendent Wennerberg of Berkeley called himself an "enabler", which term probably is more accurate. The major difference between the two definitions of the role is that in the latter an actively sympathetic school board is implied. Without such a board, we believe it would have been almost impossible for the superintendents to have brought about change.

Regardless of the position of the school board, the superintendents were faced with some serious disadvantages in the desegregation decisions. Perhaps most serious was the lack of convincing evidence that integration is an educational good. During the time of decision for these school systems little was known about the effects of integration on achievement, not to mention the effects on attitudes and values. Berkeley made perhaps the best use of the available evidence, but even that took the form of testimonials from experts, with some limited use of data showing the correlations between segregation and low achievement. The lack of definitive evidence was used by the opponents of integration. The Council for Better Education of Syracuse, a group opposed to integration and committed to segregated compensatory education used quotations from Hubert Humphrey, Charles Silberman, Thomas Pettigrew, James Conant and the New Rochelle report of the U.S.

Commission on Civil Rights to make its case before the Syracuse Board of Education.

In addition to a lack of evidence that integration is good, the school systems were faced with a lack of models of successful integration programs. The Princeton Plan was available but perceived as not adequate to deal with all desegregation problems. The idea of an education park had been proposed, but it is expensive and requires a complete realignment of the school system. Redrawing boundaries had been tried but found wanting in most instances. The closing of a school and the redistribution of children was available as a plan, but this necessitated transportation and available room in other schools. For these superintendents there was no single plan which appeared to be workable in generalized form. They were forced to modify existing plans or devise new ones to fit the special circumstances of their particular situations.

A third disadvantage which the superintendents faced was a lack of help from the graduate schools of education in the United States. There is a limited number of scholars who are devoting their skills to the solution of _de facto_ segregation problems in American communities.

A last disadvantage facing the superintendent was a result of the political nature of the decision to desegregate. These superintendents had had little or no practice in the political art required to desegregate a school system. While they had certainly had practice in the political arts required for successful passage of bond referenda (this is a topic which receives constant discussion in graduate schools

of education), the issue of integration was the hottest issue in American education. We wish we could say that these disadvantages have been eliminated in the last year. However, a conference such as this alleviates some of them.

At the same time that there are disadvantages, the school superintendents had immense resources under their direct control. The superintendents of these eight cities made extremely effective use of these resources, and this ability constituted the key to the success of their plans.

The most basic of the resources is the superintendent's expertise in school matters. Superintendents have specialized training in education, are recognized as school leaders, and enjoy the respect of most citizens. When a school superintendent speaks, he speaks as the representative of a well organized profession with tight controls over membership, which profession is buttressed by American universities. His perceived professionalism is therefore a very powerful resource. He also has the ability to deplete a city's stock of educational and professionals by his own resignation. Superintendent Sullivan threatened to resign if the recall election was successful in Berkeley, after having been there only two months. Highly competent superintendents are not readily found and once found are subject to continued offers from other cities.

A second resource of a superintendent is the definition of his role. He is expected to spend full time dealing with school matters. Because he does, he can accumulate an enormous amount of information about a single organization, and he can use the information in his full-time effort to solve school problems. It is unlikely that a

competent superintendent with these two resources could not devise solutions to most school problems which would be acceptable to most citizens in the community.

But the superintendent has other important resources. He can recruit sympathetic staff members. Berkeley can choose teachers from nine times as many applicants as they have positions. Superintendent Scribner recruited the Negro principal of the Eugene Field School from the Englewood school system. Superintendent Goldberg of Rochester was able to recruit Dr. Elliott Shapiro of New York City for his proposed new urban elementary school.

In addition to recruitment of staff, the superintendent can realign his present staff to accomplish his aims. In Berkeley, Dr. Wennerberg completely realigned his central office staff to by-pass administrators who were not sympathetic to his aims. He can create new positions and remove responsibility from old positions.

Besides the realignment of staff, the superintendent can reward good ideas of staff members and can use their talents in new ways. In Syracuse, David Sine, the former director of research and the man who first advanced the idea of an education park for Syracuse, was given the responsibility of coordinating the development of plans for such a building program. In Berkeley the final plan was originally proposed by a teacher and was eventually given her name.

To supplement the ideas of his own staff, the superintendent can call on outside consultants. In White Plains, Greenburgh, Englewood, Syracuse, Berkeley, Teaneck, and Rochester, the use of outside consultants was prominent at some point in the decision process.

A seventh resource available to a superintendent is his ability to control the allocation of money. Even in school districts which must depend on some other government body for total budget approval, item approval is not necessary. Thus a superintendent has immense control over allocation of resources. This control allows him to emphasize certain programs and de-emphasize others, and his only risk is that he will be fired. But with a sympathetic school board that risk is low. The citizens of the community can control resource allocation only by electing a new school board or by suing for violation of their rights as citizens.

The last resource available to a superintendent is the public nature of the conflict over integration. In the broadest sense, the spotlight which is turned on a superintendent during the decision process makes him personally invulnerable. To be attacked by identifiable villians for their championship of integration guarantees their professional future. They need not be concerned about finding a new position. And if they succeed in desegregating a school system, the opportunities for advancement are even further increased.

One measure of the success of the superintendents in using their resources is that, except for Coatesville and Berkeley, no school board adopted a plan not originally proposed by the superintendent. Each superintendent used what resources he had as often as he could. In addition to those we have mentioned, the superintendents displayed a great deal of plain tenacity and even guile. As much as anything, perhaps, the last two qualities got them over the rough spots. Some of them told us about events which sounded similar to second-rate spy

movies. In Teaneck an anti-integrationist was reported to have said publicly to the superintendent, "I know you're not a communist, but you talk like one, you act like one, and you propose policies the communists favor". Stories or night phone call threats, opposition, and near-sabotage from within the central school office and the necessity for police protection of school board members abound.

Our discussion of the differences among the eight cities in this study should not be allowed to cloud over the important similarities which distinguish them from Boston, Buffalo, and Kansas City, for instance.

> First, in all eight cities, the school officials believed that integration was a proper and important goal for the school system and communicated that belief to the community.
>
> Secondly, despite the differences in the way the issue was presented to the public, an integration plan was actually put into effect in all eight cities.
>
> Third, despite the fact that some of the eight cities experienced difficulties in getting community acceptance, all eight communities accepted the plans.
>
> Finally, despite the fears that the school system would be hurt if the integration issue came up, in all eight cities the public has not only accepted the desegregation plan but has, in addition, supported bond issues and re-elected the school board members who promulgated them.

We have called attention to two key elements of these success stories. (1) The school officials presented integration as a proper goal for the educational system, and in some of the cities as an educationally beneficial change. (2) In the cities where acceptance was won with the least conflict, the public was not asked for its opinion or advice or approval. But there is a further point which distinguishes these eight cities from the cities which have experienced turmoil over desegregation and have not desegregated.

In Chicago, Cleveland, Boston, Buffalo and many Southern cities, race relations consists of a battle between the civil rights organizations and whites who are opposed to integration; the result stirs up hatreds and fears. In these eight cities, by contrast, the school system adopted integration as its own goal, thereby giving it legitimacy. If a battle arose in these cities, it was between an accepted governmental body and a group of dissident citizens.

In Teaneck, as in Berkeley, the school board was not committed to a specific integration plan. Indeed, the Teaneck board did not agree on a plan until two nights before the meeting at which they formally adopted it. This uncertainty was known to the public, and it had the effect of opening up the issue and making it a public controversy. A campaign for the school board was fought out over the issue; and when word leaked out that the board had agreed on a plan, three city councilmen crashed an executive session of the board to protest the decision. At a public meeting the next night, 1400 people (estimated to be 3 to 1 against the plan) crowded into the meeting room, shouting and shaking their fists. After calling a five minute recess to collect themselves, the board members came back and adopted the plan by a vote of 7 to 2.

From that point on, any community response had to be to a governmental decision. Governmental decisions are legitimate; for many people, this is enough to settle the issue. Even for the committed opponents opposition is difficult. This was clearly the case in Teaneck, for the outburst at the school board meeting was the last open attack on the Teaneck school board. The opponents filed law suits (and lost) and conducted a vigorous election campaign a year

later. The legitimating effect of the governmental decision can be seen by comparing that election with the school board election which was held while the board was still making up its mind. In February of 1964, while the board was still uncertain, two proponents of the neighborhood school concept were elected to the board, while one incumbent who was known to be favoring the superintendent's integration plans squeaked past a third pro-neighborhood school candidate by only 21 votes. But in the election following the adoption of the integration plan, all three candidates favoring the board's integration plan defeated the three neighborhood school candidates by a 7 to 5 margin.

Desegregation in these cities was achieved not by civil rights marches and boycotts, but by competent and accepted school officials acting in the name of educational values. Consequently, the actions taken by these school boards, though not exactly what the public would have wanted the boards to do if they had been asked for their opinion, were accepted by the public.

For those who might ask if what we have described is undemocratic, we can ask in turn why these communities accepted the plans. The answer must be that the people in these cities got what they wanted. Each of these cities has a representative democracy. If the school board is not elected, the man who appoints the board is. Democracy does not mean that all the people make all the decisions. The fundamental requirements of democracy are met if the people have opportunity to influence the decision makers, that is, if those who actually govern can be held accountable by the people. Actual day-to-day decisions are left to representatives of the people, who expect these representatives "to get on with it" without referring all the decisions

to them. In fact, democracy is served when the representative accepts responsibility for the decisions. President Truman's "The buck stops with me" made it simpler for the public to hold him accountable for his policies and programs. The people of the communities which experienced conflict wanted the same things the people in the other cities wanted: peace, progress, and prosperity. By dodging responsibility and asking the people how and whether to integrate, the officials of these cities failed to give their citizens what they wanted. The officials of these cities failed to give their citizens what they wanted. The officials in the other cities achieved desegregation, kept the peace, and have been able to get on with some other fundamental educational problems.

By way of a summary, we can hazard a prediction: If the school officials in a city will (1) move and act instead of studying and talking about it while waiting for the impetus to come from elsewhere and (2) treat integration as a routine educational matter and (3) proceed to implement the program without asking for a show of hands, the community will accept its integration plans.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN BERKELEY: THE SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT REPORTS

Prepared by
Neil V. Sullivan, Ed. D., Superintendent of Schools
Berkeley Unified School District-Berkeley, California
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

In recent years Berkeley, California, has been fortunate to have a school district which recognizes its problems and works effectively toward their solution. The city schools already have completely desegregated the junior high schools, and have made a token start at the elementary level. The School Board has committed itself to completing the process in all schools by September 1968. When that goal is reached, Berkeley will be a rare example of a major city working out a solution to this problem without court orders, violence, boycotts, or compulsion, but only with the conviction of the Board of Education, the Administration, and the citizens that it was right.

This has not been achieved overnight. To place the present achievements in their proper context it is necessary to trace the development of events in the recent past.

PRE-1964

The Liberal Renaissance - Prior to the mid-1950's Berkeley's local government -- including the Board of Education -- was typical of those found in most middle-size, middle-class communities. The orientation was pro-business, with a heavy emphasis on keeping the tax rate down. This condition was so pronounced that teachers, in order to obtain a much needed and earned salary increase, were forced to use an initiative petition to get school revenues raised; the Board had refused to do so.

There are many different versions concerning the beginning of the liberal renaissance. There is general agreement that the first concrete step was the election of one liberal to the Board in 1957, followed by another in 1959,and two more in 1961. With the 1961 election the liberals assumed control of both the Board of Education and the City Council. However, even with only one "liberal" Board member in the late 1950's, the Board began to give attention to the problems of race relations in a multi-racial city.

Preliminary Steps - A citizens committee (named the Staats Committee after its chairman) was organized to study race relations within schools. This committee did not come to grips with the question of *de facto* segregation but sought to deal otherwise with improving educational opportunities for minority youngsters and improving race relations in the schools. For the late 1950's this report was a forward-looking document. It led to two particularly noteworthy developments.

First, the hiring practices for minority teachers were greatly improved. The number of Negro teachers increased from 36 in 1958 to 75 in 1962. Negroes also were advanced to principalships and other high positions in the District's administrative hierarchy. And by 1962 there were about 30 Orientals on the certificated staff.*

Second was the Intergroup Education Project (IEP). This project was designed to help teachers appreciate cultural diversities and better understand youngsters from other than middle-class backgrounds. It conducted seminars for teachers, mass community meetings, and week-end conferences for this purpose. The IEP helped prepare the ground for the high staff support for later integration efforts.

Junior High School Desegregation - In 1962 a delegation from the Congress on Racial Equality visited the Superintendent of Schools -- and later the Board of Education. Complimenting the School District for progress already made, the CORE delegation suggested that it was time to get on with the task of desegregating the schools. CORE asked that a citizens committee be appointed to study this problem.

The report included a recommendation for desegregating the junior high schools by assigning some students from the predominantly Caucasian "hill" area to Burbank, the Negro junior high school; students from predominantly Negro west Berkeley would be assigned partly

---

* The distribution of minority teachers among the various schools did not keep pace with progress in hiring. Most of these recruits were assigned to predominantly Negro schools. In more recent years we have made a concerted effort to achieve a better racial balance on all faculties. It is important, especially to combat stereotypes, to the education of all children to see members of all races working together in such respected vocations as teaching.

to Garfield, the Caucasian junior high school. Since the third junior high school already was racially balanced, this recommendation would have eliminated _de facto_ segregation at the junior high school level.

The report struck the community like a bombshell. Although the community was aware that the committee was functioning, most people had not taken seriously the possibility that such a concrete recommendation would be made. The reaction was intense. During the remainder of 1963 and through January of 1964 there was extensive community discussion of the proposal. Two hearings were held -- one attracting 1200 people and other drawing over 2000. PTA's and other groups set up study committees on this problem; never before had such crowds attended PTA meetings!

In the hill area affected by the recommendation many liberals faced a dilemma. Some asked: "How do we express our opposition to this particular proposal without sounding like bigots?" Our response was to ask them to develop a better plan. Many sincere critics of the citizens committee proposal set out to do just that.

One of these alternative proposals was named the "Ramsey Plan" after the junior high school English teacher who suggested it. This plan proposed desegregation of Berkeley's three junior high schools by making the predominantly Negro school into a 9th grade school and dividing the 7th and 8th graders between the two remaining junior high schools.

In February 1964 a five-member staff committee was asked to study the reactions of the Berkeley school staff to the citizens committee proposal and to other ideas that had been offered. Every school faculty was asked to consider the matter.

In March the 5-member staff committee reported to the Board that the staff as a whole was favorable toward integration, and preferred the Ramsey Plan to the original citizens committee proposal. The Board instructed the Superintendent to consider the educational pros and cons of the Ramsey Plan, and its feasibility for September 1964 implementation.

The results of this study were presented to the Board and the community on May 19, 1964, a landmark date in the history of Berkeley schools. Again there were over 2000 people in the audience. The opposition, which had formed the "Parents Association for Neighborhood Schools" (PANS) solemnly warned that if the Ramsey Plan or any such desegregation proposal were adopted, the Board would face a recall election. The Board members did vote for the Ramsey Plan -- and they did face recall.

The Recall - Through the summer months the opponents of the Board collected signatures on recall petitions. A rival group was formed to defend the Board (Berkeley Friends of Better Schools). By late July the PANS group had enough signatures to force a recall election.

There followed a series of procedural skirmishes before the City Council and the state courts. Finally, an election was called for October 6, and after an intensive and heated campaign it was held. It was a stunning triumph for the courageous incumbent Board members. This election was another landmark for Berkeley education and for the cause of desegregation across the nation. There was more at stake than indi-

vidual Board members continuing in office. The basic issue was the survival of a Board of Education which voluntarily took effective action to desegregate schools -- not because of court order or other compulsion, but simply because the Board believed desegregation was right. If such a board of Education could not be sustained the lesson would not be lost on boards of education in other cities facing the same problem. Thus, it was extremely significant that in this election the Board was vindicated by the Berkeley community.

SULLIVAN ADMINISTRATION

The New Administration - On September 1, 1964, five weeks prior to the recall election, I took office as Berkeley's Superintendent of Schools in the midst of a climate of change and uncertainty. Of the five-member Board of Education which had unanimously invited me to come to Berkeley, only two remained in office. One had resigned because his business interests led him to move from the city. Another was transferred to become minister of one of the largest churches of his denomination in New York City, and a third was appointed by the Governor to be a Superior Court judge. The two who remained were facing a recall election.

There also was a sweeping change in the school administration. Virtually every top ranking member of the central administration was either new to the District or new in his position. Over one-third of our schools had new principals.

Making the New Plan Work - The decision to desegregate the junior high schools had been made before I arrived. The role of the

new administration was to make it work.

School opened as usual and the new system was put into effect with no marked difficulties. In fact, the orderliness of the transition was an important contribution to the defeat of the recall attempt. It demonstrated clearly that desegregation could be achieved without the dire consequences that had been forecast.

Developing Community Support - Defeat of the recall election meant that courageous Board members would remain in office, and the junior high school desegregation plan would continue. My next task as Superintendent was to attempt to reunite a badly split community, to develop a sense of community understanding, and to provide a basis for school support.

I approached this problem by creating a climate of openness with the public. We immediately established the practice of recognizing and admitting our problems and inviting the community's help in seeking solutions. As a new superintendent, I was beseiged by invitations to speak publicly. I accepted as many as I could and during the 1964-65 school year scheduled over 100 speaking engagements.

I issued an open invitation to citizens to visit my office and discuss their school concerns, to share their ideas and suggestions. In addition I telephoned or wrote to dozens of people who had been recommended to me as community leaders deeply interested in schools. For several months I met almost continually, often a few times a day, with citizens individually and in groups. These meetings made me familiar with the Berkeley community and established a climate that encouraged exchange of ideas.

I established a liaison channel between my office and the area-wide PTA Council. I made it a practice to convene three or four briefing sessions a year with the unit presidents and council officers of that organization, and included other groups such as the League of Women Voters. At these sessions problems and issues facing the schools, as well as hopes and plans for improvement were discussed.

The day after the recall election I recommended the formation of a broadly-based School Master Plan Committee, to examine all facets of the School District's operation and to develop guidelines for the future. I urged participation of all elements of the community, making it clear that we wanted cooperation, regardless of positions in the recall election. The response was heartwarming; over 200 highly qualified citizens were nominated or volunteered their services. The Board of Education selected 91 people from this list to serve on the committee. Also named were 47 staff members. The committee has been hard at work for two years, and presented its report in the fall of 1967.

During my first year in Berkeley, I was invited by the local newspaper to write a weekly column on local and national education matters. This column has been a valuable means of keeping the community informed and introducing some new ideas. During the past year I accepted the invitation from a local radio station to conduct a weekly program of fifteen minute sessions dealing with events in the school system and issues facing public education. Each month the final week's program is extended to one hour, and features a direct phone-in from the radio audience.

In addition to developing relationships with the general public, we have worked to maintain good liaison with the staff. We have frequent breakfast conferences with the leaders of both teacher organizations, and meet regularly with the Superintendent's Teacher Advisory Council, made up of teacher representatives chosen by each faculty.

The purpose of these communication efforts has been threefold. First, extensive dialogue with staff and community helps to identify and define problems needing attention. Second, it serves as an excellent source of new ideas and suggestions. Third, it helps interpret our problems, goals, and programs to the community.

Our efforts have been, in short, to "mold consensus" in the community behind the school system. Although we have not achieved unanimity on any single subject (that would be impossible in Berkeley!) there have been good indications during the past three years. It seems that we have succeeded in molding community support for the schools, and in developing sufficient consensus to resolve some of the crucial problems facing urban schools today.

A START TOWARD ELEMENTARY INTEGRATION

Segregation in the Elementary Schools - The Board's adoption of the Ramsey Plan, followed by the defeat of recall election, insured desegregation at the junior high school level. Since there is only one regular senior high school, our entire secondary school program, beginning with grade 7, was desegregated. However, we still face *de facto* segregated elementary schools. The four elementary schools in south and west Berkeley are overwhelmingly Negro. The seven schools located in

the northern and eastern hill areas of the city are overwhelmingly Caucasian. In between, in a strip running through the middle of Berkeley, are three desegregated schools. Since the racially imbalanced Negro and Caucasian schools are on opposite sides of the city, separated by the integrated schools, boundary adjustments will not solve the problem.

When the Ramsey Plan was adopted the Board tabled a companion recommendation that would have desegregated the elementary schools by dividing the city into four east-to-west strips, each containing three or four schools. The schools within each of these strips would have been assigned students on a Princeton principle, i.e., 1-3 in some schools, grades 4-6 in others.

Educational Considerations - It is not the function of this paper to develop fully the case for school desegregation. However, the basic motivation underlying our progress in Berkeley can be stated concisely.

Many studies, in Berkeley and elsewhere, have documented the fact that segregation hurts the achievement of disadvantaged youngsters. Schools with a preponderance of these boys and girls have low prestige and generally lack an atmosphere conducive to serious study.

The emotional and psychological harm done to children through this type of isolation also has been demonstrated. Regardless of cause, racial segregation carries with it the symbol of society's traditional rejection of Negroes.

The benefit of integration extends to children of all races. We are all sharing this society, and if it is to be successful we must learn to respect each other and get along with one another. This will not happen if segregation remains.

These considerations have been taken seriously in Berkeley as we move toward total school integration.

<u>ESEA Busing Program</u> - The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 allowed the schools to make a beginning on the problem of elementary school segregation. Berkeley's share under Title I of that Act was approximately a half-million dollars. A major share of these funds was used to reduce pupil-teacher ratios in our four target area (Negro) schools and to provide extra specialists and services for students attending them. The reduction of pupil-teacher ratios left a surplus of 235 children. The seven predominantly Caucasian hill-area schools had spaces for these youngsters. Our proposal for the first year's use of Title I funds, then, included improved services and reduced pupil-teacher ratio in the target area schools and the purchase of buses to transport the 235 "surplus" youngsters to the hill area schools.

In the preparation of this project we again employed our principle of mass community involvement. Each school faculty was invited to submit suggestions. Their response was gratifying. These suggestions, when piled together, produced a stack of paper several inches high. When they had been sifted and evaluated, and a project developed, we submitted it to the Board. Copies were made available to the school faculties and the public for their reactions. Two major public meetings were held in different sections of the city, and the Board of Education held a workshop session at which teachers could react. Many valuable suggestions and constructive criticisms resulted and were incorporated into the final proposal.

As might have been predicted, most of the public attention was centered on the busing proposal, although it involved a relatively minor share of the funds. This time the opposition, though by no means silent, was much less severe.

Since the children in the hill area schools were not being asked to go anywhere else -- the hill schools were simply going to receive youngsters from the other areas of the city -- this provided no focal point for the development of opposition. And the proposal included employing eleven extra teachers, paid with local money, and placing them in the receiving schools to maintain the pupil-teacher ratio there. A few scattered voices were raised against the proposal, but the preponderance of community opinion was favorable. Both teacher organizations endorsed the project, and on November 30, 1965, the Board adopted the program for implementation the spring semester.

The proposal went to the State Board of Education and became one of the first fourteen ESEA projects approved in the State of California. We had approximately two months to prepare for its implementation -- the selection of youngsters (this was voluntary on the part of the parents), the employment of teachers, arrangement of transportation, and other administrative details. Parent groups in the receiving schools helped by establishing contact with the parents of the transferring students. The students in the receiving schools likewise participated, and some wrote letters of welcome to the newcomers. Dry runs were conducted with the buses so that by the time the program was implemented in February 1966, the necessary advance preparation had been accomplished.

Results to Date - Although the program has not been in effect long enough for an extensive objective evaluation, early indications are that it has been extremely successful. The children have adjusted well in their new school environment and, by their performance, have made friends for integration. One evaluation, made by an outside consultant employed by the District, found that receiving school parents whose children were in class with Negroes were more favorable to integration than parents whose children were not in class with Negroes. And parents of the bused students were so pleased with the results that many requested that their other children be included.

This limited program provided an integrated experience for the 230 youngsters being transferred, less than 10 percent of the sending schools' enrollment. It also provided token integration for the receiving schools. However, it left the four southwest Berkeley schools just as segregated as they were before, although with a somewhat improved program due to the reduced pupil-teacher ratio and added services.

COMMITMENT TO TOTAL INTEGRATION

The Problem - Although the ESEA program has provided a start in the direction of elementary school desegregation, we never regarded the busing of only 235 youngsters as the solution to the segregation problem. The problem will not be solved as long as our four south and west Berkeley schools remain overwhelmingly Negro, and the schools in the north and east overwhelmingly Caucasian. The segregation problem must be solved if minority youngsters are ever to close the achievement gap and if all youngsters, regardless of race, are to be adequately prepared for life in a multi-racial world.

Although we have integrated the schools down to the 7th grade, we strongly believe that integration must begin earlier. In too many cases attitudes already are hardened and stereotypes developed by the time the youngsters reach the 7th grade. It is, of course, politically and logistically easier to desegregate the secondary schools. In fact, a bi-racial city that has not desegregated its secondary schools is by definition not committed to integration. The problem is much more difficult at the elementary level. Buildings and attendance areas are smaller, children are younger, and community emotions are more intense. Yet, the problem must be solved at the elementary level. It is ironic that solutions come more easily at one level, but more good can be accomplished at the other.

The Commitment - The commitment of the Board of Education to desegregation of all elementary schools in Berkeley came in the spring of 1967. In early April a delegation from west Berkeley made a presentation to the Board, stating that it was time to get on with the job of total desegregation. The delegation had many other recommendations specifically relating to the south and west Berkeley schools and the programs available to minority youngsters. At this meeting I recommended that the Board authorize the Administration to develop a program of voluntary reverse busing from Caucasian areas to south and west Berkeley. I let it be known that this was to be regarded only as a stop-gap measure to demonstrate good faith and did not represent a solution to the desegregation problem.

At the next meeting, however, before we could develop a reverse busing plan, the issue moved ahead. Both of our certificated staff organizations made appeals to the Board for action either to erase *de facto*

segregation completely or at least to make a significant step in that direction. Officials of the local NAACP and other members of the audience supported these appeals. A motion was presented to the Board calling for desegregation of all Berkeley schools. The Board concurred and established September 1968 as the target date for desegregating the schools.

The next two or three Board meetings, including one workshop or "open hearing", drew crowds of several hundred spectators and many speakers. Most of the speakers and most of the crowds were supportive of the Board's action; there was a minority who disagreed with the Board's position -- some opposed desegregation altogether, and others felt that 1968 was too long to wait.

On May 16 the Board adopted a formal resolution reaffirming the September 1968 commitment and adding an interim calendar of deadlines for the various steps required to achieve desegregation. The Administration was instructed to develop plans for total integration. We were instructed to make our report by the first Board meeting in October, 1967. The timetable calls for the Board to adopt a particular program by January or February 1968. Seven or eight months would then remain for implementing the program in time for the opening of school in September 1968. This is the calendar on which we now are operating.

The Board included in its Resolution on Integration two other features: first, the assumption that desegregation is to be accomplished in the context of continued quality education, and second, that massive community involvement was to be sought in development and selection of the program. Both of these features I heartily support.

Developing the Plan - We went to work immediately. The Administration compiled information on enrollment and racial makeup of each school, school capacities and financial data. This information was distributed to each faculty. We then called a meeting of all elementary school teachers; I relayed our charge from the Board and asked each faculty to meet separately and develop suggestions. We also sent information packets to over sixty community groups and invited them to contribute their ideas. By the end of June we had received many suggestions, both from staff members and lay citizens.

Meanwhile both local and national endorsements were pouring in. The Berkeley City Council passed a resolution commending the Board on its commitment to integration. Other local organizations and individuals did the same.

During the summer months two task groups were assigned to work on the problem. One was concerned with the logistics of achieving desegregation and the other was concerned with the instructional program under the new arrangement. The Board appointed a seven-member lay citizens group to advise the Administration in development of its recommendations. Even after the Administration's recommendation has been given to the Board, this group will continue to function as an advisory body to the Board. Upon receiving the Administration's recommendation, the Board plans a series of workshop sessions to provide every opportunity for community reaction and suggestion.

As this paper is written (mid-September) we are making excellent progress toward meeting our deadline. Soon after the opening of school, a report from the Summer Task Group outlining four or five

of the most promising plans was sent to each school faculty and to each group or individual who submitted a plan during the summer. These proposals are being made available to the community as well, along with the many suggestions received earlier from staff and lay citizens. School faculties and the community-at-large are invited to react to these proposals and to make suggestions to the Administration. Procedures have been organized to facilitate a response from school and community groups. Each faculty has been asked to meet at least twice. On one afternoon, schools will be dismissed early and the district-wide staff divided into cross sectional "buzz" groups. Each of these groups will submit ideas. Following these steps we will use the task group proposals, along with the reactions and suggestions that come from the staff and community, in developing our recommendation to the Board. This recommendation will be presented to the Board on schedule, at the first meeting in October. From that point on the matter will be in the hands of the Board, which is to make its decision by January or February 1968.

As our plans develop, we have received invitations to appear before many groups, large and small. Some have been hostile at first. However, meeting with them has made possible an excellent exchange of views and an opportunity for explaining our program to people who had not been reached earlier. We anticipate that the fall months will be crowded with such speaking assignments. It is our firm commitment, and that of the Board of Education, to inform the citizens of Berkeley thoroughly about the issue and about prospective plans prior to the Board's adoption of a program in January or February.

LESSONS LEARNED

While working toward integration in the Berkeley schools over the past several years, we have learned some lessons:

1. Support by the Administration and the Board of Education for the concept of school integration is absolutely essential. The Board must give its consent before any plan of desegregation can occur. The support of the Superintendent and his administrative team is vital in helping to obtain Board support and in making a success of any program adopted. While the Board nor the Administration need broad community support, their leadership role is vital.

2. Integration has the best chance of success when a climate of openness has been established in the community. Lines of communication with Board, Administration, teachers, and the community-at-large must be kept open through frequent use. Anyone who thinks a solution to the problem of integration can be developed in a "smoke-filled room" and then rammed through to adoption while the community is kept in ignorance is simply wrong.

Our citizens are vitally interested; they are going to form opinions and express them, whether we like it or not. It is in our interest to see that these opinions are formed on the basis of correct information. Furthermore, the success of integration, once adopted, depends upon broad community support and understanding between the lay community and the schools. This can be created only through a climate of openness.

3. _It can be done! A school district can move voluntarily to desegregate without a court order and without the compulsion of violence or boycotts._ Berkeley has demonstrated that a school community can marshal its resources, come to grips with the issue of segregation, and develop a workable solution.

Furthermore, if the new arrangement is well planned and executed, it will gain acceptance on the part of many who opposed it at first.

Many fears and threats which arose in Berkeley were not realized. The Board was not recalled. Our teachers did not quit in droves. In fact, the reverse happened; our teacher turnover rate has been drastically reduced during the last two or three years. Integration did not lead to the kind of mass white exodus being experienced in other cities (which, interestingly enough, have not moved toward integration). In fact, last year for the first time in many years the long-standing trend toward a declining white enrollment in the Berkeley schools was reversed.

The not-so-subtle hints that direct action for integration would lead to loss of tax measures at the ballot box proved to be unfounded. In June 1966 we asked the voters for a $1.50 increase in the ceiling of our basic school tax rate. Much smaller increase proposals were being shot down in neighboring districts and across the nation. In Berkeley we won the tax increase with over a 60 percent majority.

4. _A community can grow. Berkeley did!_ When the citizens committee report came out in the fall of 1963 with an actual plan for desegregation of the junior high schools, the community suddenly awoke to the fact that desegregation was a real possibility. The furor that

resulted could be predicted in any city. However, as large public hearings and countless smaller meetings were held by dozens of groups, support for integration began to grow and opposition diminish. One area of the city that reacted emotionally at first later provided some of our strongest supporters.

An example in a different but related field can illustrate this point. Berkeley held a referendum election on a Fair Housing Proposal early in 1963, before the citizens committee report, and the measure was defeated by a narrow margin. A year and a half later the community, together with the rest of California, voted on the same issue -- Proposition 14. Although the statewide vote on that issue was a resounding defeat for Fair Housing, the City of Berkeley voted the direct opposite by almost a two-to-one margin. The Proposition 14 election was held only a month after the recall election, after almost a full year of intensive community involvement with the school desegregation issue. In other words, a city that voted down its own Fair Housing proposal, later voted two-to-one for Fair Housing in a statewide election. Many of us feel that this change of direction was substantially influenced by the extensive community involvement in the school integration question between the two elections. The community grew in understanding as it studied the issues.

5. <u>Community confidence in the good faith of its school administration and school board must be maintained.</u> Berkeley has been successful in doing this. The good faith of our Board and Administration has been demonstrated. There have been no court orders, no pickets, no boycotts, no violence. Each advance has been made, after extensive

study and community deliberation, because the staff, the Board and the community thought it was right. By moving in concert with the community we have avoided being placed in polarized positions of antagonism. The climate thus produced has enabled us, as we move step by step, to work with rather than against important segments of the community in seeking solutions. If this climate of good faith is missing, even the good deeds of school officials are suspect.

CONCLUSION

There is no greater problem facing the schools of America today than breaking down the walls of segregation. If our society is to function effectively its members must learn to live together. Schools have a vital role to play in preparing citizens for life in a multi-racial society. The Berkeley experience offers hope that integration can be successfully achieved in a good-sized city. This success can be achieved if the Board of Education, the school staff, and the citizens of the community are determined to solve the problem and work together toward this end.

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR SYRACUSE

A Statement by
William F. Walsh, Mayor, Syracuse, New York
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
in America's Cities
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

We in Syracuse look at the matter of segregation in our public schools in the same light we look at segregation in any other walk of life. We are convinced that segregation in America in any form is wrong. In our judgment, it is not only wrong, it is immoral, grossly wasteful of human ability and talent, and contrary to everything we stand for in this country.

The pattern of segregation that has existed in our schools in Syracuse has been a neighborhood pattern. I have been in favor of the neighborhood school concept, but if the neighborhood system is to continue, we must constantly be alert to preventing these schools from perpetuating racial segregation.

Three years ago, we faced a problem of segregation in two of our inner-city schools. We had pressure from various civil rights groups to do something about correcting the racial imbalance that existed. Our Board of Education recognized that something needed to be done, not just because the schools were predominantly Negro, but also because tests showed that students in those schools were not performing at their level of ability. Despite sincere efforts to improve these schools through special educational programs, the

students were not improving as much as we would have wished. Our School Board, therefore, voted to close these schools and to bus the 900 students to predominantly white schools. If a mayor is to exercise any leadership in the community, he has to support the decisions of other departments, and as Mayor, I was happy to lend my support to the Board of Education's decision to desegregate the schools. Similarly, I intend to lend my support to what we call in Syracuse the Campus Plan.

The Campus Plan, developed after considerable study, calls for the construction of a campus-type facility or education park, to replace several outdated neighborhood schools. It would be located in an area outside of the old neighborhoods, preferably on the perimeter of the city. Eventually, three or four campus schools would be developed, as the neighborhood elementary schools in our system are retired over a period of years.

The end of segregation, brought on by campus schools, will not immediately destroy the concept of neighborhood schools, for the older schools will be replaced slowly. While the Campus Plan is being developed, there will be a better racial balance in the remaining neighborhood schools.

I am personally convinced that if we can achieve better racial balance in our schools, all children, both white and Negro, will benefit. I feel that it will be a challenge for the Negro student to try to achieve beyond the white student, academically, just as he has achieved in so many fields of athletic endeavor. There will

be a similar challenge for the white student to try to achieve both on the athletic field and in the classroom. There are other benefits for both races, but most importantly, I am convinced that it is the right thing to do.

Those of us who are concerned with the Campus Plan feel that the major problem in its implementation in Syracuse will be financing because it is difficult to factor the estimated $7 million cost of the first campus school into our regular capital improvement program. I fully expect that our board of education and our Common Council will vote to begin construction of campus schools, but we are going to need financial help from higher levels of Government. I can see no other way of doing it.

I hope that New York State will soon recognize the fact that the cities have been discriminated against for many years in financial aid for school construction. Suburban and rural districts have been receiving reimbursement on school building projects, but the cities have not, and this discrepancy should end. We will also need Federal aid. We could start tomorrow if we could get school construction aid on the same basis as we receive urban renewal assistance. I know of no better urban renewal than new schools.

There are two factors about campus schools which make them more attractive than new, neighborhood schools. We can help protect our tax base in the city and we can provide excellent facilities for all children without needless duplication.

Any city is haunted by the specter of a shrinking tax base. To meet the present site standards of the State Department of Education for building neighborhood schools, we would need ten acres for each school. The schools to be replaced are now on much smaller sites, so additional property would have to be acquired which would result in a tax loss we cannot afford. Campus sites, on the other hand, are projected for periphery sites that are already city-owned or would be relatively inexpensive to acquire. When the campus school is ready, the sites on which stand the old neighborhood schools can be sold for multiple-dwelling development, thus increasing our tax rolls. We have already sold several former school sites with good results.

The second plus factor is that in one campus school we can provide shared facilities rather than having to duplicate these facilities in several neighborhood schools. Thus, a library, a gymnasium or a cafeteria, as well as outdoor recreational facilities, would be shared by hundreds of students.

Education has probably the highest priority of any of the problems we have in Syracuse, but we still have to fight fires and enforce the laws, provide parks and recreation programs, install traffic lights and dispose of wastes. The long-run savings in campus schools will help us to provide both excellent education and excellent services in the city of Syracuse.

One other matter that concerns me is that of a trend which exists in our surrounding suburban areas where taxpayers have the right to vote on school budgets. Parent and teacher groups have long maintained that the taxpayer would pay any price for education, but after seeing a number of suburban school budgets defeated several times before a drastically reduced substitute is finally approved, I am certain that the old attitude no longer prevails. It is conceivable the cost of the proposed Campus Plan in the city may meet serious taxpayer resistance. However if the plan for campus schools is implemented, it just may be that we may reverse the flight to suburbia. If through the excellence of schools and service we can make the city more attractive for the suburbanite who is now beginning to feel the pinch of soaring school, real estate, sewer and water taxes, we may be able to attract him back into the city. This is especially possible if we can offer a quality of education equal or superior to that his children are receiving in suburbia.

I am pleased that our school system has moved slowly in planning for the campus school project. I approve this type of approach. We have made an exhaustive study of the entire plan. We still need more planning in the entire field of the social aspects. We are moving toward an integrated metropolitan planning agency, combining the city and county planning departments, and there are many who are hopeful that one of these days we'll be able to integrate social planning as well. If this is done, educational services will be planned as a

unit for our metropolitan area, just as are health and welfare services are planned for on a metropolitan basis.

In summary, it is necessary to recognize once again that the needs of all of the cities in this country are desperate. My personal position, and the official position of the United States Conference of Mayors, is that we need a commitment from the President and from the Congress to spend billions of dollars in the cities of this country just as we are now spending money in space. There is no other way of solving the problems our cities are faced with. The model cities approach that has been established by the Administration and by Congress is not the answer. All it does is promote a competition to see which cities can develop the most grandiose schemes to spend Federal monies. If instead, the same money were channeled into the operating budgets of our cities, we could do a much better job of utilizing these funds. Certainly in any plan of revitalizing our cities, the out-worn educational facilities in the cities deserve the high priority of the Federal Government, and we feel that this is at the top of the list in Syracuse.

TECHNIQUES FOR ACHIEVING
RACIALLY DESEGREGATED, SUPERIOR QUALITY
EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Prepared by
Meyer Weinberg, Editor, Integrated Education
for the
National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity
sponsored by the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
November 16-18, 1967

INTRODUCTION

The day of the pure-and-simple desegregation plan has passed on. Those who would induce educational change must nowadays move along a much broader front. The classical model still holds in part: specific boundaries and children need to be moved promptly in accordance with a timetable.

But two other lines of endeavor now are required. First, considerable attention must be given to classroom instruction, school organization, and administrative relationships. To by-pass these is to assume that racism never affected the day-to-day operations of school systems. That courts are finding it increasingly necessary to enter this area reflects the realism of the judges.[1] Second, attention also must be given to the role of organized parents in the governance of public schools. Integrationists should not lament the momentary

identification of parent control and racially separatist sentiments. This will change as parents discover the impossibility of financing an adequate public school system without the support of the larger community.

To many the prospect of school integration is literally unthinkable; to others, the prospect is so distant as to seem impossible. As a result, few have thought much about the actual shape of school integration, or concrete transitional steps to full integration. We shall deal in this paper with the second of these points.

A growing consensus among students of the problem points in the direction of large-scale school organization in order to realize certain advantages of instruction, ethnic relations, economy, and broader urban development. Education parks especially have been the subject of much discussion. Whatever the precise form the school system of the future takes, it will have to include several elements:

1. Large-scale organization to permit far more specialization and individualization of instruction.
2. A student body drawn from very large areas and thus likely to include many children of diverse ethnic and economic backgrounds.
3. Large enough size to permit centralization of exceptionally expensive services and installations, ordinarily either wasted or beyond the financial capability of single neighborhood schools.

4. Such educational centers would be best integrated into a commercial and cultural center for the entire area of 250,000 or more persons.

Because public education is increasingly urban education, the trend toward large-scale organization has a broad base. It is difficult to imagine how the individual needs and talents of millions of children can be taken into account other than through the differentiation and specialization afforded by large-scale organization.

What changes might be made in Chicago's schools within the next two years that could produce measurable and meaningful progress toward such superior, desegregated education? There are, of course, external limits: financial, legal, organizational. As far as we are aware, every proposal made here is practicable in the sense that extraordinary expenditures are not immediately required. Their implementation violates no law, nor unnecessarily burdens the capacities of the school administration.

Our proposals are first steps in two senses. They are initial strides toward the desirable goal of equal education opportunity; they are designed to prepare the way for second and third steps. They aim not at solving everything at once but at involving everyone in a common enterprise. Under these proposals every part of the city would be working on some significant aspect of an overall program for superior desegregated education. Meanwhile, work on the longer-range program would have to proceed.

The most frequently listed desegregation devices are:

1. Open enrollment
2. Two-way busing
3. Redistricting
4. Paired schools (Princeton Plan)
5. One grade school
6. Narrow grade spans
7. Children's Academy
8. Feeder patterns
9. Site selection
10. School closing
11. Education parks

Each of these devices has at least one variant and some a number of them. Abstractly considered, it might well be possible to desegregate Chicago in short order by a thorough combination of all or some of the devices. Certainly, specialists possess enough technical knowledge to do so.

Here, however, we are concerned to stress that point to a more complete desegregation. We are not concerned with panaceas. No less, however, are we concerned with excuses for inaction.

Popular debate on the general social issue has assumed a disjunction between integration and education. The former is usually taken to refer to moving "bodies", the latter, to instructing them. We hold rather that equal educational opportunity requires the creative, planned cooperation of children who are supplied with the best facilities and help our resources can command.[2] The proof is in the pudding; when Negro and white youngsters of all classes are customarily able to achieve near their potentials, we will be able to speak of integrated education which is necessarily superior. Providing every child with an equally poor education is not equality, and even if they are all sitting next to each other it is not integration. Certainly, this would be an opportunity for nothing but disaster.

Today, we cannot speak meaningfully of desegregation without also dealing with classroom instruction and school organization. As recently as five years ago, desegregation plans were almost exclusively a matter of shifting students and boundary lines. (Very little of each was, in fact, done.) A measure of our progress is the fact that desegregation plans are becoming more pedagogic. The new desegregation plan will not so readily disjoin integration and education; it will insist on the realization of greater educational opportunity. This cannot be done without attending to the classroom, the school, and the system.*

THE TECHNIQUES

Equitable Use of School Space

The equitable use of school space as a desegregation device depends upon:

(1) the availability of classroom space on a differential racial basis;

(2) preparation of parents, teachers, and children in the receiving and sending schools; and

(3) the availability of free transportation.

---

* In the several weeks' time while this paper was being prepared, three courts rendered decisions in northern school segregation bases. In the Chester case, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court reversed two lower courts and ruled that a state administrative agency could order a school board to end racial imbalance even if no statute explicitly granted the agency that power. In Kokomo, Indiana, a federal district court directed the school board not to build a projected school in the midst of a Negro neighborhood. In South Bend, a federal district court entered a similar order in addition to which the board agreed to restudy the state of racial balance throughout the school district. All three decisions would have been precedent-shattering ten years ago. Who can tell what precedents will be shattered ten years hence? A very strong tendency evidently is setting in whereby courts will pay much more heed to the issue of inequalities in academic achievement, teacher supply, instructional equipment and supplies, and other factors. In any event, the realism of any program for northern desegregation should be viewed from within a supple legal framework.

Mandatory assignment under this technique should be regarded as a way for Chicago's school system to partly redress the racial inequality of resources it has made available to children. This is why the school board must pay the costs of implementation. A significant number of schools could be desegregated by this mechanism.

In 1966, the school board announced a transfer plan for elementary schools. Children in 51 sending schools, primarily Negro, could attend any of 89 receiving schools, primarily white, provided that the average class size in the latter was 30 or more and the class size in the former was 35. A total of 7,787 seats were available in receiving schools. Only 3,011 students in crowded schools, however, were declared eligible to transfer. Only 164 actually did transfer; neither transportation nor lunches were provided by the school board.

If all 7,787 seats had been filled by transferees, average class size in the receiving schools still would have been below the citywide average. An average of about 85 students per receiving school would have transferred, an easily manageable number. The receiving schools were small, on the whole enrolling less than 800 per school. As important, a number of sending schools would have been relieved of the heavy burden of overcrowded classes.

The probable desegregation effect of equitable use of school space, and transfers to be maximized in the direction of integration, has been estimated by Dr. Faith Rich:

> Twelve of the 89 receiving schools already were racially mixed. Theoretically, if transfers were allowed only in the direction of racial integration, 37 white schools (17% of 122 such schools) would be desegregated, as would 4, or 11% of the white branch schools. Only two Negro schools out of the total 171 (i.e., 1%), and one of the 18 Negro branch schools (i.e., 8%) would be desegregated.[3]

Almost certainly, such desegregation would also result in nearly 8,000 children gaining more adequate places to learn.

Assigning students to underutilized facilities in Chicago would have the effect of making highly experienced teachers available to children who otherwise would not have them. This would seem to be an excellent way of reducing teacher mobility while increasing academic achievement and economic efficiency.

Fortunately, the principle of mandatory assignment of students for desegregation has recently been approved by the school board.[4]

Redistricting

Redistricting can make a distinct contribution to desegregating Chicago's schools. Given practical obstacles such as extreme distances and the configuration of residential patterns, school segregation cannot be eradicated by redistricting. Nevertheless, it is an indispensable technique in a transition period such as the present.

In 1963 Berry stated that "the Chicago board of education could wipe out segregation in as many as 75 all-white or all-Negro schools simply by redistricting".[5] This is about one-fourth of the all-Negro or all-white schools. In 1964, Hauser pointed to facts favoring the feasibility of some redistricting: "Six of the eight all-Negro high schools are within one mile of white residences, and there are six white high schools and three white high school branches within one mile of the Negro residential area".[6] The U.S. Office of Education, (in its January, 1967, report on Chicago) dealt with the problem of attendance area boundaries, and called upon the school board to adopt

a plan "to lessen segregated education and, indeed, to reverse trends of increasing segregation where possible".[7] In August, 1967, Coons stated that redistricting was feasible on the fringes of the ghetto; he listed it as a short-term measure.[8]

Pairing, a special form of redistricting, was observed by Hauser in 1964 to be operating in at least one instance.[9] Coons, in 1967, held that pairing "offers modest possibilities for useful change ...it is possible to consider in Chicago the pairing of a number of schools in key transition areas ..."[10] This was regarded by Coons as a short-term possibility. Katz suggested that pairing be interracial but homogeneous as to social class.[11]

Site selection should be governed by the proposition laid down by Coons: "...No further educational building in Negro segregated areas should be undertaken except when space is unavailable on an integrated basis".[12] Current application of this principle would preclude existing plans for building two new high schools eleven blocks apart. One would be integrated, the other Negro-segregated. Some $8 million have been appropriated. Several integrative sites are available. It should be noted, also, that the planned Negro-segregated school -- Forrestville -- is to be built for a capacity of 2,000. The old building contained 1,950 students in September 1967. Were a new building actually built and completed by 1969 or 1970, it would not only be open segregated, but extremely crowded. In another case, a $1 million addition is scheduled to be built onto Bowen High School - a 75-year old structure -- in an effort to keep the school predominantly

white. Meanwhile, a fifteen-minute ride away, is a gigantic empty tract of land owned by the city; it is at the center of a circle of Negro and white segregated schools. Building a large installation here would almost certainly favor stable integration, and it would be much more defensible educationally.

Pairing

The school board should institute a series of pairings of adjacent schools of different racial composition. Such schools should be granted extra resources and significantly lower class size.

Pairing is a means of making an enlarged attendance area out of two nearby schools; children of both races in the first four grades are then assigned to one of the schools; the children in grades 5-8 are assigned to the other. Desegregation is bound to follow inasmuch as the two schools are attended by substantially the same students who attended what were segregated schools.

Pairing* has been tried under four extremely different conditions -- in New York City, small towns in Kentucky, Greenburgh, New York, and Coatesville, Pennsylvania.[13]

During 1964-1966, eight schools in New York were grouped into four pairs. During the first year, a much more balanced ethnic composition was attained in each school. Despite much alarmist discussion, there was no wholesale departure of whites. An evaluation during the second year noted that "the favorable balance is being maintained".[14] As for academic achievement, the evaluation found: "..Pupils in all schools demonstrated an improved standing in relation to national norms at the end of the experimental period. Very

* For a fuller discussion, see Appendix A, at end.

frequently the improvement attained exceeded the expected gains based upon national norms".[15]

Pairing in Chicago is made more practicable by the record of stable integration at points along the edge of the Negro ghetto for some years now. White parents do not automatically withdraw their children from schools attended by an appreciable number of Negro children. Transition schools aside, fully two-thirds of all children in bi-racial schools have remained in a stable ethnic relationship over the past four annual ethnic censuses. It would seem prudent to base school policy on this fact.

In August, 1967, Professor Coons held that while pairing "offers modest possibilities for useful change ... it is possible to consider in Chicago the pairing of a number of schools in key transition areas ...."[16] It should be emphasized that pairing in transition areas should involve segregated rather than already desegregated schools; more precisely, pairing applies especially to Negro segregated schools bordered by white schools.

Some 25 possible pairs may be counted. In two cases of white upper grade centers, Chopin and Cooper on the west side, a change in feeder patterns may be more appropriate than pairing.

Pairings might desegregate over 10% of the 440 elementary schools and their 57 branches. Some of the mobiles might be used to equalize capacities or to improve the quality and increase the variety of facilities.

Vocational High Schools

It is officially acknowledged that Negroes comprise two-thirds of the enrollment of the city's vocational high schools; they

make up only two-fifths of the enrollment in the general high schools. At the same time, investigators have criticized severely the quality of some of the wholly Negro vocational schools. In 1964 Havighurst recommended that "Cooley and Westcott Vocational High Schools, because of their inadequacy as schools for high school youth, should be transformed into Adult Education Centers..."[18] Regarding school achievement scores on standard tests, Coons wrote in 1965 that "Cregier Vocational could readily qualify as a disaster area";[19] he referred to "the dismal report on vocational schools as academic institutions with the sole exception of Chicago Vocational".[20] Together, in 1966, Cooley, Westcott (now Simeon), and Cregier enrolled a total of 2,767 students. Thus, nearly one-third of all Negro students in vocational schools attend schools whose standards are notoriously inferior. In the Cooley neighborhood, in September 1967, parents were demanding that Cooley Vocational be closed because of its inadequacy. Study of the Cooley attendance area map shows readily that the student body is perhaps more segregated within a narrower geographical area than any other city school of like circumstance.[21]

The school board should prepare to close out Cooley and Simeon Vocational High Schools by June, 1968, and consider closing Cregier at the same time. Most of these students should be assigned to general high schools. Wells General High School, for example, is less than two miles away from Cooley and easily accessible on public transportation.

At the same time, a more fundamental change should be instituted. Dunbar (99.8% Negro) and Prosser (98.9% white) should be

converted from vocational high schools into full-scale trade schools. The most popular trades could be divided between Dunbar and Prosser; the most segregated trades should be offered at Dunbar. As has been officially acknowledged, there is grave reason to doubt the specific employment-contribution of the present vocational schools.[22] Trade schools, on the other hand, have an outstanding record in Chicago. During the 1940's and part of the 1950's, Dunbar Trade School was a valued institution which helped many Negro youths enter productive employment.[23]

The school board should make immediate application for a federal grant to set up a residential vocational education school, under Section 14 of the Vocational Education Act of 1963. For some reason, the Chicago board of education has failed for three years to apply for these available funds. This grant is available to serve youths between the ages of 15 and 21 and is directed at "the needs of large urban areas having substantial numbers of youths who have dropped out of school or are unemployed..."[24] The grant covers construction costs as well as equipment and operational costs. Such residential units are imaginative responses to a deep need in Chicago. Some educational authorities have written about the possible usefulness of residential units, within a public school setting, for younger children whose home conditions are irretrievably difficult. Experience with the residential vocational units might give the school system valuable experience as a basis for judgment on the residential technique in general.

Appropriations for the Vocational Education Act of 1963 will expire after the present fiscal year. Fortunately, however, Represen-

tative Roman C. Pucinski has introduced legislation to extend the life of the law (H. R. 8525) which includes a $10 million provision for residential vocational schools. Hearings have been held on the bill and it is about to be brought to the floor of the House of Representatives.[25]

Katz has suggested that work-study programs be decentralized so that individual schools might make agreements with local employers.[26] Numerous shops and offices are still to be found throughout the city. The large printing plants of Donnelly, for example, dominate a good part of the landscape of the Near South Side. At 63rd and Halsted, numerous earning and learning opportunities are present in the stores and offices. The schools in Englewood should negotiate directly on these matters.

Some of the least effective Negro vocational schools, we have suggested, should be closed. One of the more effective, Dunbar, should be transformed into a trade school. Most of the remaining vocational schools are either segregated or ineffective or both. The racial character of each of these schools could be rather easily changed. This would require that attendance areas be drawn for each one and that the area boundaries include a wide variety of children. Because of the small number of schools involved, attendance areas will necessarily be large. Some such measure is needed to make the schools racially representative. The alternative approach, to try once more to make the city-wide vocational open-enrollment policy effective,[27] depends too much on factors that remain unchanged. As Havighurst noted about Prosser (white): "There appears to be a pattern of exclusion of Negroes from Prosser".[28] This was true despite a formal policy of open enrollment.

Washburne

The proposals regarding Washburne, made by the U.S. Office of Education in January, 1967, should be adopted in form and content. They include the following:[29]

1. "A statement by the board to the joint apprenticeship councils with trades represented in the Chicago public schools that the present number of Negroes admitted to apprenticeship programs is no more than a first step in creating opportunity in these programs."

2. "A qualified and objective observer should attend all council activities which are relevant to the indenturing process."

3. Incorporate the findings of the U.S. Department of Labor review of the Washburne apprenticeship program.

4. Have the school board, the Office of Education, and the Department of Labor conclude an agreement "to carry out the [Mayor's apprenticeship] program [of 1965] more effectively". This agreement is to include a timetable for the various steps agreed upon.

   If a union fails to change its discriminatory policy, the board should invoke its resolution of July 14, 1965, and exclude the offending union and employer.

5. Draw up a long-term program to help minority youth to: "(a) know about apprenticeship opportunities, and (b) qualify for them".

Should it become evident that a number of unions and employers prefer to suffer exclusion from Washburne rather than alter their racially discriminatory policies, the entire facility might be converted at minimal cost -- federally financed -- into Chicago's first residential vocational educational school.

INTEGRATING THE BI-RACIAL SCHOOL

In October, 1966, over 86,000 Negro and white students attended 89 schools formally integrated, i.e., the enrollment of each school was between 10% and 90% Negro.[30] Two-thirds of this number was enrolled in stable-integrated schools; the remainder in transition schools - schools apparently changing from predominantly white to predominantly Negro.

These 86,000 students can be viewed fruitfully as equivalent in size to many medium-sized school systems. (The entire public school enrollment of Rochester and Syracuse combined is only 75,000.) In a real sense, then, the 86,000 constitute a desegregated school system. These students should be viewed as a special opportunity and challenge by the school system. Here they are; they need not be bused; they need not be redistricted for purposes of racial balance; no political opposition need be brooked in order to bring them together. They are together.

But are they, really? Do learning and teaching occur in the light of the ethnic balance that is present in these schools? Could Negro and white students as well be in racially separate schools? In other words, has the desegregation led to any educational consequences?

A school already desegregated must move rapidly toward integration. Otherwise, the interracial aspect of enrollment will come to be viewed as essentially irrelevant to the educational task of the

school. Worse, if at the same time the equality of education in such schools is allowed to decline, desegregation will be viewed as a positive harm to the educational task of the school. Since nothing but certain physical factors will have changed, the supporters of desegregation will leave themselves open to criticism as mere ideologists of physical "mixing". Desegregation is the breaking down of institutional barriers to equal educational opportunity. Integration is the realization of these opportunities.

A desegregated school moving toward integration might evidence some or all of the following behavior:

1. New instructional materials are found and used which portray more truthfully the role of ethnic minorities and majorities in American life and history.
2. The curriculum is being explored and revised to become more relevant to the troubled contemporary social reality in the world and at home.
3. A sense of fellowship and mutual respect is engendered by deliberate staff and student planning.
4. Extra-curricular activities are suffused with a democratic, anti-exclusivist temper.
5. Counseling and guidance functions are performed without distortion of race or color.
6. Special measures are taken to avoid academic stereotyping, and thus avoidance of individual needs, by rigid adherence to track systems.
7. A close, collaborative relationship is constructed between school and community, based on full disclosures

of problems and candid discussion of remedies.

8. Teachers are given conditions and authority that enable them to work confidently and flexibly with students of differing capacities and preparations.

9. Principals are aware of the special challenge of a desegregated student body and demonstrate a sympathetic appreciation of the need for academic accomplishment.

We propose that the school board designate all desegregated schools as part of an administrative area under the provisions of the administrative reorganization now under way. An area associate superintendent would be assigned with directions to coordinate activities designed to move from desegregation to integration.

The teachers' union has a contractual obligation to help select textbooks, and to work in other activities of a desegregative and integrative character. It can be expected to work especially closely with the area superintendent on these matters.

The 89 schools could become the testing-ground for experimental use of selected textbooks, films, and other instructional materials that recently have been produced in profusion, perhaps even confusion. To carry out such a function, the area superintendent would need authority to omit or modify customary procedures whereby new instructional materials are adopted. New printed materials could originate in the area's schools, prepared by teachers supplied with technical aid.

The promise and problems of urban life would necessarily occupy a central position in the curriculum of the area's schools.

Close, first-hand examination of the urban community would require extensive educational excursions, coordinated with a more systematic effort to afford students a knowledge of urban economy, careers, politics and government, and mass communications.

In these schools especially, students would learn the reality of planning cooperatively. The making by students of school-wide decisions on educational practice and, where possible, policy, would take on added significance in an interracial context. For Chicago this may be the most valuable of all the lessons an integrated school can teach.

An area-wide parent council could exemplify the same lesson. A number of the parent groups at presently desegregated schools already are vigorous proponents of better education, including good human relations. The ethnic and social variety of parents in the area would help ensure that vigor. The recent proliferation of Concerned Parents Groups is sufficient warrant of a widespread dedication to quality education.

The integrated school must be, above all, a place in which teaching and learning dominate the proceedings. Teachers unaccustomed to plan their own distinctive contributions must be encouraged -- more by structural change than by imprecation and exhortation -- to search out more effective procedures and approaches. Next to the abilities of the students, the second greatest untapped resource of the school system is the capacity of teachers to improve the schools. Enlisting teacher participation would seem also to have strategic value: Teacher insecurity is bound to increase in the context of the numerous organizational and curricular changes that are impending. The most constructive way to minimize the insecurity is to give teachers a professional voice in guiding the changes.

The long-run importance of integrating the desegregated school can hardly be exaggerated. As Thoreau wrote long ago; "If you would convince a man that he does wrong, do right. But do not care to convince him. -- Men will believe what they see. Let them see".[31]

THE SCHOOL'S STAFF

The Pivotal Role of the Principal

The principal can be the pivot of a good school or the millstone of a poor one. Achievement of superior desegregated education requires the most carefully planned placement of principals. Yet, in Chicago, experienced principals are, for the most part, assigned to the "easier" schools, while many large schools in the ghetto are administered by inexperienced principals. The inexperienced principal cannot grasp the elements that go into a good school. He is easily upset when faced with emergencies; he does not inspire the confidence of teachers, who thus become all the less attached to the school; he does not know how to get things done; he fails to work confidently and cooperatively with the community; and, all in all, does not readily understand the distinctive needs of the children in his school.

The school board should adopt a policy of mandatory assignment of principals in accordance with educational need of the system. Experience should be the first criterion; special training and a record of success should be considered. But the most valuable principals should be assigned to the neediest schools. These schools could be ranked, for example, on the basis of academic achievement; the lowest-ranking deserve the greatest help.

A low-achieving school is in desperate need of educational leadership. A recent study conducted in Chicago schools showed that

"the most important factor in holding teachers in difficult schools is the principal".[32] It would seem logical, therefore, to ensure first a supply of principals where they are most needed.

In fact, it happens to be easier to do this for principals than for teachers. Principals are part of the administration, and thus do not constitute a separate legal bargaining unit. The board has complete authority to assign principals in the interest of the school system as a whole. At present, this authority is unchallenged by principals even in cases where they are reassigned at a reduction in salary.

Principals are much less likely to rebel in the face of a reassignment because of at least four reasons: (a) They have a greater financial stake in their position than do teachers; (b) the alternative to continuing as a principal is to return to the classroom, a fate commonly viewed as akin to banishment; (c) there is no shortage of aspirants to their jobs; and (d) designation would close off any future promotion from the principalship.

Such mandatory assignment of principals might have a major effect on the recruitment of experienced teachers for ghetto schools. Rightly or not, critics of learning conditions in these schools often point to the shortage of experienced teachers as a prime cause of the poor learning conditions in ghetto schools. Teachers contend, with much justification, that merely adding experienced teachers to an impossible situation will not relieve the root causes of poor learning.[33] They call upon the school administration for drastically smaller class size, much larger budgets, and the like. Perhaps teachers would be less unwilling to transfer if they saw the administration

assigning "its own" in accordance with need.

Clearly, to continue belaboring the teacher alone is to court deep resistance. We cannot, after all, be in much of an emergency if the educational leaders of the system are left almost entirely to their own devices while the rank and file are urged to respond to the appeals of high professionalism.

The Faculty

The problems of distribution of teachers must be approached along with the matter of principals. (See above, pp. 20-22.) One, however, cannot be a substitute for the other. The educational task of the school requires adequate principals and teachers.

The U. S. Office of Education, in January, 1967, called upon the school board "to spread the range of talents, age, experience, training, and specialization among its different schools".[34] Especially noted was the need to "increase the proportion of experienced teachers in disadvantaged schools".

It would be helpful if we keep clear the various classifications of teachers in the system.

1. Regularly assigned, tenured teachers. Teachers who passed written and oral examinations were awarded a regular certificate in a subject or grade, and have served at least three years after receiving the certificate.
2. Regularly assigned, non-tenured teachers. Same as above but who have not yet completed three years of teaching after receiving the certificate.

3. <u>Full-time Basis Substitutes</u> (F.T.B.'s) Substitute teachers who have not passed an examination for a regular certificate. Assigned to fill temporarily vacant posts, usually for a semester. Many have taught a number of years.

4. <u>Day-to-Day Substitutes.</u>

The white-privileged schools in the system depend almost entirely upon teachers in classes 1 and 2 with extremely few in 3 and 4. The Negro-deprived schools have extremely few class 1 teachers, many class 2, and a large number of class 3 and 4 teachers. The most glaring inequality is the small proportion of class 1 teachers in the disadvantaged schools; another is the abundance of less experienced and less trained teachers.

The board should initially ascertain the actual distribution of class 1, 2, and 3 teachers in the system as a whole and school by school. <u>The first goal shall be to attain a proportionate distribution of all regularly assigned tenured teachers</u>. By February, 1968, each principal should be notified as to his assignment or re-assignment for September, 1968. He should be informed of the distribution of regularly assigned teachers on his new faculty and be directed to recruit the required number from among teachers inside and outside the system. If principals do not attain their quotas, the superintendent should assign teachers following seniority.

One of three teachers is Negro, but only one of twenty principals;[35] none of the latter is assigned to a non-Negro school. Negro teachers who wish to transfer to a white school are thus all but certain to have a white principal. Whatever the abstract merits of the case,

suspicion is widespread that Negro teachers who evince a wish to transfer to white schools are subject to retaliation by white principals. Assignment of more Negro principals to white schools could very likely attract more Negro teachers by allaying their fears. Such assignment also would force a change in the reputation of schools as either white or Negro. Needless to say,it would be enormously educative for white students and teachers.

Priority should go to increasing the supply of highly experienced teachers in the Negro-segregated schools. Increasing the flow of Negro teachers to white schools should be a second priority.

IMPROVING INSTRUCTION NOW

Quality instruction in an integrated setting has yielded the greatest success yet known in academic achievement of average Negro children. Long-term solutions such as a system of educational parks will result in extensive arrangements for fully individualizing instruction. Meanwhile, we must institute changes that point in that direction. Most valued are proposals which will benefit the average student rather than the specially gifted child.

Certain significant changes can be made almost immediately. Some are matters of housekeeping, some of program, and others of organization.

In December, 1965, the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCO) proposed a Title I program for Chicago.[36] Essentially, it suggested all Title I funds ($30 million for 1965-66) be used to create some quality education in the 100 most seriously deprived elementary schools, enrolling some 85,000 students. The central proposal was to cut class size in half. It was stated that

this could be done by placing two teachers in each classroom and/or by renting enough mobiles to accommodate the surplus students; the mobiles were to be located as to maximize integration. C.C.C.O. held that sufficient classroom personnel could be recruited from among regular teachers attracted by small class size, retired teachers, seniors in teachers' colleges, and others. Teacher aides, it was suggested, could be employed extensively. The CCCO program was not accepted. (Since neither the 1965-66 nor the 1966-67 Title I programs were evaluated, it is not possible to measure the success or failure of the school board programs.)[37]

There is a certain educational naivete in a program involving one central change -- small class size. On the other hand, very likely no comparable group had ever been taught with such small class size. Even the More Effective Schools program in New York City, which involves only some 16,000 students, enjoys a class size of 20.1 students per teacher. The Chicago class size would have been between 15 and 18. Except for the students who would have been in integrated mobiles, more than half the students would have remained in a segregated setting.

We can no longer have neither integration nor compensatory education. Lacking immediate desegregation of the ghetto with its built-in inequities, palpable and significant innovations must be introduced into the most deprived schools. The CCCO proposal should be reinstated and re-evaluated.

Upwards of one-fourth of a teacher's working day is occupied with the performance of non-teaching duties. These duties rarely require any advanced training but are primarily clerical. In a school of 40 teachers (a moderately large school but average-size in the ghetto), the equivalent of 10 teachers is used up every day merely in

filling out forms and wiping noses, so to speak. Such wastage of teachers would be merely mindless under conditions of plenty; but what should we think of it in schools faced with more than enough challenges and too few teachers? In a real sense, the quickest way to obtain ten new teachers is by hiring forty new aides.

In these schools, large numbers of aides would seem obligatory. Surely, one aide for each teacher would not seem excessive. Extensive experience already has been accumulated on the training and use of subprofessional aides.[38] Formal schooling would seem to be relatively unimportant prerequisite for many of these positions.

PARENTS AND GOVERNANCE OF THE SCHOOLS

Academic achievement of a number of schools is sharply below acceptable norms. These schools must be adjudged failures. Responsibility for the failure must be lodged with the public body in authority. But it is responsibility without response. Nothing happens in the system to change the number of failures; indeed, the number rises. And so do school budgets. It is as though bankruptcy were rewarded with large gifts.

In Illinois the legislature is enjoined by the state constitution to afford every child "a good common school education". (Illinois Constitution, Art. VIII, Sec. 1). Widespread default by school boards has not brought forth even a legislative inquiry, let alone a remedy. It is difficult to speak of superior, desegregated education in such a context.

Two steps are possible. First, parents whose children are assigned to schools persistently producing failures could insist on a direct voice in local school affairs. Parents are not, of course,

necessarily better educators than are school board members. On the other hand, if the gas inspector refuses to plug leaks, then people are justified -- indeed obliged -- to take hold of the wrenches themselves.

Second, public education should become in law a governmentally-operated public utility. As such, the state would be obliged to maintain meaningful standards and to relate charges to quality of service. Education in the modern world is a fundamental necessity of life. It should no longer be treated as a luxury which some can afford and others not.

The Chicago school board should share its authority with parents of children in failing schools, and lead a legislative effort to make the schools a public utility.

Parent participation can help make the curriculum more relevant to urban life. And it must extend beyond momentary emergencies. In suburban and outer-city communities, white parents have a continuing relationship to the schools.

We suggest the school board and representative groups of parents negotiate a binding agreement creating a grievance procedure. The essence of such a procedure would be a progression of steps, each strictly limited in duration, specifying the appropriate administrative official and parent representative who are empowered to negotiate at each step. Teachers involved in the grievance should have the right to be present in person or through their union representative at each step. Parents or their representatives should have the same right. All parties should have the right to be accompanied by counsel at all steps. A public appeals board, with the power to recommend, should

hear any appeal from the decision of the school board. The appeals board should be selected by the school board and representative groups of parents.

Any matter respecting the welfare and education of a school child would be proper subjects of negotiation. Grievances may be directed at a teacher, a principal, or other administrative officer of the school board, as well as the board itself. Grievances may also be initiated by teachers, principals, or other administrative officer of the board, as well as the board itself.

Under the provisions of the grievance procedure, a parent would be a legal resident of Chicago who is the natural parent or legal guardian of a child enrolled full-time in any school operated by the Chicago board of education. In any election of parent representatives, for example, no person should vote if he has no children, or none still in school, or if he lives outside Chicago, or his children are enrolled exclusively in non-public schools.

One basic purpose of this proposal is to lay the ground for orderly and prompt settlement of disputes in their earliest phase. Another is to encourage the school system to take parents into account while planning for their children. Long, drawn-out conflicts which have no decisive outcome are extremely destructive of morale in any school. Finally, as school systems move toward larger-scale organization, it is appropriate to adopt collective forms of parent-school relationship. The revival of the community school idea also bespeaks the wisdom of increasing parental involvement in school affairs. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how a system of education parks, for example, could thrive in the absence of deep and meaningful involvement of the community.

SUMMARY

1. Introduction A modern desegregation plan must rid the schools of racial barriers. In addition, it must point toward reorganization within the classroom as well as provide for a more active role for parents. In the present report, a number of specific changes are put forward. All can be placed in effect, more or less, within a two-year period.

2. Equitable Use of School Space Empty classroom seats should be made available to children in overcrowded schools. Transfers should be permitted in the direction of desegregation. Utilization of available space should be based on mandatory assignment of children, at the expense of the school board. Such an approach alone could quickly desegregate at least 17 percent of the city's all-white elementary schools; 11 percent of the white branch schools; and 1 percent and 6 percent, respectively, of the Negro schools and branches.

3. Redistricting Redistricting could promptly desegregate as many as one-fourth of the all-white or all-Negro schools. Prevention of future segregation could be achieved by reversing specific decisions on sites for a new crowded Forrestville and an addition to a 75-year old high school building.

4. Pairing Some 50 schools -- or 10% of the 440 elementary schools and their branches -- could be arranged into 25 pairs of Negro and white schools. These pairings would affect especially Negro-segregated schools bordered by white schools. Mobiles could be used to aid the effort. In New York, pairings have been successful in desegregating and at the same time increasing the academic achievement of deprived

children without injury to the more advantaged children.

5. Vocational High Schools Three clearly inadequate vocational high schools, virtually all-Negro, should be closed down and their students reassigned to general high schools. Two of the remaining vocational high schools -- racially-opposite Prosser and Dunbar -- should be converted into trade schools. The school board should apply for a federal grant to set up a residential vocational education school.

6. Washburne The Washburne apprentice program should be made non-discriminatory or closed down in accordance with the school board's formal non-discriminatory program. If it is closed, the building should be converted into the city's first residential vocational education school.

7. Integrating the Bi-Racial School The 89 integrated schools enrolling 86,000 Negro and white students should be organized into an administrative area and serve as a demonstration project for the entire school system. A concerted effort should be made to transform these formally integrated schools into living examples of genuine integration and quality education. An area-wide parents council would help guide the work of the area's schools.

8. The Pivotal Role of the Principal Experienced principals should be assigned to the most difficult schools. This will supply educational leadership where it is most lacking. Teachers will be encouraged to remain in such schools or even be attracted to such schools.

9. The Faculty The prime problem of teacher-supply is to attain a proportionate distribution of regularly assigned tenured teachers. Principals, upon reassignment according to educational need, should be required to recruit whatever number of tenured teachers is due their school. Should this fail, teachers must be assigned according to need. Negro principals should be assigned to white schools; this would increase the willingness of Negro teachers to transfer to white schools.

10. Improving Instruction Now Numerous instructional changes can be put into effect almost immediately.

With funds available from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, class size at the 100 most severely deprived schools -- enrolling some 85,000 students -- should be cut in half. Teacher aides should be employed on a sweeping scale. A number of other changes can be made, involving cooperative planning of programs by widely-separated schools.

11. Parents and Governance of the Schools Parents faced with schools that fail persistently to educate their children have a right to a degree of direct control over the school system. The state should take direct responsibility for enforcing minimum standards of education. A formal grievance procedure for parents should be instituted, to be effective for disputes over any matter respecting the welfare and education of a parent's school child.

12. In-Service Re-Education In-Service re-education -- rather than the narrower concept of training -- must come to grips with the realities of racism in education. Self-critical discussion must be encouraged

up and down the levels of the school system. Out of such re-examination will come a dedication to the educability of all children.

APPENDIX A

PAIRING

In Greenburgh District 8, near White Plains, New York, pairing has gone on for several years. An evaluation of academic achievement from 1960-1961 to 1963-1964 shows that both Negro and white children are gaining; while Negro children are gaining more slowly, the achievement gap between the Negro and white children is being narrowed.[1] In Coatesville, Pennsylvania, a pairing plan was started during 1962. Since then, one evaluation observes, "the Negro children seem to be less far behind /in reading/ than before".[2] The precise reasons for the tendency, however, seemed obscure to the evaluator.

The positive effects of pairing on academic achievement can be attributed to the often-documented stimulative impetus afforded by racial cooperation and to special measures to improve classroom instruction. The question can be asked: Would not the special measures alone have produced the academic achievement, even in a setting of racial isolation?[3]

A practical test -- virtually unique -- is available in the setting of New York City. There, two special compensatory programs have operated at the same time -- pairing (Community Zoned Schools) and the More Effective Schools program. Both have somewhat comparable advantages as contrasted with other elementary schools.[4]

Type of School	Average Class Size 1963	1966	Pupil-Teacher Ratio 1963	1966
More Effective Schools	28.3	20.1	25.0	12.3
Community Zoned Schools	28.8	21.4	25.1	16.1
Special Service Schools	27.9	29.2	24.2	20.9
Citywide Elementary Schools	29.5	27.7	26.1	21.9

The two groups of schools differed greatly in ethnic composition. In October, 1965, for example, Puerto Ricans and Negroes constituted from 32.5% to 81.6% of the register of the eight-paired schools.[5] None, in other words, fell into the common definition of segregated. In the twenty-one More Effective Schools, on the other hand, Puerto Ricans and Negroes constituted from 30.9% to 100% of the register. Twelve of the 21 schools were segregated -- i.e., had less than 10% "other".[6]

An evaluation of academic achievement in both programs showed distinctly superior achievement in the paired schools as compared with More Effective Schools. In the paired schools, as we saw above, students as a group gained in academic achievement in relation to national norms. White children continued to score higher and gain more than Negro children. A number of Negro children, especially those who travelled to a paired school, narrowed the achievement gap between Negro and white children.[7] In an evaluation of the MES program, the evaluator concluded: "...Three full years of MES did not have any effect in stopping the increasing retardation of children who began the program in grades two or three, but did have some initial effect, albeit not maintained, on the retardation of the children who began the program in grade four".[8]

Can the difference be accounted for by differential per student expenditure? In 1965-1966, per pupil costs of instruction in MES ranged from $859 to $931.[9] An average for the eight-paired schools was $594.[10] Clearly, the higher-achieving schools were spending less per student than the lower-achieving schools.

Perhaps children from preponderantly higher socio-economic groups attended the paired schools. A listing of the criteria for selecting paired schools contains items such as distance and the like; the only social distinction specified is ethnic composition.[11] It is not, however, out of the question -- though it is unlikely -- that greater achievement in the paired schools can be accounted for by socio-economic factors rather than by racial interaction. Such evidence is presently unavailable. Sixteen of the 21 MES schools are located in poverty areas as defined for purposes of Title I, ESEA.[12]

In the absence of contrary indications, therefore, it seems warranted to conclude that the clear achievement superiority of the paired schools over MES schools lies with the racial interaction in the former and racial isolation in the latter. If this is true, then racial integration through pairing (and other techniques) is a workable and practical means of providing improved educational opportunities to deprived Negro and Puerto Rican children.

APPENDIX A - FOOTNOTES

1. See George E. Fitch, A Report and Recommendations on Achievement Test Results 1964 (Hartsdale, N.Y.: Greenburgh District 8, 1964), pp. 28, 32-33. A less favorable picture of the Greenburgh pairing experience is in Robert Stout and Morton Inger, School Desegregation: Progress in Eight Cities (Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, October, 1966), unpublished study prepared for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, p. 11-45. The latter study, however, deals only with reading achievement. The Fitch study is based on achievement scores on the entire test battery (Metropolitan Achievement Tests: reading, arithmetic, spelling, and language). Fitch is interested in relative progress between Negro and white, while Stout and Inger center on Negro and white grade placement. See, however, the more favorable evaluation of Project Able Program by Stout and Inger, pp. 11-46-47.

2. Stout and Inger, School Desegregation, p. 4-22.

3. See U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), I, Chapter 4.

4. Leonard Moriber, "Statistics Describing Selected Aspects of the Program", in David J. Fox, Expansion of the More Effective Schools Program (N.Y.: Center for Urban Education, September, 1967), p. A2.

5. Evaluation of the Community Zoning Program, p. 7.

6. Moriber, in Fox, p. A7.

7. See Evaluation of the Community Zoning Program, p. 35.

8. Fox, Expansion, p. 63.

9. Ibid., p. A-11.

10. Evaluation of the Community Zoning Program, p. 17.

11. Jacob Landers, Improving Ethnic Distribution of New York City Pupils (N.Y.: Board of Education, May, 1966), p. 30.

12. Bernard E. Donovan, Summary of Proposed Programs 1967-68, Title I -- Elementary and Secondary Education Act (N.Y.: Board of Education, August 30, 1967), p. 26.

APPENDIX B

SUGGESTIONS FOR TRANSITIONAL CHANGES IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM [1]

1. Convert the neighborhood school into a community school.

   (a) Keep doors open 8 a.m.-4 p.m.; for teacher work on curriculum and preparation of individualized materials; small-group experimentation; in-service meetings.

   (b) Open Saturday to work on large-scale projects (painting a mural, putting on a play, editing a magazine, etc.)

2. "Alliances" of several schools serving a common function would be formed

   (a) e.g., schools with Saturday programs

   (b) alliances would be organized and led by committee of principals

3. Form an alliance to develop "supplemental centers" with each unit specializing in a program (science, independent study, etc.)

   (a) Cover basic curriculum at home school, a.m.;

   (b) Spend afternoons, for 4-6 weeks, at specializing school

4. Create three experimental schools in three parts of city.

   (a) Integrated staff and student body

   (b) Would teach a common curriculum but also specialize in a teaching function

   (c) Three functions:

      (1) center for curriculum study and experimentation
      (2) center for teacher training
      (3) center for teaching techniques, including audio-visual and other mechanical aids

   (d) Faculty divided into permanent staff and visiting staff

   (3) Would feed ideas into all schools through visiting staff and other communication.

5. School clusters

   (a) Especially where possible to site a new school midway between two older schools so as to maximize integration

   (b) Staff each school in the cluster according to its needs, not according to formula

(c) Each school offers general studies

(d) Each school concentrates

(1) math and science
(2) language arts
(3) shop and vocational programs

(e) Use computers to allocate students in flexible programs

(f) Assign teacher to the cluster, not the school.

(1) Teacher-teams travel from school to school
(2) practicing artist at one school while art teachers visit other schools in cluster

(g) Share central athletic facilities

(1) Greatly expanded inter-mural program because of shared facilities and staff

6. Vocational education

(a) Vocational schools should be conceived as supplementary rather than parallel to general high schools.

(b) With computer, possible to work out extensive and flexible variety of programming of students who would go to vocational school for portion of day.

(c) Each vocational school should specialize in one area, thus making it possible for that school to "keep up" technologically, utilize experts on part-time basis.

(d) Achievement of "C" would facilitate development of more effective work-study programs.

7. Allocation of funds

(a) Drop city-wide formula for assigning personnel and funds

(b) Different types of schools have different needs

8. Urban-urban exchanges

(a) Small-scale groups investigate matters of common interests

(b) Examples:

(1) children and parents from Negro and white areas explore city for a day
(2) student society plan luncheons
(3) language classes have a luncheon and no English spoken until dessert
(4) seminars (esp. on high school level)

APPENDIX B - FOOTNOTES

1. Katz, "Tentative Proposals for Achieving Quality, Integrated Education in Urban School Systems", pp. 4-15. These suggestions were prepared for the present report.

APPENDIX C

AN APPROACH TO IN-SERVICE RE-EDUCATION*

1. School integration must be talked about in terms of the hearts and minds of educators -- teachers and administrators -- if there is to be progress which reaches into the hearts and minds of the children. As things stand today, the state of the hearts and minds of professional personnel represents a tremendous inertia and resistance that doom all efforts at progress to no more than mechanical and superficial aspects of the problem.

2. The validity of these assertions is shown by the fact that few teachers have a developed way of thinking about the racial issue in education -- the great majority do not even have a method of talking about it beyond primitive cliches -- and it is rare to find teachers (or administrators) struggling for integration in ways that demonstrate comprehensive understanding and deep conviction.

3. The broad strategy on behalf of integration has taken a form typical of other attempts to change education -- it has ignored the teachers and pressed for solutions on other dimensions of the problem. These "solutions" are, however, illusory insofar as authentic changes are sought, for teachers hold the keys to progress in education. What counts in the classrooms and throughout the schools is the human meaning of the behavior of the professional personnel in interaction with children. As long as the hearts and minds of teachers and administrators are locked into the existing system of racist education, the human meanings conveyed to children will be those of racism.

4. If, instead, they grasped in educational terms the profound sickness that segregated education represents and gained a vision of integrated education that could guide and motivate them, tremendous creative forces would be liberated within the school system. Action on problems that made little sense to teachers when viewed in isolated fashion would represent important steps in achieving the overall goals of eliminating racism and attaining integration. Initiative and ingenuity would overcome obstacles whose content often was as much apathy, lack of understanding, and internal prejudice among professional people as it was the ostensible nature of the problem. Salient problems would be attacked which hitherto were far beyond what was considered practicable aims of an integration program.

5. Thus, a fundamental and necessary condition of integration is that teachers gain a comprehensive understanding of racism in education; that they see school integration as a central cause of education; and that they recognize that the attainment of integration lies in what <u>they</u> do. But what do most teachers presently have in mind when they think of the racial question in education?

-- It is a civil rights problem, not an educational problem.

-- It is a Negro problem, not a white problem.

-- It is imposed on schools by external pressures which interfere with the normal routines of education.

-- Those teachers friendly to civil rights see it and accept it as an issue of "democratic education" but often fail to see any deeper connections to the processes and aims of education.

-- It is an issue predominantly of the physical separation of the races.

-- Since in the larger cities there appears to be a limit as to what can be done about physical separation, it is hopeless to try to do much about integration.

-- It is not worth busing children around to obtain integrated schools.

-- Nothing much can be done until there is housing integration.

-- Negro children and teachers would, in any case, rather go to schools with their "own kind" (and, recently, the Black Power movement gives opportune confirmation to those who prefer to think this way).

-- Educators should follow their long professional tradition by continuing to be "color blind" and to retain an impartial and neutral stance.

-- In a democracy, education should follow the wishes of the community. Therefore, teachers should not try to create change until the community has indicated its desires and transmitted them through the school board.

-- Integration has not worked where it has been tried -- specific schools in the city can be cited.

6. What are the ingredients for a framework in which teachers can think effectively about the question of racism in education? The following key elements are suggested as belonging in such a framework:

   a. <u>The following are basic questions which need to be posed:</u>

      (1) Is racism an external or marginal issue, or is it <u>centrally</u> involved with the aims and process of education and the roles and responsibilities of professional personnel?

(2) What is the nature of racism in education? How did it come to be incorporated into education and in what ways is it manifested in educational processes? Is this primarily a Negro problem and, if not, how are whites involved?

(3) In strictly educational terms, what are the consequences of racism? How do we evaluate these consequences?

(4) What are the direct and indirect involvements of professional personnel in segregated educational processes? What has it meant for teachers? What has been the traditional stance on the issue?

(5) What do we mean by integrated education?

(6) What are the actual alternatives which confront teachers respecting segregation and integration in education?

(7) What are the rationals, objectives, key elements, and dynamics of a program to bring about integration and what are the key resistances?

(8) What are the roles and responsibilities of professional people in the initiation and implementation of such a program?

b. Basic starting point: School as an institution in our society

(1) If the city is racist, then the school system also will be (unless it has a record of fighting segregation internally and no such record exists for any city.)

(2) Racism is patterned behavior including physical separation but not limited to that and is based on premise of inferiority. Pattern is duplicated in schools -- i.e., it is deeply incorporated in multiple aspects of educational process and reflects at every point assumption of inferiority.

(3) Physical separation is most obvious but by far not the sole element in this pattern.

(4) Since most people cannot deny existence of a racist pattern in society, they are forced to admit it must exist in schools and that schools help perpetuate the overall system. This can be demonstrated in every aspect of school structure and operation.

c. Consequence in terms of educational outcomes:

(1) De facto segregated school system -- i.e., one whose structure and processes exemplify racism -- teaches racism. Schools perpetuate the lie of difference and inferiority.

(2) Education of Negro children is grossly inferior, and in many ways they are actually harmed by exposure to school.

(3) Education of white children is also degraded through the destructive effects of the dual system on the whole (in addition to educational effect of learning racism.)

(4) Teachers and their organizations are corrupted and disunified by their deep involvement in segregated educational processes.

(5) Overall conclusion: A school system incorporating the premises, patterns, and practices of racism operates _against_ education -- at least, against any authentic view of education.

d. _The position of teachers in the segregated system_:

(1) Teachers -- consciously or unconsciously, willingly or unwillingly -- necessarily collaborate in the workings of the system.

(2) In particular, crucial aspects of the racist educational process are incorporated in the personalities of a major section of the teaching force and are expressed in understandings, attitudes, expectations, and behavior which fit in and are vital parts of the overall system.

(3) _There is no neutrality_ -- teachers either collaborate with or try to fight against segregated education. In short, to be for education is _to be for integrated education._

e. _What is integration_?

(1) Clearly, it requires the elimination of racism from every aspect of education.

(2) On the positive side, there may be various ways of looking at the question -- one way is that the ultimate aim is the development of normal relationships among all children (and thus a variety of means must be developed to help attain this goal).

(3) Compensatory programs, _for both white and Negro children_, are necessary to attainment of goal of integration.

f. _What is an integration program_?

(1) Professional people take responsibility and give leadership.

(2) The program attacks _all_ aspects of integration.

(3) The program is not limited to Negroes or Negro areas -- in fact, one strength of this framework is that it demonstrates that racism in education is a phenomenon of white society, incorporated in white-dominated institutions (Negroes are simply the chief victims).

(4) The program is not stymied because of the difficulties in obtaining racial balance in cities with vast ghettos:

(a) The overall pattern is the target -- thus many things need to be done while headway is also being made on the racial balance problems. (The definition of the word "integration" will now include a great deal more than simply racial balance.)

(b) Educators who see the educational benefits of interracial classrooms will apply much greater ingenuity and determination to achieving such classrooms.

(5) Integration in education becomes a movement with great educational meaning and purpose, one which can enlist teachers and officials in a unique, history-making experience, a movement with definite and feasible goals that will bring education out of the trap it is in and will also contribute greatly to bringing use out of the trap that our entire society is in.

7. The effects of a growing core of teachers and officials incorporating and utilizing a framework such as this (or a better one):

a. They will be increasingly able to set the terms of discussion of and approach to the question of racism in education.

b. They will increasingly be able to get others -- fellow educators, the community, students -- to absorb and think in terms of the framework.

c. They will increasingly be able to exert programmatic leadership parallel to their intellectual and attitudinal leadership.

8. Question: How to Create an Effective Confrontation and Dialogue Among Teachers?

a. The fact that this is a problem is an index of the backward condition of education. The general sterility of discussion among teachers, like racism in education, is part of the overall sickness of education. It is important to note this -- namely, that whatever is accomplished towards stimulating the dialogue on racism (and whatever is accomplished respecting racism) is not only a means to end racism in education but a large-scale attack on basic ills of education.

b. Teachers, strangely enough, do not seem to have the attributes of a public (as per Walter Lippmann) -- a group in which relevant issues are defined out in discussion, in which alternative viewpoints are developed, and in which continuing debate the members can grasp the various alternatives and come to some conclusions. A genuine discussion, one in which teachers actually come to grips with the intellectual and emotional issues that are involved, means thus a good deal more than what is usually done in an in-service human relations program. A genuine discussion means a real clash of thought and feeling, it means an openness that allows even racist feelings that many teachers have to come to the surface; it means a debate raging through the school system from bottom to top.

c. Strategy for promoting confrontation and dialogue

Get debate going -- Through support of school administration, through support of teacher organizations, through help of universities, and through specialized means, start discussions which are of, by, and for teachers and school officials.

(1) Structure discussions so that different viewpoints are represented.

(2) Build discussions around basic and provocative questions which get to the guts of the issues.

(3) Have moderators with skills of helping to define out the various viewpoints and the issues -- so that there is the help of clarification and of the guidance of the discussion towards greater relevance to the emerging issues -- while at same time being able to maintain the respect and confidence of the various contenders.

(4) While outside resources may be utilized, the main protagonists should be teachers, principals, and other officials in the school system -- but primarily teachers. The aim should be to create engagement at all levels by the involvement of representative individuals in open dialogues which have the support of the educational community and which lend prestige to the participants.

(5) Thus the aims would be to generate discussion within the schools, districts, functional groups, organizations, informal situations everywhere, etc.

(6) Community discussions involving teachers (of various viewpoints) would also help generate the sense of a significant and exciting discussion.

(7) Written materials -- Particular discussions should be reproduced and distributed to those who could not attend. Individuals or groups with particular viewpoints they wish

to articulate should have the chance to have them reproduced and distributed. The skilled moderators (noted above) should be employed to help this process as well as the processes of verbal discussion.

(8) All types of media and settings should be used -- internal school facilities, radio and TV, newspapers, all types of meeting places, teacher organizational facilities, etc. The main guideline would be to maintain the spirit of free debate and to keep the discussion moving along.

(9) The support of school officials for the debate would be of great value. The superintendent should make clear by word and behavior that he is supporting free dialogue. He is free, like anyone else, to enter the lists, but in terms of presenting a point of view and not of dictating conclusions.

(10) There is room for ingenuity here, and perhaps colleges and universities may supply some in the effort to get large numbers of teachers personally caught up in a continuing participation.

(11) Role of the Office of Education -- Both a spearhead and spadework are needed, as well as material support. Can the Office of Education supply these? If it is true that the hearts and minds of the professional staff represent a primary obstacle to integrated education, is not a major attack on this obstacle a fundamental criterion for any genuine program of integration? Cannot a program be devised which will enlist school administrations and teacher organizations in an authentic effort to confront the issue of the educator's role and responsibility in school integration?

9. <u>What is the Likely Outcome of Genuine Confrontation and Dialogue In a School System</u>?

a. The stronger frame of reference will take hold among an increasing core of teachers -- The frame of reference described above is much more powerful in terms of its values, logic, support in reality, goals, and rewards than anything the adherents of the status quo will be able to produce.

b. As the dialogue proceeds, the alternatives will tend to crystallize. The moral advantage, as well as the advantage in fact and logic, will increasingly shift to the advocates of a comprehensive program of integration. Individual actions will start -- such as the faculty of an all-white school waking up to the fact that an all-white faculty is bad education and <u>starting actively to recruit Negro</u> teachers. Or, establishing relationships and interchanging in various ways with an all-Negro school. Or, deciding that it must cease teaching a racist American history and to that end beginning to learn and teach the new history.

c. On a system-wide level, programs will evolve out of the discussion and be brought forth by teachers, teacher groups, officials, community people, and college participants -- programs which call for a comprehensive, persistent and large-scale undertaking to once-and-for-all eliminate racism from the schools of the city.

d. Such programs will have much better chance of coming to light, being adopted, and succeeding (though still with much pain, ferment, and time) out of the proposed confrontation and dialogue than by any other method that has been suggested.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "Parting Word" of Judge J. Skelly Wright in Hobson v. Hansen, June 19, 1967; reprinted in Integrated Education, August-September, 1967, p. 52.

2. See M. Weinberg, Research on School Desegregation (Chicago: Integrated Education Associates, 1965), pp. 1-2, 10.

3. Rich, "The Relations of Unsegregated, Desegregated, and Transition Schools to Racially Mixed Student Bodies", October, 1967, p. 8.

4. James F. Redmond, Increasing Desegregation, p. B-7. On August 23, 1967, the school board adopted the entire Redmond report "in principle".

5. Edwin C. Berry, Chicago Tribune, August 3, 1963. (Mr. Berry is Executive Director of the Chicago Urban League.)

6. Advisory Panel on Integration of the Public Schools, Report, p. 68.

7. "Report on U.S. Office of Education Analysis of Chicago Public Schools", Integrated Education, December 1966-January 1967, p. 19.

8. No schools were specified. Coons in Redmond, Increasing Desegregation, pp. B-21-22.

9. Advisory Panel on Integration of the Public Schools, Report, p. 63.

10. Coons in Redmond, Increasing Desegregation, p. B-22.

11. Katz, "Tentative Proposals", p. 15.

12. Coons in Redmond, Increasing Desegregation, p. B-29.

13. A very general report on Kentucky is John Fleming, Kentucky School Pairing Plans (Frankfort, Ky.: Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, May, 1967).

14. Evaluation of the Community Zoning Program. Summary Reports (N.Y.: Board of Education, September, 1966), p. 60.

15. Ibid., p. 63. Outside consultants who advised in the experimental design and interpretation of results included Anne Anastasi, Dan Dodson, Edmund W. Gordon, Sam Sieber, and Robert L. Thorndike.

16. Coons in Redmond, Increasing Desegregation, p. B-22.

17. Redmond, Increasing Desegregation, p. C-24.

18. Robert J. Havighurst, The Public Schools of Chicago: A Survey (Chicago: Board of Education, 1964) p. 261. Westcott has since been replaced by Simeon. On p. 257, the author describes Cooley, Cregier, and Westcott as "grossly insufficient".

19. John Coons, Report to the U.S. Office of Education on the Public Schools of Chicago, Draft copy, June 20, 1965, p. II-19.

20. Ibid, p. V-11.

21. See map in Redmond, Increasing Desegregation, following p. C-34.

22. See Redmond, Increasing Desegregation, p. C-26.

23. See Marjorie Lord Dunnegan, "Vocational Education at Dunbar", Integrated Education, June, 1963. "At the end of many a school year Dunbar Trade School could boast of a 90% placement record for its graduates". (The author is the mother of a Dunbar graduate.)

24. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Administration of Vocational Education. Rules and Regulations, eighth edition (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 58. See also, p. 73, on available appropriations.

25. See Roman C. Pucinski, "Cooling the Summer Riots With Vocational Education", Illinois Education, October, 1967, pp. 72-74.

26. Philip M. Katz, "Tentative Proposals for Achieving Quality, Integrated Education in Urban School Systems", October, 1967, p. 13.

27. "Report on U.S. Office of Education Analysis", p. 18.

28. Havighurst, The Public Schools of Chicago, p. 258.

29. "Report on U.S. Office of Education Analysis", p. 16-18.

30. Faith Rich, "The Relation of Unsegregated, Desegregated, and Transition Schools to Racially Mixed Student Bodies", October, 1967, p. 4. The 86,000 students comprised some 15% of total enrollment.

31. Thoreau to H. G. O. Blake, March 27, 1848, The Correspondence of Henry David Thoreau, ed. Walter Harding and Carl Bode (N.Y.: New York University Press, 1958), p. 216.

32. Raymond L. Jerrems and Frances S. Burrill, A Study of the Promotion System for Principals of the Chicago Public Schools from 1955 to 1965, 1967, p. 49. (Both authors are principals in Chicago public schools.

33. This viewpoint is adopted also in Redmond, Increasing Desegregation, p. A-4.

34. "Report on U.S. Office of Education Analysis", p. 21.

35. See Jerrems and Burrill, A Study of the Promotion System,

36. Albert A. Raby to Francis Keppel, U.S. Office of Education, December 9, 1965. This document asked the Office of Education to invoke Sec. 210 of ESEA against the State of Illinois.

37. On September 13, 1967, the board of education approved a contract with the Educational Testing Service to conduct an evaluation of the 1966-67 Title I program; Report 67-931-3.

38. Sources of information include Dr. Frank Riessman, now Director, New Career Development Center, New York University, 22 Waverly Place, New York, N.Y. 100003; New Partners in the Educational Enterprise, Bank Street College of Education, 103 East 125th Street, New York, N.Y.: also Teacher Aides in Large School Systems (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1967. The Metropolitan YMCA in Chicago is studying the matter of subprofessionals in public service fields.

URBAN SCHOOLS FOR AN OPEN SOCIETY

John H. Fischer
President, Teachers College
Columbia University

for delivery November 16, 1967 at the National Conference
on Equal Educational Opportunity in America's Cities
Sponsored by the
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C.

The American public school system is the world's most comprehensive and fruitful experiment in universal education, but the very impressiveness of its past accomplishments now throws into sharp contrast the schools' present shortcomings. There are indeed some critics who consider the current performance of city schools so poor and their resistance to change so adamant that they propose replacing publicly controlled systems with publicly subsidized independent schools.

To many who work in the schools, it seems not only odd but unjust that these judgments should be so severe after twenty years of quite remarkable

reform and improvement. For it is true that American schools have changed in significant ways in the last two decades. Immediately following World War II came the campaigns to raise standards, to emphasize the solid subjects, and to do more for able students. Even the academicians, having become newly conscious of the schools' existence, joined in efforts to improve them. With useful consequences, if for the wrong reasons, Sputnik frightened the Congress and the country into strengthening programs in mathematics, physical science, foreign languages and guidance. Despite a few examples of excessive zeal and some false starts, the results of these successive developments on the whole have been good. So many better educated youngsters emerged from the high schools that the upward thrust of entering freshmen even helped to modernize higher education.

But the earlier reforms, those that occurred before 1960, were motivated mainly by a concern for academic values, by apprehension over what had been happening to subjects and standards. By contrast, the rise of the civil rights movement redressed the balance and swung the spotlight of criticism back to focus on students as individual human beings and centered it particularly on the Negro student who, despite Brown and subsequent decisions, was still being denied opportunities his contemporaries enjoyed. To this newer criticism the response has been less prompt and less effective than the earlier reaction. Part of the difference is attributable to prejudice, part to inertia, and part to lack of community interest. But the principal reason for the slower rate of change is that the problems of providing inclusive, relevant, effective education under the present conditions of urban life require insights, attitudes and types of competence that too few teachers and administrators now possess. The solution of these problems also requires fundamental changes in educational policy and in the arrangements by which that policy is determined.

To be sure, the schools are often held accountable for failures which they have neither the means nor the opportunity to correct. Not even the best school or the most dedicated teacher can guarantee that all the pupils will finish the year above the grade median. Nor can every child be assured a place in college, however strongly his parents may demand equal treatment. But the excessive casualty rates of the schools can be neither explained nor excused by statistics. Nor are they all the inevitable result of unfortunate heredity, broken homes, or bad community influences. Before we can project educational solutions we must understand the character of the problems to which we are attempting to respond.

The complexity of the situation can be seen in the gaps that separate less fortunate Americans from the majority of their countrymen. Not only are these gaps disgracefully wide; in certain cases they are actually widening. Most of these inequities are related to poverty, many are aggravated by racial discrimination, and all contribute to the handicapping circumstances within which and against which the school must carry on its work. Let me cite a few comparisons.

Non-white infant mortality in 1940 was 70 percent worse than the white rate. In 1960 it was 90 percent worse.

Maternal mortality among non-white mothers in 1940 was 2.4 times the white rate. In 1960 it was 3.8 times the white rate.

A Negro boy born in 1962 had as much chance of surviving to 20 as a white boy had of reaching 37. A Negro girl could look forward to reaching 20 as confidently as a white girl to reaching 42.

In employment, the best years for Negroes only come up to the recession levels for whites. In 1964, a prosperous year, when white unemployment dropped to less than 3.5 percent, the Negro rate was still almost ten percent. That was half again as high as the worst white rate since the depression. These figures are for adults, 20 and older. For 16 and 17 year old Negroes, unemployment has not dropped below 20 percent in ten years.

There is, of course, a close relation between these data and educational conditions. The median years of school completed by persons over 25 in 1940 was 8.7 for whites but 5.8 for non-whites. By 1960 the non-whites had reached 8.2, still half a year below where the whites had been twenty years earlier. Meanwhile, the white median had risen to 10.9 years.

But, some argue, things are better now than they used to be. They are better, but far from good. In 1960 the percent of Negro men college graduates aged 25 to 29 was 15.6 percent for whites and 5.3 percent for Negroes. That meant that in 1960 the Negroes were where the whites had been in 1920. In high school graduation, the gap is closing faster. The Negro rate in 1960 equalled the white in 1940.

The Selective Service Mental Test is a constant reminder that the educational gap is still tragically wide for our present 18 year olds. The variation among the states is well known, but the differential figures on white and Negro registrants are not as widely circulated. For the country as a whole, the failure rate is about 25 percent. Between June, 1964 and December, 1965, the rate for white applicants was 19 percent, for Negroes 67 percent. Failures among whites ranged from 5 percent in the state of Washington to 43 percent in Tennessee. For Negroes the range was from 25 percent in

Washington to 85 percent in South Carolina. Those who think that the determining factor is race rather than education might note that Negroes in the state of Washington did better than whites in eight other states. Negroes in Rhode Island surpassed the whites of six other states. The poor showing of city schools is not attributable simply to the influx of Negro children. It is due rather to the failure of the schools to respond to the special problems of American youngsters who are the victims of deprivation, neglect, and prejudice.

In order for the schools to respond as promptly and as effectively as they should to these conditions, it seems to me that three things are necessary:

1. We must reconsider the principle of equal opportunity.
2. We must devise more effective ways to adapt schools to the children they serve.
3. We must reconstruct existing arrangements for policy making and school administration.

II

In the whole American credo, no tenet is more firmly fixed than our devotion to equal opportunity. We cite it constantly as the fundamental principle in the whole structure of public education. We assert with great pride that in these schools every American child finds his birthright of opportunity and gets the start that will enable him to make his way as a free man in a free land. The race, we say, is to the swift, but it is open to all, and everyone who appears at the starting line is allowed to run. This system, we have long told ourselves, assures equality of opportunity. And so it does -- for

most. But always there are those who, for no fault of their own, cannot make it to the line before the gun is fired. Among them are good runners, but they never really get into the running that counts. Others get to the track determined to run and eager to win, but, having been barefoot all their lives, they must first learn to wear the spikes that the rules require. Before they can learn, their race is over. To be sure, we treat all the entrants with meticulous equality. What we overlook is that "the equal treatment of unequals produces neither equality nor justice."

To offer all children equal education remains a necessary beginning, for even in our most affluent cities many thousands still have nothing remotely approaching equality of schooling. But equality among schools is only the first step. We must set our sights not on making schools equal, but on devising whatever means are required to enable every child to develop his own potential. Whatever his possibilities, wherever he begins, he should have the help he needs to reach maturity prepared to compete on fair terms in an open society. To live with this conception of equal opportunity, the community must be willing and the school must be able to furnish unequal education. Unequal education to promote equal opportunity may seem a radical proposal, but it is in fact a well-established practice. This is precisely what has long been done for physically and mentally handicapped children under the name of "special education." As it has been offered to these minorities, what we now call compensatory education is universally approved. But the largest minority of our children are not the crippled and mentally retarded. They are the millions who suffer the handicaps of sustained deprivation and neglect much of it due to racial discrimination. The time has come to provide unequal, exceptional education as a matter of deliberate public policy to every child who needs it.

Lip service to the principle of compensatory education in itself will solve nothing. It only points up another puzzling issue, for much of what has been done under this label in the past half dozen years has proved disappointing. The United States Civil Rights Commission, in its report, "Racial Isolation in the Public Schools," describes a number of such efforts and concludes that "the programs did not show evidence of much success." Coleman's massive study, "Equality of Educational Opportunity," similarly found that existing teaching practices and curricula do little to counteract the effects of isolation or deprivatic

Nevertheless, it would be indefensible at this point to dismiss the concept of compensation as useless. Even though both Coleman and the Commission find integration to be more beneficial than compensation, the fact remains that in many cities the attainment of complete integration cannot be expected soon. Even if it were instantly possible, many children are so seriously retarded academically that if they could be placed in integrated schools today they would still need a great deal of special help. Whether such teaching is called preventive, remedial, corrective, or developmental, it must be designed to meet the unusual individual requirements of children for whom present programs are inadequate.

The finding of the Coleman study that may ultimately turn out to be the most significant of all is that students with a sense of control over their own destiny do better in school than those who are convinced that what they do will have little effect on their ultimate opportunities. Ways must be found to create more schools where children will find that they are respected, that they can be successful, and that what they do does make a difference.

The complications of cultural difference and ethnic prejudice were not unknown in the public schools of an earlier day. In 1901 when the United States Industrial Commission investigated conditions in city slums, it was Italian youngsters who were being characterized as irresponsible, difficult to discipline, and not so bright. As one teacher put it, they "were fair students, better than the Irish, but not as good as the Hebrews and the Germans. . ." Now, as then, many promising efforts fail because they rest on stereotypes and deal with categories rather than with persons. While it is inevitably necessary to work with children in groups, whether in schools, classes, or in teaching units of two or three, the only acceptable compensatory approach is to identify their needs as individuals. The best teacher begins with each child where he is, engaging his interest through activities that make sense to him, and steadily encouraging him toward new encounters and fresh discoveries. Thus, from each new day's succe the child accumulates the confidence to try a bit more than he managed the day before.

This process must begin early. It becomes increasingly clear that children have a better chance to succeed in school if they are introduced to planned learning experiences well before the age of six. An immediately available forward step for every city is to make kindergartens universally available for five-year-olds and to establish pre-school programs for four-year-olds. This step is especially urgent for those most in need of the benefits that such programs at their best can provide.

Most of us here are acquainted with evidence that the level of intellectual capability young people will achieve by 17 is already half determined by age four and that another 30 percent is predictable by age seven. This is no ground for

believing that a child's academic fate is sealed by his seventh birthday, but it means that a community that seriously wants to improve its children's opportunities will start them to school early. In terms of sheer economy, it can be shown that the earlier the investment in systematic intellectual development is begun, the greater will be the rate of return.

Some of the early follow-up studies of children in Head Start programs have been interpreted as meaning that such early programs have no effect on subsequent success in the primary grades. It is much more likely that what has actually been discovered is the failure of primary grade teachers to build upon the gains made at the preschool level. Even the best preschool programs will produce only temporary benefits unless the follow-through at the primary level is well planned. In the middle and secondary years, as well, curricula and teaching procedures must be designed to build on the progress of earlier stages and to introduce the new emphases appropriate at each level.

III

Relevance in the curriculum,respect for the student, and the continuous cultivation of his capability, self-confidence, and self-esteem should permeate the entire school program. But if we are to have such programs soon enough in every urban school, the speed of reform will have to be much faster than it has been. The obvious question is how to speed things up. The equally obvious answer would appear to be to invent new curricula, new teaching procedures, better teaching materials, more effective uses of technology, and improved school organization. That all of these are needed is beyond doubt, but we need

something else even more. Our present shortcomings are due less to the state of the pedagogic art than to the state of mind of the artists. Not only teachers, but administrators, board members, and parents alike almost invariably approa these new problems assuming that they can be solved without any fundamental change in the nature of the school itself. We should by now be able to see that much of what must be done cannot be fitted into the customary institutional form

There are, to be sure, schools which have abandoned egg-crate architec and with it the image of teachers as interchangeable parts to be distributed, one to thirty children, equally throughout the building. But most schools, even wher the need for innovation is most pressing, have yet to make the first break towar anything remotely resembling a teaching team. The utility of the flexible prima unit, in which several teachers work jointly with one group of children for two t four years, has been well demonstrated; but the idea speads ever so slowly, because it calls for a fundamentally different pattern of professional practice ar school organization.

At the secondary level, despite the evidence that adolescents are both able and eager to work on their own, only a handful of teachers will really trust them to learn out of the teacher's sight. Every community, most notably the large city, presents a priceless collection of living laboratories for learning about the modern world and how it works. Amid this wealth the typical school is managed as though real education could occur only on its premises. Long before deTocqueville commented on force of voluntarism in this country, Ameri cans were tapping the committed energy of volunteers to get things done, yet we still hesitate to use this magnificent source of help as freely as we should in the schools.

In mentioning these practices I am aware that each of them is, in fact, already being used in schools. They are, to be sure, but the point is that almos' everywhere they are considered exceptional. As variations from long establishe custom they are suspect. In the face of the new tasks now being laid upon the schools, and the consequent need for better learning and more effective teachin such changes as these and others far bolder should not only be tolerated; they should be expected, insisted upon, and rewarded.

Among the necessary changes in school policy and practice none are mo urgently needed now than those that will speed racial integration. Thirteen yea: after the Supreme Court's declaration that segregated schools are inherently unequal, the number of segregated Negro students is still on the rise. Although reluctance to change has not wholly disappeared and sheer defiance of the law is still evident in some places, the lack of progress now in most cities is due to conditions that are more resistant to analysis and far more difficult to correct. The most impressive fact in the situation is the steady increase in the number and proportion of Negroes in the central cities of our metropolitan areas and the even sharper rise in the proportion of Negro students in the public schools of those cities. As the ghetto within the city expands into a virtual ghetto city, ev the most resolute and ingenious school authorities find meaningful desegregation beyond their own capabilities. The easy course in such circumstances -- and a plausible one -- is to argue that nothing can be done and that the inevitable must be accepted. But the inevitable in this case means perpetuating the cycle of segregated schooling, denying both Negro and white children integrated experiences and extending into the next generation the grievous tensions that plague this one. If that cycle cannot be broken within the present context of school

systems and community structures, ways must be found to change that context. To continue for the indefinite future the socially and personally destructive evils of a segregated society is a choice this nation cannot afford and may not survive

Three possible courses, at least, are open to us. In those cities where the problem is not yet overwhelming, steps can be taken, as on a limited scale White Plains has recently demonstrated, to abolish segregated Negro schools and by concerted action to redistribute children of all groups in ratios that will lead to stable, viable student bodies.

In other communities where the proportions of Negro pupils are higher, cooperative schemes for pupil exchanges, possibly including the establishment of school parks, may be developed with neighboring suburban districts.

In yet other cases, state educational authorities may have to act under the clause of the Brown decision which holds that "the opportunity of an education . . . where the state has undertaken to provide it is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms." This would appear to require that where inequality exists, and where other steps to effect equity have failed, the state is obligated to take whatever corrective action may be necessary.

To propose action in any community contrary to the will of a substantial body of the citizens is to propose trouble, but there is reason to believe that the resistance to change that has impeded integration in many places is due less to recalcitrance or prejudice than to simpler and more tractable causes. In many cases it is probable that parents -- of both races -- only want reasonable assurance that the schools their children attend after integration will be at least equal and preferably superior, to those to which they have been accustomed. Plans for integration should therefore include for all the children involved provisions that will respond to this understandable concern of their parents.

Another principle that becomes increasingly clear is that any plan for school integration is projected at considerable risk if it is not closely relate to a broad scale, comprehensive plan for stable community integration. Witho the support and cooperation of the other major segments of community action and authority, it is wholly unrealistic to expect the school to carry alone the burden of creating a new pattern of community association.

In arguing for comprehensive approaches to school and community integration I am not suggesting that the school authorities should wait patientl for every other agency to move first. There are ways in which the schools must and can act to meet their own responsibilities. Moreover, the education forces of the community should be prepared to exercise leadership in their ow field and to offer it to others, but leadership is meaningless unless it is part o a reciprocal relationship. The reform of public education in regard to integra tion, no less than to the instruction of the disadvantaged or the nurture of the highly gifted, must be a widely shared concern. Slightly paraphrasing Plato, we can be confident that only where such reform is commonly honored is it ve likely to be cultivated.

IV

My final point is that we must reconstruct the arrangements for school governance in the city. Whether one starts from the position of the superinten dent, the board, the teachers, the children, or the public, it becomes increasingly difficult to justify the outmoded ways in which we continue to conduct the affairs of city schools.

To call this the decentralization question is to oversimplify both the problem and the solution. The issue is not whether a particular city should ha one public school system, or five, or fifty. That is a matter of detail. The issue is, rather, how to plan, manage, and use the educational possibilities o the city to meet the pressures of the times, the students' needs, and the pub interest. In any city, the public schools are the largest single element in the total educational enterprise, but they are by no means the whole of it. The tradition of separatism that has so long dominated public school policy and administration has become anachronistic. The mechanisms initially designed to protect the schools from partisan or corrupt political influence, however necessary they once were, now tend to isolate the schools from other agencies and to insulate them from normal political processes.

In the city, as in the nation, every important undertaking today has its educational aspect. Many projects have no future at all unless they can count on effective schools. An intricate network of relationships ties the families of every community to its economic, cultural, political and social institutions With virtually all of these agencies and many of the families, the school is connected in mutual dependence. Yet among school boards, administrators and university people, there are many who still think that these connections call for no more than routine courtesies, prudent "public relations," and a vigilant watch against any sign of encroachment on the school's traditional prerogatives.

Urban planning that does not now include educational planning is not on unrealistic; it is irresponsible. Such planning must moreover go far beyond a perfunctory review by the planning body of the size and location of new school

sites. It must confront questions of curriculum, attendance patterns, teacher supply, financial support; in brief, the whole complex interrelationship betweer the development of schools and the total development of the city. The need for such planning is crucial and so is the manner in which it is done. Not only the central planning agency, but the school authorities, other public and private agencies, and the municipal and state governments must accept jointly the responsibility for projecting goals and setting timetables, and they must also share the responsibility for seeing that commitments are met.

Only by adopting educational strategies commensurate with the charact and scope of its objectives can any city hope to surmount the constant need to react to one school crisis after another. The community that neglects the deve opment of a long-range, broad-scale plan of educational development, or fails to commit to that plan the resources necessary to execute it, is neglecting its own future.

At the other end of the system, in the individual school, where the whc business succeeds or fails, there are other needs for reform. The demonstra tions and boycotts, to say nothing of the thousands of less publicized complaint that have plagued the schools are symptoms of deeply serious problems. To br sure, not everyone who criticizes a principal is wholly objective. There are no doubt occasional picketers whose zeal for school reform is diluted by other ambitions. But when all the extraneous interests have been allowed for, there remain the just and proper grievances of parents who often are denied even a respectful reception, much less a voice, in the schools their children are required to attend.

Despite the accumulations of resentment, pride, and defensiveness that encumber those situations, ways can be devised to involve parents more deeply in school affairs. A first step is to lift the controversies beyond the adversary level. So long as school people and parents view each other as opponents to be defeated, the likelihood of positive results is negligible. What is needed is a sustained, patient effort to build and maintain channels through which each gro may express its views and be assured of respectful attention and consideration by the other. A second step is to systematize these exchanges, turning them t constructive deliberation and providing the substantive data necessary to enabl the participants to make responsible choices and projections. A third step is a thoroughgoing analysis of the nature of school policy issues to determine at wh level the different types can best be handled. Some should be settled within the school, some at intermediate points, and others on a city-wide basis. The hea of the matter is to find the means by which a city school board can maintain a common floor of opportunity for every pupil in the city and at the same time encourage parents, citizens, and school staff members to apply their own initiative in raising their school as far as possible above the basic level.

V

There are no easy solutions, and very probably no final solutions of any kind to the educational problems of our cities. But there are vast possibilities still untried and broad ranges of opportunity open to imagination and bold attac Yet it would be a grave error and a stupid miscalculation to think that the publi schools should assume these tasks alone, or that they could possibly perform them in isolation.

It is an ironic paradox that the gravest educational deficiencies are often found in the very cities that possess the best resources for correcting them. A too often, however, the institutions that harbor these resources -- the universities, museums, libraries, scientific agencies, and mass media, all with enormous possibilities for enriching human life -- carry on their work with little awareness of the life of the community in which they stand. In the same cities hundreds of agencies, public and private, with the competence and experience to make critically important contributions to the physical, social, and econom well-being of people, could undergird and supplement educational and cultural efforts.

Even more than resources, we need new initiatives to bring the possibilities to bear upon the problems, and to breach the walls and bridge the chasms that separate these sovereignties.

No such dream can be made to come true without altering existing political and administrative mechanisms. We shall need new laws, new agenc and new money; but most of all, we need a new vision, newly shared, of what the city at its best might be, and do, and give. Louis Mumford put it well:

> "We must now conceive the city not primarily as a place of business or government, but as an essential organ for expressing and actualizing the new human personality . . . Not industry but education will be the center . . . and every process and function will be approved . . . to the extent that it furthers human development . . . For the city should be an organ of love; and the best economy of cities is the care and culture of men."

Only upon such a conception of the problem of the city and its promise can we project the public policies and the educational processes that are the prerequisites of a free and open society.

NATIONAL IDEALS AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY*

An Address by Harold Howe II
U.S. Commissioner of Education
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

The Old Testament tells us that the sins of fathers are visited on their sons. Presuming for the moment that this lugubrious sentiment is valid, it seems to me it ought to be amended to include virtues as well; the United States has been suffering for almost two centuries now from the idealism of the Founding Fathers.

The particular ideals I have in mind are stated, among other places, in the second sentence of the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal,..."

Having enunciated those familiar words, I realize that I run the risk of exciting your irritation. You may suspect that they are the prelude to a superficially patriotic sermon, a hearty injunction for all of us to stop this silly bickering and remember that we are all brothers.

These words are a prelude to something, of course, but not--I hope--to a set of simplistic pieties. The problems of achieving equal opportunity in education or in any other aspect of our national life are much too complex to be resolved by mere good feeling. I quote these words as much out of desperation as conviction. Desperation because, wondering whether there is anything new to say about race and education, I thought

*Before the National Conference on Race and Education, sponsored by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C., 12:30 p.m., Friday, November 17, 1967.

I'd explore something old. And conviction because it seems to me that perhaps our national ideals--apart from furnishing us with some memorable prose--have a more definite function and force than is commonly supposed.

One of the consequences of discovering, as most of us do, that ideals have often been ignored or exploited in the past is to make one wonder whether they have any value at all. Are they merely a decorative wallpaper to spruce up a society's house, or do they keep out some heat and cold as well? Are they simply graceful formulations handy for cloaking a Nation's pragmatic self-interest in the garments of justice and virtue--or do they contain within them, perhaps to a degree we cannot measure, some philosophical and psychological energies that help explain a Nation's present strength?

Such speculations are inevitable, and every responsible citizen must engage in them. One possibility is to conclude that ideals are indeed little more than baubles, tinseled stars for the naive to aim their hearts at while the canny movers and shakers of the real world get the work done. Another possibility is to conclude that, while ideals are rarely realized in their fulness, the exercise of attempting to achieve them renews a society's strength--and that a Nation which turns its back on high aspirations does so at peril of increasing weakness.

This matter of equality has been giving us trouble ever since the Declaration of Independence was published. Every succeeding generation has tried to figure out, in the context of its own times, what our forefathers meant by stating that "All men are created equal." Since common observation tells us the reverse every day, we have concluded that only

in a special sense can all men be considered equals. Broadly stated, it means that as Americans they are entitled to equality under the law in preserving life and liberty, and in seeking happiness.

Yet even that restricted formulation has given us trouble. At one time, a person's right to all the privileges of American citizenship hinged on ownership of property, and at another, on sex: it took us more than a century to decide that women could vote.

So it is clear that defining equality in the United States has been an evolutionary process, one by which we have erased one special characteristic after another from the list of criteria for full citizenship. The notion of "equality" has never been static and fixed for us. Time and circumstance have forced us to revise past definitions. In this political sense, therefore, the United States is as much a developing Nation as the newest member of the United Nations.

Without question, the single characteristic that has given us the most trouble throughout this enterprise is that of race. The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments started the job, but we have not finished it yet. We are here to consider how much remains to be done, and how to go about it, particularly in the schools. This conference proceeds from two facts: first, equality before the law, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, is meaningless without an equal right to an excellent education; second , for an American citizen, segregated education cannot be excellent.

Thirteen years ago, the Supreme Court recognized the intrinsic relationship between equality of education and equality of citizenship when it decided that segregated education is of its nature unequal, and decreed that desegregation of schools should proceed with "all deliberate speed."

As has often been remarked, the implementation of this decision has been characterized more by deliberation than by speed. And yet, despite the snail's pace of school desegregation, the snail has slowly picked up speed as parents, civil rights groups, and the courts have begun enforcing the 1954 decision. Since 1964 the Civil Rights Act has provided a basis for further efforts. Three years ago, in the Old South and border States, less than two percent of the 3½ million Negro youngsters had any white classmates at all. Since then we have multiplied that figure by more than eight times, to more than 16 percent.

More important for the future of desegregation, the Federal judiciary this year backed the position taken by the Departments of Justice and Health, Education, and Welfare that measurable progress is the sole test of a desegregation plan. This ruling means that school districts will no longer be able to use freedom-of-choice desegregation plans as a basis for compliance with the Civil Rights Act unless such plans actually work to eliminate the dual school system.

In sum, that system is on the way out. It will take more time before it disappears completely, and before its effects on white and nonwhite individuals educated under it cease to influence each other's lives. Yet

there is hardly a responsible official in the country who still maintains that public policy and support should maintain separate school systems for different races. This is a genuine gain.

Today, however, we are increasingly concerned with school segregation in the cities, where our great concentrations of minorities live. And we are concerned in the cities with a form of segregation which grows not from dual schools but from patterns of living. The issues we confront in this type of segregation consume our energies, cast a shadow on our ideals, and confront us with a major argument about public policy.

On the one side of this argument are those who say that desegregation simply cannot be brought about in the near future. They point to Washington, D.C., with a Negro school population of over 90 percent, to New York and Chicago, with their 50 percent nonwhite school populations, and say that there just are not enough white youngsters to go around to produce desegregation. Therefore, they say, let's forget the impossible; let's concentrate enough money and services and experienced teachers in the ghetto schools to make them the best in the city, even if they _are_ segregated. In effect, this viewpoint presents the case for schools which are separate, but _un_equal--unequal in the sense that they do more for minority group children than they do for the fortunate white majority.

On the other side are those who say that big-city segregation is _per se_ so bad--so destructive of the children caught up in it--that compensatory education cannot begin to alleviate its evils. Segregation,

they say, denies a child the privilege of thinking of himself as a first-class citizen; no matter how excellent an education such a school offers him in an academic sense, it denies him that sense of equality with other children, that sense of personal dignity and self-confidence which is so important to achievement in school and beyond. Therefore, goes this side of the argument, let's bring every kind of legal, financial, and political pressure to bear on the single goal of integration, because that is the only solution to inequality of educational opportunity. According to this view, the only way Negroes will ever get good schools is to join the children whose white parents control the quality of the schools.

The proponents of both viewpoints can marshal platoons of statistics to support their contentions. I am not competent to evaluate this evidence or, for that reason, to argue from it. Neither, I might add, are many of the people who are quoting these figures most vociferously. But I am convinced--on the basis of common sense and on the basis of what our country professes to stand for--that we make a mistake to espouse either of these courses to the exclusion of the other.

It is obvious, as the advocates of compensatory education point out, that we cannot achieve full desegregation tomorrow. In some cities, where non-white school populations approach or exceed 50 percent, it is unlikely that we will have integrated schools for another generation. Yet no matter how unrealistic desegregation may seem in such cities, I must question whether compensatory education of the quality we seek is much easier to achieve.

Consider for a moment what we are talking about when we recommend compensatory education as the only answer. If it is to be genuine compensatory education--education that makes up for the failings of the home and for an entire heritage of failure and self-doubt--we are probably talking about massive per-pupil expenditures, about providing a great variety of special services ranging from health and psychological care to remedial education efforts. We are talking about remaking the relationship between the school and the home, and between the school and employment opportunity. We are talking about identifying and appointing that essential person who is in such short supply--the inspiring elementary school principal. We are talking about arrangements for re-training most teachers and for putting a city's best and most experienced instructors in its ghetto schools, which now get more than their share of uncertified, inexperienced, temporary teachers. We are talking about new curricular materials, some untried and some yet to be developed, as well as about revised methods of instruction. Particularly in the large cities of the East, we are talking about replacing school plants which--on the average--are nearly a quarter-century older than schools outside the city. And we are considering doing all these things for children whose families are on the move, children in schools where the enrollment often changes radically from year to year.

The school systems on which we would impose these tasks are under-financed, beset by self-appointed critics with every conceivable viewpoint, and ill-supported by the States in which they exist. Certainly they have

faults, but the major responsibility for those faults lies not on the doorstep of harrassed school officials; rather, it rests with every one of us who has paid lip-service to the importance of public education while allowing it to deteriorate.

With resources from the Federal Government, we have two years of initial effort behind us on this task of remaking education in the central city. We cannot at this point scientifically measure what we have achieved, but we know that there are hopeful signs. When President Johnson and the 89th Congress created a new alliance between the Federal government and the public schools, they took on no easy job for either party. They committed themselves to a long, difficult, expensive task of experimentation, service, and change--a task perhaps as difficult as desegregation.

In the practical sense, then, I do not think we have two alternatives. We must pursue both compensatory education and desegregated schools at the same time. And this is not, I hasten to point out, a prescription for fence-straddling or an invitation to inaction. A number of local school boards, given the option of using Federal funds to improve their schools, have chosen to couple compensatory programs with devices for increasing integration at the same time.

-- In Pittsburgh, the school administration is building five Great High Schools, each designed to serve a student population of about 5,000 from every social, economic, ethnic, and national group in the city. At the same time that these schools eliminate segregated student societies,

they will also produce higher quality education through bringing new resources to the service of all students.

-- In White Plains, New York, the school board decided in 1964 to attack *de facto* segregation. Every school, the board decided, would have no less than a 10 percent Negro enrolment and no more than 30 percent. In a recent study, the school system concluded that the program had benefited both white and Negro students academically, and that it has not led to any exodus of white students from the public schools.

-- In Evanston, Illinois, the school system has committed itself to a desegregation plan that will give every elementary school a Negro enrolment of between 15 and 25 percent. One feature of the plan, the conversion of a formerly all-Negro school to an integrated laboratory school operated in conjunction with Northwestern University, has been so popular that there is a waiting list of white parents anxious to send their children there.

-- In Berkeley, California, the school system has launched a program that combines busing with special instruction provided by parents, university graduate students, community volunteers, and an increased staff to blend compensatory education and

desegregation. Now under consideration by the school board is a plan that would desegregate all the city's schools next fall by classroom exchanges involving 4,300 of the district's 9,000 elementary school children.

Each of these efforts has been partially financed by Federal funds. Not one of them, however, was dictated by Federal policy or requirement. They are examples of community responsibility exercised on behalf of minority group Americans by enlightened local leadership. Most school boards today at least have the problem of segregation on their agenda. These school boards I have mentioned, as well as numerous others, are doing something about it. Ten years ago the segregation problem was not on the agenda at all except in a very few places.

We are faced with a variety of forms of segregation in American cities, each with peculiar local circumstances. A plan that works in White Plains, with 17 percent Negro student population, would be absurd in Washington, D.C., with over 90 percent. Plans for either of those cities would make little sense in Denver, where public education officials must accommodate a significant minority of Spanish-speaking children, as well as Negro and white children. Large cities have more aggravated and less manageable problems than medium-sized cities.

Perhaps in some cities, compensatory efforts will have earlier effect than those aimed at desegregation. In our basic policy commitments, however, we have no choice except to plan for and strive for desegregated schools. Compensatory education, whatever its immediate values, is only a partial measure. Although it encourages integration of the schools in the long run by improving services for all children, it offers no answer

for the young people who must wait in segregated schools for the millennium to arrive. We cannot allow the fact that the solution may be years ahead to erase the problem of segregation from our priority lists now.

What are the long-term prospects for desegregated schools?

I do not think we will ever have genuinely integrated education until we have a genuinely desegregated society. And such a society--one in which every man is free to succeed or fail on his merits, to qualify for a job on the basis of his ability alone, to live where he chooses as long as he can pay the rent or make the mortgage payment--seems a long way off. We have made progress in every one of these areas during the 1960's, but we have far to go. The question that confronts us is whether we can move fast enough in the years immediately ahead to keep the hopes our small progress has generated from turning into bitter frustration and hate.

It is a curious thing that a little progress often brings a disproportionate amount of frustration, anger, and violence. Every white person knows other whites who--reacting to the riots in our cities and to the continual demands of our deprived minorities--ask, "What more do they want?" And every black person, I suppose, knows at least one Negro who proclaims his willingness to blow the country up tomorrow if Whitey does not come across today.

Such white reactions--in the case of persons who felt at least an initial sympathy with the civil rights movement--stem partially from a defective sense of our Nation's history. Resenting a riot, of course, does not require any historical sense; a riot is just plain wrong. But

whites who ask, "Why don't they work their way up the way we did?" might be chagrined to discover that American Negroes are "working their way up" in a fashion not dissimilar to that previously engaged in by a number of white minorities: through a combination of strenuous toil, political pressure, and outbreaks of violence.

We must realize, it seems to me, that American Negroes were denied any legitimate outlet for their special interests during the first 200 years of their residence here, and that for the next century, their rights as citizens were more theoretical than real. Now, with the support of the administration, the last two Congresses and the Federal courts, American Negroes have fought for and gained their first real vision of the possibilities of justice. For 300 years they have had no hope; now they have not only hope, but some tangible fruits to prove the value of hope. It is not in the least surprising that they should resent even 24 hours more of delay.

But the legitimate uses of power and the understandable frustrations of American Negroes do not justify the cries of those on the violent fringe who advocate extorting justice through destruction. It is as important for such extremists to realize that they are delaying the day of complete equality, as it is for whites to realize that these extremists consist only of the clamorous few.

Both Negro extremism and extreme white reaction to it complicate the major social dilemma of our lives. When we view the various obstacles standing between us and a genuinely open society, I suspect many of us at

times are tempted to lose our nerve and our determination to follow through on the course we began plotting in 1954. Members of the majority may question whether achieving _any_ ideal is worth the turmoil that this particular ideal has already cost us. Members of minority groups, knowing that they are outnumbered, may worry whether, at some point, the majority will say, "Enough. We are not yet ready for integration. The clock will have to stand still for another generation."

It is at this point that I would return to my earlier remarks about the force and function of an ideal.

The ideal of equality has given Americans trouble ever since our Nation was founded--not just as regards Negro Americans but with other minorities as well. It has pushed us into one bitter controversy after another, sometimes setting American against American and generating vast amounts of hostility. It has picked fights for us, fights that many men in every time would have preferred to avoid.

But we have won each of those fights. Each victory has renewed our national energies, renewed our national conviction that we _can_ lick our problems one by one. We know that the experience of failure has a profound effect on an individual: if repeated again and again, it makes him doubt his own abilities. The experience of repeated success has an analogous effect: it makes a man capable of daring greater things than he would normally attempt.

I suspect that experience develops a similar sense of invincibility or of inability in Nations. The people of the United States, by having the courage to confront at various times in their history the most

agonizing problems of social policy and domestic practice, have built up a winning streak that has enabled us to face fear at home and abroad with quiet confidence in our own ability to win once again.

At this time in our history, we face another crisis of national courage. We face a fight which, in the belief of many Americans, it would be nice to avoid. Do we really have to go through this again when, for most of us, life is reasonably comfortable? Do we really have to sustain these battles over busing and school redistricting and teacher assignment? Do we have to scrap all the time about open housing ordinances and equal employment opportunity; do we have to penalize ourselves for more taxes? Isn't there any way to avoid such a grievous, expensive, tiring, and passionate exercise as desegregating America?

There is not. The legacy of our national ideals leaves us no choice of goals. The argument over the educational merits of desegregation is, in a sense, irrelevant. It is fortunate that studies of the effects of desegregated education show us that certain learning gains emerge from it. But even if the studies disclosed no such gains, we would _still_ be morally committed to desegregation.

It seems to me that in designing school policy that responds to that commitment--that constructively serves youngsters from both the minority and the majority groups--we have three fundamental propositions to keep in mind.

1. Local boards of education must accept their responsibility for using all the resources at their command--Federal and State, as well as local--to improve education and reduce segregation at the same time. These local boards confront countless decisions each year on such questions as location of schools,

the design of facilities, teacher-assignment policies, and school organization patterns. These issues are not separate unto themselves, or at least need not be. The possible alternatives can also bear on educational improvement and school desegregation. I would hope that school boards would keep these two goals constantly in mind in all their decisions, and address them simultaneously and with equal vigor.

2. State departments of education must begin to accept more responsibility for school desegregation as they develop a greater capacity for improving quality. Some departments--in those States which maintained dual school systems--have begun to do so, after being prodded by the Federal government. Some others, including Michigan, California, Massachusetts, New York, and Connecticut, have exercised leadership in school desegregation of their own free will. Nevertheless, such State departments are a distinct minority.

3. The Federal Government must continue vigorously to carry out the provisions of Titles IV and VI of the Civil Rights Act. I can guarantee that this will happen under the new administrative arrangements set up in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for Title VI responsibility. Plans are underway for nationwide policy guides to Title VI so that school districts both North and South have a clearer picture of their obligations. The Federal Government must also encourage the constructive use

of the programs it makes available to States and localities as leverage which can at the same time improve education and promote the desegregation of schools. The Federal Government literally cannot and certainly should not demand reductions of segregation beyond those required by law. At the same time, since equality of educational opportunity is closely connected to the removal of segregation, the Federal Government must not stand in the way of decisions by local school districts and by individual States to pursue desegregation as an essential element in improving their schools.

To assist States and local agencies in this effort, I can announce today that we are strengthening operations of Title IV of the Civil Rights Act.

We have created a new Division of Equal Educational Opportunities in the Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education and appointed Mr. Gregory R. Anrig to head that division. We are providing this new division with 70 new staff persons to provide greatly increased technical assistance to local agencies requesting their service. More than half of the enlarged staff will be assigned to regional Office of Education offices to be available to work directly in the field.

Only if the agencies in this country responsible for the conduct of our schools move simultaneously toward quality education and equal educational opportunity will they give practical meaning to the proposition

with which we started this discussion, the splendid American proposition "that all men are created equal." Maintaining the ideals that accompanied this Nation's birth demands a dedication to law and principle that we are once again called upon to display.

# # #

STRATEGIES AND TACTICS FOR CHANGE

An Address by Bayard Rustin, Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute, New York, N. Y.

(Delivered at the Luncheon Session of the National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity in America's Cities: Problems and Programs for Change, Washington, D. C., November 18, 1967)

I must admit it is with some trepidation that I face not only a group of people at the grassroots who have been deeply involved in the day-to-day problems, but also educators who obviously know infinitely more about education than I do. Therefore I shall not attempt to speak for those people who are at the grassroots and who are familiar from day to day with the tedious, irksome, and dry problems; nor shall I deal with educational theory which others are better prepared to deal with.

What I would like to do, if possible, is to talk about some of the strategies and tactics which are needed and are relevant, regardless of the locality in which one finds oneself or the nature of the given excruciating problems which one may face here or there.

But first, let me say a word about American history, because I believe it can be instructive to some of us in the minority communities who are beginning to acquiesce in a situation that has entrapped us. Thomas Jefferson awoke one night, out of a nightmare. He dreamed he had seen Negroes and whites on either

side of the American flag pulling and tugging till the flag bearing the words "the Republic" was torn to bits. Mr. Jefferson, gravely distressed at this dream, got up and took a piece of paper and on it he wrote: "Slavery is immoral, and, therefore, on my death I want all my slaves manumitted, immediately set free."

Now, needless to say, I respect Thomas Jefferson deeply for having manumitted his slaves. But we cannot avoid the fact that in doing so Thomas Jefferson was nearsighted. He was nearsighted in that it was not enough for him to have a personal moral attitude to slavery. For a moral attitude divorced from a political program is a dangerous thing. What Jefferson should have done was to have followed his moral awakening and gone into Congress and fought for the political liberation of all slaves.

Secondly, there is no one who has greater respect for abolishnists than I have, because it so happens that my great-great grandparents were, in fact, brought out of Virginia slavery by Quakers, brought to Pennsylvania and set free. And that is the means by which I became a rather unique thing, a black Quaker.

But I want to point out to you that all the moral fervor of the abolitionist was not enough. At the end of that war, they became tired and turned from the problem--precisely because they had no economic and political program.

And, for those people who think Negroes have never tried to help themselves, the slogan "40 acres and a mule" was not developed by the white abolitions (who, in fact, ought to have developed it as a tangible expression of their moral concern). It was the black people themselves who demanded 40 acres and a mule.

So I will say this: Real dignity and a decent place in American society does not depend on how you comb your hair or whether you eat soul food or whether you read African books, or whether you want to teach Swahili in the schools; it depends on the position which we, as minorities--all minorities--hold in the economic and social order. That is where the fight is.

It is, therefore, particularly significant to me to recognize that the school problem cannot be separated from the housing problem, cannot be separated from the job problem, cannot be separated from the health problem, cannot be separated from the relief problem, because they are inextricably entwined. However, that is not to say we must wait till the housing problem is solved before we do something about schools, or wait till the school problem is solved before we do something about jobs. We must work on all these simultaneously, and see that whatever we are doing in one is not contradictory with what we do in another.

To the degree, for example, that the decentralization of schools is not contrary and does not create for itself problems

in other areas, and does not, in fact, entrench other forms of discrimination and segregation, to that degree it is good. To the degree that it creates any of these problems, it is bad. Therefore, we must not examine any problem in isolation. The problems have to be examined as a whole.

Secondly, a Moynihan Report could have been written about the Irish in 1910. A Moynihan Report could have been written about the Italians in 1900. But there was no Moynihan Report about them. And that is because the nature of American society made it possible for those who had only sheer muscle power to sell that muscle power and make it.

The Europeans who came here were gravely disadvantaged. They could not speak the language. They did not know the culture. We never called them disadvantaged. Yet we call a Negro out of Mississippi who speaks the language and knows the culture disadvantaged.

The disadvantage is in the socioeconomic situation. And that is why the "advantaged" Negro from Mississippi is called "disadvantaged": because the society will not buy his muscle power--the only thing he has to sell--whereas at the turn of the century it bought the muscle power of crude, uneducated, illiterates who came from Europe.

Therefore, we must see some of our problems in that context as we work as arduously as we can on a thousand different fronts. That is why this conference is important.

A woman said to me this morning, "Mr. Rustin, I have just come to another conference and I am so tired I am not even going to stay to hear you speak." She said, "Nothing is happening here." So I said to her, "You mean to tell me that all of these people here from all these situations who are trying hard in their local communities and you haven't talked with them?"

So it seems to me that if people do not get anything out of this conference, it is their own fault. I look over this conference and I see people I know from city to city, with whom I would love to sit down and find out what are they doing and how they are doing it. That is the fundamental purpose of a conference, for the exchange of ideas and for intellectual confrontation.

Now, as we labor over the school problem, we must see that certain economic measures are also being fought for which affect the school. Now, I want everyone to know that I am for Headstart. I am for Job Corps. I am for whatever the War on Poverty has to offer us now. It is too little. But each of us must not join the Birchites and the Eastlands in our criticism of it so that we help them kill it off. We have to say, "We are for it and we need more of it."

But having said that, I have to make a basic criticism here, related to schools. Once the reality was this: as the heads of Italian and Irish families were permitted to get economic security, all of the problems in their community--

crime, illegitimacy, break up of family, etcetera--fell. There is a direct relationship between the existence of certain problems and whether the head of the family has economic independence.

Now, if you will examine what we have done in the War on Poverty, you will see that it completely ignores the heads of families and diverts our attention to children. So that, having had Headstart, the child still comes to the same broken home. Having had Job Corps, the boy still comes home to a father he cannot respect because he is not economically responsible. Having had welfare, the men are scattered from their homes in the interest of the family.

Therefore, along with our interest in education, we must provide measures that make it possible for heads of families to find economic independence. These measures must include a $2 minimum wage, public works, redefinition of work, paying youngsters to go to school. Who really believes that Negro dropouts are going to be encouraged to go back to school simply because you pat them on the back and say they ought to be educated? We need to redefine that study is work and to pay these youngsters a tuition and a salary for returning to school.

This brings me, therefore, to CDGM, which, if we do not get these poverty funds, will be destroyed. CDGM is not something ordinary. It is something extraordinary. It is pointing towards a new form of education in this country in

which the parents themselves are involved in the education of their children and the creating of community responsibility. And it is also related to the question of who is going to vote.

And if that symbol is lost, my friends, then the same despair which has gripped our northern cities will begin to grip the south because that program is what people in the south hang their hopes upon.

In addition, we need to see that the nature of the problem we face is political. Now, I do not want to be misunderstood. I am for all the things that people are doing at the local level. But if this problem is not seen as a national problem, nothing which is done at the local level can succeed.

In New York City, we are now going to reorganize the school system. There are going to be 30 to 60 school districts instead of one. I talked with the leaders who had prepared that report, and I said to them, "Gentlemen, the report has a lot of holes in it which need to be fixed up. I don't want to fight it, but I want to fight to improve it. But the first question I want to ask is this: Why give local Negroes the power to design their own school system and no money with which to operate it?"

All that is going to do is to create more despair wherein the ordinary Negro people will turn on their own representatives and say, "Well, things have gotten worse since you, my black brother, took over."

Now, what the Mexican-Americans, the Puerto Ricans, the Negroes in this community face are not--and I hope I will not be misunderstood--are not basically "Negro" problems. We face fundamental contradictions in this society which are brutalizing to whomever is poor.

When, yesterday, the Senate voted to keep old people from having pills and medicine which they need, that was not an exclusive conspiracy against black people. That was a conspiracy against the poor. And that is the fundamental fact which we must face. Sixty-seven percent of the people in this country who are poor are not black.

(Now, that is not to say that blacks and Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans are not the most grievously poor--for they are).

But if we want to get from Congress the amount of money necessary to put men back to work, to improve our school system, and to destroy slums, that is a political job and must be achieved politically. After all the demonstrations have come and gone, you still have to go to get Congress to vote the money. There is not a single city in this nation which has the money to put the poor back to work or to tear down slums and replace them, nor to build a decent school system. Therefore, you must build politically to go to Congress to do that.

Now, if it is necessary to engage in political action, then it is necessary to have coalitions and alliances.

Because no piecemeal approach is good, and as long as we are getting a little bit of money here and a little bit of money there for a tiny little project here and another one there, what will ultimately happen is that you will not build strong forces to go to Congress.

This little bit of money, too late, is going to rip the natural alliances apart, as it has done in South Bronx, where the money is so little that instead of Negroes and Puerto Ricans cooperating, they are fighting each other as to who is going to get the most of it. That is a very serious trend developing, and it must be broken.

Now, I want to say a word, first of all, about who it is we have to be in alliance with. But before I say that, I want to say something about the problems of alliances. In politics, alliances are not built on affection. And everybody who has watched the career of Adam Clayton Powell as he rose, ought to know that. Alliances must be built exclusively on mutual interests at the moment.

Therefore, we as a minority people have to become politically mature. We can't go around any more saying, "Well, look, George Meany said that yesterday. Damn the labor movement." Or, "Al Shankler made a speech I didn't like. The hell with the teachers." Or, "The liberals are not taking a position we think they ought to take in Vietnam. We can't trust them."

What you have to do is to say, "At the moment, do these

people want to work for the same thing I want to work for?" That may be Monday morning. They work with you Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. On Thursday they may have a different interest. So they say, "I am sorry, I can't go now," and the only thing you ought to do is say "bye, bye, I will see you Friday."

But you cannot act immature as if the period we are now in, which is one of politics, lends itself to our acting the way we did from '55 to '65 which was a period of moral concern.

In the Constitution it was written that Negroes ought to have the right to vote. In the Constitution it was written that all people ought to be able to use public accommodations. Therefore, for 10 years we got bogged down in issues of total principle: "You are with me or you are against me." And we were not wrong. In that period we ought to have been against anybody who wasn't going to stand up for our principle.

But now when you come to the question of how you get money for schools, housing, and jobs, you will discover that you are going to have friends who may not have supported you on Friday, but who will need, and who will be glad, to support you again on Monday.

If you look at it from our point of view, that is exactly what we are going to do. We are going to support other elements in the community when it is to our advantage to support them, and when it isn't to our advantage to support

them we too are going to say, "bye, bye."

Now, having said that, let me point out who the groups are that I think, in the field of education, we have to be associated with.

First of all, other minority groups. All minority groups have to have a common cause, though their problems may differ. There are progressive forces in the labor movement which we have to be in alliance with. And there are teacher's groups that we have to be in coalition with: not that we have to agree with everything the teacher's unions believe at a given moment, but because we are also wise in our own interest, not exclusively in the interest of the teachers.

The establishment's fundamental objective is to separate the power of the teachers from the power of the minority groups. And we often fall for it--when our objective ought to be to see that those two groups stand together and make progress together.

In fact, I helped the Rev. Milton Galamison lead the biggest boycott in the country. I marched across the bridge to the Board of Education in Brooklyn, and after all that, the Board was still behaving in its old way.

One of the chief reasons we must be in alliance with the teachers' groups--despite the fact that they sometimes are in error, despite the fact that some teachers are

incompetent and should have been gone years ago, despite the fact that there will be political differences--is that many of the educational needs of the ghetto children will have to be negotiated into teachers' contracts.

Now, I want to say a word about the youth. We must also find means by which the very youths who are in the schools can become vital to this movement. While we engage in politics because we can vote, we ought to encourage them to engage in direct actions because they cannot vote, and to keep the pressure up.

And that is why it grieves me deeply to hear about what occurred in Philadelphia, where there was a brutalization of young Negroes who were only peacefully demonstrating. Are we going to stand up for the defense of our youth when they are non-violently demonstrating? Or are we going to drive them by our indifference into throwing bombs and burning up our cities? For that is the choice for these young people, black youngsters will no longer stand mute.

I remember when I was young my grandmother used to say to me, "You are going downtown. Be careful if a white woman stops you and asks you the time, just keep on going because she is only going to make trouble for you. If the police stop you, even if you are wrong, say, 'I am sorry, mister, I am wrong,' and run home, because they are only going to brutalize you. Just stay away from them." Well, grandmothers aren't giving that kind of instruction any more. And if they happen to be, I can assure you kids are not listening.

Now, I want to make one thing clear. We must not get diverted into a discussion of tactics. There is no one tactic. There is one principle. What we must fight for, regardless of strategy and tactic we use, is quality education for all of America's children, regardless of their color.

We are not going to get backed up into some corner where Mexican-Americans are working for themselves, the Puerto Ricans for themselves, and the Negroes for themselves. We are all for quality. We have got to stop the debate as to who is for integration and who is for quality. You are for quality first, and for that degree of integration which is possible within that context. We all want one thing: children who can read and write and do arithmetic.

We must accept the problem, we must accept the concept of pluralism. For this concept is the cutting edge of American culture. While the Mexican-Americans, the Puerto Ricans, the Cubans, the Negroes and everybody else have their own peculiar contributions to make, and must make them, they must make it within the context of contributing to American culture, and not running away from it.

I think we need to appreciate the problems of the Spanish-speaking Americans. For all of those who are black, if you think we have problems, their problems are really greater. And we ought to understand this, since we are going to have to work with and for them, as well as for ourselves.

The language problem, we don't have that. Here are many Spanish-American families with children up to the age of 5 or 6 speak nothing but Spanish and all of a sudden a traumatic experience, they are thrown into a school with a language they don't know.

Furthermore, there are deep and beautiful cultural differences that the Latin Americans hold dear, just as we hold dear some of our concepts. But our concepts are within the American tradition of culture, and many of theirs are not. That means their problem is a greater one.

Not only that, we should be in closest contact with the Spanish-Americans because they bring special contributions from their history in Cuba, Puerto Rico and Mexico which are not within our experience. The revolutions of Cuba, of Mexico and of Puerto Rico have given these people a quiet patience and understanding of the revolutionary process, which we need to share. They have a long tradition of revolutionary action against injustice. And we need that.

On the other hand, whites must face this fact, that there has got to be a re-ordering of relationships in the interest of forming an effective coalition if we are to get anywhere. Whites certainly have to help everybody. But they cannot help on the old basis, for there must now be in the Negro community--there will be no peace there otherwise--a feeling on the part of the Negroes that, while they want

housing, schools, and jobs, there is something else they want even more, and that is the right to help in making decisions as they affect their community.

Now, if the whites have something to learn, Negroes have something to learn, and I learned it last night in a two-hour discussion. Minorities must see that, while they have frustrations and anger--and they are justified--the white community also has its anxieties and fears. That cycle has to be broken. There is only one way to break it, and that is not to say, "Whitey, roll over and get out of my way," but to say, "Come in as a mutually accepted partner, with none of the privileges of the past, to work."

Negroes have got to see something, and that is, as far as the Spanish-speaking people at this conference are concerned, we Negroes are a part of the establishment. We have important Negroes in every department of government. Many of them are making high salaries. Many of them, for good or ill, affect policy. If you don't know it, we are in the establishment, not very far in, but we are in.

And they (the Spanish-speaking Americans) are not in the establishment to the same degree. Therefore, if we are going to build real forces, we have to understand that, even though we may think from our own point of view that we haven't begun to make it, from the point of view of others we have made it infinitely more than they have.

Now, I come to the problem of the dynamics of social change. I don't want to take anything away from Dr. King,

or Roy Wilkins, or the beloved A. Philip Randolph, or any other Negro leader. But we have got to face a fact: the minority groups have never built a positive program in this nation, because we didn't have to.

If you take the 10 years from '55 to '65, what was the dynamism that drew black people together, and what was the dynamism that drew many other minorities and whites into that movement? I maintain it was not Dr. King. Dr. King was mainly a reactor. The dynamism was southern brutality. It was the dogs and the fire hoses and the bombing of the churches which made us one, and which made other people one with us. We are not going to have it on that scale again. Therefore, now we have to create a inner-dynamic for social change which does not rely for its energy on violence from outside.

Now, having said this, I think we have to see that in the field of education we have some very good and optimistic things which we need to examine. First of all, all over the country models are emerging. There is experimentation taking place--and experimentation involves the possibility of failure. That is what the experiment means. You fail and fail and fail until you succeed. In this period of experimentation, many of the models you are working on are going to fail. That is good, because you don't want the wrong thing to look as if it is succeeding. You keep trying till you come up with what works.

Some of these models are beginning to work. Second of all, as our professor from Howard can tell us, we have not yet begun to utilize the law in the manner in which we should, for there are books there saying we should have A, B, C and D, and we haven't got it yet.

But we are beginning to get some support under law, and I believe that the legal arm of this movement is to be congratulated for the work it is doing to expose these factors.

Thirdly, the federal government can be made to require the states to comply with guidelines. In support of this, we ought to bring great pressure at the national level.

If you looked at Newsweek recently you saw that for the first time something has begun to happen. They knew that pressure of the minority communities meant they had to change their line now. They could no longer say, "Well, here is our objective." They have to say, "Things must be done now and here is what we think they are."

I think we have to be encouraged by the fact that backlash can be controlled. The election in Boston should have been heartening to everybody. Because on the one hand Mrs. Hicks was beaten, and on the other hand, Carl Stokes and Richard Hatcher demonstrated the notion that there is going to have to be a reorganization in the way we all think in terms of political power.

And I want to point out three things about the Hatcher election which are important. Number one, it proves that the organization of black power itself is not enough, that that black power must then be organized with minority power and with white power. Stokes would not have been elected without 20 percent of his votes coming from white people.

Number two, where black men and minority people were running, the issues had to do with social and economic policy. Where black men were not running and where many rightwingers took over--as they did in Jersey--the issues were not social and economic change. They were, "What do you think of Johnson and the war?" They were, "Are you for Negroes staying out of our schools?" etc.

Number three, the Hatcher-Stokes elections had also to do with the question as to whether or not, having now achieved some power--just as the Montgomery bus protest catapulted a revolution in protest all over the country--whether these elections will encourage minorty groups of all kinds to catapult themselves into political action.

Let me say a word about participation of the common and ordinary people. Nothing can happen that is good unless these people are involved. But nothing can happen that is good if we are unclear as to what the involvement of the masses ought to be.

Ultimately, in a democracy where you have to go to Congress to achieve the first step, the political involvement of the poor must be a political act. And it is not the fault of white people that only 30 to 35 percent of the Negroes in our ghettoes are registered and vote. We have a job to do there. It is an internal job. And we had better face it. Because it is through pressure on political parties, work within political parties, and demonstrations to call attention to the evils that something can happen.

Therefore, I hope that we will not get bogged down in our struggle--whether it is for education, housing or jobs--in the business of separation, but rather inclusion; alliances around concrete issues directed to the Congress of the United States and to the President of the United States. Because when the contradictions surrounding jobs, housing and schools are to be resolved, Congress is not enough. No period of social change in this nation has brought about creative ideas unless the President of the United States was committed to those ideas and willing to put up a fight for those ideas. And, therefore, the concentration must also be on the President.

In conclusion, my friends, let me tell you a story. A visitor goes to get his shoes shined in Wilmington, Delaware. He asks how much it is. The shoeshine man says, "A dime." The visitor gives him 15 cents. The shoeshine

man gave him 5 cents back. The visitor returns the 5 cents and said to the shoeshine man, "You can have it." He looked down and there was a box on the ground, a cigar box wrapped up with string, with a hole in the top. On the top of the box a piece of paper was posted marked, "Gladys."

The visitor said to the shoeshine man, "That is strange. I never saw a shoeshine man with a box like that. What is it for?"

"Well, I will tell you," the shoeshine man said, "This dime for shining your shoes goes in my pocket and that is what the family lives on. This 5 cent tip you gave me goes into the box for Gladys." So the visitor said, "For what?"

"Well," the shoeshine man says again, "I will tell you, me and my wife decided that we were going to put all the tip money in this box, because our granddaughter Gladys who doesn't have a father, one day is going to have to go to college and that money is going to send her."

The visitor took a dollar out of his pocket and tried to put it in the box, but the old man put his hand over the box and said, "No, sir, you gave me my tip. And we are going to send Gladys to college on money that we earn."

I beg you all, do not let Gladys down.

★ U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1968 O—296-941