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ABSTRACT

This report on an Institute for school administrators in Buffalo, New York, focuses on the problems of urban school administration. The Institute was held during the summer of 1967 at the State University of New York at Buffalo. The State University, the Buffalo Public Schools, and several suburban schools came together in order to enhance the quality and creative potential of educators, and to exchange ideas on the problems of urban schools. The Institute was planned around the perceived needs of administrators in the public school system. Consultants and lecturers delivered speeches and conducted seminars on urban education. This report includes the text of all major speeches given during the summer Institute; the topics include: the evolution of the urban community; racial isolation and its implications for the schools; discussion of proposals for change; and, recommendations in particular for Buffalo. Evaluations of the Institute are included in appendixes. Both evaluation reports indicate that the Institute met the needs of the participants; that their expectations had been fulfilled; and, that they desired to attend another institute. The overall quality of the speakers and discussion leaders was considered good. Suggestions for improving future institutes of this kind are given. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document.] (Author/JW)

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**TITLE: THE UNIQUE PROBLEMS OF URBAN SCHOOL
ADMINISTRATION**

An institute for school administrators of the Buffalo Public
Schools and several suburban school districts

AUTHORS OF REPORT: Troy V. Mc Kelvey
Austin D. Swanson

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CO-DIRECTORS: Troy V. Mc Kelvey, Ed. D.,
Assistant Professor of Education,
Faculty of Educational Studies,
State University of New York at Buffalo

Austin D. Swanson, Ed. D.,
Associate Professor of Education,
Faculty of Educational Studies,
State University of New York at Buffalo

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The Co-directors of the Institute On Unique Problems of Urban School Administration are grateful to many persons and organizations which contributed to the success of the Institute.

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Frank Ambrosie coordinated the Institute organization. Susan Kuraszkievicz coordinated all the secretarial and clerical tasks involved in planning and conducting the Institute and in preparing the necessary reports. Harold Hefke edited the tapes of the oral presentations of the special consultants and translated them into written form.

The University's Public Relations Office served as liaison between the Institute and the mass media, thereby placing the thinking generated by the Institute before the public at large. Every Institute general session was covered by both major metropolitan dailies. Several of the sessions were covered by one or more of the three commercial television stations serving the metropolitan area.

We wish to express our appreciation to the school districts which helped plan the Institute and sent representatives to it. These include Buffalo, Niagara Falls, Kenmore, Clarence, Williamsville, Lackawanna, and the Diocese of Buffalo. A special word of thanks is in order for Dr. Joseph Manch, Superintendent, Buffalo Public Schools, Frank J. Dressler, Associate Superintendent, and William Fairlie, Director of Curriculum Evaluation and Development, for their encouragement and contributions in the planning stage of the Institute.

Finally, we wish to commend the participants for the wholesome attitude with which they approached their task. Similar commendation is deserved by the seminar leaders and the special consultants. In the last analysis, it was the response of these people which permitted the Institute objectives to be realized.

Buffalo, New York

December 31, 1967

Troy V. Mc Kelvey

Austin D. Swanson

Co-directors,
Institute On Unique Problems of
Urban School Administration

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INTRODUCTION

The Problem

A great challenge to education in urban centers today is the urgent need for equalization of educational opportunity through the racial and ethnic integration of school enrollments. To meet this challenge, more financial and human resources need to be directed toward increasing and improving knowledge and understanding of the school desegregation problem. Administrators and supervisors of school systems composing a metropolitan area, as well as university personnel who train the professional staffs of these schools, need to understand the effects of the desegregation problem on urban school administration.

Combining the human resources of a large city school system, surrounding school districts, and a major university could make a significant impact upon problems now facing urban school administrators. The State University of New York at Buffalo, the Buffalo Public Schools, and several suburban public school systems joined together to plan and present an institute which would focus on the identification and solution of the unique problems of school administration in the area. The objectives of the Institute were:

- (1) To enhance the quality and the potential for creativeness of the educational leadership in the Buffalo metropolitan area through an extensive study of the nature of urban educational problems - particularly problems incident to school desegregation, social integration and the equality of educational opportunity.

- (2) To provide two-way communication between the educational leaders in the Buffalo metropolitan area and the faculty of the State University of New York at Buffalo regarding the problems of the urban school in this region and the application of constructive recent thinking to the solution of urban educational problems.

Planning

The Institute was planned around the perceived needs of the administrative staff of the major participating school system. The Buffalo Superintendent of Schools and the Dean of the School of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo, appointed a representative planning committee to discuss with and to collect from the Buffalo administrative staff their perceived needs regarding problem areas incident to school desegregation and the realization of equal educational opportunities. The following were appointed to the Institute Planning Committee:

Samuel N. Block - Principal, Elmwood Elementary School,
Buffalo Public Schools

Warren Button - Associate Professor of Education, State
University of New York at Buffalo

William Fairlie - Director of Curriculum Evaluation and
Development, Buffalo Public Schools

R. Oliver Gibson - Professor of Education, State University
of New York at Buffalo

Frank B. Mesiah - Director, Audio-Visual Coordinator,
Buffalo Public Schools

Troy V. McKelvey - Assistant Professor of Education, State
University of New York at Buffalo

Paul J. Parinello - Principal, Clinton Junior High School,
Buffalo Public Schools

Austin D. Swanson - Associate Professor of Education,
State University of New York at Buffalo

Evelyn K. Ward - Principal, School 68, Buffalo Public Schools

The Institute Planning Committee surveyed the administrative staff of the Buffalo Public Schools to assess the needs of prospective participants. The administrative staff, including all levels of administration and supervision, were asked to suggest areas of need which they felt should be considered as major topics for an institute on urban school administration. The survey instrument also assessed interest in attending such an institute. The results of the survey were forwarded to the State University of New York at Buffalo for tabulation.

The ten most frequently mentioned problem areas were as follows:

<u>Problem</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
1. Improving school-community relations by providing parents understanding of the school program.	55
2. Recruiting qualified staff	46
3. Racial integration	37
4. In-service programs for teachers	36
5. General revision and improvement of curriculum	33
6. Adapting the curriculum to the culturally disadvantaged in the core areas	28
7. Training teachers for the core area schools	27
8. Retaining qualified experienced teachers	25
9. Improving school-community communications	23

10. Staffing the difficult core area schools with
teachers and counselors

20

The three most frequently mentioned problem areas were curriculum, teachers and staffing, and school-community relations. Areas of need mentioned most frequently by administrative level were:

Elementary - Improving parental understanding of the school
program

Secondary - School-community relations

Central Office - Recruiting qualified staff

The survey data on perceived needs of urban administrators formed the basis for the selection of a special consultant and the topic for each day of the Institute. The special consultants were:

1. Paul N. Ylvisaker, Commissioner, Department of Community Affairs, State of New Jersey
Topic: Urban Growth and Educational Change
2. David K. Cohen, Director of the Race and Education Study, United States Commission on Civil Rights
Topic: School Segregation and Desegregation: Some Misconceptions
3. Frank J. Dressler, Associate Superintendent, Buffalo Public Schools
Topic: The Urban School System of Tomorrow
4. Samuel Shepard, Jr., Assistant Superintendent, St. Louis Public Schools
Topic: Instructional Planning in Urban Settings

5. Saul Alinsky, Director of the Industrial Areas Foundation

Topic: Organizing Low-Income Neighborhoods for Political Action

6. Warren Bennis, Provost of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Administration, State University of New York at Buffalo

Topic: Communication Problems in Large Organizations

7. Panel:

Father Kenneth Curry, Pastor, St. Phillips Episcopal Church, Buffalo, New York

Leeland N. Jones, Jr., Task Force Leader, Project O.A.R. State University Urban Center, Buffalo, New York

John McGrew, Deputy Director, Community Action Organization, Erie County, New York

Geneva Scruggs, Director, John F. Kennedy Recreation Center, Buffalo, New York

Topic: The Negro Community: Educational Expectations and Aspirations

8. Charles E. Stewart, Director of Teacher Education, Detroit Public Schools

Topic: School-Community Relations in Large Cities

9. R. Oliver Gibson, Professor of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo

Topic: Recruitment and Retention of Personnel in Urban School Systems

10. Mario D. Fantini, Program Director, The Ford Foundation

Topic: Internal Action Program for the Solution of Urban Educational Problems

The Morning Sessions

The typical Institute day was divided into two segments, each serving a discrete function. Throughout the Institute period, August 7 to August 18, 1967, the morning sessions ran from 9:00 A. M. to 12:00 noon consisting of a large group experience with a major paper presented by a recognized authority. The following is representative of a typical schedule

- 9:00 - 10:00 A. M. - Large group presentation - Paper given on topic for the day by special consultant.
- 10:00 - 10:30 A. M. - Coffee break - Opportunity for informal reflection and interaction concerning the large group presentation.
- 10:30 - 11:45 A. M. - General session - Large discussion session with special consultant responding to prepared questions and extemporaneous inquiries in order to further understanding of the topic.

The Afternoon Sessions

The Planning Committee, on the basis of the survey of needs, selected five major seminar topics to become the focus of the special seminars which met during the afternoon sessions, 1:00 to 3:00 P. M. . Each seminar consisted of 15 participants. Members of a seminar remained with the same group, exploring one topic for the entire two weeks. The following topics were the focus of seminar consideration under the indicated leadership:

1. School System Communication: Horizontal and Vertical
Warren Button, Associate Professor of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo

2. School-Community Relations
Gordon Edwards, Director of Urban Affairs, State University of New York at Buffalo
3. Recruitment and Retention of Qualified Staff for City Schools
R. Oliver Gibson, Professor of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo
4. Instructional Planning
Robert W. Heller, Associate Professor of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo
5. Pre- and In-Service Education for Core Area Teachers
Chester Kiser, Associate Professor of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo

The structure of the afternoon seminars was flexible, affording the participants opportunities to benefit from the contributions of several consultants during the Institute.

The Participants

The participants of the Institute were selected from the administrative staffs of the Buffalo Public School System and selected large school systems which are a part of the greater Buffalo metropolitan area. Typical positions held by the participants were central office administrator or supervisor, principal, and assistant principal; also included were identified future administrative personnel who appeared on the school districts' eligibility lists. Thus, the participants were local educational leaders who could collectively and individually contribute to the solution of urban educational problems. See Appendix D for list of participants.

The Institute program was sent in advance to the administrative staffs of all participating school districts. Chief school administrators were encouraged to recommend personnel who could benefit from the Institute, and who as a result

of attendance would further serve the school district in a leadership role. Administrative personnel could also initiate application through their central administrative offices or through the Department of Educational Administration, School of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo.

Evaluation

The Institute was evaluated independently by evaluators appointed by the University and by the Buffalo Public School System. Their reports and questionnaires are included in Appendices B and C. Sixty-eight percent of the participants returned the University questionnaire; 62% returned the Buffalo questionnaire.

Both reports indicate that the Institute met the needs of the participants; that their expectations had been fulfilled; and that they (95.5%) desired to attend another institute. The overall quality of the speakers and discussion leaders was good. The composite of all speaker ratings was 4.4 out of a possible 5. The composite for seminar leaders was 4.0. In meeting the two Institute objectives (stated above), the participants gave a 4.3 rating.

Suggestions for improving future institutes included:

Top area school administrators and board members should be closer involved with the institute and attend all discussion sessions.

Discussion groups should be restructured to permit rotation of discussion leaders and more time with guest speakers.

General sessions question-answer periods should either be shortened or postponed until later in the day following the seminar sessions.

Discussion leaders should provide greater structure and organization, greater utilization of written materials (e. g. bibliography),

and show a greater awareness of local school problems.

The Buffalo evaluation report concludes:

Another institute, for a longer period in the summer seems justified. An emphasis on formal presentations followed by discussions between small groups of participants and the lecturer seems to be a reasonable procedure which would follow the respondents' suggestions.

Recommendations

It is evident from the Institute evaluations that at least a portion of school administrators in the Buffalo metropolitan area are concerned enough about the problems their schools face to listen, to talk, and to take of their own time to do so. It also became clear that lack of horizontal communication was a major barrier to the development and implementation of new ideas within and among school districts of the area. The Institute provided a means for relaxed and free discussion among peers in a nonauthoritarian setting. This could well have been the major benefit of this Institute. It would be a shame if some means for continuing this horizontal communication could not be developed to supplement the traditional center-oriented communication system.

The University should continue to offer workshops which are planned jointly with surrounding urban school districts. It would be preferable if these were offered the year round using a less intensive format than was used in this Institute. They should be smaller in size, problem oriented, and less reliant upon the outside experts. This was a power Institute as the topics and the guest consultants indicate. It was the opinion of the planners that such a tactic was necessary to initiate joint urban-suburban-university endeavors to cope with mutual educational problems. Now that it has been shown that this can be a

workable approach, future institutes should continue to remain cognizant of new knowledge and national progress in this problem area but increase and intensify the use of local leadership.

PART I

THE EVOLUTION OF THE URBAN COMMUNITY -
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SCHOOLS

URBAN GROWTH AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

by Dr. Paul N. Ylvisaker
Commissioner, Department of Community Affairs, State of New Jersey

Every institution in the United States is now under threat. Every guild, every profession is undergoing crisis. This includes everything from the Boy Scouts to the church, from the lawyers to the doctors to the labor leaders, government personnel, and educators. A vast number of signals are coming in at us that we still cannot quite interpret. There is a tremendous temptation underneath this shower of signals to begin relapsing into routine types of responses using the conventional wisdom of the guild. The responses are resulting in a form of retreatism.

Our society is entering a period that requires a resurgence of what you might call law and order and security. But it requires simultaneously, a relinquishing of much of what has been authoritarian which our younger generation is rebelling against. There is some propriety in this revolution and there are some improprieties. There are some reckless qualities and there are some very courageous qualities. Above all there are energetic qualities which I think this country must use.

The activity within society today can be compared to the activity within an atomic pile. What we have done literally is to crack the social atom. These social atoms are small scale organizations with fixed membership, in which an individual knows his place -- such as in the village or extended family. One can go to the villages outside Mexico City and still see where generations have lived

through hundreds of years with no change in status or position. A kind of stasis exists in these villages that the Japanese perfected in their medieval era and which the Greeks tried to perfect thousands of years ago. One can see the breaking up of these social atoms as the highway comes out to the villages from Mexico City. The same thing happened when the cheap airline fare went to Puerto Rico. A similar reaction occurred when our railroads, buslines, and then our super highways, dipped into the migrant pools of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, and Appalachians within the United States. You can see what happens when a rural family is touched by that line of intrusion; the atom gets split. When the individual from that static society moves into Mexico City, New York City, Akron, Buffalo, or Chicago, he moves into what we call the urban setting. He moves into the atomic pile where the high energy forces begin to break up the fixed patterns in which he has lived. Urbanization and industrialization are really nothing more than individualization. The individual is pulled from his fixed atom. This process is accompanied by the release of a tremendous amount of energy.

Unfortunately, I would argue that what we have done in our cities, our atomic piles, is to forget to put in the lead rods. As a matter of fact, we don't know what the social equivalents to the lead rods are, nor do we know how to adjust them. As a result, we're getting atomic piles that are going out of control. A tremendous amount of social energy is being dissipated into the heat of social conflict. It is this loss of human power that is the social failure of our twentieth century. That power must be expressed positively. It has been liberated, but if we don't control it with some device like lead rods in the

atomic pile we'd better watch out because this uncontrolled, undirected energy can destroy. This is the situation in the ghetto in the United States today - fantastic energies, bottled-up, and exploding. The challenge for all of us, especially those of us in education, is to recognize that a chain reaction is taking place; to give it shape, to give it direction, and to harness this fantastic power which has been released by urbanization and individualization.

My generation, and the one before me, and the one after me, are milling up behind a dam of understanding. There's another society just beyond where we are. I'm not sure what that society is, but we can hear sounds over the dam, the splashing of new currents. We're beginning to sense its dimensions, beginning to grope for a feeling of its nature.

The most impressive portion of General Marshall's 1947 speech at Harvard, where he gave expression to the Marshall Plan, occurred in the middle of that talk when the General stopped, took off his glasses, looked at the audience, and in the only unprepared part of that address, said, "You know, our problems these days are so incredibly complex that a man of any integrity must bow down to God when he tries to deal with them." There was a hush. He put his glasses on and went back to his text. But it was that pause that gave me the clue to the Marshall era. It is that pause that I sense when I talk to any head of any institution now groping. The kids coming after us sense it. They sense it in many ways. They listen for the phonies. They're not going to fall for the illusion that somebody is the Wizard of Oz with the power or wisdom to correct and solve all of our problems.

You see it in the local setting when a Mexican-American family comes across the border into East Los Angeles, the father literally broken in his life, not knowing the answer to the city. The village truths don't seem to apply. New truths or half-truths seem to be the rule of the day. The only structure for the younger generation in that family seems to be the peer group which acts with the reckless confidence of youth. These kids begin on the family, the teacher, the police, the mayor, the governor, the president, the heads of institutions. They begin groping, as they've been taught to do in this Dr. Spock generation. This is a questioning generation, precocious in its perceptions. It has learned through every pore and by every sense, in front of television, which has been used as a baby sitting device since age two, three, and four. It has learned about uncertainty by watching Churchill, DeGaulle, and Kennedy, struggling with problems beyond even their capacities. This generation is now beginning to smack up behind us, against this wall of uncertainty.

I have a feeling that education should give expression to this uncertainty, make it creative, and invite these kids to the search for answers. We need that energy to help us break through the dam that's keeping us from a comprehension of the next society we're going to deal with. It's been interesting and challenging to me to use my job in New Jersey as I used my job with the Ford Foundation ~~to~~ to teach. Somehow I have the feeling there is not enough in the repository of human knowledge on current problems to go through the process of conventional education with its routine, its imagery and its symbolism, term after term. The job is not to communicate what we now know, but to add by the creative search and to extend the invitation to this

generation to join the search. I have noticed the response of this generation.

The energy of these young kids working with me on the job reaps tremendous returns in the face of towering responsibilities. I think that the apprenticeship may be coming back into vogue as an educational device when attached (and I'm not going to plead that I am one) to some of the master teachers out there on the job.

If a bomb dropped on Princeton destroying its immediate environs, you could find equally as good a faculty in the adjacent perimeter. If you in turn bombed that area, you could go out in the next mile of the radius, and in that outer sector find equally as good a faculty. You find these teachers in surprising places; the obvious ones are the electronic laboratories. You find them also at a very grubby level in very unexpected places. You find people who have had to survive twenty to thirty years of living with things not completely comprehended or completely taught. But they have had the capacity to learn and therefore gladly teach. We've missed something because we've been teaching more and more from the top of society. We've missed realizing that those lower on the totem pole can also teach.

Let me go back again to another realm of the setting that we deal with. I'd like to stretch your minds. I'd like to take you up on a mountain of historical perspective, to look as Toynbee would look at the unfolding of America and the world during the next thirty year period. Brace yourself because it's not going to be an optimistic presentation.

We are now three billion people with an average income of \$477.00. That means that a person of average income is considerably poorer than one

would find in the American ghetto today. In the next 30 years there will be another three billion people in the world with an average income projected at \$500.00 per capita. This may give you an idea of the kind of world we are going to be walking into. A world highly competitive for its resources, moving incredibly fast. There will be television sets in every community. You will not be able to hide the facts of life from any group. All will know immediately what the circumstances of their kinfolk is in every community around the world. These numbers will be living mostly in the crowded metropolitan areas. You will be lucky to be born in something like Hong Kong. You will, on the average, perhaps be born into the circumstances of Calcutta, with literally hundreds of thousands of people sleeping on the streets. The world that faces us is a world of incipient and present poverty and we are an island of affluence in that world. Americans are going to come hard to this feeling of being the French aristocrats of the twentieth century, tied together with the industrial nations of Europe, part of Latin America, some emerging countries, and the Soviet Union. This may sound like a strange coalition, but these nations must themselves make alliances with us to survive as part of the island of affluence in this world of thirty years hence. Situations similar to what is happening in Vietnam will probably light up in other places throughout these thirty years hence. People in poverty will resent the fact that they are outside the industrial system and will want to take their share of it.

The situation inside the island of affluence is precisely the same, though in differing proportions. We now have one sixth of our population, half of what it was thirty years ago, in the same circumstances of feeling on the

outside. They will be joined by a fair percentage of others, who will resent their poverty with increased restlessness as they are pulled out of the bondage of the farm, the small family, the small community by this urban release. What we have seen this summer, I am afraid, is merely a point along a rising curve, unless we do something sizeable and dramatic about it.

Being the affluent minority, we will be forced into two types of responses: 1) a militaristic response to defend what we have; 2) a humanistic response in which we use every measure at our disposal to assist and improve the conditions of the have-nots. The temptation to use the militaristic approach is very great.

I was on riot duty in New Jersey. I saw what happens in the escalation of security response. The beginning incident, rightly or wrongly, explodes the tinder and the tinder spreads past the capacity of the local police to control it. The state police are called in, then the national guard, and in the case of Detroit, the Federal troops. Escalation by one group produces a similar response by the other group. We were lucky in New Jersey to be able to de-escalate fairly quickly. I will not debate at this point whether we were slow or fast in turning the curve.

A very important thing happened to us during the height of the crisis. Two young men who had gone to complete their education in the ghetto on their own, came to us at night and told us what escalation past this point would do. The rioters were creating an army against us. Each act on our part compounded the numbers of those ready to respond against us. The guerillas and the snipers began increasing. The resentments built up. There was danger

that what had started with a fraction of one percent would spread through the Negro community and then the white community until major fractions of both populations would be at war with each other. To counter this we de-escalated. Normalcy returned, but barely.

The temptation to escalate defensive maneuvers against the threat of disorder is going to characterize our society throughout the next decade. To be able concurrently to remain constructive and humanitarian will strain every fiber of the American tradition of civil liberties. The magnitude of the problem may be better understood if it is put into some statistical terms. The ghetto in the United States is now growing by 500,000 Negroes per year. Merely to keep the ghetto its present size will require the movement of a half-million Negroes into white areas. The present rate is 50,000. If this does not happen, over the next five years a city a year will become predominantly Negro. The rate picks up so that by 1983, twenty to twenty-five of our major central cities will be predominantly Negro. This may be good in one sense, because it would give the American Negro political power for the first time in his own constituency.

But the future for the predominantly Negro urban center is not bright. The politics of transition are not pleasant politics. We can recall historically what happened when the Irish took over Boston and turned it into a kind of Sherwood Forest with Robin Hood and his merry men fleecing every tax payer from the Boston community who wandered through. It took a long time to change. It made for pleasant legendary and very bad civics.

What the Negro is going to inherit in the central city is the deficit area of the American economy. Forty percent of those Negroes will be in poverty. Employment possibilities are dwindling and housing conditions are worsening in the ghetto.

We now stand where President Lincoln stood in 1860. He had to risk the Union to save it. President Johnson now faces precisely this in historical perspective. We face the prospect of a United States divided politically, not North and South, but central cities vs. suburban communities. Will we be able to react to this positively or are we going to continue to duck it and deal by the rule of incrementalism? All 440 Federal grant programs put together, many of which I've helped engineer and defend, are not doing much to change or alter these trends. The magnitudes are of an order beyond present scale. This summer has shown that we face a national problem. Eighty to ninety communities exploding simultaneously in protest. And given the proportions of the problem, even with the most benign and dramatic kind of measures that we can now produce, the situation will get worse before it gets better.

As I look through the pattern of these riots, I get some confusing signals. I saw it as a race war in the ghetto of Plainfield and Newark. Then I saw it as a youthful rebellion and then as a kind of civil breakdown. Then in Detroit, new signals came in: whites and Negroes were looting in concert. Elsewhere, it was a rumble -- not so much between white and black, but between the toughs of both colors. When I saw the disconnected youths within the ghetto, and the disconnected outside the ghetto, I began to wonder whether we were dealing with something more basic than race and disadvantage. There appears to be some

evidence of disconnectedness within elements of the Dr. Spock generation which includes elements of the Vietnam GI returnee. A disconnectedness that goes deep -- so deep that people are "cutting out" from this society. The atomic pile melting, releasing destructive energies.

I also saw something in the middle of the riots that gave me encouragement. It became my lot to go in there 24 hours after the first policeman had been brutally beaten to death and to face hundreds of angry residents of that Negro community. Frankly, I never thought I was going to get out alive, but the very act of going down there without police protection somehow seemed to show some of the disconnected, who were relatively few, that something was different here. Some of them came back to city hall that night, and we began a negotiation that strained the credibility of many in that city -- but a process in which those from the ghetto began to feel listened to and responsible.

I noticed in that setting that the same people, the "disconnected", who were ready to go the route of violence were also ready to work constructively. Now our problem is to harness our ambivalent responses: simultaneously to constrain the tendency toward violence, and to give opportunity to those psychologically outside the system to participate responsibly in it. We can minimize neither the need for law and order nor the need to make certain that the lowest man on the social totem pole feels it is also his law and his order.

What's going to be the response? How can we strike a balance between the defensive and humanistic approach? Are we going to retreat to the suburbs? A recent issue of a national magazine has a long article on the nice places in America left to live. They list all of America that's pleasant and free of racial

problems. You can just see the run on those communities. No doubt many of us are ready to flee further, and to retreat in other ways as well -- leaving the job to the paid bureaucrat, the poverty program, the welfare worker, the teacher -- hoping that by some magic the whole bothersome problem will wash away.

But if we can curb our escapism, we can handle the problem. The necessary ingredients start with national leadership: to tell America what the problem is and to describe its dimensions. To look beyond the improvised approach which says we'll do this and this and this and three gimmicks will get you through the summer. We need a ten to twenty year social strategy. Unless the strategy is there, unless the statement of the problem in these dimensions is there, I fear we're going to panic and waste energy and time on short-run immediate responses. We'll be pushed toward escalating security forces, toward doubling the expenditures in programs that don't necessarily cut the mustard, and into throwing away the poverty program for some reasons that may or may not really be valid.

Certainly to survive this decade, we'll have to go at least to the scale equivalent with our effort in Vietnam, not necessarily in expenditure but in commitment. Newark, Detroit, Jersey City, and all other ghettoed and declining cities of this country should be rebuilt in the next ten to fifteen years on a production schedule, using the resources of the great construction and finance companies. They must be rebuilt by critical path methods which incorporate the demands of adequate relocation. Whatever we do must be done tangibly and by deadline so we do not have the urban renewal promises that lag and end up with benefit to only one sector of the community. It's going to have to be a

participatory kind of operation. We've got to get the disconnected back into feeling they've got a stake in this. We've got to have the cooperation of the 90% who want to be middle-class so that they're sympathies are with the constructive effort, rather than with the destructive effort.

The educator's job is a fantastic one. He's got to come out of his isolation. He can no longer talk in the abstract about non-partisan politics, which in practice has led to partisan education. He has to get into the mix and never make a decision until a cross-section of the community has somehow been contended with; its interests faced; and its people talked to. The process of making decisions is often more important than the decision itself. The school system is also going to have to let itself outside of its walls and its campuses to where the action is. Education more and more is in life, a search for something other than the conventional. Teaching is going on out there. The kids know it and they're going where the teaching is even if it's through their own experience. We're also going to have to deal with some lost sheep. The symbolism of Christ leaving the 99 to go for one is very crucial at this point. We have the disconnected one out of a hundred in American society -- white, young, Negro, poor, affluent. He's sometimes unreachable because of high ability, sometimes unreachable because of low ability. Now is the time when the efforts of education and the educator are going to have to go to that one lost sheep.

We are also going to have to carry some other social burdens. We've recruited our police in this country largely from the immigrant group who made it just before the Negro emigrated to the city. We have expected peace at a

line of confrontation where there is competition and a built-in hostility. It's easy for us in the suburbs to talk about it, but it is rough to live with if you are a part of either competing group.

The church and parochial education have a special responsibility at this stage. Their schools, often in the central cities, can become another form of white escapism. Their small groups and their benevolent societies can easily become places of hate. I speak this candidly because I know the young church. Episcopalian, Lutheran, Jewish, Catholic, the movement in the young church (which includes some older turks as well) is a very encouraging one. This kind of movement on the other side of the line must accompany the movement in the ghetto to reduce tensions and pressures.

I've watched political leaders -- from the White House, to the governor, to the mayor. They are lonely men in lonely places making decisions where civilization hangs on a slender line. The temptation is to unleash force, to curtail humanitarianism. There are going to be many rough moments these coming years -- more than a few political casualties -- a lot of almost impossible jobs left by a society that has consistently swept its problems under the rug. The constructive side of America is really being challenged. I just hope it will respond.

2. ORGANIZING LOW - INCOME NEIGHBORHOODS FOR POLITICAL ACTION

by Mr. Saul Alinsky

Executive Director, Industrial Areas Foundation, Chicago, Illinois

The Industrial Areas Foundation of Chicago, which I represent, is involved in the development of mass organization in low income areas such as the Negro ghetto and low income white communities. During the 50's we worked with the Mexican-Americans on the West Coast and throughout the Southwest. The Back of the Yards Council, which was our first major project about 20 years ago, involved organizing the people in the slums back of the stock yards in Chicago. This area was the nadir of all slums in America. It was worse than Harlem; it was unbelievable. It was the site of Upton Sinclair's The Jungle.

The philosophy behind the mass organization of the Have-Nots involves two premises which are directly involved in life or education. It is difficult for me to draw a dichotomy between life and education. It concerns itself with an understanding of what these large sectors of democratic DP's - dropouts or kickouts of the democratic society - mean for America; the relationship of the poor to us today and to our future. A discussion of education is a discussion of people. Specifically, it involves a revolutionary changing society which can no longer be coped with in the static, segmented philosophy typified by the school buildings currently in use. The same negative outlook is characteristic of the kinds of teaching approaches of the past two or three generations. Massive changes, such as the mobility of the population, the relativity of values, or the use of mass media, cannot be neglected.

The problems faced by our revolutionary fathers have a bearing on the issues concerned with the organization of people in low income areas. Madison, Hamilton, Monroe, Adams, and Franklin had their disagreements but they were extraordinary politically sophisticated men. It would be very difficult to find another band of revolutionaries better read and more versed in political philosophy and basic fundamental questions of life; in short, more politically literate. Jefferson's correspondence, now being published by the Princeton University Press, reveals the torture he experienced as he attempted to determine whether people, or how many people, in fact, are to be or basically desirous of being free men. He felt that some people had not developed to the point where they could accept the price of freedom - the price being not only the ability to make decisions, but also to bear the personal responsibility for the effect of those decisions. This is a problem of very great concern in communities today. People are fearful of accepting responsibility for their decisions. This unwillingness to accept responsibility is especially evident in those communities that approach me to come in and organize. When I tell them that we are short of staff and would prefer to train some of their people to do the job, at a much lower cost to them, the response is always the same. "No thank you, you take the responsibility." If something such as a riot occurs, churches and other groups want to be in a position to turn and say, "If we'd known Alinsky was going to go that far, we never would have had anything to do with him. But we didn't know. It's his fault." This is the basic gesture of mankind, the Pilate hand-washing ritual.

The assumption of responsibility, the price of freedom, is a major

problem in organizing people in low income areas. It is just as much a problem in any other sector of middle or upper class society. The revolutionary fathers were not the kind of idealists who made the mistake common to most people and particularly so in the field of education, that of mixing up two worlds; the world as it is and the world as we would like it to be. In the world as it is, the right things are done almost invariably for the wrong reason. In the world as it is, man acts out of self-interest rather than out of a mystical altruism. In this world, morality is more or less a rationalization of one's position on the power pattern at a particular time. If you're a have-not, you're out to get, and you develop a morality that justifies this. It is then that you appeal to a law higher than man-made law; you've got to, because the establishment made the laws. On the other hand, if you're part of the establishment and your drive is to keep, you subscribe to the morality of responsibility of law and order and education. You don't want change. The point I am trying to make is that the whites in America will suddenly have the divine revelation that segregation, after all, is "Un-Christian", "Un-American" and "Gives aid and comfort to the Communists" when they have moved so far out into the suburbs that it takes them half a day to get to work and a half-day to get back. Then, and on that basis, they will reject segregation, and rationalize and justify a course of action according to the reason just mentioned. The American revolutionary leaders knew the difference between the world as it is and the world as they would like it to be. They knew very well that many of the principles they were enunciating were those to be achieved in the world ahead of us. They had violent disagreements on many points. You may recall from the Federalist papers how they disagreed

over the issue of whether or not the poor and uneducated should have equal political power, the right to vote. There was great concern on the part of Hamilton as to whether or not people who were illiterate or poor should be trusted with a ballot. However, Hamilton was a political realist and knew that in the world as it is one never has a choice of what is best. Choice in all of life is always made in terms of the alternatives which are available. As a democratic realist Hamilton knew he had to agree with Madison and Jay that the votes should be distributed across the board regardless of property and education because to do otherwise would mean the end of the democratic way and the beginning of a life of aristocracy. And so he conceded. But through it all, there was the recognition that in this society you have to keep striving for change in order to ultimately achieve the kind of life which provides equal opportunity for all. These men understood the changing character of life. They knew that as long as people have the opportunity and ability to act they will be able to meet and resolve their problems. They will have it within them to do it. This is the democratic way.

The one thing that would kill the democratic dream would be if a substantial sector of our people were deprived of an opportunity for political action. This is the reason why any student of the future of a free society has to be concerned with its internal character. The problems that currently exist within our society need immediate attention because they threaten our way of life. It is a contradiction to be a segregationist and at the same time be committed to a free society for yourself. However, life itself is a continuum of contradictions. To be committed to a free society and to the future of a free

society, one must of necessity, on a purely political basis, stand completely for integration. This is one of the major ideas behind the organization of B. U. I. L. D. (Build Unity, Independence, Liberty, and Dignity) in Buffalo. Power, and I quote from Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, is "the ability to act". B. U. I. L. D. is organized to create the opportunity to act.

There is another basic reason for organization. Unless a community is organized, there is no way to get representation from that community. Imagine the situation. Suppose our establishment were to wake up some morning and have a revelation. As a result they would say, "You know, everything we've been doing has been wrong. We've been looking down on these ghettos as though we were the big ruling power. We've been doing things for them. We've been sending in colonial representatives in the guise of various kinds of professional people. We've been giving them a little teaching, a little clinic, a little this, a little that. Our churches have sent in missionaries. We put in some settlement houses. Our whole outlook has been what we might call a 'zoo-keeper' mentality. We do these things to keep the animals quiet. We haven't permitted them to choose their representatives. We've always picked those people that we considered to be fit to represent them - people who agree with us." (Up until the last six or seven years, when a mayor of a city decided to appoint someone to represent the Negro community on his commissions, or whatever he created, he always picked a school principal or a minister.)

Suppose our establishment went on to say, "One of the big problems in the Negro ghetto is that the people have never really been able to choose their own representatives. But from now on we're going to stop this whole approach of

colonialism. We're going to stop working for people, which means that we regard the as inferior. We're going to accept them and work with them. We want to meet with their representatives to work out a joint program." Then the establishment would turn to the ghetto and say, "Send us your representatives." Who would they send? If this were to happen under ordinary circumstances, who would represent the Negro community? It becomes impossible to have representatives unless a community is organized. There is a revolutionary difference between making decisions for a community and having a community's own representatives sit down with other sectors of society and start the give and take and the discussion and the bargaining of the democratic process.

This is why B. U. I. L. D. is so important to the Negro community in Buffalo. They will be able to turn to the city and say, "We from this community represent so many people and so many organizations. We are here to talk with you." It is here that you have the necessary physical links to start the communication and the democratic bargaining. Without that it becomes literally impossible. You cannot have the democratic process and you cannot have the democratic involvement of people in the community as long as they are not organized - as long as they do not have representation. If they are not organized they don't have the circumstances from which they can derive legitimate representation. This is the fundamental requirement for the democratic mix.

It is at this point that we begin to see the importance of education. As people start getting organized - as they start getting power - for the first time there is a reason for education. There is a real incentive for them to begin questioning. What this means very simply is that education is really the

development of a passionate curiosity, a questioning of things about you. It causes you to ask the whys. Why is this? Why is that? When an organization turns to city hall and asks, "What do you mean doing this? Why are you doing it?" It has begun to learn. This is one of the fundamental changes that occurs in a community at the time it is being organized.

This idea of the importance of being organized in order to have true representation from the community holds true for the schools as well. Principals or administrators who have ideas about community involvement in the operation of the school must, of necessity, have a method of securing legitimate representation from the community.

One of the biggest hangups we have in the democratic process is that educators who are committed to democracy, just like most other people, may accept intellectually and verbally the democratic ideas in terms of equality, but not accept them emotionally. This goes for a lot of white teachers in Negro schools. We have our hangups inside where it becomes very schizy. We say one thing in terms of our political tradition, but react emotionally to the contrary.

One of the first jobs we have to do in organization is to convince the leaders in the local ghetto communities to have faith in their own people. When they first come together they start their attack on the outside society by saying, "You know what they call our people? They call them stupid slobs. This is what the outside communities really think of our people. They think they're slobs, stupid slobs." At the same time we detect within those local community leaders a lack of faith in their own people. They feel this way because while they are busy meeting, talking about organizations, considering what has to be done to

bring about change, the rest of the people are just sitting around, uninterested. Building confidence between people in the low income community is a basic goal in our organizational strategy.

There is also a feeling of personal incompetency which affects the masses of people in the low income community. When you ask them for instance, what's wrong with the schools, they say, "Anybody can see what's wrong with them. The teachers are no good. They send in crummy teachers, substitute teachers." When we ask them what they would do about it they say, "You change it. Get rid of segregation for one thing. You guys are responsible for this mess to begin with so it's your problem. You figure it out. You change it."

There is a reason for this kind of attitude. When people feel that there is nothing they can do about a problem, that they do not have the power to make any changes, they don't think about it. This goes for any kind of people, in any part of society, and for any kind of problem. As long as you feel that there's nothing you can do about it, why beat your brains out? Why think about it? But as soon as you get the kind of situation where power begins to come into the hands of the people, where for the first time they feel they have an opportunity, a real opportunity to make changes, they begin to ask questions about the schools which are meaningful. What is a good teacher? What is a bad teacher? How do you get good teachers? How do you get rid of bad teachers? Not until these people are in a situation where they feel they can do something about an institution or about a problem is there reason for them to wake up - to get turned on. As they ask these questions, they themselves are well down the road to education. Basically, this is what education is. The person who

leaves college with the curiosity to ask questions has been educated. God help the person who's spent four years memorizing notes from lectures that will enable him to pass the examinations at the end of the term. In a sense, he's spent four years being a portable garbage can.

The process of organization is an educational process. A few weeks ago I spent some time on the Indian reserves in Canada in response to their request to have me assist them organize. They want change. They want to put a stop to the injustices they have been suffering, but they want to retain their own value structure. They argued that the formation of pressure groups to seek repeal of the Indian Act would mean exposure to and involvement in the corruption of white man's society. Their appeal to me was, "Show us another way."

There isn't any other way. You either get with it or you're out of it. This is the way it's been since the time mankind began. You organize to get power, the ability to act, or you don't get it.

As I questioned them, they gave all of their reasons against organizing on a militant basis, because of their wonderful set of values. This rationale has been used for years and it's been accepted by the intellectuals in the universities who have a real romantic hangup when it comes to problems of the poor and problems of minority groups. The problem is that both of these groups want to believe this thing. The Indians want to believe their rationale in order to justify their inaction, and some of the intellectuals want to believe it because they have this romantic projection on one side and on the other side they are upset with the seeming bankruptcy of our own materialistic values. To them the Indian values represent something like Shangrila.

"Look." I said, "If you don't want to organize and go out and fight for your rights, then you're saying that you're satisfied in just living on your welfare checks." To that, some of the Indian leaders replied, "See, that's where you don't understand. You whites are degraded by accepting welfare but it's different with us. You whites owe it to us. We are not degraded by taking welfare because you took our land away, therefore, you owe it to us. We're just getting a small payment back from you. We still have our dignity." (This is an interesting rationale.) I responded by pointing out that practically every people at one time or another had had their land taken away, but they did not resign themselves to perpetual mourning. Then they go on to say, "We want a creative life which you don't have because your values are so destructive." And I say, "Give me an example of what you mean by a creative life." They say, "Well, if a man wants to spend his life fishing, that's being creative. The government should support him."

It went on and on from one absurdity to another on the basis of one straight question after another until finally they turned the corner. They came around the other way. But they were badly shook about it. One of the Canadian educators remarked afterward, "For the first time it occurred to me that the Greeks really knew what they were doing when they killed Socrates. He was stirring up a revolution just by asking questions."

Basically, that's what the whole education process is. Through education, whether it be in our public schools, our private schools, or in our colleges, we should attempt to get people to ask questions because people who ask questions are restless. They're not willing to sit around, be turned off, and uninvolved.

A future of a people as free people depends upon their asking questions. That is why asking questions is the most dangerous, the most subversive thing you can do in a totalitarian state. It cannot be tolerated.

The primary goal of education in a free society should be the development of an inquiring mind. People have got to be encouraged to ask questions. It's why? Why? Why? These whys are the cutting edge of life itself. Why should I take this? Just because you're white and I'm black, why does that make you any better?

What I hope and what I know will be happening in Buffalo is that through action - it's through action that we really learn - these kind of questions come up. Fundamentally, I suppose, this is the reason why in the last year or so, every school of education in the country has suddenly turned on and become extremely interested in the intrinsic philosophy and the basic motivation of the Industrial Areas Foundation and in what is involved in an organization such as B.U.I.L.D..

3. COMMUNICATION PROBLEMS IN LARGE ORGANIZATIONS

by Dr. Warren G. Bennis
Provost, Social Sciences and Administration
State University of New York at Buffalo

I'd like to direct my talk to a matter which concerns human organizations. More specifically, I'd like to talk about the problems people face in organizations, particularly in a world which is undergoing rapid and turbulent change and how these problems affect communication. The problem of communication generally is a function of some of the main problems affecting large social systems and organizations. I want to speak broadly and I want to try to pinpoint certain problems that I believe exist in school systems.

The study of human organizations is a relatively new field. A group that called itself "Organizational Studies" was organized at MIT in 1959. Harvard Business School started its program in the early 60's. It's a very new field in the sense that for the first time scholars are systematically giving attention to how people relate to each other in organizations in an attempt to understand how to develop organizational systems where people can be more creative and productive. Very little is known about what goes on in organizations even though man has been living in organizations for a long period of time. Only recently have we begun turning our attention to them. The field now appears to be moving away from looking only at people within these organizations to looking at the culture of the organization and the organizational system. In other words, there is a movement away from personnel psychology to organizational psychology.

The study of the culture of an organization requires the definition of organizational norms. It isn't enough to just change a person, to remove a boss from an organization or to bring somebody else in to bring about change in an organization. The problems of changing organizations are far more profound and deal with the whole cultural matrix, the whole normative system. The customs of the organization must be changed. Some years ago International Harvester sent a number of their foremen to a human relations training course in an attempt to develop better techniques of administration. At the end of the three month period it was determined that most of the people did change along the dimensions that were established for the course. However, the fade-out effect of the training was enormous when they returned to their work. As a matter of fact, certain people regressed below what they were before they went to the training school because they were so upset at the kind of contradictoriness between what they learned in the training program and what actually existed in the organization. Unless the organization reinforces the learner, sending individuals away for a residential period of time in a training program simply doesn't work. It takes more than a few new ideas to change a system. There is a far more profound set of things that need to be done.

At this point I should like to make an evolutionary hypothesis. The hypothesis is this: every age develops an organizational form appropriate to its genius. Every age develops new forms of organization that are most appropriate to the needs and tasks of the time. The basic point here is that the bureaucratic structure, usually talked about with some disdain by government and lay people as being hierarchal, pyramidal, imbedded, rigid, endowed with concentrated

power, and specialization of function with rules that are very clearly defined, has been a very useful organization for harnessing the muscle power needed for the tasks of the 19th century. However, the hierarchal form of organization really isn't appropriate for the kinds of tasks that we're facing today. The reason we're having communication problems in organizations today is because the kind of organization most of us are working with is this form of a pyramid with power concentrated at the top and with orders perculating down. This kind of an organization just isn't up to the sorts of tasks, demands, and people that we have today. The two are out of joint with each other; consequently, different forms of organization are being developed.

The key word of these organizations of the future is temporary. They will be adaptive, rapidly changing, temporary systems which will consist of task forces organized around problems to be solved by groups of relative strangers with diverse professional backgrounds and skills. The groups will be arranged on an organic rather than a mechanical model meaning they will evolve in response to a problem rather than to pre-set programmed expectations. People will be evaluated not vertically according to rank and status, but flexibly according to competence. Organizational charts will consist of project groups rather than stratified function groups.

Why is the pyramidal form of organizational bureaucracy inadequate? There are four main reasons which should be pointed out, each of which is a key feature of our society. First of all, bureaucracy was developed at a time when most people in the world thought that rapid change would no longer occur. The development of most bureaucratic organizations and certainly the theoretical

writings came out around the turn of the century. Max Weber, the German sociologist was really the first student of bureaucracy and wrote his theory of bureaucracy around 1910. During those Victorian times most people felt that significant changes and inventions had already been made. As a matter of fact, the Royal Patent Office around the turn of the century in England, was thinking of closing because they thought most significant inventions had already been made. In fact, there was talk in our Congress about the same period of time, suggesting that the U. S. Patent Office be closed. While it's now a cliché of the worst kind, we are living in a world of change that is absolutely unprecedented in history.

The main impetus behind this rapid change in our society appears to be the genius Americans have; it's probably also our tragedy for being risky enough to take an idea and convert it into action. At no other period in history has there existed such a short period of time between discovery of an idea and its application. Before World War I there was about a 35 year lag between the discovery of an idea and its application. Between wars, about 17 or 18 years. After World War II, about 9 years. If we extrapolate on the basis of those figures, it's about 7 years right now between discovery and application. Take, for example, the transistor, which was invented in 1948. Twelve years later it was being used in most of the important hardware in industry. The first industrial application of the computer was in 1956. It's very fashionable now for every organization to be using computer technology. Undoubtedly the laser will experience the same kind of fate as the transistor.

One has to be very pessimistic, however, about drawing a relationship between the rapid change which occurs in technology and the rate of change one can expect in human attitudes and ideas. The technological changes which have taken place in American agricultural methods are profound. But the changes are concrete resulting primarily in greater efficiency. This form of change doesn't seem to interact too much with human attitudes. The key issue of why change in educational systems lags is because it interacts with people.

A second important change reflecting the kind of organizations we live in has to do with the nature of our population. The kinds of people coming into our labor market today are smarter, younger, and more mobile. They're different kinds of people. In fact, the organizations that are growing at the fastest rate right now are vastly different from the organizations that were developing twenty years ago. Nine out of ten people joining the labor force during the last ten years have gone into the service industries - education, health, and welfare. Victor Fuchs indicated in a paper titled "The First Service Economy" that our institutions are moving away from manufacturing to service-oriented kinds of industries which employ different kinds of people.¹ In 1947, for example, approximately 58 million people were employed in service industries as contrasted with 72 million at present. Virtually all of this increase occurred in industries that provided services such as banks, hospitals, retail stores, and schools. The number employed in the production of goods has been relatively stable. In 1965, for the first time in the world, our country employed more people in the service industries than in the production of tangible goods. The big problem facing society today is not in

large-scale industry and manufacturing but in the management of schools and cities and large-scale service organizations. The nature of our labor market is changing with the result that we're getting more professionals in organizations. In a curious way, organizations of the future are going to resemble school systems. More professional, more highly educated people with different aspirations and who seek different forms of rewards will be employed. Another characteristic of our population is that it is more mobile. Not only is there mobility upwards and mobility geographically, but there is also more 'inter-sector mobility'. That is, people move from one institution to another more frequently; for example, from education to business or from business to government. As a matter of fact, there was an article in Fortune magazine last year called "How to Succeed in Business".² The author suggested that one start his career in Washington. He mentioned Keppel, Valenti, and others who went to Washington, then moved on to business. You might use Keppel as the stereotype of the way people are going to move from one institution to another. This is all to be encouraged.

Finally, and this is not too clear to those of us who are studying the changes which affect work relationships, what is required in today's organizations is a different kind of leadership than we've ever known before. As an illustration of this let me refer to the ambassadors and the number two men in the embassies of the Department of State. These men are very wistful for a return to the leadership patterns that they aspired to when they joined the foreign service. That is, they think of themselves as experts who know a good deal about the geo-politics of a certain area. This image of what ambassadorship is supposed to provide in

terms of responsibility and position comes partly out of their training. However, an ambassador in the State Department today or a deputy chief of mission is anything but that stripe-pants expert in a particular area. Instead, he's at the center of a very complex set of demands, forces, and pressures which are operating on him, transmitting expectations to him, which barely allow him to get to his office to attend to the kind of things that used to occupy the majority of his time. In other words, what he finds himself doing (reluctantly, because he really isn't trained for it) is being an administrator. That is, being at the center of a very complex system which demands coordination, integration, and planning. He is disappointed because these tasks don't meet with his expectations; he feels deprived and he also feels untrained. As a matter of fact, there's a tremendous stereotype in the State Department as in many other institutions, against administration. There is considerable tension in the State Department between people who call themselves "administrators" and people who call themselves foreign service officers. The mutual stereotypes that exist between these two groups is really formidable.

This tension occurs elsewhere as well. Howard Johnson, Dean of the Business School was recently appointed President of MIT. The wonder of it, not even a scientist, not even a Ph. D. He was appointed to the position because he was considered a good administrator. The same thing is happening in hospitals. John Knowles, the Director of Massachusetts General Hospital is an administrator. He's effective and successful because he doesn't think administration or managerial competence is a dirty word.

One of the profound problems in professional organization is that when an individual rises in the hierarchy, he finds that he can no longer do the kinds of things that initially attracted him to the organization. Nurses in hospitals, for example, don't want to become nursing supervisors. Their concept of why they went into nursing is to give bedside nursing. It isn't at all rewarding for them to become a nursing supervisor or the head of the nursing service. It is very likely that this same principle holds true as one moves up the hierarchy of a school system. There is likely to be a sense of deprivation associated with a strong feeling that this is really not a legitimate, respectable thing to be doing.

One cannot be oblivious to the realization that changes are occurring which we had better understand. The demands for running large-scale professional organizations require a massive amount of managerial competence and in many instances this competence cannot be found by promoting people from within. Briefly then, there are four main changes which are affecting organizations: One is the pace and rate of change, which the bureaucratic organization wasn't built to cope with; another is the new kind of organization that we're developing - schools, universities, government, communities, which for a lot of reasons don't seem to be really coordinated with a bureaucratic structure; another is the change in population characteristics. A much different group of people are joining organizations with different aspirations, with different ideas; and fourth, the necessity for possessing managerial competence as well as substantive competence.

It seems appropriate, at this point, to consider the kinds of problems that organizations face, the demands that have been placed on the system, what the bureaucratic solution to that problem was, and to suggest certain solutions that

leaders and administrators can utilize. The six areas which are referred to represent some of the main problems that organizations face, as gleaned through a clinical approach to the solution of organizational problems which seem to be interfering with productivity and creativity. They represent, to some extent, most of the research done in the area of industrial social psychology or organizational psychology; and they represent a diagnostic category system of where the problems are. You might reflect on this list to determine if the **factors** mentioned coincide with your diagnosis of the problems your're experiencing and confronting as a school administrator.

The first is the most venerable of almost any problem facing an organization. It has to do with whether or not an individual is getting his kicks from the organization and whether the organization is really getting its share of contributions from the individual. When a person feels he's giving a lot more than he's getting he gets very defensive and starts searching around for new kinds of situations. And when the organization feels he's not contributing his full share, the organization starts doing interesting things about the particular person, like looking for other people to replace him or showing dissatisfaction by not rewarding him. William F. Whyte, Jr. was talking about this problem in his book The Organizational Man.³ In today's large bureaucratic systems the individual isn't really gratifying his own needs; he's become a grey flannel man, bland, indifferent, completely yielding and bending to the organizational pressures. But people do have needs which are complex and changing, however, it's very difficult for leaders and administrators to know what is rewarding to their people. But it's very important that we tune in, particularly in professional organizations, to

what is truly rewarding.

The research on incentives for professional people can be summarized in the following way; once given equitable pay, pay is no longer an issue. What is being sought is increased professional enhancement and learning. As a matter of fact, the way to get good people to universities is by developing a super graduate school for the younger men. The older men need different kinds of emoluments, such as ranks, title, and God knows what to make positions attractive. The younger men are looking for a congenial, convivial environment where they can learn and grow.

Professionals in the schools may have different needs. They're not joining a research, teaching, professorial organization. But what do they want? There is some support for the notion that people are using their work these days to develop more personal kicks. People are using work to have peak experiences, to have a good time, through joy and play, and not just to make money. There is a movement in the business community to locate new plants in university towns because that's the way to insure recruitment of young engineers and scientists. A closer relationship is being developed between the universities and industry which is a positive factor in the recruitment of personnel.

The second problem is the problem of power and its distribution. Given the pressures on administrators such as the president of a university, or a mayor of a city, it is quaint and rustic to think that one man can control, to say nothing of comprehend, the system that he has apparently been given the legal responsibility to direct. This myth of the two-fisted, aggressive, autocratic father leading the enterprise is not only obsolete, it's just not true. There's much more

of an executive constellation which is functioning at the head of effective organizations. It's unfortunate that when we assume responsibility we think that we have to possess omniscience - which is impossible, given the diversity and complexity of the task. More often in large organizations the top man, the chief executive, outlines what the major functions and responsibilities are. He then looks to see where competencies of various people lay in an attempt to develop some kind of an executive constellation. Union Carbide, for example, is a two billion dollar corporation which is run by an executive staff consisting of five people. It doesn't mean that one man isn't legally responsible; he is. But it means he needs an awful lot of help from people at the executive level.

The third point has to do with leadership. One of the studies that Donald Pelz did with research engineers and scientists had to do with the kinds of conditions which lead to the most success with respect to the leadership patterns where they work.⁴ He asked people how they made their important decisions at work; these were mainly Ph. D's, scientists, and engineers. Did they make them by themselves exclusively, did the boss make them exclusively, or did they collaborate with the boss on the decision? He used a number of measurement devices such as colleague evaluations, number of patents developed, papers published per year, and so on to collect data about the productivity of these men. The data he collected was independent of how the boss thought about their performance. He established three categories of performance - high, medium, and low. It turned out that the lowest performance was obtained when the boss alone made the decisions. Pelz called this the "deadly condition". High performers made their decisions in collaboration with their boss.

One of the biggest blocks to communication in organizations can be subsumed under the problems of power. People have a difficult time communicating upwards. The problem of communicating downward is not as great. When you're a boss it's much easier to be open about what's on your mind. But it's not all that easy to say what's on your mind when you're a subordinate in an organization. There are a lot of inhibitions and suppressors of upward communication and this quite often means that the most innovative ideas are either not expressed or accepted. As a matter of fact, a good index of an effective, adaptive organization is the extent to which junior people feel that their ideas are being heard and accepted by people above. Where tension or difference exists between people below and above, you have a system that is in trouble. In a situation like that people aren't communicating what's on their mind or volunteering constructive suggestions. There have been countless studies and experiences showing that when people don't trust their superior, they not only will button up their mouth, but they will also allow people, their bosses, to make mistakes which could be avoided. The best and simplest example of this is an experiment that was done by Torrance some years ago in the Air Force.⁵ He asked a group of Air Force crews, consisting of captains, lieutenants, and sergeants to solve a simple problem. The problem was called a horse trading problem. A man buys a horse for \$80.00, sells it for \$90.00, re-buys it for \$100.00 and re-sells it for \$110.00. What did he make or lose on the transaction? That's the question. Each group was asked to arrive at the answer by consensus. The interesting thing he discovered was that when the captain had the right answer, in no cases did anybody reject that response. When the lieutenant had the right answer, it was rejected

in about 10% of the cases. But when the sergeants had the right answer, it was rejected 30% of the time. Now this probably accounts for only a part of what goes on in organizations where people get conditioned not to speak up, particularly if they think it's something that doesn't agree with what the powers at large believe in. One of the major problems in organizations is working out a system to get more valid innovative information upwards. That's a job that all administrators face. Samuel Goldwyn for years led MGM profitably and autocratically. He was known as a tyrant around Hollywood and he was. After a particularly disastrous box-office failure he was said to have called his staff together and remarked, "OK you guys. I want you to tell me exactly what's wrong with the way I'm doing things here at MGM, even if it means losing your job".

The question of collaboration is the most pronounced and the most difficult of the problems facing organizations. It had to do with inter-group conflict and how inter-group conflict in the organization is managed. It's amazing how extensive this problem is and as organizations become more professional there's going to be more of this inter-group fighting. The university is a splendid place to see this at work. In a sense, academic man is at his best in this kind of guerilla warfare because he stakes out his territory and then fights like hell if anybody encroaches on that area, even if they have better ideas. Robert Hutchins once described the University of Chicago as a peculiar conglomeration of departments, institutes, committees, schools, centers, and programs, all talking their own form of special jargon, largely not communicating, and held together only by a central heating system. That can likely be said about any university system. Being a professional means looking at the world in a certain

way. It means that you have a unique view of man. That's what training and education does. It provides what Karl Mannheim once called a "prospectivist orientation". It gives you a way of seeing things differently than most others.

The problem in today's world is that problems don't come labelled economics, psychology, or geography; they don't come packaged as simple as that. As a matter of fact, the real problem is to bring professionals from different fields together. People within a professional field often get very threatened when people from other fields begin working on a problem which they feel is unique to their field of study or preparation. It's amazing how little it takes to create extraordinary inter-group competition. As organizations become filled with professionals, as groups become more diverse, real problems develop as to how people can be brought together to work cooperatively. This cooperative, productive endeavor may be referred to as synergy. People with various interests and backgrounds work more productively and more creatively together than they would if they were by themselves. You've seen ball teams that play over their heads. Their success is often credited to high morale. But it's more than that; they turn each other on - collectively.

Most organizations have what we can call a zero synergy strategy. Some organizations even induce competition and negative synergy. Universities, for example, tend to operate primarily on a zero synergy idea. They go about the task of bringing in the best people in the world to organize various departments. These people are given an office and told to go ahead and cultivate their own

gardens. So they develop their own turf, their own individuality; they write their papers, and prepare their reports but there is no group effort. It's unfortunate because the solutions to the problems of the future will require a coordinated effort.

The fourth area is adaptation, meaning an appropriate response to change. There are some people who react stubbornly to new information in different ways. They block the information off, they put it down, or they shelf it. At the other extreme there are people who are overly open, permeable, even spastic about new ideas and information - not that they really internalize it. There are school systems that take on each innovation only to pass it on when the next one comes along. They don't really analyze the purpose behind the idea. Organizations act like this too, in that there is an inappropriate response to innovation - inappropriately open, or inappropriately closed. The question is, how do you get the appropriate response to new information? This is a particularly vexing problem for school administrators. Though change agents are important within an organization, we ought to have a group called counter-change agents who work openly to resist change for change sake. The keen administrator will allow both groups to exist.

Identity, the fifth problem, is the most recent addition to the list. It appears that there are a lot of organizations that seem to be behaving like adolescents and college students; they suffer from an identity crisis. Questions such as these are raised: What are we in the business of doing? Why do we exist as an organization? What's our purpose? It's important to ask these questions periodically and to keep an account of the past because organizations, like

individuals can be trapped by the past unless they are aware of it. The point here is that it's important to recognize just what the unique, even primary task of the organization is. It may be simple for a school system, but more likely it is not.

The sixth, and final problem is one of revitalization. Just as John Gardner has talked about self-renewal for the individual, so too all organizations ought to have some built in agency that spends its time on organizational revitalization.⁶ Its main function should be a continual analysis of data from institutional research, and continual concern for transforming, revitalizing, and self-studying. Without it, given the changing times we live in, we're going to back into rather than meet the future head on with a plan to manage and direct what happens in it.

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PART II

RACIAL ISOLATION IN THE URBAN COMMUNITY -
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SCHOOLS

4. SCHOOL SEGREGATION AND DESEGREGATION: SOME MISCONCEPTIONS

by Dr. David K. Cohen

The Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of
Technology and Harvard University

There are a few misconceptions which always seem to be current in communities seeking to eliminate racial isolation in their schools. Misconceptions do not cause segregated schools, but they do slow the pace of school desegregation. They can help to provoke rather intense community conflict, and often create much anxiety on the part of school superintendents and board members.

They are deceptively simple, and typically are embodied in statements made or questions asked at heated meetings.

First--"why must Negro children attend desegregated schools in order to learn well--why can't education in Negro schools just be improved?"

Second--"schools didn't cause the segregation of students; it is a housing problem, and the schools' business is education, not integration."

Third--"school desegregation is impossible; white parents will withdraw their children from integrated schools because of prejudice, declining academic standards, discipline problems, or the like."

"Why can't the Negro schools be improved?"

This question and the misunderstandings which underlie it are the more difficult to deal with because they rest in part on truth, and in part on simplistic ideas of how children learn. Partly true because improved education is necessary and helpful for all children; simplistic because the question assumes that children's academic competence is determined wholly

or mainly by the quality of their instruction.

This is precisely what most school systems have assumed in their efforts to remedy underachievement and educational failure in predominantly Negro schools. Existing programs of compensatory education assume that the educational problems experienced by Negro children in racially isolated schools are traceable to the individual "cultural deficiency" of the children, and perhaps to the objective deficiencies of their schools and their teachers. Underachievement and school failure, the schools have argued, can be reversed if the quality of education in predominantly Negro schools is improved. This, it is said, will remedy their historic pattern of inadequacy, and compensates for the educational deficiencies which Negro children usually have when they enter school.

This formulation supposes that the process of education is something that goes on mainly between individual students and their teachers, and that when a child fails it is because he or his teacher is in some way deficient.

Certainly it is true that poor children, regardless of their color, have more difficulty with the verbal and behavioral style of schools than children from more advantaged homes; as presently constituted, the style of schools is best suited to middle class children. It is questionable whether it is the style of children or the style of the schools which is deficient, but disadvantaged children do have more difficulty with reading, writing, and achievement tests than children from advantaged backgrounds.¹

It also is true that the quality of teaching in schools is very important. The Coleman survey--Equality of Educational Opportunity--shows this to be

the single most important aspect of the educational program schools offer. Regardless of their own background, or the social class level of the other students in their school, children who have better teachers--teachers with strong academic training; high verbal achievement, and a belief that their children can learn--perform at a higher level than those whose teachers are less qualified. ²

But having said that we must go on to say that there is more to the development of academic competence than what an individual student and an individual teacher bring to the classroom. Programs of educational compensation are based on the notion that there are two critical processes that determine learning: the interaction between parents and student, and the interaction between teacher and student. Yet there is very strong evidence that there is a third set of processes--related to interaction among students--which strongly affects the development of academic competence. For Negro students in urban areas these processes are most evident in the relationship between the social class and racial composition of student bodies, and achievement. ³

Regardless of color and educational quality, a 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 respects--who attends school with a majority of poor children. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights' study, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, shows that the performance difference for these two "average" students, if they are 12th graders, can be between one and three grade levels

in reading achievement.⁴ This is not surprising, in view of the fact that the Equality of Educational Opportunity survey showed that the social class composition of student bodies is more closely related to student achievement than any other aspect of schools.⁵

The full explanation for this is surely complex, but at least one of the central principles seems apparent. Increasingly as they move through the grades, children are open to the influence of their peers. Some of these influences are social, and some academic. A child who attends school with a substantial majority of other children who do not come to school with a good verbal "headstart," who have become convinced that America holds little hope for their success, and whose previous school career is marked by frustration, mediocrity, or failure is not likely to believe that he will succeed in school, to be motivated for such success, or to perform well. Children set the standards for their school performance and measure their educational ambitions in good part against the performance standards and ambitions of their schoolmates.

In addition, there is the simple but important fact that a low-performing school is less intellectually and academically stimulating than a high-performing school.⁶

The social class composition of schools affects children regardless of color, but it has particular implications for Negroes. The elimination of social class isolation in city schools would necessarily result in substantial racial desegregation, for there are relatively few middle-class Negro children and relatively few predominantly advantaged predominantly Negro

schools.⁷ Most urban Negro children in America are poor, and to be in school with advantaged children they would have to be in school mostly with white children.

But quite apart from considerations of schools' social class composition, there is the effect of their racial composition. Negro children who attend school with a majority of other Negro children of a given social class level do not perform as well as Negro children who attend school with a substantial majority of whites⁸ of that same social class level.

Why is there such a "racial isolation" effect? There are at least two characteristics of Negro schools which seem to impede effective learning. First, by virtue of being Negro institutions they are stigmatized as inferior by most whites. This stigma of inferiority is communicated to parents, teachers, and students, and it seems to depress their expectations, and the students' performance. Second, they are not schools which can provide Negro students with one very important foundation for success in America-- the cumulative experience of achieving in cooperation and competition with whites. And since most Negro children attend schools which are predominantly Negro and predominantly poor, they experience a double disadvantage of class and color.

Examine the results after the end of a child's public elementary school career, in terms of his ninth grade achievement. The average Negro student who has attended school with white children since the early elementary grades experiences less than half the academic disadvantage of a Negro student who has attended school only with other (disadvantaged) Negroes.⁹ Less than one-fifth of the Negro children in the urban centers of the North and West

attend school with a majority of white children, and a small proportion of those have attended school with a majority of white children for their entire school careers.¹⁰ Thus a tiny fraction of the Negroes who attend urban public schools throughout this country attend schools which provide them with a good chance of success. The overwhelming majority leave school academically crippled, with such low levels of academic skill that there can be little hope for them to succeed. The average 12th grade Negro student in the Metropolitan Northeast reads below the 9th grade level.¹¹

These statistics suggest the need for rapid and massive educational improvement. But such improvement--badly needed as it is--should not be undertaken in a way which misconceives or ignores the effects of the student environment in schools. In schools segregated by color and class the student environment is a barrier to learning; the collective disadvantage-ment of the student body makes it difficult for effective learning to take place. The programs of educational improvement which so far have been devised do not take account of this, but proceed on the assumption that the problem is the deprivation of individual children. Since they incompletely define the problem--by failing to consider the student environment effects--it is not surprising to find that they have shown no lasting improvement in student achievement.

In this connection the Syracuse, New York schools' experience bears repeating. Dr. Franklyn Barry, School Superintendent there, said that:

A year ago we did a study of 24 of the Negro kids that were bussed out from Washington Irving (an all-Negro school). They still were living where they had been, their economic level had not changed,

and we matched them with similarly-situated Negro children from Croton (an all-Negro) school. The study covered an eight month period. The bussed children averaged 9.2 months progress in the eight months, without any great supportive help out in their new schools. Those children who were left behind in the de facto segregated school achieved only 4 months--average--for that 8 month period. And Croton is a school saturated with compensatory programs. It proved to the satisfaction of most of our Board that our new thrust had better be in the area of integration rather than compensatory services.¹²

It is possible, no doubt, for such programs to improve achievement if the school organization is so changed that every few students have an individual teacher. Such programs might well be more effective--in the sense of developing academic competence--because sharply increasing the number of teachers might sharply reduce the effects of the student environment. But imagine the cost of reducing the pupil-teacher ratio to 5-1 or 8-1; this is to contemplate a revolution in education that no individual school district can afford.

Moreover, the problems that arise from racially isolated schooling are not limited to the development of academic competence. And this brings us to the second misconception.

"This is a housing, not a school problem."

Behind that simple statement is a deceptive and mistaken view of schools' effects on students. Two sets of facts illuminate this confusion.

First, it is incorrect to say that schools have not directly caused segregation, and to infer from that a lack of responsibility for remedy. Historically, schools have caused or permitted changes in attendance patterns which create, compound, and reinforce racial isolation.

This has come about in a variety of ways--intentional and unintentional. In some cases it involved permissive state statutes; in other cases courts have found deliberate gerrymandering; and in many cases, apparently neutral decisions have created and intensified racial isolation.¹³

This category of practices has been important in the past, and in some respects--school construction--is still a major cause of racial isolation in schools. So if direct causal involvement of this sort is required to justify remedy, it exists.

However, this approach understates the role schools play in causing segregation, because it limits consideration of the schools' effect to their impact upon boundaries and the like. But--and this is the second point--schools have a marked impact upon their students' achievement, attitudes, and associations in later life.

School achievement is closely correlated with later economic and occupational achievement; thus one of the effects of racially isolated schooling for Negroes is to reduce their adult occupational and economic achievement. Negro adults who attended segregated schools are less likely to hold white collar jobs or to have substantial incomes than those who attended desegregated schools.¹⁴ Among the factors which inhibit residential desegregation is the low income levels of most Negroes; even if there were effective fair housing laws, only a small proportion of urban Negroes could afford the housing thus open to their occupancy. The academic damage done in schools--which limits Negroes' economic opportunities--

thus reinforces Negro poverty and ghettoization. It hardly matters if the damage is inflicted by intent or indifference--the result is reduced economic opportunity and intensified housing segregation.

Therefore, given existing Negro income levels, those who say that integrated schools should wait on integrated housing effectively advocate the maintenance of existing patterns of segregation in housing and schools.

It is even more informative to 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 schools are likely to oppose measures designed to secure equal opportunity for Negroes. They are likely to live in segregated neighborhoods, and to express a desire to continue living in such neighborhoods. Their children typically attend all white schools, and they are likely 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 are surprisingly 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. These Negroes are not likely to live in desegregated neighborhoods, and they are likely to hesitate about sending their children to desegregated schools.

Negro and white adults who attended desegregated schools have a rather different pattern of attitudes and associations. They are more likely

to live in desegregated neighborhoods and to have children in desegregated schools. They are likely to express, if they are white, strong support for measures designed to secure equal opportunity for Negroes. And Negroes and whites alike are unlikely to express fear and distrust of--or a desire to get even with--members of the other race.

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 chiefly the effect of schools.¹⁵ For example, 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.¹⁶

The data suggest how, as the public schools shape the values and attitudes of children, they also set the mold for their attitudes and associations as adults. As segregated schools create and reinforce preferences for association only with persons of one's own race, they build the foundation for acting out these preferences in adult housing and school decisions.

Here is a second direct way, then, in which the schools cause and compound residential segregation. Efforts to eliminate residential segregation are blocked by the Negro and white attitude barriers created in racially isolated schools. Thus once again it is clear that those who say that school segregation cannot end until housing segregation does effectively support the maintenance of segregated schools. And those schools will shape the racist attitudes on the basis of which housing will remain

segregated for more generations.

So again, if involvement as a causal agent is required to assign schools a responsibility for remedy, such a responsibility exists. It is a serious mistake of fact and judgment to say that this is housing and not a school problem.

This evidence on the later life effects of education also bears on the original misconception about improving schools. Let us assume that compensatory programs will make substantial improvements in Negro achievement. But there is a stronger relationship between schools' racial composition and students' racial preferences than between their academic performance levels and their 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.¹⁷ Improvements in students' academic competence will not eliminate the schools' contribution to increasing segregation. To focus only on the academic outcomes of education is to misconceive the broad social effects of education. Even if programs of compensatory education could substantially improve academic competence in schools isolated by race and social class, they would continue to intensify and compound segregation and the specifically racial damage it generates for white and black Americans. Negro achievement is no more a remedy for segregation and the racism it produces than white achievement has been in the past.

"If schools are desegregated, the whites will leave."

It often has been said that if schools are desegregated white families will march noisily away. They will, it is argued, enroll their children in private schools, move to all-white suburbs, or in some other way avoid having their children attend school with Negroes.

Experience, however, shows that this has not been true. School districts in Northern and Western cities which have desegregated did indeed experience bitter and vocal opposition from white families. Yet in these districts there has been no discernible flight of whites from the public schools. There is no evidence from these cases that school desegregation, effectively undertaken and accomplished, leads to an exodus of whites. These communities had school administrators and school boards which were united on the issue; they approached it as a problem of the total community, carefully worked out a plan, took it to the community for discussion and information--not for a vote--and then implemented it. Opposition subsided, and after a year or two there were few signs of the earlier problems and divisions.

It is not really surprising that school desegregation has been effective where it has been undertaken with commitment and leadership on the part of school authorities. After all, this is only to say that in these communities school authorities led on the issue of school desegregation in the same way that they typically lead on such issues as support of school operating and capital improvement levies.¹⁸ In American education, such informed leadership usually wins.

At these communities white parents learned that their children do not suffer in desegregated schools. The performance of white children on standard achievement tests shows quite clearly that they perform just as well in desegregated schools as white children in all-white schools. Apart from academic performance, there is the simple but terribly important fact that white students in desegregated schools are much less likely to hold racist attitudes. It is such attitude change on the part of whites that is required for a lasting solution to this nation's racial problems.

Of equal interest are the plans which some larger communities have formulated for education parks, or campus schools. Since they would substantially enlarge attendance areas, education parks could provide desegregated schooling in districts where more traditional techniques would not have much effect. By the same token, the consolidation of school resources in such schools would permit substantial increases in educational quality for all children. Studies suggest that the saving on construction-associated costs alone could be as much as 20% over neighborhood schools. They also suggest that very substantial improvements in educational quality for all children could be provided without drastic increases in schools' operating budgets. There is good reason to believe that if desegregation and educational improvement for all students are associated in policy and practice, there will not be great problems of community acceptance.¹⁹

There are a few other misconceptions, of a smaller order of importance, associated with white anxiety and resistance. It often is said, for

instance, that neighborhood schools are sacrosanct and bussing evil. Yet over 40 per cent of the nation's public school children ride buses to and from school every day.²⁰ There has been no outcry about that, for the simple reason that parents see a better education at the end of the bus ride; the demise of the little red school house was associated with educational improvement. There doesn't seem to be any evidence that riding a bus damages children from this segment of the public school population. Indeed, it is worth noting that although there is a considerable amount of literature on how to buy and maintain school buses, and how to recruit and train good bus drivers, there isn't any data on how a bus ride can affect children educationally or psychologically.

Since 1954 there also has been a growing concern about neighborhood schools. Yet the corollary of the 40 per cent plus bus riding figure is that 40 per cent plus do not attend neighborhood schools. As with the alleged evils of busing, one is unable to find out much about the educational advantages of neighborhood schools; there is no data on the subject. There never has been a study of the relationship between childrens' distance from school and the quality of their education and it is doubtful that there ever will be.

There is a final misconception which holds that, if it is ignored, the problem of racial isolation in schools will go away. This is particularly difficult; one can point out the facts about busing or neighborhood schools, but it is not easy to remedy a persistent reluctance to face problems squarely.

And this posture is a common one, particularly among the people professionally concerned with education in urban areas. To confirm this all one needs to do is examine the record of statements and action in city schools for the last thirteen or fourteen years. For the most part educators there appear to have proceeded on the assumption that if they go about business as usual-- which includes efforts to improve education by offering more now of what hasn't worked in the past--all the noise will subside. Such attitudes and behavior are untenable on both political and ethical grounds.

Politically the destructiveness of this position is evidenced by the fact that in the older and larger cities the public schools are losing their constituents and clients. Institutions being deserted in this fashion are not healthy. There are a few facts which illustrate this,

First, there is the increase in attendance at schools other than the central city public schools. Those who have the economic wherewithal have for some time been withdrawing their children from the central city public schools. In most cases these people are white, but this is not a flight from Negroes. It is a flight from schools which, by comparison with private or suburban public schools, are increasingly poor. Data are available, for example, on Negro and white 13 and 17 year olds for 1965. They show no variation for whites in private school attendance by social class. About 15% of the white students--white collar or working class-- attend non-public schools. But for Negroes there is a striking difference.

Only 1% of working class Negro students were in non-public schools, but over 40% of all the Negro students from white-collar homes were in non-public schools.²¹ Well-to-do Negroes are voting with their feet against central city public schools, as many whites have been doing for some time.

But turn to less advantaged Negroes; there are other facts which illustrate the schools' loss of constituents. The relevant data here are typified in the history of the dispute over Intermediate School 201, in Harlem, in 1966-67. This dispute probably marked a turning point, but it has been widely misinterpreted. The impression one is left with from the communications media is that a group of Negro parents suddenly had embraced the doctrine of "black power," and were demanding control of the school on those essentially ideological grounds. This was not the case. Many of those parents had been fighting for years to integrate I.S. 201. This was their hope for quality schools, for equal opportunity and improved education. After years of conflict, of promises made by the schools and not kept, these parents finally concluded that the New York City Board of Education was not going to integrate the school. They already knew that in all the years of promised integration the children's achievement had not improved. From this loss of hope came the demand that they be given a large voice in the school's operation. This was a result of the parents' growing sense that the school system did not have their children's interest at heart, and their conclusion that those closest to the children--Negroes and parents--

could not but do a better job. So they demanded control of the school; demanded that it become a publically funded but privately controlled institution.

In all societies institutions and important policies rest in some degree on consent, whatever the political forms and processes may be. In democratic societies the institutions and policies are more directly and regularly related to consent. And the schools, a critically important institution, are being deserted--those who can't afford it financially are trying to accomplish the same aim politically. Even this most rudimentary form of consent and participation is being withdrawn. It is a symptom of a profound loss of confidence in public institutions.

On one level at least the I. S. 201 affair and school enrollment trends both manifest in a quieter way what is evident in the summer urban disorder-- a rising sense of deprivation and a declining confidence in the ability and desire of existing institutions to provide improved opportunity. It is said that disorders are no reason for action. But far more disturbing than the open disorder in the cities is the disorder in our priorities and sensibilities, which allows us to permit the regular and public emotional and academic devastation of Negro children. That this well known process goes on year after year is a more troubling comment on our mental health, and on the vitality of public institutions than the riots. It is quite enough reason for action.

There also is an ethical dimension to the view that problems--if

ignored--will go away. Ultimately any important social policy rests on an ethical judgment; apart from the routine matters, what public officials do or fail to do rests in part on their judgment as to whether given policy is right or wrong. The view that the problem of racially isolated schools will go away if ignored rests on such a judgment. Simply stated, it is that it is permissible for generations of Negro children to go through the public schools being educationally crippled. Of course, most of these public men and women would say that segregation does no harm, or that the schools Negro children attend are being improved, or perhaps that desegregation is politically impossible. But if these public men and women in urban education were to be ethical, even in the crudest sense--given any one or combination of these responses--they could only enroll their children in the schools which they deem it permissible for Negro children to attend.

One immediately recognizes just how distant a possibility that is, and precisely why it is so distant. This recognition should provoke some sense of just how urgent the need for action is. Urgent for Negroes, who are damned to academic failure by the schools which now exist, and for whites, who must be damned to failure as human beings while what exists is allowed to continue.

FOOTNOTES

1. The best evidence on this derives from Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington, 1966, 298-302. A greater proportion of variation in student achievement (among schools) is accounted for by students' social class than any other factor.
2. Coleman, et al., op. cit., 316-319.
3. Coleman, et al., 302-325. The Coleman report is only the most recent work in a long tradition of research in this area. For data over time on the same students and schools (and a good review of past work), see Wilson, A., "Educational Consequences of Segregation in a California Community," 165-206, in U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, Washington, 1967, Vol. II. Wilson shows that the cumulative social class composition of students' elementary schools is as closely related to their 6th grade reading achievement as their individual family background; table 17, 181.
4. U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. I, Figure 1, 80.
5. Coleman, et al., op. cit.
6. In this connection it is important to notice that these are school-specific processes. Wilson, op. cit., was able to weigh the relative strength of school and neighborhood context upon achievement, and he found the latter to have no explanatory power, 178-82. As he points out (180), this has important implications for school policy; among them is the fact that changing students' school context is not likely to react

- negatively upon them due to remaining neighborhood disparities.
7. Only about 20-25% are middle class.
 8. See U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. I, Figure 5, 90. See also Vol. II, Appendix C-1, 35-142.
 9. U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. I, Figure 6, 107.
 10. Estimated from U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. I, 4-5, and Vol. II, Table 2.1, 48. Since the sample in Table 2.1 was drawn to overrepresent Negroes in desegregated situations, the figures in the text above must err on the side of overestimating integration.
 11. U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. II, Table 4.2, 67. The average Negro verbal ability score is actually 3.6 years behind the average white student in grade 12.
 12. Speech by Dr. Franklyn Barry before Ohio Conference on School Desegregation, Akron, June 10, 1967.
 13. U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. I, 39-71.
 14. U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. I, 108-9.
 15. This entire analysis of adult attitudes and associations is drawn from U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. I, 109-113.
 16. U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. I, Table II, 113.
 17. Singer, D., Interracial Attitudes of Negro and White Fifth Grade Children in Segregated and Unsegregated Schools, Ed. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1966, Chapter III and IV.
 18. On this entire subject, see Stout, et al., School Desegregation:

Progress in Eight Cities, Chicago, 1966; especially chapters IX and XI.

19. U.S.C.C.R., op. cit., Vol. I, 167-83.
20. U. S. Officer of Education, Digest of Educational Statistics, 1965, 29.
21. Nam and Rhodes, Inequalities in Educational Opportunities, Florida, 1966, Table 15.

5. SCHOOL COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN LARGE CITIES

by Dr. Charles E. Stewart
Director of Teacher Education, Detroit Public Schools

I have been asked to address this discussion to problems of improving school community relations. It is a topic of great concern to all of us and particularly those of us having some responsibility for the quality of education in those schools that serve large populations of so-called "disadvantaged" Children. The term "disadvantaged" is used to describe these children with some hesitancy. I moved away from the term "culturally deprived" some years ago because it seems rather ridiculous to talk about children as being culturally deprived when we know perfectly well that every child has a culture. He brings it to school with him every day. Let me illustrate this with an incident that occurred to me when I was a school principal. A first grade teacher was preparing her children for a story hour and like all good first grade teachers she was taking time to discuss some of the concepts in the story. This was a story about dragons and fairies, and she wanted to be sure they knew what these creatures were, so she asked the kids in the room, "Now you all know about fairies?" The kids all of course said "Yes." One little boy said "There is one living right across the street from me." That is one of my favorite anecdotes that I have collected over the years, and not a joke. Quite often people who hear me using that, usually suburbanites who want to know more about this strange critter called "the disadvantaged child", don't laugh when I tell it. Then, of course, I have to explain to them that it is they who are culturally deprived.

I have some special feelings about school community relations in disadvantaged neighborhoods, and they are derived at least in part from my own experience in the community relations division of a large city school system, and from my experience as a school principal. I hope you will believe me when I tell you that, as a central office person, I found putting out fires started by someone else to be far more difficult than coping with those I started myself as a principal. But while putting out school community fires, in the division of school community relations, I became sharply aware that many problems that we have to deal with were a very direct result of failure to understand the parents whose children we are attempting to serve. I found this to be especially true if those parents happen to be Negro. For example, I recall an incident in which a Negro woman with a daughter in one of our elementary schools was complaining quite vehemently because her child had come home one day in tears saying she had been forced to read a book called Uncle Tom's Cabin. Some of the other youngsters in the class had noted a likeness between the child and the picture of Topsy in the book. This made the child tearful, and it brought the mother to school in a rage. The principal of the school couldn't understand what it was all about. In the first place, the book is a classic, and in the second place, these people were from the South. The principal found it difficult to understand why somebody who had just left the South didn't appreciate the advantages of being in the North enough to be willing to put up with a thing like an old-fashioned picture of "Topsy" in the book. This principal found it very difficult to understand that because the woman had left the South, and because she had only been in the

North for a very short time, were the very reasons why she was complaining so bitterly. This is an example of the kind of human process that we will encounter as we try to work more and more closely with parents who are not accustomed to our working closely with them. And as we move towards them with outstretched arms saying, "We welcome you into this school enterprise", it's amazing how many kinds of things they are going to do to test whether we really mean it when we say "welcome." It's the same kind of testing out process that we experience with children; but then, people are just like children.

There is no question but what the racial factor often is a very confusing complication in problems which we call school community relations. In this society of ours that is undergoing a very dramatic social and technological revolution, and in the kaleidoscopic events that characterize that revolution, the problems that we sometimes label racial, are really but one aspect of the total pattern of social and technological change. And I think that fact has been obscured too often by our willingness to interpret deep social issues as racial issues. Often these interpretations have limited our educational thinking and planning and restricted them to techniques of defense, conciliation, and compromise. The decisions rooted in some of these expediences of compromise and conciliation more often than not have infringed only on the outer framework of the educational structure, rather than at its core or its processes and the resulting educational arrangement has not always been productive. Now no one would disagree with the position that schools are here to serve the people. They're supposed to serve the needs, the ideas, and the aspirations of this democracy of ours, or as Miller and Spaulding put it, "The schools serve

continuously as an agency by which society examines itself and redirects itself in terms of what it determines to be good."¹ The question being raised is, how well do the schools serve in that capacity? The fact emerges that the school serves in that capacity effectively only when the constantly evolving nature of societal needs, ideals, and aspirations are assessed and when creative attempts are made to gear the schools for educational changes dictated by that assessment. In this process, it's important that school people become pretty skillful, certainly as skillful as possible, in developing lines of communication which will yield an accurate assessment, which will yield sanctions for programs and innovation, and which will yield support for program implementation.

I have chosen to emphasize: first, some of the myths about low status people in general, and Negroes in particular - myths which I believe severely get in the way of our understanding of disadvantaged communities; and second, I want to talk about this phenomenon which we refer to as leadership in the Negro community; and third, I want to touch on the role of intermediate leadership and particularly the principal. Not too long ago a school administrator in my acquaintance, who was a veteran of more than 30 successful years in the business, threw up his hands in frustration and said, "Stewart, I don't know what's happening anymore. There was a time when I knew the Negro community well; I knew its leaders personally. Why they were my personal friends, and now it looks like there is a new leader popping up every day. I find it difficult to understand what it is they want." The dilemma of that school administrator emphasizes the very first point to be made and that is there is no such thing as a Negro community. I'll use the term because

it's a convenient way to refer to a group of people, but we are in error to think of Negro people as an undifferentiated order. This is a concept which our perceptions have created for us. But, school administrators largely attempt to operate as if there were, indeed, a Negro community. This issue of ethnic identification was pointed up a long time ago by E. Franklin Frazier in his book Black Bourgeoisie.² While Frazier may have been a little unfair in the way he generalized about what he called middle class Negroes, and particularly about the motivations of these middle class Negroes, I think it only fair to agree that there is a great deal of resentment among many so-called Negro middle class people, which is directed against the low status Negro. Middle class Negroes frequently see the low status Negro as a barrier to their own social mobility. In a more recent study, upper class respondents much more frequently than low class Negroes, tended to disassociate themselves entirely from ethnic identification, particularly in situations where the racial reference was deemed unfavorable, so that the illusion of a unified Negro community with an understanding and cooperative leadership is really rooted in an era when Negroes could not or dared not without permission, be articulate about their needs and aspirations. And that illusion grew strong by virtue of the limited channels for communicating between whites and Negroes.³ It is really difficult to say now whether this comforting illusion was created by white people or for them.

The second point of importance to school people is that the human differences which exist within the so-called Negro community are not easily classified. Class and status lines are less clearly drawn and not easily

equated with those of the white community. What a Negro does for a living, for example, is not always a reliable clue to his real or perceived status in the Negro community. This can be illustrated very well within the school organization itself. In the Negro community, the teacher historically has enjoyed somewhat higher social status than that of the white teacher in a general community. Important also, though operative on a lesser degree, is the high professional status of the Negro secretary operating in a school setting. The Negro secretary often has a husband who is a business or professional leader in the community and she is often active in community organizations. School administrators who were unaware of this fact have on occasion treated the Negro secretary as if she were just a secretary, only to learn that her firsthand observations of administrative behavior were translated into a real negative kind of imagery, which was transmitted to the so-called Negro community. An even better example of this is in the bitter complaint I received once from a cleaning woman in one of our schools. She explained that the principal in her building, who was a human relations seeker, often showed his satisfaction for the work done by the custodial staff by giving them a pat on the back or sometimes a pat on the head, or sometimes he would put his arms around their shoulders. According to the complainant, her white co-workers enjoyed this benevolent kind of jesting. They recognized it as an appreciation for their important roles in the building, but the Negro woman did not enjoy it at all. Now the principal's motives are not in question here. He undoubtedly treated the Negro woman as he did all the other members of the custodial staff. He had no regard for color, or sex,

but what he didn't understand was that the Negro cleaning woman didn't perceive herself as just a cleaning woman. In the first place, she was a widow who had seen better days. She was still active in a bridge club, which included some wives of business and professional men. And furthermore, she was president of her local block club, a fact which the principal would have known had he attended any of the meetings.

The third point to be emphasized is that not all those who live in disadvantaged areas are themselves disadvantaged. Most neighborhoods in the Negro community present a very wide variety of home and family circumstances, and the factor of increased mobility in housing does not appreciably alter that picture. It's true that a growing number of Negro families have reached middle class economic status and hold middle class aspirations, but they still cannot easily move out of areas characterized by defamiation and neglect. By and large they can move within those areas, but not away from them. Thus, the middle class Negroes, regardless of their higher aspirations and expectations, send their children to the same schools with the disadvantaged children. They are compelled to observe the efforts of our schools in attempting to educate the disadvantaged child, admittedly an area where we are weak. And they denounce us in our efforts because we fail their children too. Much of the denunciation might be avoided were school people better able to understand and deal with this range of differences within and among Negroes.

Contrary to what earlier sociologists taught us, low status Negro parents do not have a negative attitude toward education. Despite all

evidence which would tend to dim their faith, low status Negro parents still believe that education is the way out for their kids. They're not joiners; they're not going to come to a PTA meeting to see a travel-log type film, or hear lectures on matters for which they feel no immediate concern. But they are interested in their kids and they can be reached with some down-to-earth approaches which assume that interest. Of course it goes without saying that the school's approach to parents must be one which reflects a genuine interest in the kids. Too often what has been interpreted as a rejection of education by low status parents is more truly a rejection of the school and its personnel. Many a Negro parent, who has been enticed by the children to attend PTA meetings so their class will win a gold star, will never return again, because of the addiction to this business of first name calling. Mrs. Dora Jones, who stands on her feet all day doing housework, and who has been called Dora all her life to connote a subservient status, doesn't want to be called Dora when she comes out to the school. She wants to be called Mrs. Jones. She's already uncomfortable and insecure in the alien setting of the school, and she's got to be made to feel that she belongs there, that she's important, and that she's welcomed as an important human being. This is not going to be done by the use of gimmicks, like the instant brotherhood that we sometimes think is inherent in first-name calling.

What about leadership in the Negro community? This is the question, or one of the questions that white people ask most frequently. Who speaks for the Negro? And the only truthful answer today, of course, is that no one speaks for the Negro. And if that answer is a little disconcerting, I guess it

must be remembered that the question itself is rooted in some clearly obsolete notions about the nature of the Negro community. As a matter of fact, it's not certain that any one person ever did speak for all Negroes. But Negroes, until recent years, had but a small voice in determining who their leaders would be, or maybe more aptly put, who would be their spokesman. This was true primarily because the first requirement for a Negro leader was that he be acceptable to the white power structure. Even in recent years, published articles by well-known Negro writers such as Lomax and Fuller have accused the mainly middle class Negro leadership of being white carbon copies.⁴

Adam Clayton Powell, when he was a congressman, spoke to this point rather vigorously in what he called "A Black Position Paper" in Chicago back in 1965. Powell said, and I quote, "Black communities all over America today suffer from absentee black leadership. This black leadership, the ministers, the politicians, the businessmen, doctors and lawyers, must come back to the Negroes who made them in the first place, or be purged by the black masses."⁵

The ex-congressman called on Negroes to reject the white community's carefully selected ceremonial Negro leaders, and insist that the white community dealings be with black community leaders chosen by black communities. Mr. Powell's views on black nationalism may not even today be widely shared throughout the country, but his statements even then reflected a disaffection of the black masses who have not yet felt the effects of true civil rights opportunities. And it is that growing disaffection which provides a platform for the Stokely Carmichaels and the H. Rapp Browns today. It is that growing disaffection which provides the wedges for our professional

community organizers such as Mr. Alinsky. Now it is understandable that the present climate would be favorable to the current thrusts of many individuals in organizations who are striving for leadership in the so-called Negro struggle. For in this struggle lies the largest force of power within reach of Negro leaders. Here is power which transcends the boundaries and possibilities of the Negro community alone: It is power which effects the nation. There is a kind of moth-eaten story that went around not long ago. The President was talking on the telephone to Dr. Martin Luther King. His side of the conversation went like this, "Yes, Rev. King. No, Dr. King. Yes, Dr. King. But Dr. King, it's always been called the White House!" Now this kind of competitive struggle for leadership among Negroes, however, should not be viewed as a kind of tennis game. It's due in part to the basic quest of men for power. And since in the Negro community the greatest source of power is within the Negro struggle, there is fierce competition among men of talent and strength for positions of power. It also meets a deep emotional need within the Negro community. This quest for power is not without precedent. Throughout our history white men of talent and skill have been free to compete for the great fortunes of business, industry, and government leadership, while Negroes have been restricted in this exercise of personal determination and ambition. They now seek and are realizing some of the personal and public rewards of great and powerful positions of leadership.

In spite of this competition it ought to be stated that Negro leadership is far more stable than is generally recognized by the white community. We had a very dramatic illustration of this in Detroit last thursday. The black

nationalist group which were calling themselves the "new black establishment" in the aftermath of the riots in Detroit, held a rally which was attended by all of the millitants and the discontents and the malcontents. Also in attendance was the executive secretary of the NAACP, which is not now considered by any means a militant group. It was amazing to hear a young attorney, who is probably the most articulate and the most vociferous of the militants, get up and speak about the need to purge the middle class Negroes who are too soft and too comfortable, who are not pulling their weight. He was wildly cheered by the gallery. Then the NAACP executive secretary got up and spoke and pointed out the need to avoid deviciveness and diversionary activities within the so-called Negro community. He, too, was wildly cheered by the same people. This to me is a very hopeful and very healthy sign that the Negro leadership game is not quite the bouncing ball that it sometimes appears to be. Dan Thompson's study of the Negro leadership class provides an interesting rationale which underlies the need for different organizational approaches within a community.⁶ Some organizations and/or individuals meet the need for organizing and planning within the Negro community while others serve more effectively in the give and take process of negotiating across community lines.

In this discussion of leadership a special word has to be said about an emerging breed of middle class Negroes. It is interesting to me that the desires and frustrations of this new breed have become much more acute with the quickening pace of pressures for change both within and without the Negro

community. Both the desires and the frustrations are fed by an unrelenting hope for achieving every particular of American middle class respectability and acceptance. Historically, this hope has been as much a source of strength as it has a source of weakness in the Negro cause. On the one hand, it was a stirring for change generated mainly by middle class expectancies which constituted the most persistent and consistent force in the civil rights movement. The financial contributions of middle class Negroes provide the main support for civil rights organizations and particularly the NAACP. On the other hand, it is precisely because their middle class positions place them in a greater vulnerability and risk that the civil rights movement has been up to now so very well disciplined. That this picture is changing is evident in the violence in the cities around the country, and I think these events illustrate the increasing demand on the resources of the trained middle class Negro. These events also illustrate an increasing responsiveness to the demand to stand up and be counted with his lower class brothers whom he has shunned for so long. Against the background of this changing picture, the Negro teacher stands with other white collar workers in bold relief. He epitomizes in growing measure what Bennett, in The Negro Mood calls development of a new self-conception in the Negro psyche, and the growth of a revolutionary will to dignity.⁷ And it is in this changing scene that today's administrators must shape new roles out of new understandings and new insights.

Now the administrative structure in this United States of ours is unique, particularly in its designation of the local school district as the locus of responsibility and control. By-passing the controversial advantages and

disadvantages of this phenomenon, suffice to say here that one effect is to constrict the population limits in which conflicts in values must be reconciled, agreement on purpose reached, and interpretations of rules made. There is some evidence that the nature of the population has a distinct bearing on the nature of the decision-making processes by which community expectations are translated into educational arrangements. David Miner, Northwestern University Center for Metropolitan Studies, explored this assumption by examining some 48 suburban school systems around the Chicago area.⁸ His investigation was based on the premise that the school system is a form of political system and that such aspects of politics as the forum of the political process, its content of policy, and the character of its output are related in several ways to the culture and structure of the society in which it is imbedded. In this instance we are talking about the local community. Dr. Miner hypothesized that the American political culture seeks the suppression of conflict, so he compared these 48 school community microcosms of the American political culture by their differential successes in reaching the goal of conflict suppression. His study indicates that the principal aspect of social structure which explains aggregate community behavior toward the schools is a status factor. That is to say, the presence in the system of larger proportions of people with high incomes, educations, and occupations, relationships between styles and decision-making at the career level and in school system institutions show theoretically analogous patterns. In districts of relatively low conflict, school boards usually appear to give their superintendents wide latitude in initiative and decision making while in the

high conflict, low resources systems, board members and other functionaries seem to have more power independent of the superintendent. What he is saying in simple terms is that the high status community tends to give to its school authorities a wider range of sanction and freedom in deciding what's to be done and how to do it. These are what he calls high resources, and he finds that in the high resources areas there is low conflict between the school as an institution and its clientele. Conversely, in the low status school systems, that is, where the majority or the predominant population is low status, there tends to be high conflict and a more narrow range of latitude and initiative in decision-making processes. Miner's interpretation of school community behavior finds considerable support in the literature dealing with our sub-cultural differences, characteristics, and value orientations. I point, for example, to an urban study of 67 life-style characteristics which show marked contrast between middle-class American groups and so-called disadvantaged groups.⁹ In the category of personal characteristics, I noted several which seemed directly applicable to the point under discussion here. Middle class people put a great emphasis on community, church clubs, and group membership. Disadvantaged people tend to be more individualistic and self centered, both in their concepts and in their concerns. They are apparently more concerned about how they're going to get along from day to day. The concern shown for immediate problems takes precedence over involvement in broadly organized community activities. Middle class people feel very deeply about their freedom to

determine their own life and goals. They feel that they have power over their destiny and a measure of control over what happens to them. Disadvantaged people also want to control their own destiny but tend to be a little more fatalistic. In some instances they lean to group action, and this is not contradictory to what I said earlier, because I mean lean to group action to obtain personal goals. Middle class people are pretty much routine seekers; they are self-assured. Disadvantaged people tend to be action seekers and they carry a constant sense of anxiety. Another interesting point is that middle-class people are oriented to progress without too much concern as to methods employed, for example, in business dealings. By contrast, disadvantaged people are oriented to existence.

The tendency in the so-called high status community to be concerned mainly with broad manners of educational policy formation has advantages and disadvantages. There is freedom on the one hand to be innovative, but there is also the possibility of avoiding change for fear of rocking a comfortable boat. School boards and superintendents who have responsibilities for inner-city schools don't have any alternatives. Change is imperative. The big question is how to accomplish orderly and productive change in the absence of the kind of consensus which seems to form more easily around the needs and expectations of middle class neighborhoods. I think the answer lies in the talents of that important echelon of leadership which operates between the superintendent and the teacher. For notwithstanding the responsibility of the board and its top administrators, the crucial reflections of the school system's image are seen by most people within the practices of the local schools. There

will continue to be need for the development of broad understandings which result from study and planning by city-wide citizens committees. These committees are sincerely committed and when meaningfully engaged they can be of great value especially for consultation and feedback and they can be very valuable as a base for community support for school action of one kind or another. But the local schools are where the action is. It is there that education becomes most real for that particular segment of the community. It is between the local unit and its own service area that we need a more meaningful dialogue.

Few people find great fault with broad concepts of educational function and purpose. Most disagreement, most conflicts, occur at the point where the local school must translate broad societal purposes into those many operational goals which serve as guides to the concrete programs and services. Myron Lieberman in Future of Education said, "Every pressure group is for the general welfare and each has its own version of what educational measures do indeed promote the general welfare."¹⁰ So while a school system must be conscious of and responsive to the pressures of the groups, they must also continue to build bridges to a broader base of support and direction which derive from the reciprocal understandings of a local school unit with its own service area. Sound educational practices demand some consideration of differences among various segments of the community. But no school is an island, and no matter how unique its clientele may seem, differences apparent in any one segment of the community must be considered in relation to the total community. And what's more important, perhaps, to the extent that practices

differ in one part of the community from those in another, there will be the problems of understanding what are ends and what are means in the educational enterprise.

Dialogues to insure maximum understanding of ends and means in education can go on best at the local school level. Such dialogues cannot take place easily in an autocratically oriented administrative structure. In such a situation the local school has relatively little of importance to say to its community. In such a situation there is the constant danger that the real dialogue inevitably will move upward along the hierarchy to where things of importance can be said and heard. When the dialogue occurs at the superintendent or board level, parents and particularly disadvantaged parents, will feel that they need more power. Consequently, they seek help from more broadly based community organizations. In my opinion, many otherwise purposeless community organizations would go out of business if we at the local school level would talk to parents and not push them up this hierarchical line. It's ridiculous, for example, that a parent coming into a school building to visit a classroom, can't have enough dialogue with the principal to understand either why the principal didn't want her to visit that day, that time, or just why she couldn't visit. Why should a matter like this have to end up as a special agenda item before the board of education with two or three attorneys and a whole community organization representing the parent that wanted to visit the classroom? This is a very simple illustration of what I'm talking about. If you can't deal with them at the local level, you push them up the hierarchy. And they will not go to the superintendent and the board without some help. Now where they get help is immaterial to them.

They'd just as soon get it from a black power group as from their urban leagues. They might even prefer the black power group. More school community conflict could be prevented or resolved closer to the local school level if good two-way lines of communication were maintained between the local school and the community.

In suburbia, such dialogue occurs much more easily and much more continuously through a network of informal personal contacts, letters, and bulletins which are sent home, and parent-teacher organizations which often are related closely to other lines of community power. The local school principal is usually well-known, acceptable, and trusted by parents whose level of personal security and other life-style factors enable them to place confidence in the professional educators. Not so in the inner-city where the contacts are few, parents are wary, and feel powerless. Communications often do not reach home and when they do, too often they are not read or fully understood because of the language we use. It is entirely possible for the inner-city school to develop a desirable and productive interaction with its community but admittedly it is much more simple not to bother. In this connection just let me say one word about teachers. You know it has been said rather often that social pathology among suburbia's children is a direct reflection of the high anxieties and the too high expectations, and the intense competitive style of middle class parents. These same factors influence the parental relationships of outer city school parents with their teachers. Informal relationships of middle class parents with their teachers are particularly subject to influence by the fact that these parents have ready and direct access

to the teacher. And access is aided by the fact that the suburban teachers more frequently live where they teach. In contrast, inner-city parents have to put forth a very real effort to see their teachers, who for the most part flee the neighborhood when the last bell rings. In the more formal arrangements for teacher-parent contacts like PTA, there are some other kinds of interesting differences between the inner-city and the outer-city. Middle class parents are usually more content to attend PTA meetings where the main fare is a lecture on how to detect cancer of the breast or color slides of an exciting canoe trip up the Niagara River. This is meaningful entertainment for them, and they're free to enjoy it because of reassuring report cards and their frequent informal conferences with teachers. Inner-city parents, on the other hand, want programs showing their children in action. They want to know how well the kids are doing, or why they "ain't". Contrary to prevailing mythology, inner-city Negro parents are not indifferent to school affairs and pupil performance. They are, however, not attracted by most of the trivia that fills up PTA meetings. I have observed middle class parents with teachers in what we call room-parent groups. I have seen middle class parents with teachers in what we call room-parent groups. I have seen middle class parents who have worked together for a whole school year, meeting once a week around discussions of child development theories. They have stimulating discussion, gallons of coffee, and the two together keep these groups interested and intact throughout a school year. Inner-city parent interest could never be sustained in the same manner. Most of them would not have returned after the first or second meeting. But I have seen parent groups in the inner-city develop some

very real interest and commitment to child development and curriculum when the teacher provided the vehicle by which the parent could become actively involved in an inductive process from which the concepts emerged.

Schools have missed an excellent opportunity to effect some very real and important program changes under the cover of the crusade for disadvantaged children and the civil rights struggle; changes incidentally which for some time now have been indicated by this dramatic socio-technological revolution that we're involved in. We worked hard at modifying curriculum patterns and materials to make them more suitable for disadvantaged children. We've done so, I suspect, knowing all along that our traditional programs are not entirely suitable for advantaged children either. Fortunately, advantaged parents have not yet discovered this fact. This brings to mind the story of the two first grade children who were talking during recess. They were having this highly stimulating conversation about a rocket ship and one was asking the other one something about a new fuel that was going to work wonders and he asked the other kid what he thought about it. The other kid said, "Well, gee. I don't know. I think it depends on the effects of radiation in the substratosphere." Just then the bell rang and the kids had to go in and the first one said, "Shucks, now we've got to go in and string beads." Then there is the report card from the suburban teacher who added a little note that read, "Your son is doing very well except he has too much imagination which must be curbed." I wonder what's going to happen when middle class white parents find out that their kids produce more real under-achievement than do disadvantaged children. I think if they knew this they would insist upon less rigidity in our school programs.

Among many other things, they certainly would demand a greater degree of personalization of standards and materials; they'd seek reform and maybe even a little vengeance for our having cheated their children for so long. Oddly enough, if middle class parents demanded these things, Negro parents would accept their word and would want them also because one of the things that plagues us in working with disadvantaged kids is that Negro parents want what they think is wonderful out there somewhere beyond the walls of their ghetto. If Latin is out there then it must be good for our kids; give us Latin. We can't speak English, but give us Latin. The use of multiple textbooks is a perfect illustration of this. Disadvantaged parents don't want watered down textbooks. They interpret multiple text adoptions, where you use three or four different reading books which vary in difficulty as a watering down process. They charge us with lowering our standards. They want what's used out there at the type of school where 80% of the kids go to college. The point is they need it out there, too. They just haven't found out yet. And if we could somehow get smart enough to do this reform across the board, this business of working with disadvantaged kids could have reciprocal benefits that would benefit all of us. We talk about individualized approaches to reading in our disadvantaged neighborhoods and parents get mad because they think we're trying to sell them something different, and by inference, something inferior. Basically, very little has been prescribed as desirable for disadvantaged kids that's not good for all children, from Head Start to community college. It's not simply a matter of programs of vocational education so there will be a place for non-academic youngsters; it's a matter of revamping the entire high school program

to bring it more nearly in line with the realities of today's world. Instead of worrying only about how to teach about Africa or Negro history, we ought to be concerned about the total social studies offered for all children. More flexibility in organization, more creative teaching, more individualization of materials and more emphasis on learning how to learn, ought to be the order of the day in schools, period!

Racial issues have resulted in a critical scrutiny of our schools; and, if these issues have helped school people take a hard look beyond the racial issues, they will have been valuable beyond any intent of the civil rights groups. I want to conclude by repeating something that Albert Schweitzer observed once: "No ray of sunlight is ever lost, but the bean which it wakes needs time to sprout, and it is not always granted to the sower to live to see the harvest. All work that is worth anything is done in faith." I have faith that today's emphasis on improving education for disadvantaged children is the seed which will bear fruit for all children. I have no hope that these disadvantaged youngsters with their own culture, their own style, and their own poverty can help us change the middle-class. But I'm certain with growing awareness that if we examine school offerings for inner-city kids, we're going to find truth and consequences which are equally applicable in outer city and suburbs. If we can capitalize on this opportunity for broad improvements in education, then I think Dr. Conant's discovery of disadvantaged children indeed will have been a blessing in disguise.

FOOTNOTES

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6. INTERNAL ACTION PROGRAMS FOR THE SOLUTION OF URBAN EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

by Dr. Mario D. Fantini
Program Director, the Ford Foundation

This paper will focus upon your role as strategists inside the educational establishment and of the need for developing a strategy for reform. The opinions and personal perceptions of what's happening in urban education that I will present to you are based on my personal observations and experiences as a person who has been both inside and outside the system. I'm using as my main laboratory New York City. The premise is that New York City, as a laboratory, gives us an insight in terms of coming attractions and of the implications that these happenings may have for other major American cities. As I see it, it's just a matter of time before all urban centers will be faced with similar problems.

But because you have this time, it gives you a chance to gain from the experience in New York and Philadelphia, and some of the other large cities where the problem is serious. This is why I'm talking to you as strategists.

It is very evident that educators and the establishment as a whole are taking a position of defensiveness in response to the charges from the community on the inadequacies of the schools. This position is natural because educators are being attacked from all sides. But there's one point that should be made concerning this position of defensiveness. Although it's a human thing, a natural thing to be defensive, educators are consuming energy in the wrong way. Educators should be looking beyond; they should be capitalizing on the

crisis situation by assuming a position of leadership which is rightfully theirs. Otherwise, this position of leadership and responsibility will be relinquished to other sources.

There are two fundamental problems facing educators today:

- I. The problem of initiating change in urban education on a mass scale.
- II. The problem of determining what direction this change should take.

An evaluation of the kinds of programs we have been promoting for the past ten years and which the Ford Foundation has helped to support leaves us no alternative but to suggest that they are not working. I'm referring now to compensatory education. The present system of diagnosing the problem of urban education in terms of individuals who are not making it by any standard and then mounting a program of rehabilitation of the casualty, which is compensatory education, is not doing the job it was designed to do. The assumption that a program of concentrated remediation can make up for the deficiencies in a person's educational development so that the person can fit the educational process is not valid. This rehabilitative strategy is no longer going to be tolerated by the people who are footing the bill. The Federal government, which is giving a billion dollars under Title I is raising fundamental and justified questions. Is the program working? What are we getting for it? Is there a payoff?

There is also another strategy which we have entered into and that is so-called desegregation or integration. People in the inner city look at integration in a very interesting way. Namely, that integration seems to be an

establishment position, the same as compensatory education. We really don't have massive integration. We can't call what we're doing integration. At best it's small examples of inter-mixing. Parents in the inner city don't think it's going to come about anyway. They don't feel they can wait for it to happen. Certain minority groups don't feel that integration is an issue. The Puerto Ricans, for example, have their own cultural identity and they want to retain it. Integration to them means assimilation. They feel that what the establishment wants to do is make them look more like us.

The inadequacies of the present system are causing a movement for greater local control. The community is demanding an opportunity to have a greater voice in decision-making in an effort to make the schools more responsive to the needs and aspirations of the community. Parents are demanding quality education which in the inner city is simply defined as the ability to read and write like everyone else. They want their children to be proficient in the three R's. That's the operational definition as people in the ghetto understand it, but their kids are failing and they are demanding an explanation.

The answer they get from the school is that there's something wrong with the environment. They're told that their children are disadvantaged. How do you get up as a professional person and speak to the parents and say that their children are disadvantaged? They're not willing to accept this anymore. This is what they're calling "establishment jargon". This is what's happening in New York. It may not be the case in Buffalo, but we have a lot to learn from these incidents. It's the job of the school to educate everyone. The teachers have been trained to perform this function. These are public schools and the

community intends to hold the schools accountable for performing its responsibility to their children.

In short, they're saying that "We can't afford to have our children fail. Education is too important for mobility and everything else. We want to have a greater voice in determining policy."

The impact of this movement has been felt by Legislators in New York State. In March, 1967 a law was passed pertaining to New York City which directed the mayor to develop a plan for decentralization of the schools. Without a doubt, this is going to be a new movement in urban education. At the same time, what little movement there was toward integration has begun to filter down resulting in a conflict over which course of action to follow. Some groups are trying to do something in metropolitan planning in an attempt to bring about racial integration while others are seeking a policy of self-determination in an effort to bring the schools back to the community. This group seeks to develop a notion of public accountability, where parents and community become a partner with the educator.

However, there are very few indications of school-community partnership in New York City at the present time. Instead, there is alienation - a complete breakdown in terms of trust. This is not the case in all sectors of the city, but this is happening in those sectors which we refer to as the ghetto: the Puerto Rican community and the Negro community.

In conjunction with this movement within the urban community there is a growing movement from within the profession itself - a movement which is attempting to strengthen the position and security of the professional educator.

Certification requirements are being increased and there is rejection of the attempt to assign teaching responsibility to non-certified individuals. This movement has led to a monopoly by the professional of the public schools - not in a conscious, deliberate way, but in a natural way. Parents feel that the professionalization, the regrouping on the part of the educators, has forced them to react in a militant manner in order to be heard. They feel that they have no one to whom they can appeal in an acceptable manner. The parents of I. S. 201 in New York City, for example, reacted by boycotting the school. This group has for over a year pointed to the deficiencies of the professional. Their appeals to the mayor have been met with charges from the professionals that they are using political influence. Their appeals to the principal are met with the response that they are disadvantaged. They feel they have no alternative but to express their concerns in means that are degrading since more acceptable approaches have met with rebuke. The parents want action, but they're not getting it. They refer to the Board of Education and the Central Board as the "Board of Miseducation". Educators respond by saying that the community doesn't understand the problems in the school and that the community would not know how to effectively utilize a greater voice in policy-making. Parents respond with charges that the situation could not be any worse than it is now with the professionals in control. There is evidence of a growing sense of alienation between the school and community in which people are forced to take a position rather than to remain neutral. Coalitions are being formed, again, the battlefield model. Parent groups are trying to form a coalition with the teachers against the supervisors. These are the kinds of forces that are being

shaped and it can only lead to some kind of conflict. The whole notion of partnership and cooperation is really the rhetoric of textbooks.

The new mission for education is related to the manpower need of society. Education is that important. The rhetoric of the thirties is the reality of today. But educators haven't been equipped for this. The more they close ranks to meet the growing concern and the growing articulation of the parents and of the politicians - because the self-interest of politicians is being served by education - the more we move toward the inevitable conflict.

This is the situation in New York. It may be different in other cities. Philadelphia, for example, may be nipping it in the bud. But the changes in Philadelphia have come about as the result of action on the part of a local board which chose a former mayor to stimulate change. Parents are beginning to reject the concept of professionally dominated schools. In their opinion the public schools are not public at all. Many people have extreme feelings about this. Professor Kenneth Clark talks about the professional monopoly of schools from a sociological viewpoint. He proposes to break the system by opening up competitive sectors in education. He thinks defense should run a sector of an urban school system. Business and industry should run another sector, and universities another. In his opinion, the only way to change education is by breaking the professional monopoly in the schools. Educators may not like it, but this is what is being said.

Another criticism being expressed is that the educational system is falling of its own weight. It's ponderous. The system came out of another century and it's outdated. The purposes of education that are being articulated

on the one hand have nothing to do with the operational definition. Quality education for all, universal higher education, etc. are merely expressions and have nothing to do with what really happens because the professional states implicitly that only those who meet specific standards are allowed to continue. Only those who are ready, go ahead. The concept of quality education for all is being misconstrued on the part of the community to mean equal educational attainment for all. The strategy of compensatory education is a natural outgrowth of this attempt to equalize the educational attainment of all children. It is contrary to the notion of individual differences and it raises fundamental questions concerning our philosophy of education.

The public has a right to state the goals of education and to expect the professional to implement procedures which will bring about the achievement of these goals. This is what is being done, but the final evaluation leaves no doubt that the goals are not being accomplished. The community is demanding an accounting and they are not willing to accept the notion that their children are disadvantaged, deprived, or different. The community expects the school to carry out its responsibility to the children and if it can't be done under the present system, they're going to change the system. That's the challenge, the battlefield. It's made both groups more defensive and led to a breakdown of trust and increased alienations. But the energy which is being wasted on defensiveness should be used instead in an effort to develop a new approach to the problem. This is why meetings like this are important. Efforts have to be made to form ties from the inside to the outside before it's too late to create mechanisms to bridge these alienated publics.

The changes that are occurring in Philadelphia, Detroit, St. Louis, and Louisville may not be applicable to Buffalo. This has to be determined by you people. In St. Louis there is a proposal to unify or centralize the city and suburban schools into a metropolitan district, not for the purpose of forcing integration, but for the purpose of creating economy through centralization of services. The next step is to break the system into smaller units in an effort to retain a measure of diversity and autonomy within the larger framework. A central board is simply not equipped to be responsive to the needs of the various groups within the community. Diversity is a goal. It's something we believe in in this country and our educational system should be responsive to this ideal and give it nurturance. This movement would provide for the creation of local school boards that are truly representative of the communities. They could shape the institution to fit the aspirations of the community. In effect, this would mean the creation of local boards of education existing within the larger framework who would have the authority to select their own chief school officers, who would then be responsible for selecting building administrators for the schools under their jurisdiction both from lists of individuals currently in the system and from those now outside the system. This program would tend to play havoc with the reward system as it now exists in large cities. Those who have spent a major portion of their career establishing themselves, would now find their positions jeopardized.

This movement would also tend to make the decision-makers those closest to the learner rather than those farthest removed. It would mean a strengthening of the role of the teacher and the parent. Organizational

procedures that would make these agents much more potent than they are now are being sought.

The role of the central office and board would be retained. It would serve to coordinate the activities of the various units, provide incentive grants to foster integration, and carry out long range planning.

The role of the chief school officer serving one of the communities would be altered to serve as a community planner for education. He would work with the police department, welfare, and recreation officers to coordinate a program of human service. This is a completely new definition of the role of the administrator who previously served in the capacity of chief instructional agent. Consideration is being given to the possibility of releasing teachers on a daily basis to work in teams - not team teaching, but team planning - so that they may participate in making decisions about how the school should be organized for more effective instruction. Thought is also being given to the creation of a new position of instructional leadership. The person occupying this position would serve as a training officer and possibly be selected by the teachers themselves based on his performance and capabilities as an instructor. Hopefully, this would make the instructional program being offered more responsive to the needs of the local community.

We have then the beginning of a bottom-up movement - organic is the word that best describes it - where the agents closest to the learner have more of a voice in the development of the instructional program and those farthest removed become the facilitators and coordinators. The notion of competition within the system is receiving more emphasis and this coincides with the idea of

local boards responsive to individual communities within the larger system. The idea of subsystems created to foster research and development will encourage movement and change.

The idea that the school should be a place that educates only children is being replaced with the notion that schools should educate people of all ages, and not just on weekdays but evenings, weekends, and summers. People are beginning to ask for the community school that educators have supported with lip-service for such a long time.

Mention was made earlier of various new roles that are emerging. One of these roles concerns the employment of para-professionals. At one stage in the war on poverty we were going to solve our problems by giving everyone a position as an aid or an assistant. In some of these experiments it was found that these assistants were quite effective in achieving results with inner city children - more effective in some cases than the trained specialists. The new careers movement is here to stay and it's a movement to which educators should give some thought because if they don't, it will be done by others who know very little about what goes on in schools.

Politicians are also beginning to take a closer look at what's happening in education. An office of educational liaison has been created in New York City which reports to Mayor Lindsay on the activities in the field of education. The purpose of this office is to establish a system of communication between City Hall and the Board of Education. The same thing is happening at the state level between the commissioners and urban systems. This is being proposed

in Philadelphia and some of the other larger urban centers. This liaison role is being coupled with the notion of program budgeting: relating costs to program objectives.

The demands made by teachers for pay increases create considerable controversy in the ghetto community. The Puerto Rican community cannot understand how a teacher can be rewarded an increase in salary regardless of whether the students pass or fail. In Puerto Rico the professor was responsible for teaching children. If they didn't, there was an accounting. In New York City salaries are being raised \$600.00. Yet in some schools, over 80% of the children are failing. This is something they cannot understand.

The attack on the schools will not stop at the public school level. It will be enlarged to include the universities and teacher training institutions. Teachers are telling the parents that the methods they are using to teach children are the methods they were taught at the university. Teachers say that it's possible to do everything right in terms of acceptable proven procedures and still have the children fail. Doctors are professional people. It is possible for a doctor to perform surgery, do everything correctly, and have the patient die. But the parents response is, "Yes, but if 80% of the patients died, I think you'd raise some questions about the approach."

This is the kind of dialogue that is occurring between the school and the community and the feelings that are developing are not going to be appeased by rhetoric. The people want action. The children are failing and all they can get from the school is rhetoric.

The charge is being made that the curriculum is not even relevant - that

it's not linked to any career pattern at all. Graduates are not equipped to go into a career role in business or industry and the implication is that preparation for work is the responsibility of the school. Educators may not agree but some feel it is and that the program should begin early.

Parents are also reacting to the charge by the school people that they are not satisfactorily performing their role as parents. Some feel that the school has a responsibility to teach people how to perform this role satisfactorily since it apparently requires skill and knowledge of child development. Where does a person learn how to be an adequate parent if not in school? It apparently can't be left to chance as it has in the past since a lack of skill can be and is detrimental to the educational development of the child.

Still other questions are being asked about cybernetics and computerized instruction. Reference is made to the possibility of having a three-part school or a four-part school where one sector is devoted to reading skills, still another to the affective parts of learning, and another purely to intellectual ideas and concepts. People are getting very curious about these new techniques in education which hold so much promise for the future. They want these opportunities for their children and they want them now. The question is, what is the educational establishment going to do about it and when? The changes that are occurring now are being made as a result of pressure being exerted by power sources outside the educational establishment. Educators are being forced to change and somehow I feel that it's time the educators took a position of leadership and initiated change on their own. In what direction should you move? The basic strategy today is institutional reform. You've

tried changing the basic purpose of education. It can't be done. You've tried changing the product to fit the process, but it hasn't worked. It's about time you tried to change the process. You're the engineers of that process. It's your responsibility to do it. It's going to take a lot of initiative and drive and hard work and you will face a great many barriers, but the challenge is real and the reward is great. A little tinkering carried on in the form of role playing is not going to be enough. It's not going to solve the problem. Massive change is needed inside the system and it's your job to divert the energy currently being consumed on defensive maneuvers to measures that will bring about reform and revitalization throughout the organization. It may be too late for New York, but there still may be time for cities like Buffalo where a group of administrators really take the initiative. You're going to have to seek the support and cooperation of the community. If you don't take the initiative somebody else will and then you will have to follow, not lead. And the consequences for the learner will be more severe. The power sources outside the educational establishment are not going to wait much longer. That's clear, and it's been clear for a long time.

Conferences such as this don't mean a thing unless something happens after they're over. Administrators have a responsibility for being the initiators of change rather than the protectors of the system. This is what administration is all about and what I hope you have gained from this conference.

**7. THE NEGRO COMMUNITY: EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND
ASPIRATIONS**

AN APPEAL FOR HONESTY

By: Rev. Kenneth Curry
Pastor, St. Phillips Episcopal Church, Buffalo, New York

My profession and my calling as a religious individual calls for honesty so I will begin by saying a lot of things to you that I'm pretty sure many other people would not say even though they may be in positions of leadership. My experiences in the ghetto working with God's people and my observations of people in the top echelon of our community leave me with very strong emotional feelings. I am sick and tired of all the hypocrisy that I see associated with boards of education, superintendents, administrators, and teachers. There is a lot of crap going on in the power structure. I speak with authority because I hob-nob with people at all levels of social position. The Negro has been a second or third class citizen in America since 1619. Because of it, we are going to have more riots, more evil, and more sociological upheaval. We are all a bunch of hypocrites. We who attend church regularly on Sunday are the most segregated groups in our country.

This is our America, our Buffalo, our University. We are one of another. Regardless of what degrees you may have, or what your salaries, or what kind of homes you live in, you are hypocrites if behind the smile you give to the Negro child there are feelings of bigotry, prejudice, and discrimination. Who are you fooling? You're fooling yourselves. People see through you. You see through me and I see through you and I

refer to all of Buffalo's citizens. We should have more concern for the good and welfare of our city of Buffalo, our county of Erie, and our State of New York and our United States. We're living in hell, whether we want to admit it or not. I experienced some of that hell with you a few weeks ago during the riots. But this hell exists other places as well. I experienced it down at City Hall as a commissioner, and in Washington, and when I'm with my congregation working because I see the selfishness, the greed of deacons and laymen and of bishops and priests, as I am.

There is one point that I would like you to remember above all else that I say today. "What you are speaks louder than what you say." This applies to me, my bishop, and everybody else.

As a student I was not allowed to swim in the pool at the high school I attended because I was black. Today my nieces and nephews can swim in the same pool, but it's a shame because really very little else has changed since I was graduated from that school in 1942. The bigotry is still there in that high school and in that city as well as it is here in Buffalo. The segregation and prejudice still exists as it does here in Buffalo. Everyone from the President of the United States on down to the man on the street has been meeting and talking and discussing the problem for years and years, but we're still in a hell of a mess. I hope you resent what I'm saying because we're in this mess together. I can't cast stones at me because we are co-workers. I just wish that the various religions could get together on a basis of sincerity and truth and work out a solution.

We need to start from the moral aspect with mutual trust and love. If administrators and teachers don't have trust and love in their hearts, they can't display it to the children.

School administrators should be active in politics and government. Politics is not a dirty word. Everything we do is affected by what goes on in Washington, Albany, the county seat, and in City Hall. Are you involved as leaders of the community? This city is our city. This county is our county. This nation is our nation. We can talk about the handicaps in regard to the Negro in Buffalo, but you cannot segregate and separate Buffalo from Erie County, New York State, the United States, or the world, as far as that is concerned. We must say we are all guilty as long as there is one citizen in America that has to stand up and say, "I resent that any individual in America has to be a second or third class citizen. I resent putting that person in that situation." We've put the American Negro in that situation. There is not one Negro at this conference or anywhere in America that is really a first-class citizen and that is a disgrace.

Children in the United States are getting a second-class education; this includes children in urban and suburban schools. Children are being taught that there is a black man and a white man and in my opinion, this is a lie. I honestly believe there is no such thing as a white person or a black person. We are all colored people. This collar that I wear is white and this suit is black, but I challenge you to show me a black man or a white woman.

You as administrators and teachers, must understand truth before

you teach it. The teacher has a rich opportunity to expose the fallacies, the prejudices, the fear, and the hate which exist in our nation.

This is God's world, God's community and we are God's people. Regardless of our faith we must be honest. We must work toward common goals. Above all, let's ask God to change the world beginning with "me."

NEW FRONTIERS IN EDUCATION

By: Leeland Jones, Jr.
Task Force Leader, Project OAR, State University Urban Center,
Buffalo, New York

There are many educators in America today who feel that one of the major factors hindering satisfactory progress in the education of the Negro is the low aspiration level of the Negro population. I would like to point out some of the factors contributing to this because an awareness of them should be important to you in your efforts to develop a program which will improve the status and opportunity of the Negro. I must admit that my motives are not derived from feelings of sympathy toward you as you face the overwhelming task of trying to make order out of the chaos surrounding Negro education. The blame for the mess we're in rests squarely on the shoulders of the white community as does the responsibility for its resolution.

Some years ago in grammar school I was given a medal by the Sons of the American Revolution. On the back of this medal was inscribed, "Our inspiration is in the past, our duty is in the present, and our hope is in the future." I don't know how this inscription affected other recipients of the medal, but it has given me a great amount of stimulus over the years. I've used those lines as the topic for speeches and I've used them in my talks with young people everywhere in my efforts to point out the importance of possessing aspirations. Personally, those three short lines have given me a great feeling. But when we talk about aspirations, I think of the inscription on this medal as being almost insignificant in so far as this new generation

is concerned. Those of you who are directly involved in education had better start thinking in terms of new directions. You can't rely on principles or precedents established in the past. A whole new approach has got to be found and the place to start looking for signs that will help you map the strategy and design for this approach is out in the community where things are happening which are shaking the foundations of our whole way of life. If there's any message that I can hand on to you today it's that you ought to thank these rioters who are in effect giving you a new sense of administrative direction in education.

I have been assisting in a project sponsored by the State Education Department known as the Urban Center School. The purpose of this project is to gather data and make recommendations for developing programs that will hopefully reduce the number of school dropouts. In our opinion, this group has really been neglected. In a sense these people are told that if they can't keep up with the traditional curriculum, then they are not wanted in the schools. By doing some research we found out that there are really five groups of people that are being eliminated from school by the use of this rule. First of all, there's the dropout. This is the student who for various reasons discontinued formal education upon attainment of the legal age. The second group we call stay-outs. This group consists of students who completed high school, have sufficient ability for doing satisfactory work in higher education, but for various reasons elected to stay out of formal education. The third group we choose to call the kept-out. This group consists of those

who have both the interest and ability for work in advanced education but for various reasons are barred from doing so. The fourth group we called the knocked-out. These are the students who failed to cope satisfactorily with education but deserve another chance to succeed in it. The last group we call the potential drop-outs. This group is still in high school but have begun to lose interest, have begun to consider themselves incapable of undertaking a higher education, or have developed the attitude that post-secondary education offers them no program which will appeal to their interests and needs. These are the people that the urban centers are designed to help.

As I get into the program of trying to do something about reaching out to these five groups of people, or trying to augment the present curriculum or to see what can be done to retain these young people, not just for Urban Center work, but for the 36 two-year colleges, I realize that there are other groups that have a role to play in this effort.

Let's take a look at where the young Negro has been trying to find his stimulus. Where does he turn to get some of this thing we call aspiration. For a long time, certainly after the Civil War, the Negro looked to the mother of the household. This, indeed was the person who gave him his aspirations. Then, for a long period of time, he looked to the minister in the community who provided both moral and educational aspiration. But all the while this was going on there was a tremendous need to participate in the community.

I want all of you to know that I personally feel a tremendous need to seat Negro children next to white children in order to provide them with maximum educational opportunity. I had the opportunity of growing up in a

system where my parents actually put me into an integrated school. I participated in fraternity life in a college that prohibited discriminatory practices of any kind. It's not easy for a student to live in one neighborhood where certain social values are taught and attend school in another part of town where those values are very much out of place. I can remember very well sitting in economics class trying to comprehend the meaning of the six digit numbers the professor was writing on the blackboard. At the same time I didn't know where I would get the money to buy dessert for my lunch. Nothing was very meaningful at the outset, but by participating with these people I did find out what was going on. Truly it did help. Opportunities for enriching experiences of this kind are not available in segregated schools.

The tests that are being used to screen candidates for admittance to schools of higher learning and for various occupational positions are definitely weighted in favor of the middle-income Anglo-Saxon. Testing curbs opportunities for Negroes and creates hurdles preventing fulfillment of aspirations. Tests now being used do not realistically measure an individual's capabilities and should be discarded for something else. If we sit back and continue to use the kinds of tests that we have been using, we're just knocking out a person by taking away their aspirations, leaving them void and ready to "Burn, baby, burn."

One thing that can help to straighten out this mess is communication. Up to this point it's been a one-way system of communication from the educator to the student. But how about the unmotivated student who's developed a

whole new jargon, a whole new frame of reference in terms of living. We've got to understand what he's thinking about. A new, two-way system of communication is needed enabling us to better understand these students who are not benefiting from methods of instruction now in use.

Almost 40% of the girls graduating from high schools in cities like Buffalo and Rochester are unable to get meaningful employment or to go on to college. The results of State Employment Service tests indicate that many of them have not been properly geared or trained to meet the needs of local industry. How do you motivate a person to raise his aspirations when he learns that he can't get into college and can't get a job in business or industry? The State Education Department hopes that Urban Centers will play a key role in preparing people for opportunities that are available. But will setting up urban centers and various other compensatory programs really be effective without a strengthening and improvement of communication between the tutors and the students? If improved methods of communication do not occur, then watch out for these five groups of school rejects that I talked about. These people need an opportunity to express themselves. It's up to educators to learn their language so that you can understand them and be able to let them understand you. Find out what direction these people want to go and then run out in front of them saying, "Follow me." This I believe, is the problem educators face in raising the aspirations of this dynamic group of people whose efforts are going in the wrong direction but can go in the right. The only good that's come from their efforts so far is that all of us are directing our attention to problems that are truly new frontiers in education.

A NEW LOOK AT AN OLD QUESTION

by John Mc Grew
Deputy Director, Community Action Organization, Erie County

The anti-poverty program in Buffalo, of which I am an executive officer, has as one of its primary goals the development of educational programs for children in the inner city. Project Head Start is an example of one of the programs under its jurisdiction. Other programs provide such things as after-school tutorial and remedial educational services. During the past two years we have found that many of the children with whom we work are functionally illiterate, and that the majority of the functionally illiterate have a negative attitude toward school. They give up in despair because they feel they are unable to learn and that the school is unable or unwilling to help them. Where does this attitude come from that affects most Negro and Puerto Rican children in America? I contend that this attitude is taught in the schools. The children are told that they can't learn - that they're different. School people justify the poor achievement of these children on the basis of the low scores they receive on standardized intelligence tests. They claim that the children come from disadvantaged homes where little emphasis is placed on academic pursuits. As a result, teachers claim these students are unable to do well and their predictions are borne out in the classroom. Children that are not expected to do well do not do well.

The fact that children do exist in a poverty stricken environment does have implications for the teaching-learning process. School people must take into consideration the problems these children face. This knowledge about a

child's environment should not be used to predict a child's ultimate success or failure in school; it should be used instead to help determine and shape the kinds of procedures and methodology utilized in the education process.

Professor Kenneth Clark reports that childrens' attitudes toward learning and achievement in school grow worse as they progress through the grades. Why is it that after three or four years of involvement with a school system the child's achievement and attendance record grows progressively worse? One consideration is that it is the result of poor teaching practices. It represents the failure of the school to carry out its responsibility to all of the children in the community.

The movement toward universal public education, which occurred at the turn of the century has certainly had an effect on the ability of the schools to cope with the problems of educating masses of children from a diversity of social and economic backgrounds. Perhaps one ill effect of this basically sound intention is that the teacher has been so flooded with children, so crammed with tasks and duties that have to be performed in a certain time limit that he is unable, under the present organizational structure of the school, to cope with the problems of providing educational experiences which will benefit all of the children for whom he is responsible. Regardless of the high sounding platitudes and expostulations of educators, there has been no basic change in New York City's educational system in the last forty years. This is an astonishing finding since it has tremendous consequences for the child. Children are not being educated and when they are not educated they are doomed to a life of earning a low income. What's more, they are doomed to a life of not performing up to their

potential and to a life of perpetuating and continuing the chain of misery and poverty in which they exist.

What is the solution to this dilemma? A number of educators are suggesting that the solution is bussing. It is assumed that children from the ghetto, both Negro and Puerto Rican, must sit next to white children from more affluent homes in order to be educated. I do not agree nor do I approve of teaching children that they must sit next to a white person before they can be educated.

Other educators propose to provide for the cultural enrichment of children, which the home environment does not provide, by visiting museums, zoos, art galleries, and places of historical significance in the community. It seems to me that this still does not address itself to the basic issue.

The basic issue is that principals have to conduct a school and teachers have to conduct a classroom as if they really wanted to teach. The project being conducted in the Banneker District in St. Louis is very encouraging to me. I asked Dr. Shepard, Assistant Superintendent in charge of the Banneker schools, how he achieved such outstanding success. He looked at me and said, "John, it's very simple. All I demand and all I require is that a teacher teach."

It seems to me that educators need to spend less time intellectualizing about the goals of education and more time on the behavior which results in desired performance. A greater understanding of how a child learns and how to structure a classroom so as to more fully implement learning are the real problems in education today and to which we should direct our maximum attention and effort.

WHAT PARENTS OF DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN EXPECT FROM THE SCHOOLS

by Geneva Scruggs
Director, John F. Kennedy Recreation Center, Buffalo, New York

Regardless of all things that have been said or might be said about me and what I have tried to do in Buffalo, I speak to you today as the mother of four children, all of whom have passed kindergarten through 12th grade in the Buffalo Public School System. I also like to be represented as a member of the Militant Forces of Parents in the Core Area of the Buffalo schools, which has for many years attempted to bring focus on the inadequacies in educational opportunity of children in the core area schools. I also represent one of the many parents who in the past years have been labelled as rabble rousers and whose pleas for school improvement fell on deaf ears. We have noted through the press and T.V. that the seminar on unique problems in urban education has dealt with many phases and areas relative to the unique problems of urban school administration - past, present, and future - and aspirations and handicaps regarding the education of the Negro child in the Buffalo schools. You have dwelled on the aspects, the philosophies, and goals of various groups showing concern in many of these areas and as principals and assistants I would hope that these specialists from the various fields have motivated you to going into a season of soul-searching as we approach a very crucial September and the opening of school.

I should like to talk to you today on what parents of disadvantaged

children hope to have their children receive and become through education. As you listen to the panelists and the various speakers in this series of sessions in this seminar, I'm sure you will hear many high-sounding platitudes. This reminds me of a cartoon in which a very poverty-stricken looking man was seated in a chair talking to a social worker and he said, "I used to say that I was poor, but I was told, 'Don't say that you're poor, it's demoralizing. Say that you're poverty-stricken.'" I said that I was poverty-stricken, and then I was told 'Don't use that term, it's self-defeating. Say that you're deprived.'" And then the social worker said, "Oh, deprived has been over-used. Say that you're indigenous." The man looked up in exasperation and said, "I still don't have a dime in my pocket, but I have a wonderful vocabulary."

We have been identified throughout our residence in Buffalo with parents and children of whom so much is written, but we stand as witness to certain facts that have been pointed up relative to the inadequacies of the school buildings and the poor quality of the education that many children in the blight area schools have been receiving. We have been counted among those who have been vocal on the point of improved teaching and learning conditions, the upgrading of teachers and the improvement of the salary schedule so as to attract the best of the teaching profession to our city. We have stood up in forums and appeared on panels where we have discussed our school system, and we have heard experts tell us by comparison how Buffalo stands relative to other cities. All of these facts we know and have heard repeatedly. We have heard many parents discuss their hopes and aspirations for their children. We are also aware that there are parents who have no aspirations themselves, do not know

how to go about building aspirations and could care less about the whole process of education. All of these pros and cons bring out very vividly the fact that our present concept of educating the whole nation in order for the nation to be called an educated one makes good sense.

Once there was a feeling that the acquiring of an education was to a greater or lesser degree determined by the social and economic standing of the family. Following that era, generally, families who did not have the previous social status or financial affluence became interested in having their children continue in school. It was then that the parents began to think on the matter of deciding what they expected from the schools in their community. They also began to think about the children whose parents were not concerned about their education, and they began to devise plans and programs to motivate these parents or to somehow bridge the gap between the home and the school. Discussion in PTA groups lent itself to home and family life studies. Faculty members often served as consultants to groups discussing the health needs of school children. At this stage the school was looked upon as a fireside around which parents could sit and share experiences and gain information. In these discussions the need for increases in budget often came up, so the school also became a place through which parents could voice their approval or disapproval of the per capita expenditures for education. Months and years of these at random discussions continued. Hit and miss projects were launched by little groups going off in many different directions and with the ineffective results causing great frustration. Each of these groups knew, in some detached way, what it wanted from the school. Many knew that they should be prepared to give

something in return for what they received.

It came about that with the organization of the PTA and its rapid spread throughout the nation, parents began to feel the need of a universal unification of goals and for a systematic plan for achieving these goals. What then, can we state as a universal goal of parents as they work together as the army of supporters of our schools? Expressed most profoundly and most accurately, these words of PTA purpose open the doors for us to begin our attempts to outline some of the things that we believe that parents want from the schools:

"To promote the welfare of children and youth in homes, schools, church, and community. To raise the standards of home life. To secure adequate laws for the care and protection of children and youth. To bring into closer relation the home and the school, the parents and teachers may cooperate intelligently in the training of the child. To develop between educators and the general public such united efforts as will secure for every child the highest advantages, in physical, mental, social, and spiritual education."

These are the goals and the ambitions of most parents throughout the nation. We believe that school is a place of learning - a never-ending source of food for mental and cultural growth. We believe that schools are staffed with people who have been trained to lead our children out of the dust of limited information into the sunlight of knowledge. We are eager to watch the gradual unfolding of young minds and the grasping of new thoughts and words. We believe that parents want for their children love and understanding blended in with the learning process. We believe that parents hopefully send their children to school believing that the knowledge they were denied or refused to accept in their youth, will be acquired by their children and that new horizons will open showing a more fruitful and glorious way of life. We believe that parents want

to look up to teachers and administrators and to feel that in the whole school relationship there will be found warmth and genuine interest in the child as a human being with individual likes and dislikes and that he will be dealt with accordingly. We believe that parents knowing their limitations in the area of guidance, both vocational and educational, look to the schools to help children in finding themselves so that they do not become brainwashed with the idea that because of the color of their skin or the geographic location of their home, they will automatically be placed in one of two categories: those who can be educated and those who cannot be educated. For the most part, this would mean that ghetto children, most of whom are Negroes, would be classed as uneducable and that suburban children, most of whom are white, would be classed as educable. We hope that through the school's guidance department our children will be provided with educational opportunities according to potential and not just because of the aforementioned reasons and that they will not be forced into vocational or job oriented education.

We know that to a considerable degree the schools do and can do what is largely expected of them by the community. Communities and schools are inseparable. We also know that through no fault of their own, many parents of children in our schools do not know what part to play in the educational program of their children. They themselves are the products of a segment of our society that did not feel that certain members of the community needed to be educated.

Now, these uneducated, untrained members of our community are, as it were, an albatross hanging around our necks. We cannot spurn the in-

adequacies of these members of our community; we must share them. We have seen this monster growing and we have done nothing about it. As parents we have seen children pass from grade to grade totally unprepared for what would confront them in the higher grades. As parents we have not expected this from our schools. All of us, professionals and non-professionals alike now look at each other and ask, "Who is to blame?" Let us admit that the home has a responsibility in preparing the child for the school experience. Let us also admit that one cannot lead where one does not go. One cannot teach what one does not know. So the community looks to the schools to bridge and fill in the gaps that lack of knowledge has created in the attitudes and approaches of many of the children who must attend the ghetto school. Let us admit that teachers cannot be expected to put in a full day at school and then make home calls on their own time to learn something about the background and home life of each child; however, we believe there is an ever-growing need for this sort of experience for the teacher so that he may be able to understand some of the problems with which the ever-so-young must cope. It is hard to compare the responses of a child who has had to sleep with two, three, and sometimes four brothers and/or sisters, get up and prepare himself for school, or leave home without a proper breakfast with the responses of a child who sleeps alone, has someone to prepare his breakfast for him, and get him ready for school.

We, the parents of ghetto children, have arrived at some conclusions that we would like to share with you. The educational system has become a vicious circle wherein fear reigns supreme. The parents fear the reprisals that might be taken against their children if loud protests are voiced about in-

differences, lack of understanding, and downright failure to teach on the part of some teachers. Some teachers are afraid to move ahead in a forthright way to project new and challenging programs in the classroom. Many fear the wrath of the principals who have not set the pace for their faculty, preferring the easygoing non-militant approach. Many principals fear objections from the community, the power structure, and from politicians. So around and around it goes, each level fearing reprisals from the other.

What is the visible attitude of the school's faculty? It must be the attitude of the principal filtering down through his staff. Whether his attitude relates to desegregation, integration, compensatory services, PTA, or home-school associations, the attitude of the principal sets the tone. As we approach September with a State Commission's mandate for integration hanging over our heads, what manner of principal will each of you prove yourself to be? Will you be counted among the principals who have joined the group that admits that the ghetto schools have been and still are inferior in physical plan, in teaching tools, and in teacher motivation? Will you be among those who receive crates of instructional materials and leave them unopened in the storeroom for many months?

Our aspirations call for principals to see that every child becomes what he is capable of becoming, and as new supplies come into the schools, that they are used for the purpose intended. Will you make a welcome to all children as they come to you from the sending schools? Or will you have a negative approach as has been reported from one receiving school, where the children from the sending school were herded into an auditorium and greeted with such

statements as these: "We don't bring knives to this school. We bathe when we come to this school. We wear clean clothes when we come to this school." Or will your attitude fall on the positive side causing you to respond like the principal who formed welcoming groups of children to meet children transferred from ghetto schools and guide them through the school building? The first principal has set the stage for an unhappy experience of the children, the teachers, and all parents concerned. The second has launched the project with flags flying and happy hearts singing and ready to move out through democratic action.

We want for our children, the best education that they are capable of acquiring. We want for you as principals, assistant principals, and your faculty the most favorable conditions under which to work in your capacity as a leader towards wider horizons. We want an equitable per capita expenditure for the education of every child. We want you to be paid a salary commensurate with your training and the task that is before you. And we want from you: help, love, understanding, guidance, moral strengthening, discipline, and knowledge of our children. We want to stand with the schools as they voice their desire to be given the place, the time, and the tools they need to teach. We want from our schools the assurance that there are no better schools and that in our system every school is equal to every other school in its administration, its physical aspects, teaching staff, its materials, its code of discipline, its guidance services, and every other phase of the educational process that challenges us to arm for our cause; our children.

I have talked to you as a mother and I have poured out my heart telling you the things that I have wanted for my own children. I have not, I cannot, and

I do not want anything for my own children that I do not want for the children of my neighbors.

Let us be realistic in this matter of expectations and aspirations. It is very unrealistic for us to imagine that it is possible for the ideal situation to exist always, whether it be pupil and teacher, teacher and administration, or home and school. These negative responses, which are referred to too often as the vicissitudes of life, should challenge us and send us to greater heights in our chosen profession. If not, we become discouraged and lapse into an attitude of ineffective performance. Yes, there are far too many children, unfortunately, who bring nothing into the school and who are difficult to stimulate or to motivate. The community realizes this and we believe that it is our responsibility to join forces with the schools to see that this minority doesn't hamper the teacher in her attempt to teach, nor the other children in their desire to learn. We expect that our children will find in the schools strong male and female images and the school has a right to expect that the community will create a desirable climate in which these images can flourish.

The child in the disadvantaged area is a sensitive being. Many of his seemingly belligerent attitudes are only shields behind which he is hiding an aching heart. Love him, try to understand him, and remember that he is the product of a very warped society.

I believe that these are the dreams and aspirations of many parents who live in the ghetto area. I believe these same dreams are shared by parents in the more privileged middle class families and parents in the very affluent brackets of our society. I believe that together we can accept the challenge of

the changing times and together work towards the fulfillment of our dreams. "It is easier to build a boy than it is to mend a man" is the motto of the Buffalo J. F. K. Center. This, I believe; and as we leave this assembly and as we close these remarks, and as each of us returns to his own sphere in this challenge of building boys and girls, let us think of our own desire for those whom we love and begin striving to make these things possible for someone else. May I close with these words by Lady Glenn Connor: "Bitter are the tears of a child, sweeten them. Deep are the thoughts of a child; quiet them. Sharp is the grief of a child; take it from him. Soft is the heart of a child; do not harden it."

PART III

SCHOOLS FOR THE URBAN COMMUNITY -
NEED FOR CHANGE

8. INSTRUCTIONAL PLANNING FOR THE URBAN SETTING

by Dr. Samuel Shepard, Jr.
Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Education
St. Louis Public Schools

The Banneker District, located in the city of St. Louis, has achieved some recognition in terms of its ability to develop a program which has proven effective in improving the educational achievement of children from the ghetto. Some of our ideas, experiences, and activities may perhaps provide you with a different point of view, a different insight into your own situation. Some of these ideas may prove applicable to your own situation and be as effective in helping you achieve your goals as they have been to us.

The St. Louis school system, which includes approximately 150 public elementary schools, is divided into 6 geographical units. Each of these units is administered by a team consisting of an assistant superintendent in charge and 3 supervisors; one supervisor works with grades K - 2, another 3 - 5, and the third with 6 - 8. In addition, we have two consultants, one in music and one in physical education. The offices of each team are located in one of the schools in the district. My position is assistant superintendent in charge of the Banneker district. My office and those of the supervisors and consultants are located in the Banneker Elementary School. The Banneker district is located in the inner city - the "slum area" that so much is being written about. It takes in all of the downtown area and fans out from the big department store center to the run-down commercial area, where people live over and in the rear of the stores, and to the brokendown slum residential area. There are 22 schools in the district with approximately

15,000 students and 500 teachers. About 98% of the students and 90% of the teachers are Negro. One of the 3 supervisors and 3 of the principals are white.

The Banneker district is the poorest of the 6 districts any way you look at it. No one investigates to determine whether the youngsters who live in our area are eligible for Head Start. This means that the annual family income is under \$3,000. As a matter of fact, the annual family income in 3 schools is under \$2,000.

In 1954, St. Louis was a totally segregated city. Immediately after the Supreme Court decision in May of 1954, our Board of Education voted to desegregate the schools. They did this in 3 steps. In September, 1954, all of the special education facilities and the two teachers colleges were integrated. The following January the secondary schools were integrated, and in September the elementary schools were integrated. At that point, 75% of the students in the Banneker district were Negro.

The problem of de facto segregation is as great in St. Louis as it is in most other American cities. This past year our Board of Education wrote to the superintendents of the 29 school districts in the surrounding suburban communities asking them to make some of their vacant seats available to inner city Negro children. The response has been negligible.

Quality education cannot be achieved as long as there is racial isolation in the schools. I would like to make that crystal clear. We live in a multi-racial, multi-ethnic society. If the goal of education is to prepare children for effective citizenship in a democratic society, then we cannot justify educating them in isolation because it is contrary to the accomplishment of that goal. Efforts are

being made to eliminate segregation but the results are pretty poor. The drive to achieve quality education should begin with the elimination of racial isolation in the schools, but the concentration of large masses of Negroes in urban centers has made this extremely difficult to accomplish. We realized that the problems of segregation were not going to be solved immediately, therefore, we decided to do the best possible job of educating our youngsters under existing conditions. We knew we couldn't stand by and wait for this problem of racial isolation to be solved. Too much was at stake in the lives of the children who are now in the schools. We have been able to do something for these youngsters and for their parents. More can be done when the battle has been won, but it has to be won first.

Dr. Conant, in his book Slums and Suburbs, saw the present events in his mind's eye and since that time we've benefited from his insight. He expressed concern over what he referred to as the social dynamite that was ready to explode in the big cities of America. He was right. There has been an explosion and I suspect it's going to get worse before it gets better. The intellectual standing of Joe Louis was not held in high regard, but following one of his victories in the ring he made an interesting comment that has relevance to the movement of whites away from the inner city. When asked, "How do you feel when you have to chase your opponent around the ring?" he replied, "They can run, but they can't hide!". This is the way I see our situation. White America is running hard, but I don't think it can hide. The white race is going to have to stop and face this situation.

Perhaps you have read about the world's latest engineering and architectural wonder that has been constructed in St. Louis. It's a beautiful stainless

steel arch that rises 640 feet above the Mississippi River. It's part of the re-development of downtown St. Louis, but within the shadow of that arch people live in poverty. This is all part of the Banneker District.

It's quite a contrast. St. Louis takes great pride in being "the gateway to the West". This beautiful arch is the epitomy of the Chamber of Commerce's dream to draw people to St. Louis, but within the shadow of that beautiful structure there are people living in herd-like fashion in so-called "efficiency apartments" - from 8 to 20 people living in 3 rooms. Hot water would be a novelty. A private bath would be unique. How difficult it must be to sleep, particularly the children, herded and huddled up in this fashion. Suppose one of the children is a bed-wetter. How do you expect the kids to come to school the next day - smelling like a rose? It's not likely. It's not uncommon to pick up the newspaper and read where a youngster fell out of an apartment window, or down the steps, or was burned or scalded to death because he turned over a stove or a pot of boiling water. What efforts these people make to try just to survive! When these youngsters come to school they bring problems with them that other children don't have. You must have insight into what these conditions are before you try to solve the problems.

The problem of low academic achievement is very great. It exists because these youngsters are not well oriented toward success in school. Their orientation is toward fighting for existence. How can these first graders know how to please the teacher? They can't. They have a different set of values. The classroom becomes an arena where frustration and defeat are inescapable. By the time these children reach third grade they are psychological dropouts. They really have not learned to read well. The work is too far over their heads. They move

along in the grades because of our policies in social promotion but they're not really participants; they're not benefiting from their presence. They're just warming the seats. They only stay because the law requires it. By the time they reach the ninth, tenth, or eleventh grades, they leave at the first opportunity - they become a physical dropout.

What happens then? They'd like to work. They apply for work; they try. But what do they hear? "You don't have the educational qualifications. You don't have the training and experience so we can't employ you." One other thing has happened. They've added another year of life and now they are eligible for public assistance. If they haven't already done so, they get married; and if a child hasn't already been born, it soon will be. Then the cycle starts all over again. The irony of it is that we know what the symptoms are - we've watched the whole process from start to finish but what have we done to prevent it? The loss, measured in terms of human productivity or in terms of the dignity and worth of the individual is staggering. It reaches into every community in America. It's effects are nation-wide and long-lived.

One of the basic causes of this vicious cycle is low academic achievement. The schools are in a position to attack and overcome a vulnerable link in the chain of events that leads to frustration and defeat. The elementary school must accept the challenge of providing these children with the necessary basic skills in reading, language, and arithmetic that will allow them to profit from a first-class secondary school program.

Two years after the Supreme Court decision desegregating the schools, our secondary schools announced a policy of grouping children in three tracks.

Under this system ninth grade youngsters would be grouped on the basis of their achievement in reading, language, arithmetic and tested intelligence. We all have come to face the ugly fact in American education that youngsters in poor areas, without reference to race or religion, score anywhere from 6 months to 4 years below grade level on standardized tests. It was very clear that we had to correct this situation.

The first group of about 1,000 eighth graders that went to the high school from our district had an average intelligence score of 82.6. In Missouri, that's just a little bit above the state definition of mentally retarded. According to the prescribed standards, the majority of these children would be scheduled for track three. The curriculum in this track was designed for below average children.

In four years time we were able to raise the average IQ of eighth grade students from 82.6 to 95.0. We asked the Director of Tests and Measurement how he would account for this. The book says you can't change IQ. He said that in his opinion the improvement was due to a change in the conditions affecting the student. The results of encouragement, motivation, and improved communication were impressive. We were delighted with the progress that was made. We haven't solved all our problems. We haven't done all that can be done by any means, but we have reversed the typical situation.

I'd like to share with you the kind of morale, the team spirit that has made this kind of progress possible. The team includes the administrator, the teacher, the parent, the youngster, and even segments of the community. This morale would do credit to any winning organization or team. For example, teacher turnover in the Banneker district is very low.

This is the kind of morale that makes the difference between success or failure in the classroom and has worked to reverse the attitudes of the children. The positive attitude of the teachers and administrators toward these youngsters has in turn forced the students to have a more positive attitude toward the school, the people in it, education, learning, and achievement.

The youngsters come to school more often. When we started, the daily attendance was approximately 85% of enrollment; now it is 92%. One of our schools located in the poorest section of the district has a daily attendance of 94% of enrollment. The children are better behaved and more interested in their work. They do better work. Behavior problems have decreased. Occasionally we have to suspend a student whose behavior cannot be tolerated but our suspension rate is very low.

The parents have been very instrumental in bringing about the improvement shown by the children. We invited them to be partners in the education of their children. We gave them a job - we involved them and their response was fantastic.

The cooperation we have received from the community agencies and business firms in our area has been wonderful. Organizations like the YWCA, Carver House, and Fellowship Center offered a real service by making their resources and facilities available to us. They provided quiet study places for those children who did not have one in their own home. The progress we have made is due to this cooperative effort and interest. The kind of change that needs to be brought about in the inner city requires the cooperation and concerted effort of everyone in the community. All the physical and human resources

available must be put to the task.

The key person in this team is the administrator. If he or she feels that achievement and success in school is dependent upon the color of the skin, the IQ, the occupation of the father, or the number of books and magazines in the home, which we have been taught are the determinants of learning, then we aren't going anywhere. If we're not willing to abandon these notions, we might as well not begin. The same is true in terms of the teacher. If the teacher attempts to predict the maximum achievement of each child based on these external factors, we aren't going to make much progress. We started this program on a broad scale and without additional financial support because we knew that an experiment in only one school would cause too much delay. We had to be courageous and make a bold move. Our approach was to start with the principals. We could see clearly what the three track program in the secondary school meant for our boys and girls. It was obvious that the opportunities for children with an 82.6 IQ were limited. The first thing we did was to ask ourselves when we as principals had last been in the classroom to explain to these youngsters what a first rate education could mean for them. Had we ever told them how difficult it would be to get a job - to earn a decent living? How long had it been since we last examined the reading scores of the students in each classroom? How much time were the students spending in the basic reader - 1 month, 2 months, or 9 months? Do we know what's really happening in the classroom? Are the kids moving at their own pace or at the desired pace of the teacher? We sold our principals on the notion that they were the key to improvement. We owe whatever progress we have made to

their willingness to share in the search for solutions to our problems.

This is quite a step in St. Louis because in St. Louis the principal has typically thought of himself as situated up high in an ivory tower; someone who gives a few directions and expects others to jump. This was a crucial problem that had to be overcome. We approached it by inviting the principals to take off their coats, roll up their sleeves, and get in and pitch.

Our principals have come a long way. If you happen in on one of their weekly Thursday morning meetings, you would think it was a meeting of the Monday morning Quarterback's Club discussing the strategy for Saturday's game. The relationship is wonderful and wholesome. We knew that we couldn't win the battle alone - it would have to be won in the classroom. But we had to set the tone of the relationships that would go on between teachers and ourselves, between teachers and teachers, between teachers and parents, and between teachers and students. The principal can't be oblivious to this responsibility. He's got to be aware of how cliques arise and how they operate to tear down the morale in a school faculty.

We asked our teachers to quit teaching by IQ which we described in this way: "Suppose there is a youngster, let's call her Mary, who has an average IQ. If she hesitates a little before answering the teacher says, 'Come on Mary. You can do it. You've got to think. You know how we did it last week.' What is this teacher doing? She's pushing. She's encouraging Mary. She's motivating and she's stimulating her. She is trying to guide her and she sticks with her. But perhaps most of all, she's transferring a level of confidence that she has in Mary and Mary understands this very well. But

what happens when she calls on Charles, who has an IQ of 71? If he makes a grunt or two and rolls his eyes up toward the ceiling, she pats him on the shoulder saying, 'Well, that's a good try Charles. We want you here every day. We're going to water the flowers and move the pianos and you can dust the erasers every night.' What is the teacher doing here? Where's the motivation? Charles can see that his teacher doesn't have any confidence in him. He wouldn't let her down for a thing, because if he did, there'd be something wrong." If you analyze this situation you realize that the teacher is pretty comfortable in this kind of arrangement because she's differentiating instruction according to these numbers, and she sleeps well at night.

We asked our teachers to abandon labelling of children according to family circumstance and to reject the inclination to adopt an attitude of condescension. These are poor people and they are trapped. They are enslaved - if not in body, in mind. But they don't want pity. They want to earn our respect and we've got to find ways and means of making that possible. These people are often misunderstood. They're not stupid. They're not dumb. Some of them are living quite well on their welfare checks. Many of the 15,000 youngsters in our district are on welfare, yet we are naive enough to think they're dumb and stupid.

Ninety percent of the teachers in our district are Negro. Most of them were born in our district. They earned a chance to improve themselves by finishing high school and going to college. When they finished college they came back to the Banneker district and got a job teaching. They got out of the slums, wear good clothes, own an automobile, and are able to live in the better

part of town. This all happened because of education. It's pretty hard for the elementary teachers not to look down - not to condescend. It is even more difficult for the whites who were not in the situation in the beginning.

The crisis in education, and I remove all qualifications, is the lack of respect that exists between the teacher and the learner. This crisis exists everywhere at every level. If the learner has the skill, he has the respect of the teacher; but if he doesn't have the skill, he isn't respected. It's universal. If the teacher is trying to teach an arithmetic problem and the youngster has no skill, the teacher unconsciously transmits this recognition of inability to the student. But this is exactly what the learner does not want. That's the problem we haven't solved in American education, period!

We asked our teachers to assign homework. There are all kinds of arguments, pro and con, about homework. But we were trying to change the attitude of students toward schools and the teachers and principals in them. Our goal was to change the attitude of the youngsters toward education, learning, and achievement from one of indifference to one of esteem and respect. Homework provided us with a wonderful vehicle to do this and we made much of it. As a matter of fact, we tied the youngster up so that he had no alternative. We produced what is known as the Banneker district homework assignment notebook. This notebook has pages in it for assignments only. We emphasized the need to learn independent study habits and skills. We showed the youngsters a film that pointed out the various things to do, the most important of which is to remember to write down the assignment. Assigning homework was a chore for the teacher, but we felt it was very important.

Every teacher in grades 4 - 8 was to see that there was an assignment in that notebook every day.

Then we solicited the cooperation of the parents. We asked the teachers to visit the homes. Some of the teachers and principals were apprehensive and fearful so we arranged to have a police patrol car cruising the block and one beat man walking the street while the teachers were making their calls. We released the teachers from school early so that some of their visits were made on school time. At that time our schools let out at 3:30. We agreed to start at 2:45 in the afternoon and visit until 4:00. The teachers soon realized that the police protection was unnecessary and it has been discontinued. Most of the visits are now made in the late afternoon, evening, or Sunday. It takes some skill to plan a successful program of home visitations. You have to realize that a "no" response to a request for a conference in the home may mean that the parents are too proud to have you see the condition under which they live, rather than disinterest in their children. It requires tact, empathy, and understanding.

Students were asked to assist in the preparation of a script for a radio program titled "Mr. Achiever." The purpose of the program was to point out in an interesting way how well the efforts necessary to receive a good education would be rewarded. Students, teachers, and principals from our district actually played the characters in the script. Many community leaders have been Mr. Achiever guests. This program is beamed into the classroom over the PA system in each school. Mr. Achiever posters deck the halls of our schools. We miss no opportunity to stress the importance of education and to

build up the children's confidence in themselves. Mr. Achiever's theme song is the old popular song, "You Can Be Better Than You Are."

Early in the spring we organize a parade with floats and marching bands to emphasize the importance of school participation. This is another opportunity to create interest and motivation in school.

The school accepts the responsibility of widening the horizons and raising the aspirations of these children. Many of them have no idea what the inside of a good theatre or restaurant looks like. They've never dined out. They have no reason to learn good table manners because they have never been in a situation where these skills are required. What motivation is there to improve social behavior? The behavior that they know is all that is required in their home environment. To counteract this lack of experience each teacher arranges to take part of her students at a time to dinner in one of the city's restaurants. The students prepare for this in advance by discussing the need for being clean and well-groomed, well behaved, and mannerly, and by learning the proper way to order from a menu. New insights are developed, aspirations are raised, and meaning is given to concepts that are discussed in school.

When someone asked, "What are you trying to do? Make middle-class people out of these children?" My response was, "Yes, if what we are doing will make it possible for them to earn a decent living for themselves and their families; if because of it they sense a feeling of accomplishment and self-respect; if what we are doing will make them feel they have a choice in determining their future and the future of their children; if it opens new insights into what life has to offer through responsible behavior; if what we are

doing encourages participation and interest in community improvement through democratic processes then I say to you, these are the goals and objectives that guide the program in our school and to which we are strongly committed."

9. RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION OF QUALIFIED STAFF FOR CITY SCHOOLS

by Dr. R. Oliver Gibson
Professor of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo

There have been many reports of the concern expressed by prospective teachers when looking forward to the possibility of service in urban schools, particularly in inner city schools. Some report that their attitudes have been affected by parental fears or the anxieties of friends and relatives. The same people, when teachers in those schools, report unexpected satisfaction and find the experience particularly rewarding professionally.

Now let us see how we can make some sense out of what those teachers were saying. You may at times think, as I attempt to analyze what those teachers were saying, that I have gone completely off the track. At other times I may seem so abstract as to be irrelevant. But I shall try to point out the significance of my observations to the realities of the school as I have them in mind. For what I am going to suggest strikes me as very, very practical indeed, considering the nature and scope of the problem and the apparent ineffectiveness of procedures now being used to deal with it.

I shall, first of all, make a few comments about the current state of affairs in urban schools and then go on to a discussion of the factors which contribute to that state of affairs. Several suggestions will then be given as to how the situation may be improved. Finally, a proposal which contains some implications for recruitment and retention of personnel will be presented.

Educational Affairs in Northern Cities

The processes of industrialization and migration have resulted in development of rather similar conditions in most northern cities. Included in these are such cities as Boston, New Haven, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee. The conditions common to such cities have been summarized by Havighurst:

1. A relatively low educational background of the majority of parents that is reflected in their children's school achievement.
2. A high degree of de facto segregation in the public schools, amounting to some 70 percent or more of Negro elementary school pupils attending schools which have a 90 percent or higher enrollment.
3. A high degree of socio-economic segregation in the public schools, with children of low-income families concentrated in certain areas of the city - usually the inner shells of the city.
4. A tendency for teachers with experience and seniority to move to the higher status schools where discipline is not much of a problem.
5. A need for flexible and varied curriculum development suited to the varying achievement levels of the various schools and of the pupils within the schools.
6. A need for high schools located where school population is increasing and also located so as to contribute to social integration of the school population.
7. A need for innovation coupled with responsible experimentation and evaluation of the results of experimentation.
8. A great deal of dissension and controversy within the public concerning the policies and practices of the school system.

Havighurst's general statements can be specified in terms of children who have never been able to see much in the way of chances in life, anger at conditions which hem in living, grand homes and cold-water flats, symphony orchestras, prostitution, special financial privilege, extortion, avant-garde groups, and inquiring study and conversation. You can fill in the picture in the

schools.

What is this phenomenon that we call the "city" or the "urban center"? As we are thinking of it now it is a mental construct, a concept, or a symbol. To the Greeks it was the polis. The polis had much of the same variety of intellectual inquiry and illiteracy, poverty and opulence, special privilege and deprivation as the city of today. But the loyalty of the Greek to his city was quite a different matter than is that of the contemporary American for his city. Let us say that we symbolize the city to ourselves in ways quite different from those of the Greeks. In part the difference relates to objective differences out there in what we call the "city." But it also seems that our habits of thinking about the city help to make the city what it is. Here we come to that very basic characteristic of man which separates him, as far as we can tell, from other animals, namely, his ability to symbolize things to himself in his own consciousness and, as a result, to make a difference in events. Cassirer has called him the animal symbolicum.² As a symbolizing animal he creates his worlds in his mind and acts out his creations in his daily life. What he thinks makes a difference. It was, I think, Chesterton who once said that in renting a room to a man it may be more important to know how he thinks about money than to know how much he has in his pocket. It may, then, be very important to inquire about how we think about the city.

Some Human and Intellectual Aspects of the City

One of the striking aspects of how we tend to symbolize the urban center to ourselves is the frequency of use of words which suggest badness and difficulty. It probably goes back as far as Sodom and Gomorrah at least. Note our

proclivity to speak of "the urban problem." In direct contrast is our concept of the wholesome, fresh, and natural countryside. Those of us who grew up in the country, if we are willing to think back, can recall much that was anything but wholesome, fresh, and natural. In between has come a symbolization of the suburb that possesses its own unreality. But the important point is that we tend to act in terms of the symbolizations, becoming nostalgic about the country, proud of the suburban status, and fearful of the evils of the city. White and White have traced some of our ideas of the city in their very suggestive book The Intellectual Versus the City in which they comment:

3

Underlying many critiques of the American city is the ancient imperative: Follow nature. The argument built upon this imperative has been relatively simple so far as it affects the city. Man ought to follow nature, but life in the city does not follow nature; therefore, life in the city is wicked.

Perhaps enough has been said to make the point that how we think about the city has much to do with what the city is, for, through acting out our conceptions of the city, we are inclined to shape it after our images. In this sense our symbolizations of the city become self-fulfilling prophecies.

Might we not just as appropriately symbolize the city in quite a different way? In many ways it would seem much more appropriate to think of the city as a place where a great variety of opportunities are available, where variety of opinion is part of life, where variety in taste and standards make possible greater scope in life, where, in sum, there is a more liberal state of affairs. It appears that new ideas and new practices are more likely to come from the city than the country. Indeed, the rural society's regard for tradition and sanctioning of strict conformity to norms is well calculated to stifle creativity. Let

me then propose that it would be much more appropriate for us to symbolize the city to ourselves as the center of liberalism, creativity, and opportunity. But, unfortunately, we do not think that way. We think of the city as bad and as a problem. Like the child who, when told that he is stupid, acts on that assumption even though he may be quite bright; so also the city, after acquiring an image of problemness, comes to be treated in that light even though its cultural qualities suggest quite another image.

I am still talking about recruitment. Much of the difficulty of getting young people to entertain seriously the possibility of teaching in the city stems from the symbolization of the city that they have picked up in the family and from friends. And such problems as do occur come to be highlighted or reinforced by the habitual way of thinking. Any fundamental attack on the problems of recruitment and retention needs, it seems to me, to take into account this problem image and its self-fulfilling prophecies. It probably means that we have to examine our everyday language, encourage discussion about and contact with the city designed toward image-change. It may require new courses in colleges, early contact of prospective teachers, their friends and families, with the city schools, and a whole variety of other approaches. City people need to overcome their problem complex and begin to think realistically about creating an opportunity image. Those qualities of the city which, hidden by the problem image, have suffered from inattention need to be highlighted and reinforced.

The limitations brought upon us by our image of the city are further confounded and complicated by other images that suffer from unreality or the

deadly hand of unexamined tradition and the sanction of vested interest. We have come to think of "localism" as such a sacred concept that the city and the suburb cannot examine metropolitanism in rational terms. Some may yearn for a rational discussion concerning the location of an educational park or a hospital. However, if "Boost Buffalo" becomes a slogan that makes the rational examination of alternatives a form of community disloyalty, then the city has done something to deny its human heritage and the right of intellectually honest examination of issues.

We often further compound our misunderstandings by the ways in which we think of authority. In the name of authority administrators make regulations, the actions of government officials go unreviewed, the megalomania of officeholders bears in upon us, and reason may shrivel in its shadow. But there are hopeful signs. The public and employees are beginning to ask that statements clothed in authority have an overcoat of reason. The ombussman, grievance procedures, and the like are coming to serve as forms of redress from capricious authority. The vestiges of feudal, personalistic privilege are being replaced by an equality that rests upon capacity to make sense. There are screams and occasional retribution emanating from those whose special privilege based upon anachronistic tradition is threatened. But the groundlines appear to be leading to the vision of a liberal society. The Negro also longs for that day.

Fundamentally important is the way that man symbolizes himself to himself. Psychology has helped us to understand how important that image is. The Coleman report documents its importance to the education of low socio-economic

children. The concept of man as essentially bad has been the justification of many aversive employment practices and the self-righteousness of central administrative officers. Our understanding of human plasticity and human capacity for response, if it is given the conditions under which it can flourish, seems to justify an almost unbounded confidence in human capacity for development.

Finally, what is our image of education? Conventionally we have pictured it to ourselves as "transmission of culture." Defined in that sense, education becomes an essentially conservative and maintaining force in society. As Coleman suggests, it seems appropriate to think of education as a self-reproducing system.⁴ But today the great need is not to pass on the evils of yesterday and its prejudices. The need is for a change, a rebirth. It may be that we need to think of education as a self-renewing system - a system under which culture gets reviewed, refreshed, and revitalized. If so, then we can see the school as a force for social renewal. That, it seems to me, is precisely what the problem of integration is demanding of the schools.

These comments have probably been more than enough to make the point that much of what we call problems today stem in large part from how we think about ourselves and our condition. It all leads very naturally to asking about how we can think in some useful fashion about the school as an institution and what it means for recruitment and retention.

Creating an Image of the School

It seems useful to me to think of the school as a social system. By that I mean a number of positions related together into a structural whole. The

criteria for inclusion in the system provide a boundary separating it from its environment. The degree of permeability of the boundary determines how open or closed the system is. Closed systems tend to have impermeable boundaries, are defensive toward the environment, have strict rules and regulations, and tend toward sameness of structure which locks in energy thus increasing entropy.

Open systems have the opposite characteristics; high boundary permeability, accepting toward the environment, flexible rules and regulations, and differentiation of structure that releases energy thus decreasing entropy.

Ultimately the closed system is in danger of self-destruction through rigidity and isolation. The open system is ultimately in danger of being absorbed by its environment. In between is the sort of system which possesses sufficient openness to grow and adapt but still retain its identity. This we can call a viable system.

The school seems to me to be a system whose characteristics get to be determined in important ways by certain boundary questions. Systems such as schools, hospitals, prisons, and the services, need to be very clear about when their clients or members are part of the system and when they are in the environment. For the school it has to do with when the child is in the home and when the school is in loco parentis. Various court cases have sought to determine the boundary point. The rituals of boundary crossing tend to be very clear in both time and place, e.g., registration for school or admission to a hospital. Thus the boundary tends to have low permeability and the system takes on some of the characteristics of a closed system. In this respect the school could be expected to have the characteristics, to a degree, of the closed

system, reacting rather defensively toward the community, emphasizing conformity to rules and regulations, and developing uniformity of structure which restricts initiative and participation. It is with a good deal of regret that I confess that my logic seems to bring me to something only too like the schools out there in reality. But there are also schools scattered along the continuum from closedness toward openness. My impression is that there is a clustering toward the closed end. There are studies which give credence to this position.

This conclusion brings us to a very important matter. The research concerning teachers and their work suggests that teachers, like workers in some other fields, derive their satisfactions primarily from their work and their dissatisfactions largely from the environing systems. Teachers like to do meaningful work and to handle it to their own satisfaction with minimal environing constraint. A closed system tends to restrict work discretion and to increase system constraint. Under such circumstances one could expect that there would be considerable dissatisfaction with work and aggression directed toward the central office. This problem is becoming aggravated these days. The level of professional competence of teachers is either rising or they think it is, or both. In either case teachers are coming to want to exercise more control over the center of satisfaction, their work. Thus they are pressing for a more open system. But a closed system, by definition, has a rather low capacity for response. It strikes me that all this has something to do with a lot of the turbulence that is going on in schools these days. It appears quite safe to predict that either the turbulence will increase or the schools will take on more open characteristics.

Let me illustrate with one area of teacher concern - class size.

Teachers say they want small classes. It is my impression, supported in the literature, that they want to do a good piece of work and they do not mind having a fairly large class so long as it does not get in the way of doing a good job. However, when the system sets up the class situation in such a way as to make good work performance more difficult, they become more dissatisfied. When problem children are placed in the classroom and they make it difficult for the learning process to take place the teacher becomes unhappy. Again, it is my impression that the teacher does not mind having a class the size that other teachers have so long as her work is not handicapped by problem cases that should have specialized attention.

It strikes me that urban schools are rather susceptible to taking on the characteristics of the closed system. Havighurst pointed out, as quoted above, that the Northern urban school tends to be subject to community criticism and pressure. We have also noted some of the problems that arise from customary ways of thinking about the city, authority, and the school. It may very well be that these all conspire to make the urban system, in some cases at least, rather closed. The apparent defensiveness and structural rigidity in some city systems leads me to surmise that there is something to my speculations.

Havighurst also has alluded to what he calls the "four-walled" school and the "community" school, arguing that the urban school, if it is to cope with its contemporary challenge, needs to move from its four-walled status toward that of a community school. In terms of the present formulation, the urban school needs to become less closed and more open. There is, by definition, a

problem in all this. For, if the school becomes too open toward the community, it may lose its renewal capacity. The school that possesses a functional degree of openness would then be a viable school. It would be open enough to respond to the human needs of the community and to be supportive of the human needs of its teachers. Let us call such a viable school, perhaps for want of a better term, a humanistic school. It is my hunch that, were it possible to develop such a school together with a more constructive image of the city, urban schools would find the tasks of recruitment and retention much less pressing.

You may now feel rather disenchanted that you have been brought to this rather utopian abstraction that bears little practical relevance to what actually occurs in the schools. However, let us see what we might do about setting up a rationale and some practices, by focusing upon work relationships and how they might be set up in a satisfying manner. In the following proposal a policy position of the board will first be suggested and a plan will then be outlined.

A Proposal for Work Organization to Enhance Recruitment and Retention

A proposed policy statement of the board. It is our intent that the schools of our city will serve to make possible for all people, young and old, life that is good in all its ways. To this end we want to share in all that man has come to know and appreciate. We want to go on to fresh insights into what is true and what is good. Particularly are we concerned about racial and economic deprivation in our midst. When affairs are so arranged, either by circumstance or design, that the very young are caught in the grasp of deprivation and isolation we cannot escape the likelihood that the situation ". . . may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." We see as

a primary and urgent need the establishment and maintenance of the conditions in the schools that open up for all young people meaningful life chances and that speed them on their way to acceptance and accomplishment.

The conditions which give rise to concern have been with us for some time and have taken root deeply in the customs and motivations of society. When a condition so pervasive in our city bears in upon the schools, the schools cannot hope to help solve the problem, except in commitment and action shared with the community. In part because the condition has been with us for a long time, the urgency of that shared commitment and action is today acute. It appears to us that particularly relevant is a genuine shared commitment with all groups who can make common cause with us for quality integrated education for all. In that cooperative community endeavor we foresee the possibility of productive action with community groups, both formal and voluntary, with the several branches of city government, with the organizations of teachers and other staff members, and with the several state and federal agencies, both public and private. In sum, we see an obligation to undertake a comprehensive educational program aimed at reversing a pervasive social condition that has become deeply rooted in our society.

We do not know that we have yet seen the ways by which the changes may best be effected. We are, however, confident that we should make the best use possible of what we already know and, through sincere cooperative effort, seek educational pathways to a better society.

We would argue that such aspirations are now urgently called for. And it is our expectation that the staff of the public schools will share those aspira-

tions, both in their work and through their associations, to the end that they may be converted into social realities.

Recruitment and retention policies are intended to identify, bring to our schools, and retain the teachers who can make education a lively part of urban living. These policies should reflect the scope and diversity of our social and intellectual life. We expect, therefore, that our administrators and teachers will develop specific plans for the ways in which they can help the community to accomplish the kind of education we desire. Those plans will include the ways in which they propose to bring to the schools the staff that is needed. We are not at all concerned whether the staff is certified or not; we do, however, expect that the administrators and teachers will be able to show how their judgments relate to the standards of their several professional groups and that they will from time to time provide an assessment of how the results of their plans and activities relate to our educational aspirations. We hope, however, that critical examination will be a continuing activity which the staff and the community will undertake seriously and vigorously. In this sense we look forward to a school program which demonstrates to all a model of an intellectually vigorous and self-examined life.

A proposal for instructional staff grouping. We turn now to a proposal which we can assume has been formulated by the administration and the staff and is advanced as a reasonable approach to the kind of education indicated above as desired by the board. The plan rests upon what we know about how people behave socially, upon the realities of the manpower resources available, and certain practical needs of running the schools. It will be argued on those

grounds that the traditional staffing practices be replaced by a program of instructional staff grouping. Since its potential has much to offer for recruitment and retention in inner city schools, the proposal is that it be initiated in those schools, with primary emphasis upon the elementary schools.

The recommended program is seen as promoting desirable education as well as providing a number of operational advantages. There is a very substantial and growing body of knowledge that points up the social nature of people and the implications for how work can be organized. These findings raise questions about the rather isolating effect upon the teacher of the self-contained classroom limiting, as it seems to do, the sharing of experience, skill, professional insight, and instructional tasks. The sort of sharing through groups just suggested opens the way to the instructional gains that can come from teachers working at the tasks that they can best do. It opens the way to continuing and functional sharing of the insight of more experienced teachers with those who are entering, thinking of entering, or helping with instruction. Such a group, insofar as it is socially and professionally supportive of the members of the group, can be helpful to the individual in finding a personal and professional identity. In sum, the proposed program of teaching groups is seen as a social soil in which meaningful personal and professional growth can take place.

Perhaps even more compelling is the argument that arises from the need for efficient and effective use of limited manpower resources of highly competent professionals. There is an escalating demand for such persons in all sectors of our society. While at the turn of the century about 4% of the labor force was in the professional-technical sector, by mid-century it had doubled to

about 8% and another doubling to about 16% is expected by about 1975. At the same time teachers are becoming a smaller portion of the professional-technical sector. In the midst of the growing competition for professional personnel, it seems reasonable to question whether it is feasible or desirable to continue to work on the assumption of being able to obtain one outstanding teacher for every fifteen to thirty or thirty-five pupils in the schools. Indeed, unless schools can maintain a really competitive status not only in terms of economic remuneration but also in terms of professional rewards for teaching, it would seem almost likely that the general level of quality in the teaching force will decline. An instructional group program need not reduce the ratio of regularly certified teachers to pupils and, in the program recommended here, it does not. Indeed, it will be argued that the program will serve to retard or even reverse the possible decline in quality.

There is an urgent need for personnel policies and programs that are calculated to cope with the above realities. One element of such a program would seem to be an emphasis upon at least a core staff of highly competent teachers in each school. Just what would be the critical ratio to the whole staff is a matter for further study. The members of the core staff of a particular school provide the personnel who can serve as leaders in the recommended instructional groups. In so doing they have the opportunity to affect daily the performance of other members of the staff and to counteract the potential negative effects of escalating competition already mentioned. In general, then, it is argued that instructional grouping provides one realistic approach (not in itself sufficient) by which schools can cope with escalating competition for competent

professional personnel.

The advantages in terms of accomplishment resulting from division of labor have been formulated by different economists. Instructional tasks may be divided in a number of ways. Instructional content, probably the most frequently considered, is but one basis. Level of complexity of skill, interest, and professional maturity are some other bases. More than one basis might be combined in creating a division of labor within a group and the basis might shift from time to time. Thus the group with its division of labor opens up possibilities of more effective and flexible use and development of the varied talents of the staff.

Implementation of a program of organizing instruction in small teaching groups is bound to run into a number of difficulties. In many ways practices and facilities have been developed on assumptions of one teacher and a number of pupils. Many teachers and administrators may be eminently recalcitrant to the changes that new times make necessary. Facilities very frequently do not lend themselves to instruction by teaching groups. A combination of humane personnel relationships, professional concern, and imaginative adaptation can do much to overcome the limitations of custom and structure.

The alternative to meaningful reorganization of the work of teaching by remaining in the grip of custom and facilities offers a bleak prospect with the all too great likelihood of a degeneration of the quality of instruction in schools.

On the other hand implementation of the program recommended here opens the way to a number of operational advantages. The teaching group is calculated to enhance social and work identification or involvement. There is

considerable evidence to suggest that such a development is likely to be associated with reduction in frequency of absence and turnover in the staff. It is also likely to be associated with greater involvement in instructional tasks. Also, because the group has a degree of flexibility through its ability to distribute tasks among its members, it can adapt to emergencies and absences of its members in ways individual teachers cannot. Thus the flexibility of the teaching group provides a way of coping with the many agonizing problems of the occasional substitute affecting, in all probability, the total pattern of substitute service.

Perhaps the greatest operational advantage of the teaching group is the fact that in-service preparation is functionally built into day-by-day work. There is much evidence to suggest that this approach to in-service work is more likely to change behavior than are lectures, workshops, on synthetic problems, and conferences. It has already been suggested that the in-service aspect of the instructional work group may be of critical importance for the upgrading or even the maintenance of reasonable standards of staff quality.

The group also opens up possibilities for recruitment as well as for upgrading skills. There are already reports of experience in which persons serving in such roles as aides have developed identification with teaching, and have set about to prepare for such a career. It is here that the instructional work group approach is particularly relevant for inner city schools. It makes possible utilization of a number of persons not now in the instructional force, including mothers of grown families and such ethnic groups as Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans. As part of the preparation of student teachers, if the

identification idea is at all correct, practice in such a group can lead to greater depth of insight into the problems and possibilities of the inner city school and to interest in service in those schools.

Furthermore, the instructional group can provide the supportive climate necessary for the early development of professional self-confidence. Such social support can be of critical importance, particularly in inner city schools, in building the interest, insight, and confidence that may lead to continued service in these schools. While this support can prove valuable to teachers at all stages of their development, it is probably most pertinent to the young teacher haunted by the fears and uncertainties prevalent in our ways of thinking about the inner city.

The ways in which flexible instructional work groups can be developed are, no doubt, many depending upon the interests, facilities, and needs of particular schools. Research and experience to date do not provide a firm basis for any one pattern for groups. At the risk of seeming to advocate a particular pattern, one possibility is now proposed. It might prove sensible in some situations to think in terms of a group of at least seven members, perhaps more typically a group of ten. Such a group might consist of one core-staff teacher who serves as leader, three regular less experienced teachers, a beginning teacher, two practice teachers or interns, and three aides. Let us assume that one such group is assigned for each 150 pupils. Then in a school of 1,500 pupils there would be a core-staff of ten particularly able teachers, thirty regular less experienced teachers, ten beginning teachers, twenty practice teachers or interns, and thirty aides, including such persons as members of

the teacher corps. In accordance with this policy, instructional staff quotas can be developed by the central staff and they can be allocated by districts or areas of the city with specific assignments made by district or area administrators and principals. Principals should be encouraged to test out and assess the feasibility of various forms of instructional groups.

These are some glimmerings of what the proposed humanistic school might be like. You might try your hand at creating an image of a viable urban school system calculated to help in the recruitment and retention of teachers.

It was first argued that much of our difficulty regarding the city stems from a negative image of the city. The influence of a negative city image is increased by traditional ways of thinking about such matters as authority, people, and education. There is a real need for image change.

Social systems were seen as having different degrees of openness or closedness along a distribution from one to the other. Schools seem to be located toward the closed end of the distribution. The urban situation needs schools that are more open. Upon this basis the humanistic school has been proposed as a viable system for these times.

Stemming from the above considerations a proposed statement of policy for an urban school board has been formulated and a related staffing program has been advanced. The staffing program, aimed directly at improved recruitment and retention, emphasizes structuring the staff in work groups that can help to attract and retain staff members. The program seems to make social, psychological, economic, and organizational sense. In detail the proposed might be applied in many different ways by local school staffs.

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10. THE URBAN SCHOOL SYSTEM OF TOMORROW

by Dr. Frank J. Dressler,
Associate Superintendent, Buffalo Public Schools

Any speculation on the future of urban school systems must, of necessity, start with today's accomplishments, limitations, and problems. When one undertakes the task of cataloging these factors, it becomes apparent that it is not possible to consider all of them within the scope of this paper. Consequently, it is necessary to make choices and to devote attention to those factors which seem, if not more critical, at least basic to the future task of providing quality education for all the children of the urban center. As a result of this choice-making the problem of the most desirable pattern of grade organization for the urban school and the question of the location and size of schools in an urban center will not be considered. Consideration to the 4-4-4 plan of school organization, the Education Park concept and the busing of pupils are critical educational, social, and political issues in our urban centers. But the sense of urgency that surrounds them is an aspect of the great social revolution through which the United States is now passing. Omission of these factors is not an attempt to ignore the importance of racial integration in the schools. However, the present situation is so fluid, so mixed with changing and conflicting values and emotions, that one hesitates to predict the outcome. The remarks which follow are intended instead to draw attention to other basic issues related to quality education - quality education which will operate for the benefit of all children in all patterns of grade and school organization.

The urban school of tomorrow, if it is to meet the needs of urban children with a wide range of differences in cultural, economic and social background, ability and interest in school, must be organized on a different basis than are the schools of today. Its goals must be the continuous development of understanding of knowledge to the best of the child's and the school's ability, the development of the skills of problem solving, and the growth of personal and social maturity. Its organization must provide for the continuous adjustment of the curriculum to the factors of change in our society. Providing for individual differences in the ability and growth of children, and for adaptation to change, have long been objectives expounded by educators. But everyone closely connected with city schools, in fact with most schools, knows that the concern for these objectives is frequently more verbal than actual.

The basic device used to adapt instruction to individual differences today has been the introduction of various practices of grouping based on assumed differences in levels of ability and achievement. These procedures have proven to be ineffective for several reasons: First, the degree of our knowledge of variations in human ability and growth and our means of measuring these factors is not sufficient to warrant treating children in this way. Second, our feeble attempts at curriculum revision to meet assumed levels of ability are entirely valid justification.

We do not have valid criteria on which to base decisions as to which body of content is more appropriate for a slow learner than for a fast learner. Nor do we know with any degree of certainty what aspects of the curriculum are more easily learned by "slow learners". By and large, we have watered down

the traditional content of most subjects and the examinations to the point where the assumed slow learner can pass, hoping that in the process he has gained something useful. Many children do not believe that what they are gaining in school is valuable, and they cast their negative vote by dropping out or by remaining in school in body - but not in mind.

The basic devices used to adapt schools to change today are to alter the organizational structure and to alter the curriculum. Both of these approaches have merit if it can be shown that the changes will bring about improvement in meeting the needs of children. All too often this is not the case. Changes in grade organization frequently are administrative changes made to meet space needs, community pressures, and state mandates. The assumed educational values are rationalized later.

Curriculums are modified for much the same reason. Local group pressures require the introduction or modification of certain subjects or areas of content. Regional accrediting agencies, the College Board of Examinations, the State Education Department, the State Legislature, self-appointed foundations or groups of content specialists prepare and/or dictate the subjects to be taught and the material to be studied in each subject. These efforts at change almost universally reflect adult concepts - concepts frequently based upon the ignorance of knowing nothing or of knowing too much about a specific area. Seldom are they related to the developmental pattern of individual children nor are they designed to help the child to develop problem solving skills, or to grow in personal and social maturity; rather, they seek to impose on children a pattern of information that is often useless and sterile, and whose primary value is to help him pass

the final examinations.

The urban school of tomorrow must escape from much that is common practice in education today. Goals and objectives must be re-evaluated. If the purpose of education is to provide for maximum understanding of knowledge, to develop skills in problem solving, and to encourage personal and social maturity, then the curriculum, methods of instruction, use of instructional tools, grade placement patterns, evaluation procedures, and building facilities will have to be altered since these factors are all interrelated. Alteration of these aspects will be useless, however, unless they are accompanied by changes affecting the preparation and work relationships of the professional staff.

This sounds like a very formidable set of changes, and indeed it is. But the situation is not hopeless. In an educational system organized for change, the ultimate goal is never reached. What is important is movement in the right direction - the direction of teaching individuals - not groups.

The first requirement for individualizing instruction is to know the achievement level of each child at all times. Instruction must start where the child is and not where the teacher thinks he ought to be. Teacher evaluation of progress is very effective when the teacher has the opportunity to get to know the child and his developmental problems. From time to time teacher judgment should be checked against standardized tests.

The next requirement is to custom-tailor a curriculum to provide for the continuous educational growth of each child. This may sound utopian, but nothing less will do if we are to provide for the maximum development of each child. Needless to say, the adaptation of the curriculum to the child will lead

to new concepts and practices about grading, promotion, and grade placement. But these new concepts will not be as far removed from actual practice in the schools as we might first assume. We still talk of grade achievement standards, but in reality they have become quite flexible. What is really new is that the flexibility will be based upon rational planning and not upon chance and/or necessity.

In the primary years, the curriculum and instructional emphasis will continue to be placed upon the communication skills related to reading and arithmetic. These subjects are essential, since they deal with the organized patterns of symbols that open doors to the stored knowledge of the world.

In the intermediate years, the development of the communication skills must be continued. However, when we look at the rest of the educational program, we find that careful evaluation and re-thinking is needed. Certainly science, social studies, and literature are keys to important areas of life. But so are health education, child growth and development, sex education, human relations, racial relations, economics, government, international relations and an understanding of the world of work which goes far beyond the concept of community helpers.

Specialized curriculum workers should be continuously involved with the community, the teachers, and the pupils to determine the individual needs of each child and how they can best be met in the school. Curriculum development should be approached as a flexible, individual problem. Perfect answers for all time need not be sought, since change is anticipated and accepted. The urban school should be committed to the experimental approach. An ongoing program

of evaluation must be built into the system. There should be no hesitancy to discard that which is ineffective in satisfying the objectives of the school.

As the secondary level the need for emphasis upon the skills of communication continues on a more mature level. The new concepts previously proposed for the intermediate curriculums designed to help the child better understand himself and his role in society, must be expanded. Additional concepts from psychology, sociology, economics, and other areas of learning must find their way into the curriculum along with history, algebra, chemistry, and the other traditional areas.

Special effort should be made in the school to help the child prepare for the world of work. The nature of most jobs has become more complicated and more specialized; the opportunities of the child to learn about types of jobs, what they are, and what they require of him, are limited. In many cases, the child has only a vague idea of what his father does to earn a living. His experiences in growing up have not prepared him for realistic decision making in this area. The urban school of tomorrow must do much more to help the child make a wise choice. This preparation must start in the early grades and the emphasis must be greatly increased during the early secondary years. Teachers and guidance counselors should work as a team to help each child make a wise occupational choice. As the child's occupational interests begin to develop and crystalize, provision should be made for visits to places of employment and other experiences which will help him identify areas for further study.

The later secondary years have become a period of specialization in preparation for work for many children. This preparation may be very specific,

as in the case of a boy learning to be a machinist, or it may be open-ended, as in the case of the person taking college entrance in the expectation this will open the door to further educational opportunities. In any case, a choice has to be made and this usually occurs during the eighth or ninth grades.

Hopefully, in time, children will not be forced to make an occupational choice before the end of their secondary education program. At such time all specialized education will be conducted at the post high school level. Unfortunately, however, such a change will have to wait until the general educators have developed curriculums and methods which are more meaningful and more attractive to many of the young persons in the schools.

The greatest single curriculum problem confronting the urban school of tomorrow is the necessity to identify and develop a useful pattern of education for the young persons who do not have the ability or the interest and motivation to want to prepare for college entrance or for the skilled vocational trades. This group finds much of present day general education meaningless to them. It is often completely unrelated to their lives and their interests and appears to lack direction and usefulness. This group is large and in most instances, it is growing. It is in this group that the largest number of dropouts occur, and it is also in this group that many discipline problems occur. Certainly such a pattern will contain elements of the traditional academic program. Some of the new concepts previously proposed, concepts which relate more specifically to the child and his current needs, will prove to be a significant part of the pattern as will general occupational training around clusters of related work activities. This is not a proposal for a diluted vocational program, but rather a plea for the

development of a new type of occupational education which will prepare the youth for entry into a variety of positions within a broad occupational area.

If the urban school of tomorrow is to be organized around the individual and his needs, the curriculum is not the only part of the program in need of revision; equally important are changes in methodology. Teaching procedures which are designed primarily for work with groups will have to be modified to include a great deal of individual or small group instruction. Learning experiences will have to be related to the needs of each child at his stage of development rather than to the assumed level of accomplishment indicated by the grade or the curriculum. More emphasis will need to be placed upon the continuous evaluation or progress. Alternate methods will have to be tried if the first method fails. Above all, methods will need to be developed which place great emphasis upon the development of problem-solving skills. Children should learn the sources of information, how to evaluate and organize knowledge, and how to use knowledge to reach conclusions and to develop patterns of action. Such procedures will be infinitely more valuable to the child than the ability to recall numerous facts. In addition, if the development of personal and social maturity is accepted as a goal of education, the child must be allowed to grow. He must be given opportunities for self-direction and for valid group participation. The iron hand and the iron will of the teacher must become more gentle, for the skills of self-direction and self-discipline do not flourish in a dictatorship, even a benevolent one.

Above all, methodology must be determined by the critical needs of the child. If the child's failure in reading is caused by poor eyesight, the

methodology is obvious - get him to an eye doctor. If his failure is caused by lack of concept-forming experiences and he is unable to understand the meaning of work symbols, the methodology again is obvious - provide him with the needed experiences.

I do not propose to guess at an optimum class size or teacher-pupil ratio. This will vary depending upon the ability and the needs of the children. What is important is that each child be engaged in useful activity that will contribute to his educational growth. The dull hours of involvement with busy work, the physical and intellectual repression of much class procedure, must come to an end.

Obviously, these suggestions will require the employment of more teachers, teacher assistants, librarians, more specialists of every category. But this is the price of quality education. If our experiences with Head Start (Early Push) programs and compensatory education, as provided under Title I of the E. S. E. A. have told us anything, it is that if you assign greater resources to a task, you can expect to gain greater results.

The new methodology will require an increased use of a wider variety of instructional materials or tools. Books will still be used. In fact, we still need lots of books - books organized in carefully worked out developed steps, and books with no set pattern, except that they deal with a wide range of ideas and events which are of interest to young people. We will need books with varying levels of reading difficulty and books with varying levels of interest to children.

We will not be able to limit our instructional tools to books and related printed materials. Man has always organized, recorded, and sought to

perpetuate his knowledge by the use of the latest technology available. The cave man drew his pictures on the cave wall, since this was the only method available to him. When printing was developed, knowledge and education made a great leap forward. It became easier to organize, record, and perpetuate knowledge.

The schools are still operating primarily in the age of books, although technology has passed beyond this point and has provided many other useful means of communicating ideas. The optical projector has been available for years, but sees limited use in classrooms. Radio and TV, two of the most effective devices for communicating ideas and building values in the adult world have still to come into their own as educational tools in schools. Record players and other recording devices are in the same category. Even more sophisticated electronic tools like teaching machines, talking typewriters, and computers are being developed and will be available for use in the classroom.

These innovations have great potential for aiding the teacher, for improving instruction, and above all, individualizing instruction. The urban school of tomorrow will have to learn how to utilize these machines as aides to instruction.

It follows that school buildings and related facilities will need to be modified to provide for new teaching methods and instructional tools. The familiar square classroom will have to be replaced with rooms of varying sizes adaptable to flexible uses. Experimental programs have already established patterns of this type of school facility. The task for the urban school is to actually create such facilities and to put them to use.

Individualization of instruction - new curriculum - flexibility - continuous change - use of new instructional devices - how is the teacher going to adapt to all this? We know that one of the reasons for the lag in educational innovation today, is the insecurity felt by many teachers in the face of new knowledge, methods, and tools. Unless some way can be found to help the teacher and to prepare him for the changing patterns in education, very little that has been proposed will happen. The preparation of the teacher is the key, for the action occurs when the teacher meets the student in the school room.

One great weakness of education today is our reliance upon the teacher to keep himself professionally competent. After five years of college the teacher is expected to be prepared for a career spanning 30 or 40 years. All factors point to the need for continuous retraining of the teacher in knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values.

How are we to acquire this modern teacher? Part of the responsibility rests with the teacher preparation programs of the colleges and universities to modify their programs towards greater reality. Part of the responsibility rests, as now, with the teacher and his professional interest and desire for growth.

But these factors are not enough. The urban school system must assume greater responsibility for the re-training and updating of its professional staff. The present practice of granting extra salary for extra college credits helps, but it is not adequate. Just as the army and industry recognize the cost of re-training personnel as part of their operating costs, so must the school system.

Teachers should be periodically evaluated to determine the need for additional training. Those who are found lacking in knowledge or methodology should

be assigned to a college program or to an advanced school maintained by the school system and taught both by college and public school personnel. This assignment would be the regular and full assignment of the teacher for the required period of time and at no reduction in salary.

In addition to these more extensive renewal classes, the urban school should conduct a continuous series of short in-service programs for teachers. These would be designed to give insight into some specific problem or to develop skill in the use of some specific procedures. These courses should be conducted during regular school hours or after hours in which case teachers would receive additional compensation for attending.

All that has been said about the limitations and needs of teachers also applies to administrators. Being promoted from the classroom to the office does not usually make essential differences in a person. The nonchalant are still nonchalant, the eager are still eager - what has changed is the role in the educational process that the person is expected to assume. Each has its particular pressures, responsibilities, and limitations. The title of principal, supervisor, director, or superintendent confers no special talent or ability, although it may give the person an opportunity to see and appreciate additional aspects of the total educational structure. Administrators need in-service education and updating the same as do teachers, and the urban school system of the future should provide the opportunities.

No effort will be made to promulgate a more perfect administrative and/or supervisory setup than that which exists in urban schools today. There appears to be no general pattern or procedure. Administrative structures are historical

and appear to have developed in relation to need, to community pressures, and to the impact of personnel. However, as the instructional program is individualized, the teaching staff is enlarged, and new and complicated instructional tools are introduced, there will be a need for additional and more specialized administrators and supervisors. The use of the word supervisor may not express the proper connotation. What is needed now and will be needed in the future are skilled, competent, and emotionally mature persons whose primary job will be to help teachers adjust to the many problems with which they will be confronted.

The last proposal for improvement in the urban school of tomorrow relates to a serious problem in today's schools - the problem of communication between the various parts of the total school structure. Communication is needed from the top to all eschelons below and from them back to the top. Many cross patterns of communication also are needed - teachers to teachers, principals to principals, etc. Unless there is communication, change as proposed herein is not possible. All personnel must know the objectives of the school and why these objectives have been selected - all personnel must have a commitment to achieve these objectives. Knowledge and commitment have their roots in the processes of communication.

The effectiveness of communication is usually assumed to be a function of size. There is no evidence that size is more important than people, but assuming the same personnel, size does increase the difficulty of the problem.

All school systems develop structures and procedures for communication. These include such well known institutions as: the faculty meeting after school,

the superintendent's staff meeting, meetings of principals, and other discrete groups, committee involvement in curriculum work, textbook selection, preparation of tests, and advisory committees of various types. All of these devices serve a useful purpose, but do not solve the basic problem.

Too many meetings and committees are devoted to routine administrative functions and become characterized as techniques for direction-giving rather than as means for communication. Another problem is that each member of the school team - the teacher, the principal, the supervisor, the superintendent - are primarily interested in their own function. They perceive themselves in a special role and frequently they do not listen, even when they talk to one another.

The urban school of tomorrow will have to create a new structure for communication. This should consist of an organized series of in-service meetings involving all teachers and dealing with the specific administrative and teaching problems which exist in the school system. These in-service sessions should deal with such topics as the importance of community pressures upon educational policy and curriculum, the relation of the Board of Education to the political structure of the community and to the staff, the financial problems confronting the schools and the city, problems of recruitment and the staffing of schools, practices used in teacher evaluation, reasons for curriculum change, problems of discipline and the relation of administrative practices to teacher methodology.

Obviously, such a proposal will be costly in staff, in time and in dollars but there are no bargain rates for quality education, and teacher-administration communication is a part of the cost of securing quality education.

In an urban school system, with many children of widely varying abilities, backgrounds, and interests quality education can be achieved only by a high degree of individualization of instruction. Attention to individual differences is not a new idea - but effective implementation of this concept in a school system is.

This is not a panacea that will solve all educational problems. There are many aspects which have been left uncovered and unanswered. But if the urban school of tomorrow is to flourish and be effective, it must operate upon the concepts of individual differences and of continuous change.

PART IV

**RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL CHANGE
IN THE BUFFALO METROPOLITAN AREA**

REPORT OF THE SEMINAR ON:
SCHOOL SYSTEM COMMUNICATION: HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL

There was general acknowledgement of an urgency for improvement in school communication between all echelons, both horizontal and vertical. The escalating problems of our complex society sharpen the need for more effective communication to facilitate solutions.

The statements reflect the knowledge and experience of the members of the group and what the members have learned from each other from the communication which took place. The information which follows, therefore, contains diverse views. The aim of this seminar was to devise approaches which could be used to implement more effective communication.

Reasons for Change

Increasing complexities of social structures and the rapid change in the school's role in society have made a continued surveillance of the area of communications necessary, and a continuing search must be made for new means and an improvement of the previously used means of communication.

The problems of communications, both vertical and horizontal, are as important to education as they are to business and industry, and somewhat similar problems are faced by administrative personnel everywhere.

Specifically, one area needing clarification is that of personnel policy. Comparatively few staff members are aware of how, where, why and by whom teachers are placed or transferred. Also, the questionable objectiveness of teacher evaluation has made it the subject of apparent misunderstanding and

hence an area needing better communication to bring about better human relations. Further, substitute teachers too often show up in the different schools poorly oriented. Again, it is the general consensus of opinion that staff members and non-instructional personnel often fail to understand the requirements and duties of each others positions.

Another area discussed concerns the problems brought about by unsatisfactory procedures in the process of requisitioning instructional materials. It was felt that there was poor feed-back to the schools as to whether or not the requisitions would be filled as requested.

The tremendous impact of the Federal Government's sponsorship of educational projects points out the desperate need for intelligent, sincere communication among national, state, city and school personnel to avoid conflict, duplication and depletion of services to the impoverished. Because of their very nature, there has been little exchange of information on the Federal Programs. The approval of a program practically coincides with its required inception, resulting in an absence of communication within the program and outside the program. The administrator of the program has little time to examine and familiarize himself with the purpose of the program before he has to put the program into operation and before the staff can be properly oriented and indoctrinated.

The pressures and changes of society have made it essential that changes be made in the curricula. At best this is a slow process and often results from the efforts of a selected group of teachers and staff who are not necessarily representative. Ways and means of bringing in more of those who

are doing the actual teaching must be found. Even then, any one curriculum will have to be adapted to any one school to be responsive to the needs of the children in that school.

There seems to be only one rapid means of communication at present - by phone. This is usually inadequate.

The time element and present teaching loads makes the interchange of ideas and information, between teachers within the school, between teacher and teachers of other schools, and between teachers and administrators, practically impossible. Teacher ideas seldom filter to the top.

Communication: Process or Means by Which Change Can Be Effected

Our group has come to the conclusion that communication could only be more effectually changed by changing the organization. Dr. Bennis lent weight to this when he said: "Unless the organization reinforces learning, sending individuals away for a course really doesn't change things . . . The quickest way to change people is to change the norms of the culture. It is easier to change the organizational culture than to change human nature."

Therefore, our group proposes that a major means to improve communications in an urban school system is to create an environment in which communication, especially from the lower ranks, is desired and encouraged by those at the top. There is considerable dissatisfaction regarding communication and in some areas no communication at all.

Administrative meetings should be a two-way street. Assistant principals feel that they, too, should be allowed to attend these meetings. At present, they are expected to carry out administrative policy without any voice whatso-

ever in the making of it.

We recommend decentralization of the organizational structure. Such decentralization hopefully will provide an opportunity for more direct participation in decision-making by individuals at all levels of responsibility. The organization which goes to great length to provide a feedback mechanism but limits opportunity for direct involvement in arriving at a decision, chooses to do so out of expediency rather than out of concern for the contributions of the individual members.

Teachers meetings with the superintendent, associate and assistant superintendents, not in the one-way communication of the annual meeting, but in manageable groups, might provide solutions to such problems as school finances, personnel promotional and transfer policies, plant maintenance and integration.

Mr. Shepard remarked that home visits were made by all personnel in the Banneker District, from the office clerk up through the superintendent. We feel that all organizational personnel should experience real communication with pupils and their problems. Home visits should be the practice up and down the administrative ladder.

Handbooks are now in existence: The By-Laws of the Board of Education and a book of policies of the Buffalo Public Schools are distributed among administrative personnel. We feel they should be available to all personnel. We also feel they should be in constant revision, for the policies in many cases have failed to keep up with the dynamic change in situations with which we are confronted.

Minutes of the Buffalo Board of Education were compared with the summaries posted for the personnel. Comparing them we found that the summaries were too scanty and sketchy in many cases, giving readers the feeling that they were arrived at in a vacuum and were unanimous. Perhaps more complete summaries could present reasons for policy voted upon and even minority dissents could be noted. We have confidence that personnel can carry out policies knowing at the same time that there is dissent and that they might change. This might even contribute to the flexibility of the staff.

Untried, possibly unthought of methods and techniques which are needed can develop and be instituted only through uninhibited and frequent verbal contact at inter-staff meetings, teachers meetings, principals meetings -- general and specialized. Time must be provided for frequent conferences with great diversity of school personnel membership to prevent and resolve conflicts. Perhaps we could thus enable individuals to contribute their ideas with an out-of-school confidence.

Inter-staff visits are another means toward communication, not only between schools on the same level but between staff occupied with very different functions in the same school system. We have been told of the many activities in our system, but have failed to realize how many and varied they are because of our separation in time and space.

Another very fruitful means by which communications may be improved should be via the teacher organizations. Collective bargaining regarding teachers' pay, rights, and duties should be managed to include teacher awareness of educational and community problems. Community leaders should be

involved in this so that there can be communication between the two. As Mr. Alinsky pointed out, resolution of a problem and solution of a problem is possible through conflict and confrontation of power groups.

Some felt that greater principal autonomy was needed. To expect principals to carry out educational programs without being allowed to use their own discretion on such things as petty cash funds, duties of engineer-custodians, probationary teacher placement etc., is to be unrealistic and to prevent his communicating with these people.

Educational television, perhaps the greatest means for transmitting information, has been sparsely used in the explanation of policy to staff. Expanded use of it is desirable, with opportunity for feed-back from staff.

In summary: The above does not mean that there are no means for communication at present, but we feel they could be vastly improved in the directions indicated. The organizational structure of the public school system has developed to centralize authority for decision-making at the top of a pyramid, so to speak, with positions of least responsibility being located at the base of the pyramid. The larger the organization, the greater the matrix of subordinate positions and, consequently, the more difficult the flow of vertical and horizontal communication becomes. The typical urban school system suffers from a lack of direct personal contact between subordinate and superordinate even though a formal procedure for personal involvement and interaction has been established.

Suggestion

Following much study and deliberation the seminar on School System

Communication, seeking creative suggestions, found that major flaws in communicating through channels in a large school system lay in its inherent size.

It is the general consensus of this group that large school systems be so subdivided as to permit the principle of decentralization of personnel service, instructional services, and community relations, under area superintendents.

Once having established this concept of organization, area superintendents would proceed to establish vertically structured meetings with all levels of instructional and administrative personnel in his area present or represented. Issues, policies, and problems could be discussed face to face on a give and take basis.

The structure could then provide channels of communication, hopefully through mass media and parental-staff consultations to reach the area of the city which it serves.

Planning

One of the Institute speakers emphasized the importance, which we have pointed out also, in inviting those who will participate in the execution of plans to participate in their formulation. In any event, we have not had the time and do not have the information to allow us to specify all the details, or even all the principles, involved in improving communications within the system.

Therefore, we strongly recommend that a "Task Force" be established to further the planning for communication, and to take part in its implementation. The members of the Task Force must be representative of the entire personnel of the system and include central office administrators, teachers, assistant principals, principals (elementary and secondary), and noninstruc-

tional personnel, such as engineers and custodians. To assure that the membership of the Task Force will be representative, we strongly recommend that its members be, whenever possible, selected by the appropriate organizations; the Buffalo Teachers Federation, Buffalo Teachers Union, the Elementary Principals' Association, and so on. The Task Force may want to invite specialist consultants to meet with it.

The first purpose of the Task Force would be to devise methods of improving communication within the system, and perhaps subsequently within individual schools. It might develop solutions to specific communications problems, and might also develop modifications of the administrative organization to improve communication, and hence, the openness and adaptability of the Buffalo Public School System.

Caveat

Any large school system has flaws in internal communication which should be remedied soon; these are in large part similar, as we saw in the beginning, to the communication flaws in other large and complicated organizations. However, the large school system has additional problems, in communicating with the society in which it exists. The value in improving internal communications will be small, unless, at the same time, communications between the schools and their clientele are also improved.

REPORT OF THE SEMINAR ON:
SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Introduction

The following recommendations reflect our seminar's objective of developing short-range goals rather than massive long-range solutions to the problems of racial integration. Our objective was to develop an action program that would lead to achieving school integration now. We have had enough of gradualism. While we recognize the importance of long-range programs such as: metropolitan school systems, metropolitan school parks, school bussing, and "bounty" systems; we have concentrated here on short-term programs which can be carried out at the school administrator's level. It is intended that these long-range plans will be supported and furthered by our recommendations for immediate action.

Two key factors were important here: (1) Methods of working toward racial integration in schools and (2) programs relevant to our school--community relations seminar group. We recognize that there will be some overlap into other seminar areas such as Recruitment and Retention of Qualified Staff for City Schools. Such overlaps are unavoidable. Moreover, we feel that such overlap will point to those recommendations of particular importance in achieving the overall goals of the Institute.

RECOMMENDED ACTION PROGRAM

A. The school

Recommendation 1. THE SCHOOLS SHOULD PROVIDE PROGRAMS IN HUMAN RELATIONS FOR THE PROFESSIONAL STAFF.

- a. These programs should be provided for all educators in the urban area on a voluntary basis.
- b. Participants in these programs should be paid.
- c. These programs should be financed by State, Federal or local funds.
- d. The scope of these programs should be designed upon the felt needs of the individuals involved.

Recommendation 2. THE SCHOOL SYSTEMS OF THE BUFFALO METROPOLITAN AREA SHOULD REALIGN THEIR SYSTEMS OF REWARD AND INCENTIVE IN KEEPING WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF RACIAL INTEGRATION IN THE SCHOOLS.

- a. Improvement in personnel practices (recruitment and retention should be sought).
- b. Urban salaries should be made competitive with those in the suburbs.
- c. Participation in cooperative negotiations by the city and suburbs regarding working conditions (Taylor Act) should be promoted.

Recommendation 3. THE SCHOOLS SHOULD ATTEMPT TO INCREASE THEIR PUBLIC RELATIONS PROGRAMS WITH THE COMMUNITY.

- a. The principal of each school should be the person most responsible for public relations in his own community.
- b. Administrative assistants could be hired to handle many of the duties which are now the responsibility of these principals.

B. The community

Recommendation 4. THE SCHOOLS SHOULD ATTEMPT TO MAKE GREATER USE OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY FOR:

- a. Carrying out the instructional program as para-professional staff. This role should be clearly defined by the professional staff of the schools involved. (e.g. teacher aides, library aides)
- b. Contributing to the instructional program as community resources.

C. School-community

Recommendation 5. DIRECT INTERACTION BETWEEN THE PROFESSIONAL STAFF AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY SHOULD BE GREATLY EXPANDED.

- a. Parents should be encouraged to visit the school and review the child's progress on a regular basis.
- b. The professional staff should likewise be encouraged to visit the homes, churches, and business establishments of the community they serve.

Recommendation 6. FEDERAL PROGRAMS FOR PREPARING TEACHERS FOR THE CORE AREAS WHICH ATTEMPT TO DEVELOP PROPER ATTITUDES AND SKILLS IN WORKING WITH THE COMMUNITY SHOULD BE EXPANDED.

Recommendation 7. PARENT-FACULTY ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED.

- a. There should be an attempt by the schools to strengthen the existing organizations within those schools where they are found to be effective. New action programs should be created which center on felt needs of students and parents.

Recommendation 8. AN ACTION GROUP OF EDUCATIONAL LEADERS AND COMMUNITY LEADERS FOR THE PURPOSE OF IMPROVING EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS IN URBAN AREAS SHOULD BE CREATED. (Especially within the framework of the Model Cities Program.)

REPORT OF THE SEMINAR ON:
RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION OF QUALIFIED STAFF FOR CITY SCHOOLS

Introduction

The seminar group discussed the issue of Recruitment and Retention of Qualified Staff for City Schools. Many of the participants related problems prevalent in their home schools.

- (1) Unqualified teachers
- (2) High teacher turnover rate
- (3) A lack of understanding concerning human relations
- (4) Shortage of substitute teachers
- (5) Shortage of qualified teachers
- (6) Absence of principal authority in hiring of teachers
- (7) Lack of financial support

By discussing individual school problems, specific needs were identified. After these needs were identified, objectives, suggestions and recommendations were listed for the purpose of meeting these needs.

LIST OF RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Upgrade the present salary schedule providing a competitive beginning salary, encouraging experience and longevity increments.
2. Provide favorable working conditions for teachers:
 - a) supportive environment,
i. e., instructional grouping, community support;
 - b) placement of children according to specific needs;
 - c) compensatory services,
i. e., remedial, psychological, social health, guidance;
 - d) increase teacher morale,
i. e., establish faculty seminars for discussion of policy making and procedures, relieve teachers of clerical duties.

3. Establish an effective in-service program in individual schools to develop qualities necessary for working successfully in urban areas. This program would be supported by monetary grants directly to the school, for the purpose of obtaining consultants, establishing workshops, and providing stipends for teacher participants.
4. Reappraise teacher examinations to determine their positive and negative effects on recruitment of teachers.
5. Recruit on a voluntary basis, qualified and experienced teachers to totally staff at least one inner city school to demonstrate that the negative image of inner city schools can be changed. This would be only a beginning of a far-reaching program to upgrade all inner city schools.
6. Encourage interested secondary school students to volunteer to assist in core area schools as a background for prospective teaching careers. At the college level, institute an expanded program to provide greater experience in core area schools for teacher candidates.
7. Encourage the recruitment of teacher candidates from inner city areas by broadening the criteria of admission to teacher training colleges.
8. Establish a teacher training college under the jurisdiction of the Buffalo Board of Education to prepare teachers for Buffalo schools.
9. Decentralize the school system into four or five subdistricts, each district under an assistant superintendent, to improve instruction, communication and co-ordination.
10. Improve communication between and among individual school administrators and the Central Office.
11. Improve and increase articulation between teacher training institutions and Boards of Education.

REPORT OF THE SEMINAR ON:
PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT AS A BASIS FOR INSTRUCTIONAL PLANNING

Introduction

In an attempt to plan for the improvement of instruction, this committee felt that the broadest interpretation of education should be used. The usual classroom procedures, as well as innovation practices were considered. However, our conclusions were that the basic need was a change in philosophy rather than a reiteration of old, or the development of new gimmicks and short-term devices.

One profound problem became apparent as the daily speakers outlined and presented their lectures: there appeared to be a constant and growing alienation of the parents and community toward the school. Education stands high in their esteem, but the ability of our schools to provide the desired educational outcomes is questioned.

We have, therefore, attempted to address ourselves to the important task of restoring the faith of our community in the schools. To do this requires that the parents become better acquainted with our schools, and that the school - the teachers, administrators, and other personnel - get to know the parents, their desires and their aspirations for their children; only through the establishment of such dialogue can a determination of goals, and ways of reaching these goals, be developed.

We have carefully considered and assessed the roles of each of the members of the school community, in an effort to establish genuine rapport. These

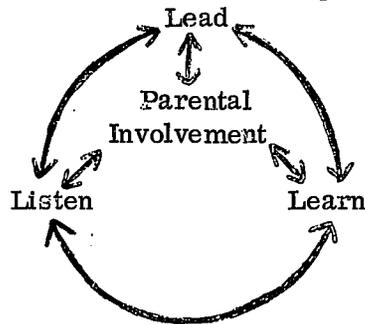
include the professional personnel who are in daily contact with the pupils, such as the teachers and administrators; the professional personnel who operate on a district level, such as supervisors, consultants, and curriculum experts; the supportive personnel, such as the school psychologist, attendance teacher, visiting teacher, guidance counselor, and school medical aides (nurse, doctor, dentist); the nonprofessional workers in the school, such as the secretary, school engineer, teacher aides, crossing guards, and bus drivers.

Objective: To develop guide lines for the involvement of parents in educating children in an urban system. Specifically the focus was upon the following:

- A. Administrator and teacher
- B. Students
- C. Parents
- D. Supportive personnel (professional)

The following is a set of suggested techniques for the teacher and administrator to bring the parent into the school. To lead, listen, and learn are guide lines as shown in the diagram on the following page for methods of stimulating interaction of teacher, administrator, and parents.

A. **Role of the Teacher and Building Administrator**



- Lead in commitment to the worth of the project**

 - recognize personal conviction
 - know the situation
 - set climate for action
 - encourage and develop leadership

- Lead in presenting ideas**

 - provide incentive
 - provide opportunity
 - establish need
 - assemble ideas and resources
 - institute scientific methods for surveys

- Lead in stimulating cooperation**

 - offer encouragement and enthusiasm
 - accept help and ideas

- Lead in serving as liaison**

 - introduce resource people
 - set up meetings with key people
 - outline proper procedures

- Lead in facilitating action**

 - establish committees and groups
 - establish guidelines
 - leaders on every level
 - set well defined goals capable of success

- Lead in communicating through dialogue**

 - implement group dynamics techniques
 - strengthen leadership traits of the students, parents, and others in the community

- Listen to pupils**

 - student organizations
 - panel discussions
 - suggestion box
 - individuals consulted

Listen to parents	home visits parent organizations parent-teacher conferences social activities needed special interest groups
Listen to professional colleagues	institutes, workshops, research studies, surveys dialogues faculty "idea" sessions
Listen to community leaders and groups	all interests all ages establish rapport
Listen to higher eschelon	keep them informed seek backing work for increased aid
Learn needs of the pupil	evaluate work determine weaknesses set goals for improvement seek variety in worthwhile activities commend efforts, offer rewards
Learn needs and aspirations of parents	make inquiries seek understanding find realistic goals serve as co-worker with parents
Learn needs and goals of society	assess community goals use community leaders accept peer leaders of all ages

B. The role of the students in securing parent-school cooperation and rapport.

Since the administrator is actively seeking an attitude of mutual respect, it behooves him to involve the student and parent, to listen to pupils and parents, and develop lines of communication with them.

Suggested ways of involving the students:

1. Pre-orientation sessions with representative groups of students, parents, and faculty.
2. Using ideas suggested at the pre-orientation session, develop a meaningful orientation program for students.
3. Use students to get parents involved in:

Student-parent-faculty councils; establish regular meeting schedule, with an agenda prepared mutually concerned with genuine problems.
(long term)

Meetings of the above council to be called when a special problem arises,
(short term)

Areas of student responsibility toward the betterment of the school program. (Assembly programs, musical groups, student fairs, athletic contests, publications)

Plan classroom visitations during the school day, or during special evening program.

Pupil-progress reports at parent conferences scheduled for each child.

Curriculum revision, by becoming aware of the needs of the pupils through conferences.

C. The role of the parents:

The parents should be aware of the fundamental philosophy that motivates the schools' demands upon the families and children. Sharing these ideas will help create an awareness of the need for a common basis from which we can proceed cooperatively. Parents will participate if they feel involved personally, not merely listening to the school tell them what they must do. Parental involvement may be initiated by some of the following ways.

1. Report card school conference
2. Return homework assignments with comments to the teacher
3. Attend special performances given by the children
4. Attend special activities to appeal to those with certain hobbies or interests
5. Become members of parent committees to call other parents or otherwise encourage active participation in school events
6. Plan skits, radio programs, assembly programs, and concerts
7. Make the school authorities aware of their feelings of approval or disapproval and suggest ways of overcoming difficulties that may exist

D. The role of supportive personnel:

Since these members of the educational team are qualified in specific areas they can be called upon by the school administrator where their special talents are needed.

They are not encumbered by classroom responsibilities and are free to leave the building to meet parents in their homes during school hours. They may secure the aid of other coordinate agencies where such services are indicated. They may, if necessary, take the pupil from the school during the school day, for special treatments, conferences, etc.. Opportunities for the parents to become aware of these services should be provided by the school administrator, before they are called upon to solve a problem. Often they can provide preventative counseling. They can, with objectivity, inform the parents of strengths and shortcomings of the children.

As a team, they can demonstrate the desire of the school to assist

parents. They are important liaison personnel, in that they can represent the parents to the school authorities, in developing meaningful school adjustment for pupils. They also interpret the role of the school in the growth and development of the children to the parents, and help establish common goals.

Evaluation

A program such as outlined must be constantly evaluated and revamped to meet the changes that we hope to effect.

To this end, it was felt that a continuation of the meetings we have been having on a weekly or biweekly basis, would provide unique opportunities for reassessment of activities, and review of their value.

Report of the Seminar on:
PRE- AND IN-SERVICE EDUCATION FOR TEACHERS OF THE DISADVANTAGED

Introduction

Problem

The deepening concern for educationally disadvantaged youth grows out of fundamental problems in our society. The civil rights movement, youth unemployment, migration of the poor to the large cities, racial riots, and the growing need for trained manpower have caused educators to search for improved educational programs for the disadvantaged. When we speak of the disadvantaged, we speak of all nationalities and races - whether born in rural areas, small towns, or cities. The disadvantaged youth has become aware of what Thomas Pettigrew calls "the subtle cultural cues which tell you that you don't count and that good school grades and high IQ scores are middle class roads to success, not yours,"¹

The appearance of each new crisis results in a re-evaluation of the existing situation. At the same time, new ideas are advanced to help cope with the problem of educating the disadvantaged. The teacher of the disadvantaged finds himself in a unique situation which seems to require a pattern of educational preparation beyond the traditional if success is to be realized.

The impact of a variety of crises in our social-economic structure has led to the focus of attention on "quality teaching" as it relates to the teaching-learning situation. There is an imperative need to devise programs that will help teachers in:

1. developing a greater understanding of the needs and problems of the disadvantageded.
2. preparing to meet and solve these needs and problems.
3. reaching revised understandings in the area of human relations as applied to all pupils.

Purpose

The objective of this report is to present recommendations for the improvement of pre-service and in-service teacher programs for teachers of the disadvantageded.

Procedures

The procedures we have used in selecting the recommendations to be incorporated in this report were varied. After listening to the Institute speakers each morning, our group discussed the salient points and recommendations made by the speaker. Some speakers were able to attend our small group seminar in the afternoon and provide their specific viewpoints in pre- and in-service training of teachers. Relevant periodicals and books were read to provide background information in formulating our recommendations. Since our group consisted of experienced school administrators, we were able to draw upon their background and experiences to develop and evaluate many of our recommendations.

The recommendations advanced here are not intended to be all encompassing. They are intended to be used primarily by urban school administrators, college instructors, and university professors, thereby permitting educators to better understand and meet the needs of the disadvantageded

student and his teacher.

Objectives and Recommendations

Objectives

An objective of a good pre- and in-service educational program for teachers of the disadvantaged should provide realistic preparation of the teacher for service in the inner-city school to attain quality integrated education for all children. Such a program must develop an awareness in teachers and administrators of the importance of their identification with the community and its unique problems. Competence in the use of human relations skills is a prerequisite to successful involvement in school and community programs. Teachers and administrators need preparation for a variety of situations that may confront them in core areas and other educational settings.

Pre- and in-service educational programs for teachers of the disadvantaged should develop clearer conceptions of teacher-pupil relationships and their special significance for working with the disadvantaged. Teachers should be instilled with a greater appreciation of the values of educational training as a preparation for the unique problems they now face or will face.

Our seminar group felt that another important objective of a good in-service educational program would include a design for the released-time of the classroom teacher.

In-service programs should afford adequate educational recognition and/or financial remuneration to the participants.

Finally, a good pre- and in-service educational program should be

developed through a metropolitan (regional) approach. This approach to pre- and in-service education should be organized in conjunction with local colleges, universities, and school districts. Pre- and in-service educational programs should be conducted on a continuous basis, beginning with the education majors in the colleges and universities and continuing throughout their teaching careers.

Recommendations

1. Establish a program of in-service instruction focusing upon the unique problems and characteristics of the school community.

This instruction should concentrate on the specific characteristics of the student population of a particular school. Opportunities should be provided for the teachers and administrators to make community tours, parental attitude surveys, and industry and home visits.

2. Establish a regional agency staffed with experts and specialists who could assist the teacher of the disadvantaged in research and implementation of innovative ideas.

An agency of this type would permit teachers with creative ideas to utilize professional competencies to incorporate these ideas into classroom situations. The experts and specialists in the agency would offer suggestions to the teachers, institute research on the ideas, and develop evaluative criteria to measure the outcomes.

3. Provide financial incentives and/or professional recognition for innovative ideas.

Teachers and administrators need positive reinforcement for their

accomplishments. After innovative ideas have been tested and adopted, financial incentives should be provided. Other considerations might include newspaper releases, teacher association awards, school and community newsletters.

4. Publish a "house organ" for regional dissemination of information concerning the education of the disadvantaged.

A newsletter or journal would contain pertinent information for the teacher of the disadvantaged. This publication would provide the sharing of useful approaches to the teaching of the disadvantaged.

5. Provide financial assistance for attendance and participation in professional meetings and workshops that relate to the education of the disadvantaged.

The new insights that evolve from the professional discussions could be shared with other teachers and administrators at in-service meetings and curriculum planning sessions. This exchange of ideas could have a significant effect on the formulation of new approaches to the problem.

6. Make available video tape equipment for teacher self evaluation.

The use of video tape equipment should be used as a technique to develop self evaluation on the part of the teacher, particularly in regard to the effectiveness of teacher-pupil interactions.

7. Provide for the use of video tapes of important local and national television programs and expert presentations of local master teachers.

Trained personnel should be available for taping television programs

at anytime of the day or evening. These tapes can greatly expand the world awareness of disadvantaged youth whose experiences often are restricted to a few square blocks of a ghetto.

8. Allow graduate credit for participation in in-service training programs.

Central Office personnel and building principals could contact local universities and colleges and make necessary arrangements for such mechanical devices as registration and fees. They could then plan cooperatively with teachers to set-up meaningful workshops and in-service programs that might be carried on in the schools rather than the university or college.

9. Encouraging the sharing of ideas of the community leaders, successful people in various occupations, and clergymen with the school populace and educators.

Contacts with these resource people bring much valuable information and help to the pupils of the school. By reason of their positions in the community, they arouse aspirations in the students with their advice and their prestige.

10. Establish a national media center.

For teachers and administrators working with the disadvantaged, a center of this type should make available films, filmstrips, recordings, video tapes, brochures and other media explaining programs and data that are pertinent in the teaching of the disadvantaged. The center should develop and maintain contacts with specialists, consultants, and lecturers who could be used in developing and maintaining

educational programs for the disadvantaged.

11. Develop a handbook for teachers of the disadvantaged that describes the unique characteristics of these pupils.

Most teachers come from a culture with middle class values and have had little opportunity to learn about or appreciate the folkways and mores of people in the lower socio-economic stratum of society.

The classroom work of these teachers becomes dysfunctional to the extent that the teachers fail to understand and accommodate the value systems of their pupils. A handbook describing the unique cultural characteristics of disadvantaged pupils in specific neighborhoods might aid teachers in acquiring empathy for those they teach.

12. Develop and teach a college level course in Urban Studies.

This would provide teachers with an application of social-science principles to school neighborhoods where disadvantaged pupils reside. The course might well require the related field experience of work in a community agency.

13. Establish a program whereby education majors serve as interns.

During a fifth year of preparation the intern would carry a reduced schedule which would allow more time for preparation, supervised self study and self evaluation. These provisions would make it less difficult for the neophyte teacher to adjust to the unique demands of teaching the disadvantaged.

14. Establish regional educational programs to facilitate coordination and cooperation in the pre- and in-service training of teachers.

Educators within a particular region should jointly develop objectives of pre- and in-service training programs for teachers of the disadvantaged that meet the needs of the students in the area. Master teachers of the disadvantaged should be employed in the pre- and in-service educational programs on a cooperative basis among the colleges, universities and school districts.

15. Develop and incorporate methods of teaching the disadvantaged into student-teaching situations.

Demonstration and educational centers should be established in disadvantaged areas where education majors might observe and participate.

16. Require a project related to community activities as part of course work for teacher preparation in college and universities.

By working with children at community houses and youth centers in the inner-city, future teachers would gain a new understanding of the disadvantaged child in a setting removed from the classroom. Their on-campus courses could deal with the identification of problems and the planning of activities that would meet the needs and interests of these children.

17. Provide a continuous relationship between the college and the school system to determine the individual needs of the teacher and to plan and implement a program of study for the teacher to meet these needs.

18. Teachers have both general and specific educational needs. A continuous program of graduate studies, cooperatively planned by the

teacher, school system and the graduate institution, could be geared to the individual needs of the teacher. A supervisor, responsible to both the graduate school and the school system, would be supportive in helping the teacher incorporate college courses of study into classroom practice.

19. Develop greater rapport between the parent and the school through the utilization of community coffee hours, programs with parents and parent-student activities.

P. T. A. meetings might be used to work on parent-teacher problems. Teachers would be released to work with parents in parent-teacher workshops and community surveys.

20. Greater use should be made in the inner-city school of the "buddy" teacher system in the familiarization of the new teacher with his responsibilities.

Experienced teachers can share their knowledge about the children, parents, and community with the inexperienced teacher. They can provide orientation by explaining school routines and policies.

21. Establish procedures which would permit self evaluation of teaching performance through observation and consultation with peers.

This can be accomplished by providing opportunities for a team of two, three or four teachers to voluntarily observe one another focusing upon the teaching-learning situations being practiced. The performance of the teachers would be discussed, questioned, and evaluated to enable the teachers to examine their techniques. The use

of team-supervision would facilitate frank discussions of instructional procedures.

22. A greater reliance must be placed on role playing techniques and inductive approaches in teacher education.

More laboratory experiences should be included in pre- and in-service education. The role playing techniques can be valuable when used in the individual schools to deal with real problems of human relationships that occur in the classroom. On a wider level, they could be used to elicit varied interpretations of new ideas, methods and materials.

23. Develop a specialized language arts program for new teachers in the core area.

This program would be aimed at helping teachers unfamiliar with core area problems to better understand the language habits of disadvantaged children and to develop enriched language activities for them. The use of audio-visual aids, mechanical aids, and varied literary materials would be included in the program.

24. Demonstration classroom should be available in every core area school to advance the in-service education of teachers new to this experience.

The new teacher will be able to discern some teaching methods that can be used effectively in his own situation by observing experienced teachers and watching children react to various approaches and techniques.

25. Determine cooperatively with all staff members the goals, philosophy

and needs of each inter-city school.

Staff meetings should be held regularly in each school so that all teachers would have the opportunity to discuss problems, express ideas, evaluate the present program and formulate plans to provide for the most effective education of the children in the school.

26. Stress those human relations skills essential to effective parent-teacher relationships in pre- and in-service education.

The manner in which cooperative parent-teacher relationships may be established and maintained differs in each community. To strengthen and encourage a good relationship between the school and home, a cooperative study of the community must be developed by the administrator and staff of every school. Role playing again may be used as a technique to help the teacher develop confidence and to demonstrate various aspects of parent-teacher conferences.

27. Encourage all school personnel to recognize the importance of post graduate and in-service education as a necessary part of their continued professional responsibilities.

To function as a teacher or administrator does not imply the right to stop learning. Education is an ever-changing and complex profession that requires practitioners to keep abreast of innovation and change. Such a responsibility must be met in part through in-service training. This is particularly true for those professionals who cannot take advantage of continued university training. It is therefore imperative that all school personnel accept the obligation to remain

current in their skill through active participation in such programs.

28. Assist teachers in inner-city schools to reflect both respect and understanding of the life-style and cultural values of their students.

Teachers must be provided with many and various types of experiences which would enable them to attain a commitment necessary for teaching the disadvantaged. This can be accomplished through in-service and/or community activities.

29. Emphasize in teacher preparation programs at the college and university levels those techniques and skills essential to instruction in core area schools.

These programs should include a familiarization with the diagnostic and remedial procedures essential to individual student evaluation, an understanding of the methods and materials required for the individualization of instruction, and knowledge of the strategies of classroom control within the context of effective human relations.

30. Organize and establish a model demonstration school with a non-graded continuous educational program for teachers of urban children.

Emphasize, among other things, the development of communication and reading skills. Such a school could be located in the inner-city or at a college campus school (or both).

31. Develop teacher competence in the administration and interpretation of IQ, achievement, and other standardized tests.

A meaningful understanding of the learning process requires greater teacher familiarity with existing measurement techniques. This ability

takes an added significance when the teacher must work with students who are largely disadvantaged. The teachers recognition that many tests contain a cultural bias for such youngsters will make their interpretation of individual performance and choice of remedial procedures more effective.

32. Develop and use instructional materials centers for demonstrations, observations, workshops and discussions.

An instructional materials center would be located in each school and would house all printed and non-printed materials. The services of the libraries, audio-visual coordinators and para-professionals assigned to these centers would be used in various in-service programs and would be available on a consulting basis to individual teachers.

33. Provide auxillary personnel (teacher-aides) to relieve teachers of routine duties.

The unique characteristics of the disadvantaged require full use all the time of the professional skills of the classroom teacher. Routine duties should be handled by less skilled personnel.

34. Establish the central office position of Director of Teacher Education to ensure a continuing program of in-service education.

The person holding this office would be charged with generating and soliciting innovative ideas from teachers to develop model programs for meeting changing educational needs of teaching personnel.

35. Emphasize the use of quality multi-racial, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious materials in all areas of the curriculum.

We are a nation of many peoples. Each individual should be able to find authentic examples of his culture in the materials he is using.

IV. Summary

Contemporary educators are confronted with the problem of developing improved educational programs that will meet the needs of the disadvantaged students in our society. As a result of this problem, greater attention must be given to the quality of teaching techniques and ideas through the use of improved pre- and in-service educational programs for teachers of the disadvantaged.

Perennial pre- and in-service programs for teachers of the disadvantaged should provide realistic preparation, identification with community problems, clearer understandings of pupil-teacher relationships, and an awareness of the values of teacher training programs. To be effective these programs should be developed and coordinated on a cooperative regional basis allowing teachers and administrators adequate time off from their duties to participate.

Numerous recommendations were made based on lectures, readings, our educational experiences, and our discussions with institute speakers. The recommendations focus upon the mechanisms and desired outcomes of pre- and in-service educational programs for teachers and administrators of the disadvantaged. In summarizing the specific recommendations, our seminar group believes that college and university programs need to place greater emphasis on teacher understanding of urban sociology and the unique characteristics and problems encountered in educating the disadvantaged.

After a teacher has obtained an understanding of the general characteristics and problems of educating the disadvantaged, more specific training should be provided concerning the local community and school population in which the teacher will be working. Recommendations were made to facilitate the dissemination of pertinent information to the teacher of the disadvantaged. Incentives should be offered to obtain greater teacher participation in pre- and in-service programs.

Recognizing the need for greater parental involvement in the student's educational program, the seminar group made recommendations to develop better rapport, interest, and understanding between parents and teachers.

Any program of pre- and in-service educational training for teachers of the disadvantaged should be individualized as much as possible. Programs of this type should start early in the teacher's educational training and continue throughout their careers. Research, practice, and evaluation should be designed into the educational programs for teachers of the disadvantaged. Pre- and in-service programs should instill in the teacher an attitude that an integrated school system is needed.

When these recommendations are put into practice, they will provide benefits to all of the students and teachers -- not just the disadvantaged students and their teachers.

The seminar group believes that with the implementation of our recommendations, the struggle to educate disadvantaged will be eased. We look forward to the day when this problem ". . . will be nothing more than an embarrassing recollection in our national memoirs."²

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PROGRAM AND PARTICIPANTS

INSTITUTE ON UNIQUE PROBLEMS OF URBAN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

INSTITUTE ON UNIQUE PROBLEMS OF URBAN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

August 7 - 18, 1967

PROGRAM AND PARTICIPANTS

**Department of Educational Administration
Faculty of Educational Studies
State University of New York at Buffalo
Buffalo, New York 14214**

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PROGRAM

INSTITUTE ON UNIQUE PROBLEMS OF URBAN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

August 7 - 18, 1967

Monday, August 7, 1967

Diefendorf Annex

Chairman of the Day: Troy V. Mc Kelvey, Assistant Professor of Education,
State University of New York at Buffalo

8:30 - 9:00 A. M. Registration Room 1

9:00 - 9:30 Greetings

Faculty of Educational Studies: Rollo Handy, Provost of the
Faculty of Educational Studies, State University of New York at
Buffalo

Participating School Systems: Frank J. Kelly, Executive
Assistant to the Superintendent, Buffalo Public Schools

Introduction of Speaker: Martin Meyerson, President, State
University of New York at Buffalo

9:30 - 10:30 Address: Urban Growth and Educational Change
Paul N. Ylvisaker, Commissioner, Department of
Community Affairs, State of New Jersey

10:30 - 11:00 Coffee Break

11:00 - 11:45 General Discussion between Dr. Ylvisaker and the
participants

12:00 - 1:00 P. M. Luncheon Norton Union Cafeteria
Room 118

1:00 - 3:00

Seminar Sessions

Diefendorf Annex

Topics and leaders:

School System Communication: Horizontal and Vertical Room 26
Warren Button, Associate Professor of Education, State University
of New York at Buffalo

School Community Relations Room 20
Gordon Edwards, Director of Urban Affairs, State University of
New York at Buffalo

Recruitment and Retention of Qualified Staff for City Schools Room 27
R. Oliver Gibson, Professor of Education, State University of
New York at Buffalo

Instructional Planning Room 19
Robert W. Heller, Associate Professor of Education, State
University of New York at Buffalo

Pre- and In-Service Education for Core Area Teachers Room 24
Chester Kiser, Associate Professor of Education, State
University of New York at Buffalo

Tuesday, August 8, 1967

Diefendorf Annex

Chairman of the Day: Frank B. Mesiah, Director of Audio Visual Education,
Buffalo Public Schools Room 1

9:00 - 10:00 A. M. Address: The United States Commission on Civil Rights
Report: Implications for Urban School Admini-
stration
David Cohen, Director of the Race and
Education Study, United States Commission on
Civil Rights, Washington, D. C.

10:00 - 10:30 Coffee Break

10:30 - 11:45 General Discussion between Dr. Cohen and the
participants

12:00 - 1:00 P. M. Luncheon Norton Union Cafeteria Room 118

1:00 - 3:00 Seminar Sessions Diefendorf Annex

Seminar leaders, subjects, and rooms will remain the same as
Monday, August 7 - subject to change by the participants and seminar
leaders.

Wednesday, August 9, 1967

Diefendorf Annex

Chairman of the Day: Chester Kiser, Associate Professor of Education,
State University of New York at Buffalo Room 1

9:00 - 10:00 A. M. Address: The Urban School System of Tomorrow
Frank J. Dressler, Associate Superintendent,
Buffalo Public Schools

10:00 - 10:30 Coffee Break

10:30 - 11:45 General Discussion between Dr. Dressler and the
participants

12:00 - 1:00 P. M. Luncheon Norton Union Cafeteria Room 118

1:00 - 3:00 Seminar Sessions Diefendorf Annex

Seminar leaders, subjects, and rooms will remain the same as
Monday, August 7 - subject to change by the participants and seminar
leaders.

Friday, August 11, 1967

Diefendorf Annex

Chairman of the Day: Robert Rossberg, Professor of Education, State
University of New York at Buffalo Room 1

9:00 - 10:00 A. M. Address: The Philosophy and Goals of B. U. I. L. D.
Saul Alinsky, Industrial Areas Foundation,
Chicago, Illinois

10:00 - 10:30 Coffee Break

10:30 - 11:45 General Discussion between Mr. Alinsky and the
participants

12:00 - 1:00 P. M. Luncheon Norton Union Cafeteria Room 118

1:00 - 3:00 Seminar Sessions Diefendorf Annex

Seminar leaders, subjects, and rooms will remain the same as
Monday, August 7 - subject to change by the participants and
seminar leaders.

Monday, August 14, 1967

Diefendorf Annex

Chairman of the Day: William Fairlie, Director, Curriculum Evaluation and Development, Buffalo Public Schools Room 1

9:00 - 10:00 A. M. Panel: Aspirations and Handicaps with Regard to the Education of the Negro in Buffalo

Father Kenneth Curry, Pastor, St. Phillips Episcopal Church, Buffalo, New York

Leeland N. Jones, Jr., Task Force Leader, Project OAR, State University Urban Center, Buffalo, New York

John Mc Grew, Deputy Director, Community Action Organization, Erie County

Geneva Scruggs, Director, John F. Kennedy Recreation Center, Buffalo, New York

10:00 - 10:30 Coffee Break

10:30 - 11:45 General Discussion between the panel members and the participants

12:00 - 1:00 P. M. Luncheon Norton Union Cafeteria Room 118

1:00 - 3:00 Seminar Sessions Diefendorf Annex

Seminar leaders, subjects, and rooms will remain the same as Monday, August 7 - subject to change by the seminar leaders and the participants.

Tuesday, August 15, 1967

Diefendorf Annex

Chairman of the Day: Austin D. Swanson, Associate Professor of Education,
State University of New York at Buffalo Room 1

9:00 - 9:15 A. M. Greetings from the United States Department of Equal
Educational Opportunities
Carlyle Ring, Educational Specialist, Area 5, Grants and
Institutes Program, Office of Equal Educational
Opportunities, Washington, D. C.

9:15 - 10:15 Address: Communication Problems in the Urban Educational
Bureaucracy
Warren G. Bennis, Provost Elect of the Faculty of
Social Science and Administration, State University of
New York at Buffalo

10:15 - 10:45 Coffee Break

10:45 - 11:45 General Discussion between Dr. Bennis and the participants

12:00 - 1:00 P. M. Luncheon Norton Union Cafeteria Room 118

1:00 - 3:00 Seminar Sessions Diefendorf Annex

Seminar leaders, subjects, and rooms will remain the same as
Monday, August 7 - subject to change by the participants and
seminar leaders.

Wednesday, August 16, 1967

Diefendorf Annex

Chairman of the Day: Evelyn K. Ward, Principal, School 68, Buffalo
Public Schools Room 1

9:00 - 10:00 A. M. Address: School Community Relations in Large Cities
Charles E. Stewart, Director of Teacher
Education, Detroit Public Schools

10:00 - 10:30 Coffee Break

10:30 - 11:45 General Discussion between Dr. Stewart and the participants

12:00 - 1:00 P. M. Luncheon Norton Union Cafeteria Room 118

1:00 - 3:00 Seminar Sessions Diefendorf Annex

Seminar leaders, subjects, and rooms will remain the same as
Monday, August 7 - subject to change by the participants and
seminar leaders.

Thursday, August 17, 1967

Diefendorf Annex

Chairman of the Day: Samuel N. Block, Principal, School 76, Buffalo Public Schools Room 1

9:00 - 10:00 A. M. Address: Recruitment and Retention of Personnel in Urban School Systems
R. Oliver Gibson, Professor of Education,
State University of New York at Buffalo

10:00 - 10:30 Coffee Break

10:30 - 11:45 General Discussion between Dr. Gibson and the participants

12:00 - 1:00 P. M. Luncheon Norton Union Cafeteria Room 118

1:00 - 3:00 Seminar Sessions Diefendorf Annex

Seminar leaders, subjects, and rooms will remain the same as Monday, August 7 - subject to change by the participants and seminar leaders.

Friday, August 18, 1967

Diefendorf Annex

9:00 - 12:00 Report of Seminars: Troy V. Mc Kelvey, presiding Rm. 1

School System Communication: Horizontal and Vertical
Warren Button

School Community Relations
Gordon Edwards

Recruitment and Retention of Qualified Staff for City Schools
R. Oliver Gibson

Instructional Planning
Robert W. Heller

Pre- and In-Service Education for Core Area Teachers
Chester Kiser

12:00 - 3:00 Luncheon Norton Union Tiffin Room
Austin D. Swanson, presiding

Address: Internal Action Programs for the Solution of Urban
Problems
Mario D. Fantini, Program Director, the Ford
Foundation, New York, New York
(luncheon speaker)

3:00 P. M. Adjournment

INSTITUTE PERSONNEL

PLANNING COMMITTEE

SAMUEL N. BLOCK - Principal, Elmwood Elementary School, Buffalo Public Schools

WARREN BUTTON - Associate Professor of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo

WILLIAM FAIRLIE - Director of Curriculum Evaluation and Development, Buffalo Public Schools

R. OLIVER GIBSON - Professor of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo

FRANK B. MESIAH - Director, Audio-Visual Coordinator, Buffalo Public Schools

TROY V. MC KELVEY - Assistant Professor of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo

PAUL J. PARINELLO - Principal, Clinton Junior High School, Buffalo Public Schools

AUSTIN D. SWANSON - Associate Professor of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo

EVELYN K. WARD - Principal, School 68, Buffalo Public Schools

CO - DIRECTORS

TROY V. MC KELVEY - Assistant Professor of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo. In addition to his teaching assignments, Dr. Mc Kelvey is a Council Associate to the Western New York School Study Council. A specialist in elementary school organization, he was Post Doctoral Fellow at the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, prior to joining the faculty of the State University of New York at Buffalo. He was a Teaching Fellow in the Division of Educational Administration, School of Education, University of California, Berkeley, where he received an Ed. D. degree.

AUSTIN D. SWANSON - Associate Professor of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo. In addition to his teaching assignments, Dr. Swanson is Council Associate to the Western New York School Study Council. Prior to joining the faculty at the State University of New York at Buffalo he was a Research Associate with the Institute of Administrative Research, Teachers College,

Columbia University, where he received the Ed. D. degree. A specialist in public school finance, he served as the Executive Secretary of the Central School Boards Committee for Educational Research.

SPECIAL CONSULTANTS

SAUL ALINSKY - Director of the Industrial Areas Foundation. Mr. Alinsky graduated from the University of Chicago with a bachelor's degree and later returned to pursue graduate work in criminology. His professional career includes working as a sociologist with the Institute for Juvenile Research and organizing slum areas in several American cities. Mr. Alinsky became a national figure when he organized a Negro slum in the Chicago Woodlawn area. His more recent organizational efforts have been in the cities of Rochester and Buffalo. Mr. Alinsky has published widely, contributing numerous articles in the professional journals of sociology, criminology, and psychology.

WARREN BENNIS - Provost of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Administration, State University of New York at Buffalo. Prior to his present appointment Dr. Bennis was Chairman of the Organization Studies Group at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Sloan School of Management and Professor of Organizational Psychology and Management. He has served as visiting lecturer in Social Relations at Harvard University and the University of Southern California. Dr. Bennis has distinguished himself as an international professor and project director by serving in Switzerland and India. He received his Ph. D. at M. I. T. and has studied at the London School of Economics. Dr. Bennis has published widely in his field, and has made major leadership contributions to many professional associations. He is an internationally recognized scholar of organizational behavior having written or edited over 10 books and 100 articles on leadership, motivation, and change in large scale, complex organizations. His latest book, entitled The Democratic Revolution, will be published by Harper and Row in 1968.

DAVID K. COHEN - Director, Race and Education Study, United States Commission on Civil Rights. Prior to his present appointment Dr. Cohen was Assistant Professor in the Department of Social Science and Humanities at the Case Institute of Technology. His professional experience includes being a consultant to national church and civil rights organizations. Dr. Cohen received his Ph. D. in Sociology from the University of Rochester and has published widely in professional journals in areas of sociological theory and school segregation.

FRANK J. DRESSLER - Associate Superintendent of the Buffalo Public Schools. Dr. Dressler's professional experience includes both teaching and administration. He has lectured in Political Science at Millard Fillmore College and has taught at State University College at Buffalo. Dr. Dressler is a member of the Task Force on School University Teacher Education being sponsored by the Research Council of the Great Cities Improvement Program. He has also served as a

consultant to the President's Council on Vocational Education and the United States Office of Education.

MARIO D. FANTINI - Program Director, Ford Foundation. In addition to teaching at all levels of education, Dr. Fantini taught and directed programs for the retarded and disadvantaged. He has directed experimental programs in teacher education and was chairman of the General Education Program for Teachers and the Intern Teacher Training Program in Special Education at Temple University. Dr. Fantini received a certificate for advanced study in educational administration and an Ed. D. from Harvard University. Prior to joining the Ford Foundation he served as Senior Research Associate, directed the Madison Area Project, and the Urban Teacher Preparation Program at Syracuse University. Dr. Fantini has directed projects sponsored by the National Institute of Mental Health, United States Office of Education, and the Ford Foundation. He has served as a consultant to the mayors of several major cities. Dr. Fantini has written many articles appearing in professional journals, and is co-author of The Disadvantaged: Challenge to Education.

R. OLIVER GIBSON - Professor of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo. Dr. Gibson, prior to joining the faculty of the State University of New York at Buffalo, was a lecturer in education and a Research Associate at Harvard University, where he received his Ed. D. degree. He has served as Master at Mount Allison Academy and Commercial College and Superintendent of Schools in Nova Scotia, Canada. In addition to his present University teaching assignments, Dr. Gibson is a consultant to the Chicago Public Schools. Most noteworthy of his publications is The School Personnel Administrator, co-authored with Harold Hunt, published in 1965.

SAMUEL SHEPARD, JR. - Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Education, St. Louis Public Schools. Dr. Shepard's past professional experience includes both teaching and administration. He has been an elementary principal and has held several appointments as a supervisor and a director in St. Louis' Central Office. On several occasions Dr. Shepard has been a part-time faculty member at the college level. He has received many awards for his service and leadership to education from distinguished colleges and universities including an "Honorary Doctor of Laws" by the University of Michigan. Dr. Shepard received his Ph. D. in Education from the University of Michigan and has published widely in professional journals. Recently he served as an educational consultant in American Samoa.

CHARLES E. STEWART - Director of Teacher Education, Detroit Public Schools. Dr. Stewart has served the profession as a teacher, principal, supervisor, and central office administrator. He has taught summers at Atlanta University, University of Michigan, New York University, and Northwestern University. Dr. Stewart has also taught at Wayne State University where he received his Ed. D.. He distinguished himself as director of Human Relations for the Detroit Public Schools prior to assuming his present

position. Dr. Stewart has published widely in the area of urban education, race relations, and the teaching of the disadvantaged. His contributions to the literature and leadership in education are nationally known.

PAUL N. YLVISAKER - Commissioner, Department of Community Affairs, State of New Jersey. Dr. Ylvisaker prior to his appointment as Community Affairs Commissioner, has held many positions concerned with urban and regional problems. He was director of Public Affairs for the Ford Foundation and served as Executive Secretary and later as a consultant to the Mayor of Philadelphia. Dr. Ylvisaker was an Instructor and Tutor in the Department of Government, Harvard University where he received his Ph. D. in Political Economy and Government. He has contributed to literature with many publications and articles including Life and professional journals. He has been a member of a United Nations planning team in Japan and has served on several Presidential task forces and advisory committees.

PANEL MEMBERS

FATHER KENNETH CURRY - Pastor, St. Phillips Episcopal Church

LLELAND N. JONES, JR. - Task Force Leader, Project OAR, State University Urban Center

JOHN MC GREW - Deputy Director, Community Action Organization of Erie County

GENEVA SCRUGGS - Director, John F. Kennedy Recreation Center, Buffalo, New York

SEMINAR LEADERS

H. WARREN BUTTON - Associate Professor of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo. In addition to his teaching responsibilities Dr. Button is editor of Urban Education, published quarterly by the Buffalo Foundation. Prior to joining the University faculty Dr. Button has been an elementary and secondary teacher, a lecturer in English and Education, and a Research Associate at Washington University where he received the Ph. D.. He has been active as a writer and a planner in the developing area of urban education.

GORDON EDWARDS - Director of Urban Affairs, State University of New York at Buffalo. Mr. Edwards is presently developing a broad range of programs designed to utilize University resources to assist state and local governments in finding solutions to urban problems and in developing social action programs for Buffalo's poverty core area. Mr. Edwards received a Bachelor of Landscape Architecture from the University of Oregon and a Master of City Planning from

Harvard University. He has a wide range of experience as a planner in urban affairs. His summary of experience includes the following positions: Planning Technician, University of Oregon Bureau of Municipal Research, Associate Planner, Planning and Renewal Associates, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Senior Planner, San Diego County Planning Department, Civic Center, San Diego, California, and Urban Planner, Office of the Administration, H. H. F. A., Washington, D.C.. He has taught in a number of institutions including: San Diego State College, American University, Washington, D. C., and the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C..

R. OLIVER GIBSON - (see Dr. Gibson's vita under special consultants)

ROBERT W. HELLER - Associate Professor of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo. Dr. Heller is the Executive Secretary of the Western New York School Study Council. He received a Bachelor's Degree from Montclair State College, 1958; a Master's Degree in Education from Penn State University, 1962; and the Doctor of Education degree from Penn State University in 1964. His professional experience includes the positions of Instructor, State University College, Oswego, New York 1959-61; Assistant to the Executive Secretary, Pennsylvania School Study Council, and teaching assistant, Educational Foundations, Pennsylvania State University, 1961-64. He served as Coordinator, Regional Assessment for the Eastern Regional Institute for Education, Title IV Laboratory, E. S. E. A., summer of 1966.

CHESTER KISER - Associate Professor of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo. Dr. Kiser, in addition to his teaching assignment, is a Council Associate to the Western New York School Study Council. Prior to joining the University faculty he was a Research Associate and Educational Consultant at Stanford University where he received his Ed. D. degree. Dr. Kiser has been a Business Teacher, a specialist in research and systems analyst in the Baltimore Public Schools. He has had wide experience with large city research studies and is presently serving as a special consultant to the Baltimore Schools System.

INSTITUTE EVALUATORS

RONALD BANKS - Evaluation Specialist, Buffalo Public Schools

HOWARD R. KIGHT - Associate Professor of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo

RESEARCH ASSOCIATE

FRANK AMBROSIE - Research Associate, Western New York School Study Council

INSTITUTE PARTICIPANTS*

INSTRUCTIONAL PLANNING

MICHAEL ANELLI	Buffalo Public Schools
CHARLES W. BAUMLER	Buffalo Public Schools
SAMUEL N. BLOCK	Buffalo Public Schools
IDA BROCK	Buffalo Public Schools
ALFONSO CACCIATORE	Buffalo Public Schools
GERTRUDE H. CAMPBELL	Buffalo Public Schools
JEROME M. CHALMER	Buffalo Public Schools
BENNIE DAVIS, JR.	Buffalo Public Schools
KENNETH GERSTLE	Buffalo Public Schools
JACOB GOLDSTEIN	Niagara Falls Public Schools
ALFRED LEDERMAN	S. U. N. Y. A. B.
A. JEANETTE NAPPA	Buffalo Public Schools
MICHAEL O'LAUGHLIN	Niagara Falls Public Schools
A. M. RUGGIERO	Buffalo Public Schools
REBECCA SHEPARD	Buffalo Public Schools

PRE-EDUCATIONAL AND IN-SERVICE EDUCATION FOR CORE AREA TEACHERS

FRANCIS CARY	S. U. N. Y. A. B.
RONALD DAVISON	S. U. N. Y. A. B.
ROLLAND J. GLADIEUX	Kenmore Public Schools
MURIEL R. GREEN	Buffalo Public Schools
THELMA A. HARDIMAN	Buffalo Public Schools
HENRY J. KALFAS	Niagara Falls Public Schools
ROBERT E. MAY	Buffalo Public Schools
FRANK B. MESIAH	Buffalo Public Schools
JOANNA M. MILLER	Buffalo Public Schools
JOAN O'CONNELL	Buffalo Public Schools
DOROTHY J. PARKS	Buffalo Public Schools
STEPHEN RADI	Clarence Central Schools
JOHN WILLIAMS, JR.	Buffalo Public Schools

*"In selecting individuals for attendance at the Institute, and in otherwise conducting the Institute, this Institute does not discriminate on account of the sex, race, creed, color, or national origin of any applicant."

RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION OF QUALIFIED STAFF FOR CITY SCHOOLS

JAMES BALLARD	Clarence Central Schools
CHARLES J. BLAKESLEE	Kenmore Public Schools
J. LILLIAN BUNCE	Buffalo Public Schools
HELEN K. BURNS	Buffalo Public Schools
JAMES DOWNEY	Lackawanna Public Schools
JEANETTE GORMAN	Buffalo Public Schools
CHESTER KRYSZCZUK	Buffalo Public Schools
BERTRAM LINDEMANN	S. U. N. Y. A. B.
RUDOLPH P. MARION	Niagara Falls Public Schools
SYLVIA G. MILLER	Buffalo Public Schools
IRENE G. NAVAGH	Buffalo Public Schools
DONALD PHILLIPS	S. U. N. Y. A. B.
SISTER M. PODUA	Diocese of Buffalo Schools
CARL S. WALZ	Buffalo Public Schools
EVELYN K. WARD	Buffalo Public Schools
PATRICIA WILKIEWICZ	Buffalo Public Schools

SCHOOL COMMUNITY RELATIONS

RALPH A. CHILLE	Niagara Falls Public Schools
THOMAS CLAYBACK	S. U. N. Y. A. B.
JOHN A. DEMERLY	Buffalo Public Schools
JOHN H. EDWARDS	Niagara Falls Public Schools
SISTER M. ELOISE	Diocese of Buffalo Schools
SISTER M. EUSTELLE	Diocese of Buffalo Schools
ROBERT B. LEWIS	Niagara Falls Public Schools
SISTER M. MACRINA	Diocese of Buffalo Schools
ROBERT MAGEE	S. U. N. Y. A. B.
GERTRUDE M. MALONEY	Buffalo Public Schools
PRISCILLA NIEDERMEYER	Buffalo Public Schools
MURPHY J. PITARRESI	Niagara Falls Public Schools
RAE H. ROSEN	Buffalo Public Schools
THOMAS SCHWOB	Kenmore Public Schools
MAURICE SPECTOR	Buffalo Public Schools

SCHOOL SYSTEM COMMUNICATION: HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL

ADRIEN ADELMAN, JR.
WILLIAM BLOMBERG
RAYMOND C. BURKE
SYLVIA B. COHEN
EVELYN E. DIDAS
HAROLD H. HEFKE
FRITZ F. HESSEL
NASSEA HODGE
MARGARET M. MALONE
JOSEPH T. MC MAHON
ELMER MILLER
ALFRED H. RASP
ROBERT J. SCHAEFER
CRISTINA C. TRUELL
ANTHONY D. VETRANO
DANIEL B. WEPPNER

S. U. N. Y. A. B.
Buffalo Public Schools
Lackawanna Public Schools
Buffalo Public Schools
Buffalo Public Schools
S. U. N. Y. A. B.
Buffalo Public Schools
Niagara Falls Public Schools
Buffalo Public Schools
Williamsville Schools
Buffalo Public Schools
Buffalo Public Schools
Williamsville Schools

APPENDIX B

EVALUATION REPORT

INSTITUTE ON UNIQUE PROBLEMS OF URBAN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

August 7 - 18, 1967

Ronald E. Banks

Evaluator

Buffalo Public Schools

October, 1967

EVALUATION REPORT

INSTITUTE ON UNIQUE PROBLEMS OF URBAN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

The ten day Institute on Unique Problems of Urban School Administration was held at the State University of New York at Buffalo August 7 through 18, 1967.

Each session, with the exception of the final one, was divided into a morning formal lecture or presentation and an afternoon discussion session.

Seventy-five persons registered for the program. The largest group (60%) were from the Buffalo Public Schools with the remainder from Kenmore, Lackawanna, Niagara Falls, Clarence, Buffalo Diocese, Williamsville, and the State University at Buffalo.

An evaluation questionnaire was provided for each participant. A total of 47 were returned after notification of each recipient. The data given are based on these 47 returns.

I. Characteristics of Respondents

The respondents reported that 35 of the 47 would be administrators in school buildings (as principals and assistant principals) during the school year 1967 - 1968. Eight were central office administrators and the balance college personnel. Fifty-seven percent were involved in the teaching of disadvantaged pupils.

The median number of years of experience as an administrator was 5.3 years. Median teaching experience as classroom teachers was 8.3 years.

The picture of the administrator who responded is that of a school

principal or assistant principal with over 12 years of educational experience who is engaged in a large city district with disadvantaged pupils.

II. Facilities

Seventy-four percent of the respondents indicated satisfaction with the facilities provided by the University. The facilities included the following:

Lecture room

Seminar room

Luncheon facilities

Registration facilities

Food service

Parking facilities

General organization

Nine respondents (19.1%) found the lecture room unsatisfactory. Two (4.2%) were unsatisfied with their seminar room and one respondent (2.1%) was unhappy with registration facilities.

III. Lectures and Seminars

Respondents felt in 74% of the cases that the lectures were more helpful, more stimulating and interesting than the seminars attended. Only 14% felt the seminars were superior in these areas to the lectures. There were no significant differences among the individual seminars reported. When asked to rank the top three lectures in terms of overall quality, the respondents ranked lecture No. 4 (Mr. Shepard), No. 1 (Mr. Ylvisaker) and No. 6 (Mr. Bennis) as the highest. This ranking was based on the number of times each lecture appeared in one of the three superior positions.

IV. Attending another Institute:

Only 2 (4.5%) of the respondents said they would not attend another institute if given.

87.2% of respondents reported that the institute met their expectations which included the following expressed needs:

Awareness of Problems

Social Problems

Ideas for educating disadvantaged

Core area suggestions

School organization

Involving parents

Future of Urban Education

Implementing change now

Practical Solutions

Opportunity to relate to other urban administrators

A review of literature

Organization of City system

Intellectual Stimulation

Communications within Schools

V. Respondents Suggestions

Participants, when asked to suggest changes they would make to improve the Institute, gave a widely divergent series of responses. The most often mentioned was to include higher level administrators and school board members as participants in the Institute. It was felt that such "high level" participation

would effect changes, in the schools brought forward by the Institute.

Equally stressed were more "structured" and "better organized" discussion groups. A longer period for the operation of the Institute was suggested. The period of operation given, ranged from 6 weeks in the summer to a full school year.

Although each of the above suggestions were made by two or more participants, others were made by only one or two persons. These included the following:

"Speakers should deal with 'practical' problems, not theory"

"Parents of pupils should participate"

An interim report at the mid-point of the Institute as an evaluation device should be given.

"More 'structure' to Institute in general"

VI. Conclusions

A word of caution is necessary before conclusions are drawn. Whether the respondents represent a special group of satisfied participants or are a reasonable sample of the total cannot be ascertained. However, assuming that the respondents are indicating their attitudes within the limitations of the method used, and, further assuming that they are a representative group of the participants, we can draw some conclusions concerning the Institute.

1. With few exceptions, the Institute drew on administrators from urban schools which had disadvantaged pupil populations.
2. The Institute met the needs of these administrators as indicated

by responses to the questions concerning expectations fulfilled and the desire to attend another Institute.

3. The general organization of the Institute including its facilities were satisfactory.

4. The lectures appear to have been a more positive experience for the participants than the seminars.

5. Although a "practical", presumably less theoretical approach was stressed in many responses, theory - oriented lectures met with a high degree of approval, e.g. the Bennis lecture on communications.

6. Another Institute, for a longer period in the summer, seems justified. An emphasis on formal presentations followed by discussions between small groups of participants and the lecturer seems to be a reasonable procedure which would follow the respondents suggestions.

EVALUATION QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARTICIPANTS
INSTITUTE ON UNIQUE PROBLEMS OF URBAN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

August 7 - 18, 1967

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT BUFFALO

This evaluation is completely confidential. Do not write your name on the questionnaire. Please answer all questions in this evaluation and mail the completed form in the accompanying self-addressed envelope.

Where indicated, use the following numbered list of formal sessions and the seminars to complete items.

Session Number -

1. Monday, August 7
Dr. Ylvisaker, Urban Growth and Educational Change
2. Tuesday, August 8
David Cohen, Commission on Civil Rights Report
3. Wednesday, August 9
Frank Dressier, The Urban School System of Tomorrow
4. Thursday, August 10
Samuel Shepard, Instructional Planning in Urban Settings
5. Friday, August 11
Saul Alinsky, B.U.I.L.D.
6. Monday, August 14
Warren Bennis, Communication Problems in the Urban Educational Bureaucracy
7. Tuesday, August 15.
Panel: Aspirations and Handicaps with Regard to the Education of the Negro in Buffalo
8. Wednesday, August 16
Charles E. Stewart, School Community Relations
9. Thursday, August 17
R. Oliver Gibson, Recruitment and Retention of Personnel

Seminar Letter

- A. Dr. Button: School System Communication
- B. Mr. Edwards: School Community Relations

- C. Dr. Gibson: Recruitment and Retention
- D. Dr. Heller: Instructional Planning
- E. Dr. Kiser: Pre and In-Service Education

Please indicate the following. This information will not be used for purposes of identification.

1. Will your duties during the school year 1967-68 be chiefly in the education of disadvantaged children? _____ Yes _____ No
2. Will your position involve you in duties chiefly in a school building (as principal, assistant principal, etc.) or in a central office position?
School building _____ Central office _____
3. What is the approximate size of the school district you will be with in 1967-68 (e.g. 25, 000 pupils)? Pupils _____
4. How many years of experience as an administrator do you have? If newly appointed, write "new" in space provided. _____ yrs.
5. Before appointment as an administrator, how many years of classroom teaching experience did you have? If none, write "none" in space provided.
_____ yrs.
6. How many of the above years of teaching experience was in the instruction of disadvantaged children? If none, write "none" in space provided.
_____ yrs.

PART I

Format and Facilities

This Institute had two major activities: lecture presentations and seminars.

Of these two activities check one:

1. Did you find the following facilities of the Institute satisfactory:

Lecture rooms	Yes	_____	No	_____
Seminar rooms	Yes	_____	No	_____
Luncheon facilities	Yes	_____	No	_____
Registration facilities	Yes	_____	No	_____
Food Service	Yes	_____	No	_____
Parking facilities	Yes	_____	No	_____
General Organization	Yes	_____	No	_____

2. Which was most helpful to you, Lectures _____ Seminars _____

3. Which was most stimulating, Lectures _____ Seminars _____

4. Which was most interesting, Lectures _____ Seminars _____

PART II
Content

1. Which seminar did you attend (Give identification letter - Page 1) _____

2. Did you feel the seminar you attended was:

Stimulating	Yes	_____	No	_____
Interesting	Yes	_____	No	_____
Useful	Yes	_____	No	_____
Well organized	Yes	_____	No	_____
Fruitful	Yes	_____	No	_____
Productive	Yes	_____	No	_____
Informative	Yes	_____	No	_____

3. Did you attend all lectures? Yes _____ No _____

4. If not, which of the lectures did you miss? (Use identifying numbers -

Page 1)

5. Which lecture did you feel was most stimulating? _____

6. Which lecture was most interesting? _____

7. Which lecture was most useful? _____

8. Which lecture was most informative? _____

9. In your opinion which three lectures were those you would rank as superior in overall quality and content (Use numbers of lectures for above questions. See Page 1 for numbers)

PART III
Anecdotal Reports

1. What were you hoping to gain from attending the Institute?

2. Do you feel the Institute met your expectations? Yes _____ No _____

3. If not, why not?

4. Would you attend another Institute similar in content and format to this one? Yes _____ No _____

5. In what way would you change the format or content of the Institute if you were asked to plan another such Institute.

APPENDIX C

EVALUATION REPORT

INSTITUTE ON UNIQUE PROBLEMS OF URBAN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

August 7 - 18, 1967

Howard R. Kight

Associate Professor of Education

State University of New York at Buffalo

December, 1967

EVALUATION REPORT

INSTITUTE ON UNIQUE PROBLEMS OF URBAN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

Procedure

A three-page questionnaire/rating sheet was prepared and given to all persons attending the Institute in an effort to provide a somewhat objective basis for judging the overall effectiveness and success of the Institute. Participants were asked to rate each of the nine major speakers, the panel discussion, and each of the eight discussion leaders on their organization, overall interest, etc. The purpose was not primarily to make analytical comparisons between speakers but to judge the overall quality and variability of speakers.

Ratings were also obtained on the degree to which it was felt that the Institute achieved its two major objectives: (1) to enhance the quality and the potential for creativeness of educational leadership in metropolitan Buffalo; and (2) to provide two-way communication between educational leaders in metropolitan Buffalo and the University concerning urban school problems.

An additional seven statements dealt with matters of a related but no less important nature, such as the effectiveness of session chairmen, accuracy of press coverage, etc. The final three statements invited each respondent to list anything he particularly liked or disliked about the Institute, as well as any suggestions or recommendations he might have for improving the Institute.

All participants were given the questionnaire at the noon luncheon on the final day of the Institute and asked to return it within the next few days,

using the stamped, self-addressed envelope provided. They were also reminded not to include their name.

All ratings were made using a five-point letter (A-E) scale since this is probably the most familiar scale to those attending the Institute. Each letter rating was then converted to a corresponding numerical score (A=5, B=4, etc.) to facilitate the computation of an average rating for each of several categories. Once the average numerical rating was obtained, it was reconverted to the original letter scale for ease of interpretability.

Results and Discussion

Owing partially to the fact that the questionnaire was to be completed at home and returned by mail, it is not surprising that a sizable portion (32 percent) of the questionnaires were not returned. Other factors may have contributed to the poor return, including the fact that a follow-up reminder failed to draw out any of the delinquent responses. Therefore, considerable caution must be exercised in making any precise comparisons from the data.

Several major conclusions have been drawn from the data which hopefully provide a general framework for evaluating the success of the Institute:

(1) The overall quality of the speakers and discussion leaders was good -- bordering on "very good" -- as reflected in the overall ratings. The composite average of all speaker ratings was 4.4, corresponding to at least a B+ level. Further evidence of a uniformly high quality is seen by the fact that all speakers attained average ratings above 4.0. The highest rating was

received by Dr. Sam Shepard.

(2) There appeared to be only negligible differences between the ratings received by discussion leaders and those received by the major speakers. The major speakers averaged a 4.5 (A) rating on both Organization and on Interest while the discussion leaders averaged a 4.0 (B+) and 4.3 (B+) on these same two categories, respectively. Other categories were not directly comparable.

(3) The participants seemed to indicate that the Institute had been both stimulating and informative and they strongly approved of the format. They were less willing to say that the two major objectives had been met as satisfactorily as possible (4.3, B+), perhaps because of the difficulties in stimulating communication between the campus and the community participants (question 20).

Questions 12 and 23 through 26 invited the respondents to express their comments about various aspects of the Institute. While most of the responses were brief and very complimentary, there were some which offered some very positive and constructive recommendations. Among those which appeared to be of greatest value and validity are the following:

(4) Top area school administrators and board members should be closer involved with the Institute and attend all discussion sessions.

(5) Discussion groups should be restructured to permit (a) a rotating of discussion leaders, and (b) more time spent with guest speakers.

(6) General sessions question-answer periods should either be

shortened or postponed until later in the day, following the seminar sessions.

(7) Discussion leaders should provide greater structure and organization, greater utilization of written materials (e. g. bibliography), and show a greater awareness of local school problems.

Rating Sheet

INSTITUTE ON UNIQUE PROBLEMS OF URBAN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

August 7 - 18, 1967

State University of New York at Buffalo

I. What is your school system and position?

- (check one) _____ (check one) _____
 Buffalo Public School Principal or assistant principal
 _____ Suburban Public School _____ Central supervisory staff
 _____ Parochial School _____ Eligibility list

II. Please rate the morning General Sessions which you attended in each of the first four columns. Use the following rating scale:

A = very good C = mediocre E = very poor
 B = good D = poor

Speaker (Topic)	Organization and content rating	Effective presentation rating	Question answering rating	Overall interest rating	Did not attend
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- | | | | | | |
|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. Ylvisaker, P. N.
(Urban Growth) | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 2. Cohen, D.
(Comm. on Civil Rights
Report) | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

Speaker (Topic)	Organization and content rating	Effective presentation rating	Question answering rating	Overall interest rating	Did not attend
3. Dressler, F. J. (Urban Schl. System of Tomorrow)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. Shepard, S. (Instructional Planning)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. Alinsky, S. (Philosophy & Goals of EULD)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. Bennis, W. (Communication Problems)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. Panel Discussion (Education of Negro)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. Stewart, C. E. (School-Community Relations)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9. Gibson, R. O. (Personnel Recruitment)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
10. Mario Fantini (Luncheon speaker)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

III. Please rate the afternoon Seminar Sessions which you attended, using the same "A" to "E" scale as above.

Seminar leader's name attended	_____	No. of sessions attended	_____	Opportunity for Discussion	_____	Organization & Leadership	_____	Usefulness of Ideas Discussed	_____	Overall interest	_____
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11. _____

12. Additional Comments (seminars):

IV. Using the same "A" to "E" scale, please assess each of the following aspects of the total Institute program:

Rating

13. How well did the Institute achieve its two main objectives?

a. To enhance the quality and the potential for creativeness of educational leadership in metropolitan Buffalo.

b. To provide two-way communication between educational leaders in metropolitan Buffalo and the University concerning urban school problems.

14. How effective were the Chairmen of the morning General Sessions?

15. To what extent did the Institute meet your expectations?

16. How stimulating and informative was the overall Institute?

17. Accuracy of press coverage.

18. Fraternization with co-workers from your school system.

19. Fraternization with co-workers from another school system. _____
20. Fraternization with University Department of Educational Administration faculty. _____
21. Overall Institute format and organization. _____
22. Please list (in rank order) the three speakers which you felt contributed most toward the objectives of the Institute:
(1) _____ (2) _____ (3) _____
23. Was there anything about the Institute that you particularly liked?
24. Was there anything about the Institute that you particularly disliked?
25. Please list any suggestions you feel might benefit the planning of future Institutes of this type.
26. Degree of satisfaction with final seminar reports.