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THE EDUCATION OF MINORITY GROUP CHILDREN IN THE NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1965.

BY- HARLEM PARENTS COMMITTEE

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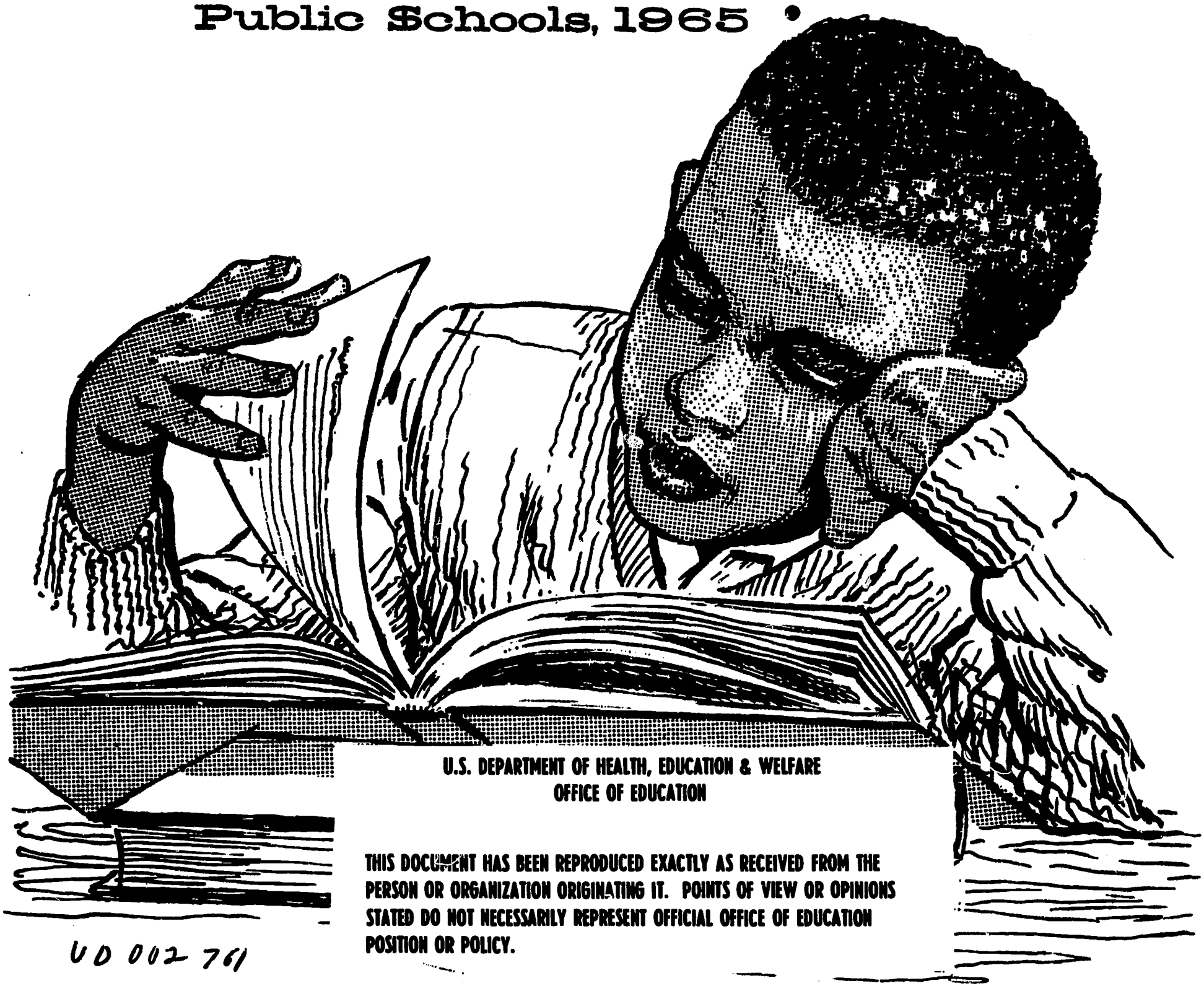
IN REVIEWING THE PROGRESS REPORT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION COMMISSION ON SCHOOL INTEGRATION, THE HARLEM PARENTS COMMITTEE, WHICH FEELS THAT A RACIALLY INTEGRATED SCHOOL IS NECESSARY FOR QUALITY EDUCATION, FINDS THAT THE COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS HAVE NOT BEEN CARRIED OUT ADEQUATELY. THE BOARD'S PROGRAMS TO DEVELOP QUALITY EDUCATION ARE STILL INADEQUATE BECAUSE THE PROPORTIONAL INCREASE OF SEGREGATION IN THE SCHOOLS IS GREATER THAN THE RISE IN THE NUMBER OF MINORITY GROUP STUDENTS. IN ADDITION, THE CONTINUING MAINTENANCE OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL SYSTEM AND THE PESSIMISTIC ATTITUDE OF THE STAFF IN MANY SCHOOLS HAVE BEEN FURTHER IMPEDIMENTS TO INTEGRATION. MOREOVER, THE BOARD'S OPEN ENROLLMENT AND FREE TRANSFER PLANS SUFFER FROM POOR PARENT-FACULTY ORIENTATION. THE FREE CHOICE POLICY IS LIMITED BY THE NUMBER OF AVAILABLE OPENINGS, PLACES THE BURDEN OF TRAVEL AND ADJUSTMENT ON THE DISADVANTAGED CHILD, ASSUMES PARENTS ARE QUALIFIED TO MAKE SUCH AN EDUCATIONAL DECISION, AND MAINTAINS THE PRESENTLY SEGREGATED SCHOOLS. ZONING AND CONSTRUCTION PLANS STILL FAVOR NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL AND LIMIT INTEGRATION AND OPEN ENROLLMENT OPPORTUNITIES. SOME ORGANIZATIONAL AND CURRICULUM PROGRAMS WHICH HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL, EVEN IN THEIR PRESENTLY LIMITED APPLICATIONS, ARE SPECIAL SERVICE SCHOOLS, ALL-DAY NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS, AND "MORE EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS." THIS REPORT IS ALSO AVAILABLE FROM THE HARLEM PARENTS COMMITTEE, LINCOLN STATION, POST OFFICE BOX 164, NEW YORK CITY, 10037. (NC)

HARLEM PARENTS COMMITTEE

The Education of Minority Group Children

in the New York City Public Schools, 1965



THE EDUCATION OF MINORITY GROUP CHILDREN IN THE NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1965

by

THE HARLEM PARENTS COMMITTEE

Shortly after the United States Supreme Court issued the historic 1954 decision banning de jure segregation in public schools, Negro sociologist Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, in a paper prepared for the Urban League of Greater New York, charged that de facto segregation was on the increase in New York City's public schools and that the quality of education the children in segregated schools received was continually deteriorating. The New York City Board of Education asked the Public Education Association to conduct a "full, impartial and objective inquiry into the status of the public school education of the Negro and Puerto Rican children in New York City." The P.E.A. accepted the assignment, and the study was conducted with the help of the New York University Research Center for Human Relations and the financial assistance of the Fund for the Republic.

The P.E.A.'s findings[1] confirmed Dr. Clark's allegations. The schools attended by Negro and Puerto Rican children tended to be older, more dilapidated and more overcrowded than others in the city; their teaching staffs tended to include more inexperienced and substitute teachers than did those of other schools; the academic achievement of Negro and Puerto Rican children --as measured by standardized, city-wide tests--tended to decrease year by

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1. The Status of Public School Education of Negro and Puerto Rican Children in New York City, Public Education Association, New York, October, 1955.

year, with the result that the longer the children remained in school, the greater was the gap between their achievement and that of other children.

On December 23, 1954, while the P.E.A. was conducting its study, the Board of Education adopted a resolution pledging the resources of the school system for the achievement of "racially integrated schools." Its Statement of Principle and Purpose, adopted at the same time, said, in part:

> We . . . interpret the May 17th decision of the U.S. Supreme Court as a legal and moral reaffirmation of our fundamental educational principles. We recognize it as a decision which applies not only to those cases in litigation, but also as a challenge to Boards throughout the nation, in Northern as well as Southern communities, to re-examine the racial composition of the schools within their respective systems in order to determine whether they conform to the standards stated clearly by that Court.
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> The Supreme Court of the United States reminds us that modern psychological knowledge indicates clearly that segregated, racially homogeneous schools damage the personality of minority group children. These schools decrease their motivation and thus impair their ability to learn. White children are also damaged.
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> Public education in a racially homogeneous setting is socially unrealistic and blocks the attainment of the goals of democratic education, whether this segregation occurs by law or by fact.
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> . . . the Board of Education of the City of New York is determined to accept the challenge implicit in the language and spirit of the decision of the United States Supreme Court. We will seek a solution to these problems and take action with dispatch implementing the recommendations resulting from a systematic and objective study of the problem here presented.

To accomplish that "systematic and objective study of the problem," the Board established a Commission on School Integration, composed of professional educators and outstanding laymen interested in education, "charged with the responsibility of determining the facts and recommending whatever action is necessary to come closer to the ideal, viz., the racially integrated school."[1]

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1. N.Y.C. Board of Education Resolution, December 23, 1954.

Six sub-commissions were set up, each to study and make recommendations about a specific area of concern: Zoning; Educational Standards and Curriculum; Guidance, Educational Stimulation and Placement; Teachers' Assignments and Personnel; Community Relations and Information; Physical Plant and Maintenance. After three years of study, reports and controversy, the Commission's task was completed.

> The general conclusion . . . is that segregated education is inferior education. By its very nature, as well as by its demonstrated effects, the concentration of racial minorities in the classroom and in the schoolyard inflicts psychological wounds on the segregated group. But it also, more or less inevitably, tends to provide it with an education substantively less adequate than that enjoyed by the majority group, even though the latter, too, may suffer socially and psychologically through its isolation from the minority. Whether school segregation is the effect of law and custom as in the South, or has its roots in residential segregation, as in New York City, its defects are inherent and incurable.[1]

Among the Commission's recommendations: changes in both zoning and school construction policies; reduction of the number of de facto segregated schools; an intensive educational program aimed at raising academic achievement in the "X" schools;[2] re-examination of the procedures in the placement of children in special classes (adjustment classes, opportunity classes, IGC, SP and CRMD classes, etc.)[3] strengthening and stiffening the syllabus and curriculum requirements; appointment of a more equitable proportion of

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1. Toward the Integration of our Schools: Final Report of the Commission on Integration, Board of Education of the City of New York, July 18, 1958.

2. "X" elementary schools have a Negro and/or Puerto Rican population 90% or more of the total; junior highs 85% or more of the total. "Y" elementary or junior highs have a Negro and/or Puerto Rican population less than 10% or 15%, respectively, of the total.

3. IGC (Intellectually Gifted) and SP (Special Progress) classifications refer to gifted elementary and junior high students, respectively. CRMD classes are for Children of Retarded Mental Development.

regular and experienced teachers to "X" schools; an intensive remedial program in the "difficult" (i.e., segregated) schools; improved guidance services; intensive recruitment of non-white and Spanish-speaking personnel; a Board of Education "policy statement pointing out that a positive attitude toward all groups . . . is a prerequisite for appointment or promotion;" establishment of required in-service courses in human relations and intercultural understanding for all school personnel; establishment of a Community Relations unit to maintain constant liaison with the Board of Education's divisions and bureaus, with the State Commission against Discrimination,[1] the New York City Commission on Intergroup Relations,[2] the City Housing Authority and the City Planning Commission.

Between June 1956 and June 1957, the reports and recommendations of the six sub-commissions were presented to the Board of Education, adopted and turned over to the professional staff for implementation. The Final Report of the Commission, a year later, noted that public and professional misunderstanding of some of the recommendations, and inadequate funding on the part of the New York City Board of Estimate had resulted in slow and limited implementation of the proposed changes. The Report ends by stating the hopeful belief of the Commission that as the obstacles are overcome, "We may expect a more rapid implementation of the sub-commission recommendations by the Superintendent of Schools and his aides, and by the personnel of the school system on whose professional zeal, loyalty and dedication we confidently depend. The task we have set them--to march, 'with all deliberate speed,' on the road toward the integration of our schools--is not an easy one. But the terrain has been

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1. Now the N.Y.State Commission for Human Rights.
2. Now the City Commission on Human Rights of New York.

surveyed, the route mapped, and, without any question, the people of New York want to travel that road to the end."

The purpose of this paper is to indicate and document the conviction of the Harlem Parents Committee that, despite the optimism of the Commission on Integration--an optimism shared by many of us at that time--now, after another seven years of studies and surveys, new programs and "pilot projects," reports and recommendations, consultations and conferences, demonstrations, counter-demonstrations, boycotts and negotiations, policy pronouncements and progress reports, we find ourselves essentially no further along that road in the fall of 1965 than we were in the fall of 1958.

The Harlem Parents Committee is irrevocably committed to the philosophy that a racially integrated school setting is a requirement of quality education. However, we recognize that there are those inside, as well as outside, our community who believe sincerely that it is both desirable and possible to achieve academic excellence within the segregated schools, either as an end in itself or as preparation for eventual integration. Therefore, as we examine what has happened within the school system during these past seven years, we will be measuring progress toward upgrading the segregated schools as well as progress toward integration.

IMPLEMENTATION OF COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS

In June, 1960, a report on progress in implementing the Commission's recommendations was published by the Board of Education.[1] This 196-page

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1. Toward Greater Opportunity: A Progress Report from the Superintendent of Schools of the Board of Education dealing with Implementation of Recommendations of the Commission on Integration. New York, June 1960.

report listed all the steps that had been taken since adoption of the last of the recommendations in 1957. Since it is impossible, within the limits of this paper, to list all the approximately 130 categories of items reported under the headings of the Commission's forty-four recommendations, we will restrict ourselves to brief descriptions of those we consider to be the most significant items.

Only the final forty-five pages--the section on zoning and school construction--concern matters affecting the number of de facto schools and the number of children attending them. The report indicates that

> . . . present policy accepts the idea of the integrated school as a worthwhile educational experience for all children. Zone lines are so drawn as to give all children so far as possible the real benefits of integration, and the principle of the integrated school is accepted as one of the cardinal principles in zoning. Whenever feasible, placement of special classes, and movements of children from crowded schools to under-utilized schools, are so managed as to encourage integration. New buildings are placed, so far as possible, to promote ethnic heterogeneity. However, the neighborhood school concept continues to be the basis for pupil placement on the elementary level and, to a lesser degree, on the junior high school level, so that within the near future neither complete integration nor a time-table for integration is a likely possibility.

Citing the figures showing an increase in the total number of Negro and Puerto Rican children in the school system, the steady exodus of white children to non-public schools, and the pattern of community change resulting from population shifts, the report acknowledges that the number of "X" elementary schools had increased from 64 in 1957 to 75 in 1959.

In the opinion of the Harlem Parents Committee, these excuses, still being presented by the Board of Education to explain away the steady increase in the number of "X" schools, are inadequate. The proportional increase in the degree of segregation in the schools is far greater than the increase in

the number of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the school system as a whole.[1] We have found no evidence that integration, per se, alienates more than a very small percentage of those who flee from the city's schools. On the contrary, what studies have been made tend to indicate that a major reason for the exodus from the public schools, whether to non-public or to suburban schools, is a desire for higher quality education. Even middle-class families that choose to live in integrated housing tend to patronize non-public schools in large numbers. For example, the families that moved into Corlears Hook and Morningside Gardens certainly did not fear integration, because they knew in advance that both developments were to be multi-racial. Yet, according to the Research Department of the City Housing and Redevelopment Board, more than 50% of the white school-age children in each of these housing developments attend other than public schools. The same percentage of non-public school attendance may be found in predominantly Negro Delano Village, a middle-class housing development in Harlem. It would seem that the problem is to provide better, integrated education, in order to hold the middle class (white, Negro and Puerto Rican) in the public schools, instead of using the exodus as an excuse for inaction.

The Superintendent's report[2] lists the basic principles of zoning as follows:

> 1. Elementary and junior high schools are essentially neighborhood or community institutions which serve the children of families living within an area contiguous to the school building. The determination of district lines should be consistent with the neighborhood school concept.

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1. As of May, 1965, there had been a 36% increase in the number of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the elementary schools, but a 104% increase in the number of segregated elementary schools.

2. Op. cit.

2. The assistant superintendent in the field shall have the responsibility for the preparation of tentative zoning plans.

3. Parents of pupils affected and members of the Local School Boards should be consulted regarding zoning changes.

4. Provision should be made in each school for classes which ~~will serve~~ the full range of its pupil's needs and abilities. When pupils who qualify for IGC or SP classes cannot be accomodated in their home schools, the objective of integration should be considered in setting up central classes.

5. Classes for the handicapped should be organized as in (4) above.

6. Continuity of a pupil's school attendance should be maintained as far as possible.

7. When it becomes necessary to transport pupils by bus to relieve overcrowding and for better utilization of school plant, integration should be one of the considerations. However, pupils should not be transported by bus from one school to another solely for the purposes of integration.

8. At the junior high school level, additional consideration is to be given to integration by drawing zoning lines to include the areas of feeder schools or parts of the areas of feeder schools in such a manner as to promote racial integration.

9. The application of the principle of "permissive zoning" should in general be deferred to the senior high school.

In a footnote to (9) above, the report states that "there are . . . many exceptions to this general rule on the elementary and junior high school levels: permissive zoning for central intellectually gifted classes; permissive zoning for better building utilization; etc."

OVER/UNDER UTILIZATION PROGRAM

Despite the many restrictions, the continued devotion to the neighborhood school concept and the generally pessimistic attitude of much of the school system personnel toward the possibilities of integration--as indicated in the above exerpts--nearly 27,000 children were transferred for better school

utilization between September 1957 and April 1960. Since most of the over-crowding was in the predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican schools, the result was a desegregated education for most of the children shifted.[1]

There was, expectably, some controversy over even this limited program. The opposition was minimal so long as the transfers remained intra-borough. But, when the Board of Education decided that children from over-crowded Bedford-Stuyvesant schools should go to the closest under-utilized schools, even though those schools were in Queens, there was a loud outcry from some Queens residents. The Board stood firm in its decision, the transfers were accomplished despite demonstrations, name-calling and threats of violence. In due time, the smoke of battle cleared away, and the children stayed in their new schools and prospered.

OPEN ENROLLMENT AND FREE CHOICE TRANSFERS

Meanwhile, parents of children attending segregated schools that were not over-crowded continued to demand that their children be given the same opportunity to move out. It was not until after parents had organized, on a city-wide basis during the summer of 1960, for a school boycott that the Board agreed to experiment with an Open Enrollment Program.

The understanding of the parents and community leaders who agreed to cancel plans for the school boycott was that the Board of Education would not only allow the transfers, but would also interpret to its professional staff and to

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1. Note that we use "desegregated" rather than "integrated" as does the Board of Education. "Desegregation" is the administrative process of putting children of different races in physical proximity to one another. "Integration" is the ongoing social process that can begin only after desegregation is accomplished, and should not be confused with the physical shifting of children.

parents in both the sending and receiving areas the meaning and importance of the program. It was in these particulars that implementation fell far short of what was expected and necessary.

First, there was no serious attempt to give the professional staff a positive orientation toward the changes. Many principals felt personally threatened by the program. They felt that a parent's desire to transfer his children out of a school was a reflection upon the principal of the school. In many receiving schools, principals and teachers saw the incoming youngsters as potential trouble--just one more problem to cope with--rather than as presenting an opportunity to meet a real educational challenge. In many receiving communities, parents reacted with hostility because there had been no real effort to create a climate of acceptance of change.

In addition, the directives sent to parents whose children were eligible for transfer were couched in language that few parents could clearly understand. Fortunately, a number of parent and community organizations made efforts to fill the gap. Some issued material interpreting the program to parents and urging them to take advantage of the opportunity presented. Others attempted to build support in the receiving communities. We feel that the degree of success of the initial transfers was due as much to such community efforts as to the work of school officials.

After the experimental transfers the first year, the Open Enrollment program was expanded to include specific grades in all "X" schools. Still later, in February 1964, the program was converted to the Free Choice Transfer Program, under which the parents of <u>any</u> child in a school with a specified percentage of Negro and Puerto Rican children might request transfer to <u>any</u> other school where there is space, on a first come first served basis. However,

in its implementation, there seems little change from the old Open Enrollment program. The Board of Education still sends notices to the effect that children many be transferred to their choice of a specified list of schools. When parents have attempted to register their children at other schools where they knew there were empty seats, they have been refused. It would seem, therefore, that the "Free Choice" is still somewhat limited.

In addition to our specific criticisms of the way the Open Enrollment and Free Choice Transfer programs have been administered, the Harlem Parents Committee has serious objections to the thinking that would attempt to solve New York City's school integration problems by this sort of plan. First, the number of transfers possible is limited to the number of seats available in predominantly white schools. There simply are not enough available seats to accomodate all the children now in segregated schools, even if every eligible parent were to apply.

Second, it requires the child in the segregated school--the child who has been the chief victim of the segregated system--to bear the burden of correcting the evil from which he has suffered. He is the one required to make the long trip, the adjustment to a new school and a new, often hostile community. It seems more than a little unfair.

Third, such a program does not eliminate a single segregated school. It siphons off some of the students, giving them an opportunity to escape the ghetto school, but the school remains, and so do many of its pupils. While some students are afforded relief, the segregated schools continue and multiply.

A fourth objection to an Open Enrollment or Free Choice approach is that it puts on the shoulders of parents the responsibility for making a basic educational decision--the decision as to whether a child should receive a segregated

or an integrated education. No member of the Board of Education would suggest that parents should decide whether a child should learn to read or not; whether the child should be taught the "old math" or the "new math." Certainly the decision about integration is even more vital to a child's future success, even according to the Board's own statements cited previously. The result is that the children whose parents are best educated to the needs of today's world, those who are most sophisticated, will take advantage of the opportunities offered. Other children, whose needs may be even greater just <u>because</u> their parents' understanding of the needs of modern society may be more limited, are the very ones who do not get the advantage.

We feel strongly that, just as the Board of Education decides matters of curriculum, just as state law requires children to attend school--regardless of their parents' belief or lack of belief in the importance of education--just so, if we are ever to solve this problem, the Board of Education must assume the responsibility that is theirs legally and morally to <u>provide</u>, not just <u>offer</u> an integrated education to every child under its jurisdiction.

SCHOOL PAIRINGS

Open Enrollment is not the only sort of plan that has been advanced, however. Another is the so-called "Princeton Plan" type of school organization. The Board of Education term for it is "community zoning" but people usually refer to the concept as "school pairing." Two adjoining school districts--serving essentially different ethnic groups--are combined into one district. The student bodies of the two schools are then redistributed so as to require all the children of the combined zone in certain grades to attend one building, while all children in other grades attend the other building. The result is

that the ethnic population in each building then reflects that of the total combined zone, rather than that of its former narrower zone.

The criteria the Board of Education set for its "community zoning plans" are rigid. The schools chosen must be close together, so that no child need travel very far to attend either of the schools.

Thus far only eight schools have been paired--plus one on a partial basis--and the Board has announced that no expansion of the program is presently anticipated. An evaluation of the paired schools is being conducted, but no findings have yet been released. Therefore, our comments are based upon our own observations and the comments of parents whose children attend the paired schools.

It seems to us that there were fewer problems and those that existed were easier of solution in those schools whose administrations were favorably disposed toward the changes in organization. The greatest initial success was observed at the school where a new principal was appointed--one with no commitment to or identification with the old traditions of the district. In another school, the appointment of a new principal after the program had begun seems to have contributed greatly to the growing success of the experiment.

Some of the parents in Queens, it is true, withdrew their children from the public schools and have kept them out rather than have them participate in the pairings. However, there were other parents in the same neighborhood, equally vehement against the transfers, who did not withdraw their children. Some of these parents now report that their children are happy and doing well at school.

The partial pairing in Manhattan has succeeded so well that, according to our latest reports from parents, families are seeking to have their chil-

dren enrolled. We are told that the number of whites in some classes formerly nearly all Negro and Puerto Rican now exceeds the number of non-whites, and all the parents we have interviewed have glowing reports of their children's progress and high praise for the program.

The community zoning plan has its limitations, because the instances where predominantly Negro and/or Puerto Rican schools are close enough to predominantly white schools to make such pairings possible are comparatively few. Yet, because the concept involves a sharing of both the advantages and the disadvantages of the change, because no child is stigmatized by being the "bus child" (since all children will attend the neighborhood school part of the time and travel out of the immediate neighborhood part of the time), we feel this program is another step forward. The decision to limit implementation of the concept to these eight schools came as a disappointment, for we feel that there are still a number of other schools that might be paired successfully.

SITE SELECTION AND ZONING

The selection of school sites in areas that would further integration, rather than placing schools in the middle of solidly white or non-white areas was one of the recommendations of the Sub-Commission on Zoning. "While the Board has endorsed the idea in principle, it has put the idea into practice only sparingly."[1] All too often, considerations of economy or the tradition of "putting the schools where the children are" have superceded the idea of possible integration in the determination of school sites. While a healthy share of the blame for this failure must fall on the shoulders of the City

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1. A Program for Integrating New York City's Schools, Metropolitan Council, American Jewish Congress, December 1963.

Planning Commission, the City Budget Director and the Board of Estimate, the Board of Education's personnel has not seemed outstandingly vigorous in attempting to convince these other agencies of the importance and desirability of the integration concept.

From time to time, frequently as a result of considerable pressure from community groups, school sites have been selected according to this criterion. Then, we often find, the stumbling-block is the difficulty of getting approval for a zoning plan that will take full advantage of the integration possibilities of the site.

An example is JHS 275 in Brooklyn. The site for this new junior high school was chosen after a great deal of controversy, pressure and counter-pressure. Even the Mayor's office became involved. When construction of the school was nearly completed, and it was time for the zone to be determined, controversy flared anew. The school was located at the point where predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican Brownsville joins predominantly white Canarsie and East Flatbush. The militantly pro-integration groups in the community demanded that a zone be drawn that would have the school in the center, with students being drawn from all three neighborhoods. The opposition demanded to have the school zoned so as to include only Brownsville children, as would have been the case if the original site proposal had been adopted. Finally, after months of argument, the Board of Education compromised by approving a zoning plan that included none of Canarsie and only a very small area of East Flatbush.

The compromise--as could be expected of a middle-of-the-road position--satisfied neither side. Civil rights groups still feel that 275 was a major defeat, while the opposition went to court to have even the few East Flatbush

children removed from the 275 zone. The court case was finally settled on appeal, confirming the right of the Board of Education to consider integration in the zoning of a school--especially when, as in this instance, no child is required to by-pass another, closer school, to attend the one to which he is zoned. Despite the favorable outcome of the case, the Board seems reluctant to face additional controversy by applying even this limited principle consistently.

ANALYSIS OF THE SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION PROGRAM

In the spring of 1964, the City Commission on Human Rights of New York studied the Board of Education's projected school construction program for 1964-5, to see how much progress was being made toward desegregation[1] The Board proposed to move toward the construction of schools that would require appropriations totalling $284,600,000 within three years. Thirty-five per cent of the total, or $100,500,000, would go for 39 new projects that would --unless the projected locations and probable zones were changed drastically-- serve student populations 90% or more Negro and/or Puerto Rican. Another $27,200,000 would be spent for schools that could be expected to be more than 70% Negro and/or Puerto Rican. If we add to those amounts the $127,700,000 to be used for schools that would have fewer than 10% Negro and/or Puerto Rican students, we find that 63% of the building program ($178,700,000) would go for schools that could not be considered integrated.

The study measured the trends in segregated schools in the city. In December, 1954, when the Board adopted its exciting Statement of Principle and Purpose, there were 43 "X" elementary and 9 "X" junior high schools--a total of

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1. Study of the Effect of the 1964-1970 School Building Program on Segregation in New York City's Public Schools (A Public School Construction Analysis), The City Commission on Human Rights of New York, March 26, 1964.

52--in the entire city. In 1957-8, when transfers from the segregated schools began, there were 64 elementary and 16 junior high schools--a total of 80--with 90% or more Negro and/or Puerto Rican pupils. By the 1963-64 school year the number had risen to 134 and 31 respectively--a total of 165 "X" schools, an increase of more than 200% over 1954. If all the probable "X" schools under construction at that moment, all those projected in the 1964-65 budget and all those projected in the 1965-66 and 1967-70 long-range proposals were to be built as planned, we could expect to have 252 segregated schools by 1972.

There have been, at this writing, some modifications in the building plans since the study was made in March 1964, but the general picture of the increase in segregated schools remains essentially unchanged.

Another significant fact brought to light by the Commission's study was that even the limited advantages of the Open Enrollment and Free Choice programs would be restricted by the proposed building program. In the sending areas, the proposed new construction would provide many more seats than were currently available. In the areas that had underutilized schools to which children had been transferring, the projected replacements would, in many cases, be considerably smaller--in some instances, one building would replace two older ones--thus leaving fewer seats unutilized to which children could transfer.

An official of the Board's School Planning Division, when questioned about this, replied that it was still policy to build where the children are and, integration notwithstanding, planning would still be done this way until the Board of Education changed the policy. As we have seen, the policy is unchanged to this day, eleven years after the initial commitment to integration, eight years after the adoption of the recommendations of the Sub-Commission on Zoning!

EDUCATIONAL PARKS

Still another proposal to achieve integrated schools is the educational park concept. This would involve a change in the approach to building schools, a departure from the concept of the neighborhood school. Instead, a number of schools would be grouped on one large site, serving children from a large geographical area. The grouping could include several elementary or primary schools, two or more junior high or intermediate schools, a high school and, perhaps, even a junior college. The student body for such an installation would be drawn from such a wide geographic area that it would be comparatively easy to guarantee a good ethnic cross-section.

Easier desegregation is not, however, the sole value of the educational park to New York and other large cities. One of the problems we have faced for many years in planning and building schools is the constant change in the size of school populations in specific areas of the city. As people move up the economic ladder and move to better neighborhoods, as new parts of the city are built up, we find still useful buildings nearly empty in neighborhoods that no longer have many school-age children. At the same time, we find that there is constant pressure for more and more new buildings coming from the neighborhoods whose school populations are sky-rocketing. Carefully planned educational parks could much more readily accomodate population shifts, since most of the children would be travelling to the schools anyway.

An additional economy would be in the joint use of facilities. At present, we attempt to provide a school library, for example, in every school we build. The critical shortage of trained librarians and the cost of supplies contribute to the notable lack of success in providing good libraries, particularly at the important elementary level. In an educational park, it would be possible

to provide one good central library, fully and properly staffed and equipped, serving all the schools in the cluster. A similar saving could be accomplished in assembly halls. Such facilities now are used only a part of the day in any school, and often by small groups that do not need a 500 or more capacity auditorium. An educational park could be designed to provide a variety of large and small assembly rooms, to fit the true needs of all the schools. Physical education and recreational facilities could likewise be designed to serve the varied needs of all the students. The facilities in the educational park could be made available for community use during non-school hours, for community education projects and programs as well as recreation. The large total student body that an educational park would serve would make it practical to organize truly effective supplementary services to meet the needs of the slower and the more rapid students. When all levels of education are being offered in close physical proximity, it is easy to allow the students who are more advanced in some areas to take those courses at a higher level, while still continuing to take most of their work with their contemporaries.

At this writing, the NYC Board of Education has just released its long-awaited policy position on the educational park, after months of study and hearings. We quote it in its entirety:

> The Board of Education has given a great amount of study to the proposal for an educational park as one of several means of improving the excellence of the New York City Public School System and of furthering our integration program. The Board's consideration has included conferences, individual study, advice from experts, and public hearings.
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> An educational park has been defined as a clustering of educational facilities in a campus-like setting, utilizing centrally organized common facilities and drawing its student body from a larger community.
>
> We have determined that the concept of an educational park is worthy of experimentation. We are, therefore, instructing the

Superintendent of Schools to take the necessary steps to see that an educational park is established in two locations, namely, Co-op City in the Bronx and the Kingsbridge location (Bronx-Manhattan border) of the proposed John F. Kennedy High School. In the Co-op City educational park, there will be one high school, two intermediate schools and three primary schools. This park will also serve a number of existing primary schools in the adjacent area which will feed the intermediate schools in the educational park. In the Kingsbridge park, there will be one high school and two intermediate schools, one of which would have been built in the Harlem area under original plans. The Superintendent's staff is already working with the developers of Co-op City and the architect for the John F. Kennedy High School on plans for these two educational parks.

We are planning to incorporate into these educational parks the types of facilities and the educational programs which would lend themselves to the special purposes of an educational park. In the case of Co-op City, we have included primary schools because it is a new development, and these primary schools, though part of the educational park, will be in the immediate neighborhood of the housing they serve. In the Kingsbridge educational park, there will be no primary schools because it is the policy of this Board to maintain the primary schools as close as possible to the homes of the children they serve.

If the experiemtn with the educational park is successful, the concept will be expanded to other areas of the city. Among these would be the East New York-Brownsville-Canarsie area. We are requesting the Board of Estimate, in its consideration of the industrial park for this area, to be aware of the fact that it is a logical area for the extension of the educational park concept. In any action they may take on the proposed industrial park, we are requesting that they include consideration of a s section of that area or a suitable area immediately adjacent to it for retention as a possible educational park.

Another area could be a portion of the site of the World's Fair. We are exploring the desirability and feasibility of an educational park there, embracing intermediate schools, a high school, collegiate facilities and special skills centers. The Board of Education will be working cooperatively with the Board of Higher Education in the examination of this possibility.[1]

The Harlem Parents Committee lauds the decision of the Board of Education to try out the educational park. We do have some serious questions and criticisms, however, of the implementation of the decision.

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1. Statement issued by President Lloyd K. Garrison in behalf of the Board of Education, September 23, 1965.

One of the bases for our support of this new concept is that it could make it possible to desegregate the system, with all groups sharing equally in the disadvantages and the advantages that would accrue. We had, therefore, hoped that the sites chosen for the initial experiment would be selected for their equal accessibility to the white and non-white communities. The Kingsbridge site is in the center of areas populated by middle-class whites, in the main. It is accessible from Negro and Puerto Rican areas of both Manhattan and the Bronx, but, once again, the burden of greatest travel would be on the Negro and Puerto Rican children who might be assigned to those schools.

In the case of Co-op City, we also have questions. We would want to know whether, as the Superintendent's staff works with the developer, they are asking him to take steps to assure an integrated tenancy of Co-op City. If, as seems likely at this moment, the development turns out to be overwhelmingly middle-class white, where is the integration of the educational park?

We are greatly disappointed that neither the East New York-Brownsville-Canarsie site, which was mentioned for future consideration, nor the Morningside Park area of Manhattan, which the Board did not even mention, was chosen for the initial experiment. Each of these sites is so located between predominantly white and predominantly non-white areas as to provide equal access to both areas and thus serve the process of equitable desegregation and eventual integration better, we feel, than the ones chosen.

Our most serious criticism, however, is not of the specific sites selected, but of the language and intent of the policy pronouncement. The Board of Education, while reaching out, however tentatively, toward new concepts in educational organization, is still, at the same time, reaching back to maintain its

hold on the old traditional neighborhood school concept. There is no intent to try, even on an experimental basis, to give the advantages of the educational park outside the immediate neighborhood to primary school children. In fact, the intention to continue such schools on the neighborhood basis is reiterated in the statement. Why is the neighborhood school concept so sacred?

Dr. Fischer of Columbia discusses one of the reasons many parents and educators fear any departure from the traditional concept of local schools:

> But is it true, as some say, that when culturally deprived children enter a school with more fortunate pupils, they depress its quality? Is the inevitable price of integration a leveling down of the school?
>
> . . . deterioration in teaching and learning is not inevitable.
>
> A good book loses no value for a child of high reading ability because another child in the class reads less well. A teacher capable of introducing children to the orderly wonders of mathematics is not diminished in his skill because some of his pupils need it more than others. A school's effectiveness is measured not by the capability or the experiences of pupils before they enter it, but by the quality of the teaching they receive within it. . . .
>
> The most compelling argument for integrating schools is that all our children of whatever race must learn to live in a world in which no race can any longer choose to live apart. In the modern world, isolationism has become an absurd anachronism. Anyone who so quarantines a child that he may know only people of his own race damages that child's chance to learn to live intelligently, sensitively and responsibly in the only world he will have to live in as an adult.
>
> Nor can we absolve our responsibility simply by adopting a policy of nondiscrimination--opening all doors and letting nature take its course. If we accept the proposition that children learn from each other as surely as they do from books, if we agree that they must learn to live in a multiracial world, it follows that we dare not leave some of their most important learning opportunities to chance. A laissez-faire policy which allows the student body of a school, so to speak, to form itself with no regard for the educational consequences must then be as unacceptable as pure permissiveness in allowing children to find wholly by accident the facts they learn or the books they read.
>
> . . . . It is one of the paradoxes of our times that the figure of the shrinking earth describes only relationships of space and time. With respect to human relations, the world

each of us personally inhabits grows steadily and rapidly larger. No man today has any choice but to be part of a greater and more diverse community. To forego the opportunity to educate our children faithfully and imaginatively for this larger world will be to fail them tragically an inexcusably.

. . . . In the search for useful criteria to appraise policies and practices to carry us toward a school at once genuinely educational and truly universal, we shall hardly find a better standard than the one John Dewey gave us at the turn of the century: "What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all of its children. Any other ideal for our schools is narrow and unlovely; acted upon, it destroys our democracy."[1]

For an analysis of the neighborhood school itself, we turn to Dr. Jean Grambs of the University of Maryland:

Perhaps nothing has eroded the neighborhood concept more than that of population mobility. Churches today enroll parishioners from a wide geographic area; the automobile has made this possible. The local grocery store which gave credit and delivered one's order is a rarity these days; it has been replaced by the chain store with its impersonal cash procedures.

Why then do we feel that the neighborhood school, of all such local institutions, is worthy of particular attention? The answer appears to be in the nature of the neighborhoods of today's cities. Geographic areas are distinguishable according to the group that lives there. Such areas may not be neighborhoods in any of the traditional sense of the word; there is usually no great feeling of local loyalty, and there is a diminished attachment to the local school. The distinguishing feature of the "neighborhood" is ethnic similarity. Thus the argument for the neighborhood school can only rest, from a sociological point of view, on a conviction regarding ethnic similarity or solidarity. The assumption here is that persons of like ethnic backgrounds ought to--or prefer to--send their children to schools where there are mostly others of the same group. This is certainly true when the group is Anglo-Saxon white. It is not true when the group is from other ethnic derivations. The member of a non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic group is typically aware of the differences between himself and the white Anglo-Saxon group which appears to control community policies. While the individual may have few illusions about his own chance to change his economic and social position, he, like

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1. John H. Fischer, The Inclusive School, Teachers College Record, Vol. 66, No. 1, October 1964.

Americans for two hundred years, has a sense of the potential and opportunity for his children. But his opportunity can only come when and as his child learns the dominant group culture. The neighborhood school concept, because of the ethnic housing patterns which exist in almost all cities, means that his child is only able to learn and play with others like himself. These others may not be those he sees on his own block, . . . but they come from the same general background. Since there is little neighborhood contact visible in the local school, such a parent sees no particular problem in having his child moved into another area for schooling, if the educational opportunities thus available mean that he will have an enlarged view of the world.

In other words, the local school concept is viable only as it is educationally and socially meaningful. The Catholic parent will send his child across town to go to the best Catholic high school. The parent of a blind child will see his youngster transported miles for basic education preparatory to eventual integration in regular classrooms. The upward mobile parent buys expensive private day-school education, involving lengthy bus rides, becasse he feels it is educationally advantageous. Given today's communities, there appear to be few stable elements which <u>require</u> a strict adherence to a neighborhood school concept. In fact, as illustrated from the experience of the big cities, a strict interpretation of the local school can serve to interfere with the education of highly mobile families.

In conclusion, then, it must be asserted that <u>educationally</u> there appears to be little rationale for the neighborhood school. In terms of today's highly mobile communities, the concept itself has little meaning.[1]

ALLEN COMMITTEE'S REPORT

In February 1964, at the request of New York City's Board of Education and Superintendent of Schools, New York State Commissioner of Education James E. Allen, Jr., asked his Advisory Committee on Human Relations and Community Tensions[2] to evaluate the Board's plan for improving education through integration. Research for the Committee was undertaken by Dr. Robert A. Dentler .

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1. Jean D. Grambs, Ed.D., University of Maryland, <u>A Sociological View of The Neighborhood School Concept</u>, from <u>Because it is Right--Educationally</u>: Report of the Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education, Massachusetts State Board of Education, Boston, April 1964.

2. John H. Fischer, Chairman; Judah Cahn, Kenneth B. Clark.

THIS MEMORIAL IS AN APPEAL TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FOR RELIEF IN THE EDUCATIONAL CRISIS OF NEW YORK CITY.

IT IS THE BASIS UPON WHICH THIS OBJECTIVE DOCUMENT "THE EDUCATION OF MINORITY GROUP CHILDREN IN THE NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1965" WAS PRODUCED.

WE GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGE THE WORK, ENERGY, CARE AND TIME CONTRIBUTED BY OUR FRIENDS AND MEMBERS IN THE PRODUCTION OF THIS DOCUMENT.

MEMORIAL TO THE UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER

OF EDUCATION

Sir:

We, the HARLEM PARENTS COMMITTEE of New York City, in session assembled, respectfully present for your attention the attached report in relation to the present deplorable condition of the New York City public school system, and make an earnest appeal to your considerate judgement.

In view of the best interests of our exploited children, and conscious of the difficulties that surround our position, we ask for no rights or privileges but such as rest upon the strong basis of justice, equality of opportunity and true democracy.

Firstly, we ask that all federal funds be withheld from the New York City public school system until a federal investigation and a public hearing into our separate but NOT equal schools have been held.

Secondly, we ask that a fair and impartial hearing be given the hundreds of parents and students in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brownsville, South Jamaica and Lower-East Bronx who have been denied "Open Enrollment" or"Free-Choice Transfers" (the major programs publicized by the New York City Board of Education as its approach toward desegregation or better ethnic balance in our school system).

Thirdly, we ask that responsibility be placed on the New York City Board of Education for the fact that only 762 Negro and 336 Puerto Rican students out of 21,000 graduated with academic diplomas last year. The same ratio was evident in the vocational and commercial High Schools.

Fourthly, we ask that evidence be presented in hearing and investigation to show the blatant discriminatory practices in up-grading Negro and Puerto Rican supervisory personnel. This, the largest school system in the United States, has the smallest percentage of Negro and Puerto Rican district superintendents, principals and assistant principals.

Fifthly, we ask that a fair and impartial hearing be given to the unceremonious dismissal of Superintendent Calvin Gross who was fired from his position under the guise that he was not moving fast enough toward the integration of our schools. We find that his successor and the New York City Board of Education are moving toward greater racial segregation in our schools.

Sixthly, we ask that accountability be made for the myopic planning that has produced and continues to produce the following disastrous results:

1. A widening gap in achievement levels between all-black and all-white schools.

2. An average of 3.6% Negro and 1.6% Puerto Rican academic high school graduates.

3. 77,000 Negro and Puerto Rican school drop-outs.

4. Special Service funds that rarely reach the segregated Negro and Puerto Rican schools for purchasing books and equipment.

5. A 104% increase in the number of segregated schools despite only a 36% increase in the number of enrolled Negro and Puerto Rican students.

6. 72,000 under-utilized seats in all-white schools while Negro and Puerto Rican students are denied Free-Choice Transfers and Open Enrollment.

7. More and more "Special Projects" that fail to follow their own criteria for experimentation.

Seventhly, we ask that equal educational opportunity be guaranteed to Negro and Puerto Rican students in the letter and spirit of the Supreme Court school decision of 1954. The Allen Report, which the New York City Board of Education asked for, provides the initial steps for implementing a program for school desegregation while planning a meaningful program for the ultimate eradication of all segregated schools.

We protest against any program of reorganization or decentralization that produces a great deal of change and confusion but

maintains the status "crow" and compounds this crime by setting up more apartheid school districts, barriers against further desegration.

We now must look beyond the city for help. This is not unreasonable, for our problem is not a purley local one. People come to the city daily from all over the nation. When, in any part of the nation, there is a serious crop failure, the federal government steps in with massive assistance, because a crop failure anywhere affects our total economy, and is recognized as a national emergency. Our failure is with our most important crop--our children the ones who must assume responsibility for our society in a few short years. This is certainly as great a disaster as the loss of cranberries in Massachusetts or oranges in Florida or California.

We of the Harlem Parents Committee realize that good public schools, alone, cannot save our children--there are many fronts on which the battle must be waged. We realize, however, with equal certainty that <u>without</u> good public schools our children cannot be saved, whatever else we do. The schools must accept their <u>full</u> share of the responsibility for change. A man who has not been properly educated cannot qualify for a good job even if there is no discrimination; a man who cannot hold a decent job cannot afford decent housing even if there are no barriers; an ignorant man cannot effectively excerise his franchise even when he has the right to vote.

Education is the bedrock upon which all other gains are based. The public schools of our nation have been the road upward for all groups who have come to our shores and prospered. The Negro, the

Puerto Rican and all other minorities must now have the opportunity to travel that road. "Equal Opportunity" is an empty meaningless phrase to the man who lacks the educational key to open the door when his opportunity knocks.

We solemnly affirm that federal funds for education be withheld from the New York City school system, until, like many states and cities of the South, it has proved through public hearings and advance planning that it meets the requirements of both the 1954 Supreme Court decision and the Civil Rights Law of 1964 and 1965.

We therefore commend this memorial to your considerate judgement.

Thus we ever pray.

HARLEM PARENTS COMMITTEE
New York City, New York
October 19, 1965

Note:

Copies sent to The Honorable Francis Keppel, Commissioner of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare and The Honorable Adam C. Powell, Chairman, House Committee on Education and Labor

of the Institute of Urban Studies at Teachers College, Columbia University.

The following are some excerpts from the Committee's evaluation of the various integration techniques used and/or projected by the Board of Education:[1]

> Open Enrollment has had no significant effect on the extent of segregation. It cannot have, as it depends wholly upon voluntary choice among Negro and Puerto Rican parents. . . .
>
> The Board made about 100 changes in district and school zones in order to stimulate desegregation between 1959 and 1963. In addition, the Board permitted more than 600 individual exceptions, called zoning variances, for high school attendance, in the same period. These changes, together with those summarized above /Open Enrollment, etc./, constitute all notable efforts by the Board and its staff as of 1963 to reduce the level of de facto segregation among students in the city's public schools. . . .
>
> Despite Open Enrollment, rezoning and associated efforts, segregation, city wide, has not been reduced. On the contrary, the overall level of segregation has increased. . . .
>
> . . . our impression is that not a single elementary or junior high school that was changing toward segregation after 1958 by virtue of residential changes and the transfer of Whites into parochial and private schools was prevented from becoming segregated by Board action. . . .
>
> The school building program as presently set forth reinforces substantially the historic pattern of building on sites within the most segregated areas. This is the case chiefly in Negro residential areas, but it is also true in some mainly White neighborhoods, and thus helps to intensify both forms of segregation.
>
> To date, desegregation has not been a main factor in the programming of construction and physical renovation. Building plans have developed in response to population increase, age and quality of existing plant, transport conditions and site availability. If the purpose to desegregate was considered at all, it apparently was ranked in importance below these other considerations. . . .
>
> In our judgement, the Free Choice Transfer Policy, whatever its other merits, and we think it has some, will probably have no city-wide effect on the level of segregation . . . .

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1. Desegregating the Public Schools of New York City: A Report Prepared for the Board of Education of the City of New York by the State Education Commissioner's Advisory Committee on Human Relations and Community Tensions, May 12, 1964.

> If a great effort were made to desegregate the 25 junior high schools which are now Negro-Puerto Rican Type schools, the new policy could make a difference within a single decade. Such an effort is not proposed by the Board of Education . . . .
>
> If all 21 of the pairings proposed by the Board were to be introduced at once in 1964-65 . . . /they/ would reduce minority school segregation in the city by 1%. . . .[1]
>
> We must conclude that nothing undertaken by the New York City Board of Education since 1954, and nothing proposed since 1963, has contributed or will contribute in any meaningful degree to desegregating the public schools of the city. Each past effort, each current plan, and each projected project is either not aimed at reducing segregation or is developed in too limited a fashion to stimulate even slight progress toward desegregation.

Let that conclusion of the Allen Committee stand, then, as our final commentary on the success of the New York City Board of Education in attempting to desegregate our schools over the past eleven years.

THE DEMONSTRATION GUIDANCE PROJECT AND HIGHER HORIZONS

Let us look, now, at progress toward improving the quality of education in the segregated schools. One of the earliest and most successful moves in this direction was the Demonstration Guidance Project at JHS 43, Manhattan, beginning in September of 1952.

> The primary purpose of the Demonstration Guidarce Project was to identify and upgrade potential college students coming from a background of limited cultural contacts and generally low income families. This program grew out of the Integration Commission's Guidance, Educational Stimulation and Placement recommendations for a pilot 'Demonstration Guidance Program for the early identification and stimulation of able students . . . to overcome the stifling of educational motivation in children from families struggling economically and without an educational tradition. . . .' The program was planned to reach these children before they reached the legal age for school leaving and so was organized at the junior high school level and continued into and through the high school. Junior High School 43 and George Washington High School were the schools chosen for the program. It provided for an expanded guidance and counseling

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1. As we have seen, only five pairings were actually introduced, and one of those was only a partial pairing.

program, special instruction and remedial assistance, new and dynamic parent education and involvement approaches, broader cultural contacts and experiences and clinical services and financial assistance as needed.[1]

HARYOU analyzes the success of the Demonstration Guidance Program:

> In the final analysis it was but an application of the conviction that lower-class children can learn.
>
> This conviction is not new, but, for whatever reasons, constraints in the educational system had prohibited personnel from acting upon them. Under the guise of a project, official legitimacy to initiate changes in line with this conviction could be obtained. Three such changes seem to underlie the success of this program.
>
> First, there was insistence upon overt staff recognition of a positive image of the lower-class pupil. Previously, staff members who held negative views were able to sabotage techniques which, though not new were considered dangerous with lower-class children. The designation and aura as a <u>project</u> weakened the ability of some persons to openly block changes.
>
> Second, many of the organizational features designed to constrain pupil behavior were removed. Teacher responsibility for the maintenance of order was decreased. Students felt that they were special, and in addition, were required to meet a higher level of academic performance, and teachers were evaluated more on their practice skills than on their ability to maintain order. This forced a redefinition of teacher and student roles.
>
> Finally, because it was an experiment, and members of the administration were eager for its success, they opened many previously constricted channels of communication between themselves and teachers, parents and pupils. The obvious intent of this was to win the support and cooperation of these groups. An unintended consequence of opening these channels, however, was that they were used to motivate the administration to solve some of the problems, difficulties and grievances faced by these groups. What developed was a series of <u>two-way</u> channels of communication focussed upon the teaching of children. This, in turn, introduced new definitions of the various school groups. Teachers were encouraged to perceive themselves as competent and their students as able. Pupils were informed that they were trustworthy and that their teachers were committed to helping them succeed. Parents were told that they had a worthy contribution to make to their children's education, and that the school existed for one purpose--to assist in securing a better life for their children.[2]

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1. <u>A Study of the Problems of Integration in New York City Public Schools Since 1955</u>, Urban League of Greater New York, September 1963.

2. <u>Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change</u>, Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, 1964.

Following the success of the Demonstration Guidance Project, the Board of Education instituted the Higher Horizons program in some 63 elementary and junior high schools, serving 40,000 children. Based upon and an outgrowth of the Demonstration Guidance Project, Higher Horizons differed in some significant ways. The Director of the Higher Horizons Program describes the differences thus:

> The pilot project was designed to identify and stimulate able pupils, with the ultimate goal of college admission. The target group consisted initially of only one-half of the junior high school population, and the number of children continued in the project decreased for every year of operation. The Higher Horizons program includes all children in the grades affected, the academically disabled as well as the academically able. Because it embraces all pupils, its goals must of necessity be the goals of all education. Since it applies specifically to disadvantaged children, Higher Horizons is in reality a quest for the kind of education which, adjusted to their needs, will enable them to compete with other children on an equal basis, and to receive a fair share of the rewards of society.
>
> As such, it has ceased to be a special project, and has become a program. It is no longer faced with the necessity of constantly justifying its existence. The methods, procedures, techniques, rationale and emphases may change, and perhaps be altered completely. . . .

Others have explained the differences between the pilot project and the on-going program as mainly financial. The initial project was financed in part by a large foundation grant, and served a small number of children. The program,on the other hand, must serve a much larger group of children, without foundation assistance. The Board of Education has been able to provide a small additional sum, annually, for each child in the Higher Horizons schools, but it does not begin to approach the amount available under the Demonstration Guidance Project.

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1. Jacob Landers, Higher Horizons Progress Report, Board of Education of the City of New York, 1963.

We feel, however, that the key words in Dr. Landers' analysis are "it has ceased to be a special project, and has become a program." When that happened, the special factors emphasized in the HARYOU report ceased to exist. Our observation has been that Higher Horizons has been a success in a few schools, where the staff has managed to retain and maintain some of the "special" aura described above, and has failed in most, because of a "business-as-usual" approach.

SPECIAL SERVICE SCHOOLS

Another approach to improving the segregated schools has been the designation of them as "special service schools." The classification is actually based on the reading and language limitations of the students, and several other criteria, but most people inside and outside the school system use the term interchangeably with "X" schools, with a great degree of accuracy. Such schools are entitled to a larger allotment of textbooks and supplies, as well as additional teaching, supervisory and administrative services. The average class size is slightly smaller than in other schools.

While it is difficult to point to positive results based upon the designation of schools as "special service," we must admit that the situation in many of these schools would undoubtedly be even worse without these additional services.

ALL-DAY NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS

Some 16 schools in congested areas have been designated "All-Day Neighborhood Schools." In such schools, the school day lasts until 5 p.m. Unlike the more common after-school recreation center, the late afternoon program at the A.D.N.S. schools is truly part of the total program, integrating

education, recreation and guidance. Special attention is given to the problems and the talents of individual children. It may be significant that this program was not initiated by the Board of Education, but by the Public Education Association and adopted by the Board much later. The P.E.A. still maintains a Council of Citizens for All-Day Neighborhood Schools, which holds an annual conference and works constantly with the schools involved in the program, drawing into its activities parents and interest local citizens. There have been encouraging results from many A.D.N.S. schools--but the program is not a panacea. It has not been able, by itself, to eliminate the problems of the segregated schools, but it does point the way toward solutions of some problems. The concept is deserving of more attention from both the school system and the community.

MORE EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS

The most recent upgrading attempt is the More Effective Schools Program, introduced in ten schools on an experimental basis in September of 1964, and expanded to twenty in September 1965. The idea was born when the United Federation of Teachers objected strongly to the Board of Education's plan--contained in its December 1962 expense budget proposals--to pay teachers an extra $200 a year stipend if they would volunteer to teach in the so-called "difficult" schools. Many community groups also condemned the suggestion, calling it "combat pay" for those willing to work in minority group areas.

The UFT proposed, instead, to use the $2,000,000 that the Board proposed to allocate for the stipends to develop conditions in ten schools that would be conducive to good teaching and good learning. They insisted that such an approach, far more than additional money for some teachers, would make it

possible to recruit and maintain a stable staff in these schools. The UFT's initial proposal was later turned over to a joint planning committee from the union and the school system, to develop a workable plan. The committee's report included the following assumptions:

> More effective education demands that children of varied ethnic groups have the opportunity to grow together. Hence all plans for desegregation and better education must be linked. Successful education is essential to successful integration.
>
> All of the elements of a sound educational structure must be present. No one element can make a meaningful contribution by itself. (Smaller classes require more classrooms to insure a full school day, etc.)
>
> Many teachers and supervisors will seek to be involved in this genuine educational experience. This is the essence of their professional commitment. The unity of purpose of the Council of Supervisory Associations and the United Federation of Teachers working together with representatives of the Superintendent's staff to formulate such a program holds great promise for the future. It is our hope that this same spirit will be reflected in the democratic participation and active involvement of the members of the staff within each school.
>
> No program can succeed without the genuine cooperation of parent and community agencies.[1]

The report spells out the details of the program, beginning:

> 1. Integration will be a major factor in the choice of schools for the More Effective Schools Program.

It goes on to describe schools open from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., serving youngsters from the age of 3 and 4, in classes of 15 at the youngest level to a maximum of 22 for the older children. Heterogeneous grouping, individualized instruction, team teaching, non-graded classes, "abundant supplies of modern teaching materials appropriate to urban communities," greatly expanded guidance and psychiatric services, community services, professional supervision from colleges and universities as well as school system personnel, "wide and sustained community involvement" -- all are part of the projected program.

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1. Report of the Joint Planning Committee for More Effective Schools to the Superintendent of Schools, NYC Public Schools, May 15, 1964.

Since the More Effective Schools Program has been effect in only ten schools for only one year, it is much too soon for any real evaluation of its success and potential for the future. Certain observations, however, are possible even at this point. The planning committee's first requirement--integration--seems to have been lost sight of completely. The decision was made to concentrate upon the segregated schools. The rationale was that they needed the extra services most, and integration would have to wait. The program has been hindered by the lack of space to create the desired and necessary smaller class size in most schools, by lack of sufficient staff in some, and by budgetary limitations and insufficient parent and community participation in all.

The program as outlined in the report of the planning committee is one with which the Harlem Parents Committee can have no quarrel. It is, in fact, the kind of education we want for all children. Our complaint is that it should be called "More Effective Schools" and introduced in only a few schools. Who can say to the children in one school, "You shall have more effective education," and then say to others, "You must wait for it."? By implication, the education in all schools other than those selected for the experiment must be "Less Effective Schools."

At the rate of ten schools a year, a child born this year could live out his life span and be in his grave before all the schools in the system become "More Effective!" None of the concepts involved are new and untried. Educators agree that they are sound education. Therefore, the ways must be found--and fast--to provide them to all children. We cannot wait. Our children cannot wait.

THE RESULTS

It would be impossible, within the limits of these few pages, to describe in detail every experimental program and pilot project that is or has been put into effect in a few or many schools with the avowed purpose of upgrading the quality of education. Let us, instead--having looked at some of the more important examples--examine the results in terms of the children in the segregated schools.

In 1964, HARYOU examined the results of the educational system in Harlem, in terms of the achievement of children in Harlem's schools.

> The basic story of academic achievement in Central Harlem is one of inefficiency, inferiority and massive deterioration. . . . the further students progress in school, the larger the proportion of them who are performing below grade level.
>
> . . . only 1 percent of Cnetral Harlem pupils entered an academic high school requiring an admission examination, compared with about half of these students who entered vocational high schools. Furthermore, half of the students entering the tenth grade of an academic high school did not receive junior high school diplomas. It is unlikely that these students will be able to profit from academic studies. . . .
>
> Less than half of Central Harlem's youth seem destined to complete high school, and of those that do, most will join the ranks of those with no vocational skills, no developed talents, and, consequently, little or no future.[1]

The picture seems to have been essentially unchanged since Dr. Clark and the Public Education Association made public their findings in 1954 and 1955, respectively.

We cannot escape the conclusion that, despite considerable energy, a great deal of time and a great deal of money spent on the segregated schools of our city, little progress has been made toward achieving the goal of excellent education for the children in those schools.

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1. Youth in the Ghetto, op. cit.

What is the solution? Many people say that if we only had more money to spend, we could solve all these problems. And yet, is more money, in itself, the answer? In 1962, the Cooperative Review Board of the New York State Department of Education suggested:

> Many of the major recommendations of this report[1] can be carried out without greatly increased expenditures. . . . What is needed in New York City . . . is not merely money, it is imagination, leadership, and the willingness to try new practices, not merely in a single school or class but as bold changes affecting the lives of all pupils and teachers in the City. /Underlining ours./

There are, as we well know, individuals at all levels within the school system who have exactly those qualities described, but they cannot be effective or decisive so long as the system as a whole cannot or will not move forward.

After eleven years, standards and achievement in the segregated schools are still woefully inadequate, and there are more such schools every year. Solutions have not been found within the City of New York--so it is necessary to look beyond the city for assistance.

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1. The Instructional Program in the Public Schools of New York City, the University of the State of New York, The State Education Department, Cooperative Review Services, Albany, 1962.