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IMPROVING ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF NEW YORK CITY PUPILS.

BY- LANDERS, JACOB
NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION, BROOKLYN, N.Y.

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THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION HAS INSTITUTED A NUMBER OF PROGRAMS TO ACHIEVE ETHNIC BALANCE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. HOWEVER, THE PROBLEMS OF RACIAL INTEGRATION, WHICH RESULT FROM HOUSING, MOVEMENT OF WHITE POPULATION, GROWTH OF NONPUBLIC EDUCATION, AND THE DIFFERENTIAL RATE OF ETHNIC CHANGE IN THE VARIOUS BOROUGHS, REFLECT A CONDITION OF THE TOTAL "FABRIC" OF SOCIETY AND, AS SUCH, ARE BEYOND THE CONTROL OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION. OF THE FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE RACIAL INTEGRATION IN THE SCHOOLS--NUMBER AND ETHNIC STATUS OF SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN, NUMBER AND ETHNIC STATUS OF THOSE ENROLLED IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE CHILDREN IN THE CITY BY ETHNIC GROUPS, AND ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS WHICH DETERMINE PLACEMENT IN PARTICULAR SCHOOLS--IT IS ONLY THE LAST FACTOR WHICH CAN BE CONTROLLED BY THE SCHOOL SYSTEM. THE BOARD'S SPECIFIC ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES TO ACHIEVE INTEGRATION ARE (1) NEW SCHOOL ZONING (2) TRANSPORTING PUPILS TO DIFFERENT SCHOOLS, (3) THE FREE CHOICE-OPEN ENROLLMENT PLAN, (4) THE "REVERSE" OPEN ENROLLMENT PLAN, (5) COMMUNITY ZONING PLANS (PRINCETON PLAN), (6) CHANGED FEEDER PATTERNS FOR JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS, (7) THE ALTERNATIVE ASSIGNMENT PLAN, (8) VARIOUS HIGH SCHOOL ZONING AND OPEN ADMISSIONS PLANS, (9) INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS, (10) EDUCATIONAL PARKS, AND (11) VARIOUS SPECIAL PLANS OF ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENTS. (JL)

Improving ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF NEW YORK CITY PUPILS

Improving ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF NEW YORK CITY PUPILS

By Jacob Landers

May, 1966

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, New York 11201

Table of Contents

Section IV: Summary

Appendices

Produced in association with the Office of Education Information Services and Public Relations, JEROME G. KOVALCIK, Assistant Superintendent.

SECTION I: THE PROBLEMS.

A. *Introduction.*

There appears to be a clear and present need for general information about the integration programs of New York City. During the past few months, hundreds of inquiries have been received from cities and communities in this country and from other countries. Visitors have come in a steady stream from Canada, from Brazil, from England, from Israel, and from other far-off places. Their interest has extended to such areas as programs of compensatory education, in-service training of teachers, campaigns of parent education and involvement, reduction in the number of high school dropouts and designs for improved ethnic distribution. It is this latter subject which has occasioned the greatest number of inquiries and the most intense interest and which forms the basis of this pamphlet.

There is of course a vast difference between improved ethnic balance and integration. As a result of undemocratic housing patterns in many parts of the city, there is a high concentration of Negro and Puerto Rican children in many schools. A better ethnic distribution of pupils in the public schools of New York City must be planned and promoted to the fullest in every school where it is feasible, not only to counteract the injustices of segregation in housing, employment and other segments of our society, but also to further goals of quality education in a democracy. This process is the necessary first step toward maximum integration wherever it is possible.

On the other hand, the mere movement of children does not always result in meaningful or improved educational experiences. Better ethnic balance may be achieved; but integration is a far broader concept involving the very essence of good education and the basic foundations of American democracy. Integration presupposes a high order of individual and social relationships in which irrelevant factors of race and culture cease to influence behavior. It also

means that each individual will have the opportunity of developing to the maximum his basic potential, or what is generally called equality of educational opportunity.

There is also another educational aspect to the problem of integration, that of the possibility of programs for schools which are preponderantly white or preponderantly Negro. Such activities as "buddy schools," "pen pals," joint assemblies, planned curriculum projects, parent interchanges and the like may be of value in promoting sound programs of integration for pupils, staff and community.

It is not the purpose of this booklet, however, to deal with these other aspects of integration programs of the New York City schools. It is intended to deal only with programs whose objective is to secure improved ethnic balance. This is not to minimize the importance of equalizing educational opportunity and of promoting sound programs of human relations. Without these facets, other efforts may be sterile or meaningless. However, in this writing the sole sector of concern is the method for securing a desirable ethnic balance.

B. *Definitions and Nomenclature.*

The first study in recent years of the ethnic composition of the public schools of New York City was conducted by the New York University Research Center for Human Relations in 1955, under contract with the Public Education Association. This latter group had been requested by the Board of Education to conduct an impartial and objective inquiry into the status of the public school education of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in New York City. In their study, the research experts reduced the problem logistically to a comparison of two kinds of schools: those composed primarily of continental white children, and those populated essentially by Negro and Puerto Rican children. They defined the schools approximately as follows:

A continental white school was defined as a school where the Negro and Puerto Rican population was 10% or less of the total school population at the elementary level, or less than 15% at the junior high school level, and was called a "Y" school.

A Negro and Puerto Rican school was defined as a school in which the Negro and Puerto Rican population was 90% or more of the total school population at the elementary school level, or more than 85% at the junior high school level, and was called an "X" school.

In 1957, with the establishment of the Central Zoning Unit, it became

the practice for the school system to conduct an ethnic census each year (*see Appendix A for the form used*). Quite obviously, it is impossible to take affirmative action in the direction of improved ethnic distribution unless basic data are available with reference to the current situation. As a result of the conduct of this census, it is possible to ascertain the composition of each grade, each district, each borough, and the school system as a whole. This information is available to interested groups.

In the completion of the survey, classroom teachers gather the data by inspection only or through existing records. No notation of any kind is permitted on any official record with reference to the classification of an individual pupil.

In assembling its statistical material, New York City has followed the classification system established earlier in the report of the Public Education Association with the category of "X" and "Y" schools, based upon the proportion of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils to the total population. All pupils other than those classified Negro and Puerto Rican are placed under the general category of "Others." This term "Others" includes of course a wide variety of other ethnic groups—Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Polynesian and many others. For example, on the lower East Side of the borough of Manhattan there is one elementray school whose population is largely of Chinese descent.

There has been a general tendency to consider "X" schools as *de facto* segregated minority group schools, and "Y" schools as *de facto* segregated white schools. It is apparent that this translation from a statistical fact to a sociological conclusion may contain the seeds of many errors and of many controversies. For example, the three categories noted above are treated as if they were mutually exclusive, while of course they are not. The category of "Others" is generally considered as consisting of mainland whites. In an individual school, it may be composed of non-English speaking children from Cuba or Italy or Nationalist China. If at least one parent was born in Puerto Rico, a pupil is considered Puerto Rican for statistical purposes. The category "Negro" has tended to be applied to mainland-born children of mainland-born parents.

The tendency toward convergence of social class considerations and ethnic definitions often confuses matters even further. At the present time the Board of Education is seeking to develop a more satisfactory classification system which will be both more descriptive and more accurate. In the meantime, the statistical data should be interpreted with great care and only in the light of the definitions used.

C. *Ethnic Changes and School Integration.*

By and large, programs of public school integration and indeed the possibilities for such programs are dependent upon four basic factors:

1. Total number of children of school age and their ethnic status.

2. Total number of children enrolled in the public schools and their ethnic status.

3. Geographic distribution in the city of children of different ethnic groups.

4. Administrative arrangements which place children in particular schools.

Of these four, only the last is directly controlled by the school system. The quality of the public school program does of course in the long run influence both the total number of school children in a school district and the nature of the school population. It may even influence patterns of housing occupancy and of community development. However, the first three factors result most often from a complex of forces, many of them of an importance at least equal to that of education — economic, social, psychological and political.

D. *Number of School Age Children.*

For fifteen years or more there has been a consistent movement of Negroes and Puerto Ricans into New York City and a corresponding departure of whites. Between 1950 and 1960, for example, there was a net loss to the city of 1,238,738 whites who moved out of the city and a net gain of 172,501 non-whites and 209,261 Puerto Ricans who moved into the city. Taking into account the excess of births over deaths for all groups during this period, the total white population decreased by 836,807 or 12.9%, while the non-white population increased by 360,566 or 47.7% and the Puerto Rican population increased by 366,268 or 148.7% (*see Table I*).

The proportion of children of school age to the total population within each ethnic group varies, being considerably higher for non-white and Puerto Rican groups than for the white group. Thus, in 1960, non-whites formed 14.3% of the total population, but 19.8% of the population between the ages of 5 and 9, and 16.2% of the population between the ages of 10 and 14.* In the group under 5 years of age the percentage of non-whites was 20.4, indicating a continuation of this statistical pattern. A somewhat similar trend exists with reference to the Puerto Rican child population. In summary, then, the total number of white children of school age in New York City has been declining steadily while the total number of non-white and Puerto Rican children has been increasing.

**Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1960 Census of Population.*

TABLE I — POPULATION CHANGES

Net Migration by Race and Ethnic Group
New York City and Boroughs, 1950 - 1960

	Population April 1, 1960	Decade Change 1950	Number	Per Cent	Births	Deaths	Natural Increase	Net Migration 1950-1960
New York City	7,781,984	7,891,957	−109,973	− 1.4	1,520,824	773,811	747,013	− 856,986
White	6,052,959	6,889,766	−836,807	− 12.9	1,081,578	679,647	401,931	−1,238,738
Non-White	1,116,451	755,885	+360,566	+ 47.7	270,284	82,219	188,065	+ 172,501
Puerto Rican	612,574	246,306	+366,268	+148.7	168,962	11,945	157,017	+ 209,251
The Bronx	1,424,815	1,451,277	− 26,462	− 1.8	264,214	135,115	129,099	− 155,561
White	1,075,329	1,292,623	−217,294	− 16.8	184,265	122,269	61,996	− 279,290
Non-White	162,601	96,730	+ 65,871	+ 68.1	37,496	9,186	28,310	+ 37,561
Puerto Rican	186,885	61,924	+124,961	+201.8	42,453	3,660	38,793	+ 86,168
Brooklyn	2,627,319	2,738,175	−110,856	− 4.0	543,460	259,105	284,335	− 395,211
White	2,071,312	2,487,306	−415,994	− 16.7	401,946	234,110	167,836	− 583,830
Non-White	375,893	210,570	+165,323	+ 78.5	98,302	22,703	75,599	+ 89,724
Puerto Rican	180,114	40,299	+139,815	+346.9	43,212	2,292	40,920	+ 98,895
Manhattan	1,698,281	1,960,101	−261,820	− 13.4	337,049	212,697	124,352	− 386,172
White	1,058,589	1,431,895	−373,306	− 26.1	154,205	164,419	− 10,214	− 363,092
Non-White	414,053	389,699	+ 24,354	+ 6.2	102,496	42,533	59,963	− 35,609
Puerto Rican	225,639	138,507	+ 87,132	+ 62.9	80,348	5,745	74,603	+ 12,529
Queens	1,809,578	1,550,849	+258,729	+ 16.7	333,665	146,706	186,959	+ 71,770
White	1,638,389	1,492,666	+145,723	− 9.8	301,081	139,371	161,710	− 15,987
Non-White	153,757	53,347	+100,410	+188.2	29,819	7,115	22,704	+ 77,706
Puerto Rican	17,432	4,836	+ 12,596	+260.4	2,765	220	2,545	+ 10,051
Richmond	221,991	191,555	+ 30,436	+ 15.9	42,436	20,188	22,248	+ 8,188
White	209,340	185,276	+ 24,064	+ 13.0	40,081	19,478	20,603	+ 3,461
Non-White	10,147	5,539	+ 4,608	+ 83.2	2,171	682	1,489	+ 3,119
Puerto Rican	2,504	740	+ 1,764	+238.4	184	28	156	+ 1,608

Source: Department of City Planning Newsletter, *October, 1962. Based on 1950 Census of Population, 1960 Census of Population and Department of Health data.*

E. *Pupils Enrolled in Public Schools.*

Between 1950 and 1960, the proportion of pupils enrolled in non-public schools increased from 25.4% of the total school enrollment to 29.3%. Since more than 90% of the non-public school enrollment is white, it is evident that the percentage of other groups — non-white and Puerto Rican — in the public school population is higher than its percentage in the total school-age population.

This significant factor was emphasized in the Allen Committee Report* when it stated:

"Residential segregation and a rapid thinning of whites is further compounded by the fact that New York City parents have the option of choice among public, private, and parochial schools. Because the latter are overwhelmingly white in composition, and because the number of these schools has grown substantially since 1950, the overall fraction of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the public schools far exceeds their representation in the city population at large."

The trends in the ethnic composition of the entire population of New York City and of the school age population and in the proportion of non-public schooling are reflected in the ethnic composition of the public school population. Between 1958 and 1965, the number of "Others" pupils, mostly white, in the public schools decreased by 87,051, from 654,806 to 567,755, or from 66.8% of the total to 54.5% (*see Table II*). During the same period of time, the number of Negro pupils increased from 184,985 to 286,401, or from 19.0% of the total to 27.3%, and the number of Puerto Rican pupils increased from 137,074 to 190,465, or from 14.2% of the total to 18.2%. Indeed, at the elementary school level, "Others" pupils in 1965 formed less than half of the total number of pupils (*see Table III*).

The examination of certain other trends may be helpful in analyzing the specific nature of the changes.** It is apparent, for example, that at the present time changes in ethnic composition are more a reflection of differential birth rates than of population mobility. For example, between 1955-56 and 1964-65, there was little variation in the total number of admissions to the city schools from outside the continental United States. Yet during this ten-year period, the percentage of such admissions who came from Puerto Rico dropped from 64.3% of the total to 49.0% of the total. The number of

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*"Desegregating the Public Schools of New York City," *a Report Prepared by the State Education Commissioner's Advisory Committee on Human Relations and Community Tensions, May 12, 1964.*

***Source:* "Pupil Migration in the New York City Public Schools 1955-1956 to 1964-1965," *New York City Board of Education, Bureau of Educational Program Research and Statistics, No. 268, December, 1965.*

TABLE II — ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF SCHOOL REGISTER

Year	Puerto Rican		Negro		"Others"	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
*1964-65	190,465	18.2	286,401	27.3	567,755	54.5
1963-64	179,233	17.1	267,344	25.6	598,987	57.3
1962-63	169,493	16.5	246,336	24.0	611,599	59.5
1961-62	162,235	16.1	228,592	22.8	613,438	61.1
1960-61	153,697	15.6	212,006	21.5	620,976	62.9
1959-60	146,432	15.0	197,517	20.2	633,582	64.8
1958-59	137,074	14.2	184,985	19.0	654,806	66.8

*Census taken January 15, 1965. For all other years, census taken October 31.

TABLE III — ETHNIC COMPOSITION BY SCHOOL LEVEL, JANUARY, 1965

City-Wide	Number of Pupils				Per Cent of Total Register			
	Puerto Rican	Negro	"Others"	Total	Puerto Rican	Negro	"Others"	Total
Elementary	122,187	177,603	290,290	590,080	20.7	30.1	49.2	100.0
Junior High	39,472	58,942	112,344	210,758	18.7	28.0	53.3	100.0
Academic	17,613	36,185	144,926	198,724	8.9	18.2	72.9	100.0
Vocational	9,316	10,984	18,126	38,426	24.2	28.6	47.2	100.0
Special Schools	1,877	2,687	2,069	6,633	28.3	40.5	31.2	100.0
GRAND TOTAL	190,465	286,401	567,755	1,044,621	18.2	27.3	54.5	100.0

pupils returning to Puerto Rico increased from 3,890 in 1955-56 to 8,179 in 1964-65. Indeed, in this latter year, the number of admissions from Puerto Rico exceeded the number returning to Puerto Rico by only 317.

During this same ten-year period, out-migration of pupils decreased considerably. The number of pupils moving to the areas adjacent to New York City decreased from 22,364 in 1955-56 to 15,849 in 1964-65. The number of admissions from these areas increased from 4,562 to 6,114. In 1964-65, the number of admissions from the Atlantic coast states of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida (8,691) exceeded by only 2,428 the number of pupils returning to these states (6,263).

F. *Geographic Distribution.*

The difficulties of securing proper ethnic balance within schools, already increased as a result of changes in the total public school population, are further magnified by patterns of housing occupancy and by local variations in non-public school attendance. For example, in one district in the Bronx, there are more pupils registered in non-public elementary schools than in public elementary schools. In some communities, the number of "Others" pupils enrolled in non-public schools is greater than the number enrolled in the public schools.

The proportion of "Others" pupils in the public schools varies widely from borough to borough, from a high of 89.0% in Staten Island to a low of 29.4% in Manhattan (*see Table IV*). Moreover, the hardening and extension of patterns of minority group housing concentration are evident within all boroughs. In Brooklyn, for example, there used to be many areas of Negro-Puerto Rican concentration separated from each other by areas of white population. This pattern, which is still characteristic to some extent of the borough of Queens, no longer exists in Brooklyn. There, the areas of minority group concentration have tended to merge and to form an almost continuous geographical extension. This huge area is separated from the areas of white population concentration by a kind of ethnic frontier which is real although constantly shifting.

TABLE IV — ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF SCHOOLS, JANUARY 15, 1965 — BOROUGH SUMMARY

Borough	Total No. of Pupils	Puerto Rican	%	Negro	%	"Other"	%
Manhattan	177,169	56,807	32.0	68,469	38.6	51,893	29.4
Bronx	205,549	60,469	29.4	55,023	26.8	90,057	43.8
Brooklyn	392,433	64,981	16.5	115,662	29.5	211,790	54.0
Queens	242,403	5,626	2.3	46,382	19.2	190,395	78.5
Richmond	36,647	1,003	2.7	3,024	8.3	32,620	89.0
TOTAL	1,054,201	188,886	17.9	288,560	27.4	576,955	54.7

The net result of this process has been a gradual reduction in the number of fringe areas. This development, while most marked in Brooklyn, has also been apparent in the Bronx and in Manhattan, and to a lesser degree in Queens. Quite obviously, the fewer the fringe areas the greater will be the difficulties in securing an integrated student enrollment in the schools.

This problem has been further aggravated by the development in areas of minority group concentration of huge low-cost housing projects with large numbers of families. In some cases the projects have been so large that they have completely overwhelmed the neighborhoods in which they were constructed and have led to the creation of "satellite ghettos" in their vicinity. In other cases their construction has intensified and accelerated processes of community change. In virtually all cases, the efforts of the school system to improve ethnic distribution in schools have been severely handicapped.

At the same time, high-rise middle income housing has also increased greatly, tending to siphon off the whites living on the fringes of the ghetto and leaving a vacuum which is quickly filled by minority groups. When this middle income housing is located contiguous to an older deteriorated area, it has generally supplied very few children to the nearby public schools.

SECTION II: GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS, POLICY AND PLANNING.

A. *Leadership Role of New York City.*

The Commission on School Integration of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials stated late in 1963:

"Thus, considerable organized pressure from Negro citizens and their allies was brought to bear on the New York City Board of Education to move into its current program of school integration . . . As continuing . . . struggles over school segregation attest, New York City has by no means solved the problem; but school authorities are grappling with it, and with much more substantial measures than have yet been developed in any other big city."*

On November 17, 1963, Stanley H. Lowell, then Chairman of the New York City Commission on Human Rights and one of the most articulate critics of the integration policies of the Board of Education, stated: "In the same fashion the Board of Education of the City of New York . . . a few years ago established as official policy the integration of our city's schools. Although the Board was not to blame for the many schools which contained only Negroes, or Negroes and Puerto Ricans since this was based upon our segregated housing pattern, nevertheless the Board of Education rejected a color-blind approach to the schooling of our New York City children, and took a color-conscious approach seeking through various programs to achieve the integration of our schools."**

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*"Public School Segregation and Integration in the North," *Commission on School Integration of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. New York: November, 1963.*

***Lowell, Stanley H.* "Equality in Our Time." *New York: New York City Commission on Human Rights, 1963.*

This leadership has been at least partly the consequence of the early acquaintance of the city with the problems of acculturation and integration. As the nation's leading gateway, New York City traditionally has had to provide much of the cultural orientation which immigrants require for adjusting to a different way of life. Long before other cities, the New York City educational system faced the complication of a vast in-migration of newcomers, many of them from the rural South and others faced with the necessity of learning English as a second language.

B. *Integration, Pupil Transportation and Busing.*

In the public mind, the issue of integration of schools has somehow become linked with busing, as if the two were synonymous, or at least completely and mutually interdependent. It might be wise, therefore, to give the specific data with reference to the relationship between the two.

The Board of Education provides transportation, either free or at reduced rates, for 287,163 public school pupils and 105,657 non-public school pupils, for a total of 392,820. Altogether, 52,666 public and 31,313 non-public school children ride free on contract school buses because of the distance of their residence from the school which they attend. Pupils in kindergarten, first and second grades who live more than a half-mile from the school to which they are assigned and those in grades three through six who live more than a mile from school are entitled to free contract bus transportation. This category also includes about 2,310 junior high school pupils who because of special and usually temporary factors are also picked up by contract bus. It is estimated that about 2,650 pupils, or 5% of the total of 52,666 public school riders, are in this category because of programs of integration.

In addition, there are 7,618 children who are given free bus transportation because they are physically or mentally handicapped. Of these, 6,518 are public school pupils and 1,100 are non-public school pupils. Moreover, 10,345 public school pupils are transported under the Free Choice-Open Enrollment Program for better integration.

A total of 61,714 pupils in grades K-8 receive free transportation tickets on common carriers. Of this number, 51,779 are public school pupils, and 9,935 are non-public school pupils. Almost one-third of the pupils in this category would be entitled to contract bus transportation, but their parents preferred using common carriers.

Pupils in high school grades (nine through twelve) who ride common carriers to their schools are given passes which permit them to ride at an average cost of ten cents per day. At the latest count, there were 229,164 such pupils,

13,576 in the public junior high schools, 152,279 in the public high schools, and 63,309 in the non-public schools.

It is possible then to place in its proper perspective the busing of pupils for integration purposes. As indicated above, approximately 13,000 pupils are transported by contract bus as a result of special programs to improve ethnic balance in schools. This number represents:

Only 19% of the public school pupils transported by contract bus.

Only 13% of the total number of pupils transported by contract bus.

Only 11% of the public school pupils transported free of charge.

Only 8% of the total number of pupils transported free of charge.

Only 5% of the public school pupils who receive full or partial transportation subsidies.

Only 3% of all pupils who receive full or partial subsidies.

The 187 buses used to move the Free Choice-Open Enrollment pupils will cost an estimated $2,063,844.20. This represents approximately 14% of the total contract bus transportation budget of $14,825,348.03 and 5% of the total transportation budget of $41,291,200.

The cost of the Free Choice-Open Enrollment buses is 90% reimbursable by the State since the distance is more than a mile and a half. It is also important to note that these buses are used during the school day to take pupils in all schools on scheduled trips to places of educational value as part of school work. Thus New York City at relatively small cost to itself is able to improve ethnic belance for many children and at the same time provide added educational and cultural services.

Very often, there are references to "forced busing." The fact of the matter is that transportation by school bus is a service offered to parents and not a mandate. No parent is *required* to accept bus transportation.

It should also be pointed out that the transportation regulations of New York City are more liberal than those of New York State and result in a considerable financial burden. For example, the Board of Education offers free contract bus service to pupils in grades kindergarten, one, and two who live more than one-half mile from school, and to pupils in grade three through six who live more than one mile from school. It is reimbursed however only for those pupils who are bused more than a mile and a half. Thus New York City is reimbursed for transporting the Free Choice-Open Enrollment pupils, but not for transporting many of the other children.

C. *Board of Education Policy.*

In the area of improved ethnic distribution as in other educational endeavors it is the responsibility of the Board of Education to set forth basic policies for the school system. Without such statements of policy to guide and to spur teachers and administrators, specific actions may be inconsistent or meaningless and lack both purpose and direction.

On December 23, 1954, the Board of Education said in an official policy statement:

". . . modern psychological knowledge indicates clearly that segregated, racially homogeneous schools damage the personality of minority group children. These schools decrease their motivations and thus impair their ability to learn. White childen are also damaged. 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. . . . It is now the clearly reiterated policy and program of the Board of Education to devise and put into operation a plan which will prevent the further development of such schools and would integrate the existing ones as quickly as practicable."*

The present Board of Education accepted this statement and went on to say in June, 1963:

"Our schools must not be neutral in the struggle of society to better itself. We must not overlook the harmful effects of discrimination on the education of all children. Moreover, within the limits of our control, we must not acquiesce in the undemocratic school patterns which are a concomitant of segregated housing."**

Again, in April, 1965, the present Board issued its most recent statement of policy, "Excellence for the Schools of New York City," in which it stressed the factor of integration as essential to excellence.

These forthright statements have served as the basis for the practices and policies described below.

D. *Site Location.*

Since 1957, a cardinal consideration in the selection of a school site has been the effect it will have on the preservation or promotion of ethnic integration. This urgent need to advance integration is not however, the only criterion. Distance, topographical features and safety considerations, transportation fa-

**Resolution of the Board of Education, December 23, 1954.*
***Resolution of the Board of Education, June 26, 1963.*

cilities, pupil population density and continuity of instruction must also be taken into account. It is also clear that the interrelationships among these elements will vary with the age of the children and with other important considerations. Thus, for example, distance is certainly a less important factor for high school pupils than it is for elementary school pupils. The existence of traffic arteries becomes less important as pupils are older, while the existence of mass transportation facilities becomes more important. Overcrowding at the elementary level, where it generally results in loss of instructional time, has quite a different meaning from overcrowding at the high school level, where it may mean only a change in time schedules. Other factors must also be taken into account, such as subsoil conditions, the scarcity of vacant land, the cost of real property, the proximity of city-owned or vacant land, the reluctance to remove real property from the tax rolls and the degree and severity of tenant relocation.

It is not at all surprising, therefore, that the selection of a school site may become the subject of sharp public debate reflecting widely differing points of view, but often resolving themselves into questions of relative values. The choice of a site which will help integration may be more expensive, both in present and future terms. It may involve greater temporary hardship to the community because more people have to be relocated. It may remove valuable property from tax rolls or be more expensive. It may result in a longer walk to school for pupils, or even the necessity of their going by bus. It may even require some children to leave what parents consider their home neighborhood.

Between 1957 and 1965, it was the policy to place new schools in fringe areas so far as it was possible to do so, with the intention of drawing into the schools an integrated student body. Unfortunately, the fringe rarely remained stationary, and it was not unusual for a school built on a site calculated to produce fine ethnic distribution of pupils to open with a heavy preponderance of minority group pupils, and to move more or less rapidly in the direction of *de facto* segregation.

Within the past year, and acting upon the recommendations of the Allen Committee, the Board of Education has accepted somewhat different criteria for site selection, based upon the age and school level of the children. Schools for programs of early childhood and primary education, ranging from pre-kindergarten to grade 4 or possibly grade 5, will be built in the immediate community of the children to be served. Efforts will be continued even at this primary level to select sites which will serve the purposes of integration. However, higher priority will be given to the factor of distance, both for the convenience of very young children and for the active involvement of the parents in the educative process.

However, at or about the fifth grade there must be added to the primary program an extra ingredient of excellence—the sharing of learning experiences and life values with other children of different races, nationalities, and economic status. Therefore, wherever possible, all new intermediate schools will be built in areas which can service a cross-section of the population without imposing undue hardship on individual pupils. This means that new intermediate schools should be placed where they can be reached both by minority and majority group students without burdensome travel. Another criterion is of course the reasonable assurance of an integrated student population, in the light of anticipated demographic changes, for a minimum number of years.

An example of the thrust of this thinking can be seen with reference to site selection for two intermediate schools, I.S. 32, Manhattan, and I.S. 179, Bronx.

Intermediate School 32 was originally planned as a junior high school to relieve overcrowding in the northwest portion of Harlem called Hamilton Grange. Since the public school population in the Hamilton Grange area is almost entirely Negro or Puerto Rican, it might be anticipated that the school would fall into the "X" category if the site were selected within this area.

On the other hand, I.S. 179 was orginally planned as an elementary school to relieve overcrowding in the Riverdale area of the Bronx, with an anticipated pupil population largely middle class white. Quite obviously, with the change from a 6-3-3 school system to a 4-4-4 organization, less elementary school space was needed while intermediate school sittings required expansion. At the same time, there was the urgent necessity of selecting a site to facilitate integration. Therefore, both intermediate schools are to be placed in the Marble Hill area, at the southernmost tip of the Bronx across the river from Manhattan, in between the two communities. Pupils will travel North or South in order to reach these schools. Together with the new John F. Kennedy H.S., these two new intermediate schools will form an educational park.

Complete school integration is of course most possible at the high school level. To this end, all new high schools will be built as four-year comprehensive high schools, and those now under construction will be converted. They will be built at points available to mass transportation serving various parts of the city, with a view toward securing an integrated student body. An example of this is the new Kennedy school, which has already been mentioned as part of the Marble Hill site educational park. Well placed with reference to mass transportation facilities, it is situated so as to draw pupils from different communities to form a balanced student population.

Within recent years, the Office of Integration has played an increasingly larger role in the selection of school sites, particularly at the intermediate school

level. For example, a representative of the Central Zoning Unit now accompanies technical sub-committees on site inspection trips to make visual inspections of prospective sites. This Unit also prepares ethnic projections so as to supply data with reference to existing and future possibilities for integration. Recommendations presented to the Board of Education carry with them the judgments of the Office of Integration with reference to the specific site selected.

E. *Central Zoning Unit.*

The nerve center of the effort to secure improved ethnic distribution of pupils is the Central Zoning Unit, headed by a director and acting as an arm of the assistant superintendent in charge of integration programs. This unit, created in 1957, now has a total staff of 20 and a budget of $164,708, with a further increase projected for 1966-67. Its major functions may be summarized as follows:

1. Assists in the formulation of zones of newly-established schools and in the change of zone lines of existing schools; reviews zoning plans submitted by the district superintendents, and acts as an appeals agency; helps resolve differences of opinion among assistant superintendents with reference to zoning; in connection with school zones, meets with community groups, local school boards, professional personnel, and others.
2. Assists with reference to site selection, as indicated above.
3. Administers the collection of pupil ethnic data and other demographic material; organizes, collates, compares, and analyzes these data by school, district, borough, and city, and prepares statistical studies, graphs, and charts; prepares projections as needed.
4. Assembles school zoning maps and such other information as feeder school patterns, school utilization, topographical characteristics, transportation facilities, school address lists, capital improvements and large-scale housing; makes "spot maps," usually by ethnic groups, for specific geographic areas or zones.
5. Administers various integration programs such as Free Choice-Open Enrollment, projects for the relief of short time, and actual placement of pupils in schools.
6. Assists in the evaluation of integration programs.
7. Answers inquiries with reference to integration programs and assists in programs of public information.
8. Assits in the establishment of routes for contract buses used in integration programs.

9. Coordinates efforts of district and staff personnel with reference to such matters as school zoning, and cooperates with other public agencies and with civic and community groups.
10. Serves in a consultative capacity in the formation of policy governing the described programs and in their operation.

Some of the analysis of statistical data is now being done by data processing equipment. It is hoped that in the future all data will be handled as far as possible through such devices.

F. *Financial Aspects.*

In large cities of the country, except perhaps in the South, programs of improved ethnic distribution require additional funds. It would appear to be a serious error to suppose that the elimination of *de facto* segregation can be achieved without financial cost, or to present this view to boards of education and to the public at large.

The fact is that such programs represent improved education and like many other advances may be costly. Quite obviously, whenever an important dimension is added to the structure of education, there is an added cost factor. A school site which facilitates integration may be more difficult to locate, thus requiring greater staff time and effort. It may also be more expensive to acquire and not quite so accessible to many students, thus requiring continuing expenditures for pupil transportation.

The costs of the Central Zoning Unit of additional transportation needs, and of the greater complexity of site selection represent only one phase of the additional expense. It is not the present purpose to discuss the concomitant services and adjustments necessary to make it possible for programs of improved ethnic distribution to be educationally successful. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that budgetary extensions and administrative changes are often necessary adjuncts to the movement of pupils.

In New York City, programs to improve ethnic distribution are almost always accompanied by additional allotments to the schools affected. Many millions of dollars in additional funds are appropriated each year for extra supplies and for such compensatory services as more guidance counselors, reading specialists, school aides, and after-school study centers, as well as for reduced class size.

It is highly desirable that efforts to secure improved balance should be accompanied by improvements in education for all children. Movement toward school integration places new and difficult burdens upon teachers and administrators, as well as children and parents. The schools at this time need the

support of the entire community, from the economic as well as the moral, political, religious and social points of view.

Not only is there need for support; there is also need for staff in-service training and community education. Much of this responsibility in New York City rests with the Human Relations Unit.

G. *Human Relations Unit.*

While the functions of the Human Relations Unit encompass a broader spectrum of operations than integration alone, it is also true that problems attendant upon integration represent the major component. Its operations are many and diverse, and include every aspect of the educational system in which human relations plays an important part.

There are two major areas in which the integration program of the school system engages the attention of the Human Relations Unit.

1. The Human Relations Unit seeks to create and extend opportunities for good intergroup relations through intergroup contacts. Some of these relationships have been in existence for many years in communities and in schools. Many new contacts have been established through the integration measures established by the school system, while others are made through exchange and intervisitation programs.

2. The Human Relations Unit seeks to eliminate intergroup tensions which may result from these and other relationships or sometimes from anticipation of changed relationships and contacts.

In order to fulfill its responsibilities, the Human Relations Unit works closely with all administrative units of the school system and with teachers and administrators. It advises with reference to changes which may involve human relations concerns, such as rezoning, the program of Free Choice transfers, programs involving Puerto Rican pupils and programs for the disadvantaged. A major function is to anticipate possible resistance to changes which will improve ethnic balance in schools and to develop programs to meet the problems.

The unit encourages or initiates programs of discussion among pupils on current issues and on attitudes using human relations clubs, student government groups and selected panels.

A major responsibility of the Human Relations Unit is to provide general direction for staff orientation in human relations. It develops its own city-wide television programs for this purpose. Staff members of the unit conduct teacher and supervisor workshops, institutes, seminars and faculty conferences.

The unit maintains a Human Relations Resource Center, reviewing and recommending books, articles and audio-visual materials appropriate for teacher, parent and pupil use in developing good human relations. The library of the unit contains hundreds of books and magazines selected as appropriate. Bibliographies are disseminated through special lists or in publications of the unit. Recommendations are made for approved book and audio-visual lists.

The unit, with the cooperation of selected schools, conducts pilot classroom projects in human relations.

Much of the effort of the unit is devoted to activities with parents and community groups. The unit encourages parent participation in school activities, conducts parent leadership programs and parent workshops, and assists in community conferences about relevant issues. It maintains contact with hundreds of local groups and scores of city-wide groups. In matters of intergroup tension, the unit, on request, analyzes the problem and recommends measures to relieve tension situations.

The unit has grown in four years to a staff of 38 professionals and has accumulated considerable experience in developing communication between groups, and in destroying myths and mistrust as well as fears and fables. As a focus of human relations activity, the unit has helped to increase awareness of problems and sensitivity in their solution.

SECTION III. SPECIFIC PROCEDURES.

A. *Zoning for Integration.*

Ever since 1957, integration has been a cardinal principle in the zoning of new schools and in the re-zoning of existing schools. Other criteria are of course taken into account as basic principles — distance, topographical features and safety considerations, transportation facilities, pupil population density and continuity of instruction. At each step of the lengthy and rather complicated zoning process, the factor of integration is fully considered, together with the probable effect upon surrounding schools. Parents associations, community groups, civil rights groups, local school boards and other interested citizens have many opportunities to express their points of view. Ethnic and building utilization data with reference to school population are available and maps and other technical materials are open for inspection as far as possible.

The Board of Education has accepted fully the notion that the public at large has a vital stake in progress toward quality integrated schools. Visitors from other cities are almost invariably surprised at the extent of the zoning information made available to interested citizens, the frankness of the public discussions, and the intensity of community involvement.

This involvement has tended to dispel the idea that schools belong solely to the local community in immediate proximity and to spread the concept that all schools belong to all the people of the entire city. It is entirely understandable that each locality as a result of history and tradition should look upon nearby schools to a large extent as its own private possession. The corollary is that each locality would then determine the student body attending its schools, and those coming from other communities might be looked upon as outsiders or interlopers. The public interplay of facts and forces has illuminated the city-wide implications of local zoning problems and has resulted in a growing awareness

by parents and community leaders of the need for each school so far as possible to contribute to the solution of city-wide problems.

In the plans for decentralization of the school system which became effective in September, 1965, the Office of Integration, including the Human Relations Unit and the Central Zoning Unit, remained directly responsible to the Superintendent of Schools without any intervening authority. Indeed, Superintendent Bernard E. Donovan has stated publicly on a number of occasions that the zoning of schools will continue to be a city-wide responsibility, and that he will retain direct and effective control in this area through the Assistant Superintendent for Integration.

Since the creation of the Central Zoning Unit in 1957, every one of the almost 1,000 school zones in the city has been re-examined. This review is conducted on a continuing basis and each year dozens of changes are made, always with improvement of integration in mind. Impetus for change may come from the Central Zoning Unit, the district superintendent, the local school board, a parents association or community-minded individuals or groups. The district superintendents and the Central Zoning Unit, which are charged with primary responsibility for the preparation of zoning plans, have repeatedly expressed their willingness to examine new and creative zoning plans to further integration and each year evaluate dozens of such proposals. The Office of Integration has a standing offer repeatedly made to all groups interested in improved ethnic distribution of pupils: if they can present reasonable and feasible proposals for zoning change, their ideas will be fully explored and the Central Zoning Unit will freely share its technical and staff resources in the evaluation.

B. *Transportation of Pupils for Relief of Overcrowding and Better Integration.*

In New York City, as in other large cities across the country, schools in the inner core attended largely by minority group children tend to be overcrowded. At the same time other schools elsewhere in the city with largely white populations are underutilized. In the process of transition of older communities, the houses become less desirable as the young people grow up, marry, and move to newer communities. Thus, for a while, the schools in these changing areas are underutilized and it seems the height of folly either to replace outmoded schools or to build additional facilities at a time when the child population is shrinking and public school seats are vacant.

As the older original population gives up its homes through movement or death, the places are taken by others, often of minority group status. In New York City in recent years, the newcomers have been most frequently Negro or Puerto Rican. While at first not too different either in social class or family size from those whom they replace, in the long run they tend to be younger, with

larger families and with a larger proportion of women within the child-bearing age group. Thus, sometimes seemingly overnight, the schools which were underutilized become very much overcrowded.

Even when it is possible to anticipate these changes of pupil population, the resources of the city are often not adequate to the task of supplying additional buildings. For example, between 1940 and 1965, the Negro and Puerto Rican enrollment in the public schools increased from 8% of the total to 47%, with the greatest part of the increase coming between 1950 and 1960. During these years, most of the new school buildings were concentrated in such minority group areas as Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, yet schools in these areas remained greatly overcrowded. In 1964, 33% of the buildings in the city had been built since 1950. Yet 61% of the Harlem buildings and 56% of the Bedford-Stuyvesant buildings had been constructed since 1950.

A major business depression followed by World War II slowed or halted the school building program between 1933 and 1945. Subsequently, massive population shifts created many overutilized buildings in some areas and many underutilized buildings in other areas. Capital budgets were inadequate to cope with the new demands.

Thus, in recognition of the continued need for relief of overcrowding, a program of bus transportation to underutilized schools was begun in 1958. Since the overutilized schools were almost always in minority group areas, and the underutilized schools were in white areas, the resultant was improved ethnic distribution for many pupils. The number who benefited from this movement of pupils is much greater than the number of pupils bused, since pupils in receiving schools also benefit from the change.

From the very beginning, a number of basic principles were established which have since been used in other optional programs:

1. The movement of children was entirely voluntary, and the permission of the parents was sought in each case. The staff of the overcrowded schools and other administrative agencies of the Board of Education made every effort to persuade parents to give their consent, but in the final analysis the change required a positive action on the part of the parent—the signature on a form.
2. Transportation was by contract bus.
3. The school to which the pupils were sent had no option of either assent or refusal. Efforts were made to prepare the faculty and the community, but consent was neither sought nor required. Most communities welcomed the new pupils; others included individuals and groups which were less than enthusiastic.

4. A careful record was kept of ethnic balance, and the number of pupils admitted to each grade and school was carefully appraised in advance in order to smooth the transitions.
5. Within each grade, pupils were distributed to classes in terms of ability and number of pupils. It was made clear to principals that the new pupils were to be thoroughly integrated within classes and in the life of the school.

Since 1958, approximately 55,000 elementary school pupils have been moved under this program. As already indicated, in almost every case integration of schools was improved while overcrowding was eliminated.

This summary statement may be illustrated with a brief description of one of these movements which took place in September, 1965. During the school year 1964-65, it became apparent to the Assistant Superintendent for Integration that the elementary schools in the Brownsville area of Brooklyn would continue to be overcrowded for the next school year. At the same time, considerable space existed in the Flatbush area of Brooklyn, within a half-hour's bus travel. With the aid of community groups, a campaign was undertaken by the district superintendents involved to persuade parents in elementary schools in the Brownsville area to approve the transfer of their children. Parents in the Flatbush area cooperated by organizing to reassure the minority group parents that their children would be eagerly welcomed. As a result, in September, 1965, 783 pupils were transferred, thus eliminating short-time instruction for more than 1,500 pupils.

This movement was one of a number of such changes, involving 15 sending elementary schools, 30 elementary receiving schools, the transfer of 2,717 pupils and additional full-time instruction for more than 5,000 pupils.

In April, 1965, the Board of Education issued a policy statement with reference to movement of children to eliminate overcrowding which said: "To achieve full-time instruction, pupils will be asigned from overcrowded schools to underutilized schools wherever practicable . . ." In furtherance of this policy, Superintendent Donovan has directed district superintendents to exercise their authority to move children from overutilized schools to underutilized schools, together with the Central Zoning Unit when two or more school districts are involved. Since the public is vitally concerned with such changes, the local school boards and the parents associations concerned are consulted in advance and as fully as possible.

Contract bus transportation is supplied within the usual limits—beyond ½ mile for pupils in grades K-2, and beyond 1 mile in grades 3-6. Pupils are not transferred for relief of overcrowding if the bus trip exceeds thirty minutes. The major difference with former plans is that pupils are *assigned*, rather than urged

to transfer. However, parents have the option of keeping their children in the home school upon application to the district superintendent. In short, it formerly took a positive action on the part of the parent to move the pupil; now it requires a positive action by the parent to have a pupil remain behind.

As a result of these efforts and others—accelerated building program, changes in grade organization, use of portable buildings, rentals, and conversions into classrooms of unutilized spaces—the number of elementary school pupils receiving less than five hours of instruction daily dropped from 113,096 on October 31, 1962 to 23,411 on October 31, 1965. This means that 89% of the 87,542 first grade pupils in the city are now receiving five hours of instruction, as compared to only one percent in 1962. For grades 2-6, 97% of 395,279 pupils are now receiving five full hours of instruction.

It is expected that, as a result of the opening of new buildings and the expansion of transfers to relieve overcrowding, it will soon be possible to eliminate overcrowding for most of the remaining pupils.

C. *Free Choice — Open Enrollment Plan.*

The Free Choice-Open Enrollment Plan, originally called the Open Enrollment Plan, was initiated as a pilot program in September, 1960. In 21 junior high schools with a high concentration of Negro and Puerto Rican students, 3,500 youngsters were given the opportunity to transfer to 28 other schools. In October of the same year, 12 elementary schools were included. On both school levels, applications for transfer were distributed to all eligible pupils, regardless of ethnic background. Since that time, the program has expanded so that it now includes more than 110,000 eligible pupils in more than 150 elementary schools. Indeed, on the elementary school level, if one includes pupils in both "sending" and "receiving" schools, then approximately half of the elementary school population is directly involved.

Appendices B and C are the official circulars issued to the schools in preparation for the movement of pupils in September, 1965.

1. *SENDING SCHOOLS*—A "sending" school was originally defined as an elementary school in which the pupil population was 90% or more Negro or Puerto Rican, or a junior high school at the 85% level. More recently, there has been a growing awareness of the educational undesirability of having schools in New York City with too heavy a preponderance of white population. Pupils in these schools have been given the opportunity to transfer to other schools with a more integrated student body (*see Section D below*).

Within each "sending" school, any pupil is eligible to transfer, regardless of ethnic background. To do otherwise would apparently constitute violation of various laws and administrative regulations. However, in actual practice the

number of "Others" pupils transferring under the Free Choice-Open Enrollment Plan has represented less than 3% of the total.

All pupils with rare exceptions are eligible to transfer regardless of academic and behavioral status. No pupil may be discouraged or prevented from taking part in the program simply because he has not met specific qualifications of one kind or another. Certain pupils are indeed excluded for obvious reasons—e.g., those in special classes and those under treatment by the Bureau of Child Guidance—but these represent only a very small fraction of the eligible population.

2. *GRADES AFFECTED*—When the program began in 1960, pupils were eligible for transfer if at the end of the school year they were scheduled to enter grades 3, 4, and 5 of elementary schools and grade 7 of junior high school. In September, 1961, children in 12 designated "sending" schools entering grades 1 and 2 were permitted to request transfer to designated "receiving" schools. In September, 1963, the program was expanded to include all pupils entering grade 2 in all the eligible "sending" schools, but the grade 1 program was continued on a pilot basis.

Recent studies based upon this pilot grade 1 program have demonstrated quite clearly that it is feasible and educationally sound to include all grade 1 pupils in the program. Therefore it is intended that effective September, 1966, the Free Choice-Open Enrollment program will include all pupils in the "sending" elementary schools who are scheduled to enter grades 1 through 5, and grade 7 of junior high school.

3. *"RECEIVING" SCHOOLS*—A "receiving" school is defined as an elementary or junior high school in which there is space and in which the percentage of "Other" pupils is high, usually above the 70% mark. It is not possible to define more exactly an optimum ethnic ratio, since conditions vary so markedly from borough to borough and from community to community. However, under no conditions are pupils sent into a school if the change will result in overcrowding or short time instruction. Similarly, the percentage of minority group pupils in each grade after transfers is maintained below 40% in the receiving schools.

Within each grade in the receiving schools, efforts are made to secure in each class an ethnically well balanced situation. It is certainly not the intention of the Board of Education to move pupils into an integrated school situation only to have them confined within a classroom which tends to be ethnically homogeneous. However, this objective presents many problems to school administrators.

By and large, classes in New York City are grouped homogeneously largely on the basis of academic achievement. As already indicated above, minority

group pupils spread across the total range of academic achievement, so that in any event there would always be some integration even with the strictest application of the academically homogeneous classification. It is also true, however, that the great majority of the new pupils tend to be concentrated at the lower end of the academic spectrum. Therefore, in the organization of classes, the factor of achievement is tempered with the potential for improvement and the desire for integration. In an official publication dealing with the Open Enrollment program*, the question was asked, "How should the transferred pupils be assigned to classes?" The answer given was ". . . placement should be made so as to avoid segregation in any class." The official circular dealing with pupil classification** states: "Children in the second and third grades should be grouped according to ability . . . Classes (in grades 4-5) are generally organized on the basis of academic achievement, primarily reading, and general maturity. . . . This may not always be possible, however, as for example in some cases involving . . . pupils transferred under the Free Choice-Open Enrollment Transfer Policy."

4. *ATTITUDE OF SCHOOL OFFICIALS*—Every effort has been made to present the Free Choice-Open Enrollment program to the public, and particularly to the parents of the children immediately affected, as a moral obligation of the Board of Education and a right of the parents, as well as a method of improved education for all children. School principals and teachers could naturally be expected to have rather ambivalent attitudes concerning the program, since the pupils were rejecting their schools. It was recognized that in general their enthusiastic advocacy of transfer could not be anticipated. Since the situation of each eligible pupil was different, principals were expected to carry out the policy in strict neutrality, without appearing to favor or oppose. The instructions to sending schools included questions and answers of which one was, "Should the Open Enrollment Program be presented merely as Board of Education policy to be enforced by the schools?" The answer to administrators and teachers was, "The program, to succeed, must be presented as an official policy and as a moral obligation. Principals must set the tone because it is morally right, not merely because it is official policy."

The official circular sent to parents, which is printed in both English and Spanish (*see Appendix D*) encourages them to take advantage of the opportunity and to consider among other things the educational value of the integrated classroom.

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*New York City Board of Education, "The Open Enrollment Program in the New York City Public Schools: Progress Report." *New York City Board of Education, 1963.*

**New York City Board of Education, Division of Elementary Schools Circular E. P. 30, 1963-1964. February 17, 1964.*

Heads of schools, both "sending" and "receiving," have undertaken a wide variety of activities designed to ease the transition from one school to another, including the preliminary transfer of information on articulation cards. Some of them are described in the circulars in Appendices B and C. A more complete statement may be found in the booklet, "The Open Enrollment Program," which has already been mentioned.

5. *ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS AND PROCESSING* — A voluntary program of this kind can be successful only if the administrative machinery makes it easy for parents to participate. In New York City, there is widespread newspaper and radio publicity. Principals generally hold meetings to inform parents about the program. Parents are required only to make selections of schools and to return the forms distributed through the children (*see Appendix D*).

6. *COST OF TRANSPORTATION*—Pupils are moved to the receiving school by contract buses supplied by the Board of Education without cost to the parents. All expenses for busing are borne by the city, at a cost of $61.75 per bus per day. This amounts to a per pupil cost of approximately $203.15 per year. Quite obviously, any Open Enrollment plan which requires parents to pay for transportation is doomed in advance to failure. With the present expense of bus transportation in most large cities varying from thirty cents to two dollars per pupil per day, such a requirement would pose an insuperable financial burden for most eligible families.

7. *MOVEMENT TO HIGHER SCHOOLS*—Free Choice-Open Enrollment pupils when they move to higher schools have two options available to them. They may continue to the junior or senior high school attended by the majority of pupils in the current school. If they do not wish to do this, then they may return to the school in their home community. In any event, they have available to them all the optional choices available to other pupils in the schools attended. Experience has indicated that the great majority of pupils, in the movement from elementary to junior high school or from junior high school to high school, remain in the feeding pattern of the "receiving" school.

8. *BUS AIDES*—Up to the present time, parents have not as yet been employed to supervise children on buses. Individual parents have volunteered from time to time and at any given moment a number of such volunteers may be assisting, but paid "bus aides" have not been used.

However, a proposal is now pending before the Office of Economic Opportunity to use 50 "bus and school aides" on an experimental basis. Parents would be employed at the rate of $1.70 per hour to supervise youngsters on the buses to and from school. In between the two bus trips, they would remain in the "receiving" school, performing the normal functions of "school aides."

Since they would be selected from the "sending" community, they might well serve as a link between the Free Choice-Open Enrollment children and the communities from which they come, as well as the "receiving" communities.

9. *SERVICES TO "RECEIVING" SCHOOLS*—There has already been some explanation of the additional costs which may be necessary to maximize the potential for success of integration programs. From the very beginning, it was recognized that additional services would be required in the "receiving" schools — smaller class size, reading, guidance and other specialists, increased allotments for supplies, and similar improvements. Between 1960 and 1964, these added services for elementary pupils alone totalled more than $2,100,000. In September, 1965, almost three million dollars was added to the elementary school budget for "receiving" schools and further increases are planned for the school year 1966-67.

10. *NUMBERS OF PUPILS TRANSFERRED*—Since September, 1960 the total number of pupils transferred under this program has totalled 22,300—14,440 into elementary school grades and 7860 into the seventh grade of junior high school. The percentage of applicants has been consistently below 5% of the total eligibles, and the option has in general been selected more frequently by Negro pupils than by Puerto Rican pupils.

D. *"Reverse" Open Enrollment.*

Between 1960 and 1963, the Free Choice-Open Enrollment program was operated as if the way to integration was a one-way street. Although technically any pupil in a "Y"* school might apply for transfer to an "X"** school, in actual practice it never happened. Applications for transfer were distributed only to pupils in "X" elementary schools, and it was not considered at all possible that a parent might wish to transfer his child from a school with a high percentage of "Others" to a school predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican.

Yet a two-way approach was entirely in consonance with the Board of Education policy statement which had declared in 1954 that segregation whether *de jure* or *de facto* was harmful to white mainland children and to minority group children alike. The recognition of Open Enrollment as a two-way avenue of integration developed from the efforts of an elementary school principal. He became convinced that there was a huge undercurrent of good will and support for integration which had not as yet been able to rise to the surface. His ideas had their greatest success in the borough of Brooklyn, where the movement, aided by a number of civic-minded men and women, resulted in the designation of a "receiving" school for white mainland children.

**Predominantly white in ethnic composition.*
***Predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican in ethnic composition.*

It is evident, of course, that the label "Reverse Open Enrollment" for this program is a misnomer. The word "reverse" is applicable only if one assumes that integration is one-way. This assumption is not valid, and yet the name "Reverse" Open Enrollment has remained at least partly as a testament to the surprise of the entire city that it should really have come to pass.

The original "receiving" school, P.S. 20, Brooklyn, is located near the fringe of a ghetto residential area and with a small number of "Others" pupils numbering between 10% and 15% of the total school enrollment. A "campus" school for Long Island University, it already had many special services and more were added with the inception of this program.

On the opening of school on September 14, 1964, when a white boycott against school integration sharply cut attendance and while some parents were "sitting-in" as a protest against having their children walk five short blocks further to an integrated school, thirty-eight pupils traveled between a half-hour and an hour, for an average distance of six miles in morning rush-hour traffic, in order to secure an integrated education (*see Appendix E*).

At the present time, there are 120 pupils from twenty predominantly white "sending" schools attending six "receiving" schools under this program. They include children in all elementary grades, from pre-kindergarten to grade 6 (*see Appendix F*). The parents generally feel, as one of them put it, that "segregation perpetuates in children the ignorance, fear and bigotry which are the tragedy of our city. I am less afraid of children having to bus than learning to hate."

In addition, the project seems destined to destroy certain myths which surround integrated education:

—that busing harms children.
—that the academic level of white middle-class children will suffer if they are mixed with Negro children in classes and schools.
—that a neighborhood school is necessarily a superior school.
—that schools with a preponderance of minority group children can not be superior schools.
—that minority group children have nothing to contribute to the education of majority group children.

E. *Community Zoning Plan (Princeton Plan).*

Of all the integration plans of the Board of Education, the community zoning plans, or "Princeton Plans," as they are commonly known, or "School Pairings," as they came to be known, evoked the greatest controversy. More than any single factor, they led to the polarization of position during the 1963-64 school year and to the white boycotts and sit-ins which accompanied the opening of

schools in September, 1964. Their legality has been tested in both state and federal courts and upheld in every case, including a decision by the Supreme Court of the United States refusing to review a favorable decision of a lower court.

The plan was first broached during the summer of 1963 by a joint committee of the Executive Boards of the Parents Association of P.S. 149, Queens, predominantly white in pupil composition, and of P.S. 92, Queens, largely Negro. It was noted then that the two schools, although within five short blocks of each other, varied materially in ethnic composition (*see Appendix G*). Under the community zoning plan, two schools which are near each other but vary materially in pupil composition are given a common school zone. All children in this enlarged neighborhood attend some grades in one school and the remaining grades in the other. Each school has its own kindergarten.

A survey was made to determine which schools might be suitable for "school pairing." The basic criteria were as follows:

—common boundary line, so that its removal would result in a single enlarged school zone.

—school buildings close together. The distance between the buildings varied from .2 miles to .8 miles.

—the furthest travel distance not excessive. Actually, the furthest travel distance of any pupil is about one mile.

—travel time is not excessive. In actual practice the time is less than 30 minutes. Pupils in grades 3-6 are eligible for bus transportation beyond .7 miles, rather than one mile as usual.

—substantial difference in ethnic composition between the schools. This difference in percentage of "Others" varied between 61.3% and 86.6%. The resulting ethnic distribution was also considered.

Table V indicates the important features of the schools which met the established criteria.

TABLE V — SCHOOLS IN COMMUNITY ZONING PLAN

School	% "Others"	Pupil Population	New Grades	Distance between Bldgs. (Miles)	No. pupils bused Less than 1 mile	More than 1 mile
P-7-K	3.6	476	K, 5–6			
P-8-K	77.3	466	K, 1–4	.3	529	0
P-92-Q	0.4	497	K, 2			
P-149-Q	87.0	1057	K, 3–6	.2	29	0
P-111-Q	22.1	1040	K, 4–6			
P-112-Q	83.4	858	K, 3	.24	0	0
P-127-Q	6.0	754	K, 3–6			
P-148-Q	87.3	1201	K, 2	.8	124	0

It is important to relate the action taken in the community zoning plan to the usual criteria for zoning, which are:

Distance	Utilization
Topography	Continuity of instruction
Transportation	Integration

All these factors were used. The only basic change was that the factor of integration received greater weight, while the factors of distance and continuity received somewhat less weight.

A number of additional services were given to the schools involved, in order to provide educational benefits to the children at the highest possible level. These included:

—average class size lower than usual, ranging from 24 to 27.
—additional special services, such as reading specialists, guidance counselors, music teachers, school aides, books and supplies, supervisory and secretarial help, and the like.
—building improvements.
—priority in the supply of regularly appointed teachers.

These services now cost approximately $150,000 per year for each pair of schools, exclusive of building improvements.

The community zoning plan was instituted in September 1964 for the four pairs of schools noted above. In addition, a "partial" pairing was instituted at that time for P.S. 191, Manhattan and P.S. 199, Manhattan. Beginning in September, 1964, all second grade pupils in the two schools attended P.S. 191, a school which had in October, 1963 about 5% of "Others" children. All fourth grade pupils attended P.S. 199, which in October, 1963 had 66% "Others" pupils. In September, 1965, P.S. 191 became a grade K-3 organization and P.S. 199 became a grade K-1, 4-5 organization, while the grade 6 pupils were transferred to junior high school. Thus in effect, there are now five community zoning plans.

These pairings, the first of their kind in any city in the country, are now being evaluated by the Bureau of Educational Research of the Board of Education, assisted by an outstanding group of internationally renowned experts. Until the evaluation is completed and interpreted, the present community zoning plans will be continued, but the number will not be increased.

F. *Changed Feeder Patterns for Junior High Schools.*

It has long been recognized that since junior high schools include pupils from a wider geographic area than elementary schools, they can achieve ethnic balance more easily and more effectively. Between 1957 and 1963, zone lines

of newly-built junior high schools and of existing junior high schools were re-examined with a view to achieving maximum ethnic heterogeneity.

For example, in the zoning of new J.H.S. 275, Brooklyn, located in a "fringe" area, some pupils attending a preponderantly white school were zoned into this new school. The parents of some of the children affected complained bitterly. In addition to organizing boycotts and demonstrations, they instituted lawsuits. Indeed, the first case decided by the higher courts which gave school districts the right to take affirmative action to improve ethnic balance was this very one. The Supreme Court, refusing to hear the appeal, in effect sustained the decision of the lower court which upheld the right of New York City to zone affirmatively for integration.

However, lines which have been hardened by custom and hallowed by tradition cannot be easily changed, especially when some white children have to be moved into a school in which the majority of the students are Negro and Puerto Rican. Another complicating factor may be the existence of ethnic frontiers near the boundary lines between the districts of two district superintendents.

Early in the school year 1963-64, all adjoining junior high schools where there was a marked difference in the ethnic composition of the student body were examined carefully. Specific criteria were established on the basis of which it might be possible to change elementary school feeder patterns. These were:

—common boundary lines or close proximity of feeding elementary schools.

—school buildings relatively close together, certainly less than 2½ miles.

—travel distance or time not too great.

—substantial difference in ethnic composition of the junior high schools.

In September, 1964, feeder pattern changes were made for three groups of schools, and others have been made since. It is important to note here again, as in the case of the community zoning plans, that the six basic criteria for zoning are maintained. However, the factor of integration is receiving greater weight, while the factors of distance and transportation receive less weight.

The nature of these changes may be best explained by giving a concrete example. In 1963-64, J.H.S. 109, Queens, in District 51 was a well-established school with a pupil population which had 94.9% "Others" pupils. In nearby District 50, J.H.S. 192, Queens, was a new school which had only 28.5% "Others" pupils, despite the fact that it was only one mile away from J.H.S. 109. Their elementary feeders and the changes are indicated in Table VI (*also see Appendix H*).

TABLE VI — JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS 109-Q AND 192-Q — FEEDER PATTERN CHANGES

Elementary School Feeders to J-109-Q

Before Change of Feeder Pattern	*After Change of Feeder Pattern*
P-18-Q, P-33-Q, P-35-Q, P-135-Q, P-188-Q	P-18-Q, P-33-Q, P-118-Q, P-134-Q (west of 198 St.), P-135-Q, (east of Francis Lewis Boulevard), P-188-Q

Elementary School Feeders to J-192-Q

Before Change of Feeder Pattern	*After Change of Feeder Pattern*
P-34-Q, P-36-Q, P-118-Q, P-134-Q, P-136-Q, P-147-Q	P-34-Q, P-35-Q, P-36-Q, P-134-Q (east of 198 St.), P-135-Q (west of Francis Lewis Boulevard), P-136-Q, P-147-Q

Summary of Feeder Changes —

From J-109-Q to J-192-Q — All of P-35-Q, part of P-135-Q.
From J-192-Q to J-109-Q — All of P-118-Q, part of P-134-Q.

The changes were effective only for incoming seventh grade pupils, and therefore ethnic changes will be staged over a three-year period. By September, 1965, the differences in ethnic composition between the two schools had decreased considerably. The percentage of "Others" pupils at J.H.S. 109, Queens, dropped from 94.9 to 79.9; the percentage of "Others" pupils at J.H.S. 192, Queens, had increased from 28.5 to 37.0, with a further increase indicated for September, 1966.

G. *Alternate Assignment Plan.*

Late in May, 1964, the Board of Education decided to remove the ninth grade from a number of "X" junior high schools (i.e., junior high schools with 85% or more Negro and Puerto Rican population) and admit the pupils to high schools where greater integration was possible. At the same time, grade 6 pupils were admitted to the junior high schools.

Civil rights groups and civic organizations quickly pointed out that the pupils going from grade 5 of elementary schools to grade 6 of junior high school were simply moving from one *de facto* segregated situation to another. They also pointed out that if these same youngsters had waited to enter junior high school until grade 7, they would have had a choice of better integrated schools under the Free Choice-Open Enrollment Plan.

Accepting these criticisms and recognizing their validity, the Board permitted the pupils involved to transfer to grade 6 of elementary schools outside the ghetto areas. In 1964, because of the lateness of the decision, contract bus transportation was not available, but "receiving" schools were selected largely

on the basis of their proximity and their availability to transportation. In 1965, contract bus transportation was supplied to all the sixth grade children involved.

On this basis, then, 3,146 pupils who had been scheduled to enter one of eight "X" junior high schools in September, 1964, were permitted to transfer to the sixth grade of elementary schools with large white populations. Indeed, they were more than "permitted"; they were urgd to enroll for transfer. The official circular to the principals read in part:

"Please give the fullest publicity to this plan by pointing out to fifth grade pupils and their parents the additional advantages of education in an integrated environment. Some of the methods which may be used are: (a) meetings with parents; (b) conferences with officers of the P.T.A. and community leaders; (c) trips arranged to the receiving schools for parents and pupils with the approval of the principals of the receiving schools; (d) special fifth grade assemblies."

Civil rights groups and some community organizations have been particularly vigorous in urging parents to take advantage of the alternate assignment plan and to send their children outside the community. As a result of these combined efforts, the percentage of eligible children selecting the further school has been much higher than under the Free Choice-Open Enrollment Plan.

In September, 1964, of 3,146 eligible pupils, 942 or 30% selected the more distant elementary school. In September, 1965, the number of pupils assigned rose to 1,794, but the percentage dropped to 14.8 because there were many more eligible pupils.

At the end of grade 6, these pupils may go on with the junior high school feeding pattern of the receiving elementary school or return to the neighborhood junior high school. The great majority appear to have chosen to continue in the feeding pattern of their new school.

H. *High School Zoning and Optional Plans.*

1. High School Organization

New York City has undoubtedly the most extensive and the most varied combination of high schools in the country or, for that matter, in the world. At the present time there are in the city 60 academic high schools and 29 vocational high schools, each one offering a wide variety of subjects and courses. The academic high schools are generally neighborhood schools drawing their enrollment from pupils living in relatively close proximity to the schools (48); but they are also single-sex schools including only boys (3) or girls (5) and drawing their student bodies from one or more boroughs; or special schools requiring entrance examinations (2); or an examination school accepting boys only (2).

The twenty-nine vocational high schools usually draw pupils from the entire city, and are either co-educational or for boys or for girls only. Twenty-three of them are multi-trade schools, while six are unit trade (Art and Design, Food and Maritime, Fashion Industries, Printing, Automotive and Aviation). Some vocational high schools give entrance examinations while others have admissions examinations only for certain courses. The total population of the senior high schools is 255,166—212,689 in academic high schools and 42,477 in vocational high schools.*

Until February, 1964, the neighborhood academic high schools were zoned in terms of geographic proximity with the great majority of the students coming from the areas surrounding the school and contiguous to it. Because of segregated housing patterns, many of the high schools tended to be ethnically unbalanced, particularly in the boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens, while others in the same boroughs located in fringe areas were tending to "tip" in the direction of larger numbers of minority group students.

Actually, earlier policies of the Board of Education had helped to prevent the creation of *de facto* segregated high schools. For more than 20 years, with the support of community leaders in minority group areas, no high schools had been built within these areas. For example, the last high school in the central Harlem area, Wadleigh, was closed many years ago, at a time when the student body had shrunk below 1,000. Similarly, Girls H.S. in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area was closed in 1964 when its enrollment was approximately 850. The average academic high school in New York City has about 3,500 students.

2. High School "Open Admissions"

Prior to the school year 1963-64, a number of "variances" were issued giving special permission to some pupils to enter particular high schools in order to further integration. However, the number was small.

In February, 1964, the Free Choice-Open Enrollment Plan was extended to the high schools, where it became known as the Open Admissions Plan. At the high school level, schools having 65% or more Negro or Puerto Rican enrollment were designated as "sending" schools. Those having a plant utilization of less than 115% of capacity and a favorable ethnic balance or a preponderance of "Others" students were designated as "receiving" high schools. At this time, eight schools qualified as "sending" schools and 17 were designated as "receiving" schools. Of 13,200 students in grades 10 and 11 who were eligible, 410 or 3.1% were actually transferred. However, it must be remembered that this first offer was made after the pupils had already entered a high school.

**October 29, 1965.*

For September, 1964, the plan applied to pupils at the point at which they were entering high school, either grade 9 or grade 10, and to those already in grade 9 in high schools with 65% or more Negro and Puerto Rican population. Of 7,500 eligible pupils, 849 or 11.3% were transferred to other schools.

In this same year, the movement of ninth grade pupils from junior to senior high school began with the elimination of grade nine from ten junior high schools. Pupils were given a choice of 29 high schools, all of them with a considerably better ethnic balance than the junior high schools they were leaving. Under this "truncation" program as it was called, in September, 1964, 4,476 ninth grade pupils were transferred from ethnically imbalanced junior high schools to better balanced high schools.

In September, 1965, the outlines of a new policy began to emerge. It was felt that each pupil ought to have in addition to the special choices (vocational high school, single sex school, special academic school), at least two choices of high schools: the usual zoned high school and any other high school in which there was space. Since there was not enough high school space available in September, 1965, to extend the new system to all pupils, the option was given first to those leaving "X" junior high schools (e.g., junior high schools with 85% or more minority group population) who had been zoned into schools with an unusually high percentage of minority group pupils. Approximately 6,000 eighth and ninth grade pupils in 26 junior high schools were permitted to apply for 26 high schools, with each pupil being given five choices. In the calculation of available space, utilization was estimated as high as 130% of capacity. Even under these conditions, the shortage of high school space was such that not all applicants could be accommodated in the schools of their choice. Of 25,000 pupils who were eligible, 4,488, or 17.9%, applied for the offered schools, but only 3,337 were actually assigned to the 26 schools.

3. Change in School Organization

As has already been indicated the movement of ninth grade pupils from junior high school to high school began in September, 1964. During the school year 1964-65, the Board of Education adopted the policy of the four-year comprehensive high school. As a result, this movement accelerated in September, 1965, with the truncation of 28 additional junior high schools for a total of 38. Almost 19,000 ninth grade pupils who would formerly have been in junior high schools were admitted to high schools in September, 1965. As of that date, approximately 36,000 of 88,000 ninth grade pupils, or 41%, were in high school.

A greatly expanded high school building program has been projected so that all ninth grade pupils may be placed in high schools as rapidly as possible. However, for the next few years, very little additional high school space will be available, so that during this time the change will be extremely limited.

In the long run, the change to a 4-4-4 system will greatly enhance integration possibilities for a large number of pupils. For example, almost all of the ninth grade pupils in high schools are in a better integrated situation than that which prevails in the junior high schools from which they came. By the same token, the fifth and sixth grade pupils in the new middle schools will generally be in schools which are better integrated than the ones from which they came.

The change from separate academic and vocational high schools to comprehensive high schools will also lead to greatly improved integration. As of January, 1965, the percentage of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in vocational high schools was 52.8, while in the academic high schools the percentage of minority group pupils was only 27.1. There were of course wide variations within the individual schools. The combination of all courses under one roof will lead inevitably to increased possibilities for greater integration.

4. Zone Changes

Particularly during the last two years, increasing attention has been given to the possibilities of rezoning existing high schools so as to further integration. At the same time, the zoning of new high schools has created opportunities for natural rezoning in desired directions. The new high schools have had their boundaries carefully delineated in the effort to secure a more varied pupil population, and often it has been necessary to include both mandatory and optional features.

For example, two new high schools opened in Brooklyn during the last two years—Canarsie H.S. in 1964 and Franklin D. Roosevelt H.S. in 1965. Each school is situated in an area whose population is almost entirely white. If zoned by traditional methods, both of these high schools would have had very small percentages of minority group pupils, despite the fact that the Negro and Puerto Rican school population of Brooklyn is nearing 50%. However, as a result of rather unconventional zoning methods and the application of the Open Admissions Plan, the ethnic composition of the two schools is as follows:

TABLE VII — ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF TWO BROOKLYN HIGH SCHOOLS

	Canarsie H.S.		*F. D. Roosevelt H.S.*	
Ethnic Group	*Number of pupils*	*%*	*Number of pupils*	*%*
Puerto Rican	242	8.1	27	1.5
Negro	705	23.6	432	24.4
Others	2039	68.3	1309	74.1
TOTAL	2986	100.0	1768	100.0

Two other cases may be mentioned as illustrative of high school zoning problems and of the flexibility needed to make positive adjustments to changing situations.

When George W. Wingate H.S., Brooklyn, was opened during the 1954-55 school year—indeed, it was the first high school opened in New York City after the 1954 Supreme Court decision—it opened as an excellent example of zoning to include the factor of integration. If the school had been zoned in the usual fashion, with the school in the approximate center of a geographic or population area, it would have been almost entirely white. However, the boundaries were so located that the school included pupils far to the north, living in the southern portion of the Bedford-Stuyvesant area, while the southern boundary was only a few short blocks from the school. At that time, in 1954-55, the ethnic composition of the school was about 80% white and 20% Negro.

The "ethnic frontier" to the north, however, began to move south. By 1962, the percentage of "Others" had dropped to 70.1; in 1963 to 58.4; in 1964 to 51.0. One junior high school, most of whose pupils were "Others," was added as a feeder to Wingate, but this resulted in only slight improvement.

Therefore, an entire northern section of Wingate's zone was shifted to another school about five miles away, Grover Cleveland H.S. in another borough (Queens). This was the first case in the history of New York City, and possibly in the history of any other large city school system, in which non-contiguous zoning, or skip zoning, was employed for high schools in order to improve integration. The pupils who had formerly attended Wingate, most of them Negro, had to pass at least one high school, Bushwick, in order to get to Cleveland. However, this latter school was better able to absorb the youngsters from the point of view of both ethnic balance and building utilization (*see Appendix I*).

As a result of these changes, the entering grade 10 pupils of Wingate were 56.3% "Others." By contrast, the previous year's group had been 39.1% "Others." In this case too there was a law suit, Silberfarb *vs.* Board of Education. Justice Cone of the New York State Supreme Court, relying heavily on the precedents of previous cases won by the Board of Education, stated "it is within the province of the Board to conclude that racial imbalance is harmful to education and to draw school zones in order to effectuate a better racial balance in the school system."

In much the same way, Andrew Jackson H. S., Queens, was probably saved for this year as an integrated high school. Through the application of the skip zoning principle, a large group of youngsters, most of them Negro, were zoned northward to Francis Lewis H. S., Queens, in September, 1965. At the same time, and as a result of the persistent requests of the Board of Education, the Transit Authority established a new bus route, Q-77, in order to permit north-south transportation of pupils to facilitate integration. Again, this may well be the first time a franchised bus route has been established for this purpose.

5. Changes in High School Ethnic Composition

The impact of these various policies and practices may be seen particularly with reference to the high schools which formerly were almost entirely white.

TABLE VIII — CHANGES IN ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF SELECTED ACADEMIC HIGH SCHOOLS

	1963-1964			1965-1966		
School	% P. R.	% N	% "O"	% P. R.	% N	% "O"
Columbus	1.0	1.4	97.6	4.5	10.6	84.9
Fort Hamilton	1.7	2.6	95.7	5.1	9.1	85.8
Madison	0.1	0.5	99.4	0.9	9.6	89.5
Midwood	0.3	1.6	98.1	1.2	13.9	84.9
Tilden	0.8	2.2	97.0	5.6	13.1	81.3
Francis Lewis	0.3	1.3	98.4	1.2	12.6	86.2
Cleveland	0.4	2.1	97.5	2.1	15.3	82.6
Van Buren	0.4	2.7	96.9	0.4	10.3	89.3

I. *Intermediate Schools.*

The junior high schools of the city tend to be better balanced ethnically than the elementary schools. Often, the junior high school reflects the same kind of ethnic homogeneity as the elementary school. It is clear however that upper grade schools, because they cover wider geographic areas and because older children are able to travel longer distances, can more easily achieve better ethnic balance.

The transformation of grade 7-8-9 junior high schools to grade 6-7-8 schools, and then probably to grade 5-6-7-8 schools, began in September, 1964. As of September, 1965, there were 38 junior high schools which had lost their ninth grade. Approximatetly 18,500 ninth grade pupils were sent to high school at that time, while 14,500 pupils were sent to the sixth grade of junior high schools or of elementary school under the Alternate Assignment Plan. It is estimated that the movement to the three- or four-year middle school will be substantially completed by 1972-73 as additional new building is completed.

J. *Special Plans of Assistant Superintendents.*

A great many assistant superintendents in the field or at headquarters have devised special plans to improve ethnic balance in specific schools while securing other educational advances for all the children. It is not possible to note all such plans within the limits of this brochure. Therefore, a brief description is included of some of the plans which took effect in September, 1964, or September, 1965, and whose effect is continuing.

1. Assistant Superintendent Douglas, District 19, Brooklyn

One of the elementary schools in the district, P.S. 260, is fed entirely by children from a low-cost housing project. Between 1960 and 1963, the percentage of "Others" children dropped rather steadily.

The objective of the assistant superintendent's plan was to establish classes for pupils talented in music and/or art in P.S. 260, making it a district school for talent classes. Thus the school was able to draw from all parts of the area and to some extent overcome the effect of segregated housing. The plan is a voluntary one, and the parents may accept or reject the invitation to the talented child. Pupils are brought to the school by contract bus.

The plan was begun in September, 1964, in grade 4, when two special classes were organized, one in art and one in music. In 1965, the original group advanced to grade 5, and a new group was admitted. In this second year, community enthusiasm was so great that more applications were submitted than could be accepted.

Between 60 and 65 pupils have been accepted each year. Applications were open to all the schools of the district, and slightly more than half the admissions are "Others."

Special services added to the school included a teacher of art and a teacher of music. A teacher of foreign language was also added, since the pupils involved were programmed for either French or Spanish. In addition, other special services were added to the school in order to create as fine a teaching-learning situation as possible.

2. Assistant Superintendent Scalea, District 2, Manhattan

During the 1963-64 school year, P.S. 6 had a very large school district and was operating at 110% of capacity. It had 1,171 pupils, of whom 94.6% were white, and was surrounded by other schools which were underutilized. It should be mentioned that P.S. 6 had acquired an excellent reputation over the years—so much so that it was not uncommon for renting agents to advertise apartments including the words "in the zone of P.S. 6."

In September, 1964, the school zone was made smaller and 275 pupils living on the periphery of the former zone were sent to surrounding schools (*See Appendix J*). In the great majority of cases these new schools were closer to the children transferred than P.S. 6. Nevertheless, a number of parents sued the Board of Education, claiming that the zone change was illegal.

At the same time that this zone change took place, approximately 160 pupils, mostly Negro and Puerto Rican, were transferred into P.S. 6 on a voluntary basis. The parents who sued claimed that the rezoning had taken place "solely to provide vacancies at the school for Negro and Puerto Rican children" and was thus a violation of both the state and federal constitutions.

State Supreme Court Justice Lupiano upheld the action of the Board of Education, and his ruling was subsequently affirmed by the Appellate Division and

by the Court of Appeals, the highest court in the state. A portion of Justice Lupiano's decision reads as follows:

"It is within the province of the Board to conclude that racial imbalance is harmful to education, and to draw school zones in order to effectuate a better racial balance in the school system. While we agree with the dissent that no constitutional or statutory mandate directs the Board to promote integration, there is equally no prohibition against the Board's attempt to achieve integration. The Board is free to act in this sphere untrammeled by the courts. Certainly in the area of educational value judgments, the courts should not attempt to substitute their views for those of the Board if there is some reasonable basis for the Board's conclusion."

The change in the ethnic composition of P.S. 6 is indicated in Table IX.

TABLE IX — ETHNIC COMPOSITION: P. S. 6, MANHATTAN

Year	Puerto Rican Number	%	Negro Number	%	"Others" Number	%	Total
1963	15	1.3	60	5.1	1096	93.6	1171
1964	35	3.6	122	12.5	816	83.9	973
1965	21	2.0	167	18.0	630	80.0	818

3. Assistant Superintendent Finkel, District 5, Manhattan

This plan has already been described in Section E above, as the fifth "pairing" which began in 1964.

4. Other Plans

In District 18, Brooklyn, Assistant Superintendent Meyers sent approximately 300 pupils, on a voluntary basis, from overcrowded P.S. 156, which had in October, 1963 only 11% "Others" pupils. Approximately 105 of these 300 went to P.S. 242, with 76.1% "Others."

Assistant Superintendent Douglas in District 19, Brooklyn, transferred 350 pupils from P.S. 158, an overutilized school with a heavy concentration of minority group pupils, to P.S. 108, an underutilized school with a school population which was mostly "Others." The movement was voluntary, and free bus transportation was provided.

In District 2, Manhattan, Assistant Superintendent Scalea provided opportunities for about 100 minority group children to transfer into P.S. 40 with an "Others" population of 90.6%. This was done like a district "free choice" plan, with voluntary transfers and free busing.

5. Costs of District Plans

A total of $300,000 in additional funds was allocated for the plans of these five field assistant superintendents, distributed as follows:

TABLE X — COST OF INTEGRATION PLANS OF SELECTED DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENTS

District	Superintendent	Class Teacher	Other Teaching Positions	Guidance Counselor	Assistant Principals
2	Scalea	3	8	5	
5	Finkel	7	7	1	
19	Douglas	6	2	1	1
18	Meyers	5	4	4	
TOTAL		21	21	11	1

6. Special Academic High Schools

Three of the four special academic high schools—the Bronx H.S. of Science, Stuyvesant H.S., Manhattan, and Brooklyn Technical H.S.—have had unusually low percentages of minority group pupils. Pupils for these schools are selected largely on the basis of an entrance examination heavily weighted in terms of language and mathematics.

It was recognized however that there were undoubtedly some applicants with excellent potential who had not passed the entrance examination. Therefore, in the tests given for admission in September, 1965, the entire records of those who were below the cut-off point were carefully examined. When in the judgment of the junior high school principals and counselors an individual seemed to possess abilities sufficient to warrant a trial in the special high schools, and when objective test scores were not too far below the admission norms, the pupils were given conditional acceptances.

However, these pupils were required to attend special classes in summer high school, usually in mathematics and English. Subsequently they were accepted as regular students in the high schools. Under this plan, approximately 50 students were accepted into each of the high schools noted above. The majority—but by no means all—were Negro and Puerto Rican.

Of the 155 pupils who were eligible for the summer session, 141 actually began attendance and all but one remained for the entire session. Of the remaining 140, 121 were admitted to the special high schools.

Of the 121 pupils admitted, 117 completed the first term at the high school. Of this number, 79, or more than two-thirds, passed all their major subjects, while the great majority of the others failed only one subject.

In view of the apparent success of this project, it is intended to increase the number selected for each school from 50 to 100, to a total of 300 for the three special schools.

K. *Educational Parks.*

An educational park* has been defined as the clustering of educational facilities in a campus-like setting, utilizing centrally organized common facilties and drawing its student population from the whole community. An educational park, because of the larger number of pupils it might include and the wider zoned area, certainly might be a powerful aid in facilitating integration.

The Board of Education has embarked upon the creation of two urban educational parks—one in the Marble Hill area, already described (*See Section II, D*) and the other in Co-op City, a huge housing development in the northeastern section of the Bronx. This latter park will include two intermediate schools and two primary schools, as well as a high school, all of them to be fully integrated.

A grant for planning has been made by the U.S. Office of Education under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Preliminary work has already been done in connection with joint use of such facilities as kitchen, cafeteria, heating, recreation and the like.

It must be understood that these educational parks represent experimental ventures. There is at present no policy of having educational parks to replace intermediate or high schools. It may be that if the projected projects prove successful the concept will be accepted as a basis for policy but such a determination must await the test of experience. To date, there has not as yet been established a single urban educational park, particularly with integration as the focus, so that the two which are planned represent pioneer ventures.

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*"The Educational Park in New York City: Concept for Discussion," *New York City Board of Education, April, 1965.*

SECTION IV: SUMMARY.

A. *Ethnic Change and Schools, 1954-64.*

One of the more frequent charges made against the New York City school system is that there are more *de facto* segregated schools today than there were when the Public Education Association made its first survey in 1954-55. The charge is of course true; but it implies full freedom of action for the Board of Education as well as complete control of the relevant and contributing factors.

It is not the purpose at this point to enter into an extended discussion of the many elements which enter into the process of educational decision making. Suffice it to say that the Board of Education is part of a total social fabric within which it must operate, and cannot act with entire independence of other agencies and forces. The importance of demographic changes, patterns of housing occupancy and non-public school enrollment — factors beyond the control of the educational system — has been indicated in Section I.

Between 1954 and 1964, the number of "X" elementary schools increased from 42 to 148. During these same years, the Puerto Rican group in the elementary schools increased from an estimated 73,000 to 120,168, while Negro pupils increased from an estimated 91,000 to 178,208, and "Others" declined from an estimated 399,000 to 292,772.

These changes must be considered in conjunction with others which greatly affect the patterns of school ethnic balance:

— the extension of segregated housing patterns.

— the decrease in the number and extent of fringe areas.

— the differential rate of ethnic change in the different boroughs.

— the increase in the number and size of low-cost housing projects in *de facto* segregated housing areas.

— the movement of mainland white population to the periphery of the city limits as well as to suburbia and exurbia.

— the growth of non-public school education.

From another point of view, the Board of Education has been highly successful in the face of the factors noted above. In 1954, there were 639 elementary and junior high schools, of which 445, or 70%, fell either into the "X" or "Y" category. Thus, almost three of four schools were either *de facto* segregated Negro and Puerto Rican, or *de facto* segregated mainland white, while only one in four approximately was in the mid-range category.

In 1960, despite the adverse conditions noted above, 291 of 696 elementary and junior high schools fell into the mid-range category, with a percentage increase from 29 in 1954 to 42 in 1960. In 1964, again in the face of mounting difficulties, the number of mid-range elementary and junior high schools increased to 333 of a total of 724, and a further percentage increase to 46.

In 1960, there were 417,308 pupils in the mid-range or integrated schools on all levels, including high schools. In 1964, the last year for which such statistics are available, the number had risen by 72,079 to a total of 489,387. The percentage increase was from 42.5 to 47.3.

It is recognized that more might have been done in the direction of improved ethnic balance. None the less, these data are a source of some satisfaction to those who have struggled with the problem for the past decade. Present conditions should be analyzed to some extent in the light of those which might have existed in the absence of positive programs by the Board of Education. Evaluation of efforts should include an understanding of probable results if policies which existed prior to 1954 had been continued. To become aware of the changes which have taken place, one has only to compare the ethnic balance of schools in New York City with that of other great cities with fewer problems. Analysis indicates clearly the probability that more than three-quarters of the schools—possibly as many as 90% or more—would be *de facto* segregated if previous policies and procedures had continued to prevail.

As of the school year 1964-65, only three of 58 academic high schools fell into the "X" category, and only two of 29 vocational high schools. In the face of the massive *de facto* housing segregation in New York City, this is no mean accomplishment. The existence of even five high schools with more than 85% Negro and Puerto Rican population is not satisfactory, and plans are now being made in the effort the reduce this number. Nevertheless, the relatively small number of such schools must be recognized as a positive achievement resulting from the explicit policies of the Board of Education.

B. *Ethnic Data for 1965-66.*

The most recent census of school population (see Table XI) shows that there have been no significant changes in the direction or rate of ethnic change. At the elementary school level, for example, the percentage of Puerto Rican pupils increased from 20.3 of the total in 1964 to 21.9 in 1965; the percentage of Negro population increased from 30.2 to 30.9; and the percentage of "Others" population decreased from 49.5 to 47.2.

A comparison of the situation in 1957, when the first ethnic census was taken by the New York City school system, and this most recent census may be illuminating (see Table XII). During these eight years, the number of Puerto Rican pupils has increased by 82,726; the number of Negro pupils by 129,330; and the number of "Others" pupils has decreased by 98,753. This table does not show another important aspect in the process of change — the wide differences in the rate of change of the different boroughs. The greatest changes have occurred in the boroughs of Brooklyn and the Bronx, thus posing particularly difficult problems in these areas.

C. *Favorable Impact of Local and Federal Activities.*

During the past year, however, some encouraging signs have appeared on the horizon. The Congress of the United States has taken the first few, even if faltering, steps in the direction of a rent supplement program. Under this plan, the government would partly subsidize the rents of needy families in privately built and privately owned housing. In conjunction with existing fair-renting legislation, this law would certainly lead to greater integration in housing and thus in schools.

Also on the federal level, Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act provides funds for the planning of innovations in buildings. Under this section, New York City has already received a grant for the planning of an educational park. An amendment to Title III, now pending before the Congress, would allocate an additional $5,000,000 for planning of schools so as to facilitate integration, such as educational parks. Indeed, New York City is considering other educational parks in addition to the two which are now being built, and the availability of such funds would provide a considerable stimulus.

At the local level, the New York City Housing Authority has announced its intention to buy 2,000 to 3,000 apartments in publicly financed middle-income cooperatives this year and rent them as public housing at normal rates. Since most public housing tenants are Negro or Puerto Rican, the program would foster both housing and school integration in normally white, middle-class developments.

TABLE XI — SPECIAL CENSUS OF SCHOOL POPULATION: OCTOBER 29, 1965

	Number of Pupils				Per Cent of Total Register			
	Puerto Rican	Negro	"Others"	Total	Puerto Rican	Negro	"Others"	Total
Elementary	129,857	183,268	278,919	592,044	21.9	30.9	47.2	100.0
Junior High	43,833	58,861	109,470	212,164	20.7	27.7	51.6	100.0
Academic High	24,191	45,189	143,309	212,689	11.4	21.2	67.4	100.0
Vocational High	11,801	12,373	18,303	42,477	27.8	29.2	43.0	100.0
Special Schools	2,024	2,596	1,926	6,546	30.9	39.7	29.4	100.0
City-Wide	211,706	302,287	551,927	1,065,920	19.8	28.4	51.8	100.0

TABLE XII — COMPARISON OF SCHOOL POPULATION, 1957 AND 1965

	Number of Pupils				Per Cent of Total Register			
	Puerto Rican	Negro	"Others"	Total	Puerto Rican	Negro	"Others"	Total
Elementary								
1957	83,648	112,309	354,400	550,357	15.2	20.4	64.4	100.0
1965	129,857	183,268	278,919	592,044	21.9	30.9	47.2	100.0
Junior High								
1957	27,167	31,980	109,976	169,123	16.1	18.9	65.0	100.0
1965	43,833	58,861	109,470	212,164	20.7	27.7	51.6	100.0
Academic High								
1957	8,601	17,450	161,231	187,282	4.6	9.3	86.1	100.0
1965	24,191	45,189	143,309	212,689	11.4	21.2	67.4	100.0
Vocational High								
1957	8,414	9,724	23,143	41,281	20.4	23.6	56.0	100.0
1965	11,801	12,373	18,303	42,477	27.8	29.2	43.0	100.0
Special Schools								
1957	1,150	1,494	1,930	4,574	25.1	32.7	42.4	100.0
1965	2,024	2,596	1,926	6,546	30.9	39.7	29.4	100.0
All Schools								
1957	128,980	172,957	650,680	952,617	13.5	18.2	68.3	100.0
1965	211,706	302,287	551,927	1,065,920	19.8	28.4	51.8	100.0

The practice of building huge low-cost housing developments in minority group areas appears to have been abandoned. Instead there is emphasis upon the building of comparatively small projects or "vest-pocket" units in middle-class areas of the city, or adjacent to middle-income housing cooperatives.

The most promising local action for improved school integration may well be the recent Executive Order of the Mayor establishing an Interdepartmental Committee on Integration. For a number of years, the Board of Education has been urging close coordination among school, housing, planning and other agencies in order to achieve maximum integration. The Mayor's Executive Order stated that the City Administrator would take "affirmative action to achieve racial integration in housing and in schools." It specified that delegates to the Interdepartmental Committee would include representatives from the Board of Education and the New York City Housing Authority, as well as other city departments—the Housing and Redevelopment Board, Bureau of the Budget, Commission on Human Rights, City Planning Commission, Department of Relocation and Law Department. The creation of this new committee may well be the opening wedge in a concerted drive to eliminate discrimination and *de facto* segregation in housing and consequently in education.

All these developments are most encouraging in terms of the future and will facilitate efforts to improve integration in the schools.

D. *Summary for 1965-66.*

It is extremely difficult to gauge the impact of the entire program for ethnic balance upon the 1,066,000 pupils in the New York City school system. The actual number of pupils who were transferred in September, 1965, either to improve ethnic balance or to eliminate overcrowding while improving ethnic balance, or to move to a school organization which will foster integration, was probably about 50,000. However, in terms of impact, it seems likely that more than half of the total school population was directly affected, either through actual movement or as a result of direct contact with those who changed. Although the children moved were most often Negro or Puerto Rican, the greatest number of pupils involved in the results were white.

The necessity to improve ethnic distribution of pupils has confronted the Board of Education with the most complicated educational problem of our time. In essence, it is trying to help correct a condition which resides in the total fabric of society and has its roots in residential segregation, social discrimination and economic inequality. There are those who hurl at the school system the term "social engineering" as if it were an ugly epithet.

The schools cannot possibly do the job alone. But the fact that they cannot be completely successful in this area does not mean that they should do nothing.

Indeed, they have a responsibility to do as much as they can. On the one hand, there are those who counsel the maintenance of the *status quo,* with complete reliance upon self-contained systems of neighborhood schools at all educational levels through high schools. On the other hand, there are those who are so eager for change that they advocate unsound and impractical courses of action, regardless of the desires of parents and communities, and regardless even of the consequences for the children. The Board of Education has attempted to steer a course between these two extremes, mindful of its responsibilities to all the children and the entire community, and of its policies requiring better ethnic distribution whenever possible. It has been patently impossible to satisfy everybody, but the record is clear that there has been no lack of effort.

APPENDIX A

INSTRUCTIONS FOR PREPARING S.D. 1090.1

Classes to be reported—A separate report form is to be prepared for each grade in each official class.

1. In elementary schools: If a regular or opportunity class consists of 2 grades or more prepare a separate report for each grade and enter appropriate fraction.

Class — Use the roll book designation of the official class.

Grade—In academic and vocational high schools, use year-grade (9, 10, 11, 12) not term designation (1, 2, 3, etc.).

Classification of "Non-English Speaking" Pupils' Ability to Speak English—Record in this section data for all pupils in the official class who are included in any of the following groups:

Group I —Pupils born in Puerto Rico.

Group II —Pupils born on the United States mainland—one or both parents being Puerto Rican.

Group III—a. Pupils born in a country other than the United States or Puerto Rico. This includes Spanish-speaking children from other Latin American countries.

b. Pupils born in the United States or any of its possessions who are language-handicapped, i.e., rated C-F on the Scale for Rating Pupils' Ability to Speak English. For example, native-born pupils of Chinese ancestry who are language-handicapped (rated C-F).

It is highly important that the ratings assigned to pupils represent their competence with the English language at time of registration but no later than October 31, 1963. Teachers are to use their best judgement in determining the appropriate ratings as of that date. ***In questions of doubt between a classification of either "B" or "C", the "C" rating should be assigned as has been the practice in previous years.***

APPENDIX A (Continued)

SCALE FOR RATING PUPILS' ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH

A	Speaks English, for his age level, like a native — with no foreign accent.
B	Speaks English with a foreign accent, but otherwise approximates the fluency of a native speaker of like age level.
C	Can speak English well enough for most situations met by typical native pupils of like age, but still must make a conscious effort to avoid the language forms of his native tongue. Depends, in part, upon translation and therefore speaks hesitantly upon occasion.
D	Speaks English in more than a few stereotyped situations, but speaks it haltingly at all times.
E	Speaks English only in those stereotyped situations for which he has learned a few useful words and expressions.
F	Speaks no English.

THIS SHEET IS TO BE RETAINED IN THE SCHOOL

APPENDIX A (Continued)

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM RESEARCH AND STATISTICS

SPECIAL CENSUS OF SCHOOL POPULATION

CLASS REPORT - OCTOBER 31, 1963

Class _____ Grade _____ Teacher _____

If elementary class of more than one grade, enter fraction here ☐ If class is non-graded, check here ☐

1. CLASSIFICATION OF "NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING" PUPILS' ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH – See instructions on reverse side.

Rating	Puerto Rican		Foreign Born	Total
	Group I Pupils born in Puerto Rico	Group II Pupils born on U.S. mainland – one or both parents Puerto Rican	Group III Pupils born in a country other than U.S. or P.R.	
A & B				
C & D				
E & F				
Total				

2. COMPOSITION OF REGISTER

2.1 Number of Puerto Rican Pupils (Groups I and II above)	
2.2 Number of Negro Pupils (Gather by teacher inspection only)	
2.3 All Other Pupils on Register	
2.4 Total Register of Class (for half classes give register of grade included in this report	

3. NEW ARRIVALS FROM PUERTO RICO

Total Number of Puerto Rican Pupils Who Arrived in the United States since July 1, 1963	

THIS SHEET IS TO BE RETAINED IN THE SCHOOL.

APPENDIX B

Division of Elementary Schools Circular E.P. #38 1964-1965

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
DIVISION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
CENTRAL ZONING UNIT
110 Livingston Street
Brooklyn 1, New York

April 1965

TO: Assistant Superintendents
Principals of Elementary Schools

Ladies and Gentlemen:

RE: *FREE CHOICE TRANSFER POLICY—*
SEPTEMBER 1965

For several years the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools have been developing programs which give children of all races the opportunity to learn together. The basic purpose of the Free Choice Transfer Program is to further integration by permitting any pupil in a school with a certain high percentage of Negro and/or Puerto Rican enrollment to transfer, at his parent's request, to selected schools where integrated educational opportunities are offered and where space is available, on a first-come, first-served basis. A similar opportunity is offered to children in schools having an equivalent percentage of "Others".

This circular contains administrative procedures to be followed by all participating elementary school principals in their implementation of the Free Choice Transfer Policy for September, 1965.

1. *Participating Schools*—(Lists Attached)

   1.1 *"Sending" Schools*

      1.1.1 For Present Grades 1, 2, 3, 4

         —Schools with 90% or more Negro and/or Puerto Rican population.

         —Schools with 90% or more "Others"—A letter of explanation and a form to indicate parental interest in participating in the program will be provided.

      1.1.2 For present Kgn. Children in Specified Pilot Schools (See List).

APPENDIX B (Continued)

1.2 *"Receiving" Schools*

Schools with 75% or more "Others" in ethnic population with available space as determined by the field superintendent, the Central Zoning Unit, and the Associate Superintendent in charge of the Elementary School Division.

2. *Transfer of Children*

2.1 *Children Permitted to Transfer*

2.1.1 Pupils presently enrolled in Grades 1-4, including those in G and IG classes in "sending" schools, and those kindergarten children in listed pilot program schools.

2.1.2 Pupils attending an independent (private) or parochial school and whose parents wish them to participate in the Free Choice Transfer Program should be directed to apply in writing to the Central Zoning Unit. If the pupil is eligible, and if the request is made within the time specified, the Central Zoning Unit will send the parent an application with instructions.

2.1.3 Siblings meeting *all* eligibility requirements will be transferred to the same "receiving" school if requested and if space is available. Eligible siblings of pupils now attending non-receiving schools because of previous Free Choice Transfer or Open Enrollment programs will be placed in such schools, if requested and if space is available.

2.2 *Children Not Permitted to Transfer*

2.2.1 Pupils presently enrolled in kindergarten except in specific schools and those in Grade 5.

2.2.2 Pupils in special classes or awaiting placement in such classes (e.g., Physically Handicapped, Sight Conservation, Junior Guidance, CRMD).

2.3 *Special Cases*

2.3.1 If children are or have been under the care of private or public guidance agencies, such as B.C.G., the principal and the social worker involved should discuss the advisability of transferring the child, and the parent should be advised accordingly. Such transfers will be authorized only if approved by the agency involved. If a child has been referred to a guidance agency and his case has not been reached the application for transfer should be submitted by the principal to the assistant superintendent for his decision.

APPENDIX B (Continued)

2.3.2 Some children who apply for transfer are under periodic medical supervision for a chronic medical condition, e.g., diabetes, epilepsy, post-rheumatic fever, asthma, etc. at a treatment agency (private physician or clinic). Frequently, appointments with the treatment agencies occur during the school day. Since the Board of Education has no transportation available during the school day, medical supervision may be neglected should these children attend schools out of their district. In addition, when a child becomes ill at school, it may be difficult for the parent to take him home. Therefore, the principal of the "sending" school will plan a "special referral" examination by the school physician with the parent present. At this time, the school physician will discuss with the parent the advisability of the projected transfer. His findings and recommendations are to be recorded on forms 103S and 104S. The principal of the "sending" school will also be notified of the school physician's recommendation by the school health staff. The assistant superintendent should be advised by the principal of the physician's recommendation and will make the decision regarding the transfer.

3. *Transfer Procedure*

3.1 Parents may choose in order of their preference area clusters assigned to their school. The Central Zoning Unit will place the pupil in one of the schools within the area clusters chosen. This procedure will make for a fair distribution of pupils, a maximum use of space and guarantee of more convenient transportation to the chosen school area. Transportation will be assured for all children so assigned.

3.2 The Central Zoning Unit will process the applications for transfer, on a first-come, first-served basis to be determined by the postmark on the envelope in which the application is mailed to the Central Zoning Unit. Availability of space and the ethnic composition of the grades in the "receiving" schools will determine the number of approved transfers.

4. *Procedures to be Followed in "Sending" Schools*

4.1 Principals are to discuss the purpose and procedures of the Free Choice Transfer Policy with their staff. The staff is to be assured that the *only* reason that parents are being given the opportunity to transfer their children is to have them educated in a school with a more varied ethnic population.

4.2 Principals are to discuss the Free Choice Transfer Policy as soon as possible with the parents of the children who are being given this opportunity to transfer. This should be done objectively and impartially, but pointing up the importance of integration as a goal in our education program.

4.2.1 The following points should be presented:
—Transfer procedures (Item 3).
—Transportation (Item 7).
—The basis for selection of participating school (Item 1).
—Released Time (Item 6.4).
—Services in health and dental clinics (Item 6.5).
—Transfer of siblings (Item 2.1.3), special cases (Item 2.3).
—Lunchroom facilities.
—Method of determining priority (Item 5.5).
—Withdrawal from program (Item 6.7).
—Proper completion of application.

4.2.2 Before making a decision, parents are to be invited to take the trip from their homes to the schools of the "receiving" area, to ascertain time and distance.

4.2.3 Parent *group* visits to schools of the "receiving" area may be arranged on request, by principals of "sending" and "receiving" schools for the purpose of discussing any of the above items and/or services available to meet individual needs.

4.2.4 The orientation of parents and pupils who are to participate in this program is as important in the "sending" school as in the "receiving" school. Principals are urged to remind parents of the importance of participating in the activities of their new school. Every effort should be made to reassure them of the concern of all in both schools that the adjustment for the pupil be a pleasant experience. Some reassurance should be offered to the pupils as well with suggestions as to how they may contribute to a pleasurable adjustment just as the pupils at the "receiving" school are having similar discussions with the staff.

5. *Calendar*

6. *Procedure to be followed in "Receiving" Schools*

6.1 Principals are urged to hold conferences with their staff to explain the purpose of the Free Choice Transfer Policy and to prepare for the children who will be transferred to their schools. They may request the

assistance of school, district, and headquarters resource personnel, e.g. Human Relations Unit staff, guidance counsellors, reading consultants, to alert the teachers to the needs of the incoming pupils and to help these pupils make the optimum adjustment. The transition should be as natural as possible (See Open Enrollment Program in the N.Y.C. Schools, Progress Report, 1960-1963, P 32-35). After these pupils are admitted to the "receiving" schools they are to be governed by the *same standards of achievement and discipline as the rest of the school population.*

6.2 Principals are advised to explain the Free Choice Transfer Policy which has replaced the Open Enrollment Program to the parents of the children in their schools to insure their understanding and support. They should suggest how the parents can help these children in their new environment. (See Open Enrollment Program in the New York City Schools, Progress Report, 1960-1963, page 35). Principals may request the assistance of the school-community coordinators.

6.3 The incoming pupils should *not* be placed in a single class on any one grade level. While giving consideration to achievement levels, talents, remedial needs, and discipline, it is important that these pupils be distributed as WIDELY AS PRACTICABLE throughout the grade.

6.4 Children are to be dismissed for released time on the day set aside for the borough of the "receiving" school. Transportation at such time becomes the responsibility of the parent.

6.5 Children who are being treated in local health or dental clinics in their neighborhood school districts will continue to be serviced there. Transportation at such time becomes the responsibility of the parent.

6.6 Where the need arises principals should request additional personnel, facilities, (e.g.) lunchroom furniture or supplies from the appropriate headquarters personnel, with the approval of the assistant superintendent.

6.7 It is expected that transferred pupils will remain in the new school for the rest of the school year. Exceptions may be made *only with the approval of the field superintendents involved.*

7. *Transportation of Pupils*

Free transportation will be furnished by school bus to assigned clusters (See 3.1 and 3.2). Parents should be informed that children traveling by school bus will be picked up at certain central points located in the general vicinity of the "sending" school.

APPENDIX B (Continued)

8. *Notification of Parents*

The presidents of the Parents' Associations in the participating schools are to receive copies of materials distributed in connection with the Free Choice Transfer Policy.

Very truly yours,

TRUDA T. WEIL
Acting Associate Superintendent
Division of Elementary Schools

HILLERY C. THORNE
Acting Director
Central Zoning Unit

APPENDIX C

Division of Elementary Schools Circular E.P. #39 1964-65
Division of Junior High Schools Special Circular #63 1964-65

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
DIVISION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL DIVISION
CENTRAL ZONING UNIT
110 Livingston Street
Brooklyn 1, New York

April 30, 1965

To: Assistant Superintendents
Principals of Elementary Schools
Principals of Junior High Schools

Re: *FREE CHOICE TRANSFER POLICY FROM 6th GRADE TO JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL—SEPTEMBER 1965*

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Board of Education again extends the opportunity to certain children in the 6th grade to participate in the Free-Choice Transfer Program as they enter junior high school. This circular outlines the program for September 1965 and gives directions for administrative procedures.

1. *PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS*

1.1 *"Sending" Schools*

1.1.1 Elementary schools that feed junior high schools with 85% or more Negro and/or Puerto Rican population.

IMPORTANT: If an elementary school feeds two or more junior high schools, *only* those pupils who would normally feed into the junior high schools with 85% or more Negro and/or Puerto Rican population should receive applications.

1.1.2 The following junior high schools which now have Grade 6 pupils: J-136-M; J-38-X; J-55-X; J-6-K; J-210-K; J-258-K, J-142-Q and J-139-M.

APPENDIX C (Continued)

1.2 *"Receiving" Schools*

Junior High Schools with 75% or more "Others" in ethnic population with available space as determined by the field superintendent, the Central Zoning Unit, and the Associate Superintendent of the Division involved.

2. *PUPILS ELIGIBLE FOR TRANSFER*

2.1 Pupils in Grade 6 attending schools mentioned in Items 1.1.1 and 1.1.2.

2.2 Pupils attending independent (private) or parochial schools and whose parents wish them to participate in the Free-Choice Transfer Program should be directed to apply in writing to the Central Zoning Unit. If the pupil is eligible, and if the request is made within the time specified, the Central Zoning Unit will send the parent an application with instructions.

3. *PUPILS NOT ELIGIBLE FOR TRANSFER*

3.1 Pupils in special classes or awaiting placement in such classes (e.g., Physically Handicapped, Sight Conservation, Junior Guidance, CRMD).

3.2 *Special Cases*

If children are or have been under the care of private or public guidance agencies, such as B.C.G., the principal and the social worker involved should discuss the advisability of transferring the child, and the parent should be advised accordingly. Such transfers will be authorized only if approved by the agency involved. If a child has been referred to a guidance agency and his case has not been reached, the application for transfer should be submitted by the principal to the assistant superintendent for his decision.

Some children who apply for transfer are under periodic medical supervision for a chronic medical condition, e.g., diabetes, epilepsy, post-rheumatic fever, asthma, etc. at a treatment agency (private physician or clinic). Frequently appointments with the treatment agencies occur during the school day. Since the Board of Education has no transportation available during the school day, medical supervision may be neglected should these children attend schools out of their district. In addition, when a child becomes ill at school, it may be difficult for the parent to take him home. Therefore, the principal of the "sending" school will plan a "special referral" examination by the school physician with the parent present. At this time the school physician will discuss

APPENDIX C (Continued)

with the parent the advisability of the projected transfer. His findings and recommendations are to be recorded on forms 103S and 104S. The principal of the "sending" school will also be notified of the school physician's recommendation by the school health staff. The assistant superintendent should be advised by the principal of the physician's recommendation and will make the decision regarding the transfer.

Yours very truly,

JACOB LANDERS
Assistant Superintendent
Coordinator of Integration

MARTHA R. FINKLER
Acting Associate Superintendent
Junior High School Division

HILLERY C. THORNE
Acting Director
Central Zoning Unit

TRUDA T. WEIL
Acting Associate Superintendent
Elementary School Division

APPROVED:
JOHN B. KING
Acting Executive Deputy Superintendent
RD:rf

APPENDIX D

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
110 Livingston Street
Brooklyn, New York 11201

MESSAGE TO PARENTS OR GUARDIANS OF PUPILS WHO ARE ELIGIBLE FOR TRANSFER UNDER THE FREE CHOICE TRANSFER PROGRAM

For several years the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools have been developing programs which give children of all races the opportunity to learn together. Such learning is an important part of education if we are to prepare children for the world in which they will live. Such programs enable a child to meet and work with people different from himself in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and respect based on individual worth. This goal is also one which our nation set for itself from its beginning.

The Free Choice Transfer Program is one through which pupils of different races who would not normally have such an opportunity may now learn together. The choice of seeking a transfer for a pupil under these programs is left to the parent. Each parent, however, of an eligible pupil is urged to consider among other things the educational value of the integrated classroom.

Under this plan, you may request transfer for your child to one of the "receiving" school areas listed on the attached list for the coming school year starting with September. We shall place as many children as we have space for in the order in which they apply.

If you wish to have your child considered for transfer under the provisions of this plan, please fill in the application on reverse side, indicating your choice of areas in the order of preference, and return it as soon as possible. You may select *only* those areas which appear on the attached list next to your child's present school. If you indicate *one area choice only,* we shall assume that you *do not wish to consider any other area.* Should it be impossible to grant your choice, it is to be understood that your child will remain in his present school. No application received after the closing date can be accepted.

You will be notified if there is room for your child in a school in one of the areas requested. In the event we cannot assign your child, you will be so advised by the principal of the school your child presently attends. Your child will attend his present school until the end of the current year. *Brothers and sisters not in eligible grades cannot be considered for transfer.*

It is expected that your child will attend regularly in his new school. Arrangements for transportation by school bus will be made for elementary school pupils

APPENDIX D (Continued)

in the Free Choice Program on the same basis as in the case of other elementary school pupils.

Additional information regarding transportation or other matters involving the Free Choice Program may be obtained from the principal of the school which your child now attends.

DIVISION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
CENTRAL ZONING UNIT
HUMAN RELATIONS UNIT

BOARD OF EDUCATION — CITY OF NEW YORK
FREE CHOICE PROGRAM
APPLICATION FOR TRANSFER FOR ELIGIBLE PUPILS

For Official Use Only

Check One		
Date	A.M.	P.M.

TO BE FILLED OUT IN SCHOOL

Pupil's Name _____ Class # _____ If I.G. Check Box ☐
LAST FIRST

Public School _____ Borough _____ Home Telephone _____

Home Address _____ Borough _____

TO BE FILLED OUT BY PARENT

I wish to have my child transferred to a school in one of the following areas. In order of preference my choices of areas are:

(Designate choice by AREA NAME)

A. _____

B. _____

C. _____

APPENDIX D (Continued)

I understand that the Central Zoning Unit may place my child in any one of the schools in the area I have selected.

Signature of Parent _____

OR

I wish my child to be placed in a school *now attended* by his sister or brother who was transferred under a previous Free Choice Program.

NAME of brother or sister _____

LAST FIRST

School _____ Borough _____ Class _____

Signature of Parent _____

No application will be accepted which is postmarked *after* MAY 14, 1965. Placement will be made on a first-come, first-served basis.

Completed applications are to be mailed *by parents directly to*:

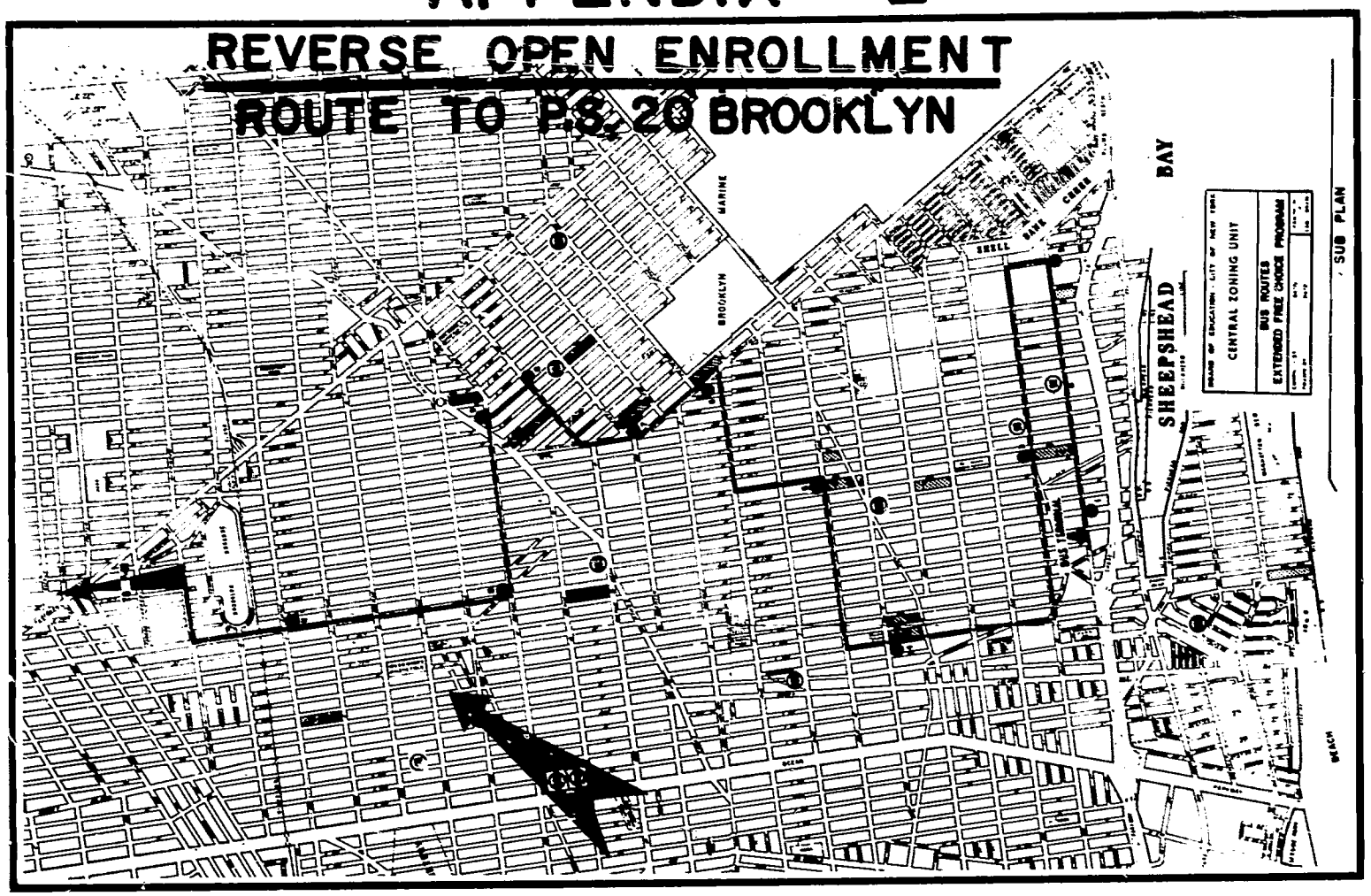
Free Choice Transfer Program
Board of Education
Central Zoning Unit, Room 620
110 Livingston Street
Brooklyn, New York 11201

BEFORE MAILING, MAKE SURE YOU SIGNED ONE OF THE SECTIONS ABOVE

APPENDIX E

REVERSE OPEN ENROLLMENT

ROUTE TO P.S. 20 BROOKLYN



APPENDIX F

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
110 Livingston Street
Brooklyn 1, New York

MESSAGE TO PARENTS OR GUARDIANS OF PUPILS WHO ARE ELIGIBLE FOR TRANSFER UNDER THE FREE CHOICE TRANSFER PROGRAM

For several years the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools have been developing programs which give children of all races the opportunity to learn together. Such learning is an important part of education if we are to prepare children for the world in which they will live. Such programs enable a child to meet and work with people different from himself in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and respect based on individual worth. This goal is also one which our nation set for itself from its beginning.

The Free Choice Transfer Program is one through which pupils of different races who would not normally have such an opportunity may now learn together. The choice of seeking a transfer for a pupil under these programs is left to the parent. Each parent of an eligible pupil is however, urged to consider among other things the educational value of the integrated classroom.

Under this plan you may request transfer for your child to a "receiving" school which has more minority group pupils than yours for the school year starting with September 1965. Arrangements for transportation by school bus will be made for elementary school pupils in the Free Choice Transfer Program on the same basis as in the case of other elementary school pupils.

At the present time, we have one school in Brooklyn, Public School 20, that is receiving a group of children in the "Others" category from a number of schools. Four such additional schools have been made available, one in each of the Boroughs of Manhattan, Bronx, Brooklyn, and Queens. These schools will provide for the optimum in educational services in our school system.

The "receiving" schools in this program are: P 20-K, P 138-K, P 146-M, P 21-X and P 37-Q.

If you wish to take part in this plan, please complete and mail the stub below.

DIVISION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
CENTRAL ZONING UNIT
HUMAN RELATIONS UNIT

APPENDIX F (Continued)

DETACH HERE

Child's Name _____ Class _____ School _____ Borough _____

Parent's Name _____ Telephone _____

Address _____ Borough _____

"RECEIVING" SCHOOL IN WHICH INTERESTED _____

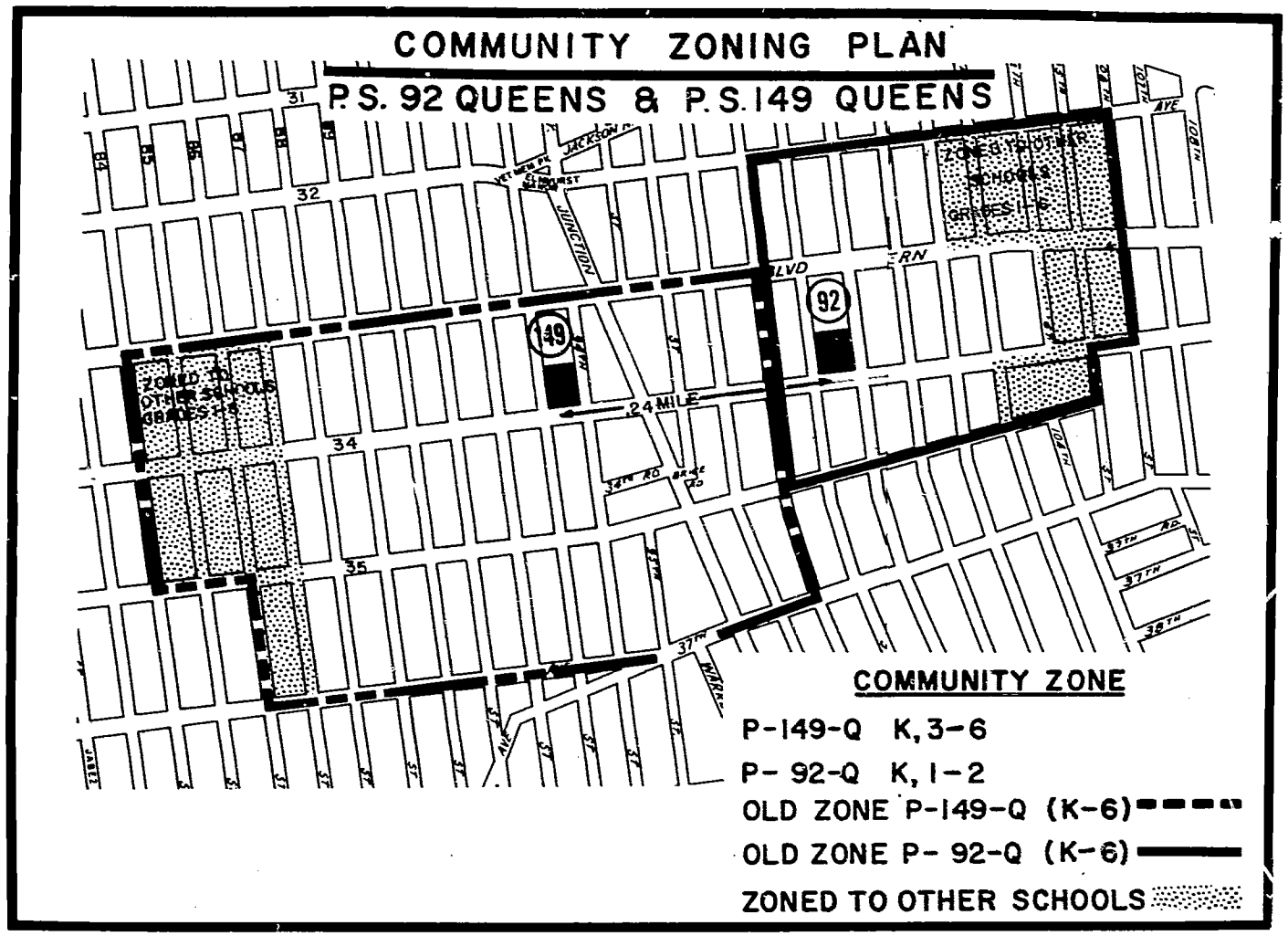
I am interested in participating in a plan which would give my child an opportunity to be transferred to a school having more minority group pupils, for the reason of his being educated in an integrated environment.

_____
Signature of Parent or Guardian

MAIL THIS FORM TO:

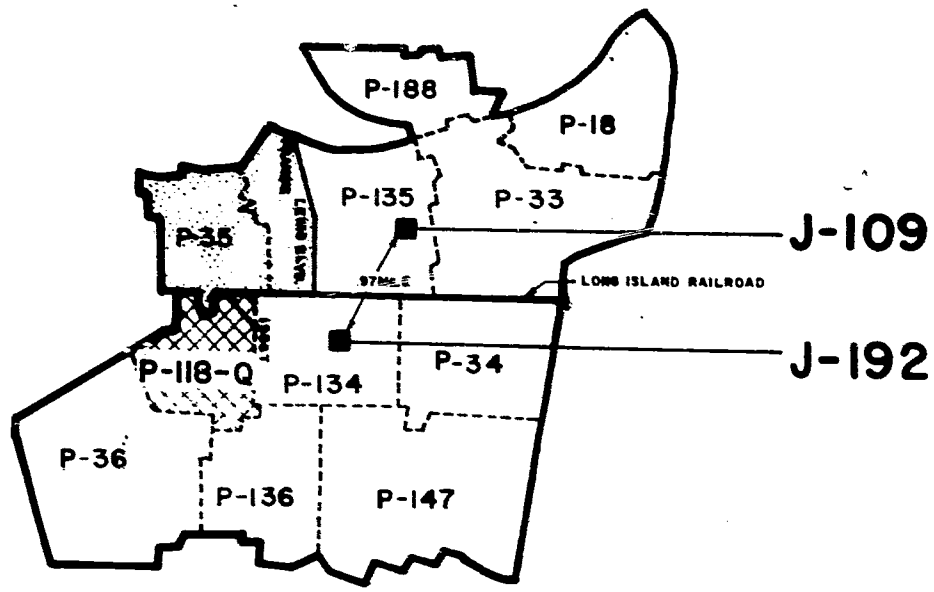
Mr. Hillery C. Thorne
Acting Director
Central Zoning Unit, Room 620
Board of Education
110 Livingston Street
Brooklyn, New York 11201

APPENDIX G


COMMUNITY ZONING PLAN
P.S. 92 QUEENS & P.S. 149 QUEENS
JACKSON PL
JUNCTION BLVD
24 MILE
34TH RD
37TH
92
149
COMMUNITY ZONE
P-149-Q K, 3-6
P- 92-Q K, 1-2
OLD ZONE P-149-Q (K-6)
OLD ZONE P- 92-Q (K-6)
ZONED TO OTHER SCHOOLS

APPENDIX H

FEEDER PATTERN CHANGES; J-109-Q & J-192-Q



DIAGRAMMATIC VIEW OF J-109-Q, J-192-Q

FEEDER PATTERN CHANGE 9/64

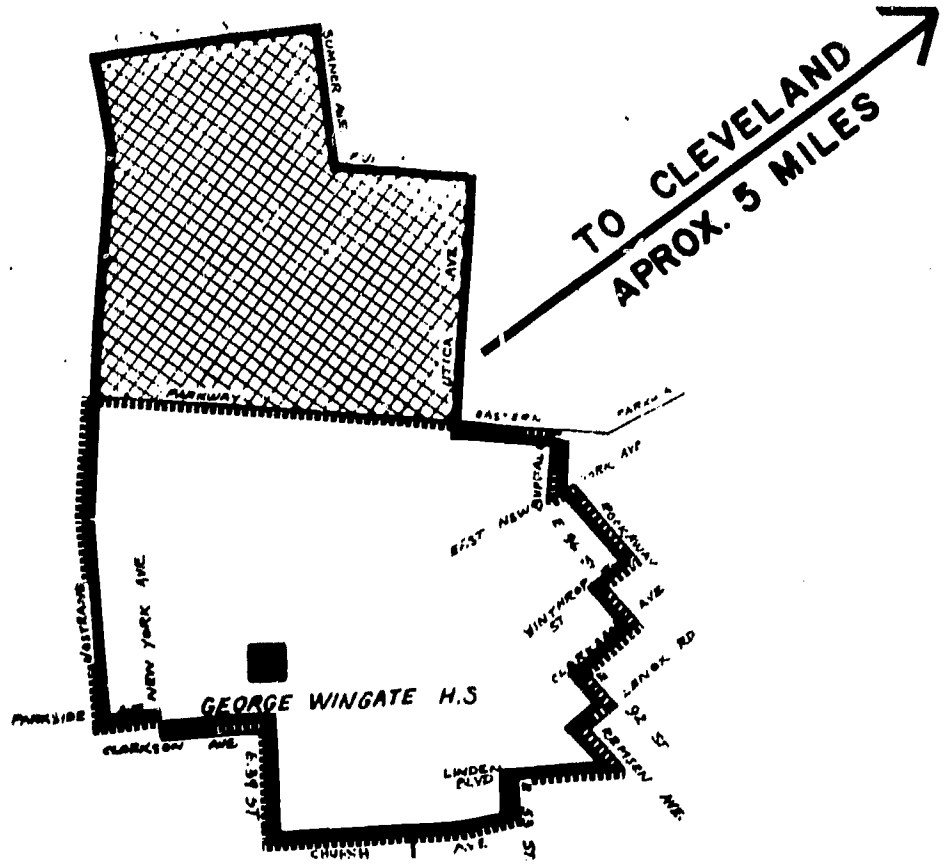
FORMER J.H.S. BOUNDARY

FEEDER SCHOOL BOUNDARIES

ZONED FROM J109Q TO J192Q

ZONED FROM J192Q TO J109Q

"SKIP" ZONING WINGATE H.S.



LEGEND

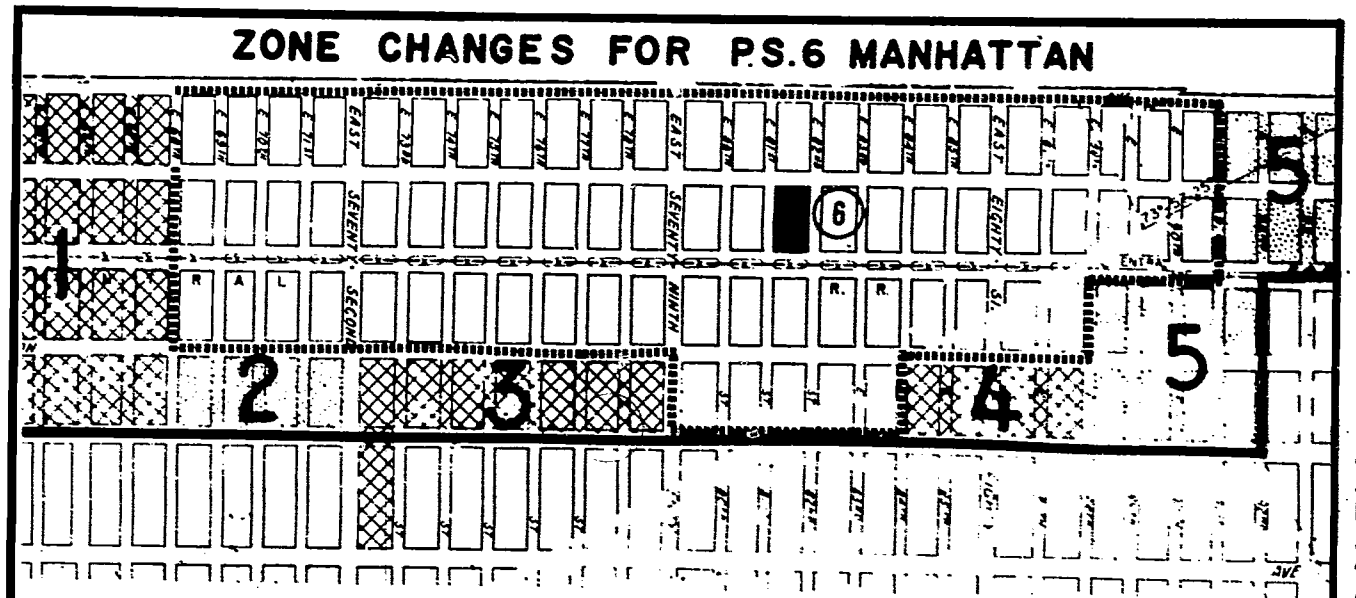
—— OLD WINGATE LINE

▪▪▪▪▪▪ NEW WINGATE LINE

▨ AREA TO CLEVELAND

APPENDIX J

ZONE CHANGES FOR P.S.6 MANHATTAN



LEGEND

NEW BOUNDARY LINE FOR P-6-M

OLD " " FOR P-6-M

1.	P-6	TO	P-59
2.	"	"	P-183
3.	"	"	P-190
4.	"	"	P-190
5.	"	"	P-198

APPENDIX I