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CRISIS IN AMERICAN EDUCATION--A RACIAL DILEMMA.

BY- GREEN, ROBERT L.

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AMERICAN EDUCATION HAS NOT YET SUFFICIENTLY RECOGNIZED THE CRITICAL ROLE OF TEACHING QUALITY AND TEACHERS' ATTITUDES AS INSTRUMENTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE. UNFORTUNATELY, DATA FROM A SURVEY OF 10 MAJOR TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTIONS SHOW THAT THEY "ARE NOT REALISTICALLY FACING THE PROBLEM OF PROVIDING QUALITY TEACHERS FOR URBAN YOUTH." A REVIEW OF SOME PRESERVICE TRAINING PROGRAMS POINTS TO THE NEED FOR TEACHER EDUCATORS TO IMPROVE THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD DISADVANTAGED YOUTH. STAFF IN URBAN EDUCATION PROGRAMS SHOULD INCLUDE MINORITY-GROUP FACULTY MEMBERS AND SHOULD OFFER MORE INTENSIVE AND EXTENSIVE COURSES TO PREPARE TRAINEES TO WORK IN DEPRESSED AREAS. COLLEGES AND SCHOOL SYSTEMS SHOULD ORGANIZE COOPERATIVE FIFTH-YEAR PROGRAMS FOR BEGINNING TEACHERS, AND INSERVICE TRAINING PROGRAMS SHOULD INCLUDE MUCH MORE DIRECT CONTACT WITH DISADVANTAGED COMMUNITIES. ACTIVITIES IN INSERVICE WORKSHOPS MIGHT INCLUDE OBSERVATION OF MASTER TEACHERS AND LIVING FOR A WHILE IN DEPRESSED NEIGHBORHOODS. RECRUITMENT OF HIGHLY MOTIVATED, DEDICATED, AND WELL-PREPARED TEACHERS IS CRUCIAL TO THE SUCCESS OF INNER CITY EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS. FINANCIAL AID IS ALSO NECESSARY TO TRAIN CERTIFIED, NONCERTIFIED, AND PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS. THIS PAPER WAS PREPARED FOR THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN AMERICA'S CITIES, SPONSORED BY THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS, WASHINGTON, D.C., NOVEMBER 16-18, 1967. (NH)

CRISIS IN AMERICAN EDUCATION: A RACIAL DILEMMA

Prepared by
Robert L. Green, Michigan State University*
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Once again, America was shocked by the anger and fury directed by urban Negroes at its institutions and social symbols during the summer of 1967. The violent upheavals occur, seemingly on an annual basis, in the so-called "Ghetto" sections of our large cities. This fall many of these same rebellious urban youth returned to uncomfortable, segregated, and often inferior public schools.

In the past this country has had the strength, stamina, and motivation to cope directly with issues of domestic, social, political, or educational reform. Resources have been quickly mobilized when a domestic problem threatened the Nation's safety, prestige, or national pride. When thousands of immigrants came to this country

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untrained, and unfamiliar with its language, customs, and behavioral patterns, we not only taught them how to read and write (the beginning of adult education) but found jobs for them. (Cass, 1967). When this country saw that its destiny as a world power was related to open communication with other nations, school curricula changed to reflect this in foreign language courses, and academic majors in international affairs. The greatest curriculum change in math and science programs came when Russia launched its first Sputnik. And the current American-Asian land war suggests again the quickness with which appropriations are provided when Americans feel a crisis is imminent.

However, for years we have proceeded with business as usual while the educational-social problems of Negro Americans become more critical. The outbursts of urban Negro youth during the last four summers, along with the growing general problems of urban education have at last attracted attention. Racial disturbances represent the cumulative effect of systematic, hard-core racial discrimination, historically practiced against Negro Americans. Active racism in housing, employment and education has brought about the most crucial American domestic crisis of the twentieth century. This current crisis in American life is an outgrowth of a dual standard of social justice based on race.

Social scientists [Myrdal (1944), Frazier (1957), and Clark (1966)] have predicted that as the Nation prospers, the Negroes' hopes will be raised; they will expect and demand basic institutional changes, to provide equal opportunity. Many Negro leaders have warned that violence was bound to become a weapon in the struggle for social jus-

tice as long as dual standards of life and justice prevail. Author James Baldwin's terse statement voiced widespread Negro sentiment when he wrote:

> "To be a Negro in this country and to be relatively conscious is to be in a rage almost all the time."

In spite of such predictions, much of the Nation's reaction to the summer disorders has been shock. Many white Americans have assumed that Negroes had made notable advances in occupational distribution, income, housing and above all, education. However, the U. S. Labor Department's report, The Negroes in the United States, Their Economic and Social Status (1966), documents the increasing disparities between white and black Americans in employment, housing, and education. Sociologists agree that urban unrest is highly related to such disparities, and acknowledge that these disturbances tend to solidify white Americans' negative attitudes toward Negroes.

In commenting on this, Dr. Kenneth Clark writes that Americans are accustomed to judging the state of peoples' minds by the most visible aspects -- the presence of a TV antenna indicates affluence, and a neat lawn suggests a middle-class home. He states that in many neat, small homes live families whose members hold servile jobs, have little education, and have a burning rage at the society that excludes them from the things it values most. (Berson, 1966). He reminds us that racism

> "...must be seen not only in the bigotry of segregationists. It must be recognized in the moralizing of Northern whites who do not consciously feel themselves afflicted with the disease of racism, even as they assert that the Negro rioting justifies ending their involvement in the civil rights cause. It must be recognized in the insistence that Negroes pull themselves up by their own bootstraps, demonstrating to the liberal and white communities that they have earned the right to be treated as equal

> American citizens. These are satisfying self-righteous arguments but they cannot disguise the profound realities of an unacknowledged racism." (Berson, 1966).

What role can education play in facilitating positive social change? Although we do not assume that educational changes alone can eliminate this American dilemma, we do know that education has and can make a major impact on our social order. If it is the task of other social institutions to make structural changes in our society, education should assume a more vital role to assist in restructuring our urban communities.

What tasks are we asking education to speak to, and what monumental failures must it grapple with?

> Education is being asked to compensate not only for its own failures but for society's failures as well. Education's fault has been its inability to identify its own problems and its moral callousness in allowing massive failure and miserable educational conditions for a substantial segment of the school population. For example, segregated schools carry with them poor education, partly because there traditionally has been in them no middle-class group demanding quality. Generally speaking, education has been satisfied to offer an inferior intellectual diet in the urban ghetto, and the demand for change has come not from educators but from external social forces demanding equality of opportunity. (Deustch , 1966).

Yet changes are taking place within American education: curriculum innovations, early childhood programs, multi-ethnic texts, reduced class size, enrichment and compensatory programs, and additional use of educational specialists. However, educators are beginning to discover that although these innovations are helpful, the one critical variable in the learning environment of disadvantaged students is the teacher. Wilkinson (1965) writes that even highly professional teachers commonly lack the insights, social attitudes, and instructional skills which are essential for integrating social class and ethnic

diversity in the classroom. The recent USOE report, Equality of Educational Opportunity (1967), supports the assumption that one factor closely related to the achievement of disadvantaged students is the quality of instruction and the teacher's attitudes.

What plans and programs are there for improving the quality of teaching in urban schools? Do they represent an adequate assessment of the problems of urban education? Do teacher education institutions play a useful role in teacher training for urban education? Do these institutions provide education and training for future teachers that will allow them to teach effectively in urban schools?

PRE-SERVICE TRAINING PROGRAMS

A comprehensive survey of the ten major producers of initially certified public school teachers in the United States* showed that these colleges and universities produced approximately 15,000 teachers in 1966 (AACTE, 1967). Of this number less than 3 percent had been enrolled in or exposed to programs designed to provide well-trained, competent, teachers for disadvantaged students in urban areas. When one contrasts this with the fact that urban areas are becoming increasingly populated with economically and educationally disadvantaged students, it appears that urban schools will be staffed with teachers untrained for -- and too often uncommitted to -- educating poor youth. In fact, a survey by Grade Teacher Magazine found that the average June graduate entering teaching was more concerned with pay than a productive academic career - only 23% said that professional challenge was the most important factor in accepting an assignment. More to the point, only 13%

* Indiana University, Michigan State University, Fresno State, Western Michigan University, Ohio State, Illinois State University, California State at Long Beach, Kent State University, Wayne State University, and Ball State University.

planned to teach in inner-city schools.(Janssen, 1967).

Most often, inner-city education for the disadvantaged means Negro education. Educators who speak of a polarity between middle class and lower class values in education are speaking of their inability to accept and understand the cultural patterns and life styles of lower income or minority groups. Given the growing percentage of Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican,and other low-income minority group children in urban schools, it is easy to build a strong case for the revision of teacher training programs.* Teacher training institutions are not realistically facing the problem of providing quality teachers for urban youth. One-third of the newly trained teachers in the New York City area refused to accept assignments in inner-city schools in Manhattan (Krathwohl, 1967). Havighurst (1966) reports that in 1964 the Chicago inner-city schools employed 36% full-time substitutes, in contrast to 6% in the "high-status" schools, 9% in the "conventional" schools, and 14% in the "common man" schools. Eighty-two percent of all Chicago substitutes were placed in the inner-city schools. The median years of teaching experience in the inner-city was four, in comparison with 19 in the "high-status" schools, 15 in the "conventional" schools, and 9 in the "common man" schools.**

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* The Baltimore public school system is approximately 62% Negro, Chicago is 57%, Cleveland is 51%, Detroit is 58%, Philadelphia is 60%, St. Louis is 62%, and Washington, D.C. is 90% Negro.

** This problem reached the critical point in the fall of 1967. As a result of the summer's riots, many teachers refused to work in urban inner-city schools. The director of teacher recruitment in the Chicago Public Schools, Dr. Louise Dieterle, recently stated, "We don't have a teacher shortage, only a shortage of teachers willing to work full-time where they are needed. By that I mean the inner-city schools, particularly in the heavily Negro areas on the West Side." This problem was so critical that summer crash pre-service training programs were devised in Chicago in order to train individuals with a college degree (not in education) for service in inner-city schools. In essence new, and unprepared college graduates were sent to the inner-city for instructional purposes. Dr. Forrest E. Orebaugh, and Dr. Franklyn S. Berry administrators in the Cincinnati and Syracuse Public School System respectively, reported shortages of teachers to work in disadvantaged schools. (Lansing State Journal, 1967).

SPECIFIC PROGRAMS

Wayne State University, located in the inner-city of Detroit, Michigan, produced 1182 teachers in 1966, very few of whom had been specifically prepared to work in Detroit's inner-city. Although this university is a training center for the National Teachers Corps, they do not have an undergraduate program designed to prepare prospective teachers for urban areas.

The National Teachers Corps program at Wayne State University is representative of the 32 Teacher Corps centers developed throughout the country. Sixty-nine liberal arts graduates have enrolled in this two-year program, oriented toward preparing teachers for assignments in depressed areas. Forty-two students are beginning their first year of study and 27 are completing their second year. The curriculum leading to a Master of Arts in Teaching, emphasizes three areas: the school, the community, and graduate study. Cooperating with Wayne State in education of the trainees are four local school districts: Detroit, Pontiac, Oak Park and Inkster, Michigan. First year corpsmen are now in a pre-service orientation period focusing on the social-learning problems of disadvantaged youth. At the end of their orientation they will be assigned to one of the cooperating institutions. Each corpsman is assigned to a team headed by a professional public teacher sensitive to the needs of urban education. Corpsmen involvement is stressed in the program, and the enrollees tutor disadvantaged children, participate in community-centered projects, and engage in numerous after school activities. Graduate course work includes the Sociology of Urban Schools, Psychology of the Disadvantaged, Negro History,

as well as more traditional academic subjects.*

Western Michigan University, nationally the fourth largest producer of initially certified teachers, has developed programs on both the graduate and undergraduate levels to prepare teachers for inner-city teaching positions. Both programs provide coursework and field experiences that enable the student to examine educational theory in the actual school environment. The undergraduate program, which recently has been revised, will place students in urban schools on a half-time basis throughout the training program. This represents a comprehensive approach extending far beyond the usual course or two on the disadvantaged. In addition to focusing on the learning problems of inner-city youth, this program also will prepare teachers to work with migrant children. Although aspects of the program have been initiated on a limited basis, the total program including student placement in urban schools will begin during the winter semester, 1968.

Michigan State University, in cooperation with the Mott Institute for Community Development, has initiated a teacher education program for elementary education majors, with emphasis on teaching in urban disadvantaged schools. Detroit and Flint, Michigan inner-city schools serve as laboratories for students in this program. Students are assigned to the off-campus centers for two terms. The first term methods instruction is provided by university personnel and inner-city master teachers. The students also observe and assist

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* Although the graduates are not obligated to work in disadvantaged areas at the conclusion of their program, it is hoped that they will develop a moral commitment to request such an assignment upon completion of their training.

in the classroom where they will do their student teaching. The second term the students teach full-time and are closely supervised and supported by the university coordinator and the master teacher to whom the student is assigned.*

Many smaller colleges have viewed the problem of providing competent and highly motivated teachers for disadvantaged children realistically, and have designed appropriate pre-service programs. Since 1962 Ursuline College in Cleveland, Ohio, has offered a special program developed cooperatively by the education and sociology departments to prepare teachers for poor urban communities. This interdisciplinary approach is appropriate, for sociologists very frequently can relate an understanding of community life to educational deficiencies that are apparent both in the home and school settings. In addition to coursework the students in this program participate in the following field experiences: (1) a one-semester community service assignment involving supervised informal contacts with inner-city youth, (2) increased observation of classes in inner-city schools, (3) guest lectures by teachers and administrators from these schools, (4) an internship program worked out in cocperation with the Cleveland Board of Education through which juniors who are preparing to teach spend one morning a week for ten weeks in an inner-city school prior

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* Indiana University has developed a program in which inner-city high school graduates are themselves enrolled in a teacher education program designed to provide school personnel for poor urban areas. The associate dean of the college of education, interviewed regarding this program, indicated that he felt that students who themselves were from impoverished backgrounds could more readily relate to poor children. While Indiana University's recruitment approach has much merit, students other than those from disadvantaged backgrounds should be included in such curricula in order to not structure an educational training program that becomes social class oriented.

to doing their student teaching, and (5) follow-up workshops for graduates who are teaching, to discuss their problems and elicit their suggestions for revising the education program in the light of their needs. (Ursuline, 967).

The Hunter College Program, Project True, is perhaps the best known pre-service program. This program was developed on the theory that prospective teachers should be prepared in the schools where they will teach, (Haubrich, 1963), and is perhaps one of the more effective pre-service training programs. The teacher candidates receive instruction centering around students whose families have low income, low educational backgrounds, and cultural-language diversity. The program involves combined study, observation, laboratory experiences, and practice teaching, followed by regular full-time teaching in the New York City Schools over a two year period. The corpsmen all have liberal arts degrees but lack training in education. Gold (1967) states that "This program is intended to lead to certification, a regular position in the schools, and a master's degree for those candidates who meet matriculation and degree requirements in the college in which they are enrolled". Initially 24 corpsmen from the National Teacher Corps and six experienced teachers were assigned to Hunter College. Rather than using the campus for this project, a school building in the central Harlem area was utilized.

Hunter College's comprehensive effort involving the use of federal, state, and city funds, is indicative of the wide scale approach that teacher education institutions might consider.

Project Y-003, a one year experimental program to prepare teachers of disadvantaged students was developed to ascertain if inter-

cultural misunderstandings in inner-city schools could be eliminated by seeking out prospective teachers from among the ethnic and cultural groups served, and preparing these teacher-candidates for work in inner-city schools. Students selected for this program conducted at Coppin State College in Baltimore, Maryland, were volunteers from the junior and senior classes at this school who were perceived to have the academic and personal characteristics necessary for quality teachers. Courses in "The Sociology of the City", "Minority Peoples", "The History of the Negro in America", and "Education of the Culturally Different", were provided for these students in addition to field experiences. The objective of the curriculum was to deepen the understanding of the positive values that inhere in the subcultures of American life. A unique feature of the seminars held for the prospective teachers were lectures by members of minority groups who had succeeded and who were from disadvantaged backgrounds. Inner-city parents and leaders were invited to the lectures. Supervising teachers in the schools selected for student teaching experiences were enrolled in a summer institute in order to assure that their attitude and behavior toward disadvantaged children was appropriate. Nineteen students were enrolled in this experimental one-year program. The students who completed their training during this academic year were employed by the Baltimore Public Schools and "appear to be working successfully" in inner-city schools. (Reddick, 1967). The Baltimore city schools in cooperation with several area colleges, (Coppin, Morgan, and Towson State College) established a preservice training program (project mission) in which intern teachers work closely under the supervision of project professors and successful master teachers within the confines of the inner-city. Epstein (1967)

reports that

> "...students can be attracted to work in inner-city schools - students who are eager, dedicated and enthusiastic ....Through close association with the community, much of the initial fear and apprehensiveness of the prospective teacher was alleviated and wholesome attitudes and perceptions were acquired. The experience became a challenging and rewarding one, both professionally and personally, for most of the interns."

However, the program at Hunter, like others, must be constantly and systematically evaluated in terms of their ability to increase teaching effectiveness. We need to more accurately determine whether teachers who receive special training are more effective as teachers in inner-city schools. They should be evaluated (along with those who have not received such training) by their fellow teachers, administrators, parents, and students. Do they remain in inner-city communities for longer periods of time? Do their students improve academically? And, do they keep abreast of current educational practices? These are very pressing questions that only systematic long-range evaluation can answer.

SUMMARY

Within the context of this paper it is not possible to review all of the recent innovations that are becoming evident in pre-service teacher education for the disadvantaged. However, a brief overview has been presented of several programs that are attempting to provide quality teachers for depressed areas. Hopefully other educational institutions will glean from ongoing programs curriculum designs that they can utilize.

On the basis of information obtained from numerous teacher training institutions in the United States, it appears that far too few universities are training teachers to meet the needs of disad-

vantaged youth. Those who are aware of the problem have often structured fragmented approaches such as an elective course in "urban sociology" or one course in "Teaching Disadvantaged Youth", located perhaps within the special education department. As one college official in a metropolitan area proudly stated, "All of our students are required to have at least one contact with an inner-city community during their teacher training sequence". This "contact" involved two clock hours.

Others frankly admit that they don't have the training or know-how to provide meaningful education related to the learning problems of disadvantaged youth. Several stated that they were cognizant of the problem and are now beginning to formulate plans to broaden their curriculum. Others admitted that the greatest impetus for considering changing their teacher training programs was the summer urban unrest and rioting of 1965-67.

Considering the pre-service programs that have so far been developed, the following considerations are most critical at this time:

1. Administrative personnel in colleges of education must rapidly begin to provide in-service training for their own staff regarding the learning problems and social and emotional adjustment of disadvantaged urban youth. An important aspect of this in-service training should be the opportunity for faculty members to critically view their own attitudes regarding these students. Revision of curricula will have little impact if educators are themselves insensitive to disadvantaged and minority group students.

2. Faculty members who teach methods courses in such programs should have continuing experience with disadvantaged children, in either a school or community environment. This is necessary to effectively relate theoretical concepts to classroom situations.

3. An effort must be made to involve minority group members in teacher training programs. Excellent public school master or supervisory teachers identified through student teacher placements should be encouraged to participate in on-campus methods instruction. Representatives of teacher training programs admitted that their students not

only see education as being white and middle class, they themselves have no Negroes or members of other minority groups working full-time or part-time in their teacher training programs.

4. Comprehensive rather than piecemeal teacher training programs must be developed, so that substantially improved competence and sensitivity result. A course in urban sociology, or a two hour contact in a inner-city community is not sufficient, and a very substantial reworking coursework in education and liberal arts will be needed.*

5. Students in colleges of education should receive coursework and field experiences that will realistically prepare them for urban areas. Our country has changed from an agrarian, close-knit society to a cybernetic, extremely mobile one, yet we fail to prepare teachers for many aspects of the latter society. The Report of the School-University Teacher-Education Project (1966) makes sound recommendations for the curricular content and experiences of pre-service education for teachers in depressed areas. These recommendations are also appropriate for all students who wish to teach in urban areas.**

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* Classes in Negro and Minority History should be required of all students on the undergraduate level. At the present time all students receive twelve years of thorough coursework in White American and European History. To compensate for a major deficiency, colleges and universities should require coursework in Negro and Minority History. This is essential in order for students to acquire an appreciation and respect for the contributions nonwhites have made to the growth of this Nation and in order to understand the background of current social problems. Courses should be developed focusing on cultural pluralism, the debilitating efforts of poverty, community alienation and its concomitant of powerlessness.

** The first area, "Knowing (Foundational Knowledge)", should include:

...a one-year course in urban studies taught on an interdisciplinary basis and specifically directed toward the particular urban area in which the teacher-education program is being offered. The course, for example, might consist of units in the following areas: sociology (demography, ecology, housing patterns); political science (city government and local power structure as it relates to school organization and administration); social work (characteristics of the disadvantaged); and consumer economics.

The second area, "Doing (Applied Knowledge and Skills)", should include a constant pattern of direct experiences with disadvantaged children and of increasing responsibilities. The prospective teacher would progressively assume greater responsibility in working with individual students and in classroom management and control. Courses in methodology, psychology, and curriculum should be synthesized and offered in conjunction with the direct experiences.

The third area, "Being (Knowledge of Self)", would include individual conferences and seminars during which students should be encouraged to explore introspectively their attitudes toward pupils, colleagues, and the neighborhood in which they are working. They should also engage in self-evaluation regarding their motivations, fears, threats, etc.

6. Educational institutions and metropolitan school systems should cooperatively develop fifth year programs for new teachers that would continue the program of pre-service training. New teacher seminars should be held regularly on school time in order to provide teachers with the opportunity to exchange problems, experiences, and successful instructional strategies. University personnel could keep the teachers informed of educational research and new practices. School personnel could give suggestions and recommendations for improving instructional quality and serve in a supportive role.

IN-SERVICE PROGRAMS

In-service and graduate programs for teachers and supervisors of economically and educationally disadvantaged youth have mushroomed in the last three years. School systems, professional organizations, and teacher education institutions have created programs intended to increase teacher sensitivity to the educational problems of disadvantaged urban youth. These range from one-week summer workshops to full-year programs leading to graduate level degrees.

One of the most comprehensive year-long training programs is now in operation at Northeastern Illinois State College's Center for Inner-City Studies, in Chicago, Illinois. The Center is located in a densely populated, high poverty area of Chicago. The major objective of the Center is to provide teachers with skills which will allow them to effectively teach school-age children who may see the educational establishment as alien. The curriculum in Inner-City Studies is a "multi-disciplinary curriculum designed to solve problems of inner city teaching. The program consists of courses in education, history, anthropology, psychology, sociology, literature and communications" (Smith, 1966). It utilizes a saturation approach in the effort to create positive teacher attitudes toward the learning ability of disadvantaged children. Combined with course work on the psychology and sociology of urban life, experienced teachers in the program live and

work full time in the poverty-stricken location of the school. The combined approach of living, working, and receiving didactic instruction in a disadvantaged community is perhaps more realistic than a campus placement with occasional visits to areas in which disadvantaged youth live.

Bank Street College of Education has taken a somewhat different approach, and focused its in-service training efforts on teachers' supervisors. The College asserts that:

> The approach to teachers alone which is customarily employed, ignores the structure and relationship of the total school system, and sometimes produces teachers who are willing to and capable of moving faster than their administrators and supervisors will permit.
>
> If the desired type of change is to be facilitated, it would seem expedient again to select supervisors of teachers as the core of the Institute. Educating supervisors to become agents of change not only reinforces teachers who want to make positive changes in their teaching of the disadvantaged, but also spreads the climate of change throughout the school and reaches teachers who cannot or do not come in contact with these programs in other ways. Changing one teacher results in improved education for, at the most, thirty to forty children in a year. Changing one supervisor of teachers can result in improved teaching on the part of from fifteen to six hundred teachers and can affect the education of from 450 to 18,000 children. (Risikoff, 1967)

In essence, unless positive changes are brought about on the part of those in supervisory positions, classroom teachers will not function at full effectiveness.

A summer institute at the College (1967) was designed to serve supervisory personnel from five urban areas. A major administrative person in each public school system served as a member of the instructional staff during the summer institute at Bank Street College. The same individuals will conduct follow-up sessions during the 1967-68 academic year in their school communities with teachers from their

district who also participated in the institute. The curriculum of the institute was designed to fulfill three broad objectives: (1) development of supervisor competence; (2) helping the supervisor to increase his motivation and intellectual understanding, and (3) increasing his capacity to acquire new techniques and procedures for working with teachers.

The design of this institute, then, provided for diffusion of learning experiences by individuals actually in a position to institute change. The involvement of school administrators and the agreement to employ trained personnel in supervisory positions are often omitted from many programs. Noteworthy is the follow-through program during the school year.

During the summer of 1967 the Flint, Michigan, Public School System, in cooperation with Michigan State University (Smith et al, 1967), conducted three two-week workshops for its teachers in which the focus was on: (a) the development of positive teacher attitudes toward the learning ability of disadvantaged youth; and (b) the acquisition of new teaching skills in two areas that urban schools see as being most important: reading and arithmetic. Major emphasis during the workshops was on identifying positive teacher behavior, verbal and non-verbal, that would enhance the student's self-concept and perception of his or her ability to benefit from school. In addition, specialists in urban sociology, Negro history, reading, and arithmetic instruction, worked closely with the participants during each workshop. A strong effort was made to attract consultants who themselves had had experiences working with disadvantaged youth and who at the same time were strongly committed to the principle that all youngsters are educable. A major

assumption underlying this workshop was that it is not only necessary to compensate for disadvantaged youth, but also to compensate for the inadequate training and failures of the teacher and the public school itself. Enrollees in the workshop were drawn from both inner and outer city schools to enable both groups to gain an appreciation of the commonality of their problems and experiences.*

During the summer of 1967, Eastern Illinois University conducted an institute limited to teachers of disadvantaged youth who also supervise student teachers. The institute sought to identify more effective teaching strategies for supervisors of student teachers, suggest means of working more effectively with parents of inner-city youth, and develop an awareness of the need to prepare student teachers to work effectively in disadvantaged urban areas. Racially mixed classes were structured for demonstration instructional purposes.

Alverno College in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, held a seven week summer institute for teachers of disadvantaged students that was divided into three phases. The first phase involved three weeks at the college for an intensive study of the sociological and psychological factors affecting the learning of disadvantaged youth. The second phase involved a three week "live-in" in Chicago's inner-city, and the final phase included one week at the college for evaluation of the practicum. During the "live-in", the enrollees resided at Chicago's Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. The criterion used for participant "growth" as a function of the workshop experience were pre and post

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* A booklet based on Relevant Teaching Behaviors identified by teachers in the workshop will be published by the Flint Public Schools for use within the system.

measures on the Authoritarian Personality scale, a newsletter published twice during the year following the institute (using contributions provided by the participants), and a questionnaire sent to the enrollee's principal (seeking evidence of positive growth in classroom teaching techniques, community involvement and increased professional reading and concern for disadvantaged children).

Since Milwaukee has disadvantaged youth within its community, the workshop "live-in" might have been more meaningful if it had been held there rather than in Chicago. A noteworthy aspect of this workshop, however, was its effort to systematically measure participant attitude and behavioral change, rather than relying on teacher reports in the form a Questionnaire answered at the end of a workshop, which is the approach frequently used.

In addition to its pre-service efforts, Ursuline College for Women conducted a summer workshop for experienced teachers involving sensitivity training for the participants, in an attempt to assist them in relating more effectively to administrators, fellow-teachers, and disadvantaged youth. Working cooperatively with the National Training Laboratory for Group Development, the institute was limited to teams of teachers from six inner-city schools. Fifty-four underachieving inner-city seventh grade boys were included. Each enrollee developed a close tutorial and counseling relationship with two of the boys. The focus was on the personal-social and learning needs of the students. The final five days of this workshop will be held during the 1967-1968 academic year in order to more specifically relate the workshop experience to learning problems that the teachers will encounter during the year within their own classrooms.

SUMMARY

Although in-service training programs designed to increase the teaching effectiveness of inner-city school personnel have increased rapidly during the past three years, there is a need to provide financial support for many more. Major limitations of many of the in-service programs for experienced teachers are related to program duration, content, staff, evaluation, program follow-up, and selection of enrollees.

Many school systems devote one or two days of in-service education each year focusing on a variety of topics, including the subject "educating disadvantaged youth". Such programs are usually quickly planned, and involve consultants who are familiar with the problems of poor youth only through a book of readings or an occasional visit. Even though such programs are well intentioned, they are only the beginning. And summer institutes, although very effective in the exploration and understanding of the problems of disadvantaged students, are held in an atmosphere quite unlike the school-learning environment of disadvantaged youth. Many of the behavioral changes exhibited during a two, four, or six week institute may not survive the rigors of the classroom.

In-service programs have utilized a variety of approaches in efforts to understand the background and personality of the disadvantaged student, including discussions by consultants and reading. However, it is important that direct contact with disadvantaged students and their parents, in both formal and informal settings, be included in workshop curricula. Intensive involvement of the enrollees in the community in which the program is held would increase understanding and appreciation.

Observations of master teachers working effectively with disadvantaged students, and using the many new instructional materials should be integrated into workshop curricula. Living in a disadvantaged neighborhood during institute attendance should aid the enrollees in understanding the life style of the children they will teach.

Program evaluation and follow-up are critical aspects of all in-service programs. One, two, or eight week summer programs that do not provide for well-planned, objective follow-up may not have a lasting impact on teacher behavior and utilization of information. Follow-through should be closely related to the actual classroom experiences of those who have had the benefit of the workshop. Training personnel should visit the classrooms of teachers who have been enrolled in the in-service program, and even become involved in joint or team teaching efforts, in order to more effectively relate theory to practice.

The majority of the programs cited in this paper have been fairly successful in locating staff who have had extensive experience with urban programs and inner-city teaching. No in-service program should be developed without instructional personnel who themselves are knowledgeable about inner-city life. An occasional visit to depressed areas is not sufficient. College supervisory and public school administrative personnel should themselves be actively involved in ongoing programs for the disadvantaged.

Evaluation focusing on attitudinal change as measured by standardized instruments, in addition to evaluation by school administrators during the following school year (on criteria established by the workshop professional staff), are possible criteria for the long

range program effectiveness.* Seminars should be held periodically during the following school year in order that teachers may discuss and exchange approaches to problems and practices that were effective in their schools.

Selection of enrollees for in-service programs is a very difficult task. The programs are attractive to teachers who would like to earn academic credit and receive a weekly stipend. Many may adopt the facade of a concerned, committed individual when actually they are materialistically inspired. Also, individuals with excellent academic records and good literary skill may impress program directors with their concern. It would not be wise to eliminate such individuals from in-service institute, particularly if they are employed in inner-city schools, because change among such personnel is imperative. However, institute directors must look beyond this group and also select teachers with a strong desire to become a competent urban educator even though their past training may not have been in accredited colleges. Criteria other than undergraduate grade point average and qualifying test scores should be used. Stalley (1967) has developed a series of questions appropriate for interviewing candidates for institute participation and possible urban placement.

The Bank Street College of Education in cooperation with the U.S. Office of Education (Klopf, 1967) has made an extensive survey of in-service and pre-service programs throughout the United States. They distributed 1,127 questionnaires to colleges of teacher education and

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* Fleming has developed two instruments for identifying changes in teacher attitudes toward the disadvantaged (1967) and Hilliary (1966) is also in the process of constructing an instrument to measure teacher attitudes toward the disadvantaged.

departments of education in institutions of higher learning, in-service programs in selected school system, summer institutes for teachers of disadvantaged youth financed under Title XI of the National Defense Education Act and teacher education programs financed under the Economic Opportunity Act. Five hundred and three of the 1,127 questionnaires were returned, 54% from school systems and 3_ from colleges and universities. This project, called Project Aware, also involved visits to 59 programs. The Aware teams have made excellent recommendations with suggestions for implementation for institute-type programs, in-service programs in school systems, and for programs in institutions of higher learning.

The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education in cooperation with Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana (AACTE, 1967) have been funded for a National NDEA Institute for Advanced Study in Teaching Disadvantaged Youth. This institute is designed to improve programs for personnel who are engaged in or preparing to engage in the teaching of disadvantaged youth. The program, (which is in its second year of operation,) operates on two levels. First, special attention is given to the identification and clarification of the fundamental problems and issues relevant to teaching the disadvantaged and to the preparation of teachers. Recommendations for substantive changes and appropriate strategies for the improvement of teacher education will be made. Their second concern is to provide opportunities for educational personnel to exchange information regarding effective teaching practices, develop teacher competencies, and to provide the National Committee with specific information regarding the problems and issues which constitute its continuing agenda on the preparation

and retraining of teachers. Hopefully this organization will impress upon its members the need to construct effective programs for teachers of the disadvantaged, and to provide an effective procedure whereby candidates with a desire to work with the disadvantaged may enroll in such programs.

RECRUITMENT

Recruitment of committed, highly motivated, and dedicated teachers is one of the most critical and pressing problems confronting the urban education crisis. Unless academically competent teachers who respect social-class and racial differences are recruited for inner-city schools, program or curricular changes will be to no avail.

The New York State Department of Education (Gold, 1967) has offered scholarships to teachers in the metropolitan area for graduate study in the area of the problems of bilingual students. This was done in an effort to train teachers for assignments in schools with Puerto Rican children. This approach could be used in order to attract capable teachers for inner-city placements. There may be individuals who desire to become teachers in urban areas, but are not able to finance the schooling needed for certification. Scholarships should be large enough to provide stipends as well as tuition, so that the students can devote full-time to their studies.

Competent but non-certified, and/or substitute teachers in inner-city schools should be identified and encouraged financially by their school systems to return to school either on a full-time, half-time, or summer study program, in order to gain the additional course-work necessary to become qualified for permanent assignments within the

inner-city. Programs such as the Mott-Michigan State University cooperative teacher training program should provide scholarships for off-campus intern students in order to provide housing and other expenses involved in relocation for the six-month internship period.

The U. S. Office of Education might consider increasing loans and scholarship aid to education students who have indicated a desire to work in disadvantaged areas. Programs similar to the National Teachers Corps should be designed for undergraduate training and developed nationally and cooperatively between University teacher training institutions and public school systems.

Master's degree and specialist programs should be developed on college campuses with an emphasis on preparing supervisory and administrative personnel for inner-city schools.

Many educators bemoan the paucity of Negro candidates for programs already in existence. The lack of Negro students in these programs may be related to the fact that students who are graduates of inner-city schools may not wish to return to an educational environment which they are striving to overcome. Negro as well as white students may see a placement in an inner-city school as a low status assignment (Green, 1966). Also, many of the programs require more hours of instruction and field placement than the traditional training programs, thus interfering with necessary part-time employment. However, financial aid would assist in alleviating the monetary support problem.

A major and earnest effort must be made to attract dedicated as well as competent teachers, both Negro and white, to schools that are looked upon as difficult. However, along with quality teacher

recruitment, efforts must be made to offer additional administrative, instructional, as well as financial support to the same teachers in order to offset the negative perception that is associated with a placement in an urban school setting.

SUMMARY

The crisis in urban education is upon us now. Our Nation's school leadership must project both short-range and long-term programs related to up-grading the overall quality of declining urban public school systems. Bold new programs are needed, and not only school administrators but those who supervise teacher education programs must face up to the issue of quality education. We must not only view this educational dilemma as one in which we compensate for the background of poor youth, but we must also compensate for the inadequate training of our teachers, administrators, and curricula. Even though environment contributes greatly to the disadvantaged child's underachievement, the schools themselves appear to fail. (NCSPS, 1966).

We need programs that will build and support the educational streagths of teachers who work in urban communities. Let us take the heat off the students and put the heat on the educational establishment itself, including school boards, administrators, and teachers. We need not only pupil change, but change diffused throughout the entire structure of educational institutions. "In the 1920's", stated June Shagaloff, educational director of the NAACP, "people said the underachievement of Negro children was because Negroes were inherently inferior. Now it isn't polite to say that, so they say he's culturally disadvantaged instead. The bureaucrats developed a lot of things to improve the disadvantaged child instead of to change the criminally neglected schools". (Janssen, 1967).

In-service workshops and/or institutes should be conducted for school board members, as well as members of state legislatures. School Board members should become familiar with the sociology of urban life, the needs and aspirations of poor people, and the disparities between inner and outer city schools. Visits to their own as well as other central city schools should be made to determine successful and unsuccessful practices and procedures. Programs and possibly institutes should be developed for members of the legislature responsible for appropriating funds for urban communities, as well as for the other members who have the final vote on such bills.

The challenge of urban education is not to remake disadvantaged youth, but to recreate a healthy educational system for all children. An educational system that is structured to meet only the needs of middle-class society will not meet the needs of large segments of poor people who have been psychologically locked out of the educational process.

Urban unrest is not totally related to education's failures, but the inadequate educational training that so many urban children experience in their lives is highly related to dysfunctional urban life. We have to take a hard look at the reason why teachers report to inner-city schools, and leave after three weeks. This is not totally due to the "personalities of the children", but could well be related to the depressed climate of the school environment.

Dr. John Fisher (1967) President, Teachers College, Columbia University, stated at the Conference on Urban School Planning held at Stanford University:

> "We must set our sights not on making schools equal, but on devising whatever means are required to enable every child to develop his own potential. Whatever his possibilities, wherever he begins, he should have the help he needs to reach maturity prepared to compete on fair terms in an open society. To live with this conception of equal opportunity, the community must be willing and the school must be able to furnish unequal education."

Our educational system must take the lead in reforming the American social order since other social institutions have failed so miserably. (Banks, 1967) But it must first put its own house in order. The urban school crisis is a monumental challenge to our educational structure. We must make major changes now, for time is running out.

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