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THIS ARTICLE DISCUSSES THE SOCIAL ORIGINS OF CURRENT PROBLEMS IN URBAN EDUCATION. IN THIS CONTEXT IT DESCRIBES SUCH INTERVENTIONS AS A PILOT PROJECT IN THE DETROIT, MICHIGAN, PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND NEW YORK CITY'S HIGHER HORIZONS PROJECT. THESE PROJECTS ARE CHARACTERIZED BY (1) THE USE OF SPECIALIZED EDUCATIONAL CONSULTANTS AND SMALLER CLASS SIZE, (2) COMMUNITY AND PARENT INVOLVEMENT, AND (3) THE AVAILIBILITY OF SPECIAL FUNDS. THE ARTICLE ALSO EXAMINES OTHER PROJECTS LIKE NEW YORK CITY'S GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING PROGRAMS FOR DISADVANTAGED YOUTH, CLASSES FOR SPANISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS, THE NEW YORK CITY "SPECIAL SERVICE" SCHOOLS (WHICH INCLUDE ALL HIGHER HORIZON SCHOOLS), AND VARIOUS PROGRAMS TO PREPARE TEACHERS OF DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS. THIS ARTICLE WAS PUBLISHED IN THE "PHI DELTA KAPPAN," VOLUME 45, NUMBER 2, NOVEMBER 1963. (LB)

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Educating Culturally Deprived Youth in Urban Centers

A description of basic elements in attacks now gathering force in the great cities on one of the nation's foremost social problems.

By FREDERICK SHAW

HE number one problem faced by urban teachers today is how to offer culturally deprived youth an education that meets their needs. In 1950, about one child out of ten attending public schools in the nation's fourteen largest cities was culturally disadvantaged. In 1960, the proportion had risen to one of three. Some authorities believe that by 1970 it may be one out of two. These figures underscore the urgency of the problem.

The purpose of this article is to trace the origins of the problem, show how some of the nation's larger school systems are trying to handle it, and

explore the issues involved.

In terms of sheer numbers, American population movements in the middle years of this century dwarf the tribal invasions of the early Middle Ages and the westward surge in American history. During the years 1940 through 1960, for example, more than twenty-six million people were added to the populations of the suburbs of our large cities. The entire country did not contain that many people in 1850.

By 1960, about 62 per cent of all Americans were concentrated in 212 "standard metropolitan areas." Such a region is defined by the Bureau of the Census as "one or more contiguous counties containing at least one central city of over 50,000 population as the core of an economically and socially integrated cluster of people." In more colorful language, these areas have been called a "galaxy of urban solar systems." The combined population of these metropolitan areas now exceeds 10°2 million inhabitants, and almost one-third of the nation now lives in suburban areas.

Suburb and central city, however, have not grown at the same pace. Between 1950 and 1960, the outskirts of our great cities grew by more

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the New York City Board of Education.

than seventeen million, an increase of 47.2 per cent. At the same time, the central cores gained scarcely four million, only 8.2 per cent. Millions have deserted the central areas for the suburbs, seeking attractive homes and surroundings, more play space for children, and lower taxes. Those who left were usually in the above-average income brackets, for they could afford to buy a house and pay commuting costs. The poorer families, of course, were unable to build or purchase homes or rent "garden apartments."

At a result, some of our more affluent suburbs have tended to become homogeneous in economic status and occupation, and sometimes in ethnic background as well. Dan W. Dodson, professor of educational sociology at New York University, has pointed out the consequences of this selectivity. Suburbanites, he declared, lead an "antiseptic" way of life: "nice families, segregated into nice homes, away from the pollution of both industry and the heterogeneous masses of the inner city."

Economic homogeneity can operate most advantageously for a community's educational system, if its affluent citizens are school-minded and willing to tax themselves. Some of the best American school systems today are found in wealthy suburban areas. School districts near New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia have built up top-ranking systems. They have pioneered in teaching methods, school administration, and school architecture. Schools like these are sometimes called "lighthouse schools," because they serve as beacons to guide less favored communities in educational progress.

Who replaces suburban-bound citizens in the core cities? Throughout American history, the chief source of unskilled urban labor has been Europeans. Today, trans-Atlantic immigration has been reduced to a trickle, and the principal new-



comers are natives of the Western hemisphere. Thousands of Puerto Ricans and Negroes from our Southern states have settled in such Northeastern cities as Newark and New York. Southern Negroes and Appalachian whites have migrated to Baltimore, Detroit, Cincinnati, Chicago, and other cities in the Middle West. Mexican-American and reservation Indians have flocked to western cities, such as Oakland, California, and Phoenix, Arizona. Between 1950 and 1960, New York City lost about 1,300,000 middle-class whites, a population greater than that of Cleveland, Ohio. They were replaced by 800,000 Negroes and Puerto Ricans, an underprivileged group larger in size than Washington, D. C. New York's experience in the Fifties was not typical in numbers, but it was characteristic of population shifts other major cities have experienced.

James B. Conant believes that the "very nature of the community determines what goes on in the school." The neighborhoods in which these inmigrants settle are often characterized by bad housing, high population density, and a lack of privacy. Incomes tend to be low and uncertain, and many residents may be on public relief rolls. Most have limited vocational and economic competence and low social and economic expectancy. Not infrequently, the community lacks trained leadership. Crime rates are high and conditions ripe for juvenile delinquency. Cultural resources are minimal. Family patterns are disoriented.

Neighborhoods of this kind have a marked impact on their schools, for the children who live in such areas are poorly prepared and poorly motivated for formal education. Mel Ravitz, professor of sociology at Wayne State University, has explained why the conventional courses taught in urban schools often seem to have little relevance for them:

Many of these children of the depressed areas come from home situations that are deplorable, where the primary need is for the services of a nurse, a dentist, a dietician, where there is abject poverty, where there is much physical overcrowding in poor housing, where many kinds of psychological problems beset members of the family. Often, too, the families are split, with the mother assuming responsibility for both parents. Even if the family is not split, the controls that once applied in the rural setting have been broken in an urban setting that is hostile, uncaring, anonymous, and which has forced the restructuring of the family. The parental images the children now see are images of despair, of frustration, and of enforced idleness. It is absurd, too, for a middle-class teacher to set these children down each day to try to focus their attention on ancient history or on the

multiplication table or on nouns or verbs, when simple good common sense demands a concern with situations and circumstances under which these children live, conditions which they cannot ignore sufficiently to concentrate on what to them are really otherworldly matters.¹

Research studies have consistently shown lower average IQ's among children in such depressed areas than those from more favored homes. Often scores on such tests decline as the children grow older. Here are the median scores in certain disadvantaged districts in New York City: grade one —95; grade three—92; grade six—87; grade eight—82.

Children from low socio-economic areas also tend to fall farther and farther behind their peers in achievement. In one large district in New York, the average child was found to be retarded one year in reading in the third grade, almost two years in the sixth, and two and one-half in the eighth.

These children often have great difficulties in personal adjustment. Delinquency is more concentrated, and destructive aggression more widespread in problem areas; psychoses and completely disabling breakdowns are disproportionately high. One reason is that they receive relatively little of the ego satisfaction, the rewards, and the feeling of belonging that society has to offer. Almost from the very beginning, however, many fail to master the conventional academic curriculum. This lowers their already shaky self-esteem. School dropouts are also highest among children from neighborhoods of this kind, and relatively few get to college.

Basically, these children have the same drives for achievement, recognition, and acceptance as their peers; but deficiencies in early experiences and in motivation, and frequently family and social difficulties as well, weight the odds against academic success. Often their parents work at jobs requiring little education, and the children get the impression that school is not particularly important in preparing them for life. These influences seem to weigh most heavily on the boys. In low socio-economic areas, they consistently score lower on intelligence tests and achievement tests than the girls.

Difficulties like these are further aggravated by the high turnover of newcomers in the schools. Children frequently shift from neighborhood to neighborhood and from school to school, disrupting their own schooling as well as the education of their less-traveled classmates.

¹Mel Ravitz, "The Role of the School in the Urban Setting: Depressed Areas." Paper delivered at Work Conference on Curriculum and Teaching in Depressed Urban Areas, Teachers College, Columbia University, July 2-13, 1962.

In Manhattan, where the pupil population of the elementary schools is higher than 76 per cent Negro and Puerto Rican, the mean mobility rate in a recent year was 51 per cent. In three schools that were almost completely Negro, the turnover was 100 per cent that year.

S OME authorities believe that the whole environment in these slum areas must be imvironment in these slum areas must be improved and that the schools must play a vital role in this endeavor. What they need is more special services, greater efforts to help pupils solve their personal problems, and a boost in their parents' cultural aspirations. This is precisely what the Great Cities Grey Areas School Improvement program and the Higher Horizons program have set out to do. Each will be discussed in turn.

The "great cities" include the fourteen largest public school systems in the country. Ten are now experimenting with the Grey Areas program, assisted by the Ford Foundation. Program aims are to help disadvantaged children in many ways: to raise their school achievement levels, to identify and help able youngsters, to raise the level of their aspirations, to equip them for modern urban life by developing their competencies, to increase parental responsibility, and to mobilize community support in their behalf.

It is worthwhile to focus briefly on the pilot project which began in the public schools of Detroit in 1959. Basic elements in the Detroit project are: 1) The classroom teacher's work is reinforced by assistance from specialized professional workers and smaller class size. 2) The school tries to show parents that education can open new doors to opportunity for their children, particularly if they are convinced this is possible and willingly cooperate. 3) The community is involved in upgrading the education of its children. 4) Additional funds are provided. Each of these elements will be discussed in turn.

1. Reinforcing the teacher's work: The classroom teacher is the kingpin of the educational process. Without effective teaching, no educational endeavor, whether conventional or pioneering, can succeed. That is why the following efforts were made to assist the teacher:

a. Competent consultants in the areas of education, social work, sociology, and psychology gave in-service courses, and local workshops on local school curricular problems were organized.

b. Each school involved in the project added three full-time specialized persons to its staff: a school-community agent, a visiting teacher, and a coaching teacher. The school-community agent

school. He interpreted the school to the community and vice versa. Some community agents worked with block clubs, community councils, or parents' groups. Others took charge of afterschool and evening programs for youth and adults. The visiting teacher was really a social worker. Trained in case work, she handled children and parents of children who had serious school-adjustment problems. The visiting teacher is no stranger to the Detroit schools, but normally serves several schools. In the Great Cities project, however, she was assigned full-time to a single school, thereby enabling teachers to make referrals of children with physical or emotional difficulties more readily. Finally, children with pronounced reading disabilities were referred to a coaching teacher, specially trained in language arts. She worked with small groups of five to fifteen children, helping them overcome reading deficiencies. She also helped train other teachers in this area.

2. Involving parents: It would be a mistake to consider parents in low socio-economic areas hostile to academic training. Many whose origins are rural, however, are indifferent or see relatively little need for it. Those eager to have their children well educated often lack formal schooling themselves and are unable to help.

The Detroit project attempted to involve parents in school activities in order to raise their educational and social aspirations for their children and give parents a better understanding of the educational process. First, free classes in such practical subjects as speech, shorthand, typing, sewing, and millinery were offered. Then refresher classes in reading and arithmetic were organized. This enabled the parents to help their children in school work. Other activities, such as clubs or courses in how to budget, prepare food, repair furniture, and become generally efficient in household tasks and family relations bolstered the parents' self-esteem and raised family aspirations.

3. Community involvement: In addition to organizing activities for parents, the schools included in the pilot project set up comprehensive programs of after-school and evening activities to serve the needs of the community. Some emphasized afternoon enrichment programs for youth; others, evening adult programs. In a sense they became real community schools. In addition, public and private agencies offered the help of their personnel and resources. The Neighborhood Service Organization of Detroit, for example, conducted day camps for fifty-five emotionally disturbed children from project schools during the summer of 1961. The YMCA and YWCA genacted as a liaison officer between community and erously offered the use of their physical facilities

and carried on a variety of programs. The city's public libraries took children to distant libraries in "library caravans" by bus.

4. Special appropriations: The activities described above required more funds than are provided in conventional schools. Generally speaking, the extra cost of the demonstration project did not exceed 10 per cent of the normal costs of schooling in the Detroit schools.

NE of the best known school programs for disadvantaged youth is New York's Higher Horizons project. Like the Detroit project, it began operating in 1959. It originated three years earlier, however, in the Demonstration Guidance project, organized in Harlem's Junior High School No. 43 and George Washington High School, the school to which its graduates are fed. J.H.S. 43's pupil population was 48 per cent Negro, 38 per cent of Puerto Rican background, 2 per cent of other Spanish speaking origin, 1 per cent Oriental, and 11 per cent white. In George Washington High School, 28 per cent of the total student body was Negro and 10 per cent Puerto Rican. The general purpose of the Demonstration Guidance project was to "identify and stimulate able students from a culturally deprived area to reach higher educational and vocational goals." More specifically, it was a pilot program "aimed at raising levels of aspiration and achievement by compensating for limitations stemming from cultural deprivation and motivating pupils to achieve their full potential."

In 1956, Junior High School 43 had 1,400 students in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. Half these pupils, the most promising, were selected for the project. Their mean IQ score was 95. On the average, they were one and one-half years retarded in reading. Some dropped out of school; others entered vocational high schools; still others left the city. The 375 who remained and entered George Washington High School comprised the project students. The students were admitted in 1957, 1958, and 1959, the years they were graduated from J.H.S. 43.

The program of New York's Demonstration Guidance project will be considered under the same four headings as the Detroit project.

1. Reinforcing the teacher's work: Students who were deficient in reading entered special remedial classes of five and six. All teachers, regardless of subject, spent the first ten minutes of class time in reading exercises. In George Washington High School the students were placed in small classes of not more than fifteen. They took English twice a day because they had difficulty with the written and spoken language.

Counseling services were considerably expanded. In place of the usual counselor-pupil ratio of one to 1,400 in the city's junior high schools, the proportion was one to 200 in Junior High School 43, and one to 125 in George Washington High School. In most high schools it is one to 550. This meant almost four and one-half times the usual number of counselors.

At George Washington High School an intensive program of individual counseling was carried on. Each student was interviewed at least twice a year. Some had more than twenty counselor contacts. Counselors uncovered many personal problems, such as the difficulties of the girl whose stepfather kept throwing her books out of the window, or the boy whose mother would not allow him to accept a college scholarship. These clinical services helped children cope with environmental difficulties interfering with school achievement.

A dynamic program of group guidance was also instituted. Its chief purpose was to raise the students' levels of aspiration by impressing on them the fact that they could finish high school, enter college, and get decent jobs. Specific prevocational and vocational training were provided. Counselors also helped children find special services, both inside and outside school, such as remedial mathematics, special clubs, after-school centers, college coaching, and the like. Finally, counselors worked closely with teachers, giving them pertinent and detailed information about the scholastic and personal needs of their charges.

2. Involving parents: Parents who were recent arrivals from the rural South or Puerto Rico often lacked an understanding of the dynamics of urban living or of the specific needs of their children. Many were uninterested in or unaware of the educational and cultural opportunities available to their children. Counselors tried to persuade parents like these to be reasonable in the assignment of home chores, to provide privacy for study, and to encourage good school work. Strenuous efforts were made to give parents faith in their offspring. School personnel spent considerable time in parent interviews, parent meetings, parent workshops, and even trips for parents.

3. Community Involvement. A New York state employment counselor was assigned to the high school to help pupils plan occupational careers and to aid in placement. In addition, counselors from the National Scholarship Service and the Fund for Negro Students visited the senior classes, making positive suggestions for college and giving some scholarship winners special grants.

For the most part, however, the children were brought to the community rather than the other

way around. Trips to museums, libraries, industrial plants, concerts, the ballet, the theater, and colleges were a regular part of the program. One group of pupils spent a weekend at Amherst; another visited the University of Massachusetts, getting firsthand experience with campus life. Each class made a trip to Washington, D. C., where one group conferred with the commissioner of Education himself.

As a result, some students became devotees of the Philharmonic or afficionados of the ballet and the theater. It was no longer considered "square" to attend a symphony concert or "sissy" to carry a paperback book.

4. Special appropriations: The program could not be regarded as inexpensive. The perpupil cost in Junior High School No. 43 was increased by \$100 per annum, in George Washington High School by \$250. This was more than 40 per cent higher than the academic high school expenditure of \$600 per capita.

The Demonstration Guidance project has generated great enthusiasm among educators. Frank Riessman, author of The Culturally Deprived Child, wrote: "There is no question that the program did a splendid job in demonstrating . . . that educationally deprived children can learn."

In 1959, 114 pupils in the project entered George Washington High. Of these, eighty-five, or 74 per cent, remained in school and were graduated in June, 1962, a proportion almost 50 per cent higher than pre-project students from Junior High School 43. Before the project began, the highest rank of any student from Junior High School 43 in his Washington High graduating class was forty-one. But in the class of June, 1962, project students obtained ranks two, four, and nine. Students in the 1960 project class were one, four, and six. Out of the eighty-five project students graduating in 1962, fifty-one went on to some form of higher education, almost three times the pre-project number. Fourteen obtained scholarships and attended such institutions as Dartmouth, Radcliffe, New York University, the University of Maine, and Western College for Wom-

The success of this pilot project led to its expansion in a less intense form. The Higher Horizons program, as it is now called, served 25,000 pupils in fifty-two elementary schools and thirteen junior high schools during the 1961-1962 school year. Unlike the Demonstration Guidance project, it included all grades from three through nine. It also served all pupils in project schools, whatever their academic potential. Costs were reduced to \$35 per pupil, partly because of experiences gained in the pilot project. Instead of one counselor to 200 pupils, for example, the ratio became one to 385. The results of this extended program are now being appraised by the school system's Bureau of Educational Research. In 1962 it was extended to eleven high schools, largely schools fed by Higher Horizons junior high schools.

John H. Fischer, formerly superintendent of schools in Baltimore and now president of Teachers College, Columbia, has suggested that culturally deprived children be given "compensatory educational opportunities" to help them overcome their initial cultural deficiencies. In essence, this is what both the Great Cities School Improvement program and the Higher Horizons program

are trying to provide.

The Demonstration Guidance program did not come in a bargain basement package. "Some boards of education and some superintendents seem to think that all you need for a Higher Horizons program is hope, faith, and a little retooling," Jacob Landers, coordinator of New York's program, once declared. "The fact of the matter is that compensatory inequality of education is an expensive theory." Indeed, it costs more to raise a disadvantaged child from a slum area to a given standard of educational achievement than the typical child living in a more favored suburb. Unfortunately, the central cities in which the majority of disadvantaged pupils are found are usually financially hard pressed. Their more affluent suburbs, however, often have greater tax resources to support their school systems.

In recent years, New York's public schools have endeavored to fulfill the needs of disadvantaged children in many other ways. A few are

outlined briefly below.

1. "Special Service" Schools. All school systems have favored schools and problem schools. In New York, the latter are called "special service" schools because they get extra help. The criteria for classifying these schools are based on their pupils' IQ's (a guide to their potential), their reading age (an index of achievement), the number of pupils receiving free lunch (an indicator of socio-economic status), pupil mobility (a clue to administrative and instructional complications), the number of non-English-speaking pupils (a signal of special reading difficulties), and the per cent of teachers on permanent tenure (inverted, a warning of personnel difficulties). In 1962, 201 out of the city's 584 elementary schools, or 34 per cent, were classified as "special service" schools. (In 1956, only forty-three out of 592 elementary schools, or 7 per cent, were in this category.) These schools get priorities in the appointment of regular teachers and the assignment of guidance counselors. Class size is appreciably

smaller than in the more favored schools and they are served by an expanded program of remedial reading to upgrade their pupils' reading skills. Some schools have special "teacher-training" consultants to help newly appointed teachers. All schools in the Higher Horizons program are in the "special service" category, but not all "special service" schools are in the Higher Horizons program.

2. The Early Identification and Prevention Program. This program is based on the familiar adage, "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." If children who show evidence of maladjustment can be helped in the early grades, their problems can be overcome more readily or minimized later in life. Under this program, teams of guidance counselors, social workers, and psychologists try to find children in the first three grades with potential physical, learning, emotional, or behavioral problems and refer them to remedial classes, clinical services, family agency services, health services, and the like. Talented or gifted children are also identified, but they are distinctly in a minority. Any child can be maladjusted, but the incidence is highest in problem areas. Indeed, a number of "E.I.P." schools, as those serviced by the program are called, are also Higher Horizons schools.

3. Junior Guidance Classes. This is a two-year pilot program being conducted in a small number of elementary schools, in which emotionally and socially disturbed children are handled by special teachers, with the help of counselors and clinical psychologists. In many instances pupil behavior patterns reflect disturbed homes. Research has indicated that emotional instability cuts across class lines, but is more widespread in low socioeconomic areas than in privileged homes.

4. Programs for Non-English-Speaking Children. New York, traditionally the nation's melting pot, has assimilated millions of foreigners. Today, the principal foreign tongue is Spanish, spoken chiefly by Puerto Ricans. From 1953 to 1957, a "Puerto Rican Study" developed test techniques, teaching methods, and instructional materials for teaching English to Puerto Ricans. The school program for these children is based on this study. Recent arrivals may be placed in so-called "C" classes, where they remain up to a year. Non-English coordinators and substitute auxiliary teachers are assigned to schools with many non-English-speaking pupils to work with teachers, interview new arrivals, follow up pupils when they are placed in regular classes, and improve cooperation between school and community.

5. Career Guidance and Potential Dropouts. Other programs handle potential dropouts. The

children most likely to leave school are those who are unsuccessful in their studies. Many are intellectual, emotional, or social misfits. The Career Guidance program attempts to salvage junior high pupils of this kind. The work is carried or largely by extra guidance counselors and corrective reading teachers whose services supplement the work of the regular class teacher. This project, which is carried on in "special service" schools, has shown that pupils who are apt to drop out of school because of limited academic success may be dissuaded by specially designed programs of pre-vocational education and effective guidance.

WHEN James B. Conant visited slum schools in big cities, he found teachers and administrators struggling against "appalling odds." These schools are too difficult and the rewards too small for many teachers. As a result, the need for teachers in such schools tends to outrun the supply.

Measures have been taken to help the teachers in these schools. Alertness courses, some partly on open-circuit TV, have trained teachers in such areas as the techniques of teaching reading. Specially trained coordinators recently conducted a training program for teachers of non-English-speaking children. Finally, teacher assistants have taken over some of the teachers' burdens. Volunteers provided by the Public Education Association have assisted classroom teachers for several years. A key part of this experiment has been helping pupils improve their reading and giving special assistance to the non-English-speaking child.

Some teacher preparatory institutions have attempted to inculcate future teachers with the idealism of the Peace Corps. Hunter College, a municipally supported institution in New York, has been developing a promising program of training teachers to staff multi-problem schools. Student volunteers are assigned to a particular school in a depressed neighborhood, usually in Harlem. They familiarize themselves not only with the schools but with the community as well. They visit Negro homes, read Negro newspapers, confer with community leaders, talk with local ministers, and inspect local housing projects, hospitals, and police stations. They observe teachers for two weeks before they gradually "break in" to a regular classroom assignment. More thorough than most pupilteacher courses, this program includes mutual exchanges of experiences among student-teachers, periodic conferences with key personnel in the school, and intensive guidance by the Hunter College tenenar preparatory stail. Comprehensive preparation of this kind helps ready them for later service in schools in depressed areas. It enables them to face their tasks with realism and understanding instead of shock and frustration.

The "Bridge Project," conducted at Quoons College, another college-level municipal institution, is a demonstration project established to discover now teachers can be prepared to help sium children learn. (Bridge stands for "Building Resources of Instruction for Disadvantaged Groups in Education.") Its approach is manysided. Three recent graduates of the teacher-training program, for example, will teach the same classes in a Negro neighborhood continuously for the entire three years of junior high school. Secondiy, an experiment in supervision centers about a "coordinating teacher," who will suggest possible improvements in teacher preparation and supervision in schools of this kind. Finally, new teaching techniques and a modified organization of subject matter are being tried out.

how to teach disadvantaged children. The college experiments and demonstration projects described above are hopeful signs. Intelligent efforts are being made to prepare teachers to handle assignments of this kind with confidence and skill.

In the past, one of the principal tasks of the American public schools has been to assimilate and Americanize the European immigrant and to

Today it is to educate millions of newcomers in the slums of our big cities. The preservation of our democratic way of life, the demands of our economy, and the mental health of our people all require that we learn how to educate their children effectively. Thomas Jesseson hoped this nation would remain agricultural, because he distrusted city mobs. If millions of newcomers in our sig cities are alienated because they are inadequately prepared to cope with the dynamics of urban living, Jesseson's prophecy may be partly realized.

Again, this country has been shifting to occupations that require more skill. With automation already on the horizon, the demand for unskilled labor is inevitably declining and the need for trained workers is rising. This suggests that we must look to the culturally deprived to fill shortages of skilled manpower. Otherwise, declares Conant in an oft-quoted remark, we are "allowing social dynamite to accumulate in our large cities." More than half the youth in some slum neighborhoods, he discovered, were unemployed.

Finally, we must offer these children the best opportunities to develop a wholesome respect for themselves and society. Failure to do so will inevitably produce heavy costs, in the form of police protection, courts, jails, and mental institutions. It will surely be less expensive, in the long run, to organize schools which can meet the needs of disadvantaged youth.

"1) Avoid fried meats, which angry up the blood.
2) If your stomach disputes you, lie down and pacify it with cool thoughts. 3) Keep the juices flowing by jangling around gently as you move. 4) Go lightly on the vices such as carrying on in society. The social ramble ain't restful. 5) Avoid running at all times. 6) Don't look back. Something might be gaining on you."

-Sarchell Paige

"The more ideals a man has, the more contemptible is he if the matter ends there, and if there is no courage shown, no privations undergone, no scars contracted in the attempt to get them realized."

—William James

"A sociologist never cuts anything in half or even divides it like a layman. He dichotomizes it, bifurcates it, subjects it to a process of binary fission, or restructures it in a dyadic conformation . . . around polar foci."

—Charles E. Rollins, President Edison Junior College, Florida "Americans need to be warned about words and ideas which look much alike, but have different affects. For example, Americans often confuse size with importance, speed with progress, money with wealth, authority with wisdom, religion with theology, excitement with pleasure, and enthusiasm with hollering."

—Carter Davidson President, Union College

"The denunciation of the young is a necessary part of the hygiene of older people; it greatly assists in the circulation of the blood."

-Logan Pearsall Smith

Thoughts of a teacher facing his pupils:

1. It is the teachers that will be tout.

2. Nothing succeeds like recess.

- 3. When he teaches punctuation, many of his students go into a coma; others are sensitive to the colon.
 - 4. At the end of the day, his grief case is full.

 —Saturday Review

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The PHI DELTA KAPPAN solicits and publishes articles designed to advance thinking in the fields of educational research, service, and leadership. The point of view expressed in an article may support or oppose positions taken by Phi Delta Kappa as an organization.

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