DOCUMENT RESUME

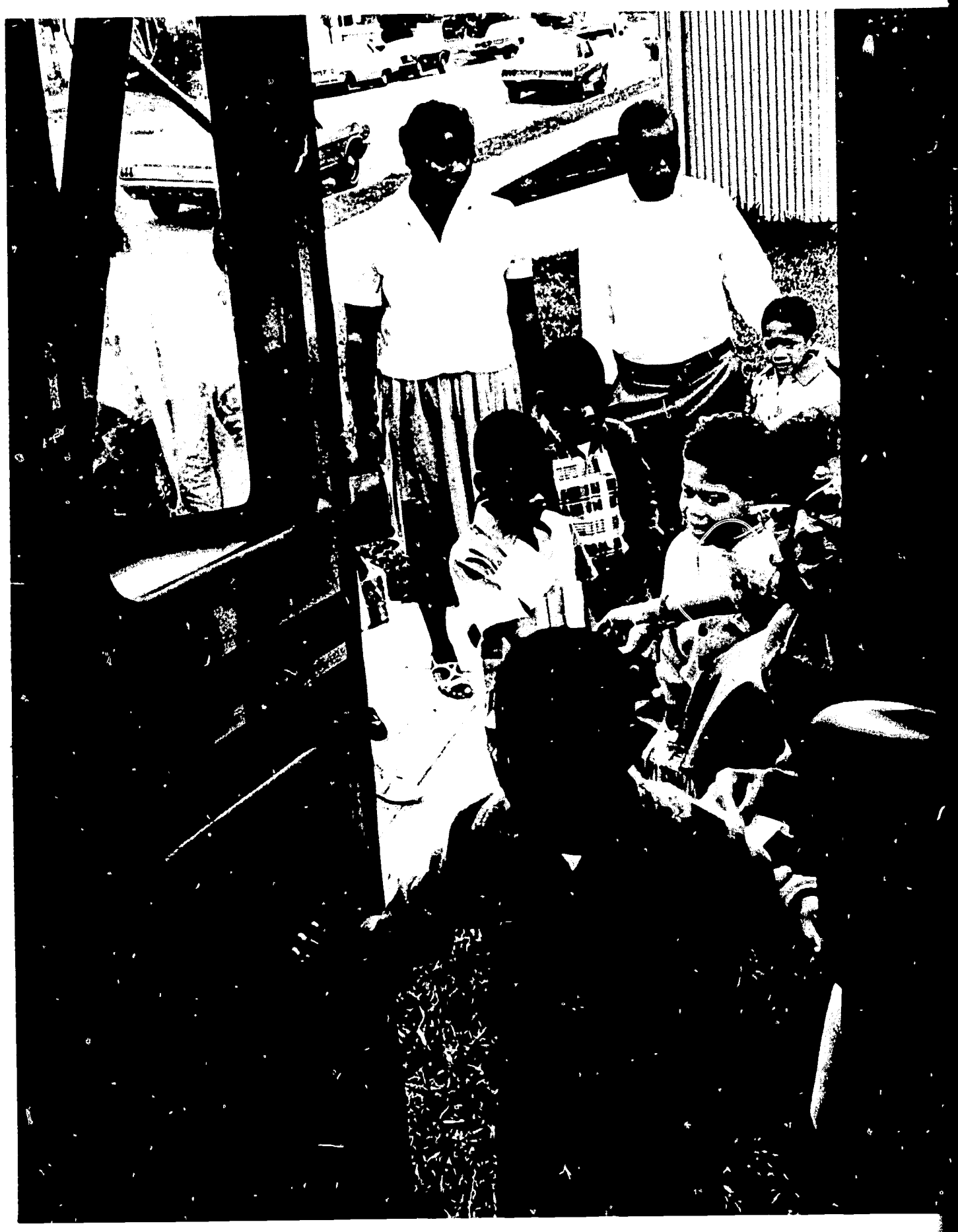
ED 025 576 UD 007 669

Southern Education Report, Volume 4, Number 4, November 1968.
Southern Education Reporting Service, Nashville, Tenn.
Pub Date Nov 68
Note- 35p.
EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$1.85
Descriptors- Bus Transportation, College Preparation, *Compensatory Education Programs, *Disadvantaged Youth, Dropouts, *Education, Educational Finance, Educational Improvement, Federal Programs, *Negro Students, *Program Evaluation, School Integration, School Segregation, Southern Schools, Talent Development
Identifiers- California, ESEA Title I Programs, Georgia, Hancock County, Maryland, San Mateo

In this issue two of the articles are devoted to criticisms of compensatory education as an educational approach. Doxey A. Wilkerson feels that "make up" efforts "do not serve to realize that academic potential" of poverty children. Roger A. Freeman states that the recent enormous economic investment in educational improvement has not yielded a commensurate improvement in "output," because there is a fixed human potential for intellectual development. Other articles deal with dropouts, busing and desegregation, a college readiness program in San Mateo, California, a Negro school district in Georgia, and a new reading method used in Maryland. (NH)

NOVEMBER 1968

SOUTHERN EDUCATION REPORT



Busing: A Widely Debated Means of Desegregating The Public Schools

•

Dr. Doxey A. Wilkerson Sees Some Serious Failings In Compensatory Education

MEMO . . .

Early this year, Southern Education Reporting Service made a survey of predominantly white four-year colleges and universities, in co-operation with the Southern Education Foundation, to learn what some of them were doing for "high risk" students.

John Egerton, staff writer for SOUTHERN EDUCATION REPORT, described such students as being those from minority groups, with low incomes, and lacking "the credentials—but not the qualities—to succeed in college." His findings appeared in our March and April issues and, in more detail, in a booklet, *Higher Education for "High Risk" Students*, published by the foundation.

The Egerton report has been reprinted, excerpted and discussed in numerous publications, including *The New York Times*, the *Milwaukee Journal*, and newsletters and periodicals of education associations, including the bulletin of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, the newsletter of the American Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, and *Higher Education and National Affairs*, a bulletin of the American Council on Education.

U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II used the information in a speech, "Higher Education's Strange Paradox," before the 54th annual meeting of the American Association of University Professors. It was discussed in several speeches at the Conference on Higher Education for Disadvantaged Youth in Washington.

What Egerton reported has been used as a resource for planning higher education programs in New Jersey and Tennessee. It continues to be discussed at uncountable conferences, seminars and other meetings.

The demand for the information continues. John A. Griffin, executive director of the Southern Education Foundation, reported that 8,000 copies of the booklet had been distributed as of mid-October, and that it was in its third printing. Single copies are free of charge; quantities are available at 50 cents a copy. The foundation's address is 811 Cypress St., Atlanta, Ga. 30308.

EDPRESS

EDUCATIONAL PRESS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

SOUTHERN EDUCATION REPORT is the official publication of the Southern Education Reporting Service, an objective, fact-finding agency established by Southern newspaper editors and educators with the aim of providing accurate, unbiased information on developments in education, with emphasis on programs for the education of the culturally disadvantaged in the 17 Southern and border states and the District of Columbia. SERS is not an advocate, but simply reports the facts as it finds them.

Published 10 times a year, including July-August and January-February issues, by Southern Education Reporting Service at 1109 Nineteenth Ave., South, Nashville, Tenn.

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

VOLUME 4 • NUMBER 4
NOVEMBER 1968

SOUTHERN EDUCATION REPORT

PICTURE CREDITS

Page 2—Werner Wolff from Black Star. Pages 13-15—Frank Jones. Pages 17, 19—Russell Ray. Pages 21, 23—College of San Mateo. Pages 25, 27-29—Eberhardt Studio. Pages 30, 31, 33 (top)—Baltimore News American. Page 33 (lower)—James Kelmartin.

The editors of Southern Education Report welcome articles or outlines of articles for publication. Manuscripts should be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

One year (10 issues), $3; two years (20 issues), $5.50.

Groups: five or more copies to different addressees, $2.50 each per year; five or more copies to one addressee, $2.25 each per year.

Add 75 cents per year to above rates for orders to be sent outside the United States.

Single copies, any issue, 50 cents each. Ten or more copies, any one issue, to one addressee, 40 cents each.

Southern Education Report is the successor to Southern School News, which was discontinued with the issue of June, 1965. Back-numbers of Southern School News, any available issue, 20 cents each.

MAILING ADDRESS
P.O. Box 6156, Nashville, Tenn. 37212

By Doxey A. Wilkerson

Youngsters Benefit, But Academic Gains Appear to be Scant

Dr. Doxey A. Wilkerson has just become chairman of the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at Ferkauf Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Yeshiva University, New York City. Formerly a senior research associate in the department, he has written articles for such publications as the Journal of Negro Education and the Journal of Intergroup Relations. He is co-author with Edmund W. Gordon, whom he succeeded as department chairman, of a book, Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged.

SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL programs designed to improve the academic performance of "disadvantaged children" have proliferated during the 1960s, and much continues to be written on the theory and practice of education for "these children." These programs are generally called "compensatory education" because they seek to *make up for* presumed deficits in the preschool socialization of the learners. The targets are the children of the poor—mainly Negro children in the urban ghetto, but also children of impoverished Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, Indian and Caucasian families in both urban and rural areas.

Programs of compensatory education vary in nature and scope; they are addressed to young people on all educational levels, from preschool to college. Many of these programs apparently are ineffective; they are failing to make much of a difference in the substandard academic achievement among the children of the poor. Is there any way to make them more effective?

Professional workers in compensatory education programs tend to be quite enthusiastic about their achievements with disadvantaged children, and no doubt many youngsters have been helped a great deal. But objective and systematic appraisals produce scant evidence of general improvement in academic performance.

Three years ago, this writer analyzed 10 investigations that had been made of compensatory programs and practices [*Review of Educational Research*, December, 1965]. These include evaluations of three comprehensive programs: New York City's pioneer Demonstration Guidance Project, its subsequent Higher Horizons program, and Philadelphia's Great Cities School Improvement Program. Included also were a reading-improvement program for migrant children in Texas; two experiments using multiracial reading materials, one in Detroit and the other in San Diego; two preschool programs, in Baltimore and in Ypsilanti, Mich., and two dropout-prevention programs, in Southern California and St. Louis.

For the most part, the findings were negative, ambiguous or contradictory. The preschool studies consistently revealed pronounced early spurts in intellectual and language development, but there was no clear-cut evidence that the compensatory programs made any substantial difference in the educational growth of disadvantaged children.

Most other studies of preschool compensatory programs have reported positive results, but it seems that such early gains tend to disappear when the youngsters enter kindergarten and first-grade classes. One of several studies which found this to be true compared children who participated in a Head Start program during the summer of 1965 with their classmates in kindergarten six months later. This study, by Max Wolff and Annie Stein, concluded that, overall, the children from the Head Start program still showed "greater readiness" than did their classmates, but that "no educational gains" were evident.

Nearly two years ago the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights undertook to compare the academic achievement of Negro children in segregated schools where there were substantial programs of compensatory education with that of children from similar backgrounds attending desegregated schools without compensatory education. Four large-scale compensatory programs were used for this analysis—in Syracuse, N. Y.; Berkeley, Calif.; Seattle, Wash., and Philadelphia, Pa. The commission found that "Negro children attending desegregated schools that do not have compensatory education programs perform better than Negro children in racially isolated schools with such programs."

Evaluations of the billion-dollar ESEA Title I program on local, state and national levels were analyzed recently, covering the 1966-67 school year. Title I analysts found very modest evidence of academic gains. It was apparent that many youngsters had quit losing ground, but that they were not catching up.

The second annual report of Title I said that youngsters who previously lost ground each month were improving, "sometimes gaining a full month of learning for every month spent in the classroom." The report added:

> Reading-test data from a sampling of the States indicate that Title I youngsters are attaining higher levels of achievement according to national testing norms. The drop-out rate in Title I schools has decreased. . . .

But then the report said:

> Despite these hopeful signs, however, the Title I child is still far behind the average student. As many as 60 per cent of the Title I youngsters in some districts fall in the lowest quarter on reading scores; they have higher absentee rates than other children; substantially fewer continue their education beyond high school, and of those who do a disproportionate number go into trade or business schools rather than into college.

New York City's More Effective Schools program calls for small classes, heterogeneous grouping, four teachers for every three classes, much supporting personnel and other costly features in 21 schools. An evaluation of MES by David J. Fox last year, published by the Center for Urban Education, concluded:

> . . . the MES program has made no significant difference in the functioning of the children, whether this was measured by observers rating what children did in class, or how they do it, or whether it was measured by children's ability in mathematics or reading on standardized tests. . . . Children tested in the fourth and fifth grade after three years of MES, were further behind the standards of normal progress than when they began the program, and children tested in the sixth grade were no better off.

This finding was contradicted within a few months by a more careful study made by George Forlano and Jack Abramson for the New York school system's Bureau of Educational Research, using a "rigorous longitudinal approach" and control schools in all comparisons. Forlano and Abramson reported that the MES schools "as a group were more effective than the control schools in (1) reducing the reading retardation of their pupils and (2) in producing larger per cents of pupils who reached and surpassed the norm from initial to final test times during the 1.6 school year period."

Even here, however, the average improvement in grade score of MES pupils over control pupils was modest—"slightly more than .3 of a school year at the third grade, .1 of a school year at the fourth grade, almost .3 of a school year at the fifth grade and .2 of a school year at the sixth grade." The average achievement levels in both groups of schools were below norm.

The $30-million Upward Bound program—soon to be transferred from the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity to the U.S. Office of Education—reports outstanding success in promoting college attendance by disadvantaged high-school youth. The director of Education Associates, Inc., Robert E. Christin, said in a paper delivered in September that (1) 80.5 per cent of 1,277 high-school seniors in Upward Bound's 1965 pilot program were admitted to four-year colleges, and that 76.9 per cent of those admitted are now in their senior year; (2) of 1,275 high-school graduates from the 1966 program, 82.1 per cent entered four-year colleges and 82.4 per cent of those 1,046 are still there; (3) 79.5 per cent of 4,855 graduates from the 1967 program went on to college, and 92 per cent of those who entered are now sophomores.

Christin told the Association of College Admissions Counselors that "these Upward Bound 'alumni' are attending some 800 institutions of higher education.

Their admissions and retention rates are considerably above national averages. Only 16 per cent of them are on academic probation, as compared with the national average of 20 per cent."

Thus, the most promising outcomes of compensatory education programs appear to be at the preschool level, before children enter the regular grades, and in the transition from high school to college, after several years of intervention on the secondary level by colleges and other institutions. This finding may throw some light on why most programs of compensatory education within the traditional school framework are failing to close the academic gap between the children of the poor and the more advantaged young people.

Some people may assume that the children of the poor—especially Negro children in the ghetto—are "poorly endowed by nature," and that it is futile to try to raise their academic achievement to national norms. There are those who believe such children should be offered "part-time classroom instruction tied in with apprenticeship training by potential employers." This is done in Europe.

This, in essence, is the position of Roger Freeman, a senior staff member of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. Freeman's basic premise is that human beings are born with a fixed potential for intellectual development. He wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* last July that psychological tests "permit us to determine with a high degree of accuracy and reliability the innate capacity of children." *[See article on Page 10.]*

But most reputable behavioral scientists long ago abandoned these ideas. They now take an interactionist view of the development of human function; they believe that the decisive influence is a person's encounters with his environment. Freeman's educational program would effectively perpetuate the inequities that our social system now imposes on the impoverished.

In contrast to the Freeman position is the hypothesis that the "native endowment" of poverty children is the same as that of children from any other social class; that their academic retardation goes with inappropriate learning experiences, and that the school has the responsibility to provide these and all other children the opportunity to realize their theoretically unlimited potential. This premise is consistent with modern behavioral-science theory, and following it through educationally goes along with the democratic ethos we profess.

Milton Schwebel's new book, *Who Can Be Educated?* documents the fact that we cannot yet cope with the learning problems of the tiny proportion of people who have brain and other neurological defects. But, he says, "for all the rest of our children, there is no known reason to believe that they will be unable to do the work of an academic high school and of a college."

Schwebel asks: "Who can be educated?" His answer: *"Everyman."*

Few educators today would contend that children of the ghetto are "born short" in capacity to learn—not out loud, that is. Still, there are abundant indications that the profession's long-standing reliance on IQs has not yet been fully dissipated. This fact probably is related to the academic retardation so prevalent in ghetto schools.

It is in the context of what Kenneth B. Clark calls "The Cult of 'Cultural Deprivation,'" however, that doubt about the educability of impoverished young people is most frequently found among educators today. The literature of the 1960s on "the education of disadvantaged children" makes it abundantly evident that such doubt goes along with the prevailing theoretical stance of compensatory education.

It is commonly held that the substandard academic performance usually found among disadvantaged children is mainly—if not wholly—a function of negative influences in the environment where they were nurtured. It is said that because of poverty and discrimination, most of these children enter school with retarded language development, distorted self-concept, low academic motivation, and seriously limited experiential background. These and other socially-induced "deficits" are assumed to account for the high incidence of school failures and dropouts among children of the ghetto.

No doubt, a large proportion of the children from the ghetto do enter school less advanced educationally than more privileged children. Although growing up in poverty and discrimination rarely facilitates academic achievement, there is no clear evidence that such preschool experiences make normal educational development impossible. There is considerable evidence that disadvantaged children do indeed learn effectively when given appropriate learning experiences.

The prevailing theoretical posture of compensatory education is essentially defeatist. The more-of-the-same practice which predominates in the field is hardly conducive to realizing the potential of children from the ghetto.

In the first place, we tend to think of "these children" in stereotypic terms ("culturally deprived," "socially disadvantaged," etc.), as if they came from a common mold. This negates the educationally important fact that the children of the poor, like all children, are wondrously varied individuals—in academic ability, self-concept, aspiration, motivation and probable future.

Second, we assume that children from the ghetto have been so scarred by their early experiences in home and community that whatever potential they once had for effective learning has been almost—if not quite—irreparably damaged. We really do not expect them to learn.

Third, we confront them—often in intensified "compensatory" doses—with prepackaged academic tasks conceived in the light of children from more advantaged backgrounds; and when they fail, we find

confirmation of our prior judgment that "these children" lack the background of experience for normal cognitive development.

Fourth, we operate on the assumption that prevailing school practice is sound, and that if children from the ghetto do not "fit" into our programs—compensatory or conventional—the fault is theirs, not the school's. This defensive stance militates against our undertaking the thorough reorganization of educational programs that is essential to make schools serve the needs of the disadvantaged.

In short, considerable study and observation suggest that prevailing ideas and practices in compensatory education add up to a formula that just about guarantees the failure of our schools to educate the children of the poor.

In an experiment on the West Coast reported by Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson in their book, *Pygmalion in the Classroom*, teachers were misled to believe that some new tests had been conducted which suggested that certain children in their classes should be expected to show spurts of academic achievement during the year. There was no such evidence, and nothing more was said about it. The teachers went about their work as usual, with no suggestion that anything special be done with the children designated as incipient "bloomers." Yet, tests at the end of the year revealed that these children did, indeed, show dramatic spurts in achievement. Apparently the only explanation for this development is that the teachers were led, through deception, to *expect* the children to show rapid gains.

In the light of these findings, Rosenthal and Jacobson comment that one reason a disadvantaged child "does poorly in school is because that is what is expected of him. In other words his shortcomings may originate not in his different ethnic, cultural and economic background but in his teachers' response to that background." They suggest this as one basis for evaluating any proposed change in an educational program: Is it "more effective (and cheaper) than the simple expedient of trying to change the expectations of the teacher?" In an article in *Scientific American* [April, 1968], they note: "Most educational innovations cost more in both time and money than inducing teachers to expect more of 'disadvantaged' children."

This general frame of reference may help to explain why the preschool and Upward Bound programs appear to yield better results than most other programs of compensatory education. Perhaps they are less subject than regular school-based programs to the negative expectations and sterile practices that tend to prevail in ghetto schools.

The rapid development of compensatory education during the 1960s came largely as an off-target response to the "school integration" demands of the civil rights movement. Most public-school systems found it politically more feasible to develop special programs of school improvement in the ghetto than to integrate their schools. Thus, programs of compensatory education are conducted almost exclusively in segregated schools, mainly in the Negro ghetto.

Most Negro children attend segregated schools, North and South, and almost universally the academic levels of these schools—with or without compensatory education—are substantially below those of white schools in the same communities. This difference probably is inherent in segregated Negro education.

Given the racist values which prevail in our culture, the segregation of Negro children in separate schools, whether by law or by custom, is an act of rejection. It implies that they are inferior human beings. Their separate schools are defined by the community as inferior institutions, and the definition is reinforced by the segregated structure of the larger society.

This social definition of the separate Negro school as inferior is well understood by pupils and parents, teachers and principals, and the school officials. Subtly, it pervades the whole life of the school, its

community relationships, its aspirations, expectations and academic performance. It is unlikely in our society that any segregated Negro school can wholly avoid these negative influences.

This generally accepted social definition of the segregated Negro school and the behavior that goes with it probably account in large measure for the finding of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights that Negro children attending desegregated schools without compensatory education tend to perform better than similar children attending segregated schools with special compensatory programs. The commission concluded in its report, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools,* that "compensatory education programs have been of limited effectiveness because they have attempted to solve problems that stem, in large part, from racial and social class isolation in schools which themselves are isolated by race and social class."

Part of the reason why segregated schools fail is that pupils from a disadvantaged subculture, isolated from more advantaged students, are reinforced in whatever negative characteristics of behavior they may have developed. The school provides few peer "models" of more desirable patterns of academic behavior. This inference is buttressed by the report of James S. Coleman and others, *Equality of Educational Opportunity,* based on a federally sponsored national survey of minority-group education published in 1966.

The Coleman Report found that "a pupil's achievement is strongly related to the educational backgrounds and aspirations of other students in the school" and that "if a minority pupil from a home without much educational strength is put with schoolmates with strong educational backgrounds, his educational achievement is likely to increase."

Moreover, the characteristics of pupils' peers seem to be more decisive in shaping their academic behavior than anything else about the school. In the words of the Coleman Report: "Attributes of other students account for far more variation in the achievement of minority-group children than do any attributes of school facilities and slightly more than do attributes of staff."

There is no question that segregated Negro schools, almost all of which now function on substandard achievement levels, can be substantially improved—and they should be. It is improbable, however, that these schools ever can provide truly effective education for the masses of Negro children, or even attain

the more limited goal of "equality of educational opportunity."

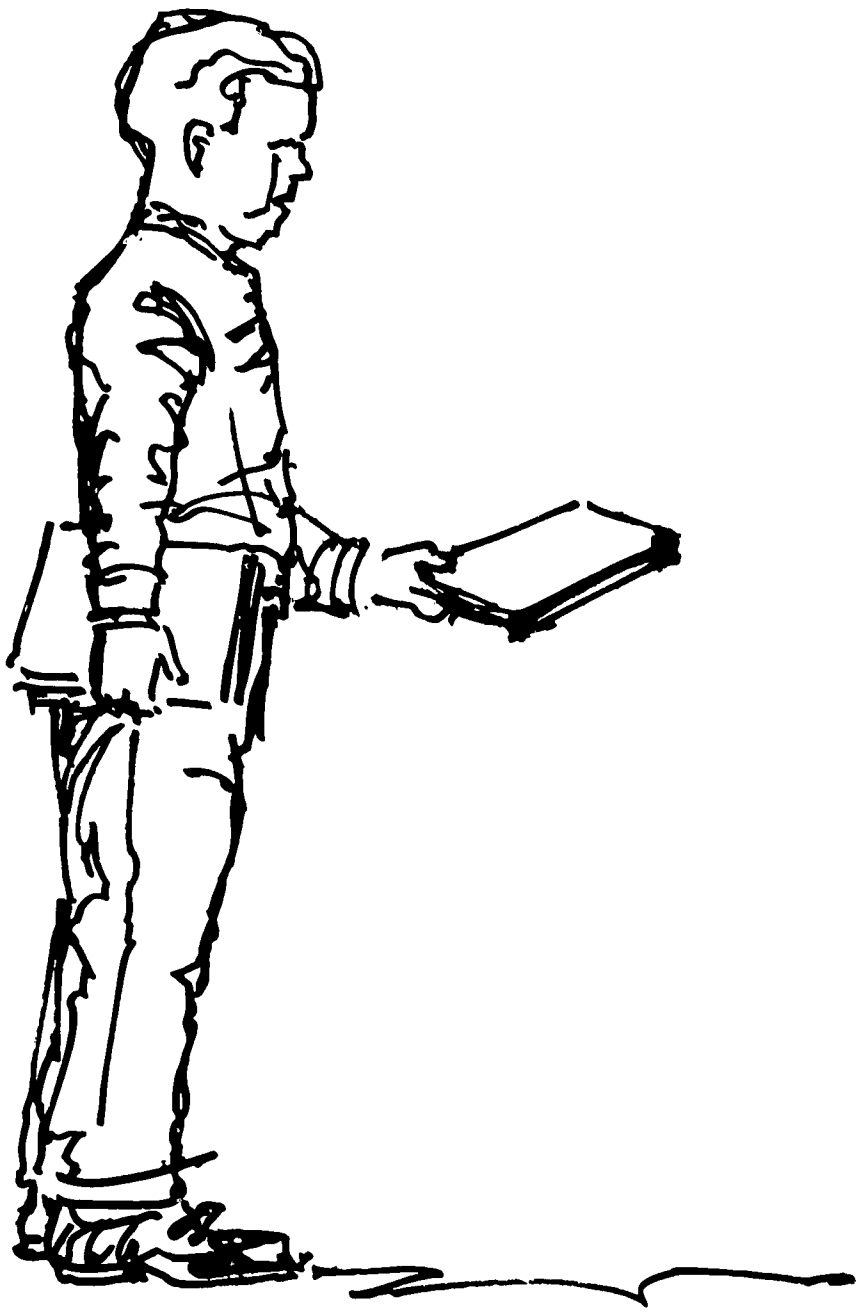
The "school integration" demand of the civil rights movement in the early 1960s was probably more valid than the kind of compensatory education with which our school systems responded. Probably the best program would be to offer "compensatory" services to all children who need them in schools that are integrated by social class and race.

Frustrated in the attempt to achieve school integration, important segments of the Negro people in large cities have raised a demand for local control of their schools. They want substantial authority over policy, program, personnel and budget for schools in a given neighborhood to be transferred from the citywide board of education to a local board elected by the people. This movement for decentralization is most advanced in New York City—as was dramatized by the teacher-supervisor strike this fall—but it is emerging in other large cities of the North, and is certain to grow. "Local control" probably offers an approach to better education for the urban ghetto children.

It is recognized more and more that the vast educational bureaucracies now running the schools in big cities tend to stifle initiative and innovation and to relieve the schools of accountability. This fosters the perpetuation of sterile educational practices and alienates the schools from the people they serve. These negative effects are nowhere more pronounced than in the Negro ghettos of large urban communities.

It is almost axiomatic that in order to develop an effective educational program, the school must win the support and co-operation of the home. Yet, this relationship rarely exists in the urban ghetto. In those areas, a gulf of suspicion, and often hostility, commonly separates school personnel from the people of the community.

Decentralizing the schools of big cities probably would make it easier to bridge this gulf. If local boards are given important decision-making powers, the people in the area are likely to begin considering the schools "theirs." Needed innovations in educational program can be introduced without running the gamut of bureaucratic red-tape. District superintendents and principals and teachers, appointed by and accountable to the local board, will probably



develop a new and more wholesome relationship with the community, and thereby win its increasing cooperation and support. As emphasized by the so-called "Bundy Report" [*Reconnection for Learning*]:

> Precisely because special problems do exist in teaching the children of the modern cities, the parents should be more closely engaged in the process. We see this sharing of responsibility as part of a fundamental redirection of the process of education, designed to make education more relevant to the student, to bring it closer to his feelings and concerns, and to connect all members of the school community with one another.

Decentralization *per se* will not solve the problems of schools serving the urban poor, but it will create a structure in which solutions can be approached more fruitfully than in the vast, impersonal, clogged administrative apparatus that now prevails. Even compensatory education in segregated schools might begin to show a spark of vitality.

It is clear that, with notable exceptions, current programs of compensatory education do not serve to realize the academic potential of the children of the poor, and that the development of appropriate programs will require many big changes in prevailing practice. Suffice it here to mention only a few.

- First, teachers and supervisors must come to understand—and really believe—that impoverished children, given appropriate learning experiences, can indeed learn effectively.
- Second, professional staffs will have to achieve genuine rapport with the parents and local communities they serve.
- Third, schools must develop curricular content and experiences that are truly relevant to the lives of the disadvantaged learners involved. Fantini and Weinstein's excellent new book, *The Disadvantaged: Challenge to Education*, calls this the "contact curriculum."
- Fourth, prevailing lock-step, recitation teaching methods must be supplanted by individualized and small-group approaches which are based on diagnosis of pupils' varying needs.

All of this, of course, calls for massive re-education of professional staff. It calls for vastly more money than is now being spent for public education. And, more fundamentally, it calls for democratic movement toward a redistribution of social power that will place the education of the poor much higher than it now is on our nation's list of priorities. ○

SOME RELATED READING

Edmund W. Gordon and Doxey A. Wilkerson, *Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged*, New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1966, 299 pp.

Brief summary in pamphlet, *Educating the Children of the Poor*, Washington: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, NEA, 1968, 41 pp.

Doxey A. Wilkerson, "Programs and Practices in Compensatory Education for Disadvantaged Children," *Review of Educational Research*, 35:426-440, December, 1965.

Max Wolff and Annie Stein, *Six Months Later*, New York: Ferkauf Graduate School of Education, Yeshiva University, 1966, 83 pp. (mimeograph). P. 83.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967, 276 pp. Pp. 128-141, 205.

Title I/Year II. The Second Annual Report of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, School Year 1966-67, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1968, 131 pp. P. 7.

David J. Fox, "Expansion of the More Effective School Program," New York: The Center for Urban Education, September, 1967, 124 pp. plus appendix (mimeograph). P. 121.

George Forlano and Jack Abramson, "Measuring Pupil Growth in Reading in the More Effective Schools," Bureau of Educational Research, Board of Education of the City of New York, April, 1968, 34 pp. (mimeograph). P. 33.

Jean Piaget, *The Origins of Intelligence in Children*, New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1963, 419 pp.

J. McV. Hunt, *Intelligence and Experience*, New York: Ronald Press Co., Inc., 1961, 416 pp.

Milton Schwebel, *Who Can Be Educated?* New York: Grove Press, Inc., 277 pp. Pp. 204-205.

Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark Ghetto*, New York: Harper and Row, 1965, 251 pp. Chapter 6.

Helen H. Davidson and Judith W. Greenberg, *Traits of School Achievers from a Deprived Background*, New York: The City College and the City University of New York, 1967, 294 pp.

Martin Deutsch, *The Disadvantaged Child*, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1967, 400 pp.

Harold M. Skeels, *Adult Status of Children with Contrasting Early Life Experiences*, Society for Research in Child Development, University of Chicago Press, 1966.

Moshe Smilansky, "Fighting Deprivation in the Promised Land," *Saturday Review*, 49:82 plus, Oct. 15, 1966.

Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson, *Pygmalion in the Classroom*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968, 240 pp. By the same authors, "Teacher Expectations for the Disadvantaged," *Scientific American*, 218:19-23, April, 1968.

James S. Coleman and others, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1966, 737 pp.

Marilyn Gittell, *Participants and Participation: A Study of School Policy in New York City*, New York: Center for Urban Education, 1967,113 pp.

Mayor's Advisory Panel on Decentralization of New York City Schools, *Reconnection for Learning*, New York: Office of the Mayor, 1967, 124 pp.

Mario D. Fantini and Gerald Weinstein, *The Disadvantaged: Challenge to Education*, New York: Harper and Row, 1968, 455 pp. Chaps. 10 and 11.

VAST INPUT; DOUBTFUL OUTPUT

A condensation of an article by a senior staff member at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, which appeared in *The Wall Street Journal* on July 8. It is reprinted by permission.

By Roger A. Freeman

It has long been known that education, income and employment status are closely interrelated. If inadequate education is indeed the major cause of poverty, the solution to a vital problem seems clear: Give more education to school children who lag significantly in essential skills and knowledge and, above all, give them a better education. That's what the American people have been trying to do on a massive scale for some years.

But ever since researchers and administrators began measuring the basic skills of children participating in the new programs, they have found disconcertingly few signs of pupil progress. . . . Financial starvation of education has often been blamed for shortcomings in the quality of American education. But . . . over the past 20 years, spending for all education multiplied nearly eight times, to an estimated $52 billion in 1967-68, making education America's most ebullient growth industry. . . .

Somehow the tremendous increase in input does not seem to have produced a commensurate improvement in the quality of "output." In the mid-1960s a concerned Congress learned that millions of children, mostly from poor families, were lagging one or more years behind national norms in basic skills and knowledge, and that too many of them were dropping out before high school graduation and joining the ranks of the unemployed.

Early in 1965 Congress held hearings on Administration proposals designed to cut the wide discrepancies. The result was a bill to authorize $1.2 billion in Federal funds. Four dollars of every five were to go into Title I for "educationally deprived children," to initiate programs called "compensatory" because they were intended to compensate children for the disadvantage of growing up in low-income families.

Three years later, the Associated Press conducted a coast-to-coast survey of the program's results: "Title I, the project on which $3 billion has been spent in the hope of answering the educational needs of deprived children, is not working out. On this point, critics and supporters alike are agreed."

A special analysis of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare this January found that poor children were not doing any better. While it was agreed that the goals could be fully realized only after several years, it seems reasonable to expect that within one to three years, with the large funds added and new methods introduced, a modest but significant improvement could be measured.

That no such improvement occurred should have come as no surprise to those who followed the results of earlier compensatory programs. . . .

If compensatory programs could raise children who lag in basic skills to significantly higher levels, billions of dollars annually would be a cheap price to pay. But there is not a shred of evidence to date to lend support to the near-landslide acceptance that compensatory programs have found among wide sections of the American public.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights surveyed compensatory education programs nationwide and found that "none of the programs appear to have raised significantly the achievement on participating pupils, as a group, within the period evaluated by the commission." The commission also noted that compensatory programs tended to strengthen the trend toward a growing *de facto* racial segregation in the public schools which had been evident ever since legal segregation was outlawed by the Supreme Court in 1954. The commission concluded that significant improvement could not be brought about without first achieving universal *de facto* integration.

Opponents to the commission's approach did not deny the evil nature of deliberate racial segregation or doubt that integration was a desirable end to be achieved as rapidly as possible. . . . Viewing the record of growing *de facto* segregation over the past 14 years . . . in many major cities, they questioned whether racial balance could be achieved with sufficient speed to help disadvantaged children already in the system.

Moreover, there is no evidence that racial mixing *per se*, whether by open enrollment, busing or any other plan, advances the measurable achievements of lagging children. . . .

It is unfortunate that the question of how to improve the educational level of lagging children has become so fraught with emotion and so politically sensitive. The fact is that *on the average* black children tend to be several months behind white children when they enter school, and the discrepancy widens as the children are promoted each year until at the beginning of the 12th grade the average black child lags from three to six years behind national norms.

To prove once and for all that such differences are largely the result of inferior schools attended by Negro children, the Office of Education sponsored in 1965-66 the most extensive study of the subject ever undertaken. Headed by James S. Coleman of Johns Hopkins University, it covered 4,000 schools with 600,000 children in grades 1 through 12. Some observers thought it was a waste of money to spend $1,250,000 to prove what had long been common knowledge.

But . . . the Coleman report showed that the differences in the physical and economic resources of

schools attended by Negro children and by white children are not significant; the average number of pupils per teacher, teachers' qualifications in terms of the highest degree earned or years of experience, teachers' salaries, tenure or the age of the school building and other measurable input factors provide no explanation for the difference in learning achievements.

Dr. Coleman concluded that "if it were otherwise, we could give simple prescriptions: increase teachers' salaries, lower classroom size, enlarge libraries, and so on. But the evidence does not allow such simple answers."

Parents whose children attend schools with low average achievement test scores increasingly hold boards of education, administrators, teachers, curricula and ineffective methods responsible for their children's educational failure. While not so long ago the neighborhood - school principal was often accused of helping to perpetuate and strengthen racial segregation, more recently parental demands tend to favor transfer of school control in urban poverty areas to local communities, *i.e.*, to the residents of the school's attendance district. The reasoning is that the parents, with their children's interest at heart, will then see to it that the schools provide a good education. . . .

To be sure, school control by locally elected boards is an established tradition in most parts of the U.S. But whether it offers an answer to the educational problems of urban poverty areas is another question. That question probably cannot be adequately answered — certainly not to the satisfaction of parents who now blame the schools for their children's poor showing — until neighborhood boards are given a broader opportunity to prove that they can succeed where present methods fail.

The case for holding the schools responsible for the educational deficiencies of their pupils holds much appeal and is in keeping with a general tendency in recent years to blame society and its institutions for whatever shortcomings are apparent in individuals. But spokesmen for this position find it hard to explain why achievement differences are far wider among the children in a given school than between the test score averages of the various schools. If it were all the schools' fault, the impact of each school on its pupils ought to be uniform.

Christopher Jencks, reviewing the Coleman report in the *New Republic*, drew a significant conclusion from its findings: "Overall, the report makes a convincing though not definite case for the view that student achievement depends largely on forces over which today's schools exercise little control."

The fact is that intelligence and achievement test scores are almost always closely correlated. . . . If widely used IQ tests do not fairly measure a child's native intelligence, as many contend, the solution is to devise tests that do. It is no answer to the problem to abandon intelligence tests altogether. . . .

If student ability is the crucial factor, then it appears futile to expect children of low intelligence to perform at average levels. The question is, what determines student ability? . . . Whenever the question comes up as to what proportion of the wide differences in intelligence and achievement test scores should be attributed to genetic factors and what proportion to environmental influences, debate tends to become irrational and to be dominated by strong emotions and prejudices that render objective study difficult and often impossible. . . .

James Coleman was . . . careful to emphasize that the individual's educational attainment is unrelated to his *racial* background. But it *is* related to his *personal* background, whether because of heritage or environment, much more than to the characteristics of the school he attends.

The most significant statistical correlation was found to exist between the pupil's achievement test scores and the socio-economic level of his parents. However, until continued research has reduced the existing heredity - environment uncertainty, explanations of the close relation between parental income and children's educational attainment scores will remain hypothetical.

The goal of raising the achievement level of children from low-income families who lag . . . behind national norms has proven elusive. . . . Unless we recognize certain facts of life that should by now have become clear, we shall continue the experience of the past few years: Frustration, growing conflict, hostility and mutual faultfinding, and the waste of large resources.

Children differ widely in their aptitudes and attitudes, and no power on earth can make all 6-year-olds or 10-year-olds or 17-year-olds perform at or near the average or "norm" for their age. . . . But in the great majority of American public schools . . . the teacher is confronted with the impossible task of educating simultaneously in one classroom three or four or more grade levels of children. The gifted child is insufficiently challenged and the less endowed is discouraged and alienated.

Contemporary techniques of psychological testing are far from perfect, but they permit us to . . . offer each child the type of education he can master. It is just as wrong not to segregate children for educational purposes according to their measurable natural capacity as it is to segregate them deliberately by color of skin. . . .

Most European countries run schools which, for low-ability children, combine the teaching of basic essentials with training in marketable skills. From a specified age on, the schools provide part-time classroom instruction tied in with apprenticeship training by potential employers. The prejudice against vocational education in this country must be overcome and the myth destroyed that chronological age is the only criterion by which under democratic principles children should be assigned to schools, classes, grades, and curricula.

It is essential that the public schools be made flexible enough to offer a meaningful training and education to low-ability children and that appropriate job opportunities be opened to them. A certain percentage of the labor force is condemned to perpetual unemployment — or casual employment at best — by legal or contractual minimum wages that set standards of productivity which exceed its capacity. This wage policy has wiped out millions of unskilled and low-skilled jobs and made permanent welfare recipients of potential workers.

It may well be that present programs . . . must run their course until the frustration and conflicts they create become unbearable and the waste of scarce resources too costly. Our emotional need to believe that all children can be made equal is too deep, and our national idealization of the average man too entrenched, to be quickly replaced by an acceptance of the notion that the range of educational and occupational offerings must be kept as wide as the range of human abilities. But until this awareness dawns, we shall not do justice to children poorly endowed by nature or to those who are highly gifted. ○

WHERE TEACHERS CAN'T DO IT ALONE

By Chester Davis

THREE-MEN—an Episcopal minister, a college professor and a former Air Force tail-gunner—decided two summers ago to cast about for ways of reducing dropouts in public schools. They hardly anticipated the result. Scores of churchwomen in Winston-Salem, N.C., are carrying out a steadily growing volunteer tutoring program in a deprived-area school. The prospects for success appear to be good.

The question remains whether such a program, directed by professional educators, can be continued long enough and on a sufficiently large scale to reduce the number of dropouts materially. At Lowrance Elementary School, an experiment now in its third year has provided a qualified answer of "yes."

The Rev. Downs Spitler, an Ohioan who came to Winston-Salem by way of a rural church in North Carolina, is pastor of St. Anne's Episcopal Church, a small mission church with about 100 families, located in a new suburban area of the city. Lee H. Potter, who came to Winston-Salem from Virginia in 1965, is a professor of English at Wake Forest University. In the late summer of 1966, these two men were among a delegation which called on Jerry Reid, principal of the Lowrance School, a native North Carolinian and a B-29 tail gunner during the Korean War. They were in search of a project for their congregation.

Reid was more than receptive. He was appalled by the magnitude and variety of the problems that confront a white principal in a black school serving predominantly poor people.

Spitler and Potter talked to Reid in terms of organizing field trips in which the children of the school would be bused about the city and exposed to places of interest and instruction. Reid asked for time to think it over. He was convinced that his children's needs were more profound than discovering museums and art galleries.

In this "thinking time," Reid looked hard into the basic problems confronting him. "There was, first of all," he says, "the problem of discipline. That first year I averaged 15 to 20 whippings a week. Last year it was down to three to five a week."

Then there were the "tardies." "The parents of many of these kids leave home at 6 in the morning," Reid reminds. "As they go out, they tell their kid, 'When Captain Kangaroo comes on you turn off the TV and go to school.' Captain Kangaroo comes on and he watches just a bit and then turns the set off and heads for school, stopping to throw rocks and chase a cat along the way. He arrives at school at 9:30. You can't blame the boy. A 6- or 7-year-old just isn't ready for that kind of responsibility."

Chester Davis is a special writer on the staff of the Winston-Salem Journal *and* Twin City Sentinel.

And there was the textbook problem. "I'd report that I had 100 children in third grade," Reid said, "and the State Textbook Commission would send me 100 third-grade readers. I actually needed 300 because I had kids in fourth, fifth and sixth grades still working on third-grade readers."

"Behind it all was the problem of teaching. Teaching underprivileged children is tough. Their attention span is short. They are shy. The teacher has to be imaginative and innovative to catch and hold their attention. Some teachers, white and black, do that magnificently. Some just can't make it.

"Our biggest problem was—and is—what I call progressive retrogression. Our first-graders are completing the year three to four months behind where they should be. The average first-grader should test out at one year and nine months when school ends. Our first-graders average one year and five or six months. This slippage continues each year with the result that our sixth-graders end up about a year and a half behind where the average sixth-grader should be. They are doing fourth-grade work, not sixth."

After that, Reid says, "unless we can check this slippage, these kids are dead. They'll limp through junior high school, falling further behind each year. Then they will be sent on to a large, predominantly white high school where they haven't got a chance on earth. Unless we can correct this process these youngsters are absolutely certain dropouts."

In late September, 1966, Reid telephoned Spitler and, after explaining this root problem in some detail, proposed that Spitler and Potter recruit 12 women to come to Lowrance four days a week and devote two 45-minute sessions each day to tutoring the children in the bottom quarter of the first grade in the language arts.

Spitler and Reid were skeptical as to whether laymen, no matter how concerned, were competent to teach six-year-olds to read. Reid reassured them. "My staff will handle the professional work," he promised. "All we expect from the ladies who come here is patience and some affection for these kids."

Because St. Anne's is a small church, three other churches in the same general area were enlisted in the project. Potter was selected to head it. While he recruited and organized his teaching teams, the principal set up his end of the experiment. He assigned 24-bottom-of-the-class students to Mrs. Betty Ann Upshaw, a white teacher with a masters degree and six years of teaching experience. As a control, he assigned a cross-section class—28 advanced, average and laggard students—to Mrs. Anne Steele, an experienced Negro teacher.

"These groupings," Reid said, "were based on testing—we use the Metropolitan Standard Reading Test —and on teacher observation of the students."

The program functioned this way:

The first four school days of each week, a team of

four volunteers, backed by two alternates, went to Lowrance. Three members of the team went to areas assigned to them—partitioned nooks in the auditorium and on the stage. There, each of them found four or fewer children from Mrs. Upshaw's class and a teacher's aide.

The teacher's aide explained precisely what Mrs. Upshaw wanted done in that 45-minute session. For example, the aide would tell one volunteer that in the first 15 minutes they were to work with the coloring book ["color the dog brown"]. Then they were to spend 15 minutes on vocabulary, using vocabulary cards selected by Mrs. Upshaw with an eye on the particular children involved. The final 15 minutes would be spent reading material Mrs. Upshaw had sent along.

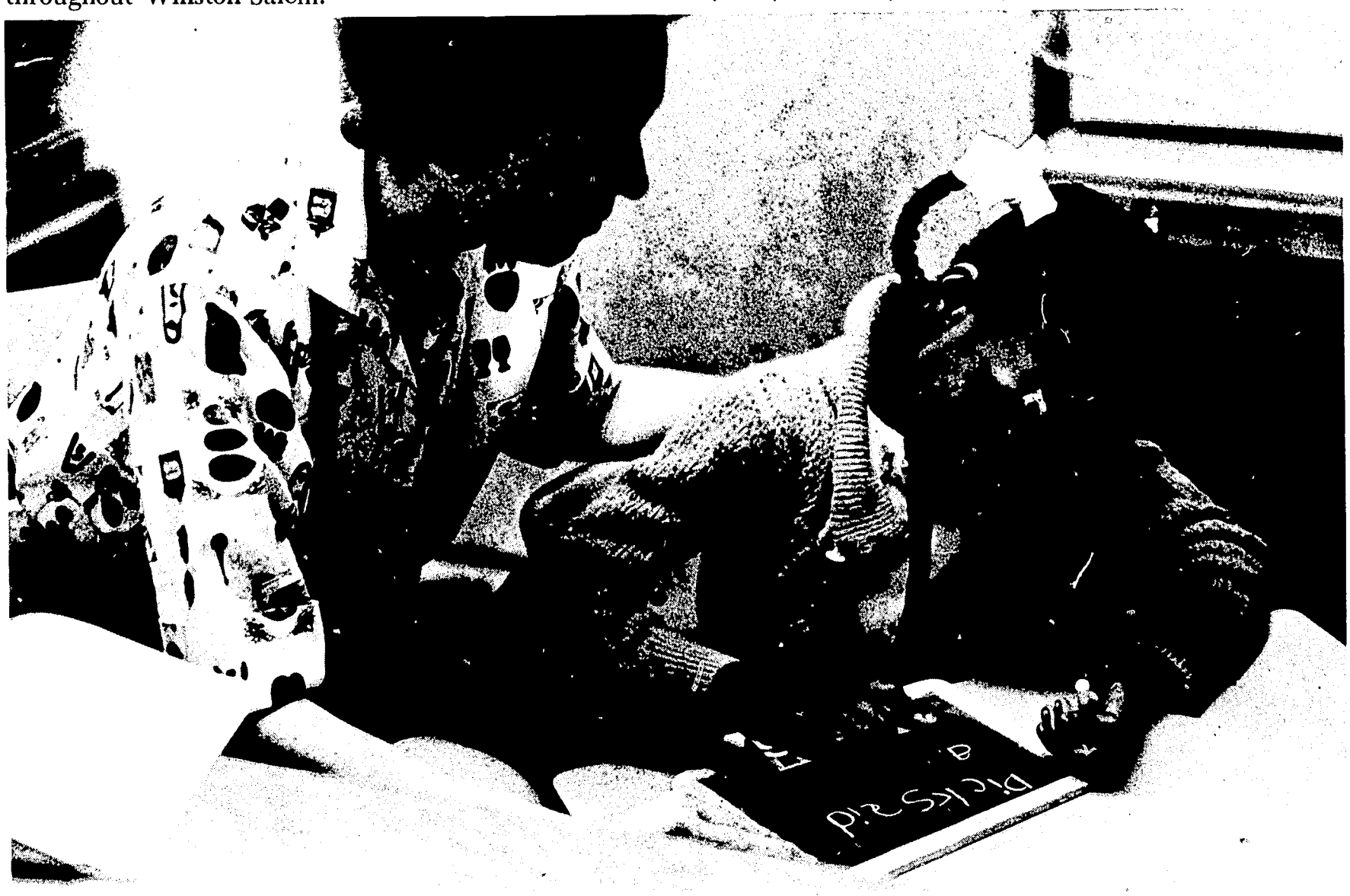
The fourth volunteer went directly to Mrs. Steele's cross-section class where, under the direction of the teacher, she spent a morning working with seven youngsters at the bottom of that class.

Potter says, "That first year, we divided the school year into quarters and had a six-member team—four regulars and two alternates—for each quarter." About 30 volunteers came from the four churches originally involved. In the 1967-68 school year, the program was expanded to include the second grade, utilizing 63 volunteers from 17 churches. This year, with the third grade added, about 150 volunteers have been recruited from more than 30 churches, white and black, throughout Winston-Salem.

The expansion has gone smoothly, Reid thinks, except for the problem of space. "There simply isn't any."

Potter considers the first two years to have been experimental. "We wanted to answer two questions: First, is it possible to maintain a completely volunteer program of this type over a period of years? And, second, would this teacher-directed tutoring on an almost individual basis for two 45-minute periods a

(Below) Mrs. Phillip Lucas helps a second-grader.



Lowrance Principal Jerry Reid likes to chat with his charges.

day, four days a week over a nine-month period, produce measurable results?"

According to Potter and Reid the answer is yes in both instances. But Reid adds, "You must recognize that this program is limited to the language arts. These children have similar problems of progressive retrogression in other areas. But we had to start somewhere and we think reading and writing represent the basic needs."

Regarding the volunteers, Reid says, "You can't buy talent, character and dedication of this sort. Most of these women are college graduates. Many of them have had teacher training and experience. Many of them drive 20 miles a day and have to hire a baby sitter on the days they come to Lowrance. Their concern and sense of involvement is unbelievable."

Mrs. Richard Erwin, wife of a prominent Negro attorney, has served in the tutoring program from its inception. She says, "These children quickly relate themselves to their tutor. They look forward to her being with them. They are shy but they want to learn. It warms your heart to see them unfold bit by bit and blossom."

She is convinced that "all our schools need a program like this. It is apparent to me that the teachers just don't have the time these children must be given. I don't know of any volunteer work that I could do that could be more rewarding."

Here are some of the measures taken to gauge the success of this program:

- At the end of his first year a youngster should score at least 1.9 on the standard reading test. The 1965-66 first grade at Lowrance was not tutored. That class averaged 1.6 or three months below the norm. The 1966-67 first grade was tutored. It averaged 1.7 or two months below the norm. The 1967-68 class, also tutored, averaged 1.8 or just one month off the norm.
- Mrs. Princette Jenkins, a second-grade teacher, had 16 children in her class last year who had been tutored as first-graders. She began the class on the first five first-grade readers. The class completed the five readers during the first quarter of the year. Mrs. Jenkins says, "The year before, none of my second-graders had been tutored. They began the year with the same five first-grade readers and at the end of the year they had not finished them."
- Last year the second-graders who received no tutoring tested nine months behind the national norm. Those who had been tutored tested seven months behind.

And the program has had some side benefits:

- The tutoring program reduces the size of classes taught by women such as Mrs. Upshaw and Mrs. Steele. For two 45-minute periods a day, four days a week over a nine-month period, their smaller classes make it possible for them to teach more effectively.
- For many of these children their relationship with their tutor often is the only contact they have ever had with white people; the only evidence they have ever known of white concern for black children.
- For many of the tutors this is an introduction to the depth of the educational problems of underprivileged children. White women of prominence are asking searching questions about the wisdom of attempting to impose the traditional college-bound educational format on youngsters who don't fit that formula.

If all this adds up to small progress, the backers of the program can point out that it is the only progress shown by any group at the Lowrance school over the past two years. Jerry Reid and Lee Potter hope that when the program reaches all children in the lower quarter of the first three grades—as it will this year—that the slippage which now produces dispair and dropouts may be checked.

"If it does," Potter says, "and if the dedication of the volunteers and the teachers is maintained, I see no reason why this program cannot be expanded to include the underprivileged children in every elementary and junior high school in this community."

Principal Reid is increasingly convinced that the public schools must make increasing use of volunteers. "In schools like Lowrance," he says, "the teachers can't do it alone. We desperately need help. I think this program proves that there is help to be had. We must avail ourselves of it." O

BUSING AND DESEGREGATION

By Jim Leeson

Busing is one of the most controversial means of desegregating public schools. Discussions of busing can easily reach a fervid pitch because of the conflict with the traditional concept of neighborhood schools. But the intensity of the for-and-against views far exceeds the extent of bus transportation now being used to mix Negro and white students in the classroom. And the controversy that surrounds busing proposals has almost completely blotted from the public's mind the fact that bus transportation has been used for many years, on a large scale, for many purposes other than mixing the races.

In the South, with its large number of rural school systems and the frequent racial mixture of housing patterns, bus transportation was essential to preserve segregated schools, with Negroes traveling past white schools to their segregated facilities. Students of either race sometimes were sent to schools in other districts or even other counties.

The great distances of the West require long bus trips for school children. School buses are used in all regions to haul youngsters to private and parochial schools, to transport students about in large all-white districts, to relieve overcrowding in the classrooms, or to serve educational needs where race and segregation are not the issue. U.S. Office of Education statistics show that approximately 40 per cent of the nation's public-school pupils are transported at public expense each school year.

How much of this bus transportation involves efforts to promote racial integration is unknown, because transportation is usually only one part of a much larger educational plan. The programs publicly identified as using busing as part of a desegregation plan are in a small number of school districts, involving a very small percentage of the students within the individual districts.

Disagreement on busing begins with the spelling—whether to use one "s" or two—and the meaning of the word. Because of the misconceptions that have developed about busing and the fierce reaction that it can inspire among parents, civil rights activists sometimes object to the word itself. The NAACP's June Shagaloff insists that "busing is not a plan of desegregation." "They've always bused kids but for reasons of segregation, and no one called it busing," she said. "A bus is a means of transportation. It's called pupil transportation. They're called school buses—only that."

The customary reluctance of HEW officials to comment on the sensitive issue of busing was reinforced this fall when the department's compliance program became a matter of contention in the presidential campaign. Denunciation of HEW's desegrega-

tion guidelines was a central point of George C. Wallace's rhetoric, and Richard M. Nixon suggested —in a statement he later modified—that the department had overstepped the bounds of propriety in withholding federal funds from noncomplying school districts.

A spokesman for Wilbur J. Cohen, head of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, said the secretary had "made no recent comments" on the busing of pupils, or on the general problem of racial imbalance in the schools. On Aug. 7, an Associated Press dispatch had quoted Secretary Cohen as saying, "I have never thought that busing was a very large-scale answer to this problem, and I don't think most people do. I don't see it as more than a temporary expedient. Overall, nationally, it is not the answer."

The AP article also had quoted Cohen as saying, "I think we have to be realistic. In a large number of big-city areas we have a lot of neighborhoods that are going to be completely black. If we can have good schools and good police protection, maybe that's better than to have fear and riots. And maybe another generation will have to deal with integration."

A spokesman for HEW's Office for Civil Rights, in response to a query from SOUTHERN EDUCATION REPORT, said, "We have no desire and certainly no authority to interfere with actions by local school boards to do whatever is necessary in their opinion to provide quality education for their children. In the South, local school boards find it necessary in some cases to bus children, to provide for what is required by law—a unitary, nonracial school system. In no case has HEW ever told a school system they must bus. We tell them they must eliminate discrimination—how they do it is their business."

That approach to compliance enforcement could enable HEW officials to avoid any conflict with a provision that Congress included in the agency's appropriation for the current fiscal year. "No part of the funds contained in this act may be used to force busing of students," the section stated in part. Even so, another situation might develop similar to that in South Holland, Ill., where HEW obtained its first court order outside the South to force compliance and the court was the one requiring busing.

Last year, the suburb 18 miles south of Chicago used buses to haul about 100 pupils, mostly from outlying areas. Under the order of U.S. District Judge Julius J. Hoffman, District 151 began this school year by busing some 387 children, in grades 3-7 from Coolidge School in predominantly Negro Phoenix, over to previously all-white schools in South Holland. Another 350 pupils, mostly white and in grades 7-8, were bused to Coolidge from throughout

the district. Lou Wiersma, school board president, commented on opening day:

"I'd say that 90 per cent of the parents in the school district are opposed to the government telling them how to run the school system. The community is behind the school board and against the government, but they realize there's a right way and a wrong way to fight." The case was on appeal.

Most of the busing programs being used to encourage a racial distribution of students have been initiated voluntarily. A variety of desegregation plans have been employed, which sometimes require busing to implement at least part of the plan, depending upon local conditions. These are some of the most frequently used plans possibly employing pupil busing:

- *School Pairing*—The attendance areas of two or more schools are merged and grades are regrouped so that each school serves different grade levels for the new area. For example, a formerly all-white school for grades 1-6 would now serve grades 1-3 for the merged area, and the adjacent school that formerly was all-Negro would serve grades 4-6 for the whole area.
- *Central Schools*—One school, perhaps predominantly Negro, is converted to handle only one grade, receiving pupils at that level from several nearby schools and sending away its students at other grade levels.
- *School Closing*—An old school with a racially imbalanced enrollment can be closed and its student body sent to other schools. The closed school can be converted to other uses, such as school administration, special courses, educational experimentation or a community center.
- *Magnet Schools*—Such a school, offering full-time programs or supplementary training, would draw students from a wide geographical area because of unusual curricula meeting special needs.
- *Education Complexes*—A group of adjacent schools would be joined into one attendance area, with each building then offering courses in one curriculum area for several grades.
- *Education Parks*—Clusters of new school facilities would be built to serve large numbers of children, perhaps a small city's entire school population.
- *Free-Choice Open Enrollment*—Under this plan, children in overcrowded or racial minority schools are eligible to attend any school within the system that has classroom space available.

For such programs as open enrollment, which permits a wide diversification of students, the school district can utilize the regular public-transit system instead of operating buses. School children sometimes get special rates on subways or street buses for their trips to and from school.

Once the bused students get to their school, they might be treated different ways. Where school officials arbitrarily designate a certain grade or classroom of children to be transported to another school, the students possibly could be kept intact as a unit at the receiving school, perhaps even being kept separate from the other children at the school during lunch and recess periods. Some cities operate voluntary busing programs, which permit the children and parents to decide whether the boys and girls wish to attend a school outside their neighborhood. Under this type of plan, the youngsters are more likely to be distributed throughout the receiving school. In other cases, the bused students might be distributed under quotas for each grade or class.

Two conditions have brought about the need for busing to accomplish racial integration within a school district—neighborhood schools and segregated housing patterns. Especially at the elementary level, public schools traditionally have been located within walking or short travel distance. Parents could feel a closer contact with teachers, and the school served other community functions. Racial prejudice and economic conditions combine to concentrate minority groups in specific housing areas, especially in the large cities and usually in the central city. The neighborhood schools reflect the racial imbalance.

The long tradition of neighborhood schools has given them a sanctity that deters the adoption of busing plans on a large scale. White parents have fiercely defended their neighborhood schools, not always mentioning the racial aspects but emphasizing the closer parent-teacher relationships, the more efficient and safer travel conditions, and the benefits of homogenous grouping of children. Negro parents wanted their sons and daughters bused out of the ghetto school, not always for the sake of integration, but to obtain the "better" educational facilities attributed to white middle-class schools.

With the advent of black-power militancy, Negroes too are beginning to resist busing proposals, using variations of the same reasoning offered by whites. Black parents ask, "Why are our children bused out and white children not sent in?" Black militants argue that integration is a "trick," that busing out ghetto kids deprives the black community of its better students and makes Negro students think "white" instead of "black."

Educators seeking to desegregate their systems find they lack enough whites in the district to go around, because of the increased Negro majority in large American cities and the white flight to the suburbs. The white students attend suburban schools, legally out of reach just across the political boundary of a city line. The only way intercity busing can operate is through voluntary co-operation of the suburbs to accept Negro youngsters from the city. U.S. Judge J. Skelly Wright, in the *Hobson v. Hansen* suit in Washington, D.C., last year, dealt with the artificial barriers created by neighborhood schools and city boundaries:

. . . the court must ask whether the virtues stemming from the . . . pupil assignment policy (here the neighborhood policy) are compelling or adequate justification for the evils of *de facto* segregation which adherence to this policy breeds, keeping alertly in mind that these evils are grave indeed. . . . One such alternative which cannot fail to arrest the school official eager to explore ways of reducing segregation in the schools would be to transfer and transport volunteering Negro students stuck in overcrowded elementary schools in the neighborhoods into the partly empty white schools.

Judge Wright also commented on the problem caused by the availability of too few whites in a school system that is 90 per cent Negro:

. . . not more than a minority of Washington's Negroes can be afforded access to integrated education within the present constraints of the District's schools, with their diminished white enrollment. Yet, despite this, there is no evidence that the school administration has devoted more than very minor efforts to contacting the schools in these surrounding suburbs. The court need not here even remotely consider what the provisions ought to be of any metropolitan school alliance; indeed, the court disavows any power to dictate those terms, or even compel the suburbs to come to the conference table. But none of this alters the fact that the Board of Education seems to have everything to gain and nothing to lose in seeking to initiate negotiations.

Separate political entities in the U.S.—cities, counties and suburban areas—have co-operated on a voluntary basis on problems they share, such as sewer and water systems, transportation, law enforcement, and even exchanging students to preserve segregation. Educators recognize the legal difficulty in compelling suburbs and cities to work together in swapping students to provide racial balance. Instead, "carrot" programs have been proposed that would provide federal funds as incentives for co-operative programs.

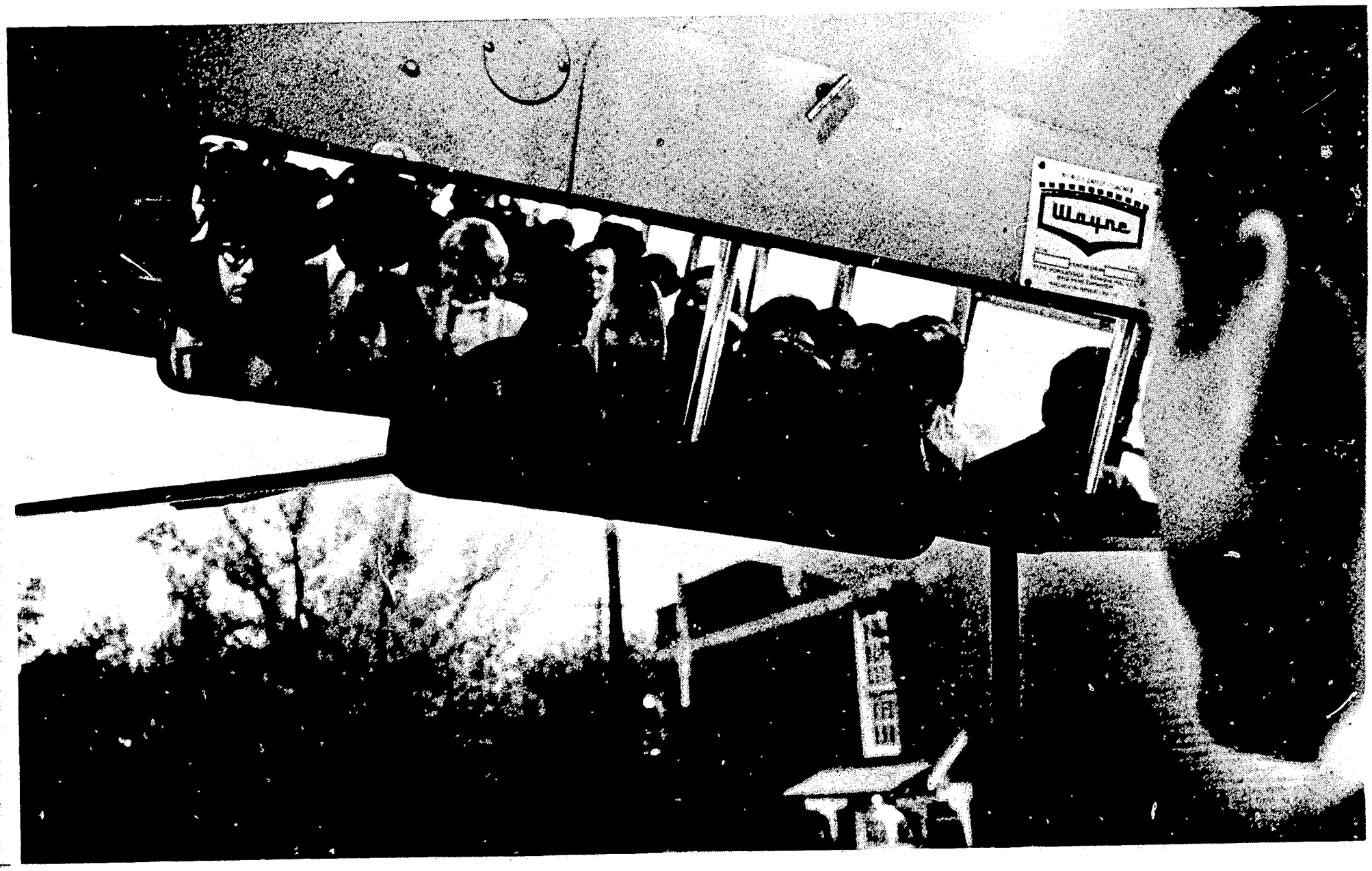
The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights issued a report, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools,* in 1967 that included in its recommendations:

"Federal assistance also can be helpful in encouraging co-operative arrangements between states which provide education services to the same metropolitan area and between separate school districts in a metropolitan area."

Another idea to draw an exchange of students is the concept of magnet schools, ones that offer such unusual or outstanding programs as to pull white students from the suburbs into a city school attended by ghetto children. Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew, the Harvard social psychologist who served as chairman of the civil rights commission's advisory committee on race and education, has strongly endorsed this proposal.

In addition to the cities that have an internal busing program, a few have been able to arrange a student exchange with adjacent suburban districts. Boston and Hartford have large busing programs into the suburbs, although the number of children involved is relatively small compared to the cities' total enrollment.

A subsequent article on busing will include details of these and other busing programs, describing methods used to get the programs going and telling how the children in the suburbs and from the ghetto were affected.



AT SAN MATEO, READINESS INSTEAD OF REMEDIES

By John Egerton

"This program takes any black student who wants to go to college or who can be talked into going to college, and we'll do whatever is necessary to keep him here. If he needs transportation, we'll provide it. If he needs money, we'll try to find it. If there are distractions, we'll remove them. If he has personal problems, we'll counsel with him. If he's having academic difficulty, we'll tutor him. If he's in jail, we'll make bail. But there's one unbroken rule: he must do college-level work. There are no remedial courses—that's what they've had for 12 years, and it won't do. Black students, like all students, frequently live up to the highest expectations set for them."

Jean Wirth talks about the College Readiness Program at California's College of San Mateo with the conviction of a convert, which she is, and with the instinctive insight of a black woman, which she is not. Three years ago, when she was an English instructor and counselor, all but about 100 of the College of San Mateo's 8,000 students were white, and 90 per cent of the racial-minority students (compared to 50 per cent of the whites) dropped out or flunked out before the end of the year. This fall, about 1,000 minority-group students are enrolled—along with 9,000 whites—and if last year's performance is any indication, their staying power will equal or exceed that of the white students.

This change is a result of the College Readiness Program, which was started in 1966 as a summer recruitment and college preparatory effort and has since become a year-round activity. Miss Wirth is listed as the program's supervisor, and Bob Hoover, a black man who until last year was a community organizer in East Palo Alto, is the director. Using the time-honored American work ethic as a philosophical base, they have nourished black pride, brought latent aspirations to the surface, and de-emphasized the kind of white culture that once prevailed.

The program originally was focused on black students. This year, for the first time, it has attracted more than 200 "browns"—Mexican-Americans, American Indians, Samoans, Puerto Ricans and Hawaiians.

The College of San Mateo, like California's 80-odd other public junior colleges, is an open-admission institution, accepting any student over 18 years of age, whether or not he has a high-school diploma. The college serves a district that includes all of San Mateo County, which extends across the southern reaches of the San Francisco metropolitan area. Most of the county's residents are well-heeled whites—average family income is about $11,000 a year. The approximately 10 per cent Negro population and a lesser percentage of Mexican-Americans and other racial minorities live clustered, for the most part, in a few sections of the county, and their income level is considerably less than half the county average. It is these groups which, before 1966, sent so few of their youth to the college—and saw most of the ones who went flunk out or drop out.

These facts concerned Dr. Julio Bartolazzo, who

Robert Hoover.

Jean Wirth.

was then the college's president, and he challenged his faculty to become involved in efforts to improve the record. Jean Wirth responded, and the College Readiness Program was started in the summer of 1966 with 39 students.

As it has evolved since then, CRP has four basic features: vigorous recruitment, intensive tutoring, a number of individually applied nonacademic supports, and a headquarters in the student center which has become a haven for the black and brown students.

Recruitment by students, faculty, tutors and community agencies—in the high schools, pool halls and on the streets—raised the CRP contingent from the original 39 to about 500 last fall, and the overall enrollment of Negroes from about 100 to 650. This fall, about 600 of the 1,000 racial-minority students are getting tutorial and other assistance from CRP. "The kids we go looking for are the ones who won't come if we don't go after them," says Miss Wirth. "We're convinced that test scores and high-school records are not reliable indices of a black or brown student's ability. We take a lot of kids that the high-school counselors tell us can't make it, and we counsel most of them into the academic curriculum, not the terminal programs in vocational-technical fields."

Tutoring on a one-to-one basis is handled by regular students in the college who volunteer for 15 hours a week of assistance that includes everything but writing and editing papers and taking exams for the CRP students to whom they are assigned. The tutors, about two-thirds of whom are white, get an orienta-

tion that is blunt and sometimes painful. "We don't want any tutors who have the 'white missionary' syndrome," Miss Wirth asserts. "They're not in this to help poor black people; they're in it to learn." She says the experience has proved to her that "culturally disadvantaged" white students will work hard and assume heavy responsibility to fill their own cultural gaps and learn something about racial minorities.

The same kind of "poverty of experience" also exists among the faculty, and Bob Hoover spends a considerable amount of his time working on that problem. The CRP seeks out the most demanding faculty members on campus and guides its students into their classes. Professors who are intolerant of individual differences and those who overcompensate by giving passing grades out of sympathy are avoided. There is a carefully nurtured mood among the students that academic success is of supreme importance, that failure is not really failure if you learn from it and try harder because of it. "Don't give me anything—let me earn it" is an apt summation of the mood, and the CRP leaders look for competent, even-handed, patient faculty members who understand and appreciate that spirit and can transform it into a productive learning experience.

The nonacademic supports available to CRP students include transportation, housing, financial aid and personal counseling. There is no regular bus service to the college, which is 20 miles from the nearest black community and accessible only by freeway, so buses and car pools have been provided. Since the college has no student housing, arrangements must sometimes be made for off-campus housing nearby. Financial assistance—jobs, work-study arrangements, loans, scholarships and grants—is available in limited amounts, most of it from federal sources. Counseling may take the form of mediation with a teacher or a probation officer, a talk with parents, advice on course selection or guidance into a job or a four-year college.

Most of this activity takes place in the headquarters of CRP. There, the black (and now brown) cultures prevail. The college has clubs but no fraternities or sororities, and the New Black Generation Club has become the most powerful bloc of students on the campus. The self-consciousness and inner doubt that plagued the handful of Negro students when they were there in such small numbers have given way to the confidence and pride that larger numbers and academic success have brought. But ironically, neither the black student center nor the campus as a whole has followed the patterns of neo-segregation. Says Jean Wirth: "Despite the fact that we do not work for or seek integration as the answer to the nation's problems, the black student center is the most highly integrated, academic environment I have seen anywhere in the country."

Miss Wirth acknowledges that it is "not easy for a student who reads on a fourth-grade level, comes from a family of nonstudents, has no money, shares a room with two brothers, hates whites, doesn't value school and sees no real reason to go to college, to begin to compete with the average white student on the campus." But she is convinced that with encouragement and support, many of them can succeed.

"The shock of competing at the college level is great, but the motivation is tremendous," she says. "When these kids see that it's for real, that it's not remedial, they work for it. Bob Hoover tells them, 'We've been laughing and dancing and singing for 350 years. If that's what you want to keep on doing, then don't bother me. I'm busy.' So they work like hell, and it's paying off."

The attrition rate is still high—for minorities and whites alike—and while there are no minority students the CRP won't take, there are still a few it won't recruit. But Jean Wirth believes that a junior college, with all the options it offers—and without a policy of selective admission—ought to serve all students in fact, not just in theory.

"In this case," she says, "we're dealing with a population that has been de-educated in high school. Most of our CRP students take a 12-hour course load, instead of the usual 15, and many of the ones who finish will need three years instead of two. While they're here, we do anything and everything we can to allow them to face the challenge of college and succeed at it. Obviously, not all of them make it. But a lot of them do, and even the ones who fail are better off than if they hadn't come. If they don't come, their whole life is a failure."

Changes in the College of San Mateo as a result of CRP are not hard to find. This year, for the first time, 38 former CRP students transferred to four-year institutions. The college's teaching staff of 360 includes 11 black faculty members, eight of them new this year. Black contributions to history and literature have become an integral part of the curriculum, and courses in sociology, psychology and anthropology are now more balanced and inclusive of nonwhite society and culture. And a once-skeptical—if not resistant—faculty seems to be coming around to the notion that CRP is less of a threat, and more of a promise, for the entire college community than they expected it to be.

There will be more changes, many of them resulting from the expansion of the program to include other racial-minority students from San Mateo County. Until now, CRP has been black-oriented. The arrival of other nonwhite students in sizable numbers this fall gives the program cultural diversity.

The CRP staff and students took the initiative in expanding the program. A Mexican-American counterpart to Bob Hoover was hired, 30 students were recruited for a summer orientation program, and student veterans of CRP, black and white, boned up on their Spanish in preparation for tutoring.

When the question of reaching more Mexican-Americans and other minorities first came up, some of the black students raised the same well-intentioned

but uninformed questions that once blocked their own opportunities at the college when it was almost all white: "How many of them live in this area? Do they have trouble in school? They're different. They're interested in jobs, not education. We've tried to reach them, but we don't understand them, and they don't dig us."

These reactions should have a familiar ring to whites who once showed the same ignorance of Negroes. Some of the black students were quick to catch the irony of the words. One of them, Doug Barker, noted their efforts to "make the white community include everybody in the society and make them live up to their responsibility," and he added: "O.K., we have established a foothold on this campus, so we have to accept some of the responsibility as black people. If we can tell the white community, 'Look, it's time for you to live up to your responsibilities,' then we should also have some responsibilities to live up to as far as helping other people in the society when we can. To accept the gains that we have had without recognizing the responsibilities of some of those gains, I think would be a sad mistake."

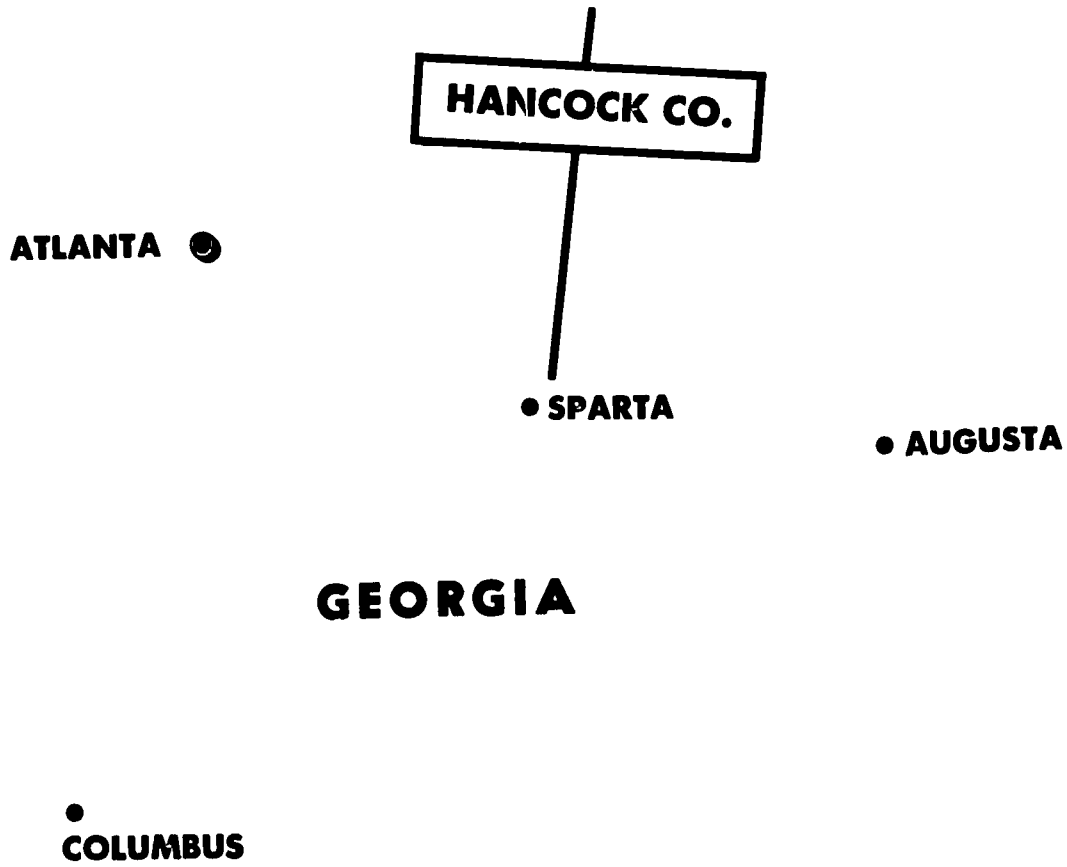
It is this kind of perception that marks the San Mateo version of black power. There is a militant, sometimes strident, tone to some of the rhetoric, there is anger and bluster and a suspicious coolness toward whites. But there is also Bob Hoover telling his charges, "There is no more lowly creature than a racist—white or black." And there is pride, and intense determination, and self-assurance, and strong emotions productively channeled.

And most significantly, there has been no violence. "Violence comes only when there is no other route," says Jean Wirth. "We've found other routes. We have more important things to do."

The old style of laughing, dancing and singing is dead at the College of San Mateo, and so is the old notion of integration exclusively on the white man's terms. The new mood is equity.

In a survey of undergraduate enrollment at institutions having 500 or more students last fall, the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare found that only 5 per cent of the students—roughly 245,000 out of 4,750,000—were Negroes. Three-fifths of the Negro students were in predominantly Negro institutions, leaving about 100,000—just 2 per cent of the undergraduate enrollment total—in predominantly white colleges and universities.

The growing militancy of black college students and the shock of Dr. Martin Luther King's murder last spring have prompted many predominantly white institutions to try to increase their small proportion of Negro students. Most of these institutions have been saying for years that their doors are open to Negroes, but their enrollments have remained low. The San Mateo experience seems to show that it will take much more than an open-door policy to desegregate American higher education. ○



A 'MAJORITY DISTRICT'

By Clayton Braddock

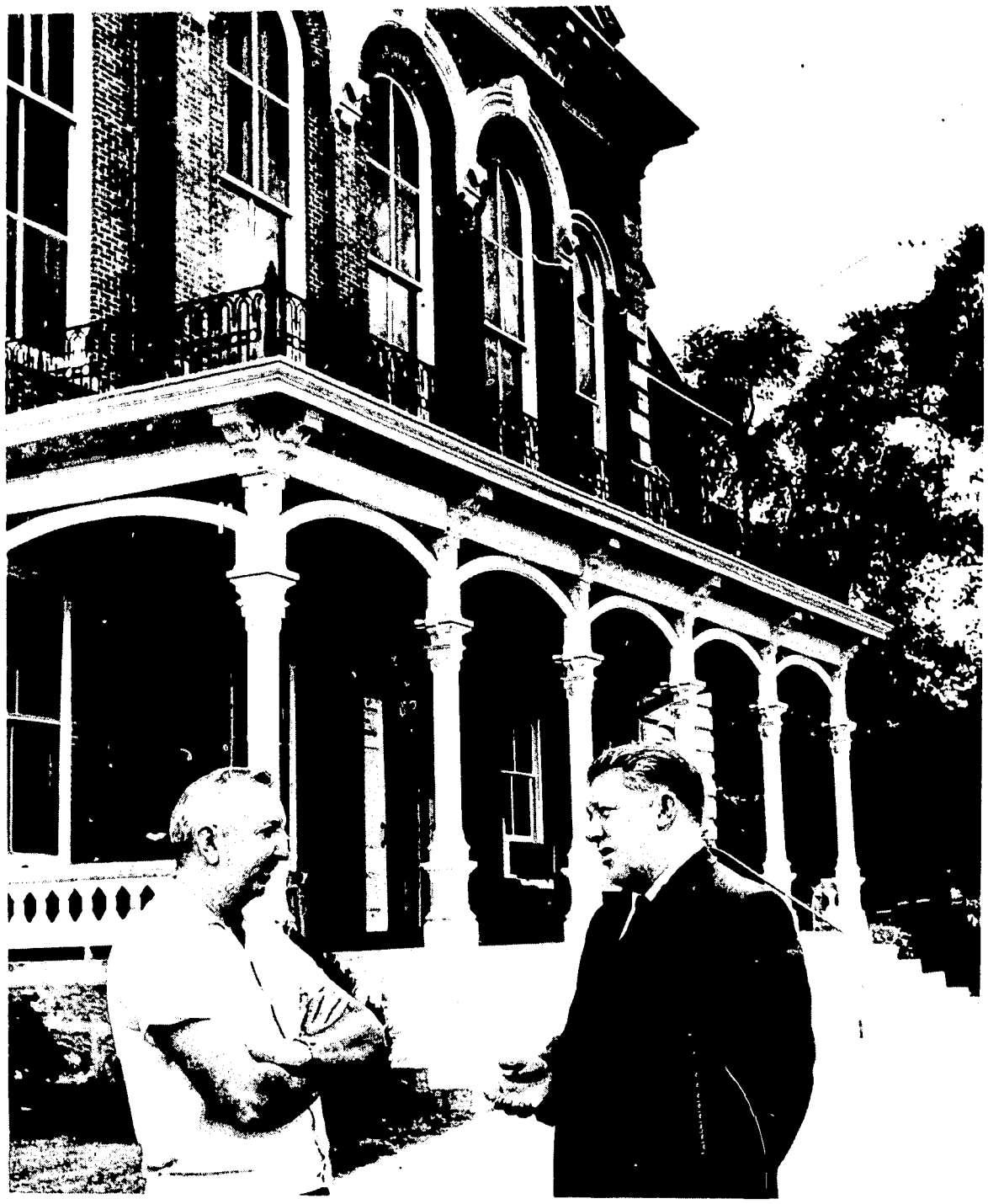
MARKS of the past are plentiful in Hancock County, Georgia, but the mark of change stands out like a tall Georgia pine against a sundown sky.

The Marquis de Lafayette, French hero of the American Revolution, was once the guest of honor at a ball in the old Eagle Tavern in Sparta, the county seat. All that is left of that high moment is a historical marker near a 128-year-old run-down hotel on the old tavern site.

Cotton still dots the fields, much as it did 100 years ago when the bursting cotton boll was both symbol and fact of wealth and power. But today, 85 per cent of the land is planted in commercial timber.

About three-fourths of the county's population are black people, a preponderance much as it was when the forebears of many of these were slaves. Yet today, 60 per cent of the land is owned by Negroes and the vast majority of voters are black.

Much of the wealth and power are still concentrated in the white minority, a few of them descendants of the early planters. But two of three county commissioners, including the chairman, are Negroes. One member of the five-man board of education is a Negro. Other Negroes have been elected to minor posts and, with a largely Negro electorate, more in positions of leadership and power are predicted for the future.



In front of Hancock County Courthouse, Supt. W. M. Andrews (right) talks with County Attorney Louis Rozier.

While such rising influence on the part of Negroes may be unusual in most areas of the South, Hancock County is fairly representative on one common ground—its schools. The school system is one of about 250 systems in Southern and border states which are of special significance because a majority of their students—from 51 per cent to as high as 90 per cent—are poor, heavily disadvantaged, and generally segregated Negro children. Hancock County stands at the upper end of that spectrum with an enrollment of 2,424 Negroes and 302 whites. These systems, most of them in rural and often isolated areas, are the so-called "majority districts."

In most such districts, the preponderance of deprived Negroes is often given as an explanation for the lack of desegregation and the lack of improvement in the classroom performance of students. In Hancock County, racial attitudes among white voters and leaders were such that the first integration came in a formerly all-white school just three years ago. Today, it is in the schools where perhaps the most difficult and significant changes are taking place because inside the schools the racial, social and economic problems are crystallized.

The high percentage of Negro students in Hancock County schools is atypical among majority districts. But otherwise the system presents a catalog of problems shared elsewhere in the region—large numbers of disadvantaged Negro pupils; a high proportion of poverty; a scarcity of money for improvements; community and faculty resistance to change; inequities in services provided for white and Negro children; and a great need for more, better-trained teachers, especially those qualified to teach the deprived. Yet, officials of the federally financed Southeastern Educational Laboratory near Atlanta say that Hancock County is one of a few systems which are far ahead of most of the 250 majority districts in reaching goals of both desegregation and educational improvements.

Under a freedom-of-choice plan, there are 59 Negroes attending desegregated classes. They all are enrolled in grades 1-12 in Sparta School Center along with 300 other children, a few of them Japanese and Cuban. The other 2,365 Negro students attend two all-Negro schools, Hancock Central (grades 1-12) and Southwest Elementary (1-6) about nine miles from Sparta.

Some Negro leaders call this token integration even though the 9-1 ratio of Negroes and whites in the schools defies equal distribution. W. M. ("Red") Andrews, superintendent of schools, looks at it another way. When asked why only 2 per cent of the Negro enrollment is attending school with white children,

he replied: "One hundred per cent of the white children are attending desegregated classes."

Desegregation began in Hancock County in the fall of 1965, a few months after Andrews began his first term of office. Many residents, especially those in the white minority, feel that he is lucky to have achieved as much desegregation as he has because of the strong resistance from much of the white community, not to speak of potential violence. The next year, John Hancock Academy, a private school with grades 1-12, was established with an enrollment of about 200 children of the more affluent white families. About 50 of these have gradually trickled back to the public schools.

If there is to be more student desegregation, it would most likely occur in Sparta School Center, the formerly all-white school a few blocks from the center of town. The Sparta school has an enrollment of 359, compared with 2,020 at Hancock Central, the all-Negro school. There are 637 students in grades 9-12 at Hancock Central, nearly double the number in all 12 grades at Sparta.

Parents and children at Hancock Central could pack the enrollment at Sparta School, but they have never made the move in spite of the fact that Central's classes are more crowded and the pupil-teacher ratio is much higher there than at Sparta. Although Negro leaders deny it, the most frequently offered explanation of this is that such an action would cause an exodus of white children to Hancock Academy, creating a virtually all-Negro public-school system in the county. The registration at Sparta School of an additional 150 students from Hancock Central would probably close the door on the possible return of the 150 white students in the academy. Most Negroes and some whites would like to see the private school fail, and the return of the academy students to public classrooms would insure that.

Although the overall pupil-teacher ratio is surprisingly low—about 26-1—the stalemate over the enrollment imbalance between the two schools has made the ratio much lower at Sparta. The average ratio at Hancock Central is 29-1—about 26-1 in the high school and 32-1 in grades 1-7. Some classes run as high as 35 or more students. At Sparta, the ratio is 20-1 in the high school and 27-1 in the lower grades, an average of 23-1. Both schools' ratios are low but the advantage is with the mostly white school.

Faculty desegregation, although started, is one-sided. There are Negro students in each of the 12 grades at Sparta, ranging from one in the seventh to 11 pupils in the ninth grade. So, white teachers are teaching in desegregated classes. There are four white classroom teachers conducting all-Negro classes at Hancock Central, but there are no Negroes teaching either all-white or integrated classes. Outside of the classroom, three of the county's nine co-ordinators and supervisors are black. All three are in the field of primary and elementary education.

Along with the school board, Andrews is under pressure from many sides. Yet he has kept his equilibrium. He is completing his first four-year term in office with wide acceptance from both whites and Negroes. In September, he was unopposed in his re-election to a second term. He explains his acceptance this way: "Basically, I think most people have the real belief that I am not trying to stick anybody, that I am not trying to deny anybody. But we are absolutely conscientious in our effort to bring about the education changes that are necessary for this school district."

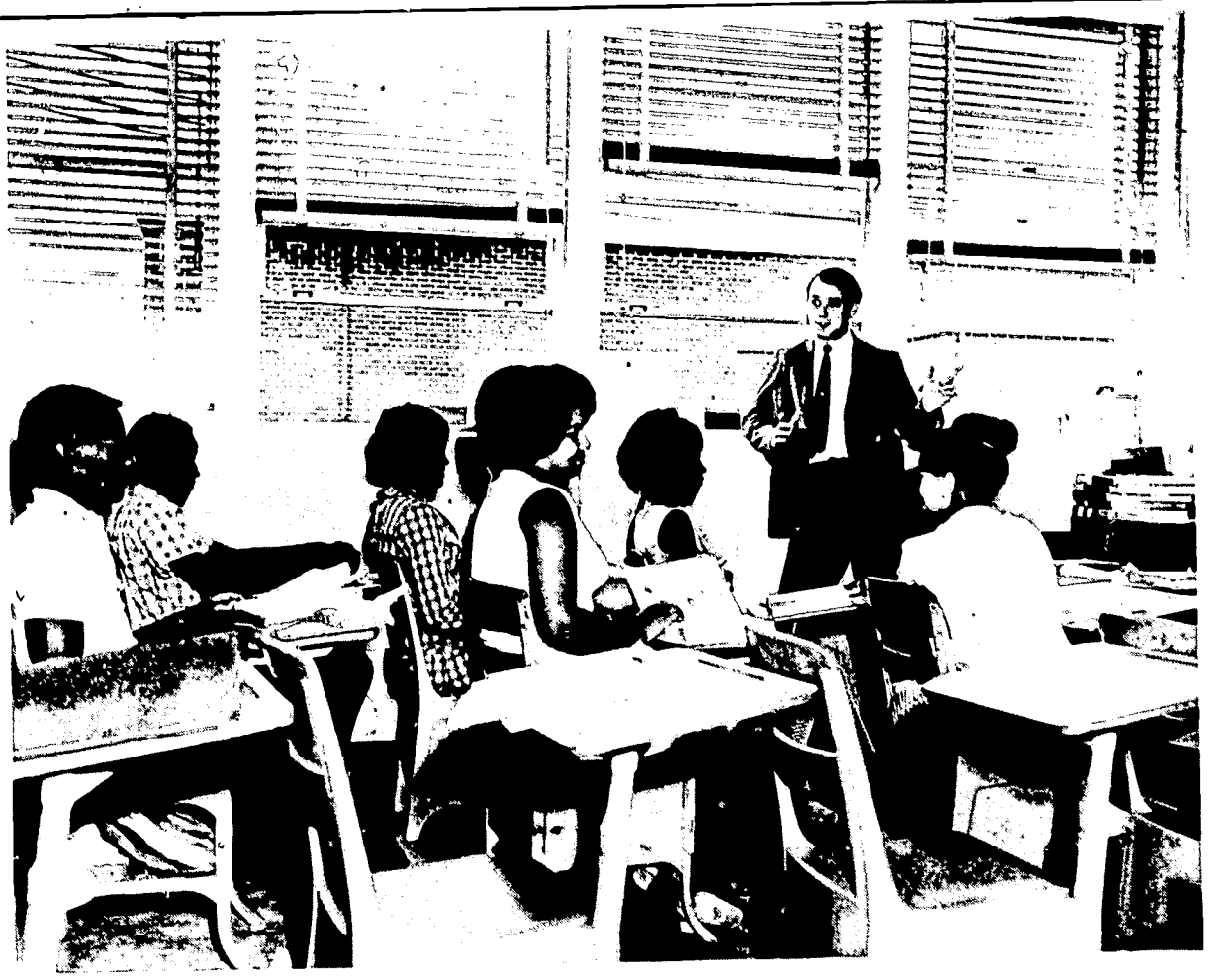
There may be more that Andrews could do, but black and white voters apparently feel that he has come a long way on a political path where maneuvering is difficult. If the majority-Negro electorate is dissatisfied as a bloc, it is not making a show of it this year. "I think he has the support of about 75 per cent of the Negro community," said Robert T. Ingram, a Negro who has been a member of the school board since 1966. In September, Andrews was unopposed in his re-election to a second term.

Andrews' personality is a key factor in many of the successes which can be measured in Hancock County. He is a gregarious, hefty, 44-year-old redhead who looks the part of his Scotch-Irish ancestry. But he can easily give the impression that the red hair spells trouble held in tight check along with the heft. He seems to be a political man by nature, one who knows how to use the handshake, the joke, some serious talk along with some serious-minded plans for the future —all equally well.

The superintendent is a natural teacher as well as a natural talker, an asset that helps him. While showing a visitor around Sparta School Center, he stepped into a science classroom and spent nearly 15 minutes talking to the students about snakes, their habits and virtues, and one particular king snake he observed at his cotton farm. One reason why Andrews may be able to move calmly in the emotional area of race may be his background as a professional musician. Earlier in his life, he spent about eight years playing the trumpet throughout the South with dance bands that included Negroes. Before his election as superintendent, he was also a popular school band director.

Although desegregation may be the most critical emotional and political issue facing the board of education and the superintendent, the most powerful weapon at their disposal is making the public schools more attractive to dissident white parents and making education in general more attractive to all students, especially the disadvantaged. This is not easy in Hancock County, one of the poorest counties in the state. It has a budget of only $1.5 million, including about $400,000 in federal aid.

Efforts to create a new educational environment began with Andrews' first term in 1965, but most of the changes started in the 1966-67 school year. There is no statistical evidence, despite intensive testing for two years, that the efforts have produced any tangible, widespread gains in either teachers or students.



Jim Dorris, 24-year-old speech teacher, is one of several young specialists employed recently. They divide their time between two schools but give most of it to all-Negro Hancock Central High.

Class in television technology is the only remnant of a plan to offset racial imbalance by offering courses at one school to attract both races. Instructor J. W. Holton is at right.

Andrews, however, said that there are signs among newer test results to show that the usual two-year academic lag of Negroes behind white children has been reduced to 13 months.

If there is a lack of results in the classroom, there are some ameliorating circumstances—generally the type shared by most of the majority districts. The per-family income has probably changed little since the 1960 U. S. Census reported it to be $2,146 per year. About 67 per cent of the families earned less than $3,000 annually and the mean income is lower than any of the seven-county area around Hancock. The median number of years of education for persons over 25 years of age was 6.8 and only 16 per cent of the population had completed high school. Add to these things the myriad health problems among the poor and the limited job opportunities for black people and the picture takes on a dismal hue, especially for school leaders.

There have been no startling or dramatic educational ventures in Hancock County schools, but a host of programs of varying size and duration have been launched. In co-operation with the University of Georgia's college of education, last year there were experiments with new techniques and materials for both teachers and students in English, mathematics,

physical education, reading, science, social studies and speech. There were also a nongraded primary program, another which organized elementary instruction by departments rather than the traditional self-contained classroom, and attempts to improve library service, record-keeping and testing. However, only the nongraded and departmentalization programs will be continued this year.

Other efforts to improve schooling in Hancock County include Project Head Start and a school-board-sponsored kindergarten that attracted 180 Negro and 13 white children last year; two special education clinics for both elementary and high-school slow learners; a health program; the hiring of about a dozen teacher aides; an extensive teacher in-service program; the hiring of at least a few exceptionally qualified new teachers in specialties needed by disadvantaged students; the expansion of the curriculum in both high schools, and a change to the quarter system, allowing students to take a greater variety of courses during a school year.

Establishment of such a varied program is one thing. Its effectiveness is another and its full acceptance still another.

Dr. Marion J. Rice, a consultant from the University of Georgia and director of the university's efforts in Hancock County, said there has been "no carry-through" on the part of most teachers who attended the in-service training sessions. In an annual report of the overall school improvement project, under Dr. Rice's direction, "inadequate rapport between [university] consultants and teachers" was called a 'basic problem." Later, Dr. Rice said the Hancock teachers, especially the Negro instructors, strongly resisted and resented the instructors' activities. He said there were "too many teachers who just sit down on the job," particularly with the slower children. He added that the proportion of this kind of teacher was no more than in other counties.

As for improvements among students, Dr. Rice said: "There are some encouraging things going on but if you were to ask me if there were any substantial educational achievements, I'd have to say 'No.'"

On the positive side of the ledger for Hancock County schools, Dr. Rice said, are the reports on the various educational experiments and tests over the past two years, including semiannual computer reports on continuing tests being given to students.

"This in itself is an achievement," he said. "Creating a permanent data bank in Hancock County is one of the most comprehensive records on children of any school district outside of the metropolitan cities." In most of the small, poorer school districts the existence of a few pages of knowledge about pupils' classroom performance is rare. Such information is essential to building better school programs.

Although Dr. Rice is critical of Hancock County's response to challenge, he viewed the efforts in comparison with most poor counties in the Southeast, especially those majority districts. "At least they are attempting to do something. In two years, all of their efforts have not been as successful as they should have been, but I would say that they have tried to create a good attitude toward education."

Perhaps as a casual concession that something positive did happen as a result of the in-service and other programs, the annual report of 1967-68 stated that the School Improvement Project was "having a favorable impact on pupil and teacher performance."

But a belief that the statement is true is not casual with E. A. Lowe, formerly an administrator with several institutions in the university system of Georgia and now co-ordinator of federal programs in Hancock County.

"Before, our teachers were not really conscious of the fact that they had been dealing with deprived

children," Lowe said. "There has been a tremendous change in the morale and sense of belonging in the faculty. Two years ago they were teaching classes, not individuals."

Perhaps the best gauge of change in Hancock County's new venture with integration and educational betterment is its teachers. This may be best illustrated in one teacher who turned away from change in a special way and thereby served the cause of change and another who started teaching in conservative Hancock County already committed to the changes sought by many youthful protestors against the *status quo*.

Mrs. Betty Dickens, a widow who has taught social studies at Sparta School Center for 13 years, had taught most of those years under a segregated system of education. And she preferred it that way. When integration loomed only a few months away in 1965, Mrs. Dickens faced a tough decision: Leave or teach biracial classes. (The next year, four Sparta teachers left to join the private academy faculty.)

"I stayed here because I had my roots here," said Mrs. Dickens. She did not portray herself as rushing to the cause of integration but rather as someone who chose another ideal—the teaching of children in the public-school system. She said she was fully prepared to teach all-Negro classes, as many teachers thought they would have to do when integration began.

In one respect, Jim Dorris, 24, of Providence, Ky., is out of place in Hancock County. Handpicked by Supt. Andrews for his specialty—speech—Dorris has his own reasons for liking what he is doing.

"One reason is that I am totally against the war in Vietnam. But I'm patriotic enough to want to do something to help my country." He left a job teaching undergraduates at the University of Georgia where he earned a master's degree in speech. He spends two-thirds of his teaching day at Hancock Central.

"I was tired of university teaching, mainly because of the bad taste of it. There is a sameness to teaching affluent kids. I wanted to do something different." ○

READING: A 'NEW' METHOD IN MARYLAND

By Kenneth J. Rabben

BREAKING THE READING barrier continues to be a formidable challenge to school people. Students who don't learn to read with ease and understandir - are pretty much out of the running. And uncountable legions of young people suffer from that handicap—those from unhelpful environments worst of all.

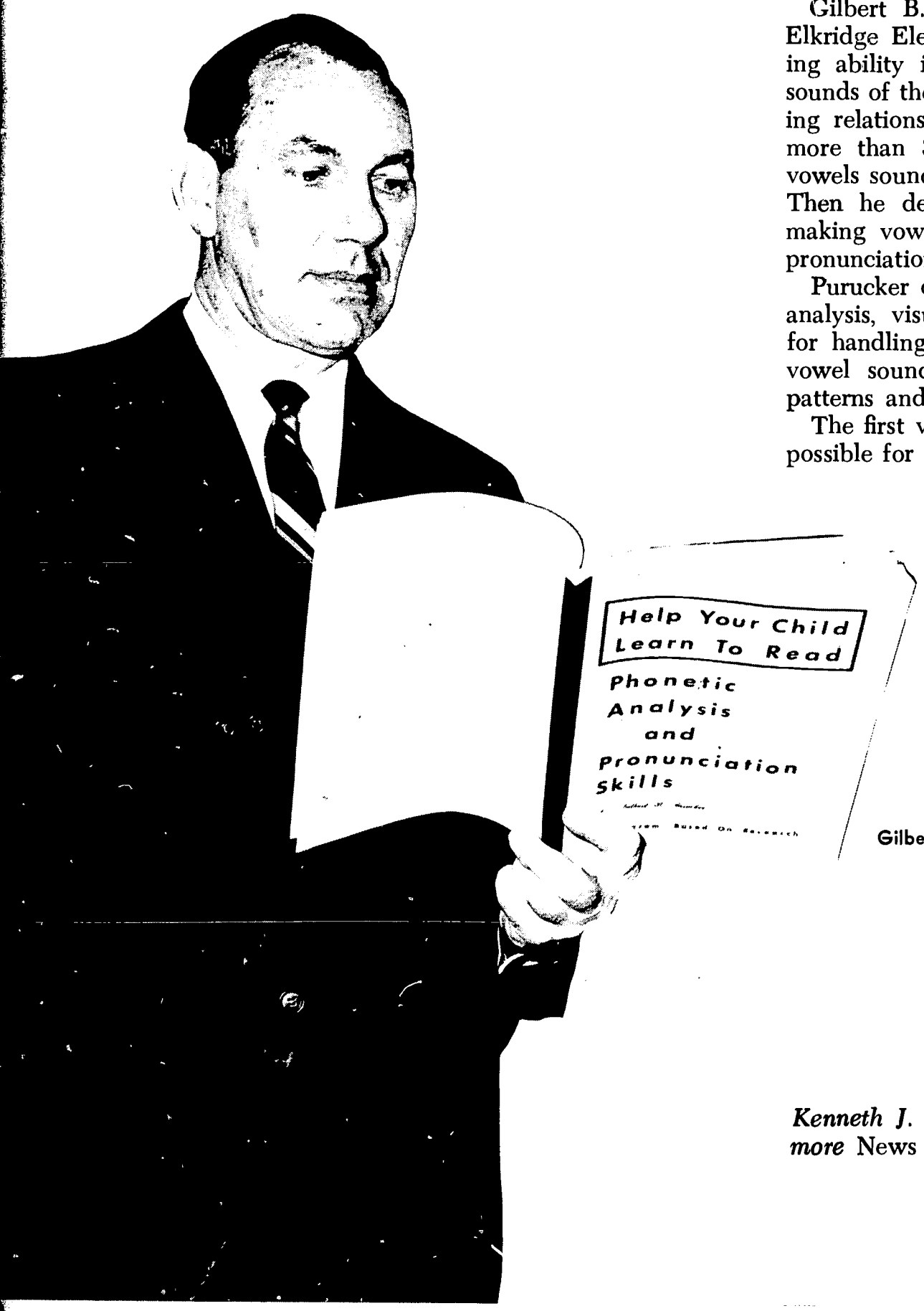
Reading systems continue to blossom and fade. Some of them have been grabbed up earnestly and pressed into use with varying results. Others have met resistance from educators if not from students and parents, also with varying results. The subject continues unresolved.

Meanwhile, there are reports of notable success with "new" methods—or expansions of known ways. One of these comes from Howard County, Md., eight miles from Baltimore, and results are reported to be "startling" among elementary-school pupils as well as hardened high-school dropouts.

Gilbert B. Purucker, the 51-year-old principal of Elkridge Elementary School, is convinced that reading ability is based in large part on knowing the sounds of the vowels. Six years ago, he began analyzing relationships between vowels and consonants in more than 3,500 words. He noticed that the way vowels sound depends upon their positions in words. Then he devised nine generalizations or rules for making vowel sounds, allowing for irregularities in pronunciation and spelling.

Purucker came up with a combination of phonetic analysis, visual discrimination and some techniques for handling them. The key to it is mastery of the vowel sounds, awareness of vowel and consonant patterns and the use of the vowel generalizations.

The first vowel rule alone, Purucker says, makes it possible for a beginning reader to attack successfully



Gilbert B. Purucker and his book.

Kenneth J. Rabben is education editor of the Baltimore News American.

more than three-fourths of the words he encounters. The rule: a vowel is usually short if it is followed by "c," "ck," "d," "m," "n," "p," "s," "t" or "v" but only if the word does not end with an "e." This includes the short "oo." Purucker says his research shows that use of all nine vowel rules, coupled with his word-attack techniques taught in a concrete, systematic manner, allows readers to expect success 90 per cent of the time.

Pupils first are taught the shapes and forms of letters they don't know. The shapes and forms then are related to letter sounds. Drills in this type of visual discrimination are continued until letter sounds are mastered. Listening exercises are provided next to teach that vowel sounds are dependent upon their relationships to consonants. Students are asked to search for and to describe the relationships.

This leads to the pupil's deduction of the first vowel rule. Other vowel rules are taught the same way. When pupils have learned the nine rules through their own visual discrimination, phonetic analysis and deductive abilities, rather than by a rote process, the teaching becomes more abstract and concentrated.

Pupils are provided with a great deal of material based on the rules, designed to help them gain and retain confidence in their use. They are asked which rule applies to each word they tackle, and to explain why one rule is used rather than another.

Unlike some other reading methods introducing several skills at once, Purucker's method works with one skill at a time and does not move on until it is mastered. With careful teaching, Purucker found, even kindergarten pupils became adept. There was marked improvement in reading ability in the pilot classes, and many parents in the Elkridge community were enthusiastic.

While the use of phonics and visual discrimination in reading instruction is not new, converts to the Purucker method believe it is unusual because of its use of logic and deduction, based on empirical research. Pro-Purucker people say pupils are challenged to think and develop independence—and thereby the method is capable of improving pupils' reading ability by one to five years, as measured by standardized and other test scores, in comparatively short periods of time.

Purucker's method initially was designed for parents interested in helping their children learn to read. In 1963, when the preliminary research was completed, he wrote a parents' manual, *Help Your Child Learn to Read: Phonetic Analysis and Pronunciation Skills.* He also developed a diagnostic reading test. Two years later, in 1965, Purucker introduced the method in kindergarten through third grades at the Elkridge school.

But few people in the Howard County school system seemed interested in a reading method contrary to the tried and true "look-say" system, and which might indicate that they had been teaching reading ineffectively. At that time, phonics was passé.

Today, the Purucker method extends through the fifth grade at Elkridge. Fifteen of the 25 children who started with the method in 1965 entered the third grade this fall using a sixth-year reader. Now, Purucker is developing a sixth-year program and a corollary to the vowel rules, spelling rules. In Howard County, the method still is confined to the Elkridge School. But outside the county, the story is different.

Elkridge first-graders study vowel rules under guidance of Mrs. Margy Rappaport.

With a colleague, Purucker opened the Baltimore Reading Clinic to provide retarded readers with tutorial services. Maryland's chapter of the Reading Reform Foundation began championing Purucker's method. Two years ago, a newspaper article published coast-to-coast said the method's developer was and ignored by some state education officials.

The story was published at the same time reading specialists from all parts of the country were attending a convention in California. On the convention floor, there were demands that Maryland's department of education stop hiding Purucker, his research and work. There were requests for complete information about the method that they were told gave young children the skill to read newspapers, dictionaries, encyclopediae and literary classics, all with comparative ease, before they normally might be expected to do so. The specialists wanted to know about reports that kindergarten children had the acquired ability to pronounce anyone's name properly the first time they saw it.

At that time, the state of Maryland had no connection with Purucker and knew little about this method. It still apparently doesn't.

Requests for information poured into the Elkridge School. Purucker offered to show his research, techniques and how they worked in the classroom to anyone. He taught his method to teachers in Eastern York, Pa., and to instructors in several Maryland counties.

Two summers ago, at a Baltimore Reading Clinic workshop, Purucker worked with 13 teachers and 40 youngsters. Half of the pupils were from Baltimore's inner city. According to Baltimore public school records, most city pupils are three to three and a half years behind their contemporaries as measured by standardized tests. These scores have not changed for more than a decade, with the lower scores among inner-city children.

This was the first time Purucker was able to use his method with inner-city pupils on such a scale. A dozen of the 20 inner-city youngsters recorded a year's growth in flash vocabulary tests and 13 improved a year in untimed vocabulary tests. Five inner-city pupils showed two years' growth on the flash test and three improved two years on the untimed measure. One pupil's score jumped three years on the untimed test. Six failed to show improvement on any test. Purucker says at least 80 per cent of the entire group of 40 pupils advanced a year or more in reading ability. They had received an average of 11 hours of tutoring.

A year ago, efforts were made to get Purucker a federal research grant, but a reading specialist then with the state education department gave a less-than-enthusiastic report of Purucker's methods. Also, state officials said available funds already had been allocated when the request was made.

But, soon after the state reading expert quit his post to assume similar duties in a Maryland county outside Washington, he asked Purucker to teach his method to his county's instructors. Purucker agreed, but the project was cut from the budget.

Today, reading specialists in Alameda, Calif., are testing Purucker's method, using 16-mm. sound films he provided.

This fall, the federally financed Job Corps Center in Baltimore, operated by the Burroughs Corp., began using the techniques with high-school dropouts. More than 300 of the city's alienated youth will be taught reading by the Purucker method. If the experiment continues to win converts here, it could go into use in Job Corps centers throughout the United States and gain national recognition. As of September, though, it had been seen in operation by only one reading specialist of the Baltimore City Schools and used by only a few city teachers.

Fred Peak, head Job Corps teacher, who holds a master's degree in education, said his three instructors were at first dismayed at having no say in selection of the reading method. He said, "The teachers were a bit embarrassed at their own lack of ability to know the vowel sounds." But "once the elements of success were provided, they responded like patients to treatment. There was a complete change in attitude."

The Job Corps project seeks to provide 16- to 21-year-old dropouts basic language and arithmetic skills to enable them to learn trades taught at the school. At first, the lowest reading group received an hour's instruction daily. When vocational teachers complained that the students read too poorly to learn their trades, another hour was added.

Corps teacher Mrs. Mary Bernadette Reid said the Purucker method at first "was hard to learn for an older person with set ways." But she supports it. She said the method "uses logic and gives reasons why. . . . Students can understand the reasons for what they're doing. They are not being asked to memorize." After two weeks' work with two dropouts, she reported, their reading skills were increased from second- to third-grade level.

Mrs. Reid, whose four years of teaching includes work with children and adults, acknowledges that the small classes—12 students in a room—and the fact that she is a black woman working with black students would tend to improve reading taught by almost any method. But she still is convinced that Purucker's method is the primary reason for the improvement.

James McManaman, another Job Corps teacher, was hostile to the method because it was dropped in the teachers' laps without consultation or warning. But now he praises the Purucker method's flexibility. "A fantastic amount of insight can be culled from Purucker's research." Corps teacher James Pavlakis, who recently taught writing and literature at Johns Hopkins University, said the method "provides an analytic skill and starts with students at ground zero. It is so basic. It doesn't take anything for granted. It teaches reading in a complete, logical and basic se-

quence. It shows the patterns of words and the relationships of vowels and consonants in them. It doesn't let your integrity down. It provides reasons based on occurrence and I can teach it without having to shut off half my brain," Pavlakis said.

Two of the three instructors used the method exclusively the first two weeks the center was open and one did not. Reading scores of students not exposed to the complete method dropped, while improvements were recorded in the other classes, according to reports Purucker said were submitted to Burroughs officials. Mrs. Reid and Pavlakis say the Purucker method is the best means they have seen for breaking through the barriers to successful reading built into hardened young adults from the ghetto.

Meanwhile, Purucker is field-testing his spelling rules. He believes correct pronunciation is one of the keys to spelling success. His spelling method, he says, also gives pupils a reason to know and use the parts of speech, since words are spelled differently according to their form in a sentence.

Purucker's method—a total language arts concept —is designed to meet individual differences and to make certain a pupil's questions are answered. Purucker does not believe in purposefully frustrating children or adults, but he doesn't hesitate to require them to think for themselves.

He is a determined man. He believes he can open doors to a new world for masses of people, whomever and wherever they are. He is waiting for the people in charge to knock. ○

SOUTHERN EDUCATION REPORT
P. O. BOX 6156
NASHVILLE, TENN. 37212

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
NASHVILLE, TENN.
PERMIT NO. 1434

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

JUN 69-R-13987
ERIC-IRCD
TEACHERS COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK, NY 10027