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To obtain a clearer understanding of the problems of urban education in Illinois, a committee of seven State legislators and 14 lay citizens engaged in a three-part study: (1) A series of statewide public hearings was held, resulting in 27 proposed solutions, and five universities submitted plans for their increased participation in the improvement of urban education. (2) Dr. Ben C. Hubbard reported on attempts to solve urban education problems in Baltimore and New York City. (3) Professional members of the committee reviewed 57 items of literature issued between 1964 and 1968, concerning problems of urban education. Recommendations made by the committee, as a result of their study, included allocation of State school funds on the basis of average daily membership, enactment of legislation empowering the State superintendent of public instruction to work with district superintendents and local boards of education to bring individual schools up to recognized developmental standards, formation of a council to aid development of programs for educationally disadvantaged children, improvement of vocational education for students in the inner city, and enactment of State legislation providing for financial support of preschool programs. (JK)

A Report by the Urban Studies
Sub-Committee of the
Tenth School Problems Commission

State of Illinois
1969

A STUDY OF URBAN EDUCATION

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Chicago, Illinois

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A REPORT BY THE URBAN STUDIES SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE
10th SCHOOL PROBLEMS COMMISSION

The authority for the sub-committee was:

Study urban school districts. 4.1. The commission shall select a sub-committee and provide it with an adequate staff to study the specific needs of urban school districts in Illinois, suggest methods of meeting such needs, and the role of the State in relation thereto. The report of such subcommittee shall be included in the report of the commission to the General Assembly. (Added by L. 1967, H.B. 1924, approved September 8, 1967.)

(Section 2. Appropriation $10,000.) P. 419, School Code of Illinois.

The officers of the sub-committee were:

Chairman Senator Esther Saperstein, Chicago, Illinois
Vice Chairman Mr. George T. Wilkins, Granite City, Illinois
Educational Consultant and Editor Dr. Ben C. Hubbard, Illinois State University, Normal, Illinois
Secretary Mrs. Mildred Kittell, Springfield, Illinois

The members of the sub-committee were:

Legislative Members

Senator John G. Gilbert, Carbondale, Illinois
Senator Esther Saperstein, Chicago, Illinois
Senator Paul Simon, Troy, Illinois (currently serving as Lt. Governor)
Representative Charles W. Clabaugh, Champaign, Illinois
Representative Frances Dawson, Evanston, Illinois
Representative Genoa Washington, Chicago, Illinois
Representative Chester R. Wiktorski, Jr., Chicago, Illinois

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Mrs. Carol Kimmel, Rock Island, Illinois
Mr. Ronald Ladley, Riverton, Illinois
Dr. Arthur Lehne, Chicago, Illinois
Dr. A. Hugh Livingston, Springfield, Illinois (has taken a superintendency in California)

Dr. Robert Lynn, Peoria, Illinois
Dr. J. M. Sachs, Chicago, Illinois
Mrs. Charlotte Senechalle, Chicago, Illinois
Mr. George T. Wilkins, Granite City, Illinois

The Urban Studies Committee, at its organizational meeting, elected Senator Esther Saperstein as chairman, Mr. George T. Wilkins as co-chairman, and asked Dr. Ben C. Hubbard to serve as the educational consultant to the committee. At the same meeting it was decided that Mrs. Mildred Kittell, the secretary for the School Problems Commission, would meet with the committee and serve as the secretary.

It was determined in the beginning that the study of problems of the urban centers would be attacked in three basic ways. The sub-committee would hold hearings in parts of the state so that persons in each major geographic area could attend without difficulty. Dr. Hubbard would, while on sabbatical leave, visit Baltimore, Maryland, and New York City and would, in addition to his general study of the way that cities administer their schools, look at programs which showed promise for use in Illinois. The professionals would look at what had been written on the subject and try to condense some of it into a paper that would be helpful to all members. All three of these approaches are reported in the following pages of this report.

When the hearings and the studies reported later in this report had been completed, the sub-committee agreed upon the following conclusions and recommendations.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The Urban Studies Sub-Committee of the School Problems Commission has concluded that urban centers have some educational problems which are common to most schools and some that are peculiar because of the nature and structure of urban centers. The general experience of the committee and testimony presented indicate that most schools and all urban schools have a serious need for revenue in larger amounts from sources outside the local community or municipality given the present or any conceived system of local taxation. The committee has thus concluded that one major need of urban school systems is a massive increase in state aid in such a way as to increase the expenditure level so that programs may be developed in the several urban centers of the state to meet special needs. If possible, legislation to assure expenditure of the increased funds to at least in part meet known needs rather than to contribute totally to the spiral of cost would be desirable.

In addition to the increased funds which local boards of education would be permitted to use with whatever administrative restrictions the General Assembly places on them, the sub-committee believes that the following specific ideas and recommendations are important for the state in its relationship to urban schools.

I. Method of Counting Pupils for State Assistance: For many years funds have been allocated on a basis of average daily attendance. On the surface, the method of counting pupils to divide up a given amount of funds would not make much difference in the amount of money a school would get so long as each school used the same method. We find that the nature of communities, the educational goals of parents or lack of such goals, and other sociological factors affect the attendance rates of students. When average daily attendance is counted for distributing funds, it tends to cause the very schools that need low teacher-pupil ratios to have high pupil-teacher ratios and most such schools are in urban centers.

School districts must provide desks and buildings for children who are lax in attendance as well as those who come each day if the real needs of students are to be met. Truancy and attendance laws, apart from the allotment

of funds, should be enforced; but where circumstances beyond the control of the school cause poor attendance, districts should not be penalized.

To correct some of the hardship on urban centers and to divide the funds more equitably, we recommend that school funds be allocated on a basis of average daily membership. A system of counting such membership should be developed by the Office of Public Instruction, but the statutes should require dropping a student after ten consecutive days of absence.

II. Support for Local Districts by the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction: In addition to the current support supplied by the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for all schools, the sub-committee believes that the office should set up specific standards to assure individual school development. Specifically, the state Superintendent of Public Instruction should be empowered to recognize schools on an attendance center basis. The Superintendent of Public Instruction should be empowered to work with the superintendent of a district and the local board of education to put in programs to bring schools up to recognition standards. The Office of Public Instruction should have the staff to give support and assistance to districts to guarantee improved education.

We therefore recommend that statutes be enacted to empower the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to set up a program or programs for the above purposes.

III. A Council to Recommend Pilot Programs to Aid Educationally Disadvantaged Children: As the committee has heard testimony and has studied the literature related to the field, the members have become convinced that aiding the educationally disadvantaged student is a significant part of the cure for the urban problem and the problems of education generally. As a result, we have tried to find ways not currently being utilized that the state might help to correct the circumstances which lead to educational deprivation and ways to alter the education of the already educationally deprived student. We believe that the problems creating or perpetuating educational deprivation are many

and varied, but that they are frequently different in different communities because those communities have faced their problems differently. As a result, local understanding and local planning is necessary for projects to have the greatest impact at the place where it is needed, the reason for the educationally deprived.

We believe that, if the state help is to be effectual, a council to review proposed projects, to determine the effect they will have on educationally deprived students and to recommend funding, is needed. Such a council should have members from the Office of Public Instruction, local boards of education, public schools, the School Problems Commission, and universities. The council should be empowered to approve experimental projects without normal restriction in order to make recommendations for change of current practices and to accept funds from private sources.

We recommend that a council as described above be established; that this report be studied for ideas; and that school districts and universities be encouraged to develop new programs to aid the educationally deprived.

The following are examples of programs suggested to this sub-committee which are described in this report and which a properly operating council might consider and assist in developing.

a. The development of programs fitted to urban settings, such as those proposed by the several universities. The council could then have these evaluated and expand those which showed promise.

b. Magnet schools, or educational parks, could be evaluated and support given for the part of the program beyond normal school cost.

c. Cooperative projects between various health and other agencies of state and local governments could be approved. The sub-committee feels strongly that all agencies that can help educationally deprived children should be coordinating their efforts. The council suggested could approve and support programs such as the Woodlawn project described briefly in this report.

d. The council could serve to advise the legislature of the attitude of parents and communities and the effect some educational legislation will

have on those attitudes. Examples of attitudes not generally expressed in legislative circles can be found in item #18 in the report of the public hearings of this report.

e. Funding of model schools for educationally disadvantaged when the per cent of such children is high.

f. Scholarships to develop members of minority or linguistic groups so that they could make significant contributions.

g. A senior teacher, or master teacher, program.

h. Compensatory programs for schools not covered or adequately funded under the federal programs.

i. Research on urban problems.

j. Programs of vocational training and guidance for "potential early school leavers."

k. Comprehensive health education curricula to be worked out at the local level and funded by the state. This curricula might include different materials for different communities, but should include a comprehensive approach to the problem.

IV. Vocational and Technical Education for Inner-City Students: The problems of employment and job opportunities are especially accute for students who live in what has been termed the "inner city." The learning of a skill that is marketable is one way to break out of the social setting. Such plans as a vocational competence in at least one area for each student have been suggested to the committee.

We believe that special emphasis on having courses in current and marketable skills available for every student in the urban centers has merit and should be encouraged by the General Assembly.

V. Pre-School Experiences: The committee feels that school for pre-kindergarten students has been successful in many cases and that such schools should be encouraged where boards of education feel that they are necessary.

We therefore recommend the enactment of legislation making it permissive for boards of education to operate pre-school classes and permitting students so enrolled to be counted for state reimbursement similar to the way kindergarten is currently calculated.

VI. Decentralization: The committee has explored the question of decentralization in general and has looked at the Illinois situation in particular. Chicago is experimenting with decentralization in some forms. We believe that this is the proper approach to the problem. If current laws hamper what appears to be good for students in organizational patterns and they need changing, the General Assembly should cooperate. However, hastily conceived and piecemeal solutions should be avoided by the General Assembly. Legislation, if needed in this area, should be carefully studied with all groups affected.

We therefore recommend that there be no legislation related to the problem of decentralization at this time and that, if any is needed in the future, it be planned carefully in cooperation with all parties concerned.

The Public Hearings

The first public hearing was held in Chicago on June 6, 1968, and the last formal hearing was held in Chicago on December 6, 1968. During the months from June until December, hearings were held in Edwardsville, East St. Louis, Rockford, Peoria, Decatur, and several in Chicago. The suburbs were given one full day, the City of Chicago problems were presented at one hearing, and the citizens in the urban centers around the state were encouraged to present problems at one of the hearings held in downstate Illinois. In addition to the citizens of urban areas and school persons, the universities of the state were invited to spend the day at the last hearing in Chicago outlining ways which they felt they could assist with the urban problem.

Without attempting to repeat the things which the sub-committee has heard, the followirg is a summary of ideas presented and solutions proposed for the urban problems of the state. For the committee's recommendations, the reader should turn to the end of the report. Some of the suggestions and ideas summarized below are almost, if not total, opposites but are reported to inform the reader of the variety of ideas held by citizens of Illinois.

1. Without the exception of a single meeting, although some individual presenters disagreed, the sub-committee was told that the all-encompassing problem of the city was a shortage of funds. In as many ways as any other committee of the General Assembly has heard the cry for funds and in some unique ways, the sub-committee was told of the tremendous need for funds. In many cases the request for more funds had nothing to do with needs for special consideration because of urban problems, but the requests were for more state funds to do the job of education. In a sense, the sub-committee has omitted the specifics of these requests for general financial support from this report and left the problem of specific recommendations about general finance to the School Problems Commission. Where suggestions have seemed to be related to the problems caused by urbanization, they have been reported.

2. After Superintendent Redmond of Chicago showed clearly that the use of standardized tests revealed that at every level the children in the City of

Chicago were, on the average, near the national norms, he pointed out the wide difference in the average achievement of students in the schools of the inner city and the outer areas. The inner city children at every level tested were, on the average, far behind. He suggested the following special help to correct the deficiencies of inner-city schools.

a. A quality guidance program that covers all facets of pupil personnel work and includes specially trained psychologists. He estimated that there were 40,000 pupils that needed special help in this area that the lack of funds prevented the Chicago board helping.

b. Health services need to be increased significantly to guarantee the spotting of malnutrition, hygienic neglect, and other health problems.

c. The inner city has greater numbers of children who are classified as special education children. More help to deal with this problem is needed.

d. Special teachers in such areas as speech improvement, reading laboratories, reading centers or clinics with special staffing for theme reading and other individualized teaching personnel are needed by inner-city children because they get less help at home.

e. Mathematics and science laboratories with staff are needed by all children, but especially are they necessary if inner-city children are to be able to compensate for that which is already missing in their lives.

f. Research on a system-wide basis with adequate staff to do more than day-to-day checking of the status quo is needed to analyze fully the special needs of the city.

g. A program to lift the cultural, social, and economic levels of inner-city adults is needed.

h. Providing a program to assure inner-city children access to flexible and functional resource centers is needed and will cost a significant amount.

3. The idea of a magnet school to house many students who pursue a common core education while having an opportunity to pursue individual special interests was suggested as an approach to helping educate the inner-city pupils.

4. To help the non-public schools help the inner city, the following suggestions were made:

a. Include in the Office of Public Instruction a bureau for services to non-public school pupils.

b. Improve transportation services for non-public schools so that children in non-public schools are transported not just when they live along a route or when there is room (a law similar to New York's).

c. Have the state provide free textbooks.

d. Improve services to non-public schools in such areas as medical, nursing, and nutrition.

e. Contract with non-public schools for special curricula badly needed in the inner city; develop projects in the non-public schools for inner-city children that cost more than regular classes, including enriched programs with reduced class size and similar items; and increase the use of buildings which the inner-city non-public schools are not fully utilizing. (The recommendation was similar to the Pennsylvania plan of contracting with non-public schools.)

f. Provide scholarships to students who go to the non-public schools in the same way that scholarships are already awarded at the college level.

5. A request to preserve the neighborhood school and to abandon all bussing of pupils was made by several groups. They also spoke out against "schemes" to replace the neighborhood schools with magnet schools and educational parks. Strong resentment against forced integration through federal programs was expressed.

6. A call was made for an elected board of education for Chicago so that areas of the city with special concerns could be represented.

7. A department was recommended in the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to deal with the problems of school segregation, particularly as they relate to the Armstrong Act.

8. Develop a stronger state participation in vocational education to allow the proper development of area vocational centers without robbing already existing academic programs in local districts. For some areas, develop resident area and regional vocational centers.

9. The liberalization of the method used to certify special teachers was requested as a means of getting special skills needed for special children. (An example cited was than an auto mechanic who teaches today must be supervised by a certified teacher who may not be expert in auto mechanics. It was felt that some parents have special skills that could be used to enrich programs and that these skills should be recognized and used.)

10. There is a great need for in-service training in the urban centers. A number of persons have suggested ways to establish in-service training. Some of the suggestions include more released time for teachers during the school day; increasing the days that school can operate less than 5 hours, and establishing regular in-service programs; bringing university persons to school districts to work with teachers in the setting in which they teach; and having inner-city teachers and university teachers training teachers actually exchange positions for one year.

11. Several groups suggested that any increase in funds for Chicago be examined closely to prevent the Chicago Board of Education and its superintendent from using tax funds to force unwanted "integration."

12. A specific request was made to disassociate the City of Rockford and the school board of that city by giving complete power to the school board over tax levies and their civil service employees, powers over which the city at present has some control.

13. A suggestion was made that we can succeed in ghetto schools only if we change the formal structure in which the child is trapped. One suggestion for breaking this structure was to organize clusters for teaching based on bringing many specialists to work with groups of children, and especially teachers who believe in the ability of the children. The virtual creation of a new way of educating is, it was suggested, necessary. (For specific details, see the paper by Dean W. Deane Wiley of Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, presented to the sub-committee at East St. Louis on August 31, 1968.)

14. A suggestion was made that the problems of the ghetto were related to race and that in some cities segregation or pure racism caused many of the problems that are considered urban. It was suggested that the system has accommodated racism rather than working to eliminate it, and this needs to change within the institution.

15. To eliminate racism, it was suggested that higher education become involved and that programs be set in motion to train teachers properly without the built-in racism. (For details, see paper dated July 10, 1968, prepared by Benjamin Solomon, Department of Education, Chicago State College, Chicago, which is on file in the School Problems Commission office. Also see ISU proposal for teacher training reported in a later section of this report.)

16. It was suggested that a 12-month school year would make better education available and permit higher salaries for teachers, plus allowing other accrued advantages. This was suggested to help meet the needs of the rapidly growing urban centers.

17. It was suggested that school board membership be limited to persons having children in school. This plan was proposed to insure genuine interest on the part of board members in the educational effect of board decisions.

18. A presentation suggested the following imperatives as guidelines for developing urban education:

a. The need to change the attitudes and expectations of teachers of disadvantaged youth.

b. The need for drastic changes in the training of teachers.

c. The need for curriculum change within the schools (of the urban areas).

d. The need to change present methods of controls in the urban schools (local involvement).

e. The upgrading of the black schools.

(For specifics and expanded discussion of each imperative, see testimony of Dr. Donald H. Smith, Director, Center for Inner-City Studies, Northeastern Illinois State College, on file in the School Problems Commission office.)

19. A need for a reorganization of neighborhood services was suggested. An experimental mental health program coordinated with the school staff has been used in the Woodlawn area of Chicago and has been able to spot early problems and to plan cooperatively with the school and other agencies to meet the needs of children. (For more detail, see the paper by Drs. Killom and Schiff on file in the School Problems Commission office.)

20. It was suggested that a system of priorities so that tax dollars would take care of first things (critical needs) first be established. (The priorities were not listed.)

21. Increased state aid based upon a realistic appraisal of potential revenue sources was proposed as the real solution to the urban problem.

22. A demonstration of how funds could be used to raise the educational level of the schools of Chicago was presented by Superintendent Redmond. Specific uses for funds were illustrated and needs documented to show why money could help solve the educational problem. (A detailed documentation of needs presented is on file in the School Problems Commission office.)

23. Several groups have, during the hearings, presented pleas that something be done for the urban schools which are not considered inner city. Pleas for materials such as those purchased under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for the inner-city schools and pleas for rehabilitating buildings have been made.

24. To facilitate buildings to house urban children, it was suggested that the law be changed so that a board of education could sell bonds up to the 5% debt limit without a referendum. This would, it was contended, especially aid the cities.

25. It was stated that pre-kindergarten programs are a necessity in urban centers and that the law in Illinois should be changed to permit boards of education to operate programs for pre-school children, ages 3 to 6, and count such children for state assistance.

26. The continuation school authorized in Section 13-1 of the School Code of Illinois is, in Section 13-3, made mandatory for all students, age 16 to 18, who are employed and have not completed a four-year secondary course. Since the mandatory provision is impractical to enforce, many districts do not operate this type school even for those who want it. It was recommended that the School Code be amended to make attendance optional.

27. One of the serious problems facing urban centers which wish to transport pupils to eliminate de facto segregation is the cost of such transportation. It was recommended that a special transportation reimbursement be established to pay districts' costs when they have to transport students to comply with

state and federal laws requiring the elimination of de facto segregation in the schools. It was suggested that the system used for vocational education and special education classes where 4/5 of the cost is paid by the state would be a workable solution.

28. At the request of the sub-committee to universities, the following universities submitted plans for becoming involved in urban education: Illinois State University; Northern Illinois University; Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville; University of Illinois at Chicago Circle; and University of Illinois at Urbana. A synopsis of each plan is presented below. Complete statements and budgets are on file in the office of the School Problems Commission.

A. Illinois State University: The university proposes to enter into a program of continuing investigation into the schools and their problems within an actual urban community context. (Using in the first instance, the schools of Peoria, Illinois.) The program is to be staffed by a group of investigators who are faculty of the university and who possess skills appropriate to the study of the educational and socio-cultural situations found in urban areas. As the program develops, members of the team will change, making the experiment a method of in-service training for university faculty in urban education.

The program will develop in two phases. The first phase will be a developmental program for university staff from the departments to be involved in phase two. The team will study all literature available and prepare materials and reading assignments to be used in phase two by the students. During the time of phase one, the faculty will develop a program to teach inner-city teachers through studying the community; establish rapport with the public school staff; evaluate the school staff in relation to the best use to be made of the schools' staff; develop a field experience as well as course work; develop recommendations for prior preparation of students while on campus; and develop on-campus orientation programs for students. In short,

phase one proposes to build a teacher-training program to specifically fit the needs of a particular urban city.

The second phase will take prospective teachers with their supervisors into a city for a semester to engage in field experience, related readings and course work. These programs will include student teaching in an urban situation. The supervising teachers will be with the students and available for support during the project, thus involving both faculty and staff in developing an understanding of the real problems of the city.

The university staff will constantly evaluate each step of the program and make appropriate corrections. When the proto-type has been developed, it will be publicized and shared with other universities and school systems interested in developing similar programs. Their program is designed to search for and develop ways of training teachers for urban areas and in the process will better equip the university personnel and students involved to deal with the problem.

B. Northern Illinois University: The university staff proposes to use their present sequence of courses for elementary and secondary education majors, but to adjust the way certain sections of subjects are taught. In addition, they will encourage the persons selected for the program to elect special courses related to urban problems. The program proposed would be entitled, "Training and Research in Urban Education," T.R.U.E. In the beginning, 40 elementary and 40 secondary undergraduates would be involved.

Clinical experiences will be arranged in Chicago at Marshall High School and the feeder elementary schools. In-service training for the teachers at the center schools will be arranged so that they will be prepared to serve as cooperating teachers.

Students in the program will have experiences in the following stages:

a. Observations - orientation
b. Instructional aid - pupil contact
c. Instructional assistance - micro teaching
d. Student teaching

It is proposed that as students graduate, T.R.U.E. might be extended to graduate school. The request of the university is for financial assistance in the in-service training of the public school teachers and in providing transportation to and from the center.

C. Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville: They request approval and funding of the model presented to the Urban Studies Sub-Committee by Dean Wiley as a way to improve urban schools. Basically, they propose to establish clusters of workers in interdisciplinary areas; teachers, interns, aides and students in the junior high school. The purpose of such an arrangement would be to break the traditional ways of doing things that seem to stifle inner-city students. Working with university faculty and school administrators, the clusters would develop faculty strength and improve the instruction of pupils simultaneously.

The project proposes to take over the entire 7th grade of an inner-city school in East St. Louis and to establish four clusters during the first year. The group would continue in the second year and move into the 8th grade, but with the school taking over responsibility. The university staff would move on to a second school.

In addition, a summer institute for all members of the project staff will be held for eight weeks before the project begins each year. During the academic year, each teacher will teach one-half day and work and study the other part of the day.

(In addition to the proposal filed with the commission, a detailed logic for such a program is in the files of the Urban Studies East St. Louis hearing.)

D. University of Illinois, Chicago Circle: They propose to set up a "Chicago Circle Urban Education Federation." This federation would screen requests for assistance with urban problems. Community leaders as well as educational leaders would be involved. This federation would serve as the College of Education method of handling the administrative mechanism necessary to respond to community needs.

Target areas will be selected to insure maximum possible impact of projects associated with the federation. Selection of the target areas will be based on the need for improvement of educational services within the area and proximity of the area to the university. The university would use the foundation to regulate the use of university personnel so as to keep from over-using university personnel so that other programs suffer.

E. University of Illinois, Urbana Campus: The university and Champaign Community Unit District #4 have an agreement to operate jointly the Booker T. Washington School as a demonstration center and it is currently operating with temporary university funding as a special school. The student body is about 30% Negro. With the opportunity to work closely with a public integrated school, the university proposes to carry on experiments to develop helps for other integrated schools and to disseminate these helps to other schools.

Washington School is a developmental and demonstration center for new ideas, techniques, methods, and programs aimed at structuring individualized learning experiences. In addition, the school serves to:

a. Test out means by which the educationally beneficial promise of racial integration can best be realized.

b. Provide a laboratory in which to test new patterns of staff utilization and organization, innovations in curriculum, and new instructional devices and techniques.

c. Provide a high quality educational program with abundant materials of instruction and well qualified teachers.

d. Develop techniques for disseminating information.

e. Increase the expertise of the total Unit 4 staff.

f. Facilitate the implementation of improvement found to be effective and acceptable within the other schools of Unit 4.

g. Encourage systematic evaluation of selected promising educational practices and of the results of novel educational experiences upon youngsters.

With this operational laboratory, the university proposes to expand its services to include:

a. An afternoon Study Center for students who live in the area but attend other schools.

b. To engage in curriculum development on a total basis, but to begin with the study of the mathematics-science curriculum and the field of aesthetics.

c. Development of Educational Personnel. This program would, in the beginning, serve early childhood education teachers; reading teachers who have need for special help in reading; and would help the teachers at Washington School develop the ability to work with new materials, techniques, and equipment in the field of mathematics and science.

The unique features of this proposal are: (1) the degree and nature of public school-university cooperation already begun between the University of Illinois and the Champaign Unit 4 School System in the development of Washington School; (2) the emphasis upon, and potential for, effective dissemination to other schools; (3) the opportunity for demonstrating that integration can successfully occur in a community of medium size; (4) the logical coordination that comes from using state funds to provide teacher training and improved dissemination for programs funded all or in part from Title I and III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the National Science Foundation, State of Illinois Special Education, the University of Illinois, and the local school

district. Probably the most noteworthy feature is the total "mix" of integration, curriculum development, public-school university cooperation, and easy access to outstanding programs being developed in math-science, reading, and early childhood education.

Work experience for the experienced teachers will generally take place in their own classrooms since instruction time is planned to occur on released time days or during the summer. The teacher trainers will deal with teachers in the classroom and in training sessions directly related to the learning situation in specific classrooms.

In order to take advantage of the many developmental opportunities that this special situation offers, the university must have special help in the form of funding.

In addition to the suggestions and ideas listed above, the sub-committee has listened to many documentations of need and philosophical statements which helped this sub-committee to understand the problems of the city, but which did not lend themselves to specific ideas or suggestions that it was felt could be translated into legislation. All of those who have made presentations have been helpful in bringing about a better understanding of the problems of the city.

Dr. Ben C. Hubbard of Illinois State University submitted the following summary of ideas to the Urban Sub-Committee, which has been helpful to the committee as we have arrived at our recommendations. We have, therefore, felt it necessary to include it in its entirety in this report.

A Summary of Ideas for Helping with the Urban Problem Based on Observations in New York and Baltimore by Ben C. Hubbard

In an effort to find ways to deal with the urban problems as they exist in Illinois, I visited Baltimore and New York to observe their operations because of some special characteristics of each. Baltimore is the only large city in Maryland, much as Chicago is the only large city in Illinois. In the same sense that we in Illinois talk of Chicago and Downstate Illinois, citizens of Maryland talk about Baltimore City and the counties of Maryland. New York is, of course, the largest city in America, with the most talked about problems of any city in America. It has been said, and with much truth, "If you want to know what will soon happen to other large cities, study what is happening to New York City today." Because of the turmoil there, I felt that studying their mistakes and successes might help us to avoid some mistakes and take advantage of successes which they have enjoyed as the problems they face today come to us in Illinois in the future.

I spent most of the month of September in Baltimore, and most of the month of November in New York. Chance played a large role in making the time of my visit an excellent one to see the type of development I was looking for. In Baltimore a new superintendent, Thomas Sheldon, was just coming on the job and changes were being made. Staff and philosophical change tend to bring out a clear revelation of what is actually happening. Said another way, when one is having his way of life disrupted, he is much more likely to reveal his true feelings than when the status quo is operative. In Baltimore, things were changing.

In New York, the question of decentralization and its many inherent qualities and problems were being exposed by the longest strike in the history of the New York City Schools. The strike was settled, or ended, while I was in the city and, as a result, there was no time for the members of the staff to be other than what they really were. At least in my judgment, there could be no better time to visit both systems than the time which I was present in both cities if one is interested in problems and issues. Some things, like specific curriculum innovations, could be better evaluated in New York with

all schools open; and in Baltimore it would be fascinating to visit some of the new projects after they have been operative for a period of time. However, since I was looking for ideas, both cities were ideal for my purpose.

In both Baltimore and New York, the board of education and the administration made it possible for me to go anywhere, to see anything, and arranged for an assistant superintendent to see that I got in on whatever was happening. Much of their courtesy extended to me was because of the open, friendly nature of the persons employed by both systems. My many friends in the systems made visiting easier, but my connection with the School Problems Commission in Illinois likewise caused many persons to feel that my visit deserved their best explanation of their roles. Whatever the cause, I was privileged to visit with all school personnel whom I wished to see, from the superintendents to the supply clerks. Any happening of significance was called to my attention, and frequently arrangements were made to get me to meetings and out-of-the-way places which would have been difficult for a stranger to see without the kind of cooperation I received.

Whatever the results have been, it is evident now that the visit has been helpful to me and, as I share ideas I found with the urban sub-committee and other interested parties, I hope it will be helpful to the children of Illinois. At the risk of being redundant, I have concluded that, "The southeast part of Baltimore or the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn have problems that one cannot find in Normal, Illinois."

Ideas I have found that seem to have application at the state level and that seem to be worth sharing will be outlined below under separate headings if they are involved, and then less complicated ideas and thoughts will be grouped in a section which will serve as a summary of lesser ideas.

Special Schools Designed for the Inner City

By special schools, I do not mean schools for a specific or technical educational goal, although both existed in both cities. What is meant is a general purpose school designed to meet the educational needs of youth living in the inner city. In one situation, one of these schools was located across

the street from a regular city school. The regular school had broken glass, torn shades and other obvious signs of vandalism, while across the street I failed to find a single broken glass, torn shade or other sign of vandalism. Many things could explain this (like the maintenance crew having finished repairing one school and not having gotten to the other); but after spending several hours in both schools, it was obvious that attitude and not repairmen had accounted for this strange phenomenon. No data is available to prove the obvious belief of the writer, but the facts are that on the day of my visit, these conditions described did exist.

In Baltimore these schools were called Model Schools, and in New York they were called More Effective Schools. Persons, even board members, have said that the "Hawthorne Effect," or the reduced pupil-teacher ratio, accounted for the difference in education in these schools and the education in other more conventional schools. Whatever the case, most educators who are not preconditioned against the experiments have left them sure that these schools provided a part of the answer to meeting the needs of inner-city children. Research data collected by the More Effective School administration in New York tends to show that gains in basic skills are greater in the experimental schools than in the regular schools. Other research which is widely read tends to show that no significant difference resulted. The reader should be informed, whatever position accepted, that many of these schools cost as much as twice the cost of regular schools. The problem is a subjective one. How does one measure in dollars the result of 8 months' improvement in 8 months, rather than 6 months' improvement in 8 months as claimed in the report of the More Effective Schools, in a basic skill and then put a dollar value on this improvement. Only as this can be done subjectively can we decide the worth of experiments such as these. The obvious facts are that these schools have not solved the problems of either city; although, as th writer observed them, he was convinced that for some children they were extremely helpful.

The basic format for the More Effective Schools and the Model Schools is in principle very similar. Specialists were added to a top-quality staff so that greater attention could be given to children. As is true in every educational endeavor, there is a great variation in achievement between schools

depending on the leadership provided, the caliber of the teaching staff, the morale of the staff, and other things. No detailed research to account for the difference has been conducted, but enough observations have been made and data gathered to establish vast differences in the effect of different schools funded under the same plan.

As an educator, I was impressed with the enthusiasm of most staff persons and teachers that I saw connected with these programs. The research to support and that which condemns, which I have seen, is not conclusive; therefore, the reader should be aware that the writer's opinions are based on observations and impressions, not objective data. As an example of the things that impressed me, I saw one young man obviously not quite doing all he should, but he seemed to know the principal and wanted to be near him. As we left, the principal said, "I want to tell you about David." His story of David explained the school's philosophy better than I can. David had been caught by the police for several crimes, including arson. The principal said, "He is a full-time liar; a part-time thief; a part-time arsonist; but when you get to know him, he is a real nice guy." At least, one got the impression that the school personnel knew their clientele and were concerned about them. In many other schools in the regular program, this did not appear to be the case.

The secret seemed to be that teachers had both the ability to work with problems and the time to use their ability. Both the program in New York and the program in Baltimore have been sponsored by the teachers' union in the respective cities.

A state could set up a program that would assist the district to establish schools similar to those described above when 60% or more (some other percentage could be used) of the students are one or more grades behind in reading and arithmetic (or other areas). The Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction would have to judge, based on availability of space and the plan for instruction, whether a program design offered possibilities of success. The plan should include quality plans for evaluation despite the limited ability to measure such programs; and when, after a two or three year lapse of time, programs did not produce results, they should be dropped by the state.

The state could pay the extra cost of approved schools over and above the regular cost of educating pupils in the city in question. Such a plan could be limited by the amount of the appropriation, and only programs approved in advance would be funded by the state. There are no ways to assure proportional division of funds. A program of experimental schools that paid the experimental cost for some model programs would probably help the children directly affected and would seem to promote different ways of changing our educational approaches.

It should be said that some districts in Illinois, including Chicago, have, using their own resources, conducted limited experiments with this type of school; and their experience could be used by the Superintendent of Public Instruction to approve plans that will work or have great promise of working. Perhaps the use of the term 'experimental' is unfortunate, since such a program should be considered massive while it is still searching for answers if pupils are to be helped in any appreciable number. In other words, solutions are needed, not just research; but details of how to do it should continue to be experimental.

The Prospects and Pitfalls of Decentralization

In the beginning, I should say that I believe the time for decentralization of the major urban school systems of America has come. (In this sense, I think of systems having 100,000 or more students, but in the future this number may be smaller.) The problems connected with cities' administrative structures will not go away and be forgotten until solutions are found for real problems that exist. The way a state and its cities prepare for this decentralization, which I believe to be inevitable, will, in my opinion, determine the amount of educational disruption or success that the early years of the movement will cause--but decentralize we will!

The sub-committee should know that many educators will disagree with me; but at least you have the right to know what I believe after visiting at length with persons on both sides of the question in New York and to a lesser degree in Baltimore and other cities outside Illinois, as well as with interested persons in Illinois. You should also understand that I recognize the

vast differences of opinion concerning what decentralization means. For me, the term can mean anything from decentralizing functions to completely turning power over to decentralized boards, sometimes called community control.

As I visited with men who had been in the New York school system for forty years--men who had worked hard to succeed in a structured system and had made it--and listened to these men say that anyone who wanted to could get where they had through hard work, I wasfrequently prone to feel that, yes, they are right and their work and years of loyalty should be protected and respected. Then, when I talked to a board member in Ocean-Hill or Two Bridges and heard him describe how difficult it was to get the hierarchy of the school system to react to their problems, I was equally convinced that the system was not reacting quickly or efficiently and had to be changed.

Whatever else can be said about the problems caused by the New York experiments in decentralization, it is true, I believe, that both sides are right and both sides are wrong. Morally and ethically both can be defended, and some acts on both sides can, with equal vigor, be condemned. Both sides have truthfully revealed serious faults of the other. In fact, to say both sides is a misnomer, since there are several forces for decentralization and several against it; and there are forces, or sides, that are still not committed.

What I think this all leads to are several principles or concepts that I have, at this stage of my knowledge about the subject, decided are important even though some of them contradict others. I would like to share them as a basis for considering and studying this topic, rather than as principles or concepts which will be forever true.

a. Parents, particularly parents of minority groups, want "in on the action" of deciding the future educational opportunities of their children.

b. Many professional educators do not believe that parents should have anything to say about how students are educated (a well-disguised position, but a real one nevertheless).

c. Different cities and different communities will find different kinds of decentralization desirable and workable. (At a later time in this paper, I have described some types of decentralization that might serve as models for local use in developing what a given community needs.)

d. Community control is misunderstood as it affects local school districts in schools outside of the major cities by many citizens and district board members, where they have been selected, in our large cities. Some of this misunderstanding has, in my judgment, come from the fact that despite statutes authorizing it, state officials have seldom "come down hard" on major city boards to force them to conform to state laws or the state's way of doing things. As a result, many urban dwellers observe local boards in suburbs and rural areas; they then ascribe the powers which they feel their city boards have always had to the local boards and say "give it to us." This position is based on not understanding real limits set for other boards, but it does help to explain some positions taken by city patrons. An example of what I am saying would be newly created area, or district, boards in the city which feel that the power to hire and fire means just that. State law has been responsible for great stability of faculty in most states of the Union and for many reasons not related to urban problems, race or civil rights. Said another way, the fact that school systems are, in fact, state school systems adapted to fit local situations through limited local or community control has not been understood by many urban dwellers.

e. The uneducated citizen, as well as the educated, should understand what the school is doing for his children and whatever system of control used, that system must provide this information and must, in turn, be able to respond to the citizens' desires or demands without undue delay. (This does not mean that in all cases the system will comply.)

f. Decentralization of control or operation can only be accomplished without serious confrontations and bitterness if it is thoroughly planned before acting and the plan is conscientiously carried out by all parties.

g. The proposal of "f" above is going to be difficult, if not impossible, unless a power outside the city establishes the rules for decentralization and enforces them. This I believe because of the vested interest of people in all cities that run counter to the result of decentralization. Only the state legislative body can, in my judgment, design or adopt and enforce a workable plan for decentralization. (This is a fact born out in New York, but not yet resolved. During the power struggle, "strike", both sides admitted in private discussion that final settlement would probably be made legislatively in Albany, although many persons feared the result of such a settlement.)

h. Specific legislative resolution is almost never a good solution to a local problem, but legislative guidelines have, through many years, set up the limits of community control of local government and these have worked. Properly done, the legislatures of the several states can develop systems of guidelines for giving the people of major cities much more to say about their schools, much as the several legislatures have set up guidelines for the organization of school districts outside the major cities. It is even possible and may be desirable to pass guidelines that let the several cities of a state set up different decentralization plans. (For possible plans, see the later section of this paper on Plans or Ways to Decentralize.)

i. Citizen interest in schools must be real and close if the best learning situations are to develop. (I saw students, like David described earlier in this paper, who were interested in learning and actively pursuing it in Ocean-Hill-Brownsville. I had to take other persons' word for the change because I was not there before the experiments; but I fully believe Mr. McCoy, the Superintendent of Ocean-Hill-Brownsville, when he points up parental interest in and commitment to what was occurring as a chief stimulant of student interest in learning while his district was having so much outside trouble.)

j. Systems, whether educational or not, can get too big to be able to respond to individual needs. I believe our major cities have reached this point in education and, I suspect, in other fields as well. Someone in a radio interview recently seriously raised the question of whether New York City could

be governed. Being governed or operated and responding to need and control may be two different things. The large systems, by their very bigness, make it extremely difficult for an individual to be heard.

k. When citizens, students and staff members discover that they cannot go through channels to be heard, they search out other ways. Examples of persons looking for other ways to express themselves are numerous; but student riots, teacher strikes, and demonstrations are all partial methods used to break outside, regular or non-responsive channels.

l. The major city school systems do many things well. Special schools, experimental projects and just plain good education can be found in abundance. Purchasing in many systems is extremely efficient, even though in some cases it takes too long to function. Many outstanding spokesmen for education and its value are developed in the large cities. Efforts to find educational solutions, even with massive applications of funds, have sometimes been successful.

m. When local or district boards are formed in communities, these boards and their administrative staff must know what powers they will have and what powers are to be reserved to the city and to the state in advance of the time which they are expected to exercise power.

n. Implied criticism of bigness or of the hierarchy of city school systems should be thought of separately from an evaluation of persons in the hierarchy. Most individuals with whom I have visited and whom I have observed in the cities are extremely competent and, in the jobs given them, I feel that they are generally excellent. Any implied criticism of the cities and their operation must be understood apart from an evaluation of the jobs done by individuals. I have seen few educators individually more competent than those found in the big cities.

This list of ideas that for me delineate the problems today should be used only as we move through the rapid transitions that are taking place. They, like so many things, must not be considered permanent but rather should be used to help us understand the current push for a better way of school organization by many city dwellers.

Plans or Ways to Decentralize

Many in New York have tried to make decentralization a term to describe a system of turning over limited activity to local governing boards and community control a revolutionary new term that completely changes things. For me, decentralization is the act of removing power or control from a central agency or organization and turning that power over to some agency, individual or organization not centrally located. The act of decentralizing a school system can range from turning only the selection of new teachers over to local boards or any other single power, to the point that all power is given the outlying agency or local board. In other words, the decentralization of a school system can mean and has, it appears, meant anything from appointing district boards to serve as sounding boards for a central board to what is currently called absolute community control.

It is entirely possible for one school system to improve its responsiveness to the public by decentralizing administration without a local board, while in another system, the public might refuse to consider administrative decentralization adequate. To help explain this complicated facet of decentralization, some actual and some proposed decentralization models have been described briefly in the following discussion.

A. A School Trustee Concept. In large rural areas, where many schools are under one board, school trustees have sometimes been elected. These lay persons have usually had to be patrons of the school and, as such, have represented the interest of each school to the central board. Frequently, these persons have attended central board meetings when items affecting their school were to be discussed. On other occasions, they have had specific duties. One such organizational pattern delegates one power related to the employment of teachers. The statutes creating them in one case says that they may review all new teacher appointments and that they have the power to reject any new teacher. Other simple, but meaningful, duties of trustees have or could be recommending whether or not a new teacher would be asked to return at the end of a probationary period; deciding what use, if any, will be made of local school facilities; annually inspecting the school and reporting needs and improvement needed.

Obviously, this type of decentralization leaves many major decisions to be made by a central board, but it could serve as a public relations and genuinely helpful organization if communication is the main problem. A system such as that described above, expanded to include two-way communication, could easily serve the needs of medium-sized, or in some cases large, school systems and avoid the expense and problems of completely changing structures such as New York is undergoing today.

B. Administrative Decentralization. One of the most common goals of people in communities when they seek change in a school structure is to make it possible to get authoritative answers quickly. There are many persons who feel that, if this can become possible in a large city, it will eliminate much of the unhappiness with so many of the present city structures. Certainly the idea of an administrator on the scene with authority to make decisions and to give answers is not just a school problem. State Farm Insurance Company, the largest business enterprise in Bloomington, Illinois, has grown to the point that it has been forced to set up regional offices with staffs in all areas of company operations. These regional offices have been given authority; the limits of that authority, if they exist, are spelled out; and only policy and necessary records are controlled in Bloomington. As this system has grown, more and more clear policy to spell out the home office position and the responsibilities of the regional office has developed. The age-old principle of granting the power necessary to carry out the designated responsibility has been a hallmark of their operation. The system has worked to adjust policy to fit an area and to get the basic job of handling insurance needs, from new business to claims, accomplished in shorter time, resulting in happier customers.

School boards can delegate to district superintendents a great many policy and regulatory matters; and the district superintendent and his staff can in turn come to know an area of a city, its needs and desires. When genuine delegation of both responsibility and the power to carry out the responsibility is accomplished, this system can result in much better understanding of school policy, adaptation of schools to meet needs in a community and better all-around communication. This system does not begin to give communities

control; but in cities where there is general confidence in the central board and administration, the system could solve many problems. The truth is that the system is just taking one more step in delegating the power of the superintendency beyond the one where a district hires assistant superintendents for specific tasks, such as curriculum and business. In some instances, the district superintendent duplicates the special staff of the central office. This system, properly organized, will result in better communication and will develop a feeling that a system can respond to school and community needs.

C. Community Control Decentralization. Where confidence in a system has been lost or is in question, it is normal for Americans to demand that they know all about the way the system is corrected and, in fact, to demand a hand in saying how it will be reconstructed. When school systems have failed to convince enough people that they can respond to needs quickly and efficiently, there has always been a cry for change. In rural America, this has meant the election of a new board. To date, our cities have tried the same thing and at times it has resulted in renewed confidence. The impossibility of having a board of education informed about the needs of one million children, as in New York, and the desires and aspirations of their parents has guaranteed that just changing a board will not solve the problem--although it has at times helped.

When genuine decentralization of control is discussed, it should be in a particular context because generalizations can always be misunderstood. For this purpose, however, I prefer to outline what is and probably is not good procedure in considering this problem. The first thing which always comes up in a discussion is to whom will the power be decentralized and, secondly, what powers can be decentralized. There are, of course, persons who say that all powers must be decentralized, and now. The facts are that independent schools operating outside our major cities operate in very narrow limits. State law regulates who may teach, the conditions under which they may teach, the method of taking bids for business, and almost every other item. Even what shall be taught is partially prescribed in many states, although some leeway is left in this area to local boards. As a result, no local board can today make and carry out policy in a vacuum or separate from state regulation.

Regulation of the educational enterprise is not limited to the state. Accrediting agencies, normally consisting of a group of schools jointly interested in quality, have come to be very influentual in prescribing or suggesting that things be done in a particular way. All of these things are understood by most school men, but not by those for whom they sometimes work. It is, of course, true that state laws and accrediting agencies can change.

Community control has come to mean the right of the persons in a predetermined area to control their own schools under existing regulations and to fight to get undesirable regulations changed. There are many complications that have yet to be solved within the New York situation or any other decentralized in this way. Examples of these are:

a. How shall the local boards be selected?

b. What shall be the qualifications (residence, patron, etc.) for persons to serve on boards?

c. What power shall the central board keep?

d. What specific powers will be delegated (money, curriculum, staff, etc.)?

e. What type of staffing shall the local districts have?

f. What size unit can function to give the advantages of community involvement and not lose the flexibility that goes with large numbers of children? (In New York, the districts vary from less than 5,000 students to more than 50,000.)

This list could go on, but this number will serve to point up types of problems. The major hazards are related to the fiscal policy. Currently, most major city school systems are fiscally dependent; that is, they depend directly on the city for funds either directly, as in the case of Baltimore and New York, or indirectly, as in Chicago where the city extends the levy. It would, of course, be possible educationally (political possibility is another matter) to allow districts a flexible city formula to establish need and then leave the way it was spent to the districts. This would be the

absolute in community control since there is little possibility of forming completely separate school districts for tax purposes in most cities.

Decentralization through granting power to local boards which are community controlled can be accomplished; but, in my judgment, decisions about how it is to occur should be made before it starts. This does not mean that all problems can be avoided; but by planning based on others' experience, it should be possible to avoid the educational disruption for students that has occurred in New York. It might not have been possible to plan in advance in New York because someone had to experiment before the errors could be spotted. Therefore, the above statement should not be considered critical of New York for having experimented or for having experimented without enough planning. They have made many mistakes, and they are the first to admit this; but the rest of the country should profit by their mistakes rather than repeating them. Planning with all parties affected will, in my judgment, help eliminate much conflict.

A Summary of Decentralized Models and Problems. It is, of course, true that decentralization can assume some, if not all, of the characteristics of the above-mentioned ways of decentralization. The need for decentralization will be highlighted by political struggle related to social problems. These are important; but, in the final analysis, what it will do for pupils and their education must be the final judge of how much or what type of decentralization will be used. In practice, general theories will be used to support any claims for a type of decentralization or to fight it. In nearly all cases on both sides, the early theories will be untried or, at best, documented for a particular situation and then generalized to all. Legislative bodies should be sure that genuine appraisal of any decentralization is built in at the time of organizational change and care should be taken to avoid having parties with prior commitments to ideas or against them serve as the evaluator.

One conclusion which I have been arriving at, based on observations in many schools for years but which has been strengthened during my looking for ideas in Baltimore and New York, is:

> When systems get large, it becomes more difficult for ideas by teachers, parents, and students to be heard. I frequently probed for ideas that had resulted in significant change that teachers had suggested. Every time I was introduced to a new idea, the answer always came up the same--some administrator or department had proposed the change. I then talked to teachers, and it soon became evident that the power to decide on change was so far away that, before an idea could go up and back, one wished they had never tried. There are, of course, exceptions; but the large urban centers must find ways to respond or the charges of "rigor mortis" will be true. Bigness is not the only cause of stifling ideas, but it contributes to the problem in a significant way.

Simpler Ideas that Seem to Me to Have Merit and to be Possible for States to Consider Supporting

A. The Senior Teacher. Through the years educators have philosophized that "it is a shame for a great teacher to leave teaching to go into administration just because there is more money there." Colleges have used professorial ranks that have resulted in distinguished professors making more than top-level administrators; but experiments in this direction have been scarce or non-existent in the public schools until recent times.

In Baltimore the first rank above teacher on the pay scale is that of Senior Teacher. Frequently, senior teachers go on to be administrators, but their work is not generally that of administration. Senior teachers are assigned to schools where, for any reason, there are a number of beginning teachers. Their role is to work with new teachers to help them learn to handle the problems of the inner city, discipline, curriculum, or just teaching in Baltimore. Their duties range from demonstration teaching to individual counseling; but they are primarily helpers for persons with less experience and know-how.

One possible way that a state, searching for ways to upgrade the teaching of inner-city children, could do this is to provide that for every ten teachers (or some other number) in their first year of teaching in a school classified as inner city (using E.S.E.A. classification or a state-developed one) a sum of money be established substantial enough to lift the financial burden of paying a senior teacher to help these teachers. A program of this type might mean that one school would have a senior teacher one year and

another school would qualify the next year. One senior teacher could work at more than one school if there were not enough teachers who needed help in one single school.

The idea of senior teachers supported by state funds has not, to my knowledge, been tried; but, if the idea appeals to schools struggling with beginning teachers and high turnover, it could be designed.

B. Scholarships or Teacher Training for Minority Groups. In New York City, they found that among the Spanish-speaking residents were many educated people. Some of these persons had much college training and some very little; however, only persons with two or more years of college were allowed in the scholarship program. Many persons were interested in teaching and had many desirable qualities, including the bi-lingual ability to speak Spanish and English. They either did not know how to get into teaching or had never thought about it. The office of personnel set up a recruiting and training program. Scholarships were made available, but arrangements were made with local colleges to, in many cases, take these persons as groups so that they would feel that they were not alone. Spanish-speaking persons desperately needed by the city are being trained in several ways. The scholarship program for regular teachers and an intensive program to train teacher aids (plus some programs for Spanish-speaking persons already employed) have been undertaken by the office of personnel. This division has, in addition to its actually helping teachers through grants and training, begun to encourage students of Spanish-speaking backgrounds to go into teaching through regular channels of college training.

A program for the training of minority group persons could be developed and funded by the state under the regular scholarship program; but somehow, special programs where people with similar interests would be studying at the same institution seemed to be an important part of the New York City project.

C. Administrative and Teacher Internships. Many universities and school systems already have good on-going programs for internships. At the administrative level, the National Association of Secondary School Principals

has had a full year's program which they operate with the support of some of the better secondary schools in the country. This program allows a university to place an advanced graduate student in a good public school for one year at a full salary, and the university and the school system cooperatively plan a one-year work experience to familiarize the internee with the administrative operation of the school. To interest students in teaching and administering schools in the inner city, the state could set up an internship program where the state paid a share or all of a salary to college graduates and to graduating administrators, provided they signed an agreement to work in the inner city for at least one year. Such a program could be administered by the OSPI or by the State Scholarship Commission. In New York, the city pays for their program, but its details are available if the state wishes to use them.

D. Compensatory Education Not Covered or Fully Funded by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Article 14B of The School Code of Illinois was developed by many persons working with one of Illinois' finest legislators, Representative Charles Armstrong. This act could be designed to avoid duplicating federal support, but to support needy children wherever they exist. The need, it seems to me, is to guarantee a level of educational expenditure for the child eligible under the federal program so that programs will be constant or improving but also to reach the children who, in lesser numbers but in a real sense, exist in all schools. The bulk of such a program might meet an urban need; but, as was found by Representative Armstrong, there are as many children outside Chicago who need this help as there are in the city. Such a program could be funded using a ratio of state aid to money spent as is done for a number of such programs in New York state and is partially done in the gifted program in Illinois. There might be a number of such programs of a compensatory nature, depending on needs established. In New York state, special aid is given for items which seem appropriate in this context.

a. Experiments or innovations with programs approved by the Office of Research and Evaluation and the Office of Innovations, respectively, of the Office of the Commissioner.

b. A project to aid and encourage children from culturally deprived groups or low socio-economic backgrounds. The

program is administered by the Bureau of Guidance and is known as Project ABLE.

c. School to employment experiences for students who are identified as potential early school leavers. The program is known as STEP and is administered by the Bureau of Guidance.

d. Experimental pre-kindergarten programs for disadvantaged youth.

e. Aid for programs to correct racial imbalance.

The Educational Consultant, Dr. Hubbard, and a graduate student at Illinois State University, Mr. Jim Howard, reviewed much of the literature in the field of urban education and then prepared the following short summary for use by the sub-committee and interested parties.

The review of the literature was prepared for the purpose of calling attention to specific literature; to provide the committee members with a digest of some writings; and to furnish the serious reader with a bibliography which would help to speed his finding a wealth of material related to the purpose of the committee. The bibliography at the end of this report serves as the footnotes for the paper. Numbers appearing in the paper refer to bibliography numbers.

The attempt in the paper is to discuss the urban problems and to avoid the temptation to review the many related problems and/or issues.

A Review of Current Literature Relating To Educational Problems in Urban Areas

The Problem and Why It Exists

> Americans have typically thought of education as a healer of great social divisions. When the need arose to make one nation out of many communities of foreign origin, the people turned to the public schools, and their faith was justified. Today a difference in levels of opportunity rather than a difference in national origins is the great divider. Again the people must turn to the schools, for the ultimate solution can be found only in the fuller development of the capacities of the disadvantaged and in rational reactions to racial and social differences on the part of all. (45)

The above statement was made by the Educational Policies Commission in 1965 in its challenge to education to seek solutions to urban education problems. Kenneth Clark of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center addressed himself more pointedly to the problems and alleged shortcomings of the American system of public education in the following statement made to the National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity in America's Cities.

> An effective strategy for the present and the future requires rigorous and honest appraisal of all of the realities, a tough-minded diagnosis of the strengths and weaknesses of the Negro and his allies. We cannot permit ourselves to be deluded by wishful thinking, sentimental optimism, or rigid over-simplified ideological postures. We must be tough-mindedly pragmatic and flexible as we seek to free our children from the cruel and dehumanizing, inferior and segregated education inflicted upon them by the insensitive, indifferent, affable, and at times callously rigid custodians of American public education.
>
> It must be demonstrated that a nation which presents itself to the world as the guardian of democracy and the protector of human values throughout the world cannot itself make a mockery of these significant ethical principles by dooming one-tenth of its own population to a lifetime of inhuman futility because of remediable educational deficiencies in its public schools. (12)

Indictments, challenges, suggestions, and explanations of public education and its handling of the urban school problems range from the empirically verifiable to those emotionally charged, opinionated, and ridiculous. They fill professional journals, newspapers, popular magazines, dimestore novels, and publications of nearly every description. Even though the source and intent of much of this printed matter is of questionable reliability, it has served one useful purpose--to bring the problem to the attention of the American public, which in turn tends to result in a demand for action. At the risk of redundancy, the development, nature, and present status of the problem will be briefly reviewed.

Many of our large cities are deteriorating--physically, economically, and socially. The cause of such a condition is problematic and is strikingly reminiscent of the "Which came first, the chicken or the egg?" argument. It is pure conjecture whether the flight of more affluent residents from inner cities to the suburbs caused inner-city deterioration or whether inner-city deterioration caused the flight of the more affluent, upward-striving residents to the suburbs. At any rate the flight is and has been in existence for at least a generation, even though it may be, as Havighurst suggests, subsiding somewhat. (4) As the more affluent residents leave the declining socio-economic environment in search of an environment more compatible with their desires, new residents (some non-white) move into the vacated area. Subsequently the more affluent residents of the new lower socio-economic environment

will leave to seek residence in a "better atmosphere." More inmigrants (noe predominantly non-white) move into the recently vacated housing. Because of gregarious tendencies more people move into the area who are highly similar socially and economically to the existing residents. They fill vacated office buildings transformed into apartments and other similar inadequate dwellings. The process eventually reaches a stage not unlike the proverbial rotten apple in the middle of the bushel (if poverty, disease, filth, crime, and immorality can be likened to rot). Burgess has advanced the theory that such a process in large urban areas results in a socio-economic residence pattern of concentric zones receding in affluence from the outer circle (suburbs) to the inner circle (generally the ghetto area). (4) Other theories suggest somewhat different socio-economic residence patterns but essentially hold to the idea that "pockets" of poverty exist which are flanked by greater affluence. The whole situation is brought about by a population mobility often referred to as "dominance and succession." (3)

At this point the reader must have thought of a number of "so what" type questions. An attempt will be made to anticipate and answer such questions.

What does the situation just described have to do with education? The effects of such a socio-economic (and essentially racial) segregation pattern on education are multitudinous. They fall into basically two categories: (1) those problems caused or compounded by an increasingly large concentration of low socio-economic children who are culturally and educationally deprived and (2) those problems caused or compounded by a shrinking tax base and hence an inadequate level of financial support.

Why are such problems so critical to education? Problem #1 will be considered first.

Our traditional "neighborhood school" policy results in a homogeneous grouping of essentially non-white, culturally and educationally deprived students crowding into physically and educationally substandard inner-city schools while predominantly white students of more affluent and better cultural backgrounds attend physically and educationally superior urban fringe and suburban schools.

Is this bad? Empirical studies have shown that marked and cumulative retardation is manifest by children of ghetto areas in the early years of their schooling, and it progressively increases throughout the remainder of their schooling. Such students score lower on standard achievement tests. They fall behind by the equivalent of 1.6 grades by the sixth grade and 3.3 grades by the twelfth grade. (51) This is a situation that can be measured objectively. Other less objective conditions relating to the educational needs of children seem to suffer likewise. Coleman and others suggest that the self-concept, motivation, and attitudes of ghetto children are inferior to those in more affluent areas. (44) Waddles and Robinson state that a positive self image is needed if the inner-city child is to experience academic success. (34) The failure of the ghetto student to measure up to norms in both the academic and attitudinal areas usually culminates in the student dropping out of school or experiencing a sense of futility in attempting to find acceptable jobs upon graduation from high school. In either case, the dropouts or the unemployed (and often both situations exist simultaneously), and the potential for crime, delinquency and violence increase. Such violations of the law along with the health and welfare services necessary to combat them cost the taxpayer more money to correct than they would to prevent.

Can one be sure that all of this is due to concentrations of low socio-economic children in the inner cities? Coleman and Wilson, most notably, have empirically shown that differences in educational achievement between children in segregated, low socio-economic schools and those in more affluent schools are a function of the socio-economic variables of family, peer, and environmental influence. (44,42) The United States Commission on Civil Rights concluded that ". . . Negro children suffer serious harm when their education takes place in public schools which are racially segregated, whatever the source of such segregation (i.e., de facto or de jure) may be."(54)

The terms "low socio-economic" and "racial" segregation have been used almost interchangeably. Are they not different terms? Is there not a situation here that should be free of racial overtones? It is obvious that the term "socio-economic" is not synonymous with "race." Both Coleman and Wilson verified the fact that low socio-economic status was in fact a better predictor

of underachievement than was the racial factor. (44, 42) However, in terms of the situation as it exists today, the low socio-economic, inner-city children are also predominantly non-white and vice versa. If a situation should exist where low socio-economic white children are crowded into inner-city schools, it would be equally as important to correct this situation.

How widespread is segregation in the schools, and is it not decreasing? The "Kerner Report" states that in 75 of the major urban centers of this country, 75 per cent of all Negro students in elementary grades attend schools which are 90 per cent or more Negro. About 90 per cent of the Negro students attend schools which have Negro majorities. Eighty-three per cent of all whites attend schools with a 90 to 100 per cent white enrollment. (51) The United States Commission on Civil Rights again summarized the situation by saying, "Racial isolation in the schools is . . . intensive whether the cities are large or small, whether the proportion of Negro enrollment is large or small, whether they are located North or South. (54) It would be well to keep in mind at this point also that in many schools where integration has taken place, some segregation still exists in the form of tracking or ability grouping. There is no clear evidence to support the advisability of such practices, and there is one court decision declaring such practices to be unconstitutional. (57) As to the question of whether or not integration is being accomplished, since the Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas decision by the United States Supreme Court in 1954, there is evidence to support the contention that segregation is increasing rather than decreasing. (3) This may be due to increasing segregation in housing and/or to the increasing enrollment of white students in non-public schools. The "Kerner Report" documents the contention that in our 20 largest urban centers four of 10 whites are enrolled in non-public schools. (51)

The second general problem, that of finances, will now be considered. With reference to the question as to why the problem is so critical, the evidence points to the fact that less and less money is available as concentrations of poorer people become more intense.

What evidence is there to validate the claim that inner-city schools are being inadequately financed? Attention is again directed to the "Kerner Report." This study revealed that in 1950 ten of twelve major urban centers spent more for their inner-city schools (on a per-pupil basis) than they did on their suburban schools. In 1964 the situation nearly reversed as seven of twelve were spending more per pupil on suburban children than on inner-city school children. (51)

Is this wrong? Shouldn't local districts be allowed the freedom to decide how much they will spend on their own children? This question, if examined without sentiment or emotion, appears somewhat ridiculous. The philosophical basis of American public education is that it should be equally available to all and not provided on a basis of where one happens to be born or of what skin pigmentation he is biologically destined to possess. Some higher level of government must assure this equal opportunity if it is to exist.

What effect does this inequality of expenditure per pupil have on the student? It means simply that the student in the inner-city school will be educated, by and large, in substandard buildings using substandard materials, reading from shared and outdated textbooks and under the tutelage of (all too often) substandard teachers. The problem is further compounded by the fact that combined with less-than-average money available to educate these children, the job requires a greater-than-average expenditure.

What is meant by "substandard" teachers? Aren't urban schools able to attract "quality" teachers by offering a good salary? Citizens have been told that salary schedules in inner-city systems are at least comparable to those elsewhere around the state. The impression should not be gained that all inner-city teachers are substandard. Some of the best, most dedicated teachers are indeed to be found in these systems. However, the facts are that such teachers are in the minority. McCloskey, in his synthesis of 99 research studies of ghetto schools, reports that these schools are understaffed, have a high rate of teacher turnover, and have a higher percentage of teachers who are inexperienced and inadequately prepared. He concludes further that the average teacher in a ghetto school has fewer expectations of quality work being done by her

students and that the students' responses are in accordance with these expectations. (40) Coleman found that two-thirds of the Negro teachers (found largely in ghetto schools) fall below the mean verbal ability score of white teachers. (44) With regard to salaries, it is apparent that working conditions are of more concern to most teachers unless salaries are substantially higher.

Why is less money available for educating children in inner-city schools? Alkin explains that the property tax is the major source of local revenue for schools. Hence, with the flight of wealth to the suburbs and the subsequent influx of less wealth, property taxes are no longer adequate sources of revenue. (5) Hickrod's research indicates that the intra-metropolitan migration affects financial effort and expenditure for schools (adversely.) (23) In addition to the "wealth drain" just described, the property tax (real property in particular) is affected by the existence of churches, public housing, public transportation, and other forms of non-taxable property. (5) Making the situation even more unsatisfactory is the fact that the competition for taxes in the inner city is great. Hospitals, police and fire protection, welfare agencies, and other services of a public assistance nature are in greater abundance in inner cities and require a disproportionately large share of the tax dollar. (47) The latter is what Benson refers to as "municipal overburden." (8) When it is considered that the cost of educating ghetto youth is greater than for the average, more affluent student, the prospects of adequate financial support for education in inner cities is somewhat alarming.

Why is more money needed to educate children in inner-city schools? Mason points out that school sites, buildings, and operating expenses are always higher in inner cities. He further suggests that the vocational programs and programs for the dropout, migrant, and culturally deprived are always more expensive. (27)

But doesn't the state equalize educational expenditures throughout the state in the form of special aid to less wealthy districts? Howe and others would disagree. (47) The present state aid formula in Illinois calls for a guaranteed minimum foundation program of expenditure per student of $400. (49)

The problem is that inner-city schools are unable to go beyond that figure to any great extent (if at all) while many suburban or more affluent schools can, if they choose to do so. In addition when wealth or the ability to pay of a district is measured in the manner that it is at present, suburban, non-industrial property yields proportionately less tax than some inner-city and rural property. The result is that many "wealthy" suburbs receive special equalization aid. Finally, as has already been suggested, urban schools need more money per pupil to provide an equitable education in terms of quality. These and other conditions have prompted Howe (and others) to say that state aid patterns may have increased the disparity between suburb and central city school expenditures (in favor of the suburbs). (47) Although few studies would reveal an actual dollar disparity (as opposed to a value received disparity), a study by Sacks and Ranney of 35 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas did indeed reveal such a disparity. (30) The suburban school districts, in this study, actually received state aid grants in excess of those received by central city school districts when calculated on a per capita and a per student basis. It should be noted that a disparity such as this is not known to exist in Illinois.

Suggested Solutions to the Problem

It is one thing to describe a problem and quite another to present a solution. It will be the intent of this section to present solutions suggested by experts (not necessarily recommendations) in the area of urban educational problems. The problems which grow out of the concentration of low socio-economic status students crowded into ghetto schools will first be explored.

Since nearly all experts advocate the elimination of such a situation, the following suggestions will address themselves to the elimination of socio-economic (essentially racial) segregation. The following is a composite list of suggested solutions to the problem and will not be individually documented. Suffice it to say that they represent the combined thinking of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Robert Havighurst, James Coleman, and numerous others:

1. Students may be bused from an area of substandard facilities and environment to an area of greater affluence and higher quality education. The chief emphasis on this point in the literature seems to be on achieving racial balance, although it is also an attempt to achieve socio-economic balance.

2. Huge educational complexes, usually called educational parks, could be constructed. These complexes would need to be constructed in or near central city areas so as to accommodate the affluent and the impoverished. Such complexes would need to have a variety of schools including at least a high school preparatory institution, a high school vocational-technical institution, possibly two junior high schools, and four or five elementary schools. Library and other facilities would need to be extensive so as to serve the schools on a common basis. Other facilities such as swimming pools, gymnasia, theaters, and museums would need to be constructed to serve the complex. All these facilities have been proposed for use by the entire community on a 16-24 hour, six-seven day a week, and 12 months per year basis and would be partially financed by the municipal government.

3. Consolidation could be affected and/or district boundary lines could be redrawn so as to include both the affluent and the impoverished, the areas of high tax yield and of low tax yield. There are numerous suggestions as to how these consolidations and/or boundary line changes could be accomplished. These include:

   A. Consolidating non-contiguous territory

   B. Establishing pie-shaped districts that extend from the inner core of the city to the suburbs

   C. Establishing metropolitan-wide districts

4. Attendance in the schools of a metropolitan district could be on an open enrollment basis so that impoverished children could, if they so desired, attend other than a neighborhood school.

5. Substandard ghetto schools could be torn down and new ones built between affluent and impoverished areas so as to include students from both areas in their neighborhoods.

When considering suggested financial solutions to urban school problems, it would seem desirable to consider individually the recommendations of certain authorities.

Benson suggests that education and municipal government become more closely allied in order to reduce overlapping and duplication of services. He also advocates the adoption of new state aid plans that would more adequately equalize educational expenditures throughout the state. An example of such a plan proposed by Benson is the "resource equalizer" plan. This plan calls for:

1. Determining the average assessed valuation per pupil in the state (e.g., $20,000).

2. Multiplying this figure by the local average daily attendance (e.g., $20,000 x 1,000 A.D.A. = $20,000,000).

3. Subtracting the actual assessed valuation of the district from #2 (e.g., $20,000,000 - $15,000,000 = $5,000,000).

4. Applying the local tax rate to #3 (e.g., .015 x $5,000,000 = $75,000). This would be the state's share of the educational expenditures. (1)

It should be noted, however, that this plan will benefit central city districts only if their tax rates are higher than those of the suburban districts.

Alkin suggests several approaches to solving the financial problems. One approach would be to reorganize the districts. He would prohibit the consolidation of neighboring affluent or neighboring impoverished districts which would seem only to compound the problems. Rather he advocates the consolidation of affluent with impoverished districts, even though they may be noncontiguous. He also recommends the establishment of metropolitan-wide districts to accomplish the same purpose. And further he suggests the establishment of elongated, pie-shaped districts extending from the inner core of the city

to the more affluent fringe. An additional recommendation of Alkin is to overhaul the state aid plans. He would advocate, for example, a "percentage equalizing" plan in which the needs of a district are locally determined. The state then pays a percentage in inverse proportion to the wealth or ability to pay of the district. Another financial recommendation of his is to include a density correction factor in state aid grants. The Illinois Task Force in Education made a similar proposal. (52) Alkin admits that it is difficult, though not impossible, to determine "need" and to develop equitable density correction formulas. A final suggestion made by Alkin is to have ear-marked federal revenue to be distributed in aid to states in block grants rather than categorical aid. Such distribution would be handled by the state education department. (5)

Beckman also suggests reworking the state aid formulas so that state aid may be granted above and beyond the minimal foundation level. New York, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin have such plans in operation. (5)

Cohen opposes the pouring of money into existing ghetto schools. He maintains that this is inconsistent with the desegregation policy of the United States government to financially aid segregated schools and is also ineffective in improving the achievement of educationally disadvantaged students in these areas. (14) Coleman and Dyer concur with the latter statement. (44, 16) Cohen advocates integration; then compensation. (14)

Marland, Sine, and others advocate the construction of massive educational parks as previously described to alleviate financial problems since the municipal governments would share in the expense of such complexes. (26, 32)

Numerous other suggestions are made in the literature as to the solution of urban educational problems in general. The following is a compilation of such suggestions:

1. Waddles and Robinson, Levine, Cohen, and many others plead for massive teacher training and retraining programs to prepare teachers for

work in ghetto schools. (34, 25, 14) Cohen suggests further that high quality teachers may need financial incentives or, as he calls it, "combat pay," to attract them to such areas. (14) Such improvement could be accomplished through in-service training programs, internship programs, major rejuvenation of teacher training curricula, utilization of teacher aides, teacher corps type programs, tutorial assistance on a one to one basis, reduced teacher-pupil ratios, ad infinitum.

2. Programs should be established, especially in the secondary schools, to train the non-college bound student and the potential or actual drop-out in immediately marketable skills. (2) Benson states that we are actually failing to meet the needs of one-third to one-half of our youths through such neglect. (1)

3. More cooperation is needed between law enforcement, health, welfare, and other municipal agencies and the schools. (21)

4. Based on the success of existing early childhood education, such programs should be expanded so that the child may expand his cultural experiences, improve his self-concept and motivation, prepare himself for academic achievement, and rid himself of fatalistic, pessimistic ideas. (10)

5. Parents and local citizens should be involved to a greater extent to improve the family, peer, and neighborhood influence found to be so significant by Coleman, Wilson, and Herriot and St. John. (44, 41, 6)

6. Opportunities for post-high school and adult education should be expanded to allow such an age group a better chance to be educated or trained in a self-sufficient skill. (2)

7. Administration in large metropolitan school systems should be decentralized so that decisions can be made more quickly and with a more adequate knowledge of the local situation. (2)

8. Programs for special problems, i.e., pregnant girls, youth afflicted with venereal disease, dope addicts, and the like should be set up and made easily accessible to those in need. Summer camps are suggested as a means of fulfilling such educative, social, health, and recreational needs. (46)

9. Tracking, ability grouping, and other homogeneous grouping methods should be generally avoided since they have been found to be of questionable benefit and even (in one case) illegal. (57)

10. Centers for research, experimentation, and demonstration should be established for dissemination of workable principles, for in-service training, and for internship purposes. These centers can be situated in or near the ghetto and serve as "exemplary" schools. (51)

Areas for Possible Legislative Enactment

Based on the foregoing discussion of the problem and how it came about and upon the suggestions of experts, the following specific areas for legislative action are submitted:

1. Since our present methods of financing education are inadequate, especially for ghetto schools, the following changes in state aid patterns should be considered:

A. In order to provide a more equitable tax base, "ability to pay" may need to be measured in terms of income wealth as well as ownership of property since it is obvious that ownership of property is not synonymous with wealth and much inner-city property is exempt from taxation. The income tax base would seem to be a better indicator of wealth in a district. To accomplish this, however, would require drastic district reorganization in Illinois.

B. The concept of "effort" should be re-examined. A district with income wealth, but with a tax base not highly productive, may levy an amount for educational purposes equal to, e.g., $1

per $100 of assessed valuation, and not pay a high tax in proportion to the income wealth, whereas a district with not much income wealth but with highly productive property wealth may have an equal tax rate and pay a much higher proportion of its income wealth. The question need not be asked which district is exerting the greater effort. If a district has little property or income wealth, its payment of a qualifying rate constitutes "effort" of great proportions. The answer to this situation seems to be in either converting (at least partially) to an income tax base or setting variable qualifying rates which are set in proportion to actual spending power.

C. State aid could be distributed to districts of high enrollment concentration based on density correction formulas since high concentrations of students result in expenditures disproportionately higher than would be expected from larger enrollments alone.

D. The state may need to establish more compensatory programs which are qualified for upon presentation of proof of economic and educational deprivation not greatly unlike the existing Title I of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. In accordance with previously submitted evidence that such compensation is of questionable value without prior or concurrent racial and socio-economic desegregation, these funds could be subsequently reduced upon failure of the recipient district to take steps to eliminate de jure and de facto segregation when the educational program is harmed by either. Such a provision, i.e., financial assistance to impoverished and deprived areas, is in existence in Article 14B of the Illinois School Code but has not been funded. Such funds should, if appropriated, be on a grant rather than a matching basis. Districts with administrative personnel shortages should be given state assistance in completing necessary applications.

E. Exploration should be made of alternatives to the foundation approach to state grants-in-aid. New York's "percentage equalization" and Wisconsin's "resource equalizer" may prove to be useful models for such exploration.

2. Provision should be made either in the existing act (14B) or in an additional act to initiate a massive teacher training or re-training program to prepare teachers for teaching disadvantaged children. State grants could go to teacher training institutions upon presentation of a satisfactory plan for substantially increasing the number of teachers of the disadvantaged. Scholarships and loans could be awarded to teachers preparing to teach the disadvantaged. Such loans could have a forgiveness clause that would reduce the repayment by a progressive amount for each year taught in a disadvantaged area. Research grants could be available to persons seeking to find ways to improve the teaching of the disadvantaged. Grants for in-service training programs could be available to those seeking to retrain present teachers of the disadvantaged. Numerous other monetary incentive possibilities exist. The emphasis here should be on immediacy and extensiveness but most importantly upon quality.

3. The existing Department of School District Organization should be empowered to assist districts where de facto (or de jure) segregation exists in developing a suitable plan for eliminating segregation as it harms the educational program. Failure to accomplish this could result in significant reduction in state aid and/or recognition. (Legislation requiring conditions similar to this is in existence in Massachusetts.) Preference should be given to plans that involve municipal authorities, community service personnel and local residents, that provide for community-wide use and financial assistance, and that maintain a local source of control and communication.

4. There could be created within the existing state department of education a division, department, or agency to develop and coordinate all efforts directed at providing equal educational opportunity for the

common schools of Illinois. It may be feasible and desirable to incorporate existing programs into this organization, e.g., the Elementary and Secondary Education Act titles.

A Summary of the Review of Literature

Urban areas are in the midst of multiple crises, not the least of which directly affect education. Some of the problems and solutions suggested in this paper may soon be out of date--some are currently being tried in a limited way. This paper has merely tried to point out, for discussion purposes, some of the suggestions for helping the cities with their educational problems.

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