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The broad outlines of the recommendations for dealing with the urban school crisis presented by the National Educational Association (NEA) Task Force Project are: (1) decentralization and reorganization involving both parents and educators in decision making processes; (2) availability of medical and dental care; (3) individualized instruction; (4) cooperation with police courts; (5) use of instructional materials reflecting different ethnic, economic, racial and social backgrounds; (6) extended use of educational facilities and replacement of inadequate structures with new ones; (7) recruitment and retraining of teachers; and, (8) increased allocation of funds by both state and government. These recommendations are discussed in separate chapters dealing with urban school reorganization, the educational experience, staffing, and financing. (KG)

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TASK FORCE ON URBAN EDUCATION REPORT

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*National Education Association
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PREFACE

In August 1967, the Executive Committee of the National Education Association directed that the president and executive secretary of the NEA appoint a high-level committee "to develop plans for a forward-looking program for education and teachers in the big cities" and that this committee "recommend a program of action in this field . . . as early as possible."

In March 1968, the NEA Task Force on Urban Education was established and charged with a threefold responsibility: (1) to identify and explore the most critical problems of urban education; (2) to design immediate and long-range plans through which the 1.1 million-member NEA, in cooperation with its departments, 50 state associations, and hundreds of large urban locals, can most effectively contribute to the solution of urban education problems; (3) to recommend to other appropriate agencies, public and private, contributions they can make to help alleviate these problems.

The Task Force on Urban Education was composed of 18 educators, broadly representative of the education profession: classroom teachers, supervisory and guidance personnel, administrators, college and state department of education personnel, as well as representatives from the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity. The Task Force members come from major urban areas throughout the country. They are people who struggle daily to improve the character and quality of education offered in the schools of our cities.

Because of the magnitude of the problems of urban education, the president and executive secretary of the NEA specified that this Task Force Report be a *total* NEA endeavor. In light of this, five departments contributed both staff time and financial assistance. The American Association of School Administrators, the Association of Classroom Teachers, the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, the Department of Elementary School Principals, and the National Association of Secondary School Principals enthusiastically supported the work of the Task Force. It also received help from the NEA Center for Human Relations, the Center for the Study of Instruction, the Division of Field Services, the Research Division, other NEA departments and divisions, state and local affiliates, and interested outside organizations. Without the help and constant in-

terest of these groups the Task Force could not have done its work with effectiveness or in depth.

The Task Force met several times from April 1968 to April 1969, examining research data and utilizing the services of special consultants, including parents, while developing this report. After a year of study and thorough deliberation, the Task Force formulated recommendations for positive actions that the NEA and other appropriate agencies should take to improve the conditions of education in the inner cities of this nation. Notable among these is the proposed creation of an NEA Special Project on Urban Education to be responsible for originating and coordinating urban education activities. The recommendations, together with a discussion of the forces in American society which make them necessary, appear in the following report.

This report is addressed to the National Education Association and its state and local affiliates. It will be of use also to other educators and citizens concerned about improving the conditions of urban education. The central focus the Task Force has chosen is the urban child. Each chapter discusses the present problems of urban education, what the Task Force sees as desirable, and strategies to remove the barriers and bridge the gap between the present reality and the ideal—the ideal which will allow each urban child to develop into a thinking, compassionate, decision-making human being.

Introduction

SCHOOLS OF THE URBAN CRISIS



This report deals with urban education, or, more specifically, with public education in urban America. It focuses on the character and quality of education offered to millions of poor children—black, Spanish-speaking, and white—who inhabit the inner cores of our metropolitan areas. These are the children who attend the schools of the urban crisis. This report deals with schools: schools which are now undergoing a state of unparalleled emergency, suffering from decay, neglect, and continuing deterioration. Not every school in every large city is facing this crisis, but too many schools are.

Some school systems have undertaken, with some success, the reformation of their inner-city schools. Nor is the emergency confined only to the large cities. Many smaller cities with dense concentrations of black, Spanish-speaking, and poor white children have schools which are embroiled in the urban school crisis. This urban crisis extends beyond the schools and is inextricably related to other factors which determine the quality of life available to the citizens of the city. In most of our major cities, housing and job opportunities also are inadequate. A poor man who did not receive an adequate education and is without marketable skills finds himself unable to get any job at all or gets one which does not pay him enough to provide adequate housing, food, or medical assistance for his family. His children, already suffering from poverty, often attend the inadequate schools of the urban crisis.

By whatever criteria are used, research indicates that those schools which this report deals with are clearly inferior to the other schools located within the city or in neighboring suburbs. One standard of measurement that can be applied is the availability and distribution of the human and physical resources which are generally considered essential factors in education.

In comparison to other schools, the schools of the urban crisis have a greater number of pupils per teacher, a smaller amount of money to spend per pupil, fewer textbooks and other teaching materials per pupil, a greater proportion of teachers who are not fully certificated, a greater proportion of teachers with fewer years of experience, and many more older school buildings. Criteria involving results also illustrate the immensity of the crisis: These particular schools have more dropouts, more students who read at lower levels and perform less well on standardized tests, fewer students who graduate from high school, fewer who attend college, fewer who get jobs.¹

There is a cycle of inadequacy, created by many factors. As increasing mechanization of agriculture drove farm workers, many of them black people from the South, to seek new livelihoods in the cities, they occupied the core areas being vacated by middle class families, who were beginning to migrate to the suburbs. In addition, in the Southwest, many Mexican-Americans came to the cities to seek jobs. Simultaneously, the development of technology contributed to job scarcity for the unskilled labor market, while economic activity shifted to outlying, newly developing suburban areas. Racial and socioeconomic biases prevented the new urban poor from obtaining jobs.

It must be pointed out that the hearts of America's cities are rich undeveloped territories, as some Americans are aware and more are discovering. Beauty is there—grace of architectural line, the freshness of tiny unexpected parks, imaginatively designed gardens created from scanty resources. There art lives, in established museums and galleries, theaters and cinemas, but also in storefront playhouses, mural-covered fences and buildings, and the studies and studios of those whose spirits are nourished by the vitality of the city. The life of the city is well-known to offer terror and despair, the dullness of too little for too long, and the isolation of those who have nothing left to give. Little noticed are the vitality and self-reliance of those who have survived hardship and danger and the community of feeling and action that is growing from the sharing of new hope. The cities offer the possibility of finding new ways for Americans to live with one another because it is here that one may find the richness of the cultural diversity which is America.

Our cities, like other parts of the country, need good schools. The kind of education city children need is good education—education that works. City parents, like other parents, want their

children to have good education. They want their children to be prepared to survive and compete as equals in our civilization. The schools of the urban crisis must offer their students the opportunity to construct a self-respect that will free them from insecurity. They must offer students the opportunity at the end of their school experience to choose freely between further education and entry into an occupation with a future. The schools must develop their students as individuals.

Schools that do these things are good schools, wherever they are located. The principles of good education are constant, but their application differs in different environments and for different student populations. In fact, one of the most basic elements of good education is adaptability to the situation and the individual student—an element all too uncommon in the American educational institution and generally lacking in the schools of the urban crisis.

This Task Force recognizes that the United States, since its beginnings, has been composed of separate and unequal societies. There is the Western European society of the white majority; there are the societies of the black, poor white, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, and Indian minorities. To fulfill the principles upon which this country was founded, America will have to reform its institutions so that all the cultures within it will be accorded equal respect; all citizens, equal rights.

THE TASK

The schools of the urban crisis, as they now exist, perpetuate the cycle of poverty, the merry-go-round of despair and frustration. They consciously or inadvertently continue to discriminate against the poor and powerless. Many concerned Americans, educators and noneducators alike, have already taken steps to improve the schools, to eradicate the inadequacies, and to develop programs which will afford the citizens of urban America the same opportunities that other Americans have. The efforts of those who have been trying are commendable. Yet the situation remains critical. It is the responsibility of all those concerned with the future of this nation to accelerate efforts to improve inner-city schools.

America's central challenge remains: to develop its human resources, its children, so that they in turn can develop America.

The urban school crisis is not an isolated phenomenon but affects and is affected by the education offered in all schools

in this country, whether suburban or rural. Children frequently come into the urban schools from rural areas. Educators frequently come into urban schools from suburban or rural backgrounds; many hope to leave urban schools for positions elsewhere. Too often the goals and methods of urban schools are based on those developed in suburban schools. The children whom these schools fail to educate affect schools in other areas by their negative impact upon the national economy. They are likely to be unemployed and thus compete for, rather than contribute to, public funds.

DESEGREGATION

The students who attend the schools of the urban crisis suffer from the effects of racial discrimination. Racial strife, mistrust, and bigotry affect the schools and all other institutions not only in our urban areas but in the rest of the country as well.² One of the greatest problems facing America is that of ending racial and economic discrimination.

The first step in attacking this problem is the eradication of segregation. Forced segregation of minority groups by the majority is the denial of Constitutional rights, as recent court decisions and common sense indicate. Desegregation therefore means breaking down barriers which limit the freedom and opportunity of groups of citizens to exercise the privileges ensured by the Constitution. Some of these barriers are legal, but most are more subtle. Some are de jure; others, de facto. In public education, desegregation means getting rid of separate and unequal schools which are still sanctioned by boards of education and state legislatures and which prohibit children from multi-racial and multicultural experiences. It means breaking down housing patterns which arbitrarily limit the choices of the poor and the powerless, imprisoning them in areas others have abandoned and yet control. Opening up housing in the suburbs to black citizens also means that suburban students will no longer be segregated through the design or acquiescence of their parents.

The federal government has taken some steps since the 1954 Supreme Court decision, yet many people of this country—administrators and teachers, public officials, and citizens alike—have blocked efforts to remove once and for all legal and social barriers which impinge upon the rights of minority group citizens.

It does little good to develop desegregation plans for our major cities if citizens of a state vote down open-housing laws. Recent studies have shown that the pace of school desegregation in America has been snail-like. The public schools are more segregated now than they were in 1954.³ America seems to be unwilling to accept even coexistence; unwilling to provide some Americans with the rights all Americans are entitled to. When one American suffers, all suffer. Denial of justice to one man or group is a denial of justice to all men. It is in each citizen's interest to work to assure all Americans the rights to which they are entitled under law.

INTEGRATION

The word *integration* is frequently used, but seldom understood. People say it is essential for *quality education* but rarely define either term. Does integration mean giving a white child a locker next to a black child? Does it mean bussing 60 five-year-olds from slum to suburbs? Does it mean hiring one Puerto Rican or Mexican-American professional staff member to improve the public relations image of a school or an education association?

Integration is not only racial but cultural, a coming together of different peoples in a social, esthetic, emotional, and philosophical manner—not a mechanical juxtaposition. It is pluralism rather than assimilation, based on respect for differences rather than on a desire for amalgamation. Respect does not try to "save" a person from the "mistaken" values that have always guided his life: integration is a salad bowl rather than a melting pot.

The kinds of experiences which would produce the mutual understanding and respect that constitutes integration among children of different races and backgrounds are necessary elements of education for life in this nation.⁴ Such truly integrated experiences can, furthermore, be provided every child of a metropolitan area, no matter how culturally isolated his situation.

In cities whose populations are now more than 50 percent black, in cities from which white parents are fleeing, in suburbs where black citizens do not live or are refused entrance, there will be schools which are all-black and all-white. Good education can and must be provided for children and youth in these schools: the staff can provide educational experiences which lead children to a greater understanding and acceptance of all of America's

societies.⁵ The Task Force believes that this understanding would be more easily developed through integration of student populations.

There are many ways to provide integrated educational experiences.⁶ The school system may use one or a combination of the following options or decide upon others: (a) two-way bussing, (b) exchange programs involving students and teachers, (c) cross-racial experiences sponsored by the schools but outside the regular school program, (d) the redrawing of district lines, or (e) the construction of educational parks.

No matter which means citizens choose, the Task Force believes that the following principles must serve as a basis for developing an effective sequence of integrated experiences.

The chief purpose of school integration is to give each child the opportunity to have experiences with children from different cultural and racial backgrounds. The decisions to develop integrated programs must be made jointly by the parents of the children involved. School staffs and teachers organizations have a responsibility to inform the parents of the educational value of such experiences. The parents should have a permanent role in developing and assessing the programs and the experiences of their children. The parents of the majority—whether black or white or Spanish-speaking—must not dictate to the minority group parents. Neither should small special interest groups dictate to all the others what should be done. All should work as partners.

A child who is going into an integrated situation must be provided special assistance *before* he enters it. Children cannot be subjected to a situation in which they might be destroyed as persons psychologically. Children cannot enter situations in which they will be subjected to bigotry, hatred, racism. The educational experiences provided must not reinforce stereotypes but eliminate them.

Before and during the development of integrated experiences, the superintendent and his staff should provide the faculties involved the kinds of experiences which will assist them to examine their own racial attitudes and make them sensitive to children of different races and backgrounds. The personnel specifically involved in such programs must work along with the parents in the planning and development of these experiences.

Desegregation—the destruction of barriers—and integration—the construction of mutual respect—must be accomplished if

children are to be offered a complete education and the nation is to enjoy a decrease in intercultural tension.

CONCLUSION

It is unfortunate that a recipe for good education for the children of the urban crisis cannot be adapted from the educational programs provided in the suburbs with a few minor changes made. But the kind of education students need is not being generally offered children of any geographic or socioeconomic region. The health of the national economy requires that the schools of America prepare students to be self-supporting, to contribute to the national income rather than to the cost of public services. The survival of American democracy requires that schools help students become self-respecting and self-determined individuals. The need for schools that accomplish these things is particularly acute among the poor and the powerless.

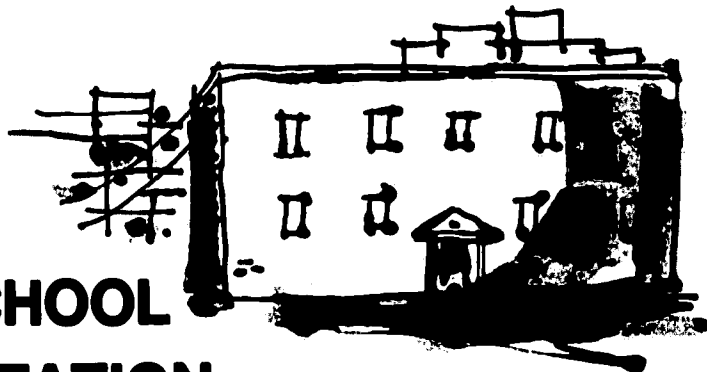
The children of the urban crisis have a right to an education as fully funded and carefully planned and carried out as other American students. If they are to have an equal start at the end of their public schooling, their schools must receive more funds and attention than others. But, if they are to compete successfully, if they are to survive, the funds and the thought and imagination must be better spent than in most of our schools at present. In four areas which determine the quality of education—organization, experiences, staffing, financing—the Task Force has examined the requirements of the schools of the urban crisis and designed strategies to bridge the gap between the real and the ideal, the present and the future of urban education in America.

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Chapter 1



URBAN SCHOOL REORGANIZATION

The process by which the schools of the urban crisis are governed is increasingly unsatisfactory to those groups whom the institution affects most. Overgrown and ponderous, most big-city school systems are slow, inefficient, and inflexible in operation. Every decision or request for action must go through various levels and planes of the hierarchy, through forms and red tape which remove most traces of uniqueness or urgency. Routine supplies may be delivered months, even years, after they are ordered. Attempts at creative teaching that require materials or permission from outside the classroom are likely to be stifled because of rigidly applied rules, since the system makes so little provision for special cases. Unresponsive to staff members, the bureaucracy of most big-city systems is impervious to the demands of parents and can be influenced only with difficulty by the school board or superintendent.

This system of governance no longer goes unchallenged. Because staff members feel decisions are made arbitrarily and rules applied rigidly in disregard of the uniqueness of any individual case, they are frustrated and angered. Students are becoming aware that an education better suited to their needs could be provided if the structure of governance permitted. Parents who see their children miseducated or uneducated are claiming the right of parents in smaller school systems—to govern the schools through a board that represents *their* interests because they are not competing for representation with more powerful cultural or economic blocs. The form of governance they want is commonly described as "community control"; however, "the rhetoric of control is more widespread than its practice; few parents want to *run* their schools. But they do want some-

thing called *accountability*, where they can look at and assess what the schools are accomplishing."¹

Many groups agree that the organization of urban school systems must be altered if city children are to receive suitable and sufficient education. But no better pattern has been established. New structures of decision making must be developed for each city according to its particular situation.

In order to reexamine the structure of organization of an urban school system, educators and citizens must begin to clarify (a) the various types of tasks which the schools now perform, (b) the levels at which the tasks can be carried out most efficiently, and (c) the difference between decisions which should be public and those which should be professional. Decisions about school programs and administration should be made at several different levels: the local (an individual school or cluster of schools), the regional (several clusters within a city or crossing metropolitan boundaries), the metropolitan, the state, the multi-state, and the national. Although there will, of course, be overlapping areas of responsibility among levels and between the public and the educational staff, the Task Force is concerned with primary responsibility. **Clear delineation of roles and responsibilities is absolutely essential for urban school reorganization, in order to prevent duplication of efforts or abdication of responsibility.**

Within the broad criteria established by the state and the nation, most decisions about the educational experiences children receive should be made at a level which can involve both the parents and the children most directly. Although it is the right of the parent and the citizen to make the policy and priority decisions about what their children learn, educators and citizens must realize that parents do not exercise this right in a vacuum.

The school staff, consulting with parents and students, is the logical group to make decisions about scheduling, teaching methods, and so forth.² At the same time, there must be a relationship between state and national educational objectives and personal, parental, and community ones. The state, which has a legal right to intrude into any public school system, acts as a check and balance for the public. The city, state, region, or nation may conduct programs of research, provide special consultants, and disseminate new ideas and developments to the staff and public. Teachers organizations have a role in presenting educational alternatives at each level of decision making.

Educational personnel translate policy into program, idea into action. In the individual school setting, for example, the parents might establish policy and priorities, present these to the staff, and ask them to propose several alternative ways of getting the job done. The parents, then, might decide which of these alternatives best fit into the total scheme of the school's priorities and delegate authority to the staff to carry out the program. In another situation the parents might simply tell the staff to do a particular thing without specifying any particular way. In either case, the public has a responsibility to assess the programs to judge whether they are effectively attaining the goals of the school. It has a further responsibility to demand that the programs be changed if they are not.

While education needs the largest possible financial base, allocation decisions are made most appropriately by public agencies closest to home base. Allocations, then, can be used to align expenditures with the priorities of individual schools and cities. Instead of citywide procurement of supplies, the school may want to purchase paper, supplies, and paperbacks from a local firm. In this way the school can establish better community relations and, at the same time, obtain needed supplies quickly and efficiently. Placing greater responsibility and authority for spending money within the individual school enables persons who are closest to the children's learning situation to translate feelings into programs, ideas into action. It allows education to be more responsive, more accountable.

One of the greatest problems Americans will face as cities are built and rebuilt is adequate planning for future school facilities to keep pace with jobs and housing and for replacing outdated and condemned buildings. The basis for decisions in this case obviously must be larger than the individual school attendance area. One mammoth problem America now faces is urban sprawl, for "cities" often embrace many independent governing units and often even cross state boundaries. The only way we can deal effectively with this problem will be through metropolitan planning, incorporating these independent governing units into a cohesive group for decision making and action.³ This will create another area where educational decisions must be made. Involving parents will be difficult at this level; but as metropolitan governments grow stronger and as multistate bodies develop, it will be absolutely essential to find ways to make these units responsive and accountable to parental concerns.

It is at a more local level, however, that the difficulties of securing accountability are at present being confronted. Proponents of school reorganization have developed or are calling for plans to decentralize the school systems of many of our major cities. This drive for decentralization of schools and for increased parental involvement is one element of a logical step in the development of American democracy. Before the American Revolution, decisions were made by monarchs. Ever since the American people won the right to govern themselves, the basis of decision making has gradually broadened as more and more segments of the population have obtained the right to vote. In 1920, women won the franchise; in the sixties, civil rights activities helped to extend voting rights to more black people; now the young are pressing strongly for the right to vote at the age of 18.

More and more of the people are eligible to vote for the representatives who make decisions, but the search for more responsive government is far from over. Many people no longer seem to trust their representatives to make policy for them in every area. They are demanding an ever-increasing role in making the decisions themselves: Emphasis is being placed on participatory rather than representative democracy. This shift from indirect to direct responsibility for decisions is the newest development in the continuing attempt of the American people to create a just and workable method of governing themselves.

Several elements in contemporary American life explain partially why this step is being taken now. During the past 20 years, this country has undergone the most rapid and thorough technological and social transformation in the history of man. Today, sheer bigness, expanded population, and increased concentrations of people are contributing to the feeling of alienation man experiences during such periods of rapid change. People are, therefore, reaching out to control and direct their economic, religious, political, and social institutions. They are attempting to make institutions which were developed during an agricultural or industrial period perform their functions in a technological society. This attempt often must involve changes in institutional structures.

The media explosion has contributed in an unprecedented way to the decentralization movement in cities throughout the country. Media are constantly bringing the actions of our representatives and the "products" of our institutions into view, and

the average citizen is unsatisfied. The media have brought the institutions so close to us that we can see how "remote" they really are. They have also illustrated how frighteningly inept these institutions are in dealing with the problems that society faces today. They have made us more sophisticated. They have shown the poor and the powerless the riches of America.

The failure of urban schools to educate children from all cultures has made the schools the main arena in which the battle for institutional accountability is being fought. Many of the poor parents now believe that their children are being controlled and sorted by a centralized system which responds only to other elements in the population. They demand to help make policy for the schools which their children attend. Thus the demand for school accountability and for decentralization is intrinsically connected to the movement for participatory democracy and self-determination in this country.

DECENTRALIZATION

The Task Force on Urban Education defines *decentralization* as a method of distributing authority in such a way as to give parents, citizens, and local school officials greater involvement in or control over the educational decisions which affect children.* The Task Force supports and endorses this concept. It believes that new and different efforts must be exerted to create *people-centered schools*, and that decentralization may be the best way to accomplish this in urban areas.[†] The education profession and the community together should assess the problems and needs of the children, determine educational programs, establish educational priorities, develop programs and methods of evaluation, and select staff. The Task Force urges that thoughtful planning by all of those involved precede every attempt to implement this concept in order to safeguard the educational standards and the general welfare of students and educators. Individuals and groups concerned about the future of urban children—city and state boards of education, individual teachers and administrators, education organizations, business and community groups—should begin immediately to examine all aspects of decentralization to decide whether this method of reorganization is feasible.[‡]

* This is a definition, not of *decentralization* in its strict sense, which describes an administrative device, but of *decentralization* as it has been used in recent discussions of the distribution of authority and as it is used in this publication.

The Task Force recommends that all those initiating and developing decentralized school systems closely examine the following questions and issues.*

Although neither the NEA nor any other national group can develop one decentralization plan that will be applicable to all of America's major cities, we feel a clear responsibility to raise some of the relevant questions which must be considered. In every city it will be essential for all those involved and affected by decentralization—administrative staffs and teaching personnel, city officials, city boards of education, individual parents, citizens, community groups, and teachers organizations—to examine these and other questions with care and to agree mutually on the important issues. **There should be widespread participation and involvement of all those concerned in developing any plans, and every decentralization plan must be designed to make urban schools more responsive and accountable to the people they serve.**

A. What size should decentralized school districts be?

One of the major purposes in decentralization is to develop adequate ways of involving parents and citizens in school decision making. All those involved in developing decentralization plans will have to pay particular attention to developing patterns of participation which will allow the schools to respond effectively to the *parents* of individual children and the citizens of particular *communities*. As the Task Force has indicated, many decisions about educational programs may be made most appropriately within an individual school no matter what size the district may be.

Ultimately, the size of decentralized school districts should be determined by the needs and demands of particular communities. It will also depend on the definition of the term *community*: the residents of a geographic area, an ethnic group, people with the same interests and goals, and so forth.

1. There may be a tendency to separate large districts from the city. Districts like Harlem, large enough to be "cities" themselves, may wish to secede from the city structure completely. Within such districts effective community

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participation would be limited by size, and further decentralization may be necessary. However, a governing board of such a district may be able to be more responsive to the needs of citizens, especially if the system includes a population which is relatively homogeneous.

2. Another alternative is the development of clusters of schools governed by a community board. Such a cluster might include a high school and its feeder elementary and junior high schools; it might involve between 7,000 and 10,000 students.
3. The Morgan Community School in Washington, D.C., suggests still another model—an individual school controlled by a local governing board.

It is possible that within a city some sections of the public are satisfied with the present centralized board and will not press for community-controlled schools. Thus some of the schools might be governed by a central board and others by local boards. It is also possible that several different-sized "districts" may develop within a city. (In Washington, D.C., the Morgan Board governs one school, but the residents of Anacostia are developing a governing unit which would have jurisdiction over 10 schools.)

The size of the districts will be important in determining other structural arrangements. For example, a very large district may be tied directly to the state, circumventing the central board entirely. In other cases, schools may receive some service or direction from a central board of education while developing governing units within individual schools or within clusters of schools.

B. How will representative lay participation be ensured in decentralized school systems?

Decentralized school plans call for involving parents and citizens as members of advisory councils or community school boards. Several structures of representation on such councils or boards are emerging.

1. The one constant factor in each plan is the presence of a majority of parents on the board. Some plans specify that teen-agers should be involved; others include businessmen, educators, and representatives of community orga-

nizations. The possible advantages and disadvantages of involving representatives from each of these groups on the policy-making boards should be weighed carefully.

2. Most plans provide for the election of board members either (a) by the population of a specific geographic area, and/or (b) by the parents of the school children.
3. Some plans (i.e., San Francisco SEED Project) call for the election of individuals to a decision-making committee in a particular school. Those committees then elect some representatives to a coordinating board which establishes policies for a cluster of schools. The clusters could, in turn, elect representatives to participate in citywide planning. This model might present a vehicle to coordinate decisions from the individual school level to the citywide area.

Participation on boards of education has traditionally been restricted to those of our citizens who have both money and time. Consideration might be given to compensating members of local governing boards, to paying for expenses incurred in participating, and to assisting the members to acquire expertise and factual information which will enable them to govern in fact.

C. What powers might community boards or councils have?

The specific powers and authority which are assumed by such boards or councils will be determined by the structural arrangements developed in each city. Some communities are demanding authority for setting priorities for the school program, allocating budget on the basis of these priorities, and hiring and firing personnel. They are seeking such powers within the limits of *state* law, but with a greater degree of freedom than centralized boards of education now permit.

Lines of authority and responsibility between centralized school boards and community boards and between community boards and educators must be *clearly* delineated. For example: A community board might have the responsibility for determining program priorities within a school or cluster of schools; a central board might conduct research and evaluation for the community board; faculty members of an individual school might develop several alternatives for implementing a program priority; and the community board might then

decide which among the alternatives is most feasible in the light of other priorities. Purchasing of some items might be done more easily by a central board; purchasing of other items might be done more easily by a local board.

Personnel needs and staff deployment should be determined at a local level as much as possible. The major responsibility for hiring and firing personnel might be placed with a governing board which has advice from the administration and faculty. On the other hand, major responsibility might be placed with the administrator assisted by the faculty and an advisory council. Whoever is responsible and accountable for personnel decisions must have the authority to carry out these decisions.

The following example shows how a community board and school staff could work together to hire personnel: New personnel are interviewed by the principal and representatives of the faculty and by a personnel committee of the board. The principal and faculty representatives examine the person's *professional credentials and competence*. The board's personnel committee reviews the applicant's views toward the community and the children. If either of the two groups feels the applicant is not suited for working in the particular school, the person is not hired.

Procedures for firing personnel must incorporate a system of due process acceptable to both the public representatives and the professional ones. Basic procedures might be developed at a broader level than the individual school.

If more hiring is done at the individual school level, there may be a more satisfactory initial assignment of personnel. If a person seeks transfer, however, he should receive assistance.

A more centralized agency might be responsible for establishing general procedures in the area of personnel practices and for recruiting personnel.

D. How should decentralized schools and school systems be financed?

Any discussion of the financing of decentralized school districts must take into account the fact that urban school systems currently do not have the funds necessary to educate children adequately. **Decentralizing urban schools without**

providing each district with the resources it needs to conduct programs and pay personnel would be tantamount to criminal negligence.

The base for resources for urban schools must be broader than the city—it must include both the state and the nation. Plans for distributing resources must take into account the extra needs of urban areas and the fact that proportionately greater amounts will be needed by those schools which have large numbers of poorer children.

A decentralized school district, then, will have to depend upon a broader area—city, metropolis, state, nation—for its revenues. However, decisions about how funds will be spent should be made as much as possible within individual schools or school clusters.

E. How might decentralization affect professional negotiations?

In an abstract sense, at least, there is little difference between negotiation in a decentralized school system and most bargaining in private industry. The classic bargaining pattern provides for hammering out a master contract with a nationwide industry, for example, and submitting it to members for ratification. However, final acceptance at any particular plant of that industry is contingent upon successful local negotiation over relevant local issues, which may vary widely from plant to plant because of local conditions. Many existing master contracts of teacher organizations already provide for a mild form of multi-unit bargaining, by requiring the formation of faculty councils or senates in each building or unit. The purpose of such councils is to resolve local issues that may arise because of unique conditions. For this type of bargaining to succeed, each local board must fully accept the responsibility to bargain with its employees.

Teacher organizations, then, would continue to negotiate. They would, however, have to examine which items could be negotiated at a centralized level and which could be negotiated at a more local level. In general, basic salaries and fringe benefits might be negotiated at a centralized level while decisions relating to educational programs might be made at the more local level. One of the items which teacher organizations might negotiate at the decentralized level is the pro-

cedure for involving faculty members in decision making within an individual school.

Negotiating under a decentralized plan would necessarily involve more members of the teachers organizations. These organizations themselves might become restructured along the same lines of a decentralization plan. They would need to consider and develop ways to coordinate the expressed needs of members in each decentralized district when developing a master contract covering a larger area. In short, they must find ways to be responsive to their own members in the decentralized system.

CONCLUSION

The Task Force believes that a careful and thoughtful consideration of the above questions will be necessary for all school systems that attempt to reorganize and reform to meet the exigencies of a new and challenging century.* The real value of the current surge toward decentralization and reorganization is that it focuses on allowing both parents and educators to be a part of the decision-making process. The realization of this drive toward decentralization and reorganization will provide in urban education the pluralism that we, as Americans, say we cherish. This new system will offer educational alternatives to parents and educators in our cities as well as in our suburbs. It could, in fact, save public education in America from obsolescence.

* Examination of the preceding questions and issues is the sole action recommendation of this chapter, as the Task Force believes it is the relevant and necessary response to the difficulties of urban school reorganization.

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THE EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE

The number of students who leave urban schools, with or without diplomas, prepared neither for further formal schooling nor for immediate employment has been repeatedly documented. That any students leave any schools in this condition is deplorable; when the proportion rises above 85 percent, as it has done in Harlem, the schools may be regarded as functionally inoperative in preparing students for economic self-sufficiency.¹ Far from equipping students to support themselves in any way at all—let alone giving them a choice of occupations—the schools of the urban crisis do not teach many students even to read or calculate.

Urban students are deprived, not only of useful academic and vocational education possible for others to obtain in the educational system, but of the kind of educational program that develops a child's confidence in his ability and worth—a confidence that is necessary for both survival and productive participation in our civilization.²

The educational program presently offered the children of the urban crisis is suitable to neither our time nor their situation. Until it is replaced by an appropriate form and content, urban schools will continue to crush their students into the mold of social liabilities. To educate, a school must adapt itself to its environment and to the academic, psychological, and physical needs of its students. Many urban schools are unique only in the degree of their inappropriateness to the student population. It is the enormity of their irrelevance that makes such schools a single, identifiable problem—the most pressing problem—of the American educational institution today.

EDUCATION FOR THE TIME

Emotional Development. The pressures and tensions of the present are great; those of the next few decades may well be

greater. Already many Americans do not feel able to deal comfortably with the stresses our civilization presents. To prepare students to function competently, our schools must offer them sufficient knowledge of the processes of emotional response so that they can understand their feelings rather than fear them. The school situation should present the opportunity to practice channeling and expressing feelings in ways that will prevent inner tensions from accumulating and yet keep behavior within the limits set by society. More important, the educational experience must provide students with the materials for an enduring self-respect on which to rely in times of external stress.

All the elements of the educational experience—staff, curriculum, materials, facilities—should be organized to contribute to the child's feeling that he is valuable both as a member of the human race and as himself—a unique combination of qualities. Those in the schools must neither ignore nor malign nor patronize any child's race, culture, or background. They must not imply that academic or social standing is an accurate standard of the worth of the individual. Rather, the educational experience must encourage each student to value his strengths, while considering his weaknesses to be challenges, not sins or faults.

Career Development. Most children in the schools today will need to work to support themselves as adults. Many will need to seek employment as soon as they complete their public school education. But employment is increasingly scarce for the unskilled; machines perform or may even direct physical labor, and economy requires that human beings perform only the tasks demanding more knowledge and skills. If the schools are not to contribute to the number of unemployed citizens, and thereby to all the social and personal waste and misery attendant on joblessness, they must offer effective programs for career development.

The educational program must first ensure that students possess the basic skills required for survival in our civilization: the ability to read, write, and calculate; to think logically; to make decisions; to work with others; and to deal with stress. Students further need to develop concepts which they can apply to a whole cluster of occupations, in order to move from one specific job to another as requirements and demands shift. It is the responsibility of the school to keep itself constantly informed on occupations that are likely to need more, or fewer, employees in the

near future. For example, because of the automation of industry and agriculture, the present trend is toward a concentration of employment in service-oriented, rather than goods-producing, occupations. A close relationship with business and industry is essential in vocational programs because students must have access to the latest machinery and techniques; training on obsolete equipment may even prove to be a liability to a prospective employee.

Local business, industry, and government and other service agencies can be valuable sources of assistance to the schools in providing vocational experience; their aid should be sought in the selection of suitable courses, the planning of course content, and the provision of actual working experience. Establishment of work-study programs is desirable for several reasons: Such programs permit students who must begin work immediately after graduation to continue their formal education and prepare themselves for occupations that offer advancement; they provide students the opportunity to observe the practice and working conditions in a variety of occupations; they maintain a close relationship between school and community that enables the school to keep its vocational program realistic; and they provide the student with contacts in the field he intends to enter. Through this last, they provide the schools one means of fulfilling what should be one of their major responsibilities in vocational education: student placement and follow-up. Neglect of this responsibility makes it difficult for the school to determine whether it is, in fact, preparing students to compete in the job market. Yet this is an aspect of its performance that should interest the school most highly, since unemployable students become a burden to themselves and a threat to the society. The relationship between the schools and the employers of the community—and beyond—must begin at the beginning of the student's training and continue until he is established in his occupation.

Individualized Programs. The schools of the urban crisis must develop programs of individualized instruction. The Task Force defines *individualized instruction* as instruction which creates the school situation most favorable to the development of each child as an independent, self-reliant, self-teaching, creative individual. Individualized instruction is designed to develop the

child's personal and academic potential to a greater degree than is possible when learning is prescribed for groups of students as though they were identical. An educational program tailored to fit the needs and abilities of each student provides him more experience of success, thus increasing his self-esteem and his willingness to risk further confrontation with unknown facts and situations. Giving him the length of time, the kind of materials, and the method of approach suited to his own learning style increases the amount he can learn, because his time is not spent grappling with irrelevancies.

In a truly individualized program, the human skill and development of each child are diagnosed. Each child has a program of activities planned with and for him in order to reach specific objectives, and assessment is conducted to see if the activities have assisted the child in meeting those specific objectives. Individualized education is concerned with behavior and how people feel about themselves and others; its objectives are behavioral. Children help determine the objectives they want to attain, and they have different experiences for accomplishing a stated goal. They learn in different environments, and their vicarious experiences are broadened. Children learn from all types of people and mechanisms. They are required to spend only as much time acquiring a given skill as it takes to demonstrate achievement of a desired goal, and then they can establish new goals and concentrate on the attainment of these.

This individualized education program is designed to ensure that no child leaves school without skills enabling him to move into another productive environment. It includes careful and continual diagnosis by both teacher and student of what the student knows, what he thinks he wants to know, how he learns, what he wants to learn, and what he is motivated to learn. It involves counseling about alternatives in learning, recognizing various levels of learning, and examining the degree to which learning has transfer value, is generalized or synthesized.³

All the educational experiences provided in such a program are process-oriented.⁴ The child not only learns facts but understands and uses the theory, process, reasoning, and concepts which go into any discipline. Not only do children learn history, they learn how to be historians; they not only read the poetry of Langston Hughes and T. S. Eliot, they learn how to be poets; they not only read and study the novels of Saul Bellow and James Baldwin, they learn how to become novelists. A child does not

just study about reason and humanity but incorporates them into his character.

In many areas of learning, particularly where performance goals can be identified specifically—as in typing, spelling, or mathematics—requirements are in terms of achievement rather than time. Flexibility in all subjects and areas of study eliminates the school schedule as we now know it. School need not begin and end at the same time for all children. On some days students might not even attend school. They might go to a museum, the mayor's office, the grocery store, the ball park, the newspaper office, the automobile factory, the police station. They might even take a leave of absence from the school for three months or a year.

Not only instruction, but evaluation can be individualized. Testing is used to determine to what extent each student understands what he has studied rather than how many facts he has memorized. Each child is compared with his own standards of performance; class or national standings are not considered indicative of the student's increasing grasp of concepts and ideas. As the school program can be designed to assist the child to learn, so the evaluation program can be structured to inform the student about the nature and extent of his progress.

Plant and Facilities. Many of the schools of the urban crisis were built during the last century and are so unsafe for both children and educators that they should be torn down. These schools lack many basic items which most teachers take for granted: There are not enough desks; many of the windows are broken; blackboards are falling apart; doors will not close; radiators will not work; there are no adequate toilet facilities. These buildings are also simply too small for the number of people they are required to hold.⁵

What is worse, structural limitations prohibit the use of new learning techniques—such as large- and small-group instruction, independent study, and the use of new media—thus making individualized instruction impossible. Supplies are equally inadequate. These schools do not even provide enough textbooks for the students.

The Task Force urges that a new and different view be taken of learning facilities for urban students. Facilities for learning may extend much farther than the school yard, and these should be made more accessible to the urban child. School systems

do not have to wait for more buildings to be built. They can rent space in stores, housing projects, warehouses, apartment buildings, churches. These structures might offer more flexibility than many of the present inner-city school buildings.

A school building may represent the greatest single investment in a poor city neighborhood or a poor community. School buildings should and will serve many more purposes than they do at present. School systems should keep buildings open during evenings, weekends, and summers. If the schools were open, children who have no place at home to study could use the classrooms and the libraries. Individuals and groups from the community, using the school facilities for their own projects, would begin to feel a sense of participation and ownership toward the school which would reduce the fear and hostility now created by mutual defensiveness and misunderstanding. The inadequacy of many urban school buildings offers the opportunity to exercise a degree of imagination and creativity unnecessary in schools whose flexibility is built in.

EDUCATION FOR THE SITUATION

Our country bases its education on a culture, traditions, and a set of values inherited from Western Europe; it has not incorporated the contributions of other groups of people who make up the many societies we call America." This basis must be changed. In urban schools the black child and the Spanish-speaking child must be given materials which document their history and their uniqueness. Similarly, the white child, as well as learning about the achievements of his race, must also be offered the perspective that learning about other people and other races provides. The curriculum of the city school must be designed to help the child of the urban crisis come to grips with the grim reality of his daily life and to present him with a future which might be his—rather than cause him to cringe with shame because of the present or despair of ever attaining the future. The curriculum of every school must refrain from reinforcing in children society's tendency to make judgments about the worth of individuals on the basis of wealth, possessions, or race. Rather, judgments of individual worth must be based on the child's own values and experiences as a person and as a member of a particular community. Such an approach to curriculum must be manifested in materials in all fields of study—natural sciences and

mathematics as well as literature and the social sciences—which present realistically and fairly the various components of our nation and our world. All-white illustrations and examples in an arithmetic book are as untruthful and as unrealistic as an all-white history of the United States. The curriculum must also be cosmopolitan in outlook, emphasizing the interrelationships among an individual, his community, and his world. It must be relevant to the child's needs and to the needs of society. It must prepare him to perform effectively economically, socially, occupationally, and psychologically; it must prepare him to do this as an individual, a parent, a member of a group, a citizen of his country and of the world.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Despite the poverty of their educational programs, the schools of the urban crisis present a great challenge, if anyone is willing to accept it: They offer the opportunity for the construction of an entirely new form of education unbounded by the restrictions which a degree of success has placed on other schools. At this point the Task Force suggests some directions in which the educational experience might be developed.

1. School staffs, students, and parents should participate in the definition of the goals and objectives of the schools and review the current programs offered to accomplish these goals.

The broad overall goals of the schools must be further spelled out in terms of expected student behavior (i.e., operationalized objectives). As partners in this process, staff, students, and parents must decide what they want to happen in the school and examine what actually is happening. The school system and the board of education should provide time in the school calendar for this activity so that it can be carried out on a regular and continuing basis. In the review of the program the following areas should be examined:

The Curriculum: What is being taught?

Instructional Methods: How is the curriculum being taught?
How is the school organized?

Materials Used: Are they multi-ethnic? Is there wide use of varying materials?

Learning Problems: What are the major difficulties students are experiencing?

Student Involvement: Are the students allowed/encouraged to make decisions about their own education?

Evaluation of Students, Program, and Staff: Are the methods and procedures adequate and accurate?

School systems should place great emphasis on developing methods of student assessment which focus on the child's progress and not on his ability to meet predetermined group norms. Programs should be evaluated continually to ensure that they are doing what they were designed to do. Every new program should have built-in provisions for funds to ensure that this evaluation takes place.

2. Individualized approaches to learning should be developed, implemented, continually evaluated, and refined.

In each city, boards of education through the superintendent and staff, teachers organizations, and public and student groups should work together to develop a master plan for assuring the highest quality of individual experiences for each child. State departments of education and the U.S. Office of Education must provide financial resources, consultant assistance, and pertinent research and information. The NEA should provide assistance and leadership to those who are attempting to develop such a plan.

3. Schools must develop realistic programs which recognize that education will be a lifelong experience.

Lifelong productivity in the world of work requires periodic retraining, if not continual education. In the life span of an individual much of his education will occur outside of the elementary and secondary school years. It may be logical and beneficial for some youth to become employed as early as possible and then to continue their education under the direction of their employer. Guidance and counseling services should be available to provide placement and follow-up services for students moving into jobs, technical training programs, universities, and colleges. In addition, the school should take leadership in helping agencies and institutions in the community develop rich and varied educational offerings for adults of all ages.

4. High priority must be placed on extending, expanding, and improving programs available for young children.

One way to attend to the needs of young children would be to establish public kindergarten and day-care centers; another solution would be to establish programs for mothers to assist them in providing early educational experiences for their children. Because youngsters develop concepts of race at early ages (i.e., two to four years of age) it is extremely important that contacts be provided outside segregated neighborhoods. This early childhood education should be designed to develop in the youngster an ability to come to grips with himself honestly and to develop a clear perception of other people.

5. The school should provide more assistance to the urban child, directly or through community agencies, to attend to his physical well-being.

Children who are hungry or in need of medical or dental care cannot be expected to learn in the manner desired by parents, teachers, or the community. Consequently, the physical needs of our children must be met. For example, the school lunch program should be provided for all who need it. If medical, dental, and other services are thus to be provided by the school, the patrons must realize that additional staff and facilities will need to be provided.

6. Programs which reflect the true history and accomplishments of Afro-Americans, American Indians, Mexican-Americans, and Puerto Ricans should be incorporated into the school program.

These programs must be available to all students, for their importance is as great to children from a white neighborhood as those from any other. Historians and publishers are urged to provide teacher organizations, schools, and colleges with information and materials which will enable them to develop their own programs for all age levels.

7. Students should be expected to share in the responsibility for determining their educational program and to participate in making decisions about their own educational and human growth.

School officials and local teachers organizations should work with students to devise strategies to accomplish shared decision

making. Teachers have a unique opportunity to develop leadership skills in young people, but it must not be left to incidental or occasional experiences. Student responsibilities must be broadened in a deliberate and articulate manner throughout the entire elementary and secondary years. One component of such a program might be to have students assist in the education of their peers through paired learning and cross-age tutoring.

8. *The school should encourage students to take an active part in shaping their own destinies.*

Schools should recognize the unwillingness of young people to accept the errors of the past and respond accordingly to the general desire of students to participate in shaping their destinies. Two of the forces helping to create this change are the surge in black awareness and student activism.

9. *The school must work in a cooperative manner with young people and the police and courts to improve their relationships.*

The relationship between law enforcement agencies and youth is disintegrating. Teachers and other school staff members should work with the police to help them improve their contacts with young people. Because of the natural gravitation of youth into social clubs or gangs, teachers should be helped to understand the dynamics of the gang and the realities of gang life.

10. *Local teacher organizations, urban and suburban, should develop an attack on socioeconomic biases, prejudice, and racism.*

"Shortchanged" educators, parents, students, and other citizens must be helped to respect racial, social, ethnic, and religious differences; to appreciate, understand, and accept the rich diversity of American life. Local affiliates should work with boards of education, city officials, and civil rights organizations in their own communities—and with their counterparts in neighboring communities—to develop programs which will provide truly integrated experiences for children.

11. *A wider variety of instructional materials should be made available and used by teachers and students.*

Utilization of the products of the new instructional technology should be encouraged. These include closed-circuit television,

teaching machines, talking typewriters, computer installations, media centers, single-concept film packages, and overhead transparencies. School systems should place greater emphasis on using teacher-developed and student-developed materials. Assistance should be provided to staffs in using or developing new materials, and incentives given for creative use of materials. For example, teachers could be rewarded for preparing materials which would be of use to other teachers in the city. The school system could establish a materials library in each school to facilitate the sharing of materials among teachers. The teachers association could itself establish a materials center and a professional library for its members.

12. *Instructional materials used in all areas of the curriculum must accurately reflect the different ethnic, economic, racial, and social backgrounds and attitudes of America's pluralistic composition.*

These materials must be positively related to the experiential backgrounds of children. Producers and potential producers of instructional materials must develop materials which reflect the above concerns and cease to create and distribute ones that do not. School systems must purchase only those instructional materials which accurately reflect these concerns; teacher organizations at the local, state, and national levels must insist that only such accurate materials be developed and utilized in the schools. It is essential that the materials produced by the National Education Association and its affiliates also reflect the true diversity of the American heritage.

13. *Condemned buildings and educationally inadequate structures now in use should be replaced by facilities which accommodate a wide variety of learning experiences for all members of the community.*

All new buildings should incorporate the latest in architectural design and educational technology. These facilities should be open during the evenings, weekends, and summers to provide maximum use. They could be used as locations for adult education programs, consumer buying courses, recreational and cultural programs, and community meetings. School systems should make better use of existing facilities which may not be owned by the city but are located there—museums, colleges and universities, business enterprises, and so forth.

14. Increased attention must be paid to the mobility of urban children across arbitrary school boundaries in our large urban school systems.

Among schools which have a high student turnover, special efforts should be made to coordinate programs and conduct joint social and recreational activities so that children are disoriented as little as possible by the mobility of their families. Administrative regulations might be changed to allow children to remain in a particular school when their families move to another neighborhood near enough to make transportation arrangements practical.

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STAFFING

The staff, like the program, of the schools of the urban crisis represents an intensification of the racial, cultural, and educational problems plaguing the rest of the nation. In most inner-city schools there is a serious deficiency of personnel, in both numbers and quality. Many of the teachers in these schools are not fully certified and have had little or no teaching experience. In addition, some of those teachers who have formal credentials and experience are prevented from being effective because of overt or subtle prejudices: They feel that the students are less capable, even less human, than others; or they feel that they are bearers of a higher civilization that will bring the students success and happiness.

These attitudes, of course, are prevalent in our society. Their existence in teachers illustrates how ineffective teacher education institutions have been in eradicating them. For the most part, inner-city educators have been trained in institutions which are middle-class oriented, and they have not had much exposure as part of their training program to persons of different cultural or socioeconomic backgrounds. Even when this exposure occurs through student teaching programs or other preteaching experiences, teachers are not usually helped to interpret, analyze, or understand what they see or think they see.¹ Furthermore, they are often not made aware of the beauty, strength, and value of other cultures.

The effectiveness of the many experienced, competent, and sensitive teachers and administrators in the schools of the urban crisis is limited because of the conditions under which they must work. Their salaries are in many cases below U.S. Department of Labor standards of reasonable comfort.² The obsolescence and inappropriateness of the school program, rigidified by the inflexible structure of governance, prevents them from working at a level of competence which they can respect. Inadequate funding saddles them with a dearth of materials and with buildings which

often are physically hazardous and which, in any case, make imaginative and vigorous teaching more, not less, difficult.

The schools of the urban crisis must be staffed by a corps of educators who possess sufficient talent and training to offer students an excellent education. To this end, immediate steps must be taken to improve the initial preparation as well as the continued development of educational personnel. It is also imperative that school systems improve conditions of work and develop a climate in which effective teaching-learning can take place.

THE EDUCATOR

Urban schools need educators who are competent, i.e., sensitive, productive, and decisive; educators who demonstrate their belief in the real worth of each child, who respect children of different racial and socioeconomic backgrounds, and who know and respect the values and customs of these backgrounds. Schools need educators who are themselves secure. Prospective educators and those who are currently in service must be continually provided experiences and knowledge that will enable them to be aware of their own emotions and reactions. It is crucially important, furthermore, that educators have opportunities for self-renewal, for relief from the tensions and frustrations that accompany them daily.

An educator should be able to facilitate learning, or assist the child to think logically, as well as to understand and express his inner feelings. He should be able to establish and work comfortably in different kinds of learning situations—small groups and large, within the school setting or outside it. He must recognize that learning takes place all the time, wherever the child is; and that to affect the student positively, the school must work with, not against, the teachers and classrooms of the home and the street. The teacher must be willing and able to use the questions and suggestions of parents to improve his own method of approaching students. Similarly, he must be able to use various kinds of materials—traditional, newly developed, and available in the community or created by students, parents, or other staff members.

It is, therefore, necessary that the teacher be able to understand and make himself understood among the people of the

school and community. He must understand the primary language of the students and community and avoid using professional argot, which will mark him as defensive and insecure. He must know how his own words and actions will be interpreted. A sensible and productive idea inaccurately expressed may appear patronizing or defensive and create hostility or disdain in the listener. The educator in the urban school must not be horrified by either the students' language or their experiences and feelings. He should be able to communicate and work not only with students but with other educators, specialists, parents, aides, and administrators. The principal and teachers of an urban school must be able to carry on the important process of communication with the total community in which they work.

To prepare students for the world in which they will live as adults, educators must unceasingly search for new answers to old questions, be thoroughly familiar with their areas of specialization, and keep themselves informed of new developments in the practice of teaching. They must be able to help students inquire rather than memorize. Teaching means assisting students in setting aims and goals, raising questions, developing hypotheses, testing solutions, noticing the people and the world around them. Teaching means encouraging students to solve problems effectively and to examine all hypotheses rigorously.

Educators must also know and understand the learning process. Each teacher should know how children learn. He should recognize that learning is not the same for all. He should know the place of drill and repetition and basic skills in the learning process. His role is to help the students use their own minds, develop their own reasoning powers so that they can differentiate between the relevant and the irrelevant. His goal is to help the students recognize their own insights as different and valuable perceptions even though greater minds might have seen more clearly.

If our educational programs are to provide each student the education that will most benefit him, educators must understand and use a process which includes the elements of (a) diagnosing, (b) planning, and (c) evaluating.³ The competent educator using this process will recognize the difference between a temporary and a permanent need in a child. He will recognize the difference between what one child needs and what an entire group of children need. He will know what to look for when observing each child: Is the child falling asleep, fighting, whining, angry? He

will be able to distinguish between healthy behavior and symptoms of emotional illness. He will observe how a child attacks a problem. He will look, listen, ask questions, and remember what he heard and saw. Once he collects these data, he will organize, analyze, and separate the relevant from the irrelevant, planning possible ways to meet a particular child's needs and problems.

After this necessary diagnosis, he is ready to prescribe; so he sets goals and objectives involving all students individually and as a group; selects and organizes people, materials, and content to meet the goals; and conducts activities. He will also set limits, identify and interpret expectations, and know the purpose of all the activities and their relationship to the goals. The educator will ensure adequate supervision, use materials and activities as creatively as possible, and help the children to help one another. He will know when to stop an activity and when to begin one; he will understand how to make a transition from one activity to another. He will know when the goal of an activity has been achieved because he will know what evidence shows him that it has been achieved.

The competent educator using this three-part process will know exactly what to evaluate. (1) Did the child accomplish the task or activity successfully? (2) Was the activity relevant to the objective? (3) Was the objective appropriate for the child? He will define what is being evaluated and select appropriate criteria for measurement. He will involve the child in self-evaluation, use consultants, observe the behavior of the child, and evaluate his own behavior as a teacher. After all these data, he will interpret the results, knowing what to accept or reject, compare his assessment with that of the child, recognize unrealistic goals, and judge the cause of success or failure as objectively as possible.

The Education of the Educator. If teacher education programs in colleges and universities are to prepare teachers who are capable of developing students into thinking human beings, radical changes are needed in both the content and the organization of present programs.⁴ An individual who wishes to become a teacher must be treated as an individual: His strengths and weaknesses must be diagnosed, and he must receive experiences planned with and for him. Just as behavioral objectives must be developed for each child, they must also be developed for

teachers in training. Young men and women who plan to enter teaching must be evaluated on the basis of their possession of certain skills, as well as on how much they know about philosophies and psychologies of learning and teaching, child development, and subject matter fields. They must be far more involved in making vital decisions about their college programs than are today's students. They must have opportunities to decide, choose, make mistakes; thus they will learn how to make wise decisions.

A teacher in the schools of the urban crisis cannot be really effective unless he derives from study and from his own experience sufficient knowledge and understanding of urban sociology, anthropology, and behavioral psychology to have some insight into the values and the goals of his children and their families. He must understand the effect of the environment on the learning styles of students. Educators must never forget that if they treat a child as one who cannot learn anything, it is unlikely that they will ever teach him anything worth learning. Ways must be found to determine and develop a prospective teacher's ability to understand and accept people of different races and socioeconomic classes. Preparation programs must give every prospective educator the opportunity to work with children of different races and backgrounds and thus to attain a perspective and an openness which will be valuable not only in his teaching but in his life.⁵

His program of preparation must focus heavily on the development of teaching behavior and skills. He needs experience in setting objectives, deciding what behavior is appropriate in a given situation, and practicing that behavior in both real and simulated situations. Part of his preparation should deal with developing research skills and theory—the concepts which will enable him to interpret what he sees and does; to analyze, conceptualize, plan, and adapt theory to present situations as well as to future ones. Another part of his preparation should teach him how to work with adults in various roles in the learning process. He needs experience in working with parents, aides, and other teachers to enable him to teach more effectively in a concrete situation. He also needs to be familiar with community agencies and how they affect children.

A much closer relationship must be developed between the colleges which prepare teachers and the urban schools in which they will teach.⁶ Urban school systems and educators must work with college personnel to ensure the development of courses

which will be helpful. College professors must from time to time teach in urban schools in order to become more sensitive to the needs of future teachers. Teacher education must become a continuing process. The lines between selection, initial preparation, induction into the profession, and graduate and continuing education should disappear. Entrance into the profession must be based on an evaluation of an individual's ability to perform specific actions and his potential for improving his abilities. Similarly, judgment of competency must be based on performance, on what one does rather than only on what one knows. Since competency is not a static thing, opportunities for an educator's continued growth should be maximized. Educators, too, need career guidance to assist them in planning their professional development.⁷

The Environment of the Educator. Improvements must be made in the climate and organization of urban schools.

For high morale, teachers need a feeling of achievement, of success in the task they regard as all important. Teachers need professional help when they encounter serious adjustment problems in their classes. They need adequate instructional materials and assistance from administrators and supervisors. They need relief from time-consuming clerical and housekeeping chores that can be performed by others. They need good working conditions, including opportunity for a breathing spell in the course of a long and strenuous day. Above all, they want their superintendents and principals to respect them as people and treat them as fellow-professionals. No amount of lecturing on the importance of teaching means much to the young person who is treated as a hired hand by a petty bureaucrat, regardless of whether the pettiness is shown by a principal, by a supervisor, or by a clerk in the superintendent's office. If we want teachers to feel that they are professionals, they must be treated as professionals.⁸

Within the school, many different people perform many different tasks. Just as each child is unique, so too is each educator. The child should be the center of the educational program; and each person on the staff—the janitor, the principal, the aides, the secretary, the teacher, the specialist—must be allowed to work in a way in which he can best contribute his unique skills to the education of each individual child.

Educators need more time to teach, plan, learn, make decisions, and talk with colleagues and students. They must spend a far greater part of the school day in planning and learning. It has been said that from 15 to 20 percent of the teacher's time should be spent in *self-learning*.⁹ That is, he must continually educate himself by studying the insights offered by his classroom teaching and by designing experiences to provide needed insights. For years, of course, lip service has been paid to this belief. If change is to take place in urban schools, however, we cannot continue "business as usual": We must begin by freeing our teachers so they can begin developing and instituting needed improvements. Individual educators must assume a far greater decision-making role in determining what methods of instruction and what resources they will use. Furthermore, they must have the skills and emotional strength necessary to work for improvement of the program and continuous reorganization of the school and school system.

During the coming years, teachers will be demanding higher salaries. The Task Force believes that this is inevitable and fitting. Teachers must be paid more. A competent staff is the most important factor in the education of children. If education is to be accorded high priority in this country, it can no longer be financed by paying educators poorly and then expecting Mr. Chips-like performances. Rising expectations of educators must be taken into account in the staffing of urban schools.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recruiting, preparing, and retraining competent educational personnel is essential if the schools of the urban crisis are to develop adequate educational programs. School systems, state departments of education, state professional standards commissions, the federal government, the various accrediting agencies, and the universities which train educators should all assume greater responsibilities toward this end. Educators themselves, through their national, state, and local organizations, bear grave responsibility for promoting actions which will ensure that the schools of the urban crisis do secure, support, and retain the kinds of competent personnel they need—skilled and sensitive educators who are committed to providing the kind of education necessary for the survival of urban youth.

The Task Force makes the following recommendations to the above groups:

1. Greater freedom and decision-making responsibility should be placed with teachers and administrators in individual schools throughout the city.

The staffs of these schools should have the opportunity to plan at regular intervals and implement new programs which meet the needs of children in particular schools.

2. Overburdened teachers and administrators should receive more assistance from nonprofessional personnel who are capable of performing many of the tasks which teachers and administrators must now assume.

Introduction of new personnel must, of course, be accompanied by adequate training and continued training programs which involve the professionals as well as the nonprofessionals. School systems should develop programs which encourage non-professional staff members to move into careers in the education profession.

3. Special emphasis should be placed on assisting new and beginning urban teachers.

Beginning teachers should not be asked to assume the same amount or type of responsibility that experienced teachers have, and they should be provided with a great deal more assistance during their first year of teaching. Orientation programs for new and beginning teachers could be held before the beginning of the school year, with follow-up programs held intermittently throughout the year. Such programs might involve experienced teachers as well. The staff should be paid for attending such programs.

4. School systems should sponsor and pay for extensive in-service staff training programs.

These programs should be broad in scope. Principals, teachers, and specialists should decide what kinds of programs they need, and the school systems should provide programs that are designed and initiated to meet those expressed needs. In-service training should be considered a regular part of the educator's job, and school personnel should receive time and remuneration for attendance at such programs. These programs should draw

more upon the skills and expertise of the faculty members of individual schools and people with special skills who live in the community; as well as college personnel and other consultants. Many more opportunities must be provided for teachers to visit other schools and cities, attend professional conferences, and do other things which would give them new ideas and strengthen their professional competence.

5. *There should be widespread staff involvement in developing staff evaluation techniques. Evaluation should be used to improve rather than to criticize or condemn the teacher's performance.*

Schools must provide the time and the resources necessary for staffs to improve their performance. The evaluation techniques used should measure both the educator's teaching skills and his personal relationship with the children and with other staff members.

6. *Urban school systems and teacher education institutions should develop closer ties in order to develop more effective preservice training programs in the colleges and in-service training programs in the school systems.*

Institutions which prepare undergraduates for careers in education should place a far greater emphasis on selecting and preparing persons who are capable of working in inner-city schools. Their programs should be geared toward providing these persons with the teaching skills and sensitivities they will need to be effective. Opportunities must be presented for them to understand and come into contact with people who live in the inner city. Colleges could establish programs which involve the students in summer jobs in the inner city or participation with an inner-city school staff as aides or assistants. In college programs, emphasis should be placed on a person's ability to perform specific teaching behaviors. The programs themselves must provide for far greater student responsibility and decision-making involvement.

Graduate programs aimed at preparing teachers to work in inner-city school situations should be improved and expanded. The federal government should increase appropriation to the Teacher Corps. School systems and universities should cooperatively develop Master of Arts in Teaching programs to recruit

and train capable personnel who have not had undergraduate training in teacher education for educational careers.

7. School systems should initiate programs which will provide incentives and inducements for attracting capable and competent persons to enter urban school systems.

One type of program would be an arrangement whereby the school system hired a beginning teacher, in cooperation with the university developed a special graduate training program tailored to his needs, and paid for the teacher's graduate training. Another program would be the recruitment of returned Peace Corps and VISTA workers, accompanied by special orientation and training programs. There could be programs established which focus on hiring and preparing persons who have college degrees and have been employed in other fields but who now want to enter the teaching profession (especially women who wish to enter teaching after their children have grown up). Another approach would be to send young, attractive, articulate teachers from the school system to recruit additional staff members from colleges and universities.

8. Provisions should be made in retirement and benefit programs and certification laws which will allow competent personnel to move into inner-city school situations without losing status or benefits.

Local and state education associations should examine benefit programs and certification and licensing requirements and should negotiate agreements or establish the legislation necessary to make the required changes. State departments of education and school systems should review existing regulations and change them as necessary.

9. More representatives of ethnic and racial minority groups must be employed in professional and executive staff positions in all phases of education.

State and local education associations must make a special effort to ensure that these representatives serve on appointed or elected governing boards, policy-making groups, committees, and commissions. The NEA, as well as working with its state and local affiliates toward this goal, must also improve its own employment policies and appointment procedures.

10. All segments of the education profession must receive training and experiences which will enable them to work effectively with parent, citizen, and community groups.

Boards of education; local, state, and national teachers organizations; colleges; and state departments of education should establish such programs for their personnel.

11. Persons within each community who are not now involved in the formal educational process but who have special skills—mothers, businessmen, industrialists, retired people, artists, electricians, plumbers, and others—should be included in the on-going educational program.

School systems should encourage and interest their staffs in using these resource persons. The school staff should have the freedom to decide how such personnel can best be used to augment the school program.

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FINANCING URBAN EDUCATION



Money—much more money—is needed to provide the children of American cities with the education they must have. Money alone will not solve the problems, but without money most of the problems cannot be solved. Money is needed to make reality of the education programs which the children of the urban crisis deserve. Without sufficient funds—ideas, plans, and possible solutions to problems remain untried or, at best, implemented on a limited and inadequate basis. The goals that have been outlined in the preceding chapters of this report cannot be effectively pursued without a solid foundation of financial support.

Money for urban education must be provided on such a scale and in such a way as to meet recognized needs. The amount of funds must be geared to the purposes they are intended to serve; the purposes should not be adjusted to fit funds readily available. Tailoring educational programs to fit existing funds results in a series of seemingly small educational economies which rapidly compound into educational disaster. The financial needs of schools of the urban crisis are too pressing to receive less than full support.

Nor can money do the job assigned to it unless the needs it must serve are properly understood. Financing programs of secondary importance while neglecting primary needs, funding the obvious costs of a program but overlooking essential auxiliary costs, failing to recognize the need for planning procedures that will ensure effective use of funds—all leave the problems unsolved and waste the money that was allocated to solve them. Effective financing involves procedures both for acquiring sufficient funds and for directing the funds to the proper purposes.

Therefore, in considering the financing of urban education, it is necessary to give attention both to the needs for which funds must be provided and to the means of providing these funds.

The financial needs of urban education can be divided into two broad categories: remedies for problems of the past and responses to the challenge of the future. The foremost need for funds is to correct the deficiencies of the past and upgrade the regular educational program to the level of the best practices of contemporary education. In addition, it is necessary to develop new types of programs and apply new approaches and techniques to meet the special needs created by recent changes in the urban community. Providing funds adequate to the total financial need of urban education requires utilization of all three sources of financial support—federal, state, and local—in an appropriate and equitable manner. Suitable procedures need to be used for securing the input of sufficient funds into urban school systems and for securing the application of these funds to the specific needs of various communities within urban school systems.

REMEDIES FOR PROBLEMS OF THE PAST

The major financial need of the schools of the urban crisis is a massive injection of funds to raise the regular educational program to a satisfactory level. There are certain things which any school system must provide if it is to offer an educational program to students: teachers, classrooms, equipment and supplies, pupil transportation, and other such basic services. Schools of the urban crisis must have the funds to provide these for the number and kind of students they have today, in accordance with today's educational standards, and at today's prices. However, years of neglect have produced a situation in which the schools of the urban crisis have fallen behind.¹ Pressure to economize, the temptation to postpone solving problems in the mistaken belief that time would solve them, and failure to foresee future developments have resulted in a gradual decline which now leaves the regular educational program of the city schools below minimum acceptable standards. To make up for this lapse, a great deal of money is needed, and it is needed at once. Even small changes will be costly, and important changes will be more costly; but not to change would be disastrous. The problem is not one that can be solved gradually—by putting in small amounts over a period of time. Unless the schools of the urban crisis receive an infusion of funds sufficient to catch up to where they should be, they will fall farther and farther behind. Without such a first

step, other measures to finance the education of city children will be futile.

Once the accumulated deficiencies of the past have been remedied, the urban schools must have the means to maintain a regular educational program at a desirable level. Unless the funds are forthcoming to provide the essential elements of the educational program, the urban schools will again begin to fall behind and the pattern of decline will repeat itself. The most crucial of these essential elements is the teacher. To recruit and retain qualified teachers in urban schools, funds must be available to offer competitive salaries. To realize the objectives of reduced class size and individualized instruction, city schools must have enough money to employ enough teachers for their pupils.

Funds must also be available to maintain suitable school facilities. At present many urban school buildings are inadequate: some because of structural unsoundness; others because, although structurally sound, they are unsuited to the types of programs which urban pupils need today. City schools must have the means to replace such outdated facilities and to add new facilities when and where they are needed.

Urban schools must also have the funds to provide pupil transportation services necessitated by the changed physical and social make-up of the cities, which has created dangers to the safety of children on their way to and from school and has produced an environment of cultural isolation inimical to the best education. All these pupil services will require, on a continuing basis, the input of more funds than are currently being expended for such aspects of urban education.

However, in spite of present deficiencies, not all the needs of urban education have been neglected. Ideas and possible solutions do exist. Experimental and enrichment programs have been developed, and some have been put into operation on a limited basis. Frequently, however, lack of resources has prevented their full and effective implementation. One major obstacle to the success of such programs is the tendency to sacrifice existing programs for the sake of adding new ones. Experimental programs which are already in operation and show promise of success should receive continued financing and not be forced out of existence by the funding of new and more favored, but as yet untried and unproven, experiments.

Another financial problem of experimental programs is failure

to fund the total cost of the program.² A successful educational program requires a curriculum, sufficient space in a school building, appropriate staff, and supplies. If funds are provided for curriculum and supplies but not for the building and staff, a school that is already overcrowded and understaffed will not be able to implement the program. In funding experimental programs, it is particularly important to recognize the initial costs of preparing for and launching a new program. A new program cannot be introduced into a school overnight and begin functioning immediately. The present staff may not be trained to operate the new program, and other arrangements may be needed before it can be started. Time and money should be allowed to provide for these preparations in advance of initiating the program.

It is also important to recognize the need for maintaining experimental programs at a level beyond the regular program of the schools. Experimental programs often begin well, but in succeeding years the funds devoted to them are not increased sufficiently to permit them to continue in the status of experimental programs. When rising costs require an increase in the funds devoted to the regular program, a comparable increase in funds for the experimental program is frequently denied. Thus the distance between the experimental and the regular program begins to narrow and eventually reaches a point where the experimental program does not have the resources to do anything more than or different from the regular school program.

In addition, funds are needed to apply successful experiments on a wider basis so that their benefits will reach more children. The purpose of an experimental program is as a preliminary test. If the program is never implemented beyond the preliminary small-scale test, the purpose of the experiment is defeated and the majority of the pupils for whom it was intended never benefit from it. Increased funds need to be devoted to experimental programs of proven value so that they can be expanded to include greater numbers of children.

RESPONSES TO THE CHALLENGE OF THE FUTURE

Although additional funds can do much to improve urban education within the framework of existing programs, much more is needed to provide for the special needs of the inner-city community and its children. Socioeconomic conditions in the inner

city make it necessary for the school to go outside the limits of the regular educational program and provide additional services without which education cannot accomplish its ends. Many needs which in communities with more money and more leisure are met by citizens and families at their own expense must be financed from public funds for residents of inner-city areas. Funds for city schools must be sufficient to provide for extending the school day, school week, and school year to compensate for lack of educational and recreational opportunities with suitable supervision for children during out-of-school hours. Similarly, more funds are needed to expand school services to include younger and older age groups through providing day care for preschool-age children and developing the school as a community center for the adults of the community. Auxiliary services, such as health and nutritional programs for children whose parents cannot afford to provide these adequately, are other needs that should be met by the inner-city school system.

Other new areas of operation important to urban school systems also require financing. Among the most important are research and staff development. The need for educational programs developed at the local level to meet the specific needs of the urban community requires an extensive research operation staffed with qualified personnel to provide scientific analysis and evaluation. The demands on teachers and other professional staff members to implement new programs and respond to special needs of urban children make it necessary for the school system to provide special training to equip them for these tasks. Urban school systems should be undertaking extensive work in both these areas and need to receive funds specifically earmarked for these purposes.

MUNICIPAL OVERBURDEN

The special and extensive needs of urban education described in the preceding chapters demand a greatly increased input of funds by local, state, and federal governments. City school districts alone do not have sufficient resources to effect the necessary changes and take on the new responsibilities they must meet. Not only do cities have extraordinary needs in the area of education, but the proportion of resources that they can devote to education is restricted by the need for other public services created by the concentration of population. The conditions of

urban life require provision of extensive police and fire protection, water and sewage systems, and other services at public expense. In addition, the changing composition of the urban population has increased the need for welfare assistance provided at city expense. All these public services consume municipal revenue and limit the local funds available for education.³

The special financial needs of cities should be recognized in providing state and federal aid to urban education. Just as sparsely populated areas have difficulty in amassing enough resources to provide an adequate educational program, so population density in cities creates financial problems which inhibit the development of an adequate educational program. It is necessary to compensate for both types of limitations and to distribute funds so as to achieve an optimum relationship between the extent of population and the amount of resources for an area. To achieve this, the higher cost of sparsity and density should be recognized in a double-ended approach to educational costs which will give appropriate weight to the special financial problems produced by the population density of urban areas.

STATE DISTRIBUTION FORMULAS

Present formulas for the distribution of state funds to local school districts do not take account of special urban needs.⁴ These formulas are based on two factors: the educational need of the local district and the financial ability of the local district. Traditionally, need has been measured in terms of the number of children in the district and ability in terms of the assessed valuation per pupil enrolled in schools. These measures do not respond adequately to the urban situation as it exists today.

In considering the need of urban school districts, the number of pupils alone does not reflect the magnitude of the educational task to be fulfilled. It is necessary also to consider the cost of educating the kind of pupils who are located in urban areas. The concentration of children of lower socioeconomic background and oppressed minorities in the central cities has created an urban population which is more costly to educate. These children have special educational needs which require the extensive development of special programs at considerable expense to the school district. Under these conditions, more money must be expended per child to reach the same level of educational

achievement that can be attained at less expense in communities of higher socioeconomic status.

Consideration should also be given to the geographical distribution of pupils in urban areas. This factor has traditionally been considered in the cost of educating pupils in rural areas where transportation to centralized school facilities is necessary. The comparable, though different, kind of needs created by the geographical location of urban pupils should receive similar consideration in the allotment of state funds.

In regard to financial ability, the assessed valuation per pupil does not properly reflect the problem of municipal overburden. A measure is needed that will give due weight to the financial demands on local resources created by population density. This might be done by calculating financial ability as assessed valuation on a per capita basis or per weighted measure of local government service need.

A revision of state distribution formulas is necessary to reflect these considerations. The need factor should be developed to include the kind of pupils to be educated and the geographical distribution of pupils in urban areas as well as the number of pupils. The ability factor should be altered to respond to municipal overburden.

FEDERAL AID TO URBAN EDUCATION

The financial needs of urban education should not be regarded as a situation to be met exclusively or even primarily by the resources of state and local governments. Urban education is not just a problem of the cities, or even of the states. It is a national problem, confined to no one locality or region of the country. Although urban problems have been most noticeable in the older cities of the Northeast and Middle West, similar situations are developing in other parts of the country as a result of urbanization on a national scale. Not only is the financial problem of urban education national in scope, but it is also of such magnitude and seriousness that only the resources of the federal government are adequate to meet it satisfactorily. Without extensive federal contributions, the efforts of state and local governments to meet the needs of education in the cities will be unequal to the task.

It is necessary for the federal government to assume a full share of the responsibility for providing education to the chil-

dren of the nation's cities and to bear at least one-third of the financial burdens which urban education needs impose. Existing federal programs providing funds for specific purposes are not an adequate vehicle for this task. The entire urban educational program needs to be undergirded with the resources of the federal government. Once such basic support is provided, categorical aids can be used effectively to meet specific problems; but without a solid financial foundation for the total educational program, specific aid programs cannot reasonably be expected to have the desired impact.

To provide the needed support, a substantial increase will have to be made in the federal expenditure for education. This expense cannot be overlooked or curtailed without an adverse effect on an already adverse situation. Urban education represents one of the nation's most pressing financial needs. If other demands on the federal budget preclude the allocation of sufficient funds for this purpose, the federal income tax surcharge should be extended, or even increased, to provide the necessary revenues.

Federal funds are needed not only in greater quantity but also on a basis that will permit their effective application to the educational needs of the local community. Although common urban characteristics create a similarity of urban education needs throughout the country in general terms, there exists no exact uniformity among cities in regard to the educational programs best suited to their purposes. Decision making about specific expenditures is most effectively made at the local or community level, and inappropriate restrictions imposed by the federal government on the use of federal funds hinder rather than help the cause of urban education. Such limitations should not be attached to new funds allocated to urban school districts.

Similarly, limitations on existing federal programs for specific purposes which create bottlenecks and interfere with the implementation of these programs need to be revised. Funds should be made available to finance the total cost of such programs so that the inability to meet certain cost items locally will not inhibit participation by schools which need the program. One way of meeting this problem would be the addition of a percentage overhead to funds provided under such programs which the local district could apply to specific impediments to implementation.

Since decisions about expenditures should be made at the local level, the local school district must also have time to plan

for the wise use of funds it receives from the state and federal governments. Funds from different sources need to be coordinated and a total budget developed that will make the most effective use of all money. Appropriation of federal funds, therefore, needs to be made far enough in advance of local budgeting that the local district will have time for this planning.

LOCAL FINANCIAL OPERATIONS

Perhaps the most important step in the financing process is the application of funds to meet needs. To ensure the development of effective programs adapted to the needs of specific urban communities, decisions about the use of funds should be made by those who know and understand the specific situation best. There is no single blueprint for success in urban education which can be dictated from outside the immediate situation. Local school systems should have the authority and take the responsibility for developing programs directed to the children in the area. For example, it might be discovered that the chief impediment to educational achievement by pupils in certain schools was rapid pupil turnover and that the best way to help these pupils would be an arrangement to keep them with the same teachers; this could involve developing a transportation program and making suitable administrative arrangements. School systems should have enough flexibility in handling their funds to be able to work out original programs like this to serve the needs of their pupils.

An effective means of ensuring that school funds are going where they are needed and assuring and reassuring citizens and taxpayers that their money is being used wisely is the development of a local program planning/budgeting system (PP/BS). Such systems focus upon the needs to be met by programs and relate expenditures directly to the teaching-learning situation.⁵ The development of a PP/BS requires the knowledge and expertise of different kinds of local school system personnel: the classroom teacher, who has direct contact with student needs and is responsible for the ultimate implementation of educational programs, research and analytical personnel with specialized knowledge of curriculum, and financial managers. This combination of specialized talents provides two-way communication between teachers working with pupils in the classroom and the

central administration and puts the financial operations of the school system in direct touch with pupil needs.

Within the large and complex structure that is an urban school system, decisions about expenditure need to be made at the appropriate level so that the financial operation of the schools will bear a constructive relationship to the communities they serve. One way in which urban schools can participate in the life of the community and establish better community relations is through the purchase of supplies from community businesses. However, the advantages of mass purchasing and competitive bidding on a systemwide basis should not be forfeited in pursuit of this goal. One way of reconciling these aims would be to have contracts made on a competitive systemwide basis with the actual disbursement of the allotted funds and purchases made at the option of the local school to businessmen in its community.

Budgetary operations must also be directed to the needs of the local community; parents and citizens must be assured that their schools are responding to their needs. Although centralized coordination of financial operations is necessary, the principle of decision making by those who know the situation best should be maintained within the school system. An urban school district is too large and includes within its boundaries too many different schools and different types of communities for all budget decisions to be made effectively by a somewhat remote central authority. It is the local school building and its professional staff that should serve as the center of budgetary planning and execution. This will secure the last link in the chain of transmitting the needed amount of money to the benefit of the individual pupils in the schools.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. *More funds are needed to finance urban education programs.*

- Tax systems of federal, state, and local governments should share equally the cost of financing urban education.
- No one tax should bear a disproportionate share of the cost: property, sales, and income taxes should be utilized in an equitable manner.

2. *The federal government should be a full partner in the continuing support of education. Without federal funds, state*

and local resources will be insufficient to meet these pressing needs.

- The federal share should be increased to equal one-third of the total revenues for education.
- Federal funds should be provided for the support of the general educational program, without which categorical aid is not effective.
- Categorical aids should be provided for special urban programs.
- The priority of urban education needs is such as to call for a federal income tax surcharge for education.

3. State distribution formulas should be revised to take account of (a) special urban needs not generally recognized and (b) the reduced ability to support schools because of the increased requirement for public services created by the concentration of large numbers of people in urban areas.

4. Massive amounts of money should be made available for compensatory adjustment to meet the accumulated problems of past neglect and to raise the regular educational program of urban schools at least to the level of acceptable practice.

5. To maintain the regular educational program of cities on a par with the best practice in the nation, adequate resources should be made available for—

- The upgrading of professional salaries.
- Increasing the number of professional and paraprofessional staff members.
- The replacement of structurally unsound or educationally inadequate (even if structurally sound) buildings and facilities.
- Transportation adapted to the special needs of pupils in metropolitan areas.

6. Increased funds should be made available for the expansion of existing experimental programs.

- Existing programs developed by local city school districts to meet the special needs of pupils should be eligible for categorical federal and state aid aimed at such target populations.

- Provisions for experimental programs should take account of the total cost of the program, including facilities, staff, curriculum, and supplies, and not be limited to one aspect of the cost.
- The extra cost of experimental programs should continue to be recognized after the initial funding.
- Funds should be made available for the extension of proven experiments to more children and schools.

7. Funds available to urban schools should be sufficient to permit local school systems to develop extensions of the school program necessary to meet the special needs of pupils and citizens in the urban community, including the following:

- Extension of the school day, school week, and school year.
- Development of the school to include day-care centers for preschool-age children and to serve as community centers for adults.
- Health and nutritional programs.

8. Specific aid should be provided so that local school systems can develop adequate services for research and staff development programs without which urban education cannot meet the challenge of rapid change.

9. Appropriation of state and federal funds should be made sufficiently in advance of budgeting by local school districts so that they can plan for efficient use of funds.

10. Funding of urban educational programs should be flexible, permitting the application of resources to the areas of greatest need as analyzed and determined at the local and community level.

- The use of state and federal funds should be determined by the local school district.
- A program planning/budgeting system should be developed on a local basis, utilizing the cooperative talents of classroom teachers, local research and analytical personnel, and financial managers.
- Within limits of the principles of mass purchasing and competitive bidding, steps should be taken to facilitate the purchase of supplies and services from community businesses.

- The local school building and its staff should be the unit for the analysis, planning, and evaluation of programs and for the development and execution of budget.

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URBAN EDUCATION: CHALLENGE TO THE NEA



The problems of urban America are the problems of every citizen in this country, of every member of the National Education Association. The NEA has great ability—and equally great responsibility—to do all it can immediately to improve the conditions of education in urban areas. In light of this, the Task Force on Urban Education makes the following recommendation: ***The National Education Association should establish a Special Project on Urban Education.***

The NEA has already demonstrated its concern for the quality of education provided the poor and the powerless by such actions as the establishment of its Center for Human Relations. Now in accordance with the high priority it has assigned urban education, it should allocate staff and resources commensurate with the degree of emergency which now exists in urban areas. This Project should be staffed with knowledgeable persons who are sensitive to the problems identified in this report. We suggest that the Project (a) report directly to the executive secretary or to his deputy, (b) be organized to fulfill a facilitating function for the NEA and to provide external assistance to local associations and other groups, and (c) have the ability to respond when asked for assistance.

The Special Project should work with all NEA units and departments, as well as outside agencies, to attack head-on the problems of education of children and youth in big cities; develop where feasible and when requested programs with state and local associations and other groups to illustrate what can be done to improve teacher education, staffing patterns, curriculum, instructional approaches, parent-citizen involvement in decision making, and other elements in the operation of the schools; work

as closely as possible with NEA's urban and metropolitan area affiliates on requests to provide appropriate tools, materials, guidelines, and other forms of assistance in dealing more effectively with problems of urban education.

We recommend that the Special Project design an ideal inner-city school and put it into operation.* Planning of the school should involve both authorities on urban education and the community where the school is located. The staff should be selected from among volunteers on the basis of standards of competence in urban education. The Project could seek funding for the model school from the federal government and/or a private foundation and could develop ancillary projects in cooperation with colleges and universities.

This Project might also help affiliates in urban areas develop proposals for legislation to improve urban education. It might further (a) maintain contact with resources that could be used to solve various specific problems in urban education and mobilize these to provide information and assistance both to NEA affiliates and to other groups as needed, (b) assist the NEA Staff Development Academy to develop in-service programs which will help NEA staff become more sensitive to and aware of the problems of urban schools, and (c) work with NEA's Office of Communications and Public Relations to make the public and the profession aware of the problems and promises of urban education.

* This assigns the Project specific responsibility for implementing a recommendation of the Task Force on Human Rights which appears on page 72 of its *Report of 1968*, published by the National Education Association, Washington, D.C.

A document describing some of the promising programs currently in operation around the country designed to improve urban education is under preparation and will be available from the National Education Association.

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