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ABSTRACT

This monograph reports the results of a study of public high schools in the 45 largest cities of the United States. Topics covered include educational goals, school structure and organization, staff characteristics, curriculum, student activities, student activism, and school-community relations. Also included are four case studies. A major conclusion is that there is more and deeper segregation and separation of high school students of different socioeconomic and ethnic groups today than there was 10 or 20 years ago. Appended are samples of questionnaires sent to school principals. (LLR)

National Committee Paper Number Three

A Profile of The Large-City High School

by

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A report of a study of the high schools in America's largest cities conducted for the National Association of Secondary School Principals by its National Committee on Secondary Education.

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FOREWORD

It requires no research report to verify that these are, indeed, difficult times for schools in our large cities--difficult for students, for teachers and administrators, and for the entire adult community. Yet, as the National Association of Secondary School Principals has in recent years become increasingly involved with the problems facing urban education and urban educators, its efforts and those of others have been restricted by the lack of a comprehensive and dependable body of descriptive data on urban school systems. These data are needed as a firm base on which to build constructive policies and practices for the improvement of educational opportunities for young people in large centers of population.

The Board of Directors, therefore, concluded that one way in which the Association could contribute significantly to the resolution of some of the problems of our large-city high schools would be to gather and analyze such a body of data. To this end, the Board of Directors requested our National Committee on Secondary Education to organize and conduct the necessary investigation, and it allocated Association funds to support the undertaking. This monograph, the third in the series of National Committee Papers, reports what was found from an examination of the public high schools in our forty-four largest cities.

Because, as has been said, the purpose of this study was to assemble information about schools as they are for use in developing the schools we ought to have, few answers or solutions to problems are presented in these pages. We are confident, however, that the data and analyses presented herein can be of inestimable value to individual schools and school systems as they proceed, systematically and creatively, to open more and wider educational doors for the young people they serve. It is my privilege, therefore, on behalf of NASSP, to make this research report available to the entire professional community, and especially to our colleagues who are directly responsible for secondary education in urban communities.

We are most grateful to the National Committee for accepting responsibility for this project and particularly to members of that Committee who served on the Steering Committee for the study. We were fortunate to have had the counsel of several other experienced educators as well. To everyone who participated in the deliberations of this advisory group, our sincere thanks.

Of course, when all the advice has been given and basic operating decisions have been made, someone has to go to work. In the present instance, the real weight of the research was carried by Professors Robert Havighurst, Frank Smith, and David Wilder, who are also the authors of this report. We are much in debt to these scholars, who possess competences of the kind and quality that are absolutely essential to the successful pursuit of such an investigation.

By way of providing special emphasis, I have reserved until last my words of gratitude to the hundreds of schoolmen and women who took the time and gave the thought necessary to provide the data about their schools which are at the heart of this study. As you read on you will discover that an astonishingly high percentage of the principals in our largest cities responded to our request for assistance, and at a time in the school year that was by no means a convenient one. We hope this report, in content and in application, will make their efforts seem to have been quite worthwhile.

Owen B. Kiernan, Executive Secretary
National Association of
Secondary School Principals

Steering Committee for the
LARGE-CITY SCHOOLS STUDY

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Part A

Introducing the Research

Chapter 1.

THE RESEARCH: Its Purposes and Its Design

A review of the record of the American high school over the past decade shows a perplexing and paradoxical combination of achievements and frustrations. The achievements are most often found and are most easily seen in the comprehensive secondary schools in communities ranging in size upward from 10,000 to 300,000. These are the schools that James B. Conant, in his studies of the American high school, defined as serving all kinds of boys and girls through a broad and comprehensive curriculum.

When Conant took his second look at the high schools of the country in 1965-66,* he deliberately confined his attention to schools that would most likely meet the criteria of "comprehensive" as he had defined this concept in his first** study of the American secondary school; namely,

- they should contain a cross-section of youth according to socioeconomic level,
- they must have an enrollment between 750 and 2,000 (for a four-year school),
- they should offer a self-contained, varied, and comprehensive curriculum, and
- between 25 and 75 percent of their graduates should continue their education.

A great majority of the 2,000 high schools thus defined were, as we have said, in cities in the 10,000 to 300,000 population range. As Conant remarked,

> *Our restrictions on percentage going on for further education have eliminated a number of high schools in large cities serving economically depressed and disadvantaged neighborhoods. ...The chief reason for ruling out schools with an enrollment of over 2,000 was the realization that most of these exist within our very large cities. As I have stressed so often in the past, many of these schools present special problems.****

New courses in the natural sciences, more effective methods of teaching foreign languages, exciting new courses in the social sciences, college-level courses for students with unusually high academic aptitude and motivation, imaginative developments in the humanities and the arts--departures such as

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* James B. Conant. *The Comprehensive High School.* New York: McGraw-Hill Paperbacks. 1967.

** _____. *The American High School Today.* New York: McGraw-Hill. 1959.

*** _____. *The Comprehensive High School.* p. 10.

these from traditional academic ways, and many more besides, have made teaching and administering schools of the kind Conant considered ideal rewarding as well as challenging. And in spite of some facts and many claims that the contemporary comprehensive high school does not have a program that really suits contemporary young people, a majority of them do find studying in the comprehensive high school worth their while.

To be sure, not every secondary school in every one of these smaller and medium-sized cities is comprehensive in student body and in program, but the possibility of creating and maintaining educational opportunities of high quality seems much more real and close at hand in such communities than is the case in our very large cities. The frustrations we know to exist and the cries of despair that are so frequently heard these days are most often observed in the case of high schools in these very large cities--those with populations of 300,000. As will be made clear as this research report unfolds, not all is frustration and despair in these schools; competent teaching, sensitive administration, innovative courses, and so on are by no means rare in urban high schools.

None the less, the schools of these communities suffer from the plague that seems to have beset our major urban areas during the last 25 years. Our large-city schools, and especially those at the secondary level, reflect a dangerous social pathology, which we are trying to contain and cure, but with little success thus far. And we are by no means sure that anyone know for certain what can and what ought to be done to cope with this continuing crisis so generally present in all aspects of life of the very large American city.

Our major cities--and many of the lesser ones, too--appear to have reached or are nearing the end of one cycle of growth and are looking for or are being forced to accept new developmental patterns if they are to survive, let alone once more become humane and productive centers in which men and women can work, live, and acquire some sense of personal worth and dignity.

A basic problem with which everyone of our major cities must contend is the segregation of its people by income, education, and race. The outflow of people of higher status to the suburbs and fringes of the city has left the central city to develop into a set of large segregated areas; so large, in fact, that most large-city children and adolescents grow up in neighborhoods of a single racial or economic group, only rarely associating with young people of a different status. The large city no longer is a "melting pot," and it is not a natural setting for comprehensive high schools in the sense of a mixture of kinds of young people in its student body.

Another basic urban problem in most cities is stagnation or actual decline in the tax base at the very time the demand for and the need for public services of all kinds are increasing--services relating to health, welfare, education, transportation, and the protection of person and property.

At almost the same time Conant was carrying on his investigation, James S. Coleman was directing another study that was published under the title, *Eqality of Educational Opportunity*. This study had a very different direction from that of the Conant study. It was not concerned so much with what school teach or what facilities they have as it was with the question, "What differences do

schools make in the performance of students? That is, the concern in the Coleman study was with the relation of the schools to problems of poverty and racial segregation.

It was clear that the high schools in the large cities were increasingly concerned with problems of economic and racial segregation of their students, with problems of poor school achievement in low-income areas, and with problems of student unrest in various areas of the city.

These conditions have created a feeling of resignation and hopelessness on the part of many educators involved with urban schools. They hear critics talk about the "failure of public education"; they see their schools as obvious and natural targets for those who are seriously concerned about conditions in our large cities; they see at firsthand the difficulties that so many city boys and girls have in making their lives tolerable, not to say hopeful. It is not surprising, therefore, that so many school people in our large cities are about ready to believe that it is just about impossible to provide education opportunities of quality for central city young people.

Responding to its commitment to do whatever it can to better the educational opportunities available to American young people wherever they may live, the National Association of Secondary School Principals in 1968 authorized its National Committee on Secondary Education* to pland and supervise another study** of American secondary education in which attention would concentrate on the high schools in cities with a population over 300,000. The findings of the resulting study of the approximately 700 high schools in these 45 largest cities are reported in this monograph.***

Point of View of the Research

It was necessary for the National Committee**** to preface the formulation of its research project with a careful analysis of three questions:

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* See page for the membership of this committee.

** The second Conant study of American High Schools *(The Comprehensive High School)* was sponsored by the National Committee on behalf of NASSP. This research was funded jointly by the Carnegie Foundation and the National Association of Secondary School Principals.

*** This research has been paid for entirely by a special grant made by the NASSP Board of Directors from the Association's reserve funds.

**** Immediate responsibility for designing and supervising this study of large-city schools was delegated by the National Committee to a subcommittee, generally known as the Steering Committee. Some of the members of this subcommittee came from the National Committee while others are city school administrators. The roster of the Steering Committee is given on page

1. What information about secondary schools in large cities is already systematically available?

2. What information not already available would be useful to educators and to clients of the schools?

3. What information could be reliably and comparatively easily be reported by practicing administrators in individual schools?

The prevailing notion in the minds of laymen--and many school people as well--is that the typical urban high school enrolls an incredibly large number of students, is housed in an old and inadequate physical plant, and is severely understaffed. The truth of the matter, the Steering Committee found, was that no comprehensive set of descriptive data about urban secondary schools existed by which to correct this popular misconception, or even to demonstrate that it is a misconception. It was decided, therefore, to undertake a descriptive study of the high schools in all of the American cities over 300,000.*

From this came the decision to develop and circulate a questionnaire that would gather information about the nature of the school--its student population, its staff, its instructional procedures, and its relations to its environment. Data gathered by this questionnaire are the data that are presented in the chapters that follow. But before we go on to explain further about the construction of this inquiry form and its use, we should make some comments on other appropriate directions in which this research might have gone but did not.

Originally, the National Committee had planned to go beyond the gathering of descriptive material by sending teams of observers into a number of larger cities where the fact-gathering had revealed unusually promising educational developments in process, as one effort to locate educational models of unusual value and to learn the circumstances that permitted or forced these promising practices to exist. Regrettably, this field-study project had to be dropped, at least for the time being, for lack of supporting funds.

Serious consideration was also given to the desirability of collecting data about the educational output of the schools in terms of student achievement. It was determined that students' scores on standardized achievement tests were not readily available in many of the cities. Furthermore, as a direct result of the Coleman study, some administrators were expressly forbidden by school board policy to reveal such scores as were in existence. Some districts considered the revelation of such information at least an indirect invasion of student privacy and would not, therefore, make them available. For these and other reasons, indications of students' achievement of educational objectives in terms of skills and knowledge were not sought.

Another set of output variables, the occupational or education choices of most-recent graduates, was discarded when it was concluded that the two

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* The 45 cities in this group, as determined by the 1960 census, are listed in Table 1:1 by size category and geographic region.

Table 1:1. American Cities with Populations of 300,000 or more (1960 Census) Arranged by Size and Geographic Area.

	300,000-500,000	500,000-1,000,000	1,000,000--
Northeast	Rochester Newark	Buffalo Boston	New York City Philadelphia
Border	Louisville Kansas City	Baltimore Washington Cincinnati St. Louis	
Southwest	Phoenix Fort Worth Oklahoma City	Houston San Antonio Dallas	
Southeast	Atlanta Miami Birmingham Norfolk	Memphis New Orleans	
Prairie/Western	Omaha Portland Oakland Long Beach Honolulu Minneapolis St. Paul	Denver Seattle San Francisco San Diego	Los Angeles
North Central	Akron Toledo Columbus Indianapolis	Cleveland Milwaukee Pittsburgh	Chicago Detroit

most frequently mentioned--(1) enrollment in collegiate programs and (2) employment--could be highly misleading. In many cities, for example, the percentage of students entering college reflects some combination of relationships among the economic conditions of the family, the aspirations of the student, the admissions policies of local colleges, the availability of appropriate institutions, and the state's program of financial assistance to students. Given the possible variation among the urban settings, the figures themselves would be difficult to interpret. Furthermore, some administrators suggested they could not supply valid information, as students' stated intentions were sometimes widely discrepant from later actual behavior. Data from follow-up studies were seldom available, as answers to related questions in the questionnaire reveal. With respect to employment of graduates, many of the same "market" and control variables are present. In summary, the Steering Committee, after a series of discussions with representatives from the 45 cities, decided output data could not reliably collected at this time with the resources available.

We wish also to take note of the difference in orientation of this research from that of the studies done by Conant and Coleman. Mr. Conant appeared to accept the point of view that a particular set of curriculum practices was appropriate for all schools and that the adoption of these practices was a dependable indication of educational quality. To this extent, the Conant studies were evaluative and his conclusions included both judgments and prescriptions. The Coleman study, in contrast, did not assume that the measure of quality of a school was the adoption of a given set of curriculum plans. But in its own way, this latter study was also evaluative and prescriptive. Clearly, diagnosis and prescription are needed by a body as physically and mentally distressed as our cities and their schools are. But equally necessary are facts and relationships among facts if we are to have thoughtful discussions of what can be done to eliminate or ameliorate some of the civic ills we observe.

The purpose of the study being reported on here, then, was to gather data and to explore their relationships in such manner as to provide the material for informed dialogue among educators and between educators and laymen. In this report you will find no description of the "ideal" or the "typical" core-city school nor any catalogue of criteria by which to gauge the quality of a given school. To be sure, no matter how cautious he is, the personal prejudgments of a researcher are likely to be reflected in some manner in the questions he asks and the kinds of answers his instruments permit. Such may have been the case here, but we believe this bias has been held to a minimum by the number of people from different positions who influenced the contents of the questionnaire that was used and who guided the analysis of the data that came in.

The Data-Gathering Procedures

To begin the research, a letter was sent to the superintendent of schools in each of the 45 cities, soliciting his cooperation and that of his associates in the research undertaking. It was explained at this point that we were not undertaking an investigation based on a sample of high schools in large cities; rather, it was the hope of the research staff to obtain data from every high school in every one of the 45 cities. The superintendent was asked, further, to select someone from his staff to serve as the local "contact man," the liaison officer for his school system. Responses to this request for cooperation were

prompt and in all but one instance affirmative.*

Meanwhile, the questionnaire was being developed and checked out.

In the spring of 1969, copies of the questionnaire and a letter of explanation were sent to the liaison staff member in each city, asking him to distribute the materials to the high school principals in his school system and, on behalf of NASSP, to ask for their assistance. That accompanying letter is reproduced here because it contains some additional details about the plan of the research.

Although the questionnaire was lengthy and did not get to principals until very late in the school year, the response was amazing even when compared with the normally high rate of response to inquiries circulated by NASSP. Almost all schools had been heard from by the July 1 date mentioned in the letter, and, by early October 1969, replies had been received from 670 of the approximately 700 high schools in the cities being studied. So high a rate of return of completed questionnaires is a rare phenomenon.

Interpreting the Findings

In order to report the data that had been accumulated in a useful way--an endless array of percentages of this and that did not seem to promise much use--it was decided to arrange schools in a system of categories that would bring schools with particularly important characteristics together. These categories of schools could then be the basis for presenting and interpreting other information. After considering a number of different possible systems of categories, the Steering Committee decided that, in all likelihood, the most useful set of categories (typology) would be one developed from the socioeconomic status and ethnic characteristics of students in the 670 high schools. The structure of this typology, which has been used throughout this report, is presented in Chapter 2.

Another possible criterion for grouping schools is a geographical or regional one, and such typology has been worked out and employed in some of the following presentations.

The seven chapters (3 through 9) that make up part II of this monograph contain the analyses of the questionnaire data on the basis of these systems of categories. In Chapter 10 are presented a few of the conclusions toward which the findings of this research seem to point. The final four chapters (Part III) are case studies of four large-city school systems, prepared for this monograph by a staff member in each of the systems.

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* Because of conditions prevailing at the moment, it was not possible for Oakland to participate. Hence, the data to be presented are based on information provided by the schools in 44 cities.

NASSP LARGE-CITY SCHOOLS STUDY

TO: High School Principals in Cooperating City School Systems
FROM: Robert Havighurst, Study Committee Chairman
RE: Research Materials

The National Association of Secondary School Principals is beginning a study of educational opportunities available to young people in the 45 largest cities of the United States, and your superintendent has approved the participation of your school system in this study. Essential to this study is a comprehensive factual picture of the educational enterprise in these large cities. The questionnaire--actually, a group of questionnaires--enclosed with this memorandum is designed to gather the components for that picture. We shall be most grateful if you and your associates will help us with this study by completing these questionnaires. *Please answer with respect to your own school;* programs and services supplied by the central office will be otherwise covered.

At first glance the inquiry materials may seem discouragingly bulky, but I believe that you will find them not too formidable. For one thing, the items have been spaced out to permit precoding for computer processing. And there are 12 separate parts so that you can call on other staff members for assistance if you wish. This 12-part questionnaire will come to you in an addressed and stamped envelope in which you can return it to NASSP's Washington office when it is ready.

Your superintendent has selected a staff member to be a liaison man to facilitate our contacts with you and other high schools in your system. He will have brought this questionnaire to you, and he should be able to cope with any difficulties you may encounter in working on these forms. But if he can't, call or write Warren Seyfert, NASSP's Director of Editorial Services, who is helping with the administration of this study.

You will note that there are two types of questions: (1) descriptive and (2) evaluative. When descriptive questions require factual data that cannot be readily provided, please respond by giving *an estimate that, in your professional opinion, approximates the actual figure*. When an estimate is given, mark "E" in the left margin. Evaluative items refer to "effectiveness" or "adequacy," and in these we seek your opinion about needs and provisions in your own situation. No national norm or general standard is understood or implied.

All of us involved in this research are aware that this is an especially busy time in the principal's year, and I wish we had been able to get this to you earlier in the spring. I apologize for this timing, but *I do hope you will be able to complete the questionnaire before you leave school for the summer;* that is, *by July 1.*

Thank you for your help.

Chapter 2.

Developing a Typology of High Schools

Although the Steering Committee rather quickly agreed, as was noted in the previous chapter, that the most useful grouping of schools for present purposes would be one that took account of the socioeconomic and ethnic characteristics of students, developing the final system of categories was a more difficult task. Because that typology is employed so extensively throughout most of this monograph, it is essential that the reader understand what it includes, and how various elements contribute to its construction. Accordingly, the questionnaire items employed to construct this typology and the manner in which they were employed are spelled out in detail in the following paragraphs.

The Socioeconomic Index

Initially, five questionnaire items were identified as potentially useful in classifying schools by the socioeconomic characteristics of their student bodies. These, with their questionnaire numbers for easy subsequent reference, are:

(D-61) How would you characterize your school on the basis of the socioeconomic conditions of the students enrolled?

- an upper-middle class school
- a "common man" or lower-middle or working class school
- a manual working class school
- a cross-sectional school representative of your whole city population

(F-31) The percentage of the entering class (grade 9 or 10) that would be considered seriously disadvantaged socioeconomically, using $2,000 to $3,000 income or comparable criterion, is (options from 0 to 100 percent)

(F-32) The percentage of the entering class (grade 9 or 10) that is two or more years retarded in reading is (options from 0 to 100 percent)

(F-25) The percentage of the entering class (grade 9 or 10) enrolled in courses assumed to be expected by 4-year colleges of students applying for freshman admission is (options from 0 to 100 percent)

(G-37) How many different foreign languages are offered at the fourth year or high competency level? (options from "none" to "five or more")

It is evident that items D-61 and F-31 refer directly to socioeconomic conditions of students and their families, but the applicability of the other three items can be questioned. For example, while the proportion of students enrolled in college-preparatory courses (F-25) almost certainly in some measure reflects the socioeconomic backgrounds of the student body, it also certainly

is a reflection of the school's instructional program. Similarly, the number of different foreign languages offered at an advanced level (G-37) is more a school program characteristic than an attribute of students and their family circumstances.

The decision with regard to the appropriateness of the fifth of these items--(F-32) which has to do with retardation in reading at the point of entering high school--was less clearcut. Reading retardation may well be a consequence of prior schooling, but since the reference is to retardation at the point of entry it is unrelated to (at least not influenced by) the high school program. It was finally decided to use this and two other items--the first two in the list of five above--to develop a socioeconomic index for each school since these three, but not the other two, deal with what we can call input to the high school; that is to say, they report characteristics that the high school is in no position to influence in any noticeable degree.

Table 2:1. Intercorrelations* of Socioeconomic and Educational Characteristics

		B	C	D	E
(F-32)	A. Extent of Reading Retardation	54	65	45	33
(D-61)	B. Social Class Description of School	--	49	49	40
(F-31)	C. Extent of Economic Deprivation	--	--	42	35
(F-25)	D. Proportion of Students in College Preparatory Programs	--	--	--	44
(G-37)	E. Number of Foreign Languages Offered	--	--	--	--

* *C-Coefficients, Computed from Chi-Square Values*

The correlations among the reading retardation, the principal's assessment of the socioeconomic conditions of the students, and the proportion of the entering class that is seriously disadvantaged economically, as can be seen in Table 2:1, are higher than those involving the college program and the foreign language offerings of the school. This tends to confirm the conceptual distinction made in the foregoing paragraphs.

Information derived from these three "input" items was combined to provide a socioeconomic score or index for each school. The combining was done by giving each of the possible responses to an item a value of from 1 to 4. Thus, the index for a school would be somewhere in the 3-to-12 range. The descriptive terms used to identify parts of this range and the number of schools falling in each part are shown in Table 2:2. A word of advice with respect to interpreting these

terms--While they have some similarity to the options in questionnaire item D-61, they are not the same. As used in Table 2:2 and subsequently, these items are used to name indices that were compounded from three questionnaire items (D-61, F-31, and F-32).

Table 2:2. Number of Schools in Each of Four Categories as Selected by Their Socioeconomic Indices

Descriptive Term	Range on Scale	Number of Schools
Upper Middle Class	3 - 4	137
Middle Class	5 - 6	190
Combined Lower-Middle/ Working Class	7 - 9	178
Working Class	10 - 12	135
(Insufficient data)		30
	Total	670

In subsequent chapters we shall be reporting the findings of our research, but we thought that the reader would be interested in the general distribution of responses to the five items that were considered in developing the socioeconomic index. Hence, a series of tables is inserted at this point showing the relative frequency with which schools selected the various options available for each of the items. In reading these tables it is important to keep in mind that the figures given are percents of schools, not percents of students.

Table 2:3a. Percentage Distribution of Schools on the Basis of Socioeconomic Conditions of Their Students (D-61)

Characterization	Percent of Schools Reporting This Level
Upper-Middle Class School	14%
Lower-Middle, Upper-Working Class	34
Working Class	25
Cross-Section of City Population	26

Table 2:3b. Percentage Distribution of Schools by Frequency of Socioeconomically Disadvantaged Students Among Entering Freshmen (F-31)

Percent of Disadvantaged	Percent of Schools Reporting This Level
0 - 10%	57%
11 - 20	16
21 - 30	10
31 - 40	5
41 - 50	4
51 - 60	3
61 - 70	2
71 -	2

To be read: 57 percent of the schools in the study reported that 10 percent or fewer of the students would be considered socioeconomically disadvantaged.

Table 2:3c. Percentage Distribution of Schools by Frequency of Serious Reading Retardation Among Entering Students (F-32)

Percent of Retarded (2+ years) Readers	Percent of Schools Reporting This Level
0 - 10%	32%
11 - 20	24
21 - 30	14
31 - 40	8
41 - 50	8
51 - 60	6
61 - 70	4
71 0	3

To be read: 32 percent of the schools reported that 10 percent or fewer of entering freshmen were two or more years retarded in reading.

Table 2:3d. Percentage Distribution of Schools by Frequency of Enrollment of Freshmen Enrolled in College Preparatory Courses (F-25)

Percent of Freshmen Enrolled in College Preparatory Courses	Percent of Schools Reporting This Level
0 - 10%	7%
11 - 20	7
21 - 30	12
31 - 40	13
41 - 50	11
51 - 60	12
61 - 70	22
71 -	23

To be read: Seven percent of the schools reported that 10 percent or fewer of entering freshmen were enrolled in college preparatory courses.

Table 2:3e. Percentage Distribution of Schools by Number of Foreign Languages Offered at a Fourth Year or Higher Level (G-37)

Number of Languages	Percent of Schools Offering This Number
None	20%
1	10
2	19
3	26
4	18
5 or more	6

The Ethnic Classification of Schools

Classifying large-city high schools on the basis of racial and ethnic factors proved to be a more difficult task than grouping them by socioeconomic level. Each schools was asked to indicate the fraction of its student body that was American Indian, Caucasian, Negro, Oriental, Puerto Rican, Spanish American, and other racial and ethnic stocks. As was anticipated, most schools indicated that their student bodies were predominantly white or predominantly black, but significant numbers of schools reported the presence of other racial or ethnic groups. The major problem here was to develop a set of ethnic groupings that would preserve what appeared to be important differences in student body composition without, at the same time, creating many categories containing only a small number of schools.

When the ethnic classification of the schools was first undertaken, nine categories were employed. Of these, eight were distinct groups while the ninth took care of all the remainder that could not be accommodated by the eight. This distribution of schools is shown in Table 2:4. Later on there will be comment

Table 2:4. Distribution of Schools Among Nine Ethnic Categories

Category	Number of Schools
White: 81% or more	287
White: 61 - 80%	98
Black: 81% or more	132
Black: 61 - 80%	25
White and Black: 21 - 60% each	51
White and Black and Puerto Rican: 21%- each	20
Spanish American: 41% or more	14
Predominantly Oriental	6
All others	37
	670

on the geographic distribution of the schools by types, but here it can be noted that the 20 White/Black/Puerto Rican schools are all in New York City, and the Spanish American schools are all in the Southwest. Of the six schools with predominantly Oriental student bodies, five are located in Honolulu and one in San Francisco.

When steps were taken to combine these ethnic categories with the groups generated by the socioeconomic index, it became evident that some of the original

distinctions among ethnic groups would have to be abandoned if a consistent and not overly complex typology was to be obtained. For example, the cutting points for grouping the Spanish American, Puerto Rican, and some schools with other ethnic mixtures could not be the same as those used to classify white and black schools, a condition that could cause difficulty in interpretation. Furthermore, differentiating between Puerto Rican and Spanish American schools produced several categories that contained very few or no schools.

An examination of these and related conditions led to the decision to group schools under the four socioeconomic headings mentioned previously (Table 2:2), but for ethnic classification to use only categories defined by proportions of white and black students. The Spanish American, the Puerto Rican, and schools with other ethnic mixtures (56 of them) were put in a general or residual class, and the Oriental schools were not used at all in constructing the final ethnic/socioeconomic grid. Further, certain other categories were put together to provide numbers of schools large enough to permit analysis. The typology that resulted from these decisions and the number of schools in each cell can be seen in Table 2:5.

This format, we believe, will rather readily reveal the effects of both dimensions on the items under discussion. Because the respondent schools constitute the universe of large-city high schools, no statistical tests were employed since of necessity whatever differences are found are real differences. Nevertheless, for the statistically inclined, comparisons of response patterns among different types of schools might be thought of as a crude analysis of variance between ethnicity and socioeconomic class.

The Regional Classification of Cities

The 44 large cities participating in the study were also grouped into six regional categories for descriptive purposes. This grouping was given previously in Table 1:1. Now, however, we are repeating this classification as the basis for presenting additional data about the schools in these cities. In Table 2:6 are given certain summary ethnic and socioeconomic facts about each city that are not contained in the typology.

The information given in Table 2:5 (the number of schools in each cell of the typology) has also been detailed somewhat and arranged on a regional basis in Table 2:7. In this table, the schools in each of the cells of the typology have been distributed by geographic area.

From these two tabulations it is clear that, as one would anticipate, the socioeconomic and ethnic characteristics of students in large-city high schools do vary considerably from region to region. For example, upper middle-class schools with student bodies that are more than 80 percent white tend to occur more frequently in the Prairie/Western area, where cities are newer and the black population still relatively small. The older Northeastern cities are proportionately underrepresented in the same category, largely because of the general movement of affluent whites to suburbs.

Schools with 21 percent and more of both whites and blacks are found mainly Northeast and North Central cities, but are seldom, if ever, found in the Southwest, the Southeast, and Prairie/Western areas. The heaviest clustering occurs

Table 2:5. A Typology of Schools Based on Ethnic and Socioeconomic Factors with the Number and Percent of Large-City High Schools in Each Cell.

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Students	Ethnic Characteristics of Students: Over 80% White	61-80% White	21-60% White & Black	61-80% Black	Over 80% Black	Other Ethnic Mixtures
Upper-Middle Class *SE Scale: 3-4*	1 n: 110 %: 16.4	4 n: 15 %: 2.2	7 n: 18 %: 2.7	10 n: 16 %: 2.4		14 n: 7 %: 1.0
Middle Class *SE Scale: 5-6*	2 n: 116 %: 17.3	5 n: 39 %: 5.8				
Lower-Middle/ Working Class *SE Scale: 7-9*	3 n: 52 %: 7.8	6 n: 43 %: 6.4	8 n: 17 %: 2.5	11 n: 19 %: 2.8	12 n: 49 %: 7.3	15 n: 20 %: 3.0
Working Class *SE Scale: 10-12*			9 n: 16 %: 2.4		13 n: 67 %: 10	16 n: 29 %: 4.3

"Oriental" schools (not in typology) n: 6 %: 1.0

Other schools not used because of some missing details n: 31 %: 4.6

All schools n: 670 %: 100

Table 2:6. Geographic Distribution of Cities in the Study Together with Certain Other Information About Them.

Regions and Cities	Population 1960 (thousands)	No. High Schools			Percent Black Students	Percent Spanish Surnames	Mean Socecon Index	Total No. Schools in Region
		-10	11-20	21+				
Northeast								
Rochester	319	x			27%	3%	6.2	137
Newark	405	x			71	--	8.6	
Buffalo	533		x		35	2	7.9	
Boston	697		x		26	--	6.5	
Philadelphia	2,002			x	58	2	7.8	
New York	8,000			x	30	22	8.1	
North Central								
Akron	300	x			25	--	6.1	150
Toledo	318		x		26	1	5.4	
Columbus	471		x		30	--	6.1	
Indianapolis	476		x		33	00	6.2	
Pittsburgh	604		x		38	--	6.2	
Milwaukee	741		x		24	--	6.4	
Cleveland	876		x		34	--	6.4	
Detroit	1,670			x	58	--	7.7	
Chicago	3,550			x	52	--	7.6	
Border								
Louisville	391	x			45	--	6.7	66
Kansas City	476	x			45	--	7.0	
Cincinnati	503	x			42	--	6.9	
St. Louis	750	x			63	--	8.4	
Washington	764		x		92	--	6.4	
Baltimore	939		x		64	5	7.2	
Southeast								
Miami	300		x		24	14	5.7	94
Norfolk	306	x			39	--	6.2	
Birmingham	341		x		50	--	7.4	
Atlanta	488			x	59	--	7.2	
Memphis	542			x	53	--	7.1	
New Orleans	628		x		66	--	7.0	
Southwest								
Fort Worth	356		x		26	6	6.4	84
Oklahoma City	324	x			19	--	6.9	
Phoenix	439	x			16	12	6.2	
San Antonio	588	x			15	58	7.3	
Dallas	680		x		?	?	6.9	
Houston	938			x	32	10	6.1	
Prairie/Western								
Honolulu	300	x			--	--	4.6	139
Omaha	302	x			17	--	6.1	
St. Paul	313	x			7	--	6.1	
Portland	328		x		8	--	5.6	
Long Beach	344	x			7	5	6.0	
Minneapolis	483		x		7	--	5.9	
Denver	494	x			14	18	4.2	
Seattle	557		x		10	--	6.0	
San Deigo	573		x		12	10	6.6	
San Francisco	740	x			27	13	7.1	
Los Angeles	2,479			x	22	19	5.8	

Table 2:7. Schools in Each Cell of the Typology Distributed by Geographic Region

	Cell Number	No. of Schools	North-east	North Central	Border	South-east	South-west	Prairie/ Western	Total
80% + White	1	110	8%	17%	5%	19%	15%	36%	100%
	2	116	17	28	5	19	13	19	
	3	52	29	27	16	8	8	23	
61-80% White	4	15	20	20	--	7	27	27	
	5	39	28	5	10	15	18	23	
	6	43	30	26	7	12	9	16	
21-60% White & Black	7	18	39	33	17	6	6	--	
	8	17	29	32	12	12	--	12	
	9	16	31	44	13	13	--	--	
61% + Black	10	16	13	44	31	6	--	6	
	11	19	42	11	16	11	--	21	
	12	49	2	28	22	20	22	4	
	13	67	10	28	13	25	15	7	
Other Ethnic Mixtures	14	7	--	--	--	--	29	71	
	15	20	30	10	--	5	15	40	
	16	29	69	3	--	--	17	10	

with working-class, "other ethnic" schools (cell 16), 69 percent of which are in the Northeast and, for the most part, in New York City, largely as a result of the large number of Puerto Ricans in that community.

The 20 schools in cell 15 (other-ethnic/working-class), in contrast, are spread over nine cities and have mainly student populations that are 20-80 percent Puerto Rican or Spanish American. One final word about the seven schools in cell 14 (other-ethnic/middle class). These are all in the West. Two of these have substantial middle-class Oriental enrollments, while the other five are marked by the enrollment of significant numbers of young people from middle class Spanish American homes. (The schools in Honolulu would have been put in this same category had they been included in the typology.)

Part B

Reporting the Research

Chapter 3.

Major Goals of City High Schools

Once again, the selection and formulation of goals or objectives is receiving thoughtful analysis by the educational community. And current interest in performance contracts and the like indicates a growing concern that educational goals not only be stated but, also be, in fact, reached. While, as was said in the introductory chapter, resources of the present study did not permit the gathering of data on the educational achievements of young people in large-city schools, cooperating administrators were asked to indicate the relative importance given a number of goals in developing the program of their school. In this chapter we shall examine responses to this inquiry.

We realize that deciding whether the purposes listed for an institution--in this instance, high schools in large cities--are descriptive or prescriptive or some of both; whether they exercise a dynamic influence on the life of the school or are no more than expressions of hope; whether they are commitments accepted by the entire staff or by only a few--these and other questions can be answered only by extended observation of schools in action.

In spite of these ambiguities, we believe responses to the inquiry about purposes included in the questionnaire battery are significant indicators of the directions our city high schools and their administrators are trying to move in. To this end, then, principals were asked to respond to the question (G-58),

Given the specific current student population of your school, what priority do the following goals have with respect to the allocation of time, physical and human resources?

- Adaptability to a changing world
- Development of cultural appreciations, e.g., nature, music, drama, architecture
- Development of sound moral and spiritual values
- Development of positive self-concept and a facility for good human relations
- Acquisition of basic skills, e.g., reading, writing, computing
- Understanding the values inherent in the American way of life
- Physical fitness
- Acquisition of basic knowledge
- Development of the skills and practice of critical intellectual inquiry
- Training in the technical skills to run the country and/or development of appropriate talents, e.g., engineering, scientific, industrial

These goals were not to be ranked from 1 to 10 in order of importance. Rather, for each of the 10 one of the following five options was to be selected:

Receives primary attention in this school

Receives more than average attention

Receives average attention

Receives less than average attention

Receives almost no attention

These goal statements with one exception were essentially those used in earlier NASSP studies of the secondary school principalship. (The one exception is that the original list contained no mention of cultural appreciation.) For this and other reasons, these 10 objectives seemed legitimately applicable to a majority of schools. Responses to the question in the present study underscored this generalization--to all intents and purposes, the options "less than average" and "almost no attention" could have been omitted, since only 8 percent of all responses were in these two categories.

Even though the effective range of the choices was reduced to only three levels, a system of weighted scores did permit some comparisons. Values from 5 to 1 were assigned the options, with "receives primary attention" weighted "5." By this procedure, mean scores for all schools could be computed for each goal as well as averages for the schools in each of the cells of the typology.

The over-all mean score obtained was 3.65. This figure, of course, has no intrinsic meaning, but it can be interpreted to read that the goal with average priority receives "slightly better than average" attention. This seeming contradiction in all likelihood is the result of a natural tendency to give "average" in a context like this a slightly belittling connotation--customarily phrased as "only average."

To return to the main line of the discourse, the "importance scores" for the 10 goals are listed in Table 3:1, together with rankings (1 to 9) of the comparable items for urban schools in the *Report of the Senior High-School Principalship* (page 51), and the *Report of the Junior High-School Principalship* (page 54). It is clear from this array of rankings that principals of large-city high schools consider academic goals (basic skills and basic knowledge) of primary importance, as did urban administrators a half dozen years ago.

Basic Skills and Knowledge. Specifically, when responses to this question were analyzed by cells within the socioeconomic typology, it developed that "acquisition of basic skills" was ranked either first or second by principals in 15 of the 16 cells. And when "basic skills/basic knowledge" are taken as a pair it develops that 24 of the possible first-or-second places were given to these two academic purposes. Evidently a few schools did not follow this pattern. These schools were found in the lower half of the socioeconomic scale, but the ethnic composition of these schools was of various kinds.

Table 3:1. Relative Importance of Various Goals as seen by High School Principals

	Large-City Schools Study		Senior HS Principalship Study	Junior HS Principalship Study
	Importance Score	*Rank*	*Rank*	*Rank*
Acquisition of basic skills	4.07	1	1	1
Acquisition of basic knowledge	4.00	2	2	2
Development of positive self-concept	3.85	3	6	6
Adaptability to a changing world	3.80	4	7	7
Understanding American values	3.72	5	4	3
Physical fitness	3.49	6	8	8
Development of cultural appreciations	3.44	7	-	-
Development of moral and spiritual values	3.37	8	3	4
Development of skills of critical inquiry	3.36	9	5	5
Training in skills/development of talents	3.31	10	9	9

Positive Self-Concept. Although the importance assigned to "development of positive self-concept and...good human relations" by the entire group of principals when averaged out put it in third place, there was no consensus about the relative significance of this educational objective. For example, the value given it by principals in upper-middle class, all-white schools (cell 1) puts this self-realization objective in sixth place in their estimation, the same rank as it achieved in the two earlier studies of urban principals. In contrast, the highest relative rankings were given this objective by principals of schools in cells 15 and 16--that is, schools where the economic index was low and a fifth or more of the students were of Spanish or Mexican American extraction.

Because differences between successive averages in Table 3:1 are comparatively small, one must be careful not to overvalue any particular rank. Nonetheless, a shift from a rank of sixth in the earlier studies to third in the present one rather surely means that urban schools are giving more attention to the non-academic needs of their students than formerly was the case, urged and forced, no

doubt, by events outside the school walls. And it seems reasonable to believe that the comparatively low value placed on the development of competence and sensitivity in human relations in upper-middle class white schools reflects the highly academic orientation of adults and young people in such schools.

Adaptability to a Changing World. Events in the years from the early to the late 60's no doubt are also in part responsible for the improved rank of this goal. This conjecture is supported by a fact not evident in the table: the schools in cells 4, 5, 6, and 8 placed "adaptability to a changing world" at rank 3 or higher. Note, now, that the first three of these categories are schools that are substantially white but by no means entirely so, and that in cell 8 are schools of mixed white and black students who come from lower-middle class families. Many of the schools in these four categories were, and probably still are, in the process of changing from almost all-white student groups as a result of desegregation policies or other population changes. While much more than the schools are changing, it is easy to see why principals and their associates in these schools-in-transition should be unusually aware of the need for adaptability to a changing world.

Understanding American Values. Its very average rank of fifth and mean "importance score" very close to the average of all responses to all items may seem just what one would expect, since for generations everyone has agreed that good citizenship ought to be a concern of every school.

The fact of the matter is, however, that beneath this very average average are some strikingly different points of view about this responsibility of city high schools. For instance, principals in predominantly black middle and upper-middle class schools rank this goal third in significance (cell 10); in schools with upper-class black the rank is one notch higher than that. The same better-than-average endorsement of this goal also characterizes responses from middle- and lower-class all-white schools (cell 3). But the picture is quite the reverse when one looks at schools that serve these same lower economic strata but have a substantially black student body. Schools in this category (cell 9) give higher ratings to eight other purposes. And among all-black working class schools (cell 13) the ranking is only seventh.

It is reasonable to believe that these quite noticeable differences among groups of schools in the typology is the result of or a concomitant of the uncertainties and criticisms one hears voiced in many quarters regarding traditional values in our society. One can also conjecture that educators working in schools serving large numbers of black young people have concluded that, for the moment, other matters must be attended to before an understanding of the values inherent in American life can be effectively developed.

Physical Fitness. Responses to this responsibility of the secondary school revealed little that is new or unexpected, although its somewhat higher ranking in the present study than in the earlier ones in all likelihood reflects a somewhat enlarged concern on the part of schools in crowded and economically underprivileged areas for the well-being of their students and of the community as a whole. Evidence of this is the fact that administrators of black, lower-class schools ranked this goal higher than the group as a whole, while principals in predominantly white high status schools gave physical fitness a relatively low rating.

Cultural Appreciations. What the development of an appreciation of the cultural worth of such activities as music, dramatics, and architecture means to a school seems to be related to some extent to the kinds of students and community it serves. To illustrate, middle- and upper-middle-class predominantly white schools (cells 1, 2, 4 and 5) gave this educational objective a ranking score that matches the average for all schools--seventh, that is. But lower-middle and working class schools that are also predominantly white put it at the very bottom of their lists of goals.

Here, as in the case of "understanding American values," the situation is reversed when substantially black schools are considered. That is to say, among upper-status black schools (cell 10) cultural interests ranks ninth, while among less-than-middle-class black schools (cells 11 and 12) the rank is fifth.

Some of this variation in the perceived importance of cultural development as a school responsibility presumably is related to the contemporary interest in recognizing the contributions of minority cultures to our pluralistic society. But it is possible that, at least among black schools, the pursuit of this objective takes different forms, depending on the socioeconomic levels of the students.

In thinking about the relatively low value placed on this goal by lower-class white schools one cannot help but wonder whether this is a carry-over of the stereotype that culture is for the upper classes or that for urban young people with this kind of background other purposes are overpowering in their pressure for attention--a pressure which is not modified by any inherently culturally-deprived objective, as is the case with "black studies" in black schools.

Moral and Spiritual Values. The comparatively low level of importance, as indicated by its average weighted score, assigned the development of sound moral and spiritual values very probably is produced in part by some of the same present-day questioning that was noted in the discussion of values in American society. It seems equally likely that the inability of schools over the years to develop effective methods for stimulating the developing of a sound value pattern among young people may account for this. Paradoxical as it may seem, this comparatively low rating of the educational objective in 1969 as compared with the ratings given it in the early 60's may be a consequence of a more realistic appraisal by city school people of what actually is possible. If this is the case, the shift in ranking may be an encouraging sign that at some point soon the promotion of sound value patterns may become something more than an educator's pious hope.

Critical Intellectual Inquiry. The average weighted score for the goal of developing competence in intellectual inquiry places it far down the list, but this is an instance where an average conceals rather than reveals the truth of the matter. Ratings given by administrators in high-status, largely-white schools (cells 1 and 4) put this objective close to the top of their lists--"importance score" of 4--and averages from the high-status, largely-black (cell 10) averaged nearly as high. At the other extreme, the average importance score dropped to 2.94 for schools in cell 13 (working class, mostly black)--a score well into the "less than average attention" category.

Undoubtedly, the high value assigned this objective in upper-class schools of all kinds is another indication of the academic college preparatory orientation of schools of all kinds that enroll young people from well-to-do families.

At the risk of seeming to editorialize, one cannot keep from observing an inconsistency when the acquisition of basic academic knowledge and skills tops the list in importance in the eyes of almost all principals in large-city high schools, while the productive intellectual use of these competencies through critical inquiry just makes the "top ten." (Much the same condition almost certainly prevails in high schools in other kinds of communities.) This situation is particularly noteworthy in view of the emphasis that has been given to the "inquiry method" and such in all of the new curriculum patterns that have been worked out in the last dozen or so years.

Occupational Education. Schools with students from the highest socioeconomic levels and those serving young people from the least privileged backgrounds tend to place more emphasis than do others on the developments of occupational skills and related competencies. Meanings, however, are different in these two cases; in the first reference is mainly to pre-professional studies, while in the latter instance the reference is more commonly to preparation for employment directly on leaving school. The highest rating by any subgroup was a six from the ethnically-mixed, working-class schools (cell 9).

Some Generalizations

In the foregoing discussion, the 10 goals have been considered individually. But among the 10 there are relationships that represent four basic dimensions of a secondary school program: (1) the cognitive-academic; (2) the affective-particularistic; (3) the socio-civic; and (4) the economic or occupational. The members of these four constellations of related education purposes and the average weighted score for each constellation are shown in Table 3:2. The scores as such

Table 3:2. Average Importance Score for Each of Four Groups of Educational Goals

Goal	Average Importance Score
Cognitive-Academic	3.81
Basic Skills, Basic Knowledge, Critical Inquiry	
Affective-Particularistic	3.71
Self-Concept, Adaptability, Physical Fitness	
Socio-Civic	3.51
Inherent Values, Cultural Appreciation, Moral and Spiritual Values	
Socioeconomic	3.31
Training and Talents	

have no intrinsic meaning, as has been remarked before, They do, however, indicate the relative importance that large-city schools attach to these four basic elements describing their obligations to students and community.

The weighted scores in each of the 16 categories of schools were studied to determine the range of scores and the location of this range within the maximum 1-5 distribution. One outcome of this analysis is especially worth noting. The schools in four of the cells exhibited a special response pattern. These are the three groups of ethnically-balanced schools (cells 7, 8, 9) and lower-class, almost all-white ones (cell 6). In the case of all four, their top scores were lower than the average top score and their lowest scores were below the average low score. These are the schools in which there have been the most changes recently in the ethnic composition of their student bodies. In other words, these schools, more than many other kinds, have been in a position to test and redefine the power of the schools to reach broad educational objectives in a complex society.

Chapter 4.

Structure and Organization of City High Schools

There are many ways in which high schools in large cities differ from most other high schools in the United States, but probably no difference is more striking than that of size. In its 1961 statistical report, the U.S. Office of Education revealed that 88 percent of the secondary schools in this country had enrollments of less than 1,000, while not even one school in a hundred (0.7 percent) had student bodies numbering 2,500 or more* In contrast, only 11 percent of the large-city high schools in the present study reported enrollments of less than 1,000, while 27 percent enrolled 2,500 or more. These comparative figures are shown in Table 4:1.

Table 4:1. Enrollments of All U.S. Secondary Schools Compared with the Large-City High Schools

	All U.S. Schools*	Large-City Schools (1969)
Less than 1,000	88%	11%
1,000 to 2,499	11	62
2,500 and above	1	27
	N = 24,226	N = 670

** All figures for U.S. schools adapted from U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, U.S. Office of Education, "Statistics of Education in the United States" 1958-59 series, Number 1, "Public Secondary Schools." These statistics include junior high schools.*

While it is widely recognized that the external or community environments of the schools in our large cities are radically different from those found in most other American communities, it is evident from these data that the internal or organizational environments of education are also noticeably different in the large-city high schools. These schools are seldom as small as the minimum size of 750 studied by Conant, but almost half of them (47 percent) exceed his ceiling of 2,000 students. It is possible that high schools face a number of special problems that affect education when certain enrollment sizes are exceeded. Whatever these special problems may be, they are sure to be experienced by a great majority of the students, teachers, and administrators in the secondary schools in our large cities.

* Although nationwide data in 1969 would probably show somewhat higher percentages for larger schools, the predominance of comparatively smaller schools would certainly still be evident.

Grade-Level Patterns

The large-city high schools also differ from most other high schools in the United States in the range of grade levels they serve. The traditional four-year program for grades 9 through 12 was the pattern in 94 percent of the nation's high schools in 1920, but this proportion decreased markedly during the succeeding years. By 1964, only 40 percent of all high schools in this country were of the four-year, 9-through-12 variety. In this same period of about 45 years, the percent of all high schools containing the six school years from 7 through 12 increased from 6 percent to 29 percent. But the six-year school has had comparatively little appeal in our large cities and, as can be seen in Table 4:2, the

Table 4:2. Percentage Distribution of All U.S. Secondary Schools (1964) and of Large-City High Schools (1969) by Years and Grade Levels Included*

Grade Levels	All U.S. Schools	Large-City Schools
4 years, 9 through 12	40%	43%
3 years, 10 through 12	31	41
6 years, 7 through 12	29	11
Other		5
	N = 17,783	N = 654

* *Statistics computed from figures in U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, U.S. Office of Education, "Digest of Educational Statistics."*

four-year, 9-through-12 grouping of school grades is still the favorite in urban communities. It is evident from these figures that large-city high school student bodies contain even larger numbers of young people in the late teens than general enrollment figures, such as those in Table 4:1, suggest.

When the grade-level patterns of the large-city high schools we are studying are examined, differences from city to city, of course, appear; but more interesting are the differences in relative frequency of various forms of organization from region to region. These differences, which can be observed in Table 4:3, are most strikingly illustrated by the comparison of cities in the Northeast, where 78 percent of the schools have four-year programs, with those in the Prairie/Western area, where almost the same percent are of the senior high, three-year variety. The six-year schools are relatively more common in cities in the Southeast, Southwest, and Border areas, where schools also tend to be somewhat smaller than in the other three regions. These regional tendencies in matters of size and grade organization presumably are largely the results of historic and related considerations that vary from one part of the country to another.

Table 4:3. Percentage Distribution of Grade-Level Ranges of Large-City High Schools by Geographic Region

Region	4 years 9 - 12	3 years 10 - 12	6 years 7 - 12	Other	No. of Schools
Northeast	78%	10%	8%	3%	135
North Central	61	32	6	1	150
Border	41	45	7	7	56
Southeast	21	56	20	2	93
Southwest	29	34	16	20	84
Prairie/Western	13	76	10	1	136
				TOTAL	654

Our data revealed no consistent relationship between size of school and ethnic or socioeconomic composition of the student body. However, there is a strong tendency for high schools serving areas in the higher socioeconomic brackets to have three-year senior high schools and for those located in the communities at the lower end of the socioeconomic scale to continue in the traditional four-year, 9-through-12 pattern.

Holding Power of City High Schools

The ability of large-city high schools to maintain a high level of attendance among the student populations they serve--on a daily and on a long-term basis--is very strongly related to both socioeconomic and ethnic factors. Table 4:4 distributes all of the schools in the study on the basis of average-daily-attendance

Table 4:4. Relative Frequency of Various Average Daily Attendance Rates Among Large-City High Schools

Average Daily Attendance Rate	Percent High Schools Reporting This Rate
96 - 100%	7%
91 - 95	41
81 - 90	39
71 - 80	10
- 70	3

rates. These figures, general as they are, are noteworthy for they indicate that, on any given day, one student in every 10 is not in school in at least half of our large-city high schools.

But the data on holding power take on substantially greater meaning when they are examined in the light of the typology developed for this report. Table 4:5 shows the fraction of schools in each of the 16 cells that have an average daily attendance rate of 91 percent or higher.* The highest rate of attendance is in white schools where students come from upper-middle-class surroundings. But this high rate of 85 percent shrinks to a mere 48 percent in white schools that serve working-class families. This same sharp drop in rate of attendance can be observed in all except one of the six major ethnic groups.

A similar relationship shows up when the table is looked at row by row. As one moves from "white" toward "black" in any row the percents decline, though they tend to become stabilized at about the point where the mixed black and white schools are reached.

Although a full interpretation of these data is difficult to make with the data available, it can be said that, whatever the problems that are created by low daily attendance rates, these are experienced with increasing frequency as either the socioeconomic backgrounds of students become lower or as the proportions of non-white students become higher. But neither of these factors by itself will assure a high attendance rate. In schools as they now exist, it seems to be most often promoted by a combination of much whiteness and at least an above average amount of affluence on the part of the student body.

We hasten to make an important comment on this last observation. We have absolutely no reason to believe that the relationships we have shown here are of a cause-and-effect nature. The fact that, for example, 16 percent of the mostly-black lower-middle/working-class schools (cell 12) are able to hold their average daily attendance at a 90 percent or better rate demonstrates that the influences of ethnicity and economics on school attendance are not insuperable. But be this as it may, schools in our large cities must deal with young people as they are--and in many of our inner-city, mostly-black communities school is not where they are a great deal of the time.

Another indicator of the relative holding power of schools is, of course, the dropout rate. Our questionnaire asked respondents to indicate the proportion of students enrolled at some time in the class of 1968 who were later classified as dropouts. The basic pattern produced by responses to this item is very similar to that produced by the average daily attendance rates, as is evident from a comparison of Tables 4:5 and 4:6. In general, the dropout rate goes up as one moves across Table 4:6 from left to right and from top to bottom, except that there is very little variation on an ethnic basis at the working-class level. (In the entire group of 670 schools, 38 percent reported dropout rates of five percent or less, but seven percent said they lost as many as one students in every four.)

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* For this table the cutting point was set at 91 percent because by so doing the socioeconomic and ethnic differences stand out so dramatically.

Table 4:5. Percent of Schools with Average Daily Attendance of 91 Percent or More

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Students	Ethnic Characteristics of Students: Over 80% White	61-80% White	21-60% White & Black	61-80% Black	Over 80% Black	Other Ethnic Mixtures
Upper-Middle Class	1 85%	4 67%	7 45%	10 44%		14 43%
Middle Class	2 74%	5 49%				
Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class	3 48%	6 28%	8 18%	11 16%	12 16%	15 20%
Working Class			9 6%		13 24%	16 0%

Table 4:6. Percent of Schools with an Annual Dropout Rate of 5 Percent or Less

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Students	Ethnic Characteristics of Students: Over 80% White	61-80% White	21-60% White & Black	61-80% Black	Over 80% Black	Other Ethnic Mixtures
Upper-Middle Class	1 76%	4 60%	7 45%	10 44%		14 29%
Middle Class	2 50%	5 44%				
Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class	3 19%	6 19%	8 24%	11 16%	12 25%	15 30%
Working Class			9 19%		13 9%	16 21%

While it is by no means a hard and fast rule, it does appear that much of the time in large cities fewer whites plus fewer family resources means less schooling.

Variation in Attendance Areas

Although the neighborhood school and the question of whether to bus students to schools in neighborhoods where they do not reside have been and still are subjects of heated controversy, enrollment criteria for the large-city schools do not vary appreciably according to socioeconomic or ethnic characteristics of the attending students. Among all the schools, 42 percent reported that their enrollments were based on definite attendance areas that were geographically contiguous; 31 percent reported attendance areas plus some open enrollment options from other areas; and 16 percent said they had city-wide enrollment policies. The remaining 11 percent were spread almost evenly among those with attendance areas not geographically contiguous (4 percent), or some other options (7 percent).

Enrollment criteria do tend to vary somewhat in different regions of the country, but these differences are not as large as one might expect. As can be seen in Table 4:7, neighborhood enrollment is most common in schools in the Prairie/Western group of schools, although it appears very nearly as frequently among North Central high schools. The practice of supplementing geographic attendance areas with some open enrollment options are proportionately most frequent in schools in the Southeast area, where 44 percent of the schools indicated they operated in this manner. Enrollment on a city-wide basis is relatively most frequent in high schools in large cities in the Southwest and the Border groups. The high figure under "Other" for the Northeast is largely accounted for by the use of competitive examinations in some of the older Northeastern cities.

Table 4:7. Schools in the Six Geographic Regions Distributed by Frequency of Use of Various Criteria for Enrollment in the Region

	Geographically Contiguous	Some Open Area	City-Wide Open	Area Not Contiguous	Other	No. of Schools
Northeast	26%	27%	17%	9%	21%	137
North Central	51	32	8	3	6	150
Border	41	20	30	5	5	66
Southeast	28	44	25	2	1	94
Southwest	42	25	32	-	-	84
Prairie/Western	56	35	3	2	3	139
All Schools	42%	31%	16%	4%	7%	670

The School Day

A large majority (69 percent) of large-city high schools operate on a single-session basis. However, a substantial fraction (16 percent) run with double sessions. And about one in every seven (15 percent) among urban high schools are forced to operate three or more sessions each day. There is a tendency, though neither a very strong nor consistent one, for schools serving lower socioeconomic populations to operate on a multiple-session basis more often than those in communities higher up the socioeconomic ladder.

As could be anticipated, the number of teaching periods in the school day is positively correlated with the number of sessions per day. Consequently and in the light of the observation in the previous paragraph, there is a tendency for those schools that draw their students largely from the lower socioeconomic categories to have more teaching periods in the day than do schools with different student bodies.

The relative frequency with which various numbers of periods are employed by schools in the study population as a whole is shown in Table 4:8.

Table 4:8. Schools Distributed on the Basis of Number of Teaching Periods Per Day

No. of Periods	Percent of Schools
5	5%
6	33
7	21
8	10
9	13
10	9
11 or more	9

Approximately one-third (35 percent) of the large-city high schools reported that their physical facilities were below what could reasonably be expected in terms of the district's financial ability. Almost as many (31 percent) said they had been substantially constrained during the past five years in designing new educational programs by limitations in their physical facilities. Furthermore, 14 percent of the respondents said their schools' physical facilities were severely inadequate for presenting an appropriate program. However, it is noteworthy that no strong or systematic relationship seems to exist between these responses and the ethnicity and socioeconomic characteristics of students attending

the schools. Hence, if indeed objective differences exist in general physical facilities as related to social factors, respondents must have obscured these differences by tempering their expectations in keeping with the social environments in which their schools operate.

Some interesting differences were reported in the adequacy--more often, the inadequacy--of facilities available for specialized aspects of the instructional program. In general, schools indicated that their plant and equipment were much more nearly adequate for the traditional academic programs than for offerings in vocational, industrial arts, and fine arts areas. The frequency with which inadequate facilities were reported in various instructional fields are as follows:

48 percent in vocational or occupational subjects

43 industrial arts programs

25 science fields

24 foreign languages

19 percent in social sciences

As with facilities in general, these inadequacies in particular aspects of the school's instruction are not related consistently to either dimension of our basic typology. To be sure, 56 percent of the mostly-black, working-class schools did report inadequate vocational facilities--but so did 56 percent of the mostly-black, middle-class schools and 54 percent of the mostly-white, upper-middle-class schools. Much the same condition exists with respect to provisions for industrial arts programs, where 58 percent of the mostly-black, working-class schools and 52 percent of the working-class, other-ethnic schools noted inadequacies--but 46 percent of the upper-middle-class white and largely-white schools made a similar appraisal of their industrial arts set-up.

These findings are not surprising in view of the very substantial expense that school systems must absorb in order to provide really satisfactory modern equipment and sufficient space, along with trained personnel, for industrial arts and vocational education programs. One might wish to argue that inadequacy of certain types of specialized facilities is more costly to the society if it occurs in one type of school than in another because occupational recruitment patterns differ markedly from one type of school to another. But, we repeat, our data do not suggest that there is any subjective sense of inadequacy of facilities among respondents in different types of schools that varies systematically in relation to type of school.

Overcrowding is commonly cited as a problem in many school systems, and the large-city high schools are no exception, since most of them indicated overcrowding to some extent.

22 percent	100 or fewer	too many students
32	101 - 500	too many students
10	501 - 1,000	too many students

5 percent	1,001 - 1,500	too many students
3 percent	1,501 or more	too many students

But alongside these schools that have more students than spaces and places for them must be put the 26 percent of the large-city high schools who said in 1969 that their enrollment was below their stated capacity. On a regional basis, overcrowding is least frequent in secondary schools in cities in the Southwest (44 percent incidence of less-than-capacity enrollments). It is most common in the Northeast, where 36 percent of the schools were over-occupied to the extent of 501 or more students.

Chapter 5.

Staff Characteristics in Large-City High Schools

The median number of credentialed or certified personnel--which does not include paraprofessionals, teacher aides, clerical assistants, and so on--in the schools in our study was 97. Only a tenth of the schools reported staffs of 50 or fewer, while in 13 percent of the schools the number exceeded 150. Staffs tended to be somewhat larger in schools serving students with higher socioeconomic status and in schools with larger proportions of non-whites, but these relationships were not entirely consistent. Regional differences in the matter of staff size were negligible.

The racial and ethnic characteristics of the schools staffs usually reflected--though often in only a limited way--the characteristics of the student body, but the proportion of black staff members tended to lag far behind as the proportion of black students in our large-city schools has grown. Using "81 percent or more" as the criterion to indicate "almost entirely white or black,"

37 percent of the schools had student bodies that were almost entirely white
but 64 percent had staffs that were almost entirely white.

At the other end of the ethnic range,

19 percent of the schools had student bodies that were almost entirely black
but only 8 percent had staffs that were almost entirely black.

In Table 5:1 are shown the percent of schools in each cell of the typology with almost entirely white staffs. It is not surprising to see that in all of the categories where white students are predominant in the student body large majorities of these schools have predominantly white staffs (cells 1-6). And there are only three groups of schools--three of the four cells (10, 12, 13) where black students are in the majority--where "almost entirely white" staffs are not the common thing.

Comparable data on the employment of a significant minority (21 percent or more) of black staff members are presented in Table 5:2. Here, too, it is evident that significant minorities of black credentialed personnel are seldom employed except in schools where student bodies are largely black.

It is worth noting that while it might be expected that white teachers would resist assignments to schools that serve predominantly black young people, the fact is that a majority of teachers in such schools are white. It is clear from these facts that young people in large-city high schools are seldom taught or supervised by black staff members unless they are attending a school where the student body is by a large majority black.

A region-by-region breakdown of the schools shows (Table 5:3) that Northeast and Prairie/Western schools had much heavier concentrations of predominantly white faculties than did other geographic areas, while schools in the Border category show more often than others a significant minority of black staff members. It is especially interesting that the North Central schools had significant numbers

Table 5:1. Percent of Schools With Almost Entirely White Staffs (81 Percent or More)

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Students	Ethnic Characteristics of Students: Over 80% White	61-80% White	21-60% White & Black	61-80% Black	Over 80% Black	Other Ethnic Mixtures
Upper-Middle Class	1 99%	4 100%	7 71%	10 13%		14 100%
Middle Class	2 96%	5 89%				
Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class	3 100%	6 84%	8 59%	11 50%	12 4%	15 79%
Working Class			9 60%		13 6%	16 68%

Table 5:2. Percent of Schools in Which 21 Percent or More of the Staff Were Black

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Students	Ethnic Characteristics of Students: Over 80% White	61-80% White	21-60% White & Black	61-80% Black	Over 80% Black	Other Ethnic Mixtures
Upper-Middle Class	1 0%	4 0%	7 17%	10 75%		14 0%
Middle Class	2 0%	5 3%				
Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class	3 0%	6 4%	8 31%	11 26%	12 96%	15 16%
Working Class			9 21%		13 93%	16 8%

of blacks on their staffs about as frequently as did schools in southern cities, while the Northeast remained largely white in its staffing patterns.

Table 5:3. Proportions of Large-City High Schools in Each Region with Selected Staff Characteristics

	81 Percent or more White Staff	21 Percent or more Black Staff	Majority with only B.A. Degree	11 or more Paraprofessionals
Northeast	84%	9%	8%	54%
North Central	63	35	55	48
Border	44	56	38	18
Southeast	64	33	79	14
Southwest	64	32	56	14
Prairie/Western	78	13	40	53

Another interesting regional differential that appears in Table 5:3 is the overwhelming number of schools in the Northeast in which a majority of the staff have academic preparation beyond a bachelor's degree. This may reflect a market condition peculiar to that area or the more frequent use in that part of the country of advanced degrees for certification and promotion. It is probably more than coincidence that 92 percent of the Northeast large-city schools have staff majorities with training beyond the bachelor's level while only 9 percent of these schools have significant minorities of blacks on their faculties.

Overall, only 7 percent of the schools reported having as many as 10 percent of their credentialed staff with less than a bachelor's degree, and 32 percent of the schools stated that a majority of their staff had at least a master's degree or its equivalent. Thus, the large-city high school staff member without a four-year college degree is rare today, and there are many schools in which the majorities of the credentialed staff have completed a considerable amount of graduate study. In fact, in about one school out of every four more than 10 percent of the staff had at least a 60-point graduate degree, diploma, or the equivalent. These levels of degree attainment by staff are not systematically related to the socioeconomic and ethnic characteristics of the students.

Staff Composition

Virtually all of the large-city high schools can count on continuous service from large proportions of their certified staff, though some reported that sizable proportions were new to their schools in the 1968-69 school year. For example, 60 percent of the schools said their turnover in that year had been 15 percent or less, but another 12 percent of the schools had had to find a replacement for at least one in every four staffers.

Table 5:4. Percent of Schools Employing Eleven or More Paraprofessionals

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Students	Ethnic Characteristics of Students: Over 80% White	61-80% White	21-60% White & Black	61-80% Black	Over 80% Black	Other Ethnic Mixtures
Upper-Middle Class	1 29%	4 33%	7 44%	10 32%		14 46%
Middle Class	2 37%	5 33%				
Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class	3 52%	6 35%	8 53%	11 32%	12 33%	15 50%
Working Class			9 56%		13 46%	16 65%

Most of the schools stated that they had on-site full-time support personnel such as curriculum coordinators, assistant principals of curriculum, department chairmen, librarians, and there was some indication of the use of part-time personnel such as helping teachers and part-time department heads. A majority of the schools had six or fewer full-time and two or fewer part-time support personnel. However, 18 percent of the schools employed 15 or more full-time staff members of this kind, and 8 percent reported 15 or more part-time.

Despite considerable variation in these and other personnel statistics, only 4 percent of the principals felt their staff was greatly inadequate in number to provide the current student body educational experiences appropriate to the satisfactory implementation of the school's curriculum. However, an additional 41 percent indicated that their present staff numbers were inadequate. When asked to indicate the extent of the increase in staff size that would be reasonable and satisfactory for remedying this in adequacy, the vast majority of administrators estimated 10 percent or less. But 103 of the 670 principals reported that more than a 10 percent increase in the number of personnel would be necessary to provide really adequate staffing.

None of the variations in the employing of credentialed staff members was strongly or systematically related to either of the dimensions of our typology or to the distribution of schools on a regional basis.

However, in the case of one category of non-credentialed staff members--the paraprofessionals, who have emerged on the educational scene in increasing numbers in recent years--there is a relationship to both ethnic and socioeconomic factors. This can be seen from an examination of Table 5:4, in which the frequency with which 11 or more paraprofessionals are employed is given. While more than a third of all the 670 high schools have at least 11 paraprofessionals on their staffs, the frequency runs above this average most often in the case of schools at the lower end of the socioeconomic scale. A possible explanation for this relationship may be the greater availability of special federal funds for aiding underprivileged students which have been applied in this way. This possibility, however, does not explain the ethnic relationship, though somewhat irregular, which shows a fall-off in the case of schools with the highest proportion of black students.

Table 5:5. Frequency of Various Teacher-Student Ratios in Large-City Schools

Ratio	Relative Frequency
- 1:20	15%
1:21 - 1:25	43
1:26 - 1:30	33
1:31 - 1:35	8
1:36 -	1

When the schools are studied on a regional basis, it develops that paraprofessionals are far more prevalent in the three geographical groups that range across the top of the country--Northeast, North Central, and Prairie/Western--than in the three more southern areas.

The what and why of teacher-student ratios have long been a subject for debate, but in general the number of students per teacher has been getting lower in schools throughout the United States. The situation in this regard among large-city high schools in 1968-69 is shown in Table 5:5.

The appearance of favorable ratios was very strongly related to the socioeconomic characteristics of students as shown in Table 5:6. Unexpectedly, the more favorable teacher-student ratios were found most frequently in the lower socioeconomic areas. This was our first unambiguous evidence of the impact of poverty aid to urban schools. It seems highly unlikely that such a relationship would have been revealed had a similar set of questions been asked of large-city school personnel as recently as five years ago.

Teacher Turnover

Beginning teachers are seldom found in substantial numbers in city schools. The situation in 1968-69 in the faculties of the 670 large-city high schools was

68 percent of the schools	had 10 percent or fewer beginners
24 percent	had 11-20 percent beginners
8 percent	had 21 percent or more beginners.

Complementing these facts is that about a quarter of the schools said a majority of their teachers had had more than 10 years of teaching experience. Evidently, high schools in large cities characteristically have faculties made up predominantly of highly experienced teachers.

In addition to securing teachers with substantial experience, most schools can count on a cadre of teachers trained to handle the instructional areas to which they are assigned, judging from the fact that 90 percent of the schools report that 5 percent or less of their teachers are teaching subjects outside their major or minor fields. However, when one considers the large numbers of students involved, the fact that at least one teacher in 20 is teaching a subject that was neither his major nor his minor field in a tenth of the high schools in large cities is disturbing.

A majority of the schools in our study have teacher turnover rates of 10 percent or less, but in about one school in every five a sixth or more of the faculty is new to that school each year. The distribution of turnover rates for the 670 schools is given in Table 5:7.

Table 5:6. Percent of Schools with Teacher-Student Ratios of 1:25 or Less

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Students	Ethnic Characteristics of Students: Over 80% White	61-80% White	21-60% White & Black	61-80% Black	Over 80% Black	Other Ethnic Mixtures
Upper-Middle Class	1 42%	4 47%	7 55%	10 44%		14 29%
Middle Class	2 55%	5 56%				
Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class	3 69%	6 58%	8 76%	11 79%	12 63%	15 70%
Working Class			9 50%		13 69%	16 76%

Table 5:7. Average Teacher Turnover Rates in Large-City High Schools

Turnover Rate	Frequency Among Schools
- 5%	25%
6 - 10	33
11 - 15	22
16 - 20	11
21 -	8

Teacher satisfaction or dissatisfaction is commonly considered to have a noticeable influence on the rate of emigration of teachers from a school. We have used an annual turnover rate of 16 percent as a cutting point to construct Table 5:8 in which are given the frequency of this rate of turnover in each of the 16 cells of the typology along with the frequency with which teacher dissatisfaction was reported as a major factor contributing to turnover. The strong relationship between teacher turnover and both ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds of student bodies is easily seen in the data given in this table. The parallel between turnover and presumed teacher dissatisfaction is also clear.

Student Personnel Services

Virtually all of the large-city schools employ at least one full-time counselor, but the median number of counselors is only four. And only one in 20 of the schools has as many as 10 full-time counselors on its staff. An additional 42 percent of the schools employ at least one part-time counselor, but these part-time employees seldom comprise the equivalent of more than one full-time counselors have proper credentials and presumably are satisfactorily prepared for their duties. The real problem is the lack, in most city high schools, of a sufficient number of counselors to permit the kind of advising that is currently considered good educational practice.

It is clear from the figures in Table 5:9 that the counselors in city high schools typically have what can only be considered extremely large numbers of students for whom they are responsible--the counselors in more than half the schools have at least 400 students assigned to them! There is some tendency for the counselor-student ratio to be more favorable in the lower socioeconomic area schools, but this is not nearly as pronounced as the relationship with teacher-student ratio. Not surprisingly, when asked to choose among eight alternatives for improving the effectiveness of the counseling programs in their schools, a large majority of the principals said a reduction in the number of students per counselor would have a very positive and significant effect. The provision of additional clerical help was viewed as having a similar positive potential for improving counseling in 48 percent of the schools. And 31 percent of the administrators thought that having only full-time counselors would be highly beneficial.

Table 5:8. Frequency with Teacher Turnover of 16 Percent or More, Reported Together with Frequency with Which Teacher Dissatisfaction was a Contributing Factor*

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Students	Ethnic Characteristics of Students: Over 80% White	61-80% White	21-60% White & Black	61-80% Black	Over 80% Black	Other Ethnic Mixtures
Upper-Middle Class	1 9% / 6%	4 7% / 7%	7 28% / 28%	10 31% / 50%		14 0% / 14%
Middle Class	2 13% / 10%	5 28% / 21%				
Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class	3 10% / 19%	6 26% / 30%	8 24% / 24%	11 27% / 53%	12 18% / 27%	15 35% / 40%
Working Class			9 50% / 63%	27% / 53%	13 21% / 37%	16 21% / 34%

* This table to be read as follows: In cell 3, 10 percent of the schools reported an annual turnover rate of at least 16 percent, and 19 percent of the schools in this cell reported teacher dissatisfaction a contributing factor in teacher turnover.

Table 5:9. Relative Frequency of Various Counselor-Student Ratios in Large-City High Schools

Counselor-Student Ratios	Frequency Among Schools
- 1:199	5%
1:200 - 1:299	13
1:300 - 1:399	28
1:400 - 1:499	29
1:500 - 1:599	12
1:600 - 1:699	5
1:700 -	7

Other alternatives such as salary adjustments, assigning counselors to families rather than to students, using more paraprofessionals for informal work, incorporating personnel from other agencies for on-site assistance and allocating increased staff time to evenings for closer home-school relations, while undoubtedly helpful, were considered to hold far less promise than the three other changes noted above.

In view of the large student-counselor ratios in most large-city high schools, it is not surprising that the proportions of parents seen by counselors is frequently very small. Reports on frequency of formal conferences of parents with at least one counselor during the school year provided the data for Table 5:10.

Table 5:10. Distribution of Schools in Terms of Proportion of Parents Having at Least One Formal Counseling Contact Per Year*

Parents of Students in Grades	0-10	11-20	21-30	31-50	51-100
10	20%	23%	21%	21%	15%
11	23	23	21	21	12
12	25	21	16	23	15

* This table is to be read: In 20 percent of the schools, 10 percent or fewer of parents of 10th grade students had at least one counseling contact per year.

If we take these figures and those for student-counselor ratios, we estimate that the typical counselor must be seeing somewhere between 80 and 120 parents each year. If city high school counselors also see large proportions of the students assigned to them, they must be extremely busy people.

Furthermore, it appears that the role of the counselor varies considerably from school to school. According to our respondents, the vast majority of counselors (75 percent) spend less than 10 percent of their time on discipline. The amount of time spent on discipline tends to be higher in schools serving lower socioeconomic students, and the amount of time devoted to educational guidance tends to be higher in schools serving higher socioeconomic areas. Thus, while there is some tendency for schools in less favored socioeconomic areas to have better counselor-student ratios, it cannot be assumed from this that as a result students in these schools are receiving more educational guidance.

In addition to counselors, most large-city high schools have a number of other specialists available as part of their student personnel services. But these are seldom employed full time, and they usually do not have their offices at the school. (An exception to this is a full-time, non-teaching, nurse, a full-time staff member in 55 percent of the schools.)

A number of these specialists and the frequency of their connections with the schools are presented in Table 5:11. None of these types of specialists is found significantly more or less frequently in high or low socioeconomic area schools or in those serving specific ethnic groups.

Table 5:11. Frequency with Which Various Types of Student Personnel Specialists Are Available to Large-City High Schools

	Full-time on Site	Part-time on Site	On Call or by Referral	Not Available
Psychologist	2%	13%	71%	14%
Speech Therapist	3	43	36	18
Audiometrist	1	16	57	26
Home Counselor or Social Worker	13	24	37	26
Psychiatrist	1	2	63	34

Chapter 6.

The Curriculum

The picture of the curriculum in large-city high schools which is drawn by replies to the questionnaire is pretty much without surprises. For example, high-status schools* generally have more curriculum elements that are directly related to college admission than do low-status schools. A specific case of this generalization is that high-status schools have a more extensive offering than do low-status ones in the foreign languages, and a larger proportion of their students become competent in at least one foreign language.

A close look at Tables 6:1 and 6:2 reveals a number of other generalizations that are less sweeping but still of significance. For example, Latin, though by no means as omnipresent as it was half a century ago, remains an element in the curriculum of more than half of all large-city high schools--and pretty much without regard to the color or economic backgrounds of their student bodies. This comment, we hasten to add, is not intended as derogation of instruction in or about Latin. But the condition referred to here can be interpreted as another sign of the difficulties city schools have in moving away from traditional models in the course of their efforts to give their programs truly contemporary meaning.

Table 6:1. Percent of Schools of Various Types Offering Certain Programs of Foreign Language Study

	Status		*Ethnicity*			
	High	Low	White	Black	Integr	Mixed Spanish
Four or more at 1st-year level	58%	27%	54%	23%	45%	21%
Four or more at 4th-year level	32	13	31	12	34	2
Latin available	73	43	66	52	52	23
French	91	81	91	86	82	67
Spanish	92	87	90	90	90	86
Russian	21	6	29	6	16	4
Swahili	2	5	1	7	10	5
More than 20 percent of students reach 4th-year level	9	3	8	2	6	3

* In the discussion that follows some of the categories of schools will be combined as follows: high status--all schools in the upper-middle and middle-class cells; low status--all schools in the lower-middle and working-class categories; white--all schools in cells 1-6 (over 60 percent white); black--all schools over 60 percent black (cells 10-13); integrated--schools that are 21-60 percent white and black; and mixed Spanish--all schools in categories 14-16 in the typology.

Table 6:2. Percent of Schools in Each Cell in the Typology Offering Certain Foreign Languages

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Students	Ethnic Characteristics of Students: Over 80% White	61-80% White	21-60% White & Black	61-80% Black	Over 80% Black	Other Ethnic Mixtures
Upper-Middle Class	1 (L) 78% (Sp) 92 (Sw) 0 (IV) 40	4 (L) 60% (Sp) 80 (Sw) 7 (IV) 27	7 (L) 78% (Sp) 100 (Sw) 0 (IV) 50	10 (L) 88% (Sp) 100 (Sw) 13 (IV) 31		14 (L) 43% (Sp) 86 (Sw) 14 (IV) 0
Middle Class	2 (L) 70% (Sp) 88 (Sw) 1 (IV) 23	5 (L) 64% (Sp) 97 (Sw) 5 (IV) 38				
Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class	3 (L) 46% (Sp) 85 (Sw) 0 (IV) 19	6 (L) 44% (Sp) 88 (Sw) 0 (IV) 16	8 (L) 53% (Sp) 88 (Sw) 18 (IV) 41	11 (L) 47% (Sp) 84 (Sw) 6 (IV) 16	12 (L) 53% (Sp) 88 (Sw) 2 (IV) 14	15 (L) 35% (Sp) 80 (Sw) 5 (IV) 5
Working Class			9 (L) 25% (Sp) 81 (Sw) 13 (IV) 12		13 (L) 33% (Sp) 90 (Sw) 9 (IV) 5	16 (L) 10% (Sp) 90 (Sw) 3 (IV) 0

Code for foreign languages available:

(L) - Latin; (Sp) - Spanish; (Sw) - Swahili; (IV) - Four or more languages at 4th-year level.

Of the 56 "other ethnic mixtures" schools, 53 have enrollments that are made up in substantial part of Spanish-American or Puerto Rican students. One would expect, therefore, that all of these 53 would include Spanish in their foreign language offerings. Such, however, is not the case, for Spanish is available in only 48 of the 56. Swahili, the African language that has been headlined in many drives to enlarge the range of ethnic studies available to black students, still is a relatively rare member of the foreign language family in city high schools, and where it is included the schools are in noticeable degree black. It is interesting to note, though, that none of the high-status integrated schools taught Swahili, at least not in 1968-69.

The frequency with which a number of adaptations have been made in the curricula of schools of different types is shown in Table 6:3. The contents of this

Table 6:3. Percent of Schools of Various Types Offering Certain Curriculum Adaptations

	Status		*Ethnicity*			
	High	Low	Wh	Bl	Int.	Mixed Span.
11% or more 10th graders in Honors English	24%	13%	24%	12%	16%	16%
Upward Bound Program	34	72	35	81	69	56
Acceleration in cooperation with local college	36	20	36	17	20	18
Some or many ethnic materials in curriculum	44	55	44	63	59	44
31% or more 10th graders in remedial English	3	15	2	19	14	21
16% or more 11-12th graders in Co-op work experience program	9	19	11	14	22	15
31% or more 11-12th graders in occupational education programs	21	29	19	28	33	25
21% or more students on vocational study trips	28	40	26	38	37	47
31% or more students on cultural study trips	24	30	23	34	26	31
11 or more culturally-oriented assemblies	14	24	14	34	10	16
11 or more interschool student programs	19	24	18	35	18	23
Should be more options for independent study, "Agree or Strongly Agree."	55	49	52	52	53	47
Ability grouping has increased	41	32	42	29	30	40
Ability grouping will increase during next 5 years	27	29	27	31	14	19

table are largely self-explanatory, but two or three points seem worth noting here. For one thing, there are some areas in which black schools tend to have richer instructional programs than do the white ones--they have more ethnic material in the curriculum, more culturally-oriented assemblies, more inter-school activities, and more vocationally-oriented study trips.

The high-status and white schools report much less often than others that substantial numbers of their students are taking remedial work in English, but one can conjecture that there may be less pressure to conceal this disability in low-status and non-white schools (see Table 6:4). The academic orientation of high-status white schools is also evident in the comparatively few of them that have co-op work experiences available or have significant proportions of their upper-classmen enrolled in occupational programs (see Table 6:5). It is evident from this table, however, that the high-to-low, white-to-black relationship is not in this respect a completely consistent one.

Use of New Instructional Practices

The inquiry form asked the high school principals to indicate the extent to which, if at all, their schools were making use of about 30 comparatively new instructional practices or facilities to improve instruction. Space does not permit us to present here an analysis of each of these in terms of our typology. Nor can we show the frequency with which certain combinations of these appear in city schools. Nonetheless, we believe that a simple frequency count for each of these practices can be informative, at least with respect to the extent to which a number of well-thought-of curricular innovations have made their way into the high schools of our large cities. We have, consequently, prepared Table 6:6, which for each practice gives a percent which combines the schools that have that practice in operation along with those that have firm plans for putting it into operation.

In addition to indicating the extent to which each of these newer practices were used in the school, principals were asked to select the three practices they believed to be of most significance in terms of "their potential for the effective education of students in your school," and having selected three to rank them in order of the degree of promise they seemed to hold for that school. A "potential score" was developed for each practice. The nine practices receiving the highest potential scores are listed in Table 6:7.

It is interesting to note that, of these nine which were voted generally the most promising new practices, four are well down the list in frequency of use. It is probable that the discrepancy is attributable largely to the greater difficulties of all kinds that stand in the way of introducing some new practices that must be overcome in implementing others. For example, continuous progress programs, while most promising, are much more difficult to work out than are, say, expanded guidance services.

Table 6:4. Percent of Schools of Various Types Providing Certain Levels of Instruction in English

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Students	Ethnic Characteristics of Students: Over 80% White	61-80% White	21-60% White & Black	61-80% Black	Over 80% Black	Other Ethnic Mixtures
Upper-Middle Class	1 HE 24% RE 0	4 HE 33% RE 0	7 HE 22% RE 6	10 HE 25% RE 13		14 HE 14% RE 14
Middle Class	2 HE 24% RE 3	5 HE 26% RE 3				
Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class	3 HE 29% RE 6	6 HE 9% RE 0	8 HE 12% RE 12	11 HE 5% RE 12	12 HE 0% RE 14	15 HE 15% RE 15
Working Class			9 HE 13% RE 25		13 HE 21% RE 28	16 HE 17% RE 27

HE: Honors English (11 percent or more)

RE: Remedial English (31 percent or more)

Table 6:5. Percent of Schools of Various Types in Which More Than 30 Percent of 11th and 12th Graders are Enrolled in Occupational Education Programs

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Students	Ethnic Characteristics of Students: Over 80% White	61-80% White	21-60% White & Black	61-80% Black	Over 80% Black	Other Ethnic Mixtures
Upper-Middle Class	1 9%	4 13%	7 33%	10 31%		14 14%
Middle Class	2 26%	5 35%				
Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class	3 32%	6 18%	8 23%	11 46%	12 20%	15 20%
Working Class			9 44%		13 23%	16 65%

Table 6:6. Percent of Schools Either Using or with Firms Plans to Use Each of 32 New Curriculum Practices

	Percent Using or Planning To Use		Percent Using or Planning To Use
Inservice program	79%	Directed study	35
Expanded guidance services	74	Nongraded programs	31
Language laboratory	74	Simulation or gaming	30
Expanded summer program	68	Programmed instruction	29
Tutoring program	68	Breakfast program	26
Instructional materials center	68	Flexible scheduling	25
Pre-service program	58	Continuous progress	23
Teaching teams	53	Teaching machines	22
Resource center	51	Bilingual education	21
School-community liaison	51	Adult literacy courses	21
TV instruction	46	Community cultural center	19
Parent counseling	45	Maternity program	19
Humanities course	44	Honor study hall	16
Back-to-back scheduling	39	School-within-a-school	14
Independent Study	37	Telephone amplification	10
Parent handbook	36	Optional attendance	3

Table 6:7. Certain Newer Curriculum Practices Ranked in Order of Potential for Improving Instruction

Rank in Frequency of Use*	Practices in Order of Potential Score	Percent Schools Giving Practice the Indicated Level of Importance			Potential Score**
		1st	2nd	3rd	
2	Expanded guidance services	8.8%	8.2%	9.1%	52
8	Team teaching	12.0	5.5	3.1	50
6	Instructional materials center	6.6	7.8	7.4	43
22	Flexible scheduling	7.7	5.5	4.3	38
15	Independent study	5.2	6.3	5.5	34
5	Tutoring program (other than by teachers)	4.6	4.3	7.1	30
1	Inservice program for teachers	3.5	4.5	4.9	26
23	Continuous progress	5.8	2.9	1.7	25
18	Nongraded programs	5.7	2.9	2.3	25

* See Table 6:6.

** Obtained by weighting 1st as 3, 2nd as 2, and 3rd as 1.

Chapter 7.

The Student Activities Program

In Chapter 8 we shall discuss at some length the nature and frequency of student activism in the contemporary sense of confrontation among student groups or between students and adults. In the present chapter, then, we shall limit the discussion to a few facts and comments about the student activities program in the more traditional sense of the phrase.

Student activities programs differ from school to school in terms of the extensiveness of the program, the degree to which students are in a position to give direction to the program, and the proportion of the student body who participate in whatever activities are provided. To obtain information on these three topics, administrators participating in the research project were asked to indicate, with respect to each of 11 classes of activities, whether or not that kind of activity was available to students and, if so, the extent to which it was under student direction.

The 11 groups of activities listed were:

Non-interscholastic sports, intramurals

Forums, symposia, debates

Social events

Awards, competitions

Assembly programs

Club activities, interest groups

Service projects benefiting students

Service projects benefiting community

Publications

Selective, honor organizations

Grade-level cabinets/councils

Since our primary interest was in comparing practice among the 16 groups of schools in the typology, a comparatively simple index was worked out to show the extent to which these 11 kinds of activities were included in the programs of the schools in a specific cell. It was computed by counting up the total number of times the 11 activities--that is, one or more of them--were reported as offered and then dividing this total by the maximum possible total, which would be that number obtained by multiplying the number of schools by 11. It is evident that the index would range between 1.00 and zero. Actually, in application the index was computed in such fashion as to give a figure for activities under student direction and another figure for those not under student direction. The two indices can be added to provide a measure of availability without regard

Table 7:1. Index Scores for Activities Under Student Direction and Those Under Adult Direction, Together with Percent of Schools in Which Half or More of the Students Participate in at Least One Activity

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Students	Ethnic Characteristics of Students: Over 80% White	61-80% White	21-60% White & Black	61-80% Black	Over 80% Black	Other Ethnic Mixtures
Upper-Middle Class	1 St 0.66 Ad 0.28 0.94 61%	4 St 0.47 Ad 0.49 0.96 46%	7 St 0.61 Ad 0.27 0.88 61%	10 St 0.58 Ad 0.37 0.95 43%		14 St 0.41 Ad 0.54 0.95 43%
Middle Class	2 St 0.57 Ad 0.36 0.93 59%	5 St 0.62 Ad 0.29 0.91 46%				
Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class	3 St 0.55 Ad 0.32 0.87	6 St 0.53 Ad 0.34 0.87	8 St 0.64 Ad 0.29 0.93 36%	11 St 0.51 Ad 0.33 0.84	12 St 0.48 Ad 0.40 0.88 47%	15 St 0.61 Ad 0.33 0.94 30%
Working Class	42%	44%	9 St 0.49 Ad 0.43 0.92 19%	37%	13 St 0.52 Ad 0.39 0.91 48%	16 St 0.49 Ad 0.41 0.90 28%

St = Under student direction

Ad = Under adult direction

to control. The two separate indices and the total for the schools in each of the cells of the typology are given in Table 7:1.

Because the total index figures range rather narrowly (from 0.84 to 0.96) they may seem at first glance not to reveal any substantial differences among the schools of the several cells. But it does appear, on further study, that the range of student activities programs is somewhat more likely to be related to socioeconomic status than to ethnicity. For example, the total indices among high status schools are for the most part higher than for low status schools. But there seems to be no similar division on a black-white basis--with one very interesting and not easily explained exception. Note that the total indices in the case of cells 7 and 8, the mixed black/white schools are reversed in comparison with other ethnic columns. Off hand, we can think of no reason why this should be the case.

But now when the indices in these two cells (7 and 8) are looked at in terms of the ratio of the student-direction index to that for adult direction, the schools in these two cells rank right up with those in the upper-middle-class, all-white category. These are the schools in which, comparatively, students seem to have the opportunity most frequently to direct their own affairs. How, then, does one explain the very low student/adult ratio in cell 4, where students are upper-middle-class and predominantly white and where the total index is the highest of the 16? A possibility is that these are schools in the process of ethnic change, but not very far into that process so that teachers and administrators are somewhat fearful of giving students too much freedom to make their own decisions.

When it comes to the matter of the extent of student participation, it is apparent from other figures included in Table 7:1 that it is somewhat more likely that young people in high status schools with at least a fair proportion of white students will become involved in the activity program than students in other schools. But here, again, the reports for the substantially white schools (cells 4 and 5) run counter to the generalization. Probably of more consequence than any differences among types of schools is the almost monotonous repetition by the 16 groups of schools of evidence that student activities programs in large-city high schools, wherever they may be, do not succeed in getting much activity from a majority of students. This, of course, is an age-old problem and one that is by no means peculiar to schools in the city. These figures along with other information do suggest, however, the appropriateness (some would say the urgency) of a thorough-going review of the student activities movement, in general and in particular, with respect to its contributions, actual and potential, to the educational and social maturing of urban young people.

The role of teacher, even in these days of negotiated contracts, involves responsibilities in addition to classroom teaching. One of these often is sponsoring and advising groups of students in formal and informal organizations. The school may recognize these added tasks by compensating directly through added salary or may compensate indirectly by reducing other responsibilities normally included in the definition of teacher load. Or, as many teachers can testify, the school may do neither.

Regional differences in this regard are apparent in Table 7:2. Schools in the Northeast make comparatively infrequent use of direct payment to teachers--in 9 schools out of 10, a tenth or fewer teachers are receiving additional compensation for non-classroom duties. But by way of balance the schools in this

region rely relatively extensively on indirect forms of compensation. In many respects, schools in the Prairie/Western category are quite similar to those in the Northeast. It appears that cities in the Border states have gone farther than others in arranging for direct extra compensation for extra duties. Finally, the data indicate that rather few teachers in schools in the Southeast and the Southwest receive additional compensation in any form.

Table 7:2. Relative Frequency with Which Schools, by Geographic Regions, Provide Compensation Directly and by Adjusted Schedule for Non-Classroom Duties

	Direct Compensation to		*Adjusted Schedules for*	
	0 - 10% of Staff	11% or more of Staff	0 - 10% of Staff	11% or more of Staff
Northeast	90%	10%	48%	50%
Border	73	27	88	12
Southeast	89	9	86	11
Southwest	84	13	94	5
North Central	74	23	75	20
Prairie/Western	82	18	58	42
All Schools	82%	17%	71%	27%

We are giving no breakdown of data on this matter along socioeconomic/ethnic lines for the reason that the typological analysis produced no generalizations of consequence. This is to be expected, of course, since policies governing the compensation of staff are customarily set up on a city-wide basis, a pattern which offers little freedom to a school of a particular kind to make its own policy and determine its own practices.

Finally, a few comments about the involvement of men and women other than those on the school's staff in planning and supervising student activities. Here, too, the socioeconomic/ethnic typology revealed nothing much except great variation. However, when practice was categorized by geographic regions a substantial departure from the average was discovered in the case of one group of schools--again, high schools in the Northeast. As can be seen in Table 7:3, no more than a third of all the schools in this part of the country are making any use of human resources beyond the faculty roster in developing and conducting student activities. This is in marked contrast with the Prairie/Western group where the use of laymen occurs in three out of four of the schools.

We take for granted that the participation of non-professional members of the community in educational affairs will increase. From this premise one easily moves to a number of specific conclusions, one being that laymen with greater

Table 7:3. Relative Frequency with Which Schools by Regions Involve Laymen in Planning and Supervising Student Activities

	Frequently	Sometimes	Never
Northeast	4%	28%	64%
Border	11	46	41
Southeast	17	50	33
Southwest	14	43	38
North Central	14	39	45
Prairie/Western	19	52	26
All Schools	13%	42%	42%

frequency will contribute to the developing and directing of student activities. But it will be interesting--and, of course, important--to see whether, in fact, this particular form of participation does increase.

The reasoning that suggests caution in making a prediction takes note of the fact that even where community participation in educational affairs has grown, the professional staff largely retains control of the educative process at the student-contact level. (Teacher aides, for instance, are under the direction of a certified teacher.) We are not arguing the merits of this condition; we merely note its existence. But student activities are rather different from the regular curriculum, at least to the extent that when activities are operating most vigorously there almost always is a struggle--usually polite and customarily disguised--between students and teachers to determine who really is in charge.

We must anticipate that the extent to which students are responsible for their out-of-class affairs will grow, and in the process leave school authorities with somewhat less control over a set of school-based activities for which they are essentially responsible.

Now suppose we assume the expanded use of laymen in the activities program--a step that will surely enlarge and enrich the resources for this program. We then will have what some will see as a further erosion of professional control and leadership.

This is not a cry of alarm. Our purpose is only to note one phase of school life in which, we believe, an especially promising opportunity still exists for honest experimentation in participation and some model-building, but an opportunity that the so-called normal course of events may place beyond our grasp if we do not exploit it soon.

Chapter 8.

Student Activism and Conflict

Student activism has many faces and its observers see it and report it in many different ways. To some, it is unreasonable challenge of legally constituted authority; to others it is a responsible expression of the young citizen's basic rights and privileges. There are adults who prefer to believe that if they close their eyes to demands of young people for a spell the demands, and the young people, will quiet down and go away. At the other extreme are men and women who think that long-term peace and social justice can be obtained by immediate and forceful acts of constraint. The point we want to make here is that what student activism is and what it means depend not only on the act itself but also on what interpretations the observers and those affected by he act place upon it. In consequence, school people when talking about and evaluating student activism in their schools may not all have the same kind of student behavior in mind. We believe, however, that we were able to gather a considerable body of meaningful information about student conflict in large-city schools, even when the foregoing caution is carefully observed.

Each of the schools participating in the study was asked,

> *During the past two school years, has there been a conflict situation involving two or more groups (students-school officials) with opposing points of view that required resolution?* *Yes* _____, *No* _____

Before we screen the replies to this inquiry through our typological grid, we have a few comments to make about the relative likelihood of student conflict in various parts of the country. The ratio of "yes" replies to "no" replies was computed for the schools in each of the six geographic regions being used in this study. Among schools in the Northeast, North Central, and Prairie/Western areas, "yes's" exceeded the "no's" in the ratio of about two-to-one. Among Border schools the odds were about even. But for schools in the Southeast the chances of conflict occurring had dropped to only one-to-two, while in the Southwest the ratio of "yes's" to "no's" was only one-to-three. There unquestionably is a geographic pattern here; it is quite possible that the situation is influenced in considerable measure by the concentration of the larger cities in coastal and northern tier regions of the country.

Frequency of Student Conflict

And now to examine the incidence of observable student activism and conflict in the terms of our typology. The frequency with which schools of various types indicated they had been involved with student-conflict actions of some kind is shown in Table 8:1, which we have enlarged somewhat to include average percentages for larger clusters of schools.

We conclude from these data that socioeconomic status by itself is not a strongly influential force in producing student conflict, for, as will be seen, the differences between items (a) and (b) in Table 8:1 is minor (8 percent). But when schools are looked at along the white-black dimension the differences are more noticeable and, in our opinion, are of more consequence, but the situation

Table 8:1. Percent of Schools of Various Types Reporting the Incidence of Student Activism or Conflict

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Students	Ethnic Characteristics of Students: Over 80% White	61-80% White	21-60% White & Black	61-80% Black	Over 80% Black	Other Ethnic Mixtures
Upper-Middle Class	1 49%	4 53%	7 89%	10 81%		14 43%
Middle Class	2 39%	5 56%				
Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class	3 52%	6 56%	8 71%	11 68%	12 49%	15 60%
Working Class			9 69%		13 60%	16 66%

(a) All high-status schools (cells 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 14): 51%
(b) All low-status schools (remaining cells): 59%
(c) All 61 percent or more White: 49%
(d) All 61 percent or more Black: 60%
(e) All 21 - 60 percent White/Black 77%

is not what some people would have predicted. To be sure, student conflicts were reported as occurring more often in schools that had substantially black student bodies than among those largely white (Items c and d). But the highest average rate of incidence was observed among what we have been calling the integrated group of schools, those with somewhere between 21 and 60 percent of both black and white students.

If, now, ethnic and socioeconomic characteristics are considered simultaneously some very distinctive patterns emerge.

(1) Among the six groups of schools which are substantially white in enrollment, only the most minor increase in the frequency of student conflict is observable as one moves down the status scale. To all intends and purposes the odds in favor of the occurrence or non-occurrence throughout this set of schools is about 50-50.

(2) In contrast, among the five groups of schools that are substantially black and the three that are mixed black and white, there is a marked decrease in the likelihood of student conflict as one moves down the status scale.

(3) The likelihood that student activism and resulting conflict will develop is greatest of all in schools in which students generally are high in socioeconomic status and in which many or most of the students are black.

The noticeably higher frequency of student conflicts among all the schools that enroll a significant number of black students than among those largely white may be explained as natural corollary of social tensions everywhere seen in our society. But the very high rates of incidence reported by the high status black and integrated schools must have an additional explanation. In Table 7:1 it was shown that student direction of student activities was a very frequent condition in high-status, integrated schools. These are schools where, also, the nature of the student body (and maybe of the faculty as well) is in transition from what, in all probability, was all white to a better balance of young people of the two colors. But if there has not been a corresponding shift in the sharing of leadership and other forms of participation, there is likely to be trouble.

But it seems improbable that this same combination of forces operates to generate student conflict in high-status, largely-black schools. Here, we conjecture the level of conflict reflects the rise of black militancy in large cities plus the added irritation occasioned by the presence of large numbers of non-black teachers and principals. When the barn is burning, a fire is a fire, and the cause of it may be of little immediate interest. But the cause should be of much concern in planning the rebuilding. So it is with conflicts among students or between students and adults, where containing and moderating the heat of the struggle must get most attention at the moment, but where if better human relations are to be established the causes of the fire must be searched out and corrected.

Factors Contributing to Conflict

Schools where incidents of student conflict had taken place during 1967-69 were asked to say whether certain particular factors or conditions had been operative. These were:

Physical confrontation among students in the school

Physical confrontation between students and some member of the school staff

Moderate damage to physical facilities of the school

Disruption of the school's instructional program for half a school day or more

Student strike or other form of refusal to enter classrooms for instruction

Picketing or protest marches during the school day

Support of students by more than one member of the school staff in a role other than conciliatory

Participation/involvement by more than one-half of the student body

Support of students by adults other than parents

These schools were also asked what concerns or issues the students expressed in the conflict situation. The following possibilities were listed and principals were asked to check those that had been of primary or secondary concern.

National social policy: Vietnam war, poverty, unemployment

Special non-academic provisions for ethnic/minority groups: soul food, Black lounges, Malcolm X memorial

Dress-appearance codes: hair length, African, mini-skirts

Speech and press: underground publications, arm bands, buttons, censorship

Teaching and learning process: "racist" teachers, tracking, classroom formalities

Curriculum content: sex education, Swahili, Black studies

Student personnel services: detention halls, guidance services, regulations for tardiness

Student relationships: white cheerleaders, segregated social events

Ideology: Black is Beautiful, America is militaristic, white racism

From responses to these two inquiries several other generalizations can be derived about student activism in large-city high schools.

In undertaking to resolve the conditions that give rise to group tensions it is important to know to what extent the protesting group can draw on the entire student population for support. One set of data in Table 8:2 shows how common (actually, rather uncommon) it is for half or more of the student body to be behind the action. The frequency of this comparatively high degree of student involvement has some relation to the socio/ethnic circumstances, for the frequency in general is lowest (around 10 percent) in the upper left hand quadrant of the grid and is highest (more than 20 percent) among low-status schools with a significant fraction of black students. In this connection, it is interesting to note that in the case of the high-status mixed black-white schools where the incidence of student conflict was the highest, the figure for the involvement of a majority of the student body was the second lowest of all.

How often protesting students had the active support of some of the adults on the school's staff is also shown in Table 8:2. (The reader is reminded that the percents given in this table are based on the number of schools that reported instances of conflict, approximately 350 of the 670 schools in the study population. While there is no overall pattern in the occurrence of "other than conciliatory" participation by staff members, there are discernible patterns within ethnicity groupings. Among white schools, for example, staff members are more likely to be participants in high- than in low-status schools. But in black schools the situation is the reverse, where faculty involvement is more visible in low-status schools (with one unexplanable exception).

Adults other than teachers and parents frequently joined with students in the protest activities that took place in the schools we are studying--this was reported by about three-fifths of the 356 schools where student conflicts appeared. Participation by "outsiders" is somewhat more likely to be observed in low- than in high-status schools, and in general it is more likely be be a part of the picture in the case of schools that have at least a considerable minority of black young people in the student body, as can also be seen in Table 8:2.

From an examination of the three sets of data in this table, all having to do with the extent of participation, it appears that it is in the low-status more or less black schools (cells 8, 9, 11, 12, 13) where one is most likely to find extensive involvement in conflict situations by both young people and adults. In those five groups of schools, the percentages for support by student, faculty, and outside adults are consistently high. The need for a thoughtful and sensitive review of relationships among students, school personnel, and other members of the community is evident on every hand, but from the facts just mentioned such attention seems particularly necessary in the case of schools where the socioeconomic base is lower/middle and/or working class and where schools are either predominantly black or substantially integrated.

Table 8:2. Among Schools Having Incidents of Student Conflict, Percent in Which Various Sources of Support for Activism were Operative

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Students	Ethnic Characteristics of Students: Over 80% White	61-80% White	21-60% White & Black	61-80% Black	Over 80% Black	Other Ethnic Mixtures
Upper-Middle Class	1 S 2% F 48 A 48	4 S 13% F 63 A 13	7 S 6% F 19 A 50	10 S 15% F 23 A 62		14 S -- F -- A --
Middle Class	2 S 9% F 36 A 49	5 S 9% F 27 A 32				
Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class	3 S 11% F 22 A 56	6 S 8% F 17 A 47	8 S 17% F 42 A 75	11 S 23% F 39 A 85	12 S 38% F 42 A 67	15 S -- F 58 A 67
Working Class			9 S 18% F 9 A 55		13 S 23% F 55 A 75	16 S 11% F 63 A 74

S = Participation by more than half of the student body

F = Support of students by one or more school staff members

A = Support of students by adults other than parents

Who Confronts Whom?

While acts of conflict may be restricted to the exchange of words or other symbolic behavior, these acts are most noticeable and seem more threatening when they take the form of physical confrontation. School administrators, accordingly, were asked whether their schools had experienced physical confrontation on a student-student basis and/or on a student-faculty basis. In this case, physical confrontation means at least some direct interaction, but does not imply that physical assault was present in every instance.

Student-student confrontations were reported by 39 percent of the 356 schools where conflict had taken place, and 45 percent there had been cases of physical confrontation between students and staff. The frequency of these two forms of opposition among the 16 groups of schools in the typology is shown in Table 8:3. We call attention once again to the situation among the five groups of low-status, more or less black schools (cells 8, 9, 11, 12, 13). The frequency of student-student confrontation was very high in the schools that were a mixture of black and white, but this frequency drops off noticeably as schools become increasingly black in enrollment. (The same is true as schools become increasingly white.)

This same trend obtains in the case of student-faculty confrontations. The drop-off here almost certainly is in part the result of the employment of larger numbers of black teachers in the largely black schools. (Staff ethnic composition probably does not explain the drop-off in student-faculty confrontation in moving from low-status integrated schools to low-status, mainly white ones--that is, cell 8 to 6 to 3.)

Physical confrontation, in schools as in the rest of life, has a tendency to lead to the damaging of property as well as of people. Principals were, therefore, asked whether confrontations related to student activism had produced moderate damage to school facilities. Such damage was reported by 40 percent of the "conflicted" schools, with the highest group rates occurring in the racially mixed schools, both black-white and other ethnic mixtures, and the lowest rates in the largely white schools.

Forms of Expression

Less than half of the schools (43 percent) said the confrontations had produced a disruption of instruction for as long as a half day; that is to say, a majority of the conflict situations were short-lived. But while this was generally the case in the 356 schools, it was not the case with all of the 16 sets of schools, as can be seen in Table 8:4. Instances of extended disruption were least often reported by the all-white schools, while the frequency of lengthy disruptions was greatest among schools that were heterogenous in composition, regardless of the ethnicity involved. This is the same situation as was noted above in connection with property damage.

Public expression of conflict took the form of student strikes a bit more often than that of protest marches and such--perhaps because not going to class may be easier to bring off than is marching through the streets. A more probable consideration is that a strike against instruction is pointed directly at the staff and administration who so often are targets of student opposition. It will

Table 8:3. Frequency, Among Schools Experiencing Student Conflict, of Physical Confrontation on a Student-Student Basis and on a Student-Faculty Basis

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Students	Ethnic Characteristics of Students: Over 80% White	61-80% White	21-60% White & Black	61-80% Black	Over 80% Black	Other Ethnic Mixtures
Upper-Middle Class	1 S-S 32% S-F 33	4 S-S 25% S-F 50	7 S-S 44% S-F 44	10 S-S 31% S-F 54		14 S-S 33% S-F 33
Middle Class	2 S-S 44 S-F 36	5 S-S 46 S-F 46				
Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class	3 S-S 33% S-F 15	6 S-S 54% S-F 46	8 S-S 83% S-F 83	11 S-S 39% S-F 54	12 S-S 21% S-F 50	15 S-S 50% S-F 59
Working Class			9 S-S 55% S-F 73		13 S-S 33 S-F 60	16 S-S 26 S-F 47

S-S = Student-Student conflict

S-F = Student-Faculty conflict

Table 8:4. Percent of Schools Experiencing Conflict in Which Classes were Struck, Protest Marches Took Place, and Disruption of a Half Day or Longer

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Students	Ethnic Characteristics of Students: Over 80% White	61-80% White	21-60% White & Black	61-80% Black	Over 80% Black	Other Ethnic Mixtures
Upper-Middle Class	1 S 15% M 13 / 9	4 S 38% M 50 / 50	7 S 63% M 56 / 56	10 S 54% M 31 / 39		14 S 33% M 33 / 67
Middle Class	2 S 36% M 24 / 27	5 S 46% M 32 / 46				
Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class	3 S 26% M 22 / 26	6 S 54 M 50 / 54	8 S 50% M 50 / 75	11 S 62% M 54 / 46	12 S 46% M 38 / 58	15 S 50 M 58 / 67
Working Class			9 S 64% M 56 / 73		13 S 60% M 50 / 62	16 S 74% M 63 / 47

S = Student strikes

M = Protest marches, picketing, etc.

/ = Disruption of half day or longer

be noted, of course, that both striking and marching took place much less often in all-white schools than in schools with other ethnic make-up. Possibly a reason for this is that the causes these white students were advocating were rather different from those of first importance in other types of schools, and the audiences they were addressing very probably were less likely to accept and be moved by these forms of protest.

Conflicts: Issues and Demands

Conflict situations develop from substantive concerns. The substance at stake may be clearly articulated as an issue or demand, or it may be rather vaguely symbolized by the nature of the act of conflict itself. In some cases, the substance of the conflict and the form of expression are highly related. It is possible, for example, that when students strike particular classes they do so in order to express their displeasure with the instructional process in those classes. On the other hand, the act of striking classes may be simply a convenient act to give visibility to an ideological position which cannot readily be reduced to a specific demand.

To obtain information about the concerns that were responsible for acts of protest by students, each school was asked to indicate, with respect to each of nine broad categories of issues whether it had been expressed as a matter of primary concern by students or had been only of secondary concern or was not a student-expressed concern. The nine categories are listed on page 8:4. The frequency with which each of these areas of concern or courses of issues was seen by students as of primary importance in "conflicted" schools in each of the cells in our socio/ethnic typology is shown in Table 8:5.

One of these possibly primary concerns stands out above all others: in 10 of our 16 types of schools student dress and codes intended to control it were most often mentioned, and the relative frequency of mention in most cases was comparatively high. Among all-white schools, no other issue emerges anywhere nearly as often as the dress-code problem does.

This, however, is not true with other groups of schools. As you read down Table 8:5--that is, in the direction of more black students in the schools--more sources of concern seem to be mentioned more often. Furthermore, problems having to do with curriculum content--black studies, etc.--are much more evident once one leaves the bounds of the all-white schools.

Ideological concerns were behind conflicts in substantial amount in several classes of schools, notably those in the three "integrated" categories. These are the schools we have had occasion to call attention to several times earlier in this discussion of student unrest.

It was rather surprising to see that student personnel services were not especially frequent a source of tensions. Similarly, student-to-student relationships were not often seen as primary issues leading up to student confrontations. This last condition is somewhat difficult to explain or interpret in light of the fact that many conflicts actually were clashes between groups of students. Perhaps the social substance of such clashes was not clearly articulated and, thus, not thought of as an issue.

Table 8:5. Frequency with Which Various Issues** Were of Primary Concern to Students in Conflict Situations

	Typology Cell Number	National Policy	Minority-Group Provisions	Dress Codes	Speech and Dress	Teaching Practices	Curriculum Content	Personnel Services	Student Relationships	Ideological Issues
80% + White	1	26%	20%	65%*	37%	17%	22%	26%	13%	22%
	2	13	18	56*	22	13	20	13	20	18
	3	33	22	44*	19	7	19	11	11	22
61-80% White	4	38	25	75*	50	25	38	0	13	25
	5	6	36	64*	18	41	46	23	32	46
	6	21	50*	29	4	33	42	8	21	33
21-60% White & Black	7	38	25	63*	19	38	38	19	19	63*
	8	17	50	58*	42	42	58*	42	17	53
	9	18	36	18	27	27	64*	18	9	46
61% + Black	10	0	31	39	23	39	46*	46*	8	31
	11	8	46	85*	31	54	69	31	8	54
	12	17	25	50*	4	25	42	33	0	33
	13	15	45*	38	18	28	45*	25	3	40
Other Ethnic Mixtures	14	0	33	67*	33	0	33	0	0	0
	15	33	50	42	25	50	67*	42	17	50
	16	16	26	37*	26	37*	32	16	16	37*

* Issue most frequently mentioned by schools in this cell

** For fuller descriptions of issues, refer to listing on page 8:4.

The Resolution of Conflict

When groups are in conflict, the normal and natural thing to do is to seek a resolution through some form of action. To be sure, in some situations time alone may be the best healer and direct intervention by the administrator would unwise. But from the evidence we gathered regarding action taken when conflicts did develop in large-city high schools, it is clear that delay or some form of evasion was seldom employed as administrative strategy. (Unfortunately, we do not have information to show how often, if at all, conciliatory actions were initiated by the protesting groups.)

Principals of schools in which student unrest had been evident were asked to indicate which of a long list of possible actions had been used in responding to the situation and, further, to evaluate in a general way the effect of that response. The possible respondes listed were:

Special police assistance for school grounds/facilities requested and/or assigned

Large-group assembly of students initiated by school officials

Formal meetings between student representatives and principal or his delegated representative

Formal meetings between student representatives and superintendent or delegated central office personnel

Mutually acceptable signed statement/agreement between students and school officials

Suspension of one or more involved students

Formal civil charges filed against one or more students

Creation of new channel of communication involving students and school staff

Resignation and/or reassignment of one or more members of local school staff

Reassignment of students to other programs and/or other schools

Small group student-faculty discussions

Court suit filed against school officials

New school regulations and/or student personnel procedures

New course offering(s) and/or significant curriculum modification/revisions

Increased direct discussions between community adults and school officials

The frequency with which schools in the several groups made use of each of these responses is shown in Table 8:6. In that table we have marked those responses used by a majority of the schools in a group by way of highlighting the most frequently used actions or reactions.

Five responses stand out because of the extent to which they were used among schools of all kinds. Four of the five in one way or another contribute to "talking it out."

1. Formal meetings of principal with student representatives
2. Small-group discussions between faculty members and students
3. Discussions between school people and adults in the community
4. Creation of new channels for student-faculty communication
5. Significant curriculum changes

A sixth--new regulations and/or personnel procedures--comes close to being a member in good standing of this high-frequency-of-use set of actions.

It is noteworthy that the superintendent or his representative rather seldom becomes directly involved in the resolution process--though we expect that he is kept well informed about what is going on and, very likely, does some coaching from the sidelines. Furthermore, some of the steps taken, such as calling for police assistance will surely require some form of participation by the school system's central office staff. But the inference is that customarily the greatest efforts are concentrated on solving problems by making use of building-based resources.

Three of the listed response forms are more punitive than conciliatory: suspending students, reassigning students, and filing formal charges against them. As a set of reactions, these three were used less frequently than the more deliberative approaches to conflict reduction. Of the three, suspension was made use of in about a third of the schools, with it's being resorted to a bit more often in high-status, largely white schools and low-status, integrated schools.

Few important differences in reaction patterns seem to be closely associated with either ethnicity or socioeconomic status. We do note, of course, that resorting to police assistance is less frequent among high-status, all-white and high-status, all-black schools than elsewhere, possibly because the neighborhoods and the people associated with schools of this kind are not in the habit of calling the police. And possibly, too, their academic orientation gives them unusual confidence in the power of discussion to resolve conflicts of all kinds. From this, it is not surprising to see that these two high-status classes of schools also somewhat more often than others make use of signed statements and other formal documents to settle conflicts.

Greater or more consistent differences among schools along the dimensions of the typology might have emerged if study procedures had permitted us to gather additional "inside" information--Who really said what at the all-school assembly

Table 8:6. Percent of Schools Experiencing Student Unrest Making Use of Various Forms of Response

	Typology Cell Number	Police Assistance	Large-Group Assemblies	Principal-Student Meetings	Supt.-Student Meetings	Signed Agreements	Suspend Students	Formal Charges	New Lines of Communication	Resignation of Staff	Students Reassigned	Discussion Groups	Sued Staff	New Regulations	New Courses	Community Consultations
80% + White	1	28%	33%	*76%*	24%	18%	44%	13%	*63%*	7%	19%	*80%*	0%	*61%*	44%	*69%*
	2	*51*	38	*78*	18	22	44	20	*87*	11	27	*76*	2	47	*53*	*68*
	3	37	41	*74*	22	15	30	4	*59*	4	7	*59*	0	*52*	41	*56*
61-80% White	4	*63*	*50*	*88*	*50*	0	*50*	38	*50*	13	*50*	*63*	13	*50*	*88*	38
	5	*50*	32	*91*	41	14	41	27	*82*	4	46	*77*	0	*59*	46	*59*
	6	*50*	*58*	*88*	42	17	38	21	*58*	8	33	*58*	0	38	*50*	46
21-60% White & Black	7	*75*	25	*88*	31	13	38	25	*81*	0	19	*69*	0	*56*	*56*	*69*
	8	25	25	*92*	33	0	25	8	*100*	17	25	*75*	0	*50*	*67*	*50*
	9	*55*	36	*73*	27	0	*55*	*64*	*55*	27	36	46	0	9	*55*	*82*
61% + Black	10	15	23	*85*	46	23	31	15	*77*	31	31	*69*	8	*77*	*69*	*77*
	11	23	*54*	*100*	15	31	31	8	*77*	8	8	*77*	0	46	*85*	*62*
	12	25	*58*	*92*	38	25	33	8	*63*	25	21	*75*	4	*58*	*67*	*79*
	13	28	45	*80*	*50*	13	30	15	*75*	20	28	*70*	8	*53*	*63*	*58*
Other Ethnic Mixtures	14	33	0	*67*	*67*	0	33	33	*33*	0	*67*	*67*	0	33	*100*	*67*
	15	*50*	*50*	*83*	42	25	25	17	*75*	17	25	*75*	0	33	*50*	*75*
	16	*58*	42	*94*	26	16	*53*	5	47	26	26	*68*	11	47	*58*	47

Note: To highlight the most frequently used actions or reactions, percentages of 50% or more are in italics.

and in what tone of voice? To what extent did faculty members participate in those small-group discussions? What were the discussions with the community like? And so on. But the broad generalization our data lead to is this: In bringing civility back to a school community that has been physically and intellectually disrupted by overt or threatened protests, effective measures are rarely, if ever, dictated by either the color or the economic position of the participants.

Maintaining Order and Safety

Conditions of modern urban life--by no means limited to confrontations of the kind we have been discussing--are making the urban school's responsibility for the safety of its students a much more demanding one. To obtain information about current conditions in this respect, administrators were asked to indicate to what extent maintaining order and safety were major problems requiring a large investment of staff time. They were also asked whether or not specialized personnel--for example, police, private guards and plain clothesmen--were now included among the personnel of the school.

The frequency with which schools see order and safety a major problem is shown in Table 8:7. In constructing this table, the typological grid has been collapsed by way of making clearer the contrasts between certain large groups of schools.

Table 8:7. Percent of Schools Reporting Maintaining Order and Safety a Major Problem Requiring Much Staff Time

	81+ White		*61-80 Wh*		*Integ.*		*61+ Black*			*Other*	
	1	2	4	5	7		10			14	
High Status	4%	9%	13%	23%	17%		6%			14%	
	3		6		8	9	11	12	13	15	16
Low Status	10%		28%		35%	38%	42%	27%	40%	25%	28%

All Schools: 19%

The relationship between socioeconomic status and the frequency with which this problem exists is immediately apparent--for every ethnic category the problem in serious form is much more likely to exist in low-status schools than in high-status ones. The contrast is greatest among largely-black schools. There is a relationship between ethnicity and frequency, but, you observe, it cannot be described by one sweeping generalization.

a. Among high-status schools, all-white and largely-black schools experience this problem seldom and to about the same extent. The frequencies are greater in the case of the two classes of schools having a noticeable fraction of black students.

b. Among low-status schools, however, the frequency figures grow steadily as one moves across the white-to-black dimension.

When reports on this problem are arranged geographically, some regional variations come to light, as revealed by the data in Table 8:8.

Table 8:8. Reports on Problems of Order and Safety from Large-City Schools in Various Regions

	Reported as			
	Major Problem	About Average	No Problem	Outside Help Needed
Northeast	23%	70%	7%	23%
Southeast	15	67	18	4
Border	23	70	7	17
North Central	22	69	9	27
Southwest	7	88	5	1
Prairie/Western	22	68	10	17
All schools	19	71	10	17

Seriousness of the Problem

Since about 70 percent of the schools in five regions said they had only an "Average Problem" in maintaining order, interest concentrates on the disposition of the remaining 30 percent. Here, Southeastern schools stand out because these are the only schools in which "No Problem" is reported more often than "Major Problem" requiring much staff time.

The Southwestern schools are in a class by themselves--both "Major Problem" and "No Problem" are reported less often than by other schools.

The Southeastern and Southwestern schools are different from the others, too, in the very low frequency with which they had to call for police or other forms of outside help. Actually, there is much more variation among regions in regard to calling for outside help than there is among them in viewing the matter as a major problem. The difference between conditions in Northeastern and North Central schools, on the one hand, and those in the South, on the other, are striking. This contrast no doubt is explained in part by characteristic differences between the large cities in these two major sections of the country.

The use of outside help to maintain order was also examined in terms of our typology, with the results shown in Table 8:9. It is informative to compare these statistics with thos on "Major Problem" frequencies in Table 8:7.

Table 8:9. Frequency with Which Schools of Various Types Need and Use Outside Help to Maintain Order

	81+ White		*61-80 Wh*		*Integ.*	*61+ Black*			*Other*	
	1	2	4	5	7	10			14	
High Status	6%	7%	0%	26%	39%	31%			29%	
	3		6		8	9	11	12	13	15	16
Low Status	6%		14%		29%	38%	42%	25%	30%	30%	21%

a. Among low-status schools, frequencies of use of police rather consistently run below frequencies for "Major Problem."

b. Among high-status schools, the high frequencies of police use by integrated and largely black schools is in sharp contrast with rather low frequencies for Major Problems. We assume these high frequencies (as well as those for low-status schools of the same sort) reflect the seriousness of the "Major Problems" these schools are faced with.

Finally, schools were asked to comment on the nature of the assistance they received from student organization in maintaining order and discipline in school and at school activities. Four levels of assistance were specified; of these we have chosen to report frequencies for the two extremes--"A Great Help" and "Offer Little or No Help"--and for the schools that had incidents of student protest. Data on these points are given in Table 8:10.

While these data indicate some variation from school type to type in the emergence of student aid, there appears to be no regular relationship to ethnic or socioeconomic characteristics. However, the situation in respect to the "Offer Little or No Help" is different, for the frequencies of not offering are much lower among black schools than among others. That is to say, it appears that student organizations in black schools are more inclined to try to help maintain the peace than are student groups in other classes of schools.

Table 8:10. Frequency with Which Student Organizations Are of Great Help in Maintaining Order or Offer Little or No Help

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Students	Ethnic Characteristics of Students: Over 80% White	61-80% White	21-60% White & Black	61-80% Black	Over 80% Black	Other Ethnic Mixtures
Upper-Middle Class	1 18% [11]*	4 25% [13]	7 19% [19]	10 31% [8]		14 33% [0]
Middle Class	2 20% [11]	5 14% [14]				
Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class	3 22% [11]	6 25% [25]	8 25% [8]	11 15% [0]	12 38% [13]	15 25% [8]
Working Class			9 18% [18]		13 20% [5]	16 26% [11]

* Percentages in brackets are for "Little or No Help."

Chapter 9.

School-Community Relations

When it comes to working relations between schools and their communities, city schools with a substantially black student body have somewhat more contacts than do other classes, although differences seldom are striking. As can be seen in Table 9:1, some differences in practice between high- and low-status schools are also evident, but these also are not large.

Table 9:1. Frequency with Which Laymen Participate in School Life in Different Ways in Various Types of Schools

	Status		*Ethnicity*			
	High	Low	White	Black	Integ.	Mixed Spanish
Participate frequently in educational planning	10%	11%	10%	16%	9%	2%
Participate frequently in program evaluation	9	9	8	15	9	4
Substantial numbers of laymen (16+) contribute annually to school program	24	19	19	33	11	18
PTA attendance of low-income parents average or better	17	21	17	25	17	23
Local newspaper treats schools positively	54	47	51	59	40	40
Two or more staff members work full-time on community liaison	21	32	24	34	34	27
Substantial number of staff members of community youth-serving organizations	24	36	25	35	8	54
Effective faculty discussions with community representatives	31	29	30	25	34	25

The several instances in which the frequencies for the integrated schools run below those for predominantly black ones may very well be manifestations of the relatively greater difficulty a school has in establishing productive relationships with its community when the ethnic composition of the community--and,

Table 9:2. Frequency of Various Kinds of Contacts of Students with Representatives of Post-School Opportunities

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Students	Ethnic Characteristics of Students: Over 80% White	61-80% White	21-60% White & Black	61-80% Black	Over 80% Black	Other Ethnic Mixtures
Upper-Middle Class	1 C 59% B 19 R 33 Jr 37	4 C 27% B 27 R 33 Jr 40	7 C 44 B 37 R 28 Jr 56	10 C 75 B 38 R 13 Jr 19		14 C 14 B 14 R 14 Jr 43
Middle Class	2 C 31 B 23 R 31 Jr 47	5 C 41 B 23 R 36 Jr 28				
Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class	3 C 21 B 23 R 25 Jr 54	6 C 19 B 7 R 23 Jr 51	8 C 24 B 24 R 35 Jr 36	11 C 26 B 37 R 16 Jr 58	12 C 27 B 31 R 20 Jr 61	15 C 35 B 35 R 20 Jr 40
Working Class			9 C 19 B 25 R 38 Jr 50		13 C 37 B 33 R 33 Jr 33	16 C 3 B 14 R 31 Jr 48

C = 4-year College representatives visit school 26 or more times.
B = Business-Industry representatives visit school 21 or more times.
R = Assemblies involving community representatives used effectively.
Jr = 2-year college representatives visit school only 1-5 times.

hence, of the school--is unstable than when that composition--largely white or largely black--seems clear and established.

Another way in which a school keeps in touch with the "outside world" is through contacts with institutions of higher learning. It was not unexpected to find that representatives of 4-year colleges are much more likely to visit high-status schools than those serving areas lower in the socioeconomic scale, but the likelihood is greatest of all when a school is both high-status and predominantly black. And, generally speaking, representatives of 2-year colleges are somewhat more attentive to low-status than to high-status schools. The distribution of these kinds of contacts is shown in Table 9:2.

These data give little indication of the spreading efforts by urban educators to bring about more and closer contacts with their communities or of the pressures of laymen to participate in the educational decision-making process. We recommend a series of intensive, on-site studies as the basis for describing in comprehensive fashion some of these newer and more effective ways for bringing the school and its community together as an effective team. In the end, of course, decisions will have to be made in the light of the real-life possibilities that exist in a particular school/community setting. But learning for others still is possible, and especially, we believe, in regard to the developing and maturing of these newer cooperative relationships. Many of these were initiated as the result of crisis conditions, but it can be expected that in many instances they will become continuing features of the local educational scene after the crisis has subsided. These early days in the life of these new relationships will be formative ones, and they can be constructively so if they are given attention and encouragement by school people and everyone else genuinely concerned about bettering the opportunities available to young people in our large cities.

Chapter 10.

Big-City Schools, Present and Future

The big cities of the country--those over 300,000 in population--are in deep trouble, educationally. Recognized until just a few years ago as the home of the very best schools, they now have few of the most successful schools and many of the most problem-ridden.

These cities have two contrasting problems with their high schools. On the one hand, they have the problem of maintaining a kind of secondary education that will compete with suburban schools and thus hold middle-income families in the cities and, conceivably, even encourage them to come back to the central city from the suburbs. But, at the same time, they have to cope with a group of young people who do poorly in school, and who do not get jobs or make satisfactory adult adjustments when they drop out of school. In the central cities of the larger metropolitan areas, this marginal group may reach 25 or 30 percent of all 16- and 17-year olds. Since this condition is further exacerbated by social considerations, the educational problems it creates is a grave one indeed.

Obviously, the solutions to such problems are not simple. Thus, for example, the comprehensive high school, defined and favored by James B. Conant in his two studies of secondary education, has only limited applicability in the big cities, according to Mr. Conant himself. Its values can probably be secured in certain big-city high schools, but not in most of them. The big cities may need to create models all their own.

The NASSP Study of large-city high schools which has been reported in the preceding pages shows that there are approximately 700 public high schools in the 45 largest cities, with approximately 1.6 million students in grades 9-12 or 10-12. These schools fall into four categories, based on the socioeconomic background of the student. Student enrollments in each of these categories in 1970 are shown in Table 10:1.

The healthiest schools are the comprehensive type, which contain a cross-section of youth according to socioeconomic level and have a self-contained, varied and comprehensive curriculum. These schools do a fairly satisfactory job, but many of these are threatened with "neighborhood change," which means being overtaken by the spread of inner city slums and of racial and economic segregation. Many schools which were in the comprehensive category 10 years ago have moved into the inner-city category.

The upper-middle-class schools, though dwindling in number, still maintain themselves as the high-status schools in the big cities, and middle-class parents look for them, moving their residences if necessary to keep their children in such schools. In terms of academic achievement levels, and curriculum innovations, these are the "best schools. But they lack the major characteristics of a democratic school structure, for they lack students from low-income and minority group families. Thus, they prosper to a limited degree while the rest of the city suffers.

The two lower socioeconomic status categories are growing in size as the big cities lose middle-class residents to the suburbs. Schools in such areas suffer from a variety of difficulties that we cannot do much about so long as

Table 10:1. Data on Large-City High Schools, 1970*

	No. of Schools	Enrollment
Upper Middle Class Schools (over 70% middle class)		
Public	150	375,000
Private Independent	100	75,000
Comprehensive Schools (cross section of population in socioeconomic status)		
Public	200	500,000
Private, mainly church-operated	250	250,000
Lower Middle/Working Class Schools		
Public	200	400,000
Working Class Schools (over 75% working class)		
Public	150	300,000
TOTALS		
Public	700	1,575,000
Private	350	325,000
		1,900,000

* These data on schools in cities with populations over 300,000 are based on estimates developed by Robert Havighurst.

they are schools which serve an almost exclusively low economic and racially segregated student body. In this situation the student body holds relatively low expectations of educational achievement and low educational aspirations for its members. Students lack the advantage of competition with those who have greater academic motivation. These schools lack the means for encouraging common social living and common social goals for young people with a wide variety of economic and racial backgrounds. And they lack teachers of experience, because teachers with seniority--almost without exception--when they have the option, choose to work in upper class and comprehensive schools.

Socioeconomic Segregation and High Schools

The 1970 census reports that most of the big cities lost population between 1960 and 1970. Specifically, seven of the top 10 in 1960 lost population in the subsequent decade. These losses are accounted for mainly by middle-income young adults leaving the central city for the suburbs and by the death of people who were not replaced. At the same time, low-income people moved into the central cities, many coming from Puerto Rico, from the Appalachians and the Ozarks, from the rural Southwest, and many from the rural South.

This process has been going on rapidly since about 1950, when the postwar economic boom began to draw industrial workers into the large cities. The result was that the proportion of youth from low income and minority group families increased, and many high schools which had formerly contained an approximate cross section of young people (in socioeconomic terms) acquired a student body that is concentrated within a narrow band of the socioeconomic spectrum.

During the years from 1950 to 1970, the migration of Southern black families to the big cities, both north and south, was a major population movement, as was the migration of Puerto Ricans to New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago and of Mexican Americans to the cities of the Southwest and the western states. These groups tended to find homes in low-income areas, and were subject to varying degrees of discrimination that limited their access to residential areas all over the city.

The combination of these various population movements has resulted in a remarkably high degree of ethnic segregation in the high schools, a fact which has been documented in some detail in earlier chapters of this report.

Socioethnic Types of High Schools

The largest ethnic group of schools in our big cities consists of 278 (42 percent) of the schools, which are 80 percent or more "non-ethnic white." This is a loose way of saying that the students--in most cases, close to 100 percent of them--are from white families whose parents were born in this country and are not Spanish speaking. These schools are divided again along socioeconomic lines, with 110 or 16 percent being upper middle class, and 116 or 17 percent middle class comprehensive. This leaves only 52, or 8 percent, in the two lower socioeconomic categories.*

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* Table 2:5 is reproduced here for ease of reference.

Table 2:5. A Typology of Schools Based on Ethnic and Socioeconomic Factors with the Number and Percent of Large-City High Schools in Each Cell.

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Students	Ethnic Characteristics of Students: Over 80% White	61-80% White	21-60% White & Black	61-80% Black	Over 80% Black	Other Ethnic Mixtures
Upper-Middle Class *SE Scale: 3-4*	1 n: 110 %: 16.4	4 n: 15 %: 2.2	7 n: 18 %: 2.7	10 n: 16 %: 2.4		14 n: 7 %: 1.0
Middle Class *SE Scale: 5-6*	2 n: 116 %: 17.3	5 n: 39 %: 5.8				
Lower-Middle/ Working Class *SE Scale: 7-9*	3 n: 52 %: 7.8	6 n: 43 %: 6.4	8 n: 17 %: 2.5	11 n: 19 %: 2.8	12 n: 49 %: 7.3	15 n: 20 %: 3.0
Working Class *SE Scale: 10-12*			9 n: 16 %: 2.4		13 n: 67 %: 10	16 n: 29 %: 4.3

"Oriental" schools (not in typology) n: 6 %: 1.0

Other schools not used because of some missing details n: 31 %: 4.6

All schools n: 670 %: 100

Quite the reverse picture is seen when one looks at the "over 80 percent black" schools--129 or almost one in every five of all large-city high schools are in this group. The largest socioeconomic subgroup is the lowest one, which contains 10 percent of all schools, and the lower-middle/working class category accounts for another 7 percent of the schools. Only 2 percent of these 80 percent-plus black schools are middle class, and these are in the "60 percent or more black" category. In other words, there are almost no high status all-black schools, while there are 110 high status all-white schools.

When one searches for integrated schools with a balance of white and black, one finds 51 (8 percent) of the schools with both white and black enrollments in the 21-60 percent range. These are rather evenly spread over the socioeconomic range. Thus, there were 18 essentially middle-class racially balanced schools in these cities in 1968-69. It would be interesting to find out whether this number is changing, and whether these schools are stable, or are simply on the way toward segregation.

The other principal ethnic category of schools consists mainly of Spanish surname students, which are located in categories 14, 15, and 16 of the typology, a total of 38 (6 percent) of the schools. These are evenly divided between schools in the Southwest with a substantial "Chicano" enrollment and schools in New York City with a strong Puerto Rican enrollment. Almost all of these schools are in the lower two socioeconomic categories.

The other discernible ethnic group of schools are those with a preponderance of Orientals--five of these in Honolulu. The west coast cities have one or more schools with a substantial Oriental minority. Over a third of the students in one San Francisco school, which serves the whole city and admits only superior students, are Japanese- or Chinese-Americans.

Change in Socioeconomic and Ethnic Patterns Since 1960

The school principals were asked to supply information for this study on the ethnic composition of their schools for the year 1960. A number of them did not have this information, but the majority were able to supply approximately accurate data. As would be expected, the ethnic schools have all grown at the expense of the non-ethnic white schools. For instance, the number of "81+" and "61-80 percent black" schools has increased by about 30 percent between 1960 and 1968, while the number of Puerto Rican and Spanish-American schools (21+ percent from these ethnic groups) doubled during this period.

Overcrowding. Since there has been a great increase in high school enrollment between 1960 and 1970, it is not surprising to find a considerable amount of overcrowding. Eighteen percent of the large-city high schools reported an excess of 500 or more students above their stated capacity, while 26 percent reported that enrollment was less than the stated capacity. Sixty-one percent reported that they could accommodate less than 60 percent of their students in the auditorium. Overcrowding was least common in the Southwest where 44 percent of the respondents said their schools had enrollments of less than the stated capacity, while the greatest overcrowding occurred in the Northeast where 36 percent of the respondents reported excesses of 500 or more students.

Differentials in Favor of Low SES Schools

One change which is favorable to the low-economic-status schools is a result of the use of federal funds in the War on Poverty through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Office of Economic Opportunity. The student-teacher ratio is now substantially lower in low-status schools than in high-status schools--the percentage of high-status schools with student-teacher ratios of 25:1 or less is about 42, compared with 70 percent of working-class schools. Also, the lower status schools are generally employing more paraprofessionals than the higher status schools--approximately 50 percent of the working-class schools employed 11 or more adult paraprofessionals, against 33 percent of the middle-class schools.

Student Conflict and Activism

The most striking aspect of the large-city high school is conflict among students and between students and faculty. This was reported for 53 percent of the schools during the two-year period from 1967-1969. The conflict took various forms: 29 percent of the schools were disrupted for a half-day or more; there were student strikes in 31 percent of the schools, and picketing or protest marches took place in 27 percent. At least moderate damage was done to the school building or its contents in 30 percent of the schools. Students were supported by adults other than parents in 40 percent of the cases.

The issues or concerns expressed by students as "primary" were: national policy on such matters as the war in Vietnam or poverty (16 percent);* special non-academic provisions for ethnic or minority groups, such as "soul food," a separate lounge for black students, a memorial service for Malcolm X (20 percent); student relationships, such as ethnic cheerleaders or segregated social events (10 percent); the instructional program and process, such as ability grouping, "racist" teachers (18 percent); dress-appearance codes, such as hair length and style, and mini-skirts (43 percent); and speech and press controls on such things as arm-band and button wearing, underground publications (18 percent).

There was considerable regional difference in the extent of conflict, with the highest prevalence in the Northeast, North Central, and Prairie/Western regions, and the least incidence in the Southeast.

As was pointed out in a previous chapter, the greatest incidence of conflict was in the mixed-black-and-white schools, of which 77 percent said they had experienced it. When subgroups in the typology are looked at, it is seen that this phenomenon occurred most often among high-status-mixed schools (89 percent) and predominantly-black-high-status schools (81 percent). Clearly, the incidence of student conflict and activism depended mainly on the presence of black students.

The predominant issue in 10 of the 16 types of schools was student dress. The issue second in perceived importance was that of the curriculum, with demands

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* The base for the percentages given in this paragraph are the 355 schools that reported student conflict in 1967-1969.

for courses such as black studies, Swahili, and sex education. This latter issue topped the list in importance among schools with large black enrollments.

Confrontation between students and some member of the school staff--often the principal--occurred in 45 percent of the schools experiencing some form of conflict. The highest incidence of student/staff conflict was in the mixed-black-and-white schools of below middle-class status. Above-average incidence was also noted in all the predominantly-black categories.

Are the Large-City Schools True Systems?

In the cities with more than 300,000 population, the numbers of schools range from 5 to 92, with a median of 11. It has been noted that the schools show a high degree of concentration of students of one race or one social class in a given school, and consequently the schools of a large city are rather different from each other. In this situation, it might be expected that some degree of specialization to meet conditions surrounding particular schools would develop, with different schools performing different functions. In fact, there is some of this. For example, a number of black schools have introduced Swahili as a foreign language, and a large number of lower-status schools offer courses of interest to students without regard to their having met certain prerequisites.

On the whole, though, the various schools of a city are remarkably similar to each other in terms of the curriculum, except where the school is a vocational school. However, when the various kinds of problems facing the schools of a city are studied, it is clear that there is a wide variation among the schools of a given city as regards the problems they must cope with. Thus, while it appears that the aim is to make the schools of a city as much alike in curriculum as possible, each principal finds himself and his staff facing a set of problems peculiar to that specific school and its situation. He and his staff are obligated to devise ways of accommodating themselves to these somewhat incompatible drives.

It might seem reasonable to expect that school systems would truly become systems in the sense that each school would perform functions that were planned or selected for it from the totality of the functions to be performed by the schools of the city. But this is hardly the case, for there appears to be very little planning that purposefully fits a given school into a broad diversified plan. It is true, though, that various schools or types of schools are treated differently by the central administration in most cities, in such matters as the numbers of teachers and other personnel provided, the student-teacher ratio, and support of certain special programs.

A Look to the Future

If the high schools of a large city were to operate more as an interacting, cooperating system, some or all of the following procedures might be developed.

1. A single experimental high school might be established at a central location to serve students from all over the city who want an unconventional secondary education. This is already being done at the Parkway School in Philadelphia, the downtown Loop High School in Chicago, the new John Dewey

High School in Brooklyn, and the John Adams High School in Portland. Possibly the 30 brilliant students who dropped out of Milwaukee high schools to form their own school might be attracted by such a new venture.

2. Faculty members could be shifted for a semester or a year at a time from one type of school to another, thus providing more racial integration and a more equitable distribution of people of maturity and experience among the various types of schools.

3. Students could divide their attendance among two or more schools. This might be done in terms of special interest or competence. Thus, a student with special talent in art or music might go for one day a week to a school with an especially strong program in this area; a student with a special interest in science might attend a school with a strong program in science for one or two days a week. Also, students studying special vocational subjects such as auto mechanics, electronics, business machines, or practical nursing might go for a half day to a vocational school and the other half day to a general academic school.

4. An open attendance rule could be administered with the aid of a special counselling office so as to encourage some students of the inner-city area to enroll in comprehensive or middle-class schools where they might find more academic stimulation.

5. Where enrollment is growing and financing is critical, one or more large high schools might be constructed on a kind of educational park to draw students from a wide range of socioeconomic and ethnic status.

The major source of doubt about the feasibility of this kind of system-wide program is the question whethr the student would take advantage of this flexibility and enrichment to seek out better educational opportunities for themselves. Or would they choose to stay close to their homes and attend the nearest school, with those of less academic motivation dropping out of school early?

The evidence from other modern countries is that adolescent students move easily over rather long distances to secondary schools of their own choice in the big cities. The "neighborhood high school" hardly exists elsewhere than in the United States.

Contemporary Value Changes and Big-City High Schools

It seems likely that large-city high schools will be especially sensitive to basic value changes which seem to be coming as we move from the industrial society of yesterday to the post-industrial society of tomorrow.

American society is now in the process of changing its major goal from that of productive work to that of using time in ways that maximize human satisfaction and self-realization. Having achieved the distinction of producing the greatest quantity of material goods per worker in the world, we now turn to the more complex task of consuming these goods wisely and balancing work with leisure.

Every American, if he wants it, has more leisure time (time free from work) than his grandfather had. Nobody is forced by iron necessity to work as many hours a week as his grandfather did at the beginning of this century.

This change will probably be reflected in a move away from the instrumental and toward the expressive forms of education. Instrumental education means education for a goal which lies outside and beyond the act of education. For example, the learner studies arithmetic so as to be able to exchange money and to buy and sell things and to become a competent scientist or teacher. Or the learner as a young adult studies in his vocational field so as to get a promotion, or she studies cooking so as to become a better housewife. Instrumental education is thus a kind of investment of time and energy in the expectation of future gain.

Expressive education means education for a goal which lies within the act of learning or is so closely related to it that the act of learning appears to be the goal. For example, the learner studies arithmetic for the pleasure of learning about numbers and quantities. The learning of arithmetic is is own reward. Or the learner as a young adult studies the latest dances so as to enjoy the dances he and his friends go to. He learns to dance "for fun" and not to become a teacher of dancing, or even to make new friends. Expressive education is a kind of consumption of time and energy for present gain.

We may expect a drastic shift in high school curricula which will tend to place the arts and humanities in balance with the sciences and mathematics. Just as the decade of the 60's will go down in educational history as the decade when the instrumental aspects of the high school curriculum were reformed and strengthened, this next decade will come to stand for the strengthening of the expressive aspects of the high school curriculum.

As the curriculum develops, we will come to recognize a new type of successful student--the student with a high expressive element. This person will be somewhat different from the highly instrumental student who is the model of the successful student today.

Some evidence of increasing emphasis on the humanistic subjects can be seen in the information gathered in our research. For instance, in responding to questions about their school goals, principals of high-status-white schools ranked the goal of cultural appreciation (e.g., music, drama, and architecture) seventh, and principals of lower-status-white schools ranked it tenth. But principals of lower-status-black schools ranked this goal fifth. It is likely that lower-status schools in inner cities and upper-middle-class schools differ less in the artistic and musical abilities and interests. It is well-known, of course, that inner-city schools are not at a competitive disadvantage in athletics, which is an expressive activity.

As societal value changes continue, principals and teachers may find it easier to bridge the gulf that exists between youth of different social class and ethnic groups.

A Final Observation

It seems likely that there is more and deeper segregation and separation of high school students of different socioeconomic and ethnic groups today than

there was 10 and 20 years ago. This process could conceivably continue on to the point of separating various groups into different schools or sections within schools. But that hardly seems likely in view of the conscious aims of the nation's social and political leaders to restore the central city and to bring the suburbs into closer interaction with it. The predictable goal for our large-city schools is the greater social integration of all kinds of students, with the development of the high schools of our cities into true systems of schools thus more effectively to pursue this goal.

Part C

Case Reports

Chapter 11.

Detroit Schools: Mirror of a City*

Bounded on the south by the Detroit River and surrounded on its other three sides by suburbs, old and new, Detroit is a city with a population of about 1,500,000 people. Nearly 300,000 of these, or 20 percent, are enrolled in the public schools of the city.

Under the terms of the city charter, all elected officials are chosen on a non-partisan, at-large basis. The nine-member Common Council consists of six whites and three blacks, and, most observers would agree, is divided the same numerically--but not racially--in philosophy, six liberal and three conservative. The incumbent mayor (white) narrowly defeated his opponent (black) in the last mayoral election. Real property is taxed, by state law, at 50 percent of assessed market value. The city government is currently operating at a deficit.

Significant Changes in Detroit

Like most large cities, Detroit in the last 20 years has been wrenched by a number of changes, changes which have had telling effects on the school system and the city alike. Note the following.

1. Between 1950 and 1970 Detroit's population has declined by more than 350,000 people, while at the same time the public schools have gained approximately 65,000 children.

2. In 1950, 27 percent of the population was under 18 years of age. Today it is nearly 35 percent.

3. In 1950, five and one-half percent of the population was 65 years of age and over; today this has risen to 15 percent. Thus, the population under 18 and over 65 increased, while the population between 19 and 64, generally considered the productive part, has decreased.

4. The composition of the population has changed from 16 percent Negro in 1950 to about 40 percent today. Since the Negro population in Detroit averages about 10 years younger than the white, it accounts for a large percentage of school membership.

5. During the same period there has been a great deal of mobility in the community. Many families--white, in particular--have moved to the suburbs. Expressways and urban renewal, moreover, have displaced many citizens in the inner city who are now seeking better homes and schools.

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* This analysis was prepared by Birger Bakke, assistant to the superintendent of the Detroit Public Schools.

6. A more substantial portion of the business and professional leadership now lives in the suburbs and works in the city. Generally speaking, this group is much more effective in bringing about educational and cultural improvement in the areas where it resides than in the city where it works.

The Detroit School District

A Separate Government Entity.

Since 1948, the School District of the City of Detroit, following a change in the state laws, has been an autonomous, fiscally independent governmental entity, which, while coterminous with the boundaries of the city, is completely separated from it legally and operationally. The Board of Education, until a recently passed state law which is to take effect in 1971 (more about it below), consists of seven members elected at large. The present Board comprises four white members and three black.

Despite its fiscal independence, the Board of Education has no taxing power. About 40 percent of its revenues comes in the form of "State Aid," allotted by the Legislature annually on a per-pupil basis; about 50 percent comes from local property taxes; the remainder from federal and miscellaneous sources. Financing the schools is considerably complicated by the fact that under a law passed in the depths of the depression of the 1930's taxing of local property for schools, county government, and libraries is limited to $15.00 per thousand of assessed valuation. For some years now the Detroit schools' share of the $15.00 has been $8.26. Because for more than 20 years these sources have been insufficient, even for the minimal needs of the school system, the Board like many of its counterparts in other Michigan school districts has had to appeal to the voters for voluntary tax increases. Detroit citizens are now taxing themselves an additional $12.50 per thousand for support of the schools. For several years total operating revenues for the school system have averaged well over $200 million, yet for the third straight year it is experiencing a deficit.

Inflation has contributed to this deficit, as might be expected, and so also has the fact that for the past five years the local teachers' union has been the sole bargaining agent between the teachers and the Board of Education. During that time the minimum starting pay for a teacher with a bachelor's degree has gone from $5,500 to $7,616, and increased again in September 1970. During this period, also, practically every employee, including administrators and supervisors, has become affiliated with a union.

To build needed school facilities, the Board of Education is authorized by state law to tax local property, without voter approval, up to 3 percent of the total assessed valuation of the city. This means, then, that since the valuation of Detroit's entire real property is somewhat over $5 billion, the Board is empowered to have issued in bonds, at any one time, a maximum of $50 million. It might be noted at this point that in today's tight money market selling these bonds sometimes presents difficulties. The Board may also, of course, ask voters to approve bonding issues for capital improvements in any amount it judges, but several attempts to do so during the last 10 years have

failed. Michigan, incidentally, is one of a few states in the Union where voting on bond issues is limited to property owners.

Detroiters are now paying a school tax rate, including debt retirement for building bonds, of $22.86 per thousand dollars of assessed valuation. Adding the $24.15 city tax and about $7.00 for county government and libraries means for the taxpayer a total rate of $54.00. The average assessed valuation of Detroit homes is estimated at $6,000. A nagging awareness in the minds of those concerned is the fact that within two years reluctant taxpayers must be asked to renew, or perhaps increase, the present $12.50 voluntary rate.

At the state level, the Governor last year submitted a detailed plan for school tax reform. But because it contains a provision for aid to non-public schools, it has been stalled in the Legislature.

Organization.

Organizationally, the Detroit School District is divided into 21 high school "constellations," each consisting of one comprehensive high school and the junior high and elementary schools whose pupils utimately attend it. These 21 constellations are, in turn, combined to form eight units or "regions," each headed by a regional superintendent.

For nearly 50 years the Detroit schools have operated on a board-adopted 6-3-3 plan. Last spring, however, it voted to return the ninth grade to the senior high school. A lack of needed buildings for junior high programs has resulted in much organizational improvisation by the school administration through the years. Some elementary schools were changed to K-9 schools, some to K-7, and others retained the K-8 plan. In some cases, a ninth grade is housed in the senior high school; in others, not.

Racial Composition of Schools.

In 1961, when the taking of the first racial census was approved, black students totaled 45.8 percent of the city-wide school population; in 1969 it was 61.7 percent. About 40 percent of Detroit's 11,000 teachers are black and about 30 percent of its administrators. All but six of its 320 schools have a biracial faculty; 10 have no black students, 23 no white.

High School Population.

In keeping with the national trend, Detroit finds that the proportion of its students enrolled in high school has steadily grown, until today they number nearly 60,000, or more than 20 percent of its entire membership. All high schools are accredited by the North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges, and all are integrated, ranging from six percent black in one of the outer-area schools to 100 percent in one located in the inner city. Eight of the high schools have black principals, two of whom are women. Eleven of the comprehensive high schools are located in the old, central part of the city. Of these, three are new; the other eight range in age from 34 to 58 years. These 11 have a dispro-

portionately large number of new teachers with fewer than five years experience and relatively few experienced ones at the maximum salary level, which takes 11 years to reach.

Integration Process.

Integration in the Detroit high schools has improved significantly in recent years for three reasons: change of junior high feeder patterns, population movement, and the "open school" policy. This latter procedure provides an opportunity for students throughout the entire city to attend any school which has been declared "open" because of unused capacity. A modification of this policy in recent years stipulates that, in order to receive approval for a transfer to one of these schools, the student must improve its racial balance; that is, transfers to predominantly white schools are granted only to blacks, and vice versa. Once a student is enrolled in an open school, he automatically then continues in its feeder pattern. In all cases, the 3,500 students who choose this option must provide their own transportation.

Several years ago when there was a substantial change in the racial composition of neighborhoods in the area of three high schools, a special program called the "Tri-Area Integration Project" was devised in an effort to maintain racial balance in them. Funded by a special state grant, it attempted to enrich the educational program of the schools and thus encourage stability in the neighborhoods. But the program, which was funded for only one year, and which in consequence was not really tested, had to be abandoned.

High School Curriculum.

In Michigan the state mandates only two curriculum requirements: civics and instruction in alcohol and drug abuse. Beyond these, courses of studies for students are tailored in accordance with their individual needs. In general, the aim of the high school is to prepare the student either for further studies or for direct entry into the world of work.

All Detroit high schools conduct extensive cooperative education programs in office training, distributive education, and trade and industry. Last year, the 3,773 students participating earned a total of $3,407,000. In addition, 6,800 were enrolled in federally funded work adjustment programs and earned $1,640,000. About half the co-op students are white, half black. This is the result in part of the efforts of our Department of Equal Employment Opportunities and Contract Relations, which not only reviews the equal employment practices of all firms doing business with the Detroit Public Schools, but which does the same for the co-op programs also.

Assistance Programs.

In order to increase college opportunities for all students, high schools in recent years have been encouraged to intensify scholarship programs. The scholarships and loans granted high school graduates last year totaled $4,041,000. Leading the city in this respect was an all-black, inner city school with $642,243 in scholarships for 183 graduates.

Some high schools have also received considerable assistance from private organizations, each of which has "adopted" a school with special needs. Among these organizations are two public utilities, an automobile manufacturer, a medical society, and an insurance company. The adopted schools receive employment counseling, work training and experience, equipment, and, in one case, free breakfast.

Student Unrest.

The general student unrest prevalent today has not by-passed Detroit high schools. Several in the past few years have been beset by problems of varying degrees. In some instances, these have been sparked by a rapid change in racial composition; in others, by such student demands as approval to fly the black national flag or to rename a school after black heroes such as Malcolm X.

Problems of this kind, as well as rising incidents of vandalism and thefts, led the school system to establish a security department. Headed by a retired Police Department inspector, it has a force of 20 men, soon to be expanded. In addition, consultations with Policy Department officials have been held to consider how the force's services can best be used.

The underlying, basic problem of the high schools, however, is an educational one: lack of achievement on the part of many students, especially those in the center city schools. Despite such efforts for underachievers as summer scholarships, tutoring programs, reorganization of the guidance program, and biracial instructional material, standardized test scores show that the city-wide average is well below national norms.

The shortcomings and inadequacies of all urban education in general, and Detroit in particular, were dramatically highlighted on April 7, 1966, when more than 2,000 students of Northern High School, an all-black, inner-city school, walked out of their classes. They were protesting, not the firing of a popular coach or teacher or the quality of food in the lunchroom, but what they considered the inferior educational program of their school. The reaction of staff, the Board of Education, and, indeed, the city at large, was one of astonishment and consternation. Members of the Board met with faculty representatives of the school, teachers' union officials, and the students themselves to get at the root of the matter.

A Citizens' Study Commission

Following these meetings, the Board decided to appoint a citizens' study commission to include not only the Northern situation in its review, but all 22 of Detroit's high schools. (Cass Technical, a specialized school, was included.)

A total of 51 citizens, representing the leadership of every stratum of the community, made up the commission. After preliminary study, it was decided to expand the study further by appointing individual committees consisting of both area residents and students for each of the high schools, bringing the total

number of people involved to more than 500. The commission was provided with a director and an assistant, as well as secretarial help and space in the central offices.

During the next two years, each of the school committees submitted findings and recommendations to the commission. The commission, at the end of this period, presented to the Board a 353-page document containing 156 recommendations. Divided into six parts, the report contained findings and recommendations on curriculum, personnel, finance, school-community relations, and the relationship between the central administration and the schools.

The Board of Education, then, in public meetings acted upon the recommendations, item by item, approving most, rejecting some, and deferring others for additional study. Those approved are in the process of being implemented. The total cost of implementing the recommendations would be $13,773,000 annually, just about equal to the deficit incurred during the last school year.

"All Children Are Educable"

The publicly stated premise of the present administration is that all children are educable; that lack of motivation, poverty, and physical handicaps must serve, not as explanations for shortcomings of the schools, but as guidelines for developing skills, attitudes, and programs necessary for the success of each student. Stressing the deficits of boys and girls must cease and recognition accorded the many strengths they have. Yet, despite these noble aims Detroit, in company with numerous other school systems, is failing to provide quality education for many of its children, particularly the poor and disadvantaged. Where does the fault lie?

Burdensome Concomitants of Poverty

The schools, to be sure, must accept their share of the blame, but in too many quarters they are being asked to compensate, not merely for their own shortcomings, but for those of the rest of society as well. Surely the child who comes from a disadvantaged home brings with him to school not only his pencils and his books, but the burden of his environment as well. And this environment, in many sections of large urban centers such as the Detroit of today, is indeed a burden.

Consider, for example, the sobering statistics on life and death compiled by the Detroit Department of Health not long ago. In that area generally referred to as the "inner city," there were eight times as many cases of tuberculosis as in the periphery; three times as much cirrhosis of the liver; four times as many incidents of pneumonia and influenza; two to three times the number of deaths due to violence. These statistics show also that 63 percent of premature births were in black families and that infant mortality in the center city was 45 for every 1,000 births as compared to 12 in the outer areas. This last figure is especially significant for educators since some health authorities contend that where infant mortality reaches the figure of 30 per 1,000, there is among the number who do survive an increasing rate of neurological defects, which the average teacher does not recognize, but which require specialized sources for success in learning.

These staggering burdens are, of course, concomitants of poverty. Whereas annual income averages over $8,000 in the middle class, outer fringes of the city (where families tend to be small), in the heart of the city (where families tend to be large) the average is under $5,000. More than 84 percent of Detroit's welfare cases are located in the inner city; 75 percent of ADC families. High mobility, too, is a common burden for the inner city child, with many families commonly moving several times during the school year. Last year the city-wide rate of mobility ranged from nine percent in a periphery school to an almost unbelievable rate of 112 percent in one in the center city.

Achievement test data reflect family income levels as can be seen in Figure 11:1.

One of the arresting discoveries of the Coleman report is the fact that disadvantaged pupils are more dependent on the quality of their schooling for their development than are other pupils. What resources, then, do the Detroit Public Schools have for the nearly 100,000 of its pupils so classified?

While the vast majority of Detroit's teachers are hardworking, dedicated professionals, they labor in many cases under handicaps of large class sizes, limited availability of instructional materials and supplies, and antiquated or incomplete school buildings.

Budget problems are compounded by the necessity to include such items as $500,000 a year for free lunches for 12,000 indigents (50,000 need them), $425,000 for their books and transportation. In contrast, the entire annual appropriation for textbooks is about two million dollars in our deficit budget.

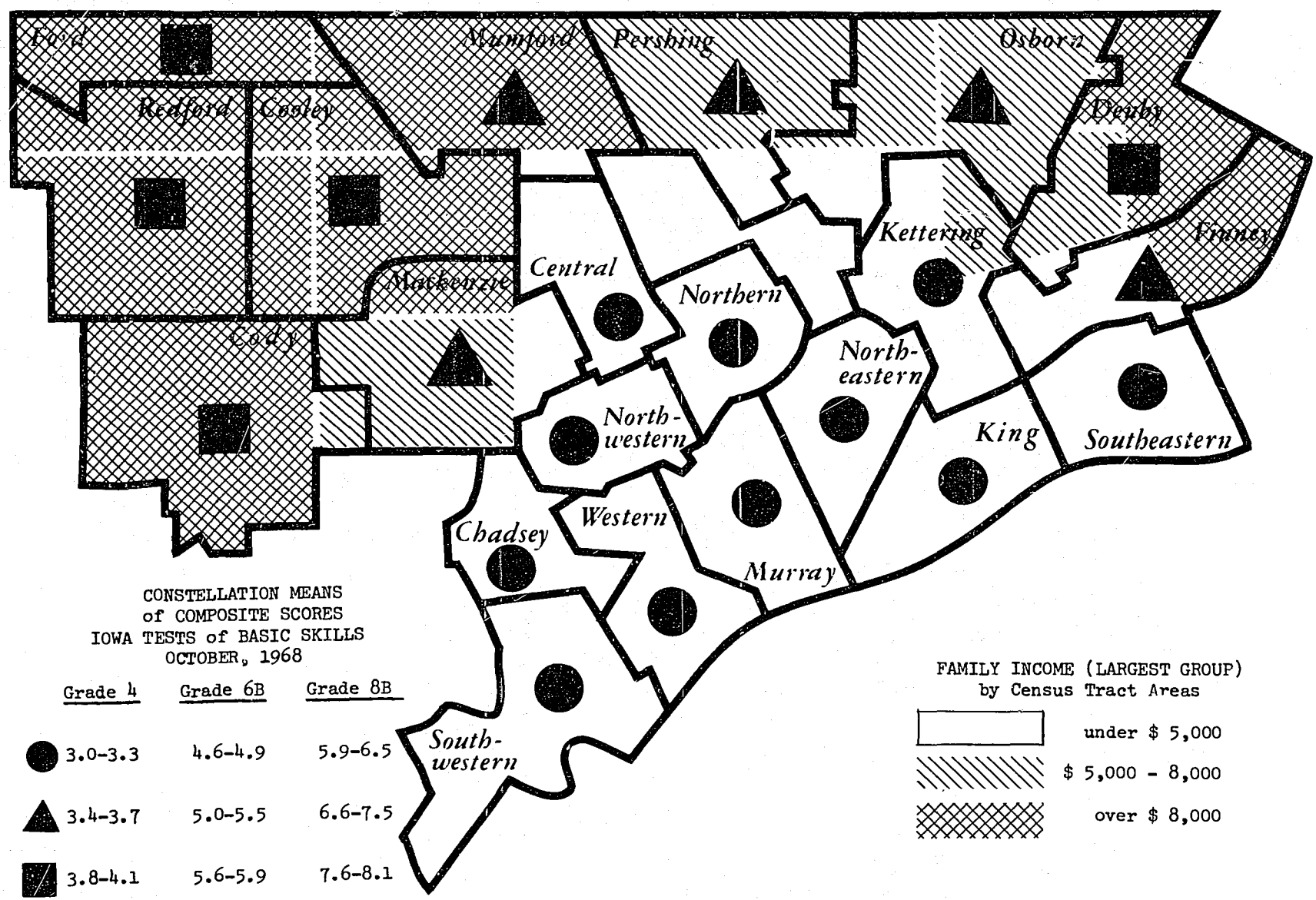
Money, our detractors are fond of saying, is not the total answer to solving problems of public education, but education means services, professional services, which take money to provide. Detroit, with all its special problems, spends three to four hundred dollars less per pupil annually than does its more affluent surrounding communities. To carry the comparison further, to attain the same number of professional employees per 1,000 pupils as the state average, Detroit would need 1,200 additional staff members and 1,000 new classrooms to house them and their classes. Today's costs, in both salaries and building construction, make this an unlikely attainment.

Including the aforementioned high school study commission, the Detroit Board of Education since 1957 has had at least five major citizens' advisory committees involving the community in school operations on a city-wide and high school constellation level. In addition, there are project advisory committees to assist the Board in planning new schools and elected boards of citizens for both small and large federal projects. A few of these latter go well beyond the advisory function, in some instances having the authority to interview and select principals from lists of qualified candidates. The development of these community relationships has gone through many rough periods, but gradually our ability to share responsibilities has improved. Thus, when there were national stirrings towards decentralization in the large cities, Detroit had several years' experience to draw upon.

Figure 11-1

Detroit Public Schools

SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT CLUSTERED FOR HIGH SCHOOL DISTRICTS,
REFLECTING THE SOCIOECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE CITY



Actions of State Legislature Affect Schools

More than two years ago special staff committees studied the new movement; and the Board of Education, in both public and executive sessions, struggled with it. But before the Board could act on a program, the Michigan State Legislature in August 1969 enacted a statute, Michigan Public Act 244, which requires the Detroit Board of Education to divide its district into not less than seven, nor more than 11, regional school districts with not more than 50,000 nor fewer than 25,000 students in each district. Each is to elect its own board as well as one member to sit with the central board; each is to operate in accordance with "guidelines" promulgated by the Central Board. In preparation for compliance with the new legislation, the Board held nine public hearings on how the school district should be divided.

It would be fair to summarize these by stating that the majority of white citizens who participated were opposed to decentralization while the blacks were for it--but with stronger demands for community control. Both groups, however, seemed to concur that the city be divided in such a manner that the newly established regions would be racially segregated, thus ensuring that the elected regional boards would represent the ethnic composition of the community.

On April 7, 1970, the Board of Education by a 4 to 2 vote approved a plan dividing the city into seven regional districts. Within this plan was included a recommendation from the Superintendent to change the feeder patterns of 18 junior high schools, which over a period of three years would achieve greater integration for 12 senior high schools. This would be accomplished by changing the boundary lines between each of six pairs of adjacent high schools to run east and west, instead of north and south. The plan has the support of the Michigan Civil Rights Commission, the Detroit Commission on Community Relations, the NAACP, the Urban League, and the Metropolitan Detroit Council of Churches. The plan is illustrated in Figure 11:2. Its expected consequences for integration are illustrated by the data for four high schools (See Table 11:1).

Table 11:1. Effects over a Three-Year Period of Boundary Changes on Racial Composition of Affected High Schools

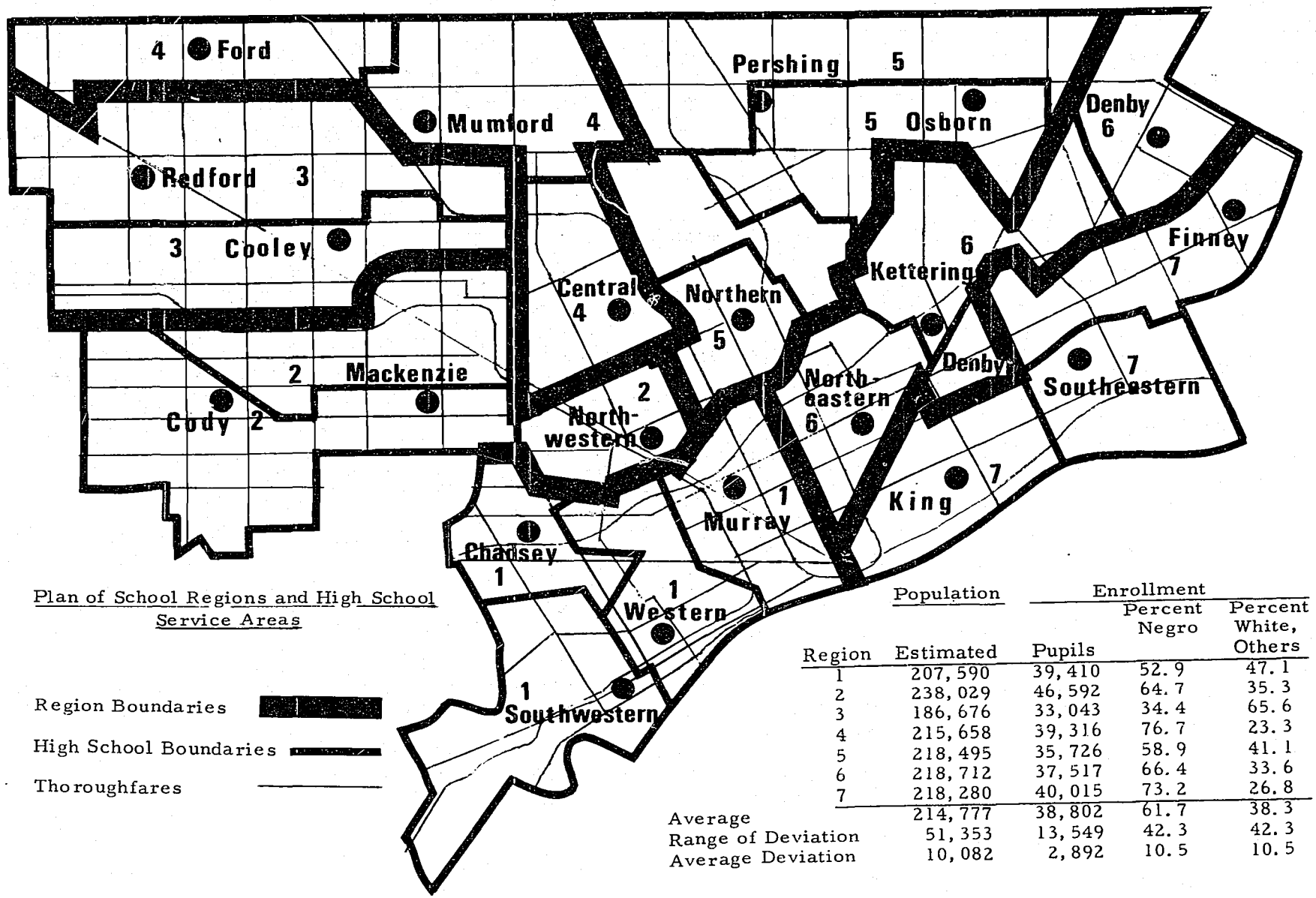
Year	Percentage of Black Students Before/After Change			
	Region 2		*Region 5*	
	Cody	Mackenzie	Pershing	Osborn
1969	2.1/2.1	91.6/91.6	57.5/57.5	14.1/14.1
1970	3.3/9.7	90.7/83.8	58.3/50.9	17.5/22.6
1971	4.4/20.9	90.6/78.9	59.5/46.5	21.7/32.7
1972	5.7/31.3	89.3/69.9	58.0/41.8	27.3/45.8

Fig. 2

Detroit Public Schools

PROPOSED NEW HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AREAS

TO PROMOTE RACIAL INTEGRATION--1970



Plan of School Regions and High School Service Areas

Region Boundaries

High School Boundaries

Thoroughfares

Region	Population Estimated	Enrollment Pupils	Percent Negro	Percent White, Others
1	207,590	39,410	52.9	47.1
2	238,029	46,592	64.7	35.3
3	186,676	33,043	34.4	65.6
4	215,658	39,316	76.7	23.3
5	218,495	35,726	58.9	41.1
6	218,712	37,517	66.4	33.6
7	218,280	40,015	73.2	26.8
Average	214,777	38,802	61.7	38.3
Range of Deviation	51,353	13,549	42.3	42.3
Average Deviation	10,082	2,892	10.5	10.5

In presenting his recommendation, the Superintendent said, in part,

As an educator I support the plan because I believe that it is educationally, morally, and legally sound. Most of the research and scholarship I respect, both by blacks and by whites, supports the view that integration--racial, religious, and economic--has a positive effect on the learning of all children in a pluralistic society.

While the new plan was in actuality a modest beginning towards integration, affecting only 3,200 students starting in September 1970 and 3,200 additional in each of the following two years, the white community affected by the plan erupted in a burst of both individual and organized opposition. The Board of Education was flooded with messages of strong protest, and, on April 9, only two days after the Board's action, the State House of Representatives amended Public Act 244 by voting that there should be no fewer than 11 regions, that high school boundaries should be drawn so that each student attend the high school nearest his home, and that the total plan be placed before the city's voters for a referendum. Then on the following day the State Senate repealed 244, and the two bills, as of this writing, are in committee. Despite the endorsement of then U.S. Commissioner James Allen and of Father Theodore Hesburgh, head of the United States Civil Rights Commission, added to the local ones mentioned above, a recall movement was started against the four Board members who voted for the plan, and within two months the requisite 125,000 signatures had been filed with the election committee.

In the meantime (June 1970), the Board and the staff are going ahead with preparations for implementation of the April 7 plan.*

Conclusions

The chronicle of problems and frustrations recounted above should not be regarded as a passive defense of the status quo. Four years of unremitting effort by an enlightened Board of Education and administration, unyieldingly committed to a policy of quality, integrated education, have brought encouraging signs. Some services to children, for example, have improved as the result of the reorientation of staff, newly developed school practices, addition of specialized staff, and the reduction of class size in certain areas. And whereas reading scores, probably the most important index of educational growth, have been dropping annually for some time, the October 1969 standardized test scores for grade 4 show for the first time a slight gain city-wide, and a more substantial one in the schools where methods were revised and where federal and state compensatory

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* Since the preparation of this case study, a new law, superseding Act 244, was signed by the Governor, to be effective January 1, 1971. It stipulates that the Detroit School District shall be divided into eight regions; that each shall elect a five-member regional board, the member receiving the most votes to sit with the central board; that the central board shall have only five at-large members, who, added to the eight regional representatives, will thus form a 13-member central board. The law empowers the Legislature to establish region boundaries, and it eliminates the integration aspect of the April 7 plan.

funds were concentrated. Fifteen of this latter group, the lowest in the city in 1968, showed an average gain in reading of 2.7 months, as compared with the city-wide average of one month.

Growing community and parent interest is another encouraging sign, for an increasingly large number of parents in the city, contrary to popular opinion, are concerned about the quality of education for their children. Their aspirations are high; they see in education the gateway to the future for their youngsters and the hope for their well-being.

Progress, admittedly, is insufficient and sometimes agonizingly slow; but rectifying the neglect and injustices of decades cannot be achieved overnight.

In the long pull, Detroit, in its attempt to provide quality education for its young people, shares with several score other large cities a task, the results of which may well determine the future not only of public schools, but of the city itself. The task is formidable, but not hopeless. If all of us--the schools and society together--agree that a problem exists, if we concur that it cannot be resolved independently at the local level, and if we have faith in one another's mutual concern for the improvement and preservation of our nation, then we can find the solutions. That is, if we--all of us--have the will.

Chapter 12.

Schools in Metropolitan Kansas City*

The motivation to develop a typology of big-city high schools based on the socioeconomic and ethnic characteristics of their students derives from the presupposition that these characteristics are associated with the institutional patterns and the types of problems that tend to occur most frequently in differing types of schools. That assumption is amply documented in other sections of this report on the results of the questionnaire which the NASSP administered in public central city high schools in the 44 largest American cities.

It should be kept in mind, however, that the public high schools of a big city (hereinafter used interchangeably with the term "central city") constitute only a part of the secondary education system of a metropolitan area, which also includes suburban high schools, private and parochial high schools, and high schools in urban-rural fringe areas outside the central city and its urbanized suburbs.

Are institutional and student characteristics of high schools outside the public central city system similar to those of public high schools in the city? Given similar socioeconomic and ethnic composition, are non-central city schools different in important ways from central city high schools? What are the major implications of such similarities and differences? The purpose of this paper is to explore these questions by comparing central city high schools with other high schools in the secondary education system of the Kansas City Metropolitan area.

Data for these comparisons have been drawn from several studies conducted by the Center for the Study of Metropolitan Problems in Education at the University of Missouri - Kansas City, particularly a study of the college plans of high school seniors which was conducted three years ago. A comparable profile of the metropolitan secondary education system in the Greater Kansas City Region as of 1970 undoubtedly would be nearly identical in all pertinent respects. On the other hand, it also should be noted that since the data were obtained from seniors, and since a higher proportion of students in the central city are low-status students who presumably drop out of school before the twelfth grade, the material presented herein tends to minimize differences between public central city high schools and other high schools in the metropolitan education system of Greater Kansas City.

Problems and Definitions in Classifying the Sample

Because the Kansas City Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA)** is in many respects typical of other metropolitan areas, particularly those between

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* This report was prepared by Daniel U. Levine, director of the Center for the Study of Metropolitan Problems in Education, University of Missouri - Kansas City

** As defined officially by the Census Bureau, a standard metropolitan statistical area consists of a central city (or central cities) of 50,000 or more population with its surrounding county and all contiguous counties that are functionally interdependent with the central city.

one and two million in population, it is a logical region to examine in order to derive implications for SMSA's in general. For example, only once since 1910 have decennial census figures shown the proportion of whites residing within as compared with outside the central city in the Kansas City SMSA to be more than five percentage points different from equivalent figures for all SMSA's of one to three million in population. Similarly, the proportion of Negroes in the central city population in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area as of 1968 (estimates vary from 22 to 25 percent) was very close to the comparable figure of 25 percent which the U.S. Census Bureau used in estimating the percentage of Negroes in central cities of all metropolitan areas of one million or more population in that year. In 1960, the population of Kansas City, Missouri, and Kansas City Kansas, was 49 percent of the total SMSA population, again very close to the comparable figure of 50 percent for all metropolitan areas of one million or more population.

With respect to schools, however, the Kansas City Metropolitan Area presents some special problems for metropolitan studies in which distinctions are made between the central city and the suburbs. The Kansas City, Missouri, public school district, for one thing, probably is as little coterminous with the central city as in any metropolitan area in the country. Partly as a result of large land annexations carried out between 1940 and 1960, 16 different public school districts are located entirely or partly within the city limits. To complicate matters further, parts of several separate municipalities (e.g., Independence) are located within the Kansas City, Missouri, public school district.

The Kansas-Missouri state line which lies very nearly at the north-south axis of the metropolitan area and the Missouri River which lies just to the north of the central business district also complicate the situation with regard to school district organization. If it were not for the state line, the industrial city of Kansas City, Kansas, which is immediately west of Kansas City, Missouri, might very well have developed as part of the same central city. Stated differently, these twin central cities are more comparable demographically and socially to the single central cities around which most other SMSA's formed than to any combination of a central city, older satellite city, and/or newer suburban city.

In addition, much of the well-established industry of the Kansas City SMSA is north of the Missouri River, in the city of North Kansas City; in at least some other SMSA's, particularly those of less than 2 million, some of this industry and its accompanying population base probably would lie within the central city.

Complications of this nature make it difficult to distinguish between central city and non-central city schools in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area's education system. For many general purposes, it is easy and useful to follow official practice and say that schools in the Kansas City, Missouri, public school district are the central city schools and all others are non-central city. But for studies relating the Kansas City Metropolitan Area to other SMSA's, this practice may obscure as much as it reveals. Any other alternative, however, depends more on informed judgment than on validated methods for making reliable distinctions between central city and non-central city schools. Since the categories depend so much on semantic custom, historical idiosyncrasies, and geographic accident, there are no such methods.

Our knowledge of the Kansas City Metropolitan Area and other metropolitan areas led us to make the following decisions in distinguishing between central city and non-central city high schools.

1. Schools in both Kansas Cities, including one in a relatively "new" middle-class community which has been annexed to Kansas City, Kansas, only within the past five years, were classified as central city schools.

2. Two high schools in separate districts which are within Kansas City, Missouri, and are in relatively densely populated communities contiguous with similar communities in the Kansas City public school district also were classified as central city, primarily because we judged that such communities would be part of the central city district in most other SMSA's.

3. The two high schools in North Kansas City were not classified as central city, primarily because we believe that the type of communities in which they are located would as frequently lie outside as inside the central city in other SMSA's. Considered together, these decisions produce central city/non-central city samples which we believe are most representative of the current situation and general trends in metropolitan areas elsewhere.

Still another problem in classifying the schools of a metropolitan area is to distinguish between schools in (a) urbanized areas outside the central city and (b) schools in the urban-rural, semi-rural, and rural areas which are part of metropolitan counties in an SMSA but are not now or not yet deeply involved in the processes of urbanization and metropolitanization. In this study we will call (a) "suburban" schools and will refer to the latter, (b), as "small schools. Suburban schools, following this usage, are mostly in incorporated municipalities and townships in urbanized areas outside the central city, while small schools are mostly in unincorporated areas and small towns which are as much or more rural as urban. But how does one actually distinguish between the two types? It would be possible to devise complicated computational methods utilizing census tract data to make such distinctions, but for our purposes it was sufficient somewhat arbitrarily to classify high schools in districts with only one high school and with less than 100 students in their graduating classes as small schools and to consider all other non-central city high schools as suburban schools.

The Kansas City Sample

The big city or "central city" group of schools identified in the manner just described included 10 senior high schools in the Kansas City, Missouri, public school district, five senior high schools in the Kansas City, Kansas, public school district, and two senior high schools in communities which are part of the city of Kansas City but have their own independent school districts.

The "suburban" group of schools includes 22 senior high schools which had more than 100 seniors in their graduating classes in 1967 or 1968 (depending on when the data were collected) and which are located in 16 public school districts in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area.

The group of "small" schools includes 25 high schools which are located in districts with only one high school and which had less than 100 students in their graduating classes in 1967 or 1968.

In addition, 10 parochial high schools within the two diocesan school systems which serve urbanized parts of the Kansas City SMSA also are included as a separate group.

Altogether, then, 74 high schools located in 45 public school districts and 2 parochial districts in Kansas and Missouri were classified into four categories representing the differing types of high schools in a metropolitan system of education. The 45 public school districts service 43 of the SMSA's 137 townships and municipalities, including all the larger towns and cities in the metropolitan area. In 1969, there were 96 public school districts in the seven-county Kansas City Metropolitan Area. Obviously, our sample does not include all the high schools in the educational system in Greater Kansas City. But since all the districts not included are small rural or semi-rural districts, we are confident that the 74 schools designated above enrolled at least 90 percent and probably over 95 percent of all the high school students in the Kansas City SMSA as of 1968.

Most of the data reported in the following pages were collected as part of a study of the college aspirations of graduating seniors at 55 of the 74 schools designated above. In several places additional data available from other sources and studies have been utilized in drawing up this profile of central city and other types of high schools in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area. The number of schools or students used in each comparison is shown in the appropriate table or figure discussed in the text.

Distribution Adjusted to NASSP Categories

Since we did not have NASSP questionnaire data on most of the high schools in the metropolitan area (the instrument was administered at only 10 high schools in the Kansas City, Missouri, district), we had to utilize other data to determine socioeconomic-ethnic classifications. Family-background information which was available on seniors in 56 schools and was utilized for this purpose included data showing Socio-Economic Ratio (SER),* the percent of fathers who had completed at least some college, and the percent of fathers who were in managerial and professional occupations or were in factory, service (waitress, barber, etc.), or farm laborer jobs, respectively. The remaining 18 schools were classified on the basis of other information available to us concerning the types of communities in which they were located and the ways in which their student bodies resemble or differ from those in the 55 schools for which data had been collected from graduating seniors.

For purposes of comparability with central city schools in the NASSP study, it proved much more useful to collapse the upper-middle-class category and the middle-class category as used in the NASSP study into a single category titled

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* The SER is derived from a formula developed by Havighurst which utilizes census data on occupations to show the ratio of white collar to blue collar workers in a given population. A high ratio indicates high socioeconomic status and a low ratio indicates low status. See Robert J. Havighurst, *The Public Schools of Chicago* (Chicago: Board of Education, 1964), pp. 496-497.

middle-class schools than to retain two distinct middle-class socioeconomic categories. Accordingly, our analysis in the remainder of this paper will deal only with the three socioeconomic categories: middle-class schools, combined middle- and working-class schools, and working-class schools.

Schools were categorized according to the criteria scores shown in Table 12:1. Some adaptations had to be made, since some borderline schools were in one category on one criterion, such as SER, and in a contiguous category on another criterion, such as percent of fathers with a college education.

The three groups of schools formed discrete, easily distinguishable clusters. Schools next were grouped into the racial-ethnic categories. Since most schools were predominantly white or predominantly black and none had a large Spanish-American group, there was very little uncertainty in the classification. Three of the Kansas City, Missouri, high schools were shifted from the categories they occupied in the NASSP study on the basis of more recent (1969-70) enrollment figures.

Findings

Having classified high schools in the Kansas City metropolitan education system within the NASSP categories, we can make comparisons between central city and non-central city schools. Table 12:2 shows the distribution within NASSP socioeconomic categories for each of the four types of school districts in our sample. Table 12:3 shows the proportions of students in our four metropolitan types of schools who attend schools classified by NASSP socioeconomic category. Inspection of these figures and data strikingly indicate that:

1. Students in central city and small high schools are much more likely to be enrolled in working-class schools than are students in suburban or parochial schools. For example, 30 percent of the central city students as compared with three percent of the suburban students attend working-class schools. Fifty-two percent of the small schools but only 10 percent of the parochial schools are working class schools. Because enrollment in the small working-class schools is much lower than in the central city working-class schools, 65 percent of the 2,443 students who attend working-class schools in our metropolitan sample are in the central city.

2. Although a slightly higher percentage of the central city schools than the suburban schools are middle-class schools, a slightly higher percentage of suburban students than central city students attend middle-class schools (42 percent and 40 percent, respectively).* Fifty percent of the 5,662

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* Because several suburban and semi-suburban areas in the Kansas City area historically have had an unusually heavy concentration of working-class families, the Kansas City Metropolitan Area probably is less socioeconomically stratified than most other metropolitan areas of more than a million population outside the South. This may help account for the fact that racial segregation in the metropolitan area is nearly total in the sense that only an insignificant number of Negroes and other minority groups live outside the central cities.

Table 12:1. Ranges of Data on Family Background of Students in Schools Classified by Socioeconomic Type

	Middle Class*	Combined Middle and Working Class	Working Class
Percent of Fathers with College Education	44% or more	20-43%	19% or less
Percent of Fathers in Managerial and Professional Occupations	20% or more	10-19%	10% or less
Percent of Fathers in Manual Occupations	19% or less	20-40%	41% or more
No. of Schools for Which These Data were Available	13	24	19
No. of Schools Classified in These Categories	17	34	23

* These socioeconomic categories are defined by SER values as follows:

Middle Class, 0.43 or more

Middle/Working Class, 0.26-0.42

Working Class, 0.25 or less

Table 12:2. Percentages of Schools in NASSP Socioeconomic Categories by School District Type

Type of School	Middle Class	Combined Lower-Middle/ Working Class	Working Class
Central City (n = 17)	29%	29%	41%
Suburban (n = 22)	27	64	09
Small (n = 25)	04	44	52
Parochial (n - 10)	50	40	10

Table 12:3. Percentages of Seniors in Schools in NASSP Socioeconomic Categories by School District Type

Type of School	Middle Class	Combined Lower-Middle/ Working Class	Working Class
Central City (n = 5254)	40%	29%	30%
Suburban (n = 7027)	42	56	03
Small (n = 1029)	02	47	51
Parochial (n = 1325)	54	40	06

students enrolled in middle-class schools in our metropolitan sample were in suburban school districts. In addition, the suburban middle-class schools were more uniformly middle class in student composition than were the central city middle-class schools (see SER scores in Table 12:5).

3. Racial and ethnic minorities are overwhelmingly located in the central city. In the Kansas City Metropolitan Area, only 6 of the 17 central city high schools have student bodies which are 80% or more non-ethnic white. By way of contrast, to our knowledge every one of the 47 suburban and small schools in our sample of metropolitan high schools has at least this high a preponderance of non-ethnic whites. Needless to say, the parochial schools which are racially integrated also draw their students primarily from the central city.

It should be noted that the extent to which racial and ethnic minority students are segregated within the central city part of the metropolitan education system probably is greater in Kansas City than in most other metropolitan areas. On the east and west coasts and in the largest and oldest metropolitan areas where black

migration to the suburbs generally has been more pronounced, suburban schools occasionally have black enrollments of 20 percent or more. In the south, court-ordered desegregation and pockets of black population outside the central cities frequently result in black enrollments of 20 percent or more in suburban schools. In the Kansas City Metropolitan Area, where none of these conditions has been present, whatever racial integration exists in public secondary schools outside the central city is purely token.

Additional comparative data on the background of students in differing types of schools were obtained by taking the scores for Socio-Economic Ratio (SER) and percent of parents with some college or more (PC) for each school on which these figures were available and assigning each score a weight equivalent to the proportion of graduating seniors within metropolitan-classification categories. For example, a suburban school with 473 students was assigned a weight of .12 in determining the weighted average SER of schools in our suburban subsample. (473 ÷ 3984, the total number of students in suburban schools for which SER data were available) Weighted average SER and PC scores for the four types of metropolitan high schools are shown in Table 12:4. In general, these data indicate that students in suburban schools are from higher status families as measured by occupation and education of the father than are students in the central city schools. The lowest average SER score is found in the small-school category. The lowest PC score is found among seniors in the central city.

Because social status and parental education are known to be associated with aspirations and achievement in the schools, one can predict that the central city schools and the small schools will have the lowest proportions of their seniors planning to attend college. As shown in Table 12:4 smaller proportions of seniors in the central city and the small schools in our sample are planning to attend college than is the case in the suburban and parochial schools.

The association between parental education and family social status on the one hand and percentage of seniors planning to attend college on the other is shown in Table 12:5, which presents the weighted SER and PC scores and also the percentage of seniors planning to attend college for schools classified both by school district type and socioeconomic category. In general, the proportion of seniors planning to attend college corresponds closely with the SER and PC scores, regardless of where high schools are located in the metropolitan area. In the middle-class schools, 66 percent or more plan to attend college, as compared with 53 to 58 percent in the combined lower-middle and working-class schools, and 35 to 49 percent in the working-class schools. The one exception to this pattern is that only 47 percent of the seniors in the small combined lower-middle and working class schools said they planned to attend college. It is interesting to note that the percentage of students in the suburban middle-class schools who plan to attend college is not much greater than the corresponding percentages in central city and parochial middle-class schools, even though the SER and PC scores are greater for the former type than for the latter two types. These data suggest that once a high school becomes predominantly middle class in student composition, subsequent increases in middle-class enrollment may have little additional effect in stimulating higher achievement and aspirations in the student body as a whole.

Other items on the questionnaire enable us to explore additional similarities and differences between central city schools and other types of high schools in the metropolitan area. While data of this nature frequently are somewhat diffi-

Table 12:4. Weighted Average SER and PC Scores and Percent of Seniors Planning to Attend College by School District Type

Type of School	SER	No. of Schools	PC	No. of Schools	Percent Planning College	No. of Schools
Central City	0.46	12	20	12	53%	12
Suburban	1.28	15	45	20	65	16
Small	0.26	20	32	20	42	20
Parochial	0.50	8	35	8	61	8
Total Sample	0.80	55	39	60	60	56

SER = Socio-Economic Ratio.

PC = Percent of fathers who completed at least some college.

No. of Schools = No. of schools included in the computations shown at left.

Table 12:5. Weighted Average SER and PC Scores and Percent of Seniors Planning to Attend College by School District Type and Socioeconomic Category

Type of School	Middle Class			Combined Lower-Middle/ Working Class			Working Class		
	SER	PC	Percent College	SER	PC	Percent College	SER	PC	Percent College
Central	118	58	73	33	32	53	13	19	49
Suburban	191	62	72	33	35	57	19	18	45
Small	84	26	66	39	25	47	13	15	37
Parochial	90	52	70	22	28	58	15	14	35

Percent College = Percent of graduating seniors planning to attend college.

cult to interpret and should not be treated simplistically, they often provide clues as to the kinds of things which may be happening in differing types of schools and school districts.

With regard to aspirations and intentions to attend college, direct parental encouragement and pressure to prepare for college is known to be an important influence on student attitudes and behaviors. To examine this variable, we asked students to respond to the item, "How would your parents feel about your going to college?" The five response categories were:

"They have always expected me to go."

"They want me to go."

"They don't want me to go, or would rather I didn't."

"They refuse to consider it."

The proportions of respondents who chose the latter three categories by school district type and socioeconomic-ethnic categories are shown in Table 10:6.*

The major pattern that stands out in Table 12:6 is the predictably close relationship between socioeconomic status and parental encouragement to attend college. Seniors in lower-status schools, regardless of where these are located in the metropolitan area, report less parental pressure to attend college than do seniors in higher-status schools. There is no consistent difference cutting across social-class lines between central city and suburban schools. As might have been expected, seniors in small rural-type schools apparently receive less encouragement to attend college than do public school seniors in more urbanized communities. The pattern for parochial seniors is mixed, with seniors in combined lower-middle and working-class parochial schools reporting relatively more parental encouragement but with seniors in working-class parochial schools reporting relatively less than is the case in central city and suburban counterpart schools. Seniors in predominantly-black-working-class schools report relatively more parental encouragement than do seniors in predominantly-white-working-class schools. Although it is possible that some or much of this latter difference may be due to earlier dropping-out of black students who receive relatively little parental encouragement, other data available to us led us to believe that black working class families probably are more supportive of their children's college attendance aspirations, on the average, than are white working class families.

Additional data on students' self-reported attitudes and perceptions were obtained in response to the items, "In school I have sometimes been sent to the principal for 'goofing off' in class"; "My parents have often objected to the kinds of people I go around with"; "I am sure I get a raw deal from life"; and "I would have been more successful if people had given me a fair chance." The proportions of seniors who responded "yes" to these items are shown in Tables 12:7 through 12:10, respectively.

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* In order to separate the effects of socioeconomic class and race, Table 12:6 and subsequent tables show data only for schools which were either predominantly white, predominantly black, or in the "other ethnic mixture" category. The single school in which data were available in the "other" category is a parochial school, thus making it possible in some cases to inquire about the combined effects of ethnicity and parochial-status as shown in data for this school.

Table 12:6. Percentages of Seniors Responding "They don't care"; "They don't want me to go"; or "They refuse to consider it" in Response to Item, "How Would Your Parents Feel About Your Going to College?" by School District Type and Type of School

Type of District	Middle Class White	Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class White	Working Class White	Working Class Black	Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class "Other Ethnic Mixture"
Central	14%	22%	27%	10%	--
Suburban	14	26	32	--	--
Small	--	32	43	--	--
Parochial	12	16	43	--	21%

One in five of the seniors in six of the groups of schools reported that they had been sent to the principal for "goofing" off in class (Table 12:7).* These results probably do not mean that students in these types of schools are more likely to create discipline problems than students in other types of schools. The data may indicate that disciplinary practices in some of these schools--particularly the small and parochial types--are "tighter" in the sense that penalties

Table 12:7. Percentages of Seniors Responding "Yes" to the Item "I have sometimes been sent to the principal for 'goofing off' in class," by School District Type and Type of School

Type of District	Middle Class White	Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class White	Working Class White	Working Class Black	Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class "Other Ethnic Mixture"
Central	22%	19%	10%	12%	--
Suburban	13	17	22	--	--
Small	--	20	20	--	--
Parochial	18	21	12	--	21

* Because some of the cells in this table are based on students in single schools and because this item is especially susceptible to variation according to idiosyncratic variables such as administrative policy or principal's personality, it was not expected that completely consistent patterns would be revealed in Table 12:7.

are surer to be meted out when infractions do occur. In addition, the low percentages registered for the central city white-working-class and black-working-class schools may indicate that students who stay in school through the senior year in these schools tend to be those whose behavior is such as to keep them out of overt trouble with administrators.

Responses to the item, "My parents have often objected to the kinds of people I go around with" Table 12:8) suggest that parents of central city and suburban students are more likely to object to their children's companions than do parents

Table 12:8. Percentages of Seniors Responding "Yes" to the Item "My parents have often objected to the kind of people I go around with," by School District Type and Type of School

Type of District	Middle Class White	Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class White	Working Class White	Working Class Black	Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class "Other Ethnic Mixture"
Central	22%	21%	21%	22%	--
Suburban	20	25	20	--	--
Small	--	11	17	--	--
Parochial	15	17	22	--	30

of students in small schools and in non-working-class parochial schools. This may indicate, in turn, that parents of students in the latter two types of schools are able to exercise relatively more control over their children's friendships, thus more frequently relieving themselves of manifest anxiety about these friendships. This tendency does not hold, however, in the case of parochial schools which enroll primarily working-class or minority students, and the parochial school which has an "other ethnic mixture" enrollment has the highest reported rate of parental objection to friends of any school in the sample.

Studies using the items on perceptions of a "raw deal" and a "fair chance" in life have shown that these items are very sensitive to variations in level of achievement and aspiration among high school students. For example, the equal opportunity study conducted by James Coleman and associates and research conducted by Alan Wilson in California indicate that students who perceive themselves as receiving a raw deal from social forces which they are unable to influence have significantly lower achievement than students of similar ability and background who perceive themselves as having more control over their futures. The data in Tables 12:9 and 12:10 suggest that low perceived fate control is particularly evident in central city schools attended by working-class students and/or minority students.* Because the two items have been shown to be so dis-

* This trend apparently includes the parochial "other ethnic mixture" school, which is physically located in the central city.

criminating, even when only a few percentage points separate subgroups of students in a sample, one can predict that central city working-class schools are likely to be particularly high on student alienation and particularly low on student achievement as compared with other types of high schools in the metropolitan area.

Table 12:9. Percentages of Seniors Responding "Yes" to the Item, "I am sure I get a raw deal from life," by School District Type and Type of School

Type of District	Middle Class White	Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class White	Working Class White	Working Class Black	Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class "Other Ethnic Mixture"
Central	06%	07%	09%	11%	--
Suburban	06	07	08	---	--
Small	--	06	04	--	--
Parochial	06	04	01	--	12

Table 12:10. Percentages of Seniors Responding "Yes" to the Item, "I would have been more successful if people had given me a fair chance," by School District Type and Type of School

Type District	Middle Class White	Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class White	Working Class White	Working Class Black	Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class "Other Ethnic Mixture"
Central	11%	12%	16%	18%	--
Suburban	10	10	09	--	--
Small	---	10	09	--	--
Parochial	10	11	08	--	--

Another apparent difference between central city high schools and other types of high schools in the metropolitan area is summarized in Table 12:11, which shows the proportions of seniors who reported that they had been enrolled in college preparatory programs in their high schools. As shown in Table 12:11, parochial students most frequently reported and small school students least frequently reported that they had been enrolled in a college preparatory program. These results are highly predictable given the difficulties of offering a college preparatory major in a very small high school and the well-known emphasis in many

Table 12:11 Percentages of Seniors Who Said They Had Been in College Preparatory Programs, by School District Type and Type of School

Type of District	Middle Class White	Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class White	Working Class White	Working Class Black	Combined Lower-Middle and Working Class "Other Ethnic Mixture"
Central	43%	35%	25%	27%	--
Suburban	48	39	30	--	--
Small	--	25	21	--	--
Parochial	58	55	38	--	44

parochial schools on preparation for college. The more important finding in Table 12:11 is that in each of the three socioeconomic categories for white high schools, the suburban high schools had a higher percentage of seniors in college preparatory programs than did the central city high schools. This finding may mean that suburban schools emphasized college preparation more than did the central city schools or it may mean that suburban schools simply were not able to offer as wide a range of options (e.g., vocational education) for their students as were the central city schools.

Conclusions

On the one hand, we did not find that central city high schools are systematically different from other metropolitan high schools of the same socioeconomic type. When socioeconomic status was taken into account, white central city students planned to attend college at about the same rate and received nearly as much parental encouragement to attend college as did public school students in urbanized areas elsewhere in the metropolitan area. There was some evidence, however, that

- black central city students may recieve relatively more parental encouragement to attend college than white students,
- central city students may be less frequently in college preparatory programs than suburban and parochial students,
- central city students (at least in the senior year) may be more alienated from society than students elsewhere in the metropolitan area,
- the parents of central city students may be more anxious about their children's friendships than are parents of students in parochial and small high schools.

On the other hand, we did find, as expected, that central city students are more likely to be attending socioeconomically segregated schools (and often racially-isolated minority schools) than are students in suburban or parochial

schools, That is, a higher percentage of central city students than of suburban and parochial students attend working-class schools. Since students in working-class schools less frequently plan to attend college and recieve less parental encouragement to do so than do higher-status students, and since a good deal of independent evidence suggests that attendance at a lower-status school depresses the achievement and aspirations of students of similar social background in large urban areas,* this means that central city public schools bear a disproportionately greater share of the problems associated with providing a secondary education for non-college-oriented youth.

American high schools generally are not known for their success or their flexibility in devising instructional approaches and curricula which might help low-status students overcome the educational disadvantages they have experienced in traditional school programs. The relative concentration of central city students in working-class schools and neighborhoods also means that central city students are likely to suffer from still greater inequalities in educational and social opportunity by virtue of attending comparatively homogeneous schools in which both the environmental "pull" as well as the institutional "push" toward educational achievement and attainment are extremely low. Given these conditions, it is no wonder big-city educators frequently become frustrated and exasperated trying to solve the educational problems which metropolitan evolution has concentrated in the high schools of the central city.

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* e.g., Robert O'Reilly, et al., *Racial and Social Class Isolation in the Schools* (Albany: New York Board of Regents, 1970); James S. Coleman, et al., *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966); Daniel U. Levine, Edna Mitchell, and Robert J. Havighurst, *Opportunities for Higher Education in a Metropolitan Area: A Study of High School Seniors in Kansas City, 1967* (Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa, 1970).

Chapter 13.

Education in the Largest City*

Any attempt to describe the public high schools of New York City must begin with an obeisance to its bigness. Within this hugeness there is great diversity of school size, student population, educational program and organization. Moreover, the dynamism is such that the data collected for this study needs constant revision to keep the resulting description currently accurate.

At the moment we have 93 senior high schools, two of which have opened for the first time in September 1970. The total student population exceeds 280,000. The individual school registers range from under 1,000 to more than 7,000 with clustering toward the higher end. The senior high schools, which include grades 9 through 12, contain almost a full fourth of the total public school population. The 9th year is smaller than the other grades although it has increased sharply in recent years as the result of a change in policy leading to a full four-year high school as opposed to the three-year structure which had prevailed before.

The high schools vary in type, program, and organization. Four schools are specialized, three of which are for academically gifted students selected by entrance examinations open to the whole city. These are the Bronx High School of Science, Stuyvesant High School, and Brooklyn Technical High School. As the names indicate, they emphasize science, mathematics, and engineering. The fourth, which also tends to draw upon the academically able, is the High School of Music and Art which accepts students showing high potential in the arts.

This by no means exhausts specialization among the schools. For example, we have a high school devoted by name and function to art and design, and a branch of the High School of Music and Art called the High School of Performing Arts is geared to a professional level of development in theater, music and dance.

Fifty-eight other high schools are grouped as academic high schools. Although they would appear to be primarily college preparatory, almost all include a commercial course and a general course. Some of these academic high schools also provide for vocational skills, cooperative education, and other forms of preparation for employment.

Twenty-eight high schools are vocational and technical schools, several of which are unit trade schools, though the majority are multi-trade schools. Although their primary orientation, once again--once again with the qualification that this cannot be a blanket description--is to provide vocational education, they include technical programs and provide college-oriented courses as well. The schools devoted exclusively to unit trades include high schools concentrating on printing, aviation, automotive trades, food trades, fashion industries, and the previously mentioned art and design. The others have a broad spectrum of trade training varying with their size, age, and orientation.

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* This paper was prepared by Jacob B. Zack, assistant superintendent for high schools, New York City public schools.

Shift Toward Comprehensive Schools

Three other high schools, including the two that opened in September 1970, are comprehensive. This development arises from a policy decision based upon an extended study begun in 1965. The plan resulting from this study contemplated a total reorganization of the high school structure, with almost all the high schools to become comprehensive--with some notable exceptions. As part of this directive, all new secondary schools are to be built as comprehensive schools, and this part of the program, as indicated, is being implemented.

The deliberations which led to this decision reflect some of the changes in urban population as well as the inevitable reexamination of the goals of secondary education. They involve the perceptions of the Black and Puerto Rican communities regarding vocational education as against the academic high school. Also, questions were raised about the finality of educational choices made at the point of entry into high school. It was the contention of community spokesmen that minority children were being guided into vocational education without full opportunity to explore their potential. They argued that a majority of the students in the vocational schools were minority children, and the latest ethnic census confirms this.

In 1969, the city-wide statistics indicated that more than 50 percent of the student population in the academic high schools was white. (As you would expect, this was an average and did not describe individual schools which could vary widely.) On the other hand, the vocational high schools had approximately one-third each of black, Puerto Rican, and white students. This breakdown contains a notable variation. The number of black children in the public schools is much higher than the Puerto Rican. In the vocational schools, however, the Puerto Rican students are present in the almost same percentage as the black and white.

The concept of the comprehensive high school counters equally well the criticism of too early vocational decisions. The emphasis is upon exploration, self-discovery, and flexibility. Therefore, the ninth year provides for general education and an exploratory phase built around extensive experiences for all students in industrial arts shops. In the tenth grade the student can have a series of vocational experiences that permit him to probe the depth of his general interest and the particular vocational area he finds compatible if he wishes to continue.

In the eleventh and twelfth grades he can have vocational training in a specific trade. Throughout his high school career, however, the student continues with general education and retains the option of moving toward a college-oriented program without serious penalty, much less irreversible commitment. The stated objectives include flexibility of programs to allow retention of options.

In order to achieve these goals, a master plan requiring many years for full implementation was developed. As stated, all new high schools are to be comprehensive. The existing academic high schools will have additions built to incorporate a full industrial arts program and shops for selected trades. Most vocational high schools will be similarly adapted with conversions of some shop areas to academic classrooms.

Some few schools will be excluded from this change-over. These include the four specialized high schools mentioned earlier. The unit trade high schools will also be retained for the reason that trades such as printing require such extensive and expensive shop facilities that they could not be incorporated effectively into

a general high school. All the other schools will become part of the comprehensive structure.

The plan recognizes that, realistically, in striving to achieve the values of comprehensiveness the individual high school could not be expected to incorporate a multiplicity of trades as does the present multi-trade vocational high school. Therefore, trades would have to be allocated to individual schools in smaller numbers. Each school would have two trades of special interest to young men and two to young women. A student embarking on vocational education who did not find the trade he wanted to study in his own school could transfer at the beginning of the eleventh year to the nearest high school which made such provision. The overall design would provide for coverage of the anticipated trade requirements of the city.

The new high schools are conforming to this design. In order to provide the great number of offerings necessary to meet the needs of the whole range of student interest, these schools are being built to house 4,000 students. Already questions are being raised about their huge size and possible depersonalization. The challenge will be to so design others and organize their curricular programs as to introduce the concept of schools within schools with students and faculty grouped in smaller organizations to increase personal awareness and extended contact between students and faculty.

The second half of the program, the conversion of existing schools, is proceeding more slowly. While plans affecting some schools have already been drafted, their implementation waits upon a relaxation of the current stringent limitation of funds for capital construction. The conversion of existing high schools to comprehensiveness will do little to reduce overcrowding; the real hope here is in the construction of new schools.

When the major reexamination of the structure was undertaken in 1965, many organizations interested in education pressed for the phasing out of the vocational schools and the adoption of the comprehensive approach. Studies had been made which seemed to show that the vocational schools were not meeting their objectives, that students were being misdirected into them, that they were so rigidly organized that young people who entered their program met impossible obstacles if they later wished to change to a college-bound program. The major opposition came from parents associations of individual academic high schools who feared that their schools would be adversely affected by the addition of students who had limited objectives and vocational goals. They pointed to poorer attendance and a higher drop-out rate in the vocational schools.

Instability in the High Schools

The high schools, particularly in the past year, have experienced periods of instability. The civil rights movement for students, the unrest arising from our involvement in Viet Nam, the militancy of students (black, white, and brown), and the climax of the killings of students on college campuses have shaken traditional attitudes towards school. This disaffection can be observed statistically in the sharp change in average daily attendance. The decline must be described as catastrophic; it has been an accelerating downward curve. Protest frequently has taken the form of attempting to close schools city-wide, of militantly not

attending on selected days, and of extended strikes. Moreover, the Board of Education closed the schools officially on separate days to mark the events at Kent, Jackson, and the traditional Memorial Day which had fallen on a Saturday.

Accompanying this deterioration in attendance has been an increase in the cutting of classes. It has affected both the specialized and the academic high schools. For school administrators, this development has been a challenge and a trial. Whether it is a temporary fluctuation or a trend is, as yet, unknown.

The vocational schools have not shown the same tendencies. Their daily attendance has been remarkably stable. The unrest so apparent in the other schools has not seemed to affect them. This dichotomy has been so startling as to draw pointed comment. Conclusions are being drawn which may be premature. However, uncertainty has been expressed about comprehensiveness by some of the very groups who had been most emphatic in their demand for this reorganization.

Ethnic Changes in the Student Population

A major phenomenon has been the steady shift in ethnicity of the student population. It began in the 50's in the elementary schools and has progressed through the school levels. The growth has been in the ratio of black to white. A special aspect has been the increase in Spanish-speaking children almost entirely made up of Puerto Ricans with some admixture of Cubans and South Americans. So great has the change been that the ethnic shift must be seen as threefold, involving a growth in black and in Puerto Rican students and a shrinkage in whites or "others," under which designation the latter have been grouped.

The ratio on all levels has been changing at an almost predicable rate of 2 to 4 percent per year. Between December 1968 and October 1969 the percentage of blacks and Puerto Ricans increased on a system-wide basis by 2.3 percent. Black students as of October 1969 constituted 33.6 percent, Puerto Ricans 22.1 percent, and "others" 44.3 percent. The change in the high school population is comparable.

A new linguistic phenomenon has been the sudden growth in French-speaking blacks from Haiti. While there has been no statistical analysis of this trend, the Haitians are beginning to add a perceptible number of students whose special needs will have to be met.

The growth of the black students in the schools of our large urban centers is a nationwide development. The special dimension for New York City has been the almost parallel increase of Puerto Ricans. They have gathered in Spanish-speaking ghettos as distinct as those enclosing the blacks and with parallel problems of economic disadvantage and the added handicap of language and cultural difference. Their needs have compelled extended and intensive examination of our educational accommodation. The hoary concept of the American "melting pot" has not responded to the racial and linguistic pride of our Puerto Rican Americans.

Some of the programs by name and function have indicated direction. "Operation Understanding" is a typical response. The New York City school system has a teacher exchange with Puerto Rico. The teachers we select come from schools with large Puerto Rican populations. It is expected that, after a year in Puerto Rico,

these teachers will have a seminal influence upon the faculties of their schools and serve as a valuable resource for the city at large.

For more than a decade, groups of teachers and supervisors, sponsored jointly by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the New York City Board of Education, and the University of Puerto Rico, have been sent to Puerto Rico for five weeks of intensive orientation and study. Once again the selection has been made to achieve maximum impact in Spanish-speaking areas. A parallel group from Puerto Rico has visited the city to study our schools and the problems of adjustment faced by Puerto Ricans arriving on the mainland.

There are other forms of preparation of professional staffs. Guidance counsellors are studying conversational Spanish to serve more effectively the Spanish speaking students and parents. Bilingual native-speaking teachers and supervisors are being specially licensed. Paraprofessionals from the Spanish-speaking communities are being recruited to help build bridges between the parents, the children, and the schools. Our Teacher Recruitment Office is making a special effort, sending recruiters to Puerto Rico to examine and license eligibles for employment in New York City.

The demands for Black studies has pointed up the need for similar programs based on Puerto Rican history and literature. Many such programs have been funded through ESEA and state-appropriated Urban Education funds to provide understanding and appreciation of the cultural heritage of the Spanish-speaking community.

A number of high schools have instituted courses that are being taught in Spanish. They include such subjects as World History, algebra, conversational Spanish, and stenography. A conscious effort is being made to preserve the language heritage of the students and to use it to foster more effective, more rapid learning.

Through legislation and public enforcement, restrictions on housing are being reduced. Blacks in particular are leaving the ghettos and moving into what had formerly been exclusively white areas. This movement is limited largely to the emerging middle class, the upwardly mobile among the minority groups. However, even this movement is being affected by the stagnation in private construction of housing.

Barriers to Integration

The economically depressed masses of blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Haitians remain contained in ghettos where they tend to live together homogeneously. Thus, we have, typically, a black Harlem and a Spanish Harlem. Now there is appearing in Brooklyn a Haitian section. These enclaves are growing in size and density. Because of the geographically large areas that are ghettoized, many schools on the elementary, intermediate and junior high school levels are de facto segregated. Their number is increasing as the shift in population continues.

The successive Boards of Education have been committed to a policy of integration. Many programs such as open enrollment have been introduced. However, they have not halted the trend towards segregated schooling on the other levels

as the physical dimensions of the ghettos have grown. The announced Board policy has been implemented to a much greater degree on the senior high school level as a continuous aspect of local and city-wide zoning revision.

As new schools are created, they compel rezoning and re-examination of policy application. Thus, the two new high schools located in Brooklyn and the Bronx required a reappraisal of the total high school picture. The zoning of the new high schools presented three concerns: the comparative over-utilization of schools in ghetto areas; the Board policy of maximum integration; and the immediate need to create new zones for new high schools. In making these decisions, an effort was made to achieve maximum involvement of the parents, communities, and professional staffs affected. This attempt led to extended discussions, many of them heated and not always admirable. The decisions were seriously delayed by the demands made for involvement and modifications of agreed-upon plans.

In addition, the borough of Queens has been implementing a program for integrating its high schools called the Nelson Plan. The State Department of Education was involved as sponsor of this study which it funded. Although the plan was instituted the previous year, this past year revealed weaknesses which needed correction, once again stimulating extended discussion and some further shifts in school population. The coming year will see the opening of a new comprehensive high school housing 4,000 students when in full use. The Nelson Plan will have to be reviewed with integration as a central concern.

We are confronted by policy considerations which affect the possibilities of integration. Some high schools, although they are comparatively few, are almost completely segregated, being composed of black and Puerto Rican students in varying proportions. They are located in the center of ghettos with no contiguous schools housing significant numbers of white students. One is located in an area of expensive apartment concentration. In this case we find few families with high school age children. Their sons and daughters almost all attend private, parochial, residential, or specialized schools; few attend the local high school.

The question most immediately in need of an answer is where to construct the new high schools now being planned. Some 20 are in various stages of exploration, planning, or actual construction. One approach is to place them in largely white areas. The minority students would be zoned into them on a voluntary or enclave basis until predetermined ethnic percentages are achieved. Obviously, this requires that the minority child will have to travel varying distances from his home with different degrees of difficult and concurrent problems.

Another approach is to build the high schools where the students are. The greatest density is in the ghetto areas where, at the same time, the schooling facilities tend to be older, to be inadequate in capacity, and to be most in need of replacement. Past experience indicates that these schools will become segregated, since we have found no successful way either to program white students into schools located in ghetto areas or to encourage a significant voluntary move by such students.

Relating School to Neighborhood

We are attempting to change the image of one vocational high school which had not been able to maintain its enrollment. It is located near Kennedy Airport in a ghetto area which seems to be the cause for its lack of viability.

With the active cooperation of advisory commisions, the airplane companies and the city administration, this school is being reorganized as a comprehensive high school with concentration upon qualifying students for employment in the numerous vocational areas related to transportation, maintenance, and service. We should be able to learn from this specialized, highly promising symbiotic relationship with a glamerous industry if patterns imposed by location can be reversed. This reorganization is in process and no conclusions can be drawn for a period of years. However, if this school should prove to be a breakthrough, it would compel, on a hopeful note, a reexamination of all our preconceptions as to what is possible despite apparent disadvantages of location in the siting of high schools, new and old. In fact, the move toward the comprehensive high school, if joined to imaginative distribution of the vocational and technical components, might remove the need to zone high schools and provide voluntary attendance based upon interests that can be satisfied.

The Dilemma of the Diplomas

When considering the conversion of the high schools to a comprehensive structure, the planners examined the varieties of diplomas being awarded to students. They include academic, commercial, general, vocational, technical, and special diplomas of the specialized high schools such as the Bronx High School of Science. The prestige diploma, apart from those issued as special diplomas, is the academic diploma. It is the college preparatory diploma and conforms to the State Regents diploma which is issued to those who take and pass the prescribed number of Regents examinations. These Regents examinations, prepared by the State Education Department, are rather severe, and they serve to provide standards of achievement in areas such as English, history and the college-bound curriculum. They include, as well, examinations in a wide range of other subject areas but are generally regarded as providing a level of achievement suitable for college admission in the areas of science, mathematics, and foreign languages.

The vocational, technical and commercial diplomas cover recognized subject concentrations and objectives. The general diploma is a catch-all and does not require the passing of Regents examinations in any subjects. (There is a requirement that for obtaining any diploma an eighth-grade reading level must be achieved.) This general diploma is awarded to academic students who fail any of the required Regents examinations, many of whom return to school or repeat an examination and obtain the academic diploma later. Colleges are not bound by the kind of diploma granted nor even by high school graduation. Many students enter four-year, two-year, or other institutions without the academic diploma. Nevertheless, the general diploma is regarded as inferior.

There has been a sharp increase in the number of general diplomas being awarded and a corresponding decline in the academic diploma. This acceleration has been especially evident in high schools drawing large numbers of ghetto young people. Accompanying this trend has been a high drop-out rate. In some of the high schools which are located in poverty areas and draw their students almost exclusively from disadvantaged homes, few graduates earn an academic diploma; the great majority obtain general diplomas. (Those who cannot meet the minimum reading requirement/ receive certificates in lieu of diplomas.)

Returning to the redesigning of the high school structure, the Board of Education approved a single diploma which would not characterize the school program the graduating student had followed. Minima have been established which include those subjects prescribed by statute and the State Education Department, but they go beyond these bare essentials which include the minimal reading grades and require the passing of uniform examinations either of the Regents level or those prepared for city-wide use. Adjustments are being made as some flaws have appeared in the descriptions of course requirements as they apply to all students in the senior high schools. This diploma has been mandated for the entering class of September 1970.

Impact of City University Requirements

The City University of New York is the municpal college structure which traditionally has provided a tuition-free education for city youth. The exceptions have been those young people from privileged homes who have sought prestige colleges or those economically able to send their children to colleges requiring tuition if they have been unable to meet the standards for admission to the city-supported four-year institutions. A small number of academically gifted or athletically talented students attend other institutions on scholarships of varying amounts.

The City University (CUNY) consists of four-year colleges such as City College, Brooklyn College and Queens College. These institutions have had high admission standards geared to the demand and the available seats. In some years, the minimum high school average based upon grades in selected college-type courses has reached the level of 86. Consequently, the student body has been highly selected and the college achievement correspondingly outstanding. Students from these colleges have compiled remarkable records in graduate schools throughout the country. They are to be found in positions of leadership in the professions, in public life and especially in teaching at all levels. These schools have provided opportunity for the poor, the children of immigrants, and those who might otherwise have found their talents undeveloped.

More recently, the City University has expanded to include two-year institutions called community colleges. This growth has been extraordinary. In addition, more four-year institutions are being created in all five boroughs. Finally, CUNY has been empowered and has established graduate programs leading to doctoral degrees.

Despite programs developed to increase opportunity, minority students have been poorly represented on the campuses of the City University. Black and Puerto Rican youth have not been able to obtain entrance in any appreciable numbers. The objective admissions standards based upon high school achievement have effectively exclused them so that this traditional avenue for college education has been closed to these young people coming from the underprivileged backgrounds formerly characteristic of the City University student.

For several years the Black and Puerto Rican communities have shown their resentment; Columbia University is not the only institution to know the anger of Harlem. The four-year colleges of the City University, especially City College, located physically within a mile of Columbia, have had demonstrations, strikes,

and violence centered around the demands made particularly by black students and to some degree by Puerto Rican students, for removal of admissions requirements.

While there have been special programs and relaxation of minimum averages for such programs as SEEK, these did not satisfy the protesting students. In 1969, the Board of Higher Education, which is the policy-making body for CUNY, announced a program of open admission for any student who graduates from a city high school with a diploma of any kind. It guaranteed the opportunity to every student to enter upon a program leading to a college degree. To be admitted to the four-year colleges a student would have to be in the upper 50 percent of his graduating class regardless of diploma or obtain an average of 80 in his course work. Otherwise, he could attend a two-year institution with transfer privileges to a four-year program at the completion of the two-year schooling.

In effect, therefore, the City University had prescribed a single diploma. The impact upon the city high schools has been enormous. The majority of graduates entering college have been attending the City University, and the percentage and the total number will be increased even more by this change in admissions practices. Moreover, the open admissions policy makes no distinction between types of schools, giving equal placement in the four-year colleges for students in the upper half of their graduating class whether they be from specialized high schools or from any of the vocational high schools. Once again, the comprehensive high school has become an accepted reality by this new admissions policy of the City University.

The implications are yet to be fully perceived. CUNY recognizes the need for preparation for college level work of many of those newly to be admitted. The high schools' ability to prepare students for college will receive a critical field test.

The existence of opportunity does not automatically produce acceptance. Despite a major organized effort on the part of the high school guidance staffs to have every eligible student file an application, many have not done so. Moreover, it is apparent that of those who have applied, many will not appear. Nevertheless, the doors have been flung wide open. The consequent impact upon the high schools is to confirm policy decisions which are now being implemented as regards comprehensiveness, single diploma, and emphasis upon educational competencies.

Educational systems, especially those in large urban centers, appear engaged in a breathless race to catch up with the dynamic changes that outdistance them. They must respond to population movements, cultural tides, political explosions and the fall-out from socioeconomic crises. We have not learned to adopt some of the practices of business which have contributed to our phenomenal technological and corporate growth to our educational and social problems. As one examines these organizations, many of the most successful corporations devote a specific percentage of their operating funds to research and development. Those engaged in such work are insulated in stable research facilities where they are encouraged to think freely and with detachment. In fact, "Think Tanks" as independent organizations have come into being to accept problems and seek solutions based upon available options. School systems as well as municipal governments have made attempts to follow such practices but they have been feeble and hesitant.

Creating a New Model

One such effort was made by the New York City system, when, in the spring of 1963, it sent a group of seasoned high school principals and superintendents to a retreat with the general charge to design a new high school. No limitations of concept or budget were imposed. They recognized the need for change long before the word became the cliche it is today. Shaping the outcome were the frustrations experienced by these involved administrators and the answers each had developed which he would have wanted to be free to apply. The group engaged in days of discussion to define the problems and describe the situations. After a period of apparent inconclusiveness, an incandescence lit the conference. The planning began to move with direction and pace until, at the end of eight days, a blueprint had been developed and recorded.

Although the report of this committee was presented to the Superintendent of Schools in 1963, years intervened before it was converted into an actual high school. Discouraging delays and apparent indifference seemed to indicate that this was yet another report that would gather mold in a neglected file. Official interest did revive, however, and the plan is the basis for the experimental John Dewey High School which opened in September 1969 in southern Brooklyn. If the saga of how it came into being were to be written, it would exceed the scope of this study. Suffice it to say that the school had the active, sympathetic support of the local school board and superintendent, the United Federation of Teachers, the Council of Supervisory Associations, and, of course, the High School Office. At the same time, and with remarkable venom, it incurred the opposition of local groups--a most regrettable development.

What, then, is the philosophical basis of this new school? First, it is an urban high school and must reflect in its student body a cross section of the school population of the borough ethnically, socioeconomically, and motivationally. Since this is an experimental school, the students must volunteer. As far as possible, the pupils are drawn from the local area, but where the prescribed composition cannot be met, registration is opened to the whole borough until the desired proportions are reached. One consequence is that there are more minority children proportionally than is true for any of the neighboring high schools.

New practices in secondary education are part of the fundamental organization. Both flexible scheduling and modular organization are incorporated. The programming is done by computer and a constant watch is kept for greater utilization of computer technology. The lock step imposed by the Carnegie Unit has been discarded. With it has gone the fixed daily period per major subject and the differentiation of major and minor subjects--all subjects are considered major. The time devoted to each depends upon need. Other artificial, traditional restraints such as subject matter organization and content have likewise been dropped.

A student may take marine biology rather than general biology--the school is located near the ocean, and such a course fits naturally into the available experiences around which it can be built. The English curriculum allows students to select units in poetry, various periods in the novel, the short story, creative writing and other areas as well as intensive units in the skills of reading, writing, spelling and grammar. Similar reorganizations of course content are encouraged in the other subject areas. Every student is expected to develop effectiveness in typing, and courses are required to insure that this essential skill is learned thoroughly. Similarly, each student is expected to have experiences in practical arts as a basic exploratory program.

The school year is organized into seven-week phases. At the end of each phase the school is reorganized with the help of the computer. A phase closes on a Friday and the new phase actually begins on the following Monday with programs fully prepared for each student. Behind this plan was the desire to minimize the impact of failure which assumed such destructive proportions when extended to the work of a semester or a year. Much of the difficulty arises from the failure to grasp fundamental concepts, particularly in areas such as foreign languages and science. If the courses could be broken down into smaller units, review of a segment could be undertaken. It would have the character of reinforcement and permit the student to move ahead to the next phase after he had had the opportunity of reexamination without the weight of having to repeat a complete course and suffer the attendant discouragement of obvious failure. The nature of repetition changes in extent and implication as well as the manner in which the teacher approaches it. The teacher who has a reinforcement group seeks fresh ways of presentation both to avoid the monotony of covering content in the same manner and also to discover the causes for the inability to grasp the subject matter.

A basic, if obvious, proposition is that learning is an active process for which the individual student must assume the primary responsibility. As a corollary, his progress is determined by motivation and by his success. It is anticipated that some students may require five years to complete the conventional four-year program, while others may require only three.

The short phases individualize progress, and after only a few phases had been completed, no student had a program that was like that of any other. The pace at which he moved was his own both because the program responded to his particular needs and also his selection of courses could range so widely.

A feature of the school is the emphasis upon independent study. If the student is to take charge of his education, he should be provided with opportunities to learn outside the formal structure of the classroom. He can obtain a DISK (Dewey Independent Study Kit) which provides him with a course outline for a phase appropriate to a subject area in which he is working. It describes the material to be covered, selected readings, key questions, and necessary reports. Resource centers are available to the student where he can work during uncommitted modules--teachers and educational assistants are present to guide and answer questions. He has access to library areas where necessary resource materials are gathered. At the conclusion of the phase, he takes an examination and, if successful, is credited with the course.

Students have participated in this program in such numbers that the resource centers have been placed under great pressure. Additional staff has been assigned to meet the demands being made. Moreover, the need to produce new DISKs has assumed unexpected proportions.

A student is given credit for a phase when he has achieved mastery of the content. This has been one of the most difficult concepts to implement. The challenge has been to define "mastery" and to determine how it is measured. Nevertheless, the difficulty has been greater in anticipation than the reality.

Since mastery should represent substantially complete learning, there are no grades. A student who has mastered a phase is given an "M" and goes on to the next phase. He receives equal credit for completing the course in a regular class or through independent study. If he is retained in phase for reinforce-

ment, he receives an R. Almost immediately variations seemed necessary. Some students would perform outstandingly. They should receive some form of commendation. Therefore, they are credited for the phase with honor.

Teachers have found some difficulty in applying the precision expected for determining mastery. After some review, the faculty agreed upon another modification. A student may be moved to the next phase, but with a condition. The teacher writes a prescription describing areas of weakness and prescribing necessary work. The student reports with this prescription to the appropriate resource center and delivers it to the teacher in charge. Then, they plan together for a program of study to make up the deficiency.

The absence of formal grades raises typical questions. For instance, without such ratings it is not possible to have a rank order for students at graduation. Such a competitive listing would, of course, be contrary to the philosophy of this program, which rests upon individualization, independent study, and emphasis upon a student's highly personal learning pattern. Nevertheless, students enter voluntarily. This element of choice brings with it exceptional concern by parents who participate in this thoughtful decision.

What impact will this change in philosophy and practice have upon admission to college? This question is asked frequently. Thus far, most colleges and universities have been cooperative. They will accept students on the basis of the school's evaluation. In the end, though, the program will have to prove itself, and if new attitudes and skills in personalized learning have really been acquired, the performance of the graduates at the college level should be unusual.

The school is organized on an eight-hour day for students and faculty. Such a time schedule makes possible the additional opportunities for advanced work, for remediation, for modular programming which may actually extent class time in some areas such as marine biology which calls for lengthy field trips and unusual laboratory experiences. It makes possible use of resource centers and library facilities for research activities as well as others that have been described.

Most especially, it permits personal contact between students and teachers in other than formal classroom situations. It encourages the perception by students of teachers as persons, tutors, and guides. The teachers do not have more classroom teaching assignments than they would in a conventional school day--the additional time is used to man resource centers, plan and write curricula, tutor individual students, and organize student activities with intensity and regularity.

Inevitably, the extended day imposes strains upon student concentration. They can and do show signs of fatigue. In order to provide relief from the unvaried instructional routine which is possible because of the computerization of scheduling, the faculty and student agreed upon occasional Dewey Days when instruction is suspended and a field day is held in the school. Clubs present programs, speakers are invited, exhibitions are prepared and other activities help to create an atmosphere of carnival and gaiety. These Dewey Days have proved to be remarkably productive.

It should be mentioned that the planning for opening the school was done by a committee consisting of community local school board representatives, United Federation of Teachers, Council of Supervisory Associations, the principal, and superintendents including the Deputy for Instructional Affairs, the district superintendent, the superintendents in charge of the High School Office, and invited consultants from the original committee.

Among the knotty problems to be resolved was the extended day for teachers, which ran contrary to union philosophy and tradition. It was difficult to mandate extension of the teacher's day by an additional hour and forty minutes when the trend is to shorten the working day. Nevertheless, the atmosphere of reason and experimentation prevailed. Such additional problems as teacher and supervisor selection were considered. The original design called for volunteers only with careful screening of applicants. Again, the union quite properly raised questions because such a procedure could be considered a violation of contract. Compromise was achieved and the selection process worked well.

The design had called for a long period of indoctrination of the new faculty. The original planning group had prescribed a semester of full-time conferences for this purpose. The realities of funding and time vetoed it. However, it was agreed that the teachers would have to give the summer preceding opening to indoctrination, curriculum planning, and other necessary conferring. No teacher was accepted who did not agree to this summer program, which proved invaluable in getting the school under way.

The past summer was also used for indoctrinating new faculty members, since the school is expanding. The original student group consisted of ninth and tenth grade students. A new group has entered, doubling the school population with a parallel growth in faculty size.

One further comment is necessary. The school is on a twelve-month schedule, with a summer phase available for students on a voluntary basis. It was well attended this past summer. Moreover, this summer phase was used to provide orientation and remediation for new entrants before they begin their regular school year. These students were invited on the basis of analysis of their school records and the discovery of visible gaps in their ability to cope academically.

One year has passed, and conclusions should not be drawn so soon. But the Bureau of Educational Research has undertaken a linear evaluation, and already a few effects can be noted. Some students have withdrawn. Several teachers have found the demands upon them too taxing. The principal has been wooed away by another school system to set up a series of secondary schools based upon the philosophy of John Dewey High School. However, the level of enthusiasm continues high. The staff and student body are showing a degree of devotion and continued effort which is remarkable in a period of disillusion and distress.

As a city and a high school system, the City of New York generally has had to face the challenge of changing times sooner than most other urban centers. While other cities may show areas of crisis more specifically or earlier, as a broad picture of the stresses confronting society and education, New York City tends to meet them first and most massively. As they move around the country, New York high school personnel have the reaction that what they see has happened before. So much of what this city has experienced and attempted is being repeated in varying degrees elsewhere. Nevertheless, the dynamics of change are such that no situation is an exact parallel of what went before. Therefore, the need for constant appraisal and exchange is perhaps the most important element of a research and development approach. It can prove of immediate value and serve as a basis for long-range planning.

Chapter 14.

Dramatic Changes in Dade County*

The Dade County, Florida, school system is witnessing a dramatic change in the composition of its student body. When the school doors opened in September, about one-half of the 250,000 students were native white, one-quarter black, and one-quarter Spanish-speaking and Latin American in cultural background. While Spanish-speaking students come to Florida from many different countries and thus represent very different social backgrounds, many of them are natives of Cuba or have been born of parents who migrated from Cuba only a few years ago.

The student population of the system as a whole is decidedly different from the picture one gets when he focuses only on the secondary schools. In the high schools, about 60 percent of the students are native white, while correspondingly fewer of the students are either black or Spanish-speaking. In only a few years, however, larger groups of non-white students will arrive at the secondary schools.

Economically, Dade County is a kaleidoscopic mixture of rich and poor areas. As a metropolitan system, the communities within the system vary markedly--the county includes not only the City of Miami, but Miami Beach, Coral Gables, Key Biscayne, Hialeah and South Miami along with other areas of a more diverse nature. Although the rich mixture is present, the composition does not shield the system from the common economic problems of the big cities. While the system's per pupil expenditure is slightly above the national average, for example, the voters turned down a modest tax levy in June 1970 for badly needed new school construction. On the other hand, the system has not reached the point of financial despair evident in some large metropolitan areas.

Dade County's near future, like that of many cities, will evolve from the interaction of sociocultural characteristics of the students and the financial resources made available to respond to a variety of differing student needs. A suspicion is growing that some systems can stabilize their finances only through substantial outmigration of the cities' inner-city or minority group. After all, people moved to those cities because their prospects looked better there; when their prospects begin to look better elsewhere, they will move away--rich, middle class, and poor--each in turn. "Elsewhere" may be the suburbs, new towns, or old towns. The alternatives depend upon future decisions of government, industry, and business. But outmigration is not imminent in Dade County. According to predictions, its growth will continue at a high rate for many years.

Of Dade County's 57 regular secondary schools, eight have a student population of over 3,000 each, nine between 2,000 and 3,000 each. The problems of administering the heterogeneous student populations are, of course, fantastically complex. Desegregation has contributed strongly to the complexity.

Dade began deliberate desegregation in 1959. Successive waves of desegregation and resegregation--voluntary, housing oriented, and enforced--have continued to the present. Another wave will occur in September 1970 (making even this current study of student composition a matter of past history).

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* This paper was prepared by William Inman, director of program evaluation of the Dade County Public Schools.

Programs to Equalize Opportunities

During the last school year, over 50 special educational programs operated in the Dade system (which is comprised of six districts, each under the administration of a district superintendent). The majority of the special programs were directed toward alleviating the stress placed on the system by the need not only to offer equal educational opportunities to all, but to judge that equality by the degree to which equality of performance was achieved. Differences in allocation of resources between extremes were pointedly obvious. One predominantly white school, for example, had a total employee to pupil ratio of 1:19, one all black school a ratio of 1:9. The difference was reflected in all categories: teachers, aides, counselors, and so on. Utilization of earmarked federal funds accounted for much of the difference, but state and local funds were also evident.

Even though special programs achieved notable visibility, the great mass of the system moved forward also. New ways of teaching mathematics demonstrated their effects in higher achievement scores in arithmetical reasoning. Teachers became familiar with flexible staffing, micro-teaching, non-gradedness, and behavior modification techniques. They studied human relations and planned for drug abuse education. Both new and old schools received electronic media systems to facilitate instruction. Classroom construction was modified to accommodate open-area innovations. And about 75 percent of all high school graduates went on to further education.

Interrupting this progress were occasional classroom and school disturbances, many with racial overtones, few with positive educational significance. At times the system seemed to be on the edge of mass disorder, but that was avoided, mainly, I think, because most people--students, teachers, and the public alike--did not want disorder, and were determined to avoid it, by persuasion or if necessary by force.

In the thick of the struggle, it is often difficult to chart the course of battle. Sometimes it is more profitable to look beyond the battle and the campaign and try to prepare for the future. The future frequently has a way of making the past seem irrelevant.

We have no valid reason to believe public school systems will not survive their current trials. On the contrary, we have considerable reason to think that public school systems are destined to have greatness thrust upon them, whether they want it or not.

Two Converging Pressures

The potential for greatness lies, I think, in the converging pressures on public school systems to solve two problems: (1) how to judge adequacy of academic performance without reference to time duration, and (2) how to allow a student to advance at his own pace without reference to age/grade progression. Under conventional conditions, those problems might be skirted for further decades, but two contemporary circumstances are forcing attention to their solutions. One is the demand for different utilization of existing classroom space, a demand that is implicit in the public's general disapproval of construction proposals. The other is the organizational pressure exerted by increased variability of academic competence in students of the same age within the same school. A per-

formance differential of perhaps a factor of three exists within culturally homogeneous groups, and this differential becomes even larger when groups with divergent cultural conditioning are brought together for education. Such differences will not respond to conventional solutions.

A large number of current activities are directly related to possible solutions to these problems. The widespread employment of the 10-hour day in the Dade system in the school year 1970-71, the first experiments with a 12-month quinmester plan, and the extended use of school facilities in the evenings under the banner of community schools all point to ultimately year-round, all-week, 15-hours-a-day school facility utilization. (When usage approaches that level, more school construction money is certain to be forthcoming.) Accompanying such facility usage is a complete reorientation of a student's time, with mornings or afternoons free for exploration of work opportunities and additional periods and "semesters" for accelerated graduation or development of additional skills. Needless to say, as the student's opportunities expand, administrative burdens expand correspondingly.

Cultural mixtures also have had their effects in hastening the search for a practical general procedure for individualized instruction. Most of the necessary techniques and skills for a solution have worked their way into the schools by this time. Some of the components--for example, fast and inexpensive feedback on individual student performance--are still at a primitive stage. But the big barrier is lack of agreement on what should be taught. At times it seems as though each state, each system, each school, even each teacher, feels the need to generate a unique curriculum. But we are caught between two forces and must make a choice. The student must take a given (and traditional) number of hours of instruction in a subject--the system that makes the current age-grade progression possible; or the subject content must be made explicit and its mastery measurable--in which case the student can pass on to the next subject any time he can demonstrate content mastery. Although accreditation is based on the former, forward-looking accreditation agencies (Florida's, for example) are beginning to ask for the demonstration of practical alternatives. Perhaps the proper moment for change has arrived.

Suppose those problems were solved, and school systems could offer each student a continuous, ego-satisfying opportunity to progress in his education at a rate commensurate with his abilities and desires and the community's needs. Would our troubles be over? That seems too much to hope for, but they certainly would be significantly reduced in size and number. And young people would be much the better off, a condition well worth striving for.

Part D

Appendix

NASSP LARGE CITY SCHOOL STUDY

Section A: General School Information

Name of School _____

School Address _____
(Street)

_____
(City) (State) (Zip)

Principal's Name _____

(Do not write in spaces 1-12)

School Code Number _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____
1-2 3-4 5-6 7-8 9-10 11-12

13. Grade levels in school program

Three-year senior high: grades 10-12	__13.1
Four-year high school: grades 9-12	__13.2
Six-year secondary school: grades 7-12	__13.3
Two-year high school: grades 11-12	__13.4
Other: specify_____	__13.5

14. Average daily attendance as a percentage of stated legal daily enrollment is

Less than 50%	__14.1
51 - 60%	__14.2
61 - 70%	__14.3
71 - 80%	__14.4
81 - 90%	__14.5
91 - 95%	__14.6
96 - 100%	__14.7

15. Student enrollment is based upon

a definite attendance area that is geographically contiguous	__15.1
an attendance area that is NOT geographically contiguous	__15.2
competitive examination or other measure of achievement/ability	__15.3
an attendance area but with some open-enrollment options from other areas	__15.4
city-wide open-enrollment policy	__15.5
Other: specify_____	__15.6

16. How many different school sessions are there during the school day in terms of the different groups of students that enter and leave the school facilities?

Only one	__16.1
2 sessions	__16.2
3 sessions	__16.3
4 sessions	__16.4
5 or more	__16.5

17. How many different full teaching periods are there in a school day? (Exclude short periods used for administrative purposes.)

5 or fewer full periods	__17.1
6 full periods	__17.2
7 full periods	__17.3
8 full periods	__17.4
9 full periods	__17.5
10 full periods	__17.6
11 full periods	__17.7
12 full periods	__17.8
13 or more periods	__17.9

18. In addition to the diploma given at graduation, does your school present each student with a durable record of the program of studies pursued at your school and the grades/marks obtained?

Yes	__18.1
No	__18.2

NASSP LARGE CITY SCHOOL STUDY

Section B: General Personnel Information

8-10. The number of full-time certificated or credentialed* staff members on the school site is _____ 8-10

11. Also, please check the appropriate category representing the above figure.

50 or fewer	__11.1
51 - 70	__11.2
71 - 90	__11.3
91 - 110	__11.4
111 - 130	__11.5
131 - 150	__11.6
151 - 170	__11.7
171 - 190	__11.8
191 or more	__11.9

12-16. What percentage of the certificated or credentialed staff, including administrators, have the following collegiate preparation? Please circle the proper numeral.

	0-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-70%	71-80%	81%+	
Less than a Bachelor's Degree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	12. ___
Only a Bachelor's Degree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	13. ___
Master's Degree or Equivalent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	14. ___
60-Point Degree, Diploma or Equivalent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	15. ___
Doctorate: Earned or Honorary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	16. ___

* Certificated or credentialed personnel includes persons with special training appropriate to stated expected competencies and does not include para-professionals, teacher aides, clerical assistants, lay readers or other persons who may not be under contract, are not assigned a specific group of students and are not held directly accountable by administrators for the education of youth.

17. The percentage of certificated staff members beginning their first year of professional service in this school, regardless of previous professional service in others schools, is

0 - 5%	17.1
6 - 10%	17.2
11 - 15%	17.3
16 - 20%	17.4
21 - 25%	17.5
26 - 30%	17.6
31 - 35%	17.7
36 - 40%	17.8
41% or more	17.9

18-24. The percentage of certificated staff members, including administrators, that is

	0-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-70%	71-80%	81%+	
American Indian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	18. ___
Caucasian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	19. ___
Negro	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	20. ___
Oriental	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	21. ___
Puerto Rican	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	22. ___
Spanish American	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	23. ___
Other Specify_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	24. ___

*25. The number of fulltime, on site, contract and credentialed instructional support personnel, such as curriculum coordinators, assistant principals for curriculum, department chairman, librarians, and audio-visual specialists is

One or two	25.1
Three or four	25.2
Five or six	25.3
Seven or eight	25.4
Nine or ten	25.5
Eleven or twelve	25.6
Thirteen or fourteen	25.7
Fifteen to twenty	25.8
Twenty-one or more	25.9

* Special off-site support personnel who work from the central system offices will be included in other aspects of the study. Include only on-site personnel in items 25 and 26.

*26. The number of part-time, on site, contract and credentialed instructional support personnel, assigned to assist teachers, such as helping teachers, part-time department heads, is

One or two	26.1
Three or four	26.2
Five or six	26.3
Seven or eight	26.4
Nine or ten	26.5
Eleven or twelve	26.6
Thirteen or fourteen	26.7
Fifteen to twenty	26.8
Twenty-one or more	26.9

27-32. What percentage of certificated staff members with a special secondary credential, such as designated services credential, pupil personnel guidance, administrative, are in the following categories representing professional services in this school regardless of previous experience in other schools?

	0-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-70%	71-80%	81%+	
First Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	27. ___
Second Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	28. ___
Third Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	29. ___
Fourth or Fifth Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	30. ___
Sixth to Tenth Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	31. ___
Eleventh Year or More	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	32. ___

33. To what extent is the present staff, including teachers and all other certificated personnel, sufficient in number to provide the current student body educational experiences appropriate to the implementation of the school curriculum?

Present number is greatly inadequate	33.1
Present number is inadequate	33.2
Present number is adequate	33.3
Present number is more than adequate	33.4

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* Special off-site support personnel who work from the central system offices will be included in other aspects of the study. Include only on-site personnel in items 25 and 26.

34. If the present certificated staff is insufficient in number to implement the school curriculum appropriate to the current student body, what <u>percentage</u> <u>increase</u> do you think would be reasonable and appropriate?

0 - 5%	__34.1
6 - 10%	__34.2
11 - 15%	__34.3
16 - 20%	__34.4
21 - 25%	__34.5
26 - 30%	__34.6
31% or more	__34.7

35. How many different adult paraprofessionals (aides, clerical, readers, liaison, etc.) are employed to work directly with your school?

0 - 10	__35.1
11 - 20	__35.2
21 - 30	__35.3
31 - 40	__35.4
41 - 50	__35.5
51 - 60	__35.6
61 - 70	__35.7
71 or more	__35.8

36. Assuming a 40 hour work week, how many full-time equivalent positions are represented in the hours allocated to para-professionals?

0 - 5	__36.1
6 - 10	__36.2
11 - 15	__36.3
16 - 20	__36.4
21 - 25	__36.5
26 - 30	__36.6
31 or more	__36.7

NASSP LARGE CITY SCHOOL STUDY

Section C: Teaching Personnel

37. The ratio of classroom teachers to students is

1 teacher to 20 students or fewer	37.1
1:21 - 1:25	37.2
1:26 - 1:30	37.3
1:31 - 1:35	37.4
1:36 - 1:40	37.5
1:41 or more students	37.6

38-43. The percentage of all teachers with a standard or regular credential or certificate who are

	0-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-70%	71-80%	81%+	
First year teachers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	38. ___
Second year teachers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	39. ___
Third year teachers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	40. ___
Fourth or fifth year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	41. ___
Sixth to tenth year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	42. ___
Eleventh year or more	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	43. ___

44-49. The percentage of all teachers with a provisional or emergency credential or certificate who are

	0-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-70%	71-80%	81%+	
First year teachers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	44. ___
Second year teachers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	45. ___
Third year teachers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	46. ___
Fourth or fifth year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	47. ___
Sixth to tenth year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	48. ___
Eleventh year or more	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	49. ___

50-55. The percentage of all teachers with the following teaching experience, including the current year and all experience in other schools and systems is

	0-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-70%	71-80%	81%+	
First year teachers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	50. ___
Second year teachers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	51. ___
Third year teachers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	52. ___
Fourth or fifth year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	53. ___
Sixth to tenth year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	54. ___
Eleventh year or more	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	55. ___

56. The percentage of all teachers assigned to teach outside their major or minor field is

0 - 5%	56.1
6 - 10%	56.2
11 - 15%	56.3
16 - 20%	56.4
21 - 25%	56.5
26 - 30%	56.6
31% or more	56.7

57. The average yearly teacher turnover is

0 - 5%	57.1
6 - 10%	57.2
11 - 15%	57.3
16 - 20%	57.4
21 - 25%	57.5
26 - 30%	57.6
31% or more	57.7

58. To what extent is teacher dissatisfaction or unrest, instead of factors such as family, health or further education, reflected in the yearly turnover of teachers?

Little, if at all	58.1
Somewhat, but not major	58.2
A major factor	58.3

59. The percentage of <u>all</u> teachers who have <u>less than</u> a full schedule of classes in order to devote part-time to student affairs, such as guidance functions, control, attendance, etc., is

0 - 5%	59.1
6 - 10%	59.2
11 - 15%	59.3
16 - 20%	59.4
21 - 25%	59.5
26 - 30%	59.6
31% or more	59.7

60. The percentage of <u>all</u> teachers who have a <u>full</u> schedule of classes, but receive extra-compensation for devoting extra time to student affairs, such as guidance functions, control, attendance, etc., is

0 - 5%	60.1
6 - 10%	60.2
11 - 15%	60.3
16 - 20%	60.4
21 - 25%	60.5
26 - 30%	60.6
31% or more	60.7

NASSP LARGE CITY SCHOOL STUDY

Section D: Administration-Supervision

61. How would you characterize your school on the basis of the socioeconomic conditions of the students enrolled?

An upper-middle class school	__66.1
A "common man" or lower-middle and upper-working class school	__66.2
A manual working class school	__66.3
A cross-sectional school, representative of your whole city population	__66.4

62-66. Which one or more of the following descriptions are applicable to the situation in your school?

Maintaining order and safety is a major problem and requires a large investment of staff time	__62.1
We have no more than the average problem in maintaining order and safety	__63.1
We have no problem maintaining order and safety and we do not devote much staff time to it	__64.1
We need and use special assistance (police, plain clothesmen, etc.) to maintain order and safety	__65.1
We have requested but have not received additional assistance for maintaining order and safety	__66.1

67-68. Has the practice of grouping by ability and/or achievement tended to increase or decrease in your school during the past five years? What do you expect in the next five years?

During the past five years, ability/achievement grouping has

increased	__67.1
decreased	__67.2
remained about the same	__67.3
not been practiced	__67.4

During the next five years, ability/achievement grouping probably will

increase	__68.1
decrease	__68.2
remain about the same	__68.3
will not be practiced	__68.4

69. What is the role of the principal and his administrative staff in the preparation of the budget as it relates to this school?

Nothing to do with it; prepared by the central office	__69.1
Make recommendations; budget is prepared by central office	__69.2
Plan, recommend and defend specific requests before final decisions are made	__69.3

70. What is the role of the principal and his administrative staff in the selection of certified personnel?

Nothing to say; assignments are made by central office	__70.1
Request staff allocation and accept-reject among the candidates recommended by central office	__70.2
Request staff allocation, review personnel records, interview applicants and recommend for assignment the applicants considered qualified	__70.3
Employ certified personnel without the direct assistance of the central office	__70.4

71-76. With respect to the curriculum of your own school, what is your opinion concerning students' ability to select programs and courses? Please use the following code for responses.

1 = Strongly agree
2 = Agree
3 = Neither agree nor disagree
4 = Disagree
5 = Disagree strongly

	+ +	+ -	- -	
We should have fewer programs of study with their related and/or required sequence of courses	1 2	3	4 5	71. ___
We should develop more programs of study to provide differentiated curriculums for students	1 2	3	4 5	72. ___
Students should have a greater range of courses in the area of constants (required subjects)	1 2	3	4 5	73. ___
Students should have fewer constants and more free electives	1 2	3	4 5	74. ___
The number of different programs and the combination of constants and free electives within them is about what it ought to be	1 2	3	4 5	75. ___
The programs of study with their constants and electives does not need modification, but options for independent or directed study should be more readily available for students	1 2	3	4 5	76. ___

NASSP LARGE CITY SCHOOL STUDY

Section E: Student Personnel Services

8-9. The number of full-time counselors on the staff is ____ 8/9

10-11. The number of different part-time counselors is ____ 10/11

12-13. The full-time equivalency of all part-time counselors is ____ 12/13

14-15. The number of full-time counselors with proper credentials is ____ 14/15

16. The ratio of counselors to students is

One counselor per 199 or fewer students	16.1
1:200 - 299	16.2
1:300 - 399	16.3
1:400 - 499	16.4
1:500 - 599	16.5
1:600 - 699	16.6
1:700 or more students	16.7

17-25. What practices do you think would most improve the effectiveness of the counseling program in your school?

Please use the following code for your responses.

1 = Very significant positive effect
2 = Significant positive effect
3 = Neither a positive nor a negative effect
4 = Significant negative effect
5 = Very significant negative effect

	+ +	+ -	- -	
To decrease the number of students per counselor	1	2	3 4 5	17. ___
To provide additional clerical help	1	2	3 4 5	18. ___
To have ONLY full-time counselors	1	2	3 4 5	19. ___
To adjust salaries commensurate with work assignments	1	2	3 4 5	20. ___
To assign counselors to families rather than to students	1	2	3 4 5	21. ___
To assign more paraprofessionals for informal work with students	1	2	3 4 5	22. ___
To incorporate personnel from other agencies in school program for on-site assistance	1	2	3 4 5	23. ___
To allocate increased staff time to evening hours for closer home-school relations	1	2	3 4 5	24. ___
Other_____	1	2	3 4 5	25. ___

26. Does your school employ a full-time non-teaching nurse?

Yes	26.1
No	26.2

27. The average daily case load per person on the school nursing staff is

20 - 40	27.1
41 - 60	27.2
61 - 80	27.3
81 -100	27.4
101 or more	27.5

28-32. Specialists available to students as part of the student personnel program is

	Full-time on site	Part-time on site	On call or by referral	None	
Psychologist	1	2	3	4	28. ___
Speech therapist	1	2	3	4	29. ___
Audiometrist	1	2	3	4	30. ___
Home counselor or social worker	1	2	3	4	31. ___
Psychiatrist	1	2	3	4	32. ___

33-35. What percentage of the parents/guardians of students are directly involved in at least one formal conference with a counselor sometime during the school year?

Students	0-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-70%	71-80%	81%+	
Grade 10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	33. ___
Grade 11	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	34. ___
Grade 12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	35. ___

36-39. What percentage of counseling time is devoted to the following activities?

	0-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51%	
Discipline	1	2	3	4	5	6	36. ___
Educational guidance	1	2	3	4	5	6	37. ___
Vocational guidance	1	2	3	4	5	6	38. ___
Guidance-related clerical tasks	1	2	3	4	5	6	39. ___

40-44. How many non-school employees representing other agencies meet with students in sessions arranged by the school to discuss career development, such as employment, continuing education, military service, etc.?

	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26 or more	
4-year colleges	1	2	3	4	5	6	40. ___
2-year colleges	1	2	3	4	5	6	41. ___
military service	1	2	3	4	5	6	42. ___
special training	1	2	3	4	5	6	43. ___
business/industry	1	2	3	4	5	6	44. ___

45. A graduate follow-up survey is conducted by your school

Not at all	45.1
First year after graduation only for all classes	45.2
First year after graduation only on a periodic basis	45.3
For more than one year for all classes	45.4
For more than one year for some classes	45.5
Yes, but some other pattern followed	45.6

46-52. Is the following information included in the follow-up survey of students?

	YES	NO
Number enrolled in 4-year colleges	46.1	46.2
Number enrolled in 2-year colleges	47.1	47.2
Number enrolled in special training	48.1	48.2
Number in military service	49.1	49.2
Number in non-military employment	50.1	50.2
Number married	51.1	51.2
Number not continuing education nor employed	52.1	52.2

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Section F: Student Enrollment, Attendance and Records

8-14. The percentage of student population enrolled as of October 1, 1968 was

	0-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-70%	71-80%	81%+	
American Indian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	8. ___
Caucasian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	9. ___
Negro	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10. ___
Oriental	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	11. ___
Puerto Rican	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	12. ___
Spanish American	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	13. ___
Other	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	14. ___

Specify_____

15-21. The percentage of the student population enrolled in the 1960-61 school year was

	0-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-70%	71-80%	81%+	
American Indian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	15. ___
Caucasian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	16. ___
Negro	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	17. ___
Oriental	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	18. ___
Puerto Rican	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	19. ___
Spanish American	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	20. ___
Other	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	21. ___

Specify_____

22. The percentage of students in the class of 1968 that entered the first year of your school's program (grade 9 or 10) but transferred to another school is

0 - 5%	22.1
6 - 10%	22.2
11 - 15%	22.3
16 - 20%	22.4
21 - 25%	22.5
26 - 30%	22.6
31% or more	22.7

23. The percentage of students who enrolled at some time in the class of 1968 whom you later classified as dropouts is

0 - 5%	23.1
6 - 10%	23.2
11 - 15%	23.3
16 - 20%	23.4
21 - 25%	23.5
26 - 30%	23.6
31% or more	23.7

24. The percentage of seniors in the 1968 graduating class that completed one year or less of the secondary school program at your school is

0 - 5%	24.1
6 - 10%	24.2
11 - 15%	24.3
16 - 20%	24.4
21 - 25%	24.5
26 - 30%	24.6
31% or more	24.7

25. The percentage of an average entering class (grade 9 or 10) enrolled in courses assumed to be expected by 4-year colleges of students applying for freshman admissions is

0 - 10%	25.1
11 - 20%	25.2
21 - 30%	25.3
31 - 40%	25.4
41 - 50%	25.5
51 - 60%	25.6
61 - 70%	25.7
71% or more	25.8

26. The average absenteeism on a day preceding an extended vacation or holiday is

0 - 10%	26.1
11 - 15%	26.2
16 - 20%	26.3
21 - 25%	26.4
26% or more	26.5

27. The percentage of the student population properly described as being educationally gifted is

0 - 5%	27.1
6 - 10%	27.2
11 - 15%	27.3
16 - 20%	27.4
21 - 25%	27.5
26 - 30%	27.6
31% or more	27.7

28. The percentage of the student population certified or properly described as educable mentally retarded is

0 - 5%	28.1
6 - 10%	28.2
11 - 15%	28.3
16 - 20%	28.4
21 - 25%	28.5
26 - 30%	28.6
31% or more	28.7

29. The percentage of the student population that speaks English as a second language is

0 - 10%	29.1
11 - 20%	29.2
21 - 30%	29.3
31 - 40%	29.4
41 - 50%	29.5
51% or more	29.6

30. The percentage of the school population having physical disabilities requiring special medical and/or educational attention is

0 - 5%	30.1
6 - 10%	30.2
11 - 15%	30.3
16 - 20%	30.4
21 - 25%	30.5
26% or more	30.6

31. The percentage of the entering class (grade 9 or 10) that would be considered seriously disadvantaged socioeconomically, using $2000 to $3000 annual income or comparable criteria, is

0 - 10%	31.1
11 - 20%	31.2
21 - 30%	31.3
31 - 40%	31.4
41 - 50%	31.5
51 - 60%	31.6
61 - 70%	31.7
71% or more	31.8

32. The percentage of the entering class (grade 9 or 10) that is 2 years or more retarded in reading is

0 - 10%	32.1
11 - 20%	32.2
21 - 30%	32.3
31 - 40%	32.4
41 - 50%	32.5
51 - 60%	32.6
61 - 70%	32.7
71% or more	32.8

33. The school's student population is

Fewer than 1000	33.1
1000 - 1499	33.2
1500 - 1999	33.3
2000 - 2499	33.4
2500 - 2999	33.5
3000 - 3499	33.6
3500 - 3999	33.7
4000 - 4499	33.8
4500 or more	33.9

NASSP LARGE CITY SCHOOL STUDY

Section G: Instructional Program

8-11. Based upon the upper four years of secondary schooling, regardless of the grade organization of your school, are the following stated as minimum requirements for graduation?

	YES	NO
Four years of English or its equivalent	__ 8.1	__ 8.2
Three years of social-behavioral sciences (history and/or social studies)	__ 9.1	__ 9.2
One year of mathematics	__10.1	__10.2
One year of science	__11.1	__11.2

12. Included in your school's graduation requirements based upon a four year program, are there at least SEVEN options for free electives or program variables for each student, excluding physical education?

Yes __12.1
No __12.2

13. Is the curriculum so organized that students can move from one program of studies to another without major difficulty, e.g., commercial studies to total academic?

Yes __13.1
No __13.2

14-19. Listed below are factors that might be taken into consideration in the grouping of students for instructional purposes. In the spaces to the lower right, please indicate the three factors that are most frequently used in your school.

1. Chronological age of student
2. Judgment of previous teachers
3. Marks in previous program of studies
4. Parental preferences
5. Success or failure in specific previous courses
6. Scores on achievement test
7. Scores on verbal ability or reading tests
8. Social maturity of student
9. Vocational objective of student
10. Other factor: please specify _____

Enter No. from above list	Most frequent	14-15. ___
	Second	16-17. ___
	Third	18-19. ___

20. Remedial language arts skills training is offered for tenth graders?

Yes __20.1
No __20.2

21. If remedial language arts skills training is offered for tenth graders, what percentage of the tenth grade is enrolled?

Not offered at any grade level	21.1
Offered, but not at grade ten	21.2
0 - 10% grade ten enrolled	21.3
11 - 20% grade ten enrolled	21.4
21 - 30% grade ten enrolled	21.5
31 - 40% grade ten enrolled	21.6
41 - 50% grade ten enrolled	21.7
51% or more grade ten enrolled	21 8

22. Is "advanced" or "honors" English offered at your school? Is it offered for tenth graders? If so, what percentage of the tenth grade is enrolled?

Not offered at any grade level	22.1
Offered, but not at grade ten	22.2
0 - 10% grade ten enrolled	22.3
11 - 20% grade ten enrolled	22.4
21 - 30% grade ten enrolled	22.5
31 - 40% grade ten enrolled	22.6
41 - 50% grade ten enrolled	22.7
51% or more grade ten enrolled	22.8

23-35. Which of the following foreign languages are offered in your school?

	YES	NO
Chinese	23.1	23.2
French	24.1	24.2
German	25.1	25.2
Hebrew	26.1	26.2
Italian	27.1	27.2
Latin	28.1	28.2
Polish	29.1	29.2
Russian	30.1	30.2
Spanish	31.1	31.2
Swahili	32.1	32.2
Other:		
Specify _____		33.1
_____		34.1
_____		35.1

36. How many different foreign languages are offered at the first year or beginning level?

None	36.1
One	36.2
Two	36.3
Three	36.4
Four	36.5
Five or more	36.6

37. How many different foreign languages are offered at the fourth year or high competency level?

None	37.1
One	37.2
Two	37.3
Three	37.4
Four	37.5
Five or more	37.6

38. What percentage of students in an average graduating class successfully complete the fourth year or high competency level of a foreign language?

0 - 5%	38.1
6 - 10%	38.2
11 - 20%	38.3
21 - 30%	38.4
31 - 40%	38.5
41 - 50%	38.6
51% or more	38.7

39. Is physical education for the physically disabled offered at your school? If so, what percentage of the student body is enrolled?

Not offered at this school	39.1
0 - 5% of students enrolled	39.2
6 - 10% of students enrolled	39.3
11 - 15% of students enrolled	39.4
16 - 20% of students enrolled	39.5
21% or more students enrolled	39.6

40. Is instruction in English as a second language offered at your school? Is it offered for tenth graders? If so, what percentage of tenth graders is enrolled?

Not offered at any grade level	40.1
Offered, but not for grade ten	40.2
0 - 5% grade ten enrolled	40.3
6 - 10% grade ten enrolled	40.4
11 - 20% grade ten enrolled	40.5
21 - 30% grade ten enrolled	40.6
31 - 40% grade ten enrolled	40.7
41 - 50% grade ten enrolled	40.8
51% or more grade ten enrolled	40.9

41. Is an acceleration program in cooperation with <u>local</u> colleges and universities offered in your school--not advanced placement courses? If so, what percentage of students in an average graduating class receive college credit while still in high school?

Not offered at this school	41.1
0 - 5%	41.2
6 - 10%	41.3
11 - 15%	41.4
16 - 20%	41.5
21 - 25%	41.6
26% or more	41.7

42. Do capable students perform in an organized tutorial program in some role similar to that of a teacher aide either in individual or small group situations? If so, what percentage of the student body participate as tutors for students in your school?

Not provided in this school	__42.1
0 - 3%	__42.2
4 - 6%	__42.3
7 - 10%	__42.4
11% or more	__42.5

43. Are students in your school enrolled in an Upward Bound program? If so, what percentage of the student body is enrolled?

No such program exists	__43.1
0 - 3%	__43.2
4 - 6%	__43.3
7 - 10%	__43.4
11% or more	__43.5

44. To what extent does the instructional program include materials (textbooks, films, etc.) that reflect the cultural backgrounds and the environmental context of various ethnic and cultural groups that clearly exist in the American society?

Little, if any	__44.1
In a few special courses	__44.2
In many different courses	__44.3
Somewhat in most courses	__44.4
In practically all courses	__44.5

45-46. Generally speaking, the curriculum is organized in one of two ways: (1) by separate subjects, or (2) by broad fields which include several subjects, e.g., separate courses in history and geography vs. social studies classes combining history and geography; separate classes in art, music and literature vs. humanities classes.

What is the trend of practice in your school? Check ONE reply for EACH five year period.

	During past five years	Expected during next five years
a. Changes chiefly in the direction of singling out distinct subjects from broad fields	__45.1	__46.1
b. Changes chiefly in the direction of combining separate subjects into broad fields	__45.2	__46.2
c. No marked changes in either direction	__45.3	__46.3

47-48. In classroom instruction the teacher may provide direct experiences or relate to students' experiences and then move towards abstract generalizations (inductive) or he may begin with the abstract statements of the subject matter and attempt to relate the content to the daily lives of the students.

What is the trend in instructional strategies in your school? Give ONE reply for EACH five year period.

	During past five years	Expected during next five years
a. Changes chiefly in the direction of starting with daily life experiences or direct experiences organized by the school	__47.1	__48.1
b. Changes chiefly in the direction of starting with abstract statements that are related to personal experiences of students	__47.2	__48.2
c. No marked changes in either direction	__47.3	__48.3

49. Regardless of the strategy or the notion with which the teacher begins instruction, to what extent do teachers effectively relate abstract statements of subject matter to the personal experiences of students?

Most teachers effectively relate subject matter and personal experiences of students	__49.1
The majority of teachers do so effectively	__49.2
Only some teachers do so effectively	__49.3
Most teachers do not do so effectively	__49.4

50. Are cooperative work experience programs, jointly sponsored by the school and local businesses, offered at your school? If so, what percentage of the eleventh and twelfth grade students participate?

Program not offered	__50.1
0 - 5%	__50.2
6 - 10%	__50.3
11 - 15%	__50.4
16 - 20%	__50.5
21 - 25%	__50.6
26% or more	__50.7

51-56. Is occupational education for job entry skills in the following areas offered at your school?

	YES	NO
Agriculture/horticulture	__51.1	__51.2
Business/commercial	__52.1	__52.2
Distributive occupations	__53.1	__53.2
Industrial occupations	__54.1	__54.2
Health	__55.1	__55.2
Home Economics	__56.1	__56.2

57. The percentage of students in grades eleven and twelve participating in the occupational education program is

0 - 10%	__57.1
11 - 20%	__57.2
21 - 30%	__57.3
31 - 40%	__57.4
41 - 50%	__57.5
51 - 60%	__57.6
61 - 70%	__57.7
71 - 80%	__57.8
81% or more	__57.9

58-67. Given the specific current student population of your school, what priority do the following goals have with respect to the allocation of time, physical and human resources? Please use the following code for responses.

1 = Receives primary attention in this school
2 = Receives more than average attention
3 = Receives average attention
4 = Receives less than average attention
5 = Receives almost no attention

	+ +	+ -	- -	
Adaptability to a changing world	1 2	3	4 5	58. ___
Development of cultural appreciations, e.g., nature, music, drama, architecture	1 2	3	4 5	59. ___
Development of sound moral and spiritual values	1 2	3	4 5	60. ___
Development of positive self-concept and a facility for good human relations	1 2	3	4 5	61. ___
Acquisition of basic skills, e.g., reading, writing, computing	1 2	3	4 5	62. ___
Understanding the values inherent in the American way of life	1 2	3	4 5	63. ___
Physical fitness	1 2	3	4 5	64. ___
Acquisition of basic knowledge	1 2	3	4 5	65. ___
Development of the skills and practice of critical intellectual inquiry	1 2	3	4 5	66. ___
Training in the technical skills to run the country and/or development of appropriate talents, e.g., engineering, scientific, industrial	1 2	3	4 5	67. ___

68. To what extent has the set of priorities for your school changed within the past five years?

To a very great extent	__68.1
To a great extent	__68.2
To some extent	__68.3
Very little or not much	__68.4
Almost not at all	__68.5

NASSP LARGE CITY SCHOOL STUDY

Section H: Student Activity Program

8. Is a democratic student government organization operational at your school? If so, what is the basis upon which council-assembly membership is decided?

Student government not operational at this school	8.1
Council composed of officials of other student organizations	8.2
Council members elected by homerooms or similar organizational units	8.3
Council members elected at-large by total school	8.4
Council members elected by grade levels	8.5
Council members appointed by selection committee	8.6
Council members neither elected nor appointed	8.7
Other: please specify_____	8.8

9-19. To what extent are the following types of activities offered and to what extent are they under the direction of students? Please use the following code for responses.

1 = Not provided in student activity program
2 = Provided in program but not under student direction
3 = Extensive program under student direction
4 = Moderate program under student direction
5 = Limited program under student direction

Non-interscholastic sports, intramurals	1 2 3 4 5	9. ___
Forums, symposia, debates	1 2 3 4 5	10. ___
Social events	1 2 3 4 5	11. ___
Awards, competitions	1 2 3 4 5	12. ___
Assembly programs	1 2 3 4 5	13. ___
Club activities, interest groups	1 2 3 4 5	14. ___
Service projects benefiting students	1 2 3 4 5	15. ___
Service projects benefiting community	1 2 3 4 5	16. ___
Publications	1 2 3 4 5	17. ___
Selective, honor organizations	1 2 3 4 5	18. ___
Grade-level cabinets/councils	1 2 3 4 5	19. ___

20. What percentage of the total student body participates in at least one aspect of the student activity program?

0 - 10%	20.1
10 - 30%	20.2
31 - 50%	20.3
51 - 70%	20.4
71% or more	20.5

21. Participation in student activities by students who are economically disadvantaged ($2000-$3000 annual family income or comparable criteria) is

Greater than that by students with higher family income	21.1
About the same	21.2
Less than that by students with higher family income	21.3

22-31. During the past two school years, has there been a conflict situation involving two or more groups (students-school officials) with opposing points of view that required resolution?

Yes __22.1
No __22.2

If "yes" which of the following factors were involved?
If "no" which of the following factors do you anticipate as probable if such a situation should develop?

	YES	NO
Physical confrontation among students in the school	__23.1	__23.2
Physical confrontation between students and some member of the school staff	__24.1	__24.2
Moderate damage to physical facilities of the school	__25.1	__25.2
Disruption of the school's instructional program for half a school day or more	__26.1	__26.2
Student strike or other form of refusal to enter classrooms for instruction	__27.1	__27.2
Picketing or protest marches during the school day	__28.1	__28.2
Support of students by more than one member of the school staff in a role other than conciliatory	__29.1	__29.2
Participation/involvement by more than one-half of the student body	__30.1	__30.2
Support of students by adults other than parents	__31.1	__31.2

32-40. If student activism has been evident, what were the concerns or issues expressed by students in the conflict situation? If conflict has not been evident, what do you anticipate as probable concerns or issues. Please use the following code for responses.

1 = Not a student expressed concern/issue or not anticipated
2 = A primary concern/issue expressed by students or anticipated
3 = A secondary concern/issue expressed by students or anticipated

National social policy: Vietnam war, poverty, unemployment	1 2 3	32. ___
Special non-academic provisions for ethnic/minority groups: soul food, Black lounges, Malcolm X memorial	1 2 3	33. ___
Dress-appearance codes: hair length, African, mini-skirts	1 2 3	34. ___
Speech and press: underground publications, arm bands, buttons, censorship	1 2 3	35. ___
Teaching and learning process: "racist" teachers, tracking, classroom formalities	1 2 3	36. ___
Curriculum content: sex education, Swahili, Black studies	1 2 3	37. ___
Student personnel services: detention halls, guidance services, regulations for tardiness	1 2 3	38. ___
Student relationships: white cheerleaders, segregated social events	1 2 3	39. ___
Ideology: Black is Beautiful, America is militaristic, white racism	1 2 3	40. ___

41-55. If student unrest/activism has been evident, what were the responses in the situation and what was the realized effect of each?

If student unrest has not been evident, what responses do you anticipate as being appropriate and what effect do you believe such actions will have in contributing to the resolution of conflict? Please use the following code for your responses.

1 = Not involved in our situation or not anticipated
2 = Significant positive effect in resolving conflict realized or anticipated
3 = Neutral effect in resolving conflict realized or anticipated
4 = Significant negative effect in resolving conflict realized or anticipated

	0	+	+ −	−	
Special police assistance for school grounds/facilities requested and/or assigned	1	2	3	4	41. ___
Large group assembly of students initiated by school officials	1	2	3	4	42. ___
Formal meetings between student representatives and principal or his delegated representative	1	2	3	4	43. ___
Formal meetings between student representatives and superintendent or delegated central office personnel	1	2	3	4	44. ___
Mutually acceptable signed statement/agreement between students and school officials	1	2	3	4	45. ___
Suspension of one or more involved students	1	2	3	4	46. ___
Formal civil charges filed against 1 or more students	1	2	3	4	47. ___
Creation of new channel of communication involving students and school staff	1	2	3	4	48. ___
Resignation and/or reassignment of one or more members of local school staff	1	2	3	4	49. ___
Reassignment of students to other programs and/or other schools	1	2	3	4	50. ___
Small group student-faculty discussions	1	2	3	4	51. ___
Court suit filed against school officials	1	2	3	4	52. ___
New school regulations and/or student personnel procedures	1	2	3	4	53. ___
New course offering(s) and/or significant curriculum modification/revisions	1	2	3	4	54. ___
Increased direct discussions between community adults and school officials	1	2	3	4	55. ___

56. To what extent do student organizations aid in maintaining order and discipline in school and at school-sponsored activities?

Student organizations a great help ___56.1
Provide average assistance and meet with moderate success ___56.2
Attempt to help, but relatively ineffective ___56.3
Offer little or no help ___56.4

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Section I: School-Community Relations

8-14. To what extent are lay people from the community involved in activities conducted by the school? Please use the following code.

1 = Very frequently or frequently
2 = Sometime
3 = Never or almost never

	+	+ -	-		
Over-all educational planning for this school	1	2	3	8.	___
Advisers for special instructional programs (cooperative work experience, vocational)	1	2	3	9.	___
Planning and/or supervising supplementary educational experiences for students	1	2	3	10.	___
Over-all evaluation of this school's program	1	2	3	11.	___
Planning and/or supervising aspects of this school's student activity program	1	2	3	12.	___
Occupational information/planning conferences	1	2	3	13.	___
Career development programs involving teaching assistance with increasing responsibilities	1	2	3	14.	___

15. Civic and community organizations utilize the school as a meeting place for entertainment, recreation, special meetings

Not at all	__15.1
Several times a year	__15.2
About once a month	__15.3
Several times a month	__15.4
At least once a week	__15.5

16. The attendance at parent-teacher functions concerned with the program of this school by parents of students with below-average school records is

Less than that of parents of students with average or above-average records	__16.1
About the same as that of parents of students with average or above-average records	__16.2
More than that of parents of students with average or above-average records	__16.3

17. The attendance at parent-teacher functions of parents who are seriously economically disadvantaged ($2000-$3000 annual income or comparable income) is

Less than that of parents with additional income	__17.1
About the same as that of parents with additional income	__17.2
More than that of parents with additional income	__17.3

18. How many local staff members are designated to a school-community liaison role? (Consider only compensated time in terms of full-time equivalents.)

None	18.1
One	18.2
Two	18.3
Three	18.4
Four	18.5
Five or more	18.6

19-32. Various means may be used for communications between schools and their communities. What means are available to your school? Which ones are used and what is the effectiveness of their use? Please use the following code for your responses.

1 = Unavailable or not existing
2 = Available, but not currently used
3 = Used with significant positive effect
4 = Used with moderate or questionable positive effect
5 = Used with probable or definite negative effect

Local radio	1 2 3 4 5	19. ___
Local television	1 2 3 4 5	20. ___
Local and/or general newspapers	1 2 3 4 5	21. ___
Materials prepared and published by school personnel	1 2 3 4 5	22. ___
Personal contacts on school site initiated by school personnel	1 2 3 4 5	23. ___
Personal contacts off school site	1 2 3 4 5	24. ___
Personal contacts off school site by students	1 2 3 4 5	25. ___
Publications by students	1 2 3 4 5	26. ___
Community laymen at faculty discussions	1 2 3 4 5	27. ___
Vocationally oriented study trips into the community	1 2 3 4 5	28. ___
Culturally oriented study trips into the community	1 2 3 4 5	29. ___
Large group assemblies involving representatives of community	1 2 3 4 5	30. ___
Community resource persons invited into classrooms	1 2 3 4 5	31. ___
Other: please specify_____	1 2 3 4 5	32. ___

33. The percentage of the school staff holding active membership in at least one community organization with some interest in the school or the community's activities for youth education, other than the PTA or Home-School Association, is

0 - 5%	33.1
6 - 10%	33.2
11 - 15%	33.3
16 - 20%	33.4
21% or more	33.5

NASSP LARGE CITY SCHOOL STUDY

Section J: Cultural Enrichment

8-9. During the 1967-68 school year, the percentage of students participating in

	0-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51%+	
Vocationally oriented study trips	1	2	3	4	5	6	8. ___
Culturally oriented study trips	1	2	3	4	5	6	9. ___

10-11. The percentage of all those students coming from seriously economically disadvantaged homes ($2000-$3000 annual income or comparable criteria) taking the

	0-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51%+	
Vocationally oriented study trips	1	2	3	4	5	6	10. ___
Culturally oriented study trips	1	2	3	4	5	6	11. ___

12-14. During the 1967-68 school year, the number of

	None	0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21 +	
Interschool student programs held	1	2	3	4	5	6	12. ___
Culturally oriented assemblies held	1	2	3	4	5	6	13. ___
Community resource people contributing to student programs	1	2	3	4	5	6	14. ___

NASSP LARGE CITY SCHOOL STUDY

Section K: School Physical Facilities

8. The physical facilities (buildings and grounds) in terms of the district's financial ability are

Below the district's reasonable expectation	__8.1
Commensurate with district's reasonable expectation	__8.2
Above the district's reasonable expectation	__8.3

9. Assuming reasonable efficient use, existing physical facilities in terms of educational activities for students and the local community are

Severely inadequate for an appropriate program	__9.1
Inadequate for an appropriate program	__9.2
Adequate for an appropriate program	__9.3
More than adequate for an appropriate program	__9.4

10. To what extent has your school been constrained during the past five years in designing innovative educational programs due to the inflexibility and/or inadequacy of physical facilities?

Constrained to a great or very great degree	__10.1
Constrained somewhat but not to a great degree	__10.2
Constrained little, if at all	__10.3

11. What percentage of the current study body can be seated in the largest auditorium area?

0 - 20%	__11.1
21 - 40%	__11.2
41 - 60%	__11.3
61 - 80%	__11.4
81 -100%	__11.5

12-23. To what extent are <u>specialized</u> instructional facilities adequate to provide needed program for interested students? Please use the following code for your responses.

1 = Severely inadequare for an appropriate program
2 = Inadequate for an appropriate program
3 = Adequate
4 = More than adequate

	− −	−	+	+ +		
Manual and/or industrial arts	1	2	3	4	12.	___
Vocational/occupational programs	1	2	3	4	13.	___
Science	1	2	3	4	14.	___
Home economics/family living	1	2	3	4	15.	___
Music	1	2	3	4	16.	___
Art	1	2	3	4	17.	___
Communication arts and skills	1	2	3	4	18.	___
Mathematics	1	2	3	4	19.	___
Foreign Languages	1	2	3	4	20.	___
Social and behavioral sciences	1	2	3	4	21.	___
Other:_____	1	2	3	4	22.	___
Other:_____	1	2	3	4	23.	___

24. Vandalism to the school plant by students and by other persons is

Insignificant	__24.1
One of several important problems relating to physical facilities	__24.2
A major problem	__24.3

25. General maintenance of the school building and grounds is

Inadequate	__25.1
Adequate	__25.2
Commendable	__25.3

26. What is the relation between stated student capacity of physical facilities for a single school session and the current enrollment?

Enrollment is less than stated capacity	__26.1
Enrollment exceeds capacity by fewer than 100 students	__26.2
Enrollment exceeds capacity by 101 to 500 students	__26.3
Enrollment exceeds capacity by 501 to 1000 students	__26.4
Enrollment exceeds capacity by 1001 to 1500 students	__26.5
Enrollment exceeds capacity by more than 1501 students	__26.6

27. In terms of the number of students and institutions involved, to what extent are specialized facilities (physical and human) of other local institutions (private and governmental) made available and used for the implementation of the school's educational program?

None at all	__27.1
Very little use	__27.2
Some use	__27.3
Considerable use	__27.4
Very great use	__27.5

NASSP LARGE CITY SCHOOL STUDY

Section L: Instructional and Organizational Practices

8-39. Many urban secondary schools are developing new practices in an attempt to improve the effectiveness of the schools. Listed below are some of those practices. A brief definition of each practice is provided on pages L-3 to L-4. For each practice, please indicate the extent to which the practice has been given some attention within your own school, by using the alternative responses defined below.

1. IN USE = fully implemented as a regular feature of the program or currently being used on a trial or pilot basis
2. PLANS = definite plans have been made for implementation, including allocation of materials and/or personnel
3. UNDER STUDY = currently or recently considered in terms of feasibility by an officially designated group within the school
4. REJECTED = study has been completed and a decision not to implement the practice has been made
5. DROPPED = practice discontinued after a trial or pilot project
6. UNKNOWN:NOT CONSIDERED = practice is unknown or was never considered seriously

Teaching teams	1	2	3	4	5	6	8.	___
Humanities course	1	2	3	4	5	6	9.	___
Television instruction	1	2	3	4	5	6	10.	___
Programmed instruction	1	2	3	4	5	6	11.	___
Teaching machines	1	2	3	4	5	6	12.	___
Language laboratory	1	2	3	4	5	6	13.	___
Telephone amplification	1	2	3	4	5	6	14.	___
Simulation or gaming	1	2	3	4	5	6	15.	___
Non-graded programs	1	2	3	4	5	6	16.	___
Bilingual education	1	2	3	4	5	6	17.	___
Continuous progress	1	2	3	4	5	6	18.	___
Directed study	1	2	3	4	5	6	19.	___
Independent study	1	2	3	4	5	6	20.	___
Flexible scheduling	1	2	3	4	5	6	21.	___
Back-to-back scheduling	1	2	3	4	5	6	22.	___
Instructional materials center	1	2	3	4	5	6	23.	___
Resource center	1	2	3	4	5	6	24.	___
Honor study hall	1	2	3	4	5	6	25.	___
School-within-school	1	2	3	4	5	6	26.	___
Optional attendance	1	2	3	4	5	6	27.	___
Adult literacy courses	1	2	3	4	5	6	28.	___
Maternity program	1	2	3	4	5	6	29.	___
Community cultural center	1	2	3	4	5	6	30.	___
Expanded summer school	1	2	3	4	5	6	31.	___
Pre-service program	1	2	3	4	5	6	32.	___
In-service program	1	2	3	4	5	6	33.	___
Expanded guidance services	1	2	3	4	5	6	34.	___
Breakfast program	1	2	3	4	5	6	35.	___
School-community liaison	1	2	3	4	5	6	36.	___
Parent handbook	1	2	3	4	5	6	37.	___
Parent counseling	1	2	3	4	5	6	38.	___
Tutoring program	1	2	3	4	5	6	39.	___

40-45. Of the practices listed on the preceding page, which do you believe to be of most significance in terms of their potential for the effective education of students in your school? Please specify by giving the identification number to the right of the item.

Greatest potential	___40-41.___
Second most promising	___42-43.___
Third most promising	___44-45.___

Newer educational practices are designed as solutions to problems in specific situations. While some of these may gain a certain amount of visibility and currency, they may not be appropriate to a large number of schools that exist in different contexts.

If you and your staff have developed promising new approaches which the above terms fail to describe adequately, would you briefly describe the nature and purpose of those practices so that they may be included in this study of urban high schools. Any practice listed will not be identified with your school unless specific permission is requested in writing.

DEFINITIONS

Teaching teams: course under the direction of two or more teachers, all of whom participate in planning and meeting the class sessions

Humanities course: required or elective course given for at least a semester's credit involving some combination of art, music, literature, philosophy, history

Television instruction: students view open or closed circuit TV regularly as basic instructional process for completing a course for credit

Programmed instruction: students, independently or as groups, use programmed texts without machines for completing course for credit

Teaching machines: a mechanical device involving programmed material arranged in minute steps with immediate feedback as to correctness of response

Language laboratory: any device used to present recorded voices as part of the audio-lingual approach to learning language

Telephone amplification: discussions held by students with persons away from school via telephone with supplementary amplification

Simulation or gaming: any device used to create a problematical situation, whether realistic or logical, involving students in strategy and decision making

Non-graded programs: series of courses open to all students with interest and potential for success without regard to grade level of student and/or sequence of courses

Bilingual education: some courses other than a language course in which instruction is offered in English and/or another language

Continuous progress: students within course work at own pace with long term completion date through pre-designed units of study including various materials. Course may or may not have prescribed final completion date

Directed study: students complete work for credit independent of group task but under supervision of a specific teacher with whom student meets at least once a week

Independent study: student initiates work on a topic of interest and uses available resources, but consults with teachers only when needed

Flexible scheduling: scheduled courses meet for various periods of time during different segments of the day and with student groups of significantly different size

Back-to-back scheduling: students in two different subjects scheduled in sequential periods to foster cooperative teaching among teachers of different subjects

Instructional materials center: extensive library collection complemented by a wide variety of audio-visual materials for direct student use, not limited to one or a few substantive areas

Resource centers: specialized center with learning materials specifically selected in terms of relevance to one or several substantive areas, usually with adult staff who provide assistance

Honor study halls: study halls without adult supervision, but may involve student monitors

School-within-school: for administrative, guidance, and/or instructional purposes, students and faculty are organized into smaller than total school units

Optional attendance: selected students are permitted to decide if they will attend a given session of a particular scheduled class

Adult literacy course: special courses offered in the school for parents to learn the use of the English language

Maternity programs: students who are expectant mothers are given instruction in the care of infants and the maintenance of self

Community cultural center: school provides administrative and organizational leadership in the development of a program of general interest to community citizens

Expanded summer school: opportunities are provided for enrichment as well as remedial work during the summer months

Pre-service program: school provides special pre-service orientation for teachers new to the school to familiarize them with the environmental context

In-service program: local school provides workshops and conferences focusing on specific concerns of the school and its community

Expanded guidance services: supplemented guidance staff to provide counseling, vocation guidance, job placement, and coordinated referral system

Breakfast programs: early morning food available to students at minimal or no cost

School-community liaison: resident(s) of the community is employed in a non-credentialed position to facilitate communication between parents and the school

Parent handbook: school provides for parents a booklet that describes and interprets the activities, programs, and procedures specifically in terms of what is expected of parents

Parent counseling: specially trained counselor responsible for initiating contacts with parents and for providing special meetings designed to increase parents' understanding and concern for the child's success

Tutoring program: special academic assistance provided within the school by peers, near peers or adults other than the credentialed teachers