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ABSTRACT

This document is the final report of a two-year study of the interdependency of race and education in Newark, New Jersey. The report is organized into sections describing how the research was performed and presents the results on a set of topics defined as central for providing a useful understanding of the complex interrelationships of race and education. Three purposes were in mind in designing this study. First, there was the fundamental curiosity to discover the changing nature of participation by the black community of Newark in the creation and implementation of public educational policy. This general purpose was transformed into an empirical description and analysis of black involvement in selected aspects of the educational institution. A second base purpose was to develop an interpretative understanding of the changes which occurred in the areas of race and education. The intent was to develop a model of change that made sense of the events experienced by the researchers, as well as permitting some degree of prediction. The third basic purpose was to gain systematic insights that have applied significance for those concerned with revitalization of the black community and in the improvement of the educational institution in Newark. (Author/JM)

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PARTICIPATION OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN SELECTED
ASPECTS OF THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION OF NEWARK, 1958 - 1972

Project No. 3972
Contract No. R01-MH-16425-02

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with the assistance of

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NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF MENTAL HEALTH
Center for Minority Group
Mental Health Programs

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Mr. Frank Smith of Tri-State Photography is responsible for all photographs used in the report.

Finally, the Project Director alone, of course, is responsible for the report in its entirety.

CONTENTS

	Page
THE RESEARCH TEAM	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
FIGURES	viii
ILLUSTRATIONS	ix
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM	1
2. EDUCATION AND RACE: A PROBLEM IN SOCIAL CHANGE	16
3. NEWARK: SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES	36
4. THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND THE SCHOOLS	74
5. INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE AND RACISM: POLICY DETERMINATION AND IMPLEMENTATION	115
6. PUBLIC MEETINGS--1971	195
7. HOW DOES THIS MATTER STAND? FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS	235
APPENDICES	251
Methodology	
Data Collection Instruments	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	312

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Sources of Annual Budgeted Operating Funds of the Board of Education, by Year	32
2. Population of Newark, 1940-1970	38
3. Black and Spanish-Speaking Populations	39
4. Socioeconomic and Family Status Characteristics, Newark 1940-1970	40
5. Socioeconomic and Family Status Characteristics of Blacks and Whites, 1960-1970	42
6. Variables for Demographic Analysis	46
7. Black Family Status	49
8. Spanish-Speaking Family Status	52
9. Social Status Growth Areas	55
10. Central Business District	59
11. Population Projections for Newark: 1970, 1975, and 1980	65
12. Black Voluntary Associations by Scope of Affiliation, Purpose, and Frame of Reference--1958-1971	98
13. Number of Presentations by Black Organizations at Public Board of Education Meetings, by Fiscal Year	103
14. Major Organizational Participants, by Scope of Affiliation, Purpose, and Frame of Reference	110

Table		Page
15.	Percentage Distribution of Educational Attainment of Board of Education Members by Mayoral Period	118
16.	Motion Type, by Type of Meeting, 1958-1970	122
17.	Motion Type, by Discussion, 1958-1970	125
18.	Motion Type, by Separate Vote, 1958-1970	129
19.	Motion Type, by Split Vote, 1958-1970	130
20.	Per Cent of Speakers Making Multiple Appearances, 1971	213
21.	Per Cent of Appearances with Multiple Issues	214
22.	Race and Sex of Speakers (Per Cent)	215
23.	Appearances by Race and Age of Speaker (Per Cent)	216
24.	Speaker's Self-Identification (Per Cent)	218
25.	Speaker's Self-Identification by Race (Per Cent)	220
26.	Race of Speaker by Known Organizational Affiliation (Per Cent)	222
27.	Issue Areas Raised by Race of Speaker	225
28.	Position on Issue by Speaker's Race (Per Cent)	227
29.	Speaker's Race and Issue Position by Issue Area (Per Cent)	230
30.	Per Cent of Appearances Receiving Verbal Response from Board Member or Administrator	231
31.	Initial Responders to Speakers' Presentation (Per Cent)	232

FIGURES

Number		Page
1-4.	Factor Structures (Demographic)	50
5.	Black Population Distribution, 1940-1970	61
6.	Per Cent of Total Motions by Fiscal Year that were Accompanied with Discussions	126
7.	Per Cent of Total Motions by Fiscal Year that were Accompanied with Separate Votes	128
8.	Per Cent of Total Motions by Fiscal Year that were Accompanied with Split Votes	132

ILLUSTRATIONS

Photograph	Page
A. 1971 Public Meeting of the Newark Board of Education	203
B. 1971 Public Meeting of the Newark Board of Education	204

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM

The cruelties of property and privilege are always more ferocious than the revenges of poverty and oppression.

C. L. R. James, (1963)

This document is the final report of a two-year study of the interdependency of race and education in Newark, New Jersey. The report is organized into sections describing how the research was performed, and presents the results on a set of topics defined as central for providing a useful understanding of the complex interrelationships of race and education.

Purpose and Orientation

Three purposes were in mind in designing and carrying out this study. First, there was the fundamental curiosity to discover the changing nature of participation by the Black community of Newark in the creation and implementation of public educational policy. This general purpose was transformed into an empirical description and analysis of Black involvement in selected aspects of the educational institution. Major attention is paid to three parts of the total educational institution: (1) the changing structure

and function of the Board of Education; (2) the participation of the Black community in educational affairs, and especially in the ceremonies or rituals of public meetings of the Board of Education; and (3) incumbency in the central administration of the educational institution. In addition, the attempt is made to analyze the actions taken by the Board of Education in the forms of policy determination, or the relations of the Board of Education with other decision-making structures of the community. To put it shortly, the nexus between the Newark Board of Education and the Black community is the primary object of study in this research project.

Several reasons justify this selection. First, of course, is the fact that by law and custom the Board of Education has the formal responsibility for providing "a thorough and efficient system of education" to the community. Distinction is made between the central administration of the educational institution, or the techno-structure, and the Board of Education. The former is made up of a hierarchically organized cadre of executives, administrators, and technicians charged specifically with operating the schools. They are viewed collectively as an instrumentality of the Board of Education.

Additionally, the Newark educational institution was subject to considerable change during the time period

studied. A major component of this change has been the Board of Education, its changing membership, and the way in which it has functioned, particularly with regard to the Black community. In the changes that occurred, the Board of Education served as a primary center of turbulence and conflict. It represents the confluence of many ideological, racial, political, economic, personal, and community forces. As such, it is mandatory that any study of Black participation in the educational institution include some analysis of the structure and function of the Board of Education.

Attention is fixed upon the way in which the Board of Education operated as a policy-determining entity longitudinally, as well as a cross-sectional analysis of the actions or decisions taken by the Board of Education for all of 1971. An attempt is made to analyze the techno-structure. Just as participation on the Board of Education is reflective of the exercise of formal influence or power, so is incumbency in central administrative office. Occupation of personnel position is included because it constitutes one of the major means by which Blacks gain both position and power, and thus affect the educational institution. The analysis covers some part of the movement of Blacks into these positions in the educational system historically, especially the kinds of administrative roles occupied and their function in the school system.

A section of the study is devoted to the Black community, particularly in terms of its changing organizational structure over the past decade. The attempt is made to isolate principles guiding the organization of this community, and in locating those individuals who played significant roles in bringing about changes in the educational institution. Considerable effort is devoted to noting the organizational base of Black community action, as well as its changing demands and emphases. Black organizations serve numerous functions for the Black community including, among others, the development of political experience, and the accumulation of economic and psychological resources that serve to make for success in purposive change.

A second base purpose of this study was to develop an interpretative understanding of the changes which occurred in the arenas of race and education. The intent was to develop a model of change in race and education that made sense of the events observed and experienced by the researchers, as well as permitting some degree of prediction about the future of race relations and educational change in Newark. The model was meant to be sociological, that is, to employ conceptual tools at the middle-range level of abstraction for institutional systems rather than at the personal level (Merton, 1949).

Since the study covers generally the period from 1958 to 1972 the model was expected to permit the management of the problem of social change. In attempting to create this model, the overriding interest is directed toward accounting for change in race and education rather than the development of a general model of social change (Moore, 1957).

The third basic purpose of the study is to gain systematic insights that have applied significance (Gouldner, 1957) for those concerned with revitalization of the Black community and in the improvement of the educational institution in Newark.

Put bluntly, the benefit of this study for any conceivable set of abstract interests is subordinated to the objective of benefit for the Black community and to the educational institution of Newark. It is not an issue here of pure, original, or basic research versus praxis or applied research; nor is it an issue of involvement or an insider approach versus objectivity or detachment (Tumin, 1968, and Frank, 1961). Above all theory and methodology is the attempt to study seriously the rhetoric and reality of social change--that which is observable and that which is experienced in addition to that which can be imagined--culminating with findings in the form of statements of public policy capable of implementation (Gouldner, 1968).

The orientation of this research can be described

in terms of major substantive and methodological issues and in terms of a social problem.

Substantively, a historical and a cross-sectional approach are utilized. While some of the analysis over the period from 1958-59 to 1971-72 is devoted to a review and interpretation of changes, other analyses are devoted to an examination of specific periods or events during this span of time. Methodologically, the study is essentially inductive, not deductive. A host of research techniques are employed, including interviews, structured observation, questionnaires, and content analysis of documents. The methodological appendix discusses in more detail specific problems associated with the design and execution of various aspects of the research. It is worth pointing out here, however, that a multimethod approach is defined as more fully serving the purposes of the study. This is so because, first, it guards against the methodological problems and limitations of a single technique. Second, it permits access to qualitatively different kinds and sources of information. In so doing it permits checks on the reliability and validity of information, which in the long run should contribute to a more theoretically and empirically sound and useful research document.

Something needs to be said in reference to the role of this study in terms of the general applicability of its

findings. First and foremost, this research is seen as a case study of race and education in an urban setting. To the degree that other urban centers approximate Newark in terms of demographic attributes, political features and racial conditions, then the study and its findings have some general applicability. But this aspect of the research should not be over emphasized. Rather, stress is to be put on the importance and necessity of studies which attempt to advance applied and basic sociological knowledge about race and education. This can be accomplished by research with carefully selected samples, that is survey studies, as well as by well-executed case studies. It is into the latter that this project is placed.

From the social problem orientation (Perrucci and Pilisuk, 1968) this research study concentrates upon the patterns and the consequences of changing Black participation in the educational institution of Newark. The problematic dimensions reveal themselves in numerous ways, including low incumbency of formal offices by Blacks; a felt non-involvement in important rather than superficial areas of educational matters; a generally accepted belief that there existed a lack of responsiveness of the educational institution to those interests defined by the Black community as important; and a low level of educational achievement or success by Black children. These

manifestations have existed, and to a large extent, continue to do so in spite of the fact that Blacks constituted in 1972 a clear numerical majority of the Newark population and over 70 per cent of the student population in the schools. When placed in the content of the American ethos of equality, the social ramification, as well as the psychological repercussions of this problem become readily apparent. It is the gap between the existing social situation and the institutionalized norms and values regarding equality, and in particular equality of participation and outcome, that this study took as a social problem--a problem well sensed in Newark, but not well formulated or studied so as to permit rational and effective solution.

Between 1958 and 1972, an era of discontent and protest, Newark was an urban community featuring predominately racial but as well ethnic and class tensions which culminated often in social conflict at the community level as well as conflict between organizations within the community (Drake, 1971). There is no hyperbole in stating that a culture of fear, hostility and animosity appeared to permeate the city at times. Such a conflict-potential setting was interpreted as being symptomatic of profound social change, of radical institutional reorganization within the community, and of basic alteration of key relationships between Newark and its surrounding metropolitan environs. A general

issue for the research team became our ethical responsibility as social researchers in devising strategies to approach an aggravating social problem in a community characterized by high racial sensitivity and consciousness (see Appendix 1).

Public participation, and in particular Black participation, in matters of educational policy was low during this period. In other words, the Newark educational institution was largely controlled by professional educators who managed to maintain isolated from and unaccountable to their publics, whether Black or white. This condition is viewed as being rather typical of urban school systems and as being unlike the pattern commonly found in middle and upper income suburbs, and in rural areas. As a corollary of the above the position is accepted as stated by Clark (1965/1966:51-53) that the public educational institution in American communities tends to be organized and to function on racial and economic class lines; and that a lower quality of education is commonly found in those schools attended by Black and poor children.

The Concept of Participation

Complexity is a key ingredient of the concept of participation. This is so without bringing in the notion of equality of participation. Participation is an activity very much linked to the democratic ethos. Democracy, by

definition, requires participation, be it participation in a very formal and structured manner, or informally, through private effort. Participation thus becomes an important means for implementation of the value of equality. We are a society imbued with the concept of democracy, and democracy assumes an electorate of, if not informed, at least equal participants. To the degree that our society can ever achieve its goal of democratic rule it must have citizen participation preferably on the basis of equality.

As a concept, participation may be conceived in many ways. Within the context of education the meanings of participation are many. At an elementary level, participation can be studied by looking at rates of involvement for various segments of a population in given spheres of activity. These rates can be observed across time as well as at single points in time. Perhaps at a somewhat more advanced level one can examine variations in the form or kinds of involvement. To some degree both ways of conceiving of participation must be included in any comprehensive study. In regard to racial participation much would be missed if participation were conceived simply in terms of rates of involvement. Many forms of participation in the educational institution exist, and have existed for some time. These have not been, and continue to be not readily available to all population segments, however.

In discussing the concept of Black participation in the educational institution it is important not only to delineate the kinds of participation, but it is of equal importance to outline the meanings of these various forms of involvement for the participants. Participation has been approached in this study sociologically. That is, the concept has been explored from extant sociological literature, and level of generality of conceptualization was of serious concern. To conceptualize participation in just one or two major operational ways, for example, in terms of its most frequent modes during the project study, could limit the theoretical relevance of the concept. This is so for a number of reasons. Perhaps the most salient is that the various concrete measures resulting from such a procedure make the comparison of results across research projects extremely difficult. Accordingly, generalization is hampered. However, if sufficient attention is given to the existing conceptualizations as well as operational definitions then some degree of comparison, and hence generality, is assured. Concern for the concept substantively involves giving attention to the subjective meanings of involvement for the many participants, at various levels within the educational institution, as well as throughout the community, across time. This has permitted informed intuition or the sensing of the significance of changes in the forms and rates

of Black participation in this institution. Attention especially is called to the conceptualization of participation in a way unlike that usually found in traditional studies of community politics. There is little interest in such matters as voting turnout and behavior, party politics and voter qualification, and mass participation of electorates.

Because of the goal--that the research have applied significance--however, another operative constraint is that participation be conceived in a manner which assured some minimal level of manipulative potential. This goal operated to make for a multi-dimension notion of participation. Formal participation through incumbency in office became important, as did voluntary participation through attendance at public meetings, as well as simple participation by being a member of the Newark community, an employee of the school system, a parent, or a student in the educational system. Such multiple conceptualizations enabled a fairly exhaustive appreciation of the conflicts salient to the institutional system, and the relative power potential associated with each mode of participation. These views were invaluable in obtaining a sense of the relative explanatory power of each conceptualization of participation, as well as a tempered view of the political reality associated with each conceptualization.

Selected Aspects of the Educational Institution

Three aspects of the Newark educational institution were selected for systematic analysis: (1) the Board of Education; (2) community participants, individuals and organizations active in educational affairs; and (3) the central administration or techno-structure. These selections are based upon a number of considerations. Essentially, it is believed that only by an examination of these elements, at the minimum, could we delineate the major modes of Black participation in the governance of the educational institution historically, as well as currently.

In the instance of community participants, because of our central focus on race, we dealt almost single-mindedly with Black individuals and organizations and their rates, forms, and modes of participation. The evolutionary progress of Black incumbency on the Boards of Education is examined, as this recent development apparently has implication for the growth of solidarity of the Black community as well as heightened racial consciousness in Newark. The mobilization of the Black community during the 1960 decade in terms of the role of voluntary associations in meeting the changing requirements of Black participation in educational affairs is likewise examined. Finally, an analysis is made of the access, entry, and performance of Black educational professionals in the central administration or the techno-

structure of the educational institution.

Obviously these three aspects do not define completely the total educational institution. They do focus attention on systematic change in the governance of the educational institution in Newark during the past decade, i.e., how and why the institution has operated. Other elements of the Newark educational institution are treated to some extent in many of the sections of the report. These include important political elements, at the local, state and federal levels as well as the role of federally funded programs in altering the nature of education in Newark. While such elements as these certainly have shaped the effects or outcomes of Black participation, they have not constituted the major mechanisms of Black involvement in the educational institution, and thus become of secondary importance in the design and execution of this research.

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Chapter 2

EDUCATION AND RACE: A PROBLEM IN SOCIAL CHANGE

The more it changes, the more it remains
the same.

Old Saying

The Nation

Between 1960 and 1970 education and race were substantive arenas of contemporary social change in American society. Common to both arenas was conflict over or for power. This contentious decade was not unique in this regard for the entire history of education and race relations in this country may be so understood. Three sets of social forces provide the dominant context on a societal level for change in the educational system and for change in the system of race relations. These are (1) the national involvement in war in Asia, (2) the increasing prominence of a corporate managerial mode of organization linked with accelerating technological innovation, and (3) tensions over racial and other excluded groups increasingly asserting their rights to justice and equality in a so-called democratic society.

Little serious doubt can exist that the military involvement of the United States in Asia during the 1960 decade

was a force shaping indirectly and directly the character of the nation's educational institution. The societal crisis--moral and political--triggered by this involvement affected the aims and values, the structure, function, and the outcomes of the public school system. Examples may be cited all the way from curricula revision and reform, student expressions of response to innovation or bureaucratic resistance to ferment involving policy about the allocation of national resources by the executive and legislative branches of the national government. Neither can there be much doubt regarding the influence between 1960 and 1970 of the changing technological order upon the schools in our industrial society. The consequences of such influence manifest themselves in the continued evolution of the occupational structure, the real and apparent work displacement of individuals and groups, the application of planned and controlled systems to ever-expanding areas of individual and collective life, and the positive and negative effects of non-human problem-solving technology upon the central issues of public interest. The public schools traditionally have provided a pool of production and consumption manpower for the economic order. Lags in the relative balance between those two social and economic processes surface to some extent as educational maladaptations. No doubt can possibly exist about the impact of Black discontent and protest upon the established system of public

education during the 1960's. The transitory stages of desegregation or integration, legal conflict, non-violent direct actions, riots and rebellions, and Black power or nationalistic separatism all tended to identify community educational systems as a persistent target. The diverse resistances and other responses of the community educational systems of the nation to these forces are a matter of record.

Adaptation is the essential requirement of the educational system on a national level to the convergence of the above three contextual factors. Lag, or a failure to adapt responsibility in time, has been a prominent characteristic of public school education throughout the history of the nation. But to adapt responsibly to important elements of these massive social forces threatens the fundamental articulation of the educational system with important structural features of American society, e.g., the structure of privilege and social stratification, the value and normative systems, the distribution and use of power, and the management of group discontent and grievance. Moreover, the very purpose and mode of organization of the American public school system was subjected to tremendous critical scrutiny and stress.

There emerged during the 1960 decade, then, the repetitive appearance of a series of educational problems. The theme or issue connecting all was group conflict over or for power. There was the problem of racial integration or school

desegregation, the problem of administrative decentralization or local control, the problem of the challenge by students of traditional school authority, and the problem of emergent militantism of professional teacher organizations.

A recurring theme undergirds, on the national level, the ferment of group conflict embodied in the diverse situational appearances of the above educational problems. This theme seems to be a direct, aggressive thrust at the fundamental values upon which the public educational system actually rests. Tersely, it renounces the abstract and ideal tenets of rampant individualism, competition, bureaucratic dominance, and the elitist organizational structure and process of the American school system. Instead this theme of protest, rejection, and discontent opts for a different ideology; one that accepts a basically egalitarian goal for the schools of American society with stress on equal opportunity, faith in the group wisdom of the common people, and humanistic individual accomplishment.

This recurring theme, as revealed in persistent group conflict, can be viewed as a radical pronouncement of change in educational policy. Its aim is to disestablish the intellectual classes from their privileged monopoly of skills, knowledge, and expertise, and to transfer these resources directly to the oppressed and subordinated strata of American society. The varied ferment based upon the theme represents

the determined attempt to alter the total social framework in which American education is moulded in order to reduce elitism, narrow the gap between the "educated" and the "non-educated," and induce entropy into the structural factors that maintain intellectuals and technical experts as a privileged social class.

During the sixties the basic pattern of race relations in the nation was subject to insistent and persistent assault. The exploitive use of a relatively high percentage of Black males in a controversial racist war in Asia, the problem of technological unemployment or displacement of primarily Blacks, and the diverse events and happenings of the so-called civil rights and Black power movements were all determinative factors in this nationwide scenario. The surge of Pan-Africanism associated with the emergence during the sixties of over 35 independent African nations was not unnoticed by significant elements of Black life in America. The consequence amounts to what might be called the demystification of racial oppression for the Black masses. Freedom or liberation became a symbolic as well as an actual goal; in contrast to alienation and apathy, the veil of mystery was lifted, and anger combined with the opportunity to strike a blow for self, and the group emerged. The structure of race relations featuring the witting cooperation of the victim was almost fatally destroyed during this decade.

A basic tactic of Blacks during the decade involved the deliberate utilization of the national government. Two contrary and sometimes contradictory directions were followed. In the first place, Blacks sought to induce government to extend its authority--and to take affirmative action to right ancient wrongs and to equalize opportunity. In the second place, they called upon the courts to limit the power of government to act when doing so in discriminatory fashion. Inevitably the playing out of these dramas can be most clearly viewed within the sphere of the nation's educational systems.

Accompanying this tactic is another and, perhaps, a more dangerous one for the nation's social fabric. This is the tendency to resort to violence as a result of the strains and tensions of racial contention. The American tradition of the right to resist abuse and oppression began to apply to Blacks, and they used it. No more convenient area was found than in the school affairs of the nation.

The consequences of social change in the realm of race relations for the nation are complex and profound. Considering total societal structure it seems clear that racial consciousness and distinctions have moved into a more central position. Also, there is the appearance of massive nationwide social movements of Blacks primed to emerge in conflict and induce change. This collective behavior can be viewed as cause as well as consequence of social change. The ends

or goals of Black Americans toward their group position in American society shifted unswervingly from, risking oversimplification, assimilation and integration to pluralism and separatism. Correspondingly, then, the means of Black Americans altered from tactics of largely symbolic activism such as exhibited in the strategy of legal suits to more daring, direct, and even provocative actions. As Williams (1965:10-11) so aptly puts it, Black Americans exhibited a growth from a collectivity to a social category due to their conspicuous and chronic relative deprivation and the accompanying development of resentment (Goffman, 1959 and 1971) over the past decade. Finally, there exists some evidence to support the increasing pervasiveness of a sense of threat among white Americans about the changing institutionalization of race relations. A kind of indicant of this mood of fear is the almost continuous circulation in white underlife of slogans such as "...white back lash", "hard hats", "middle-Americans", "you know where I stand", and "law and order".

The City of Newark

No metropolitan community in the United States could remain unaffected by the social forces described in the previous section. Newark is no exception; and it clearly adapted to the massive onslaught of these largely uncontrollable forces. However, precise measurement of change

in the structure and the process of race relations in Newark between 1960 and 1970 is impossible. Yet a search far and wide would probably have to be made to find one to argue that change in this element of the organization of the community did not occur. The difficulty with the absence of exact measurements is simply that accurate prediction and stringent control of social change are literally impossible. However, if insight and interpretative understanding are legitimate purposes of reflective study, then precise measurement of change in race relations may not be absolutely necessary. Many indices of organizational change of community life can be systematically observed and recorded without being exactly measured.

The idea of social change assumes the modification of the process, the pattern, and the structure of human behavior through time (Gerth and Mills, 1963:398). Within a community context social change is of profound significance because of its relationship to social problems. Modifying one community element or dimension invariably involves some alteration in, or has some consequence for, one or more of the other dimensions or elements making up the organizational structure of the community. Thus, for Newark, change in the structure and the process of race relations between 1960 and 1970 portends problematic modification of other elements or dimensions of the community. A recurring theme of this

study will be the emphasis placed upon this relationship between social problem and community change.

Following Perrucci and Pilisuk (1968:vii-xiv) a social problem is seen as a public issue of structure; for example, the failure of a community school system. The central issue under examination is the changing structure of race relations in the urban community of Newark as played out through the dynamics of the public school system. This issue possesses the common properties attributed by many definitions to a social problem of affecting most of the members of a community, in ways that affect their own value preferences, and about which they think some action can and should be taken.

The city of Newark during the 1960 decade is viewed as a type of setting most characteristic of contemporary urban American life. It is perceived as an example of a particular form of local community life (Stein, 1960:304-331); one that is characterized most conspicuously by recurring and systematic conflict between Black and white residents. It is granted that other forms or types of urban community settings--and that other patterns of Black and white relations than conflict--existed during this time. Only those of urban communities exhibiting the well-known attributes of what has been euphemistically labelled "central cities" possess invariably the feature of recurring and systematic

racial conflict. Thus, a central concern of this study is the phenomenon of change revealed by racial conflict within a particular type of urban community.

Blacks are not new to urban communities in America. They have been urban dwellers from almost the beginning of the nation; and the urban Black neighborhood (now commonly and invidiously called the ghetto) had begun to take its distinctive form even before the legal abolition of the institution of slavery. Black residence in urban communities, moreover, seems to have always been problematic (DuBois, 1899:5). In historical context the problematic dimensions of Black residence in urban communities have been defined and formulated by whites--experts and non-experts. In no connection is this so evident than in the arena of education or the community school system. The crucial point, however, is that the educational issues and questions now being raised by Blacks--students, parents, teachers, citizens--in urban communities are substantially different from the traditional concerns of whites. The details of this situation are most cogently presented by Hamilton (1969:187-202). It is argued that there exists in contemporary American cities what amounts to an impasse between Blacks and whites respecting the legitimacy or pertinence of the schools for Black children. Policy-makers and takers of decisions are confronted with the beliefs of Blacks counterpoised against the pronouncements

about school performance and output by official educational functionaries. A key belief of Black urbanites is that the effects of the present school system upon Black children are inherently destructive. Systematic examination and analysis of this crucible of reality in Newark--the cause and consequences of participation in the educational institution--permit interpretative understanding and explanation of the linkage between a structural characteristic of an urban community and changing patterns of institutional governance.

Newark can be viewed as an urban community serving as the waiting room for a large transportation terminal used by the rest of New Jersey, the nation, and the world; a waiting room which despite its size still is only a neighborhood in the super-city of metropolitan New York and northern New Jersey. Some of the people in the waiting room have been there for a long time, but most have not. In too many cases, those who do stay have such problems and needs that they only exacerbate the already critical survival problem faced by the community.

Located at the center of an urbanized belt extending from Boston to Washington, D. C., Newark serves as a hub for many major railroad, trucking, bus, sea, and air transport operations. It is an international gateway for huge amounts of goods and supplies of all kinds, to and from all parts of the state, the country, and the world. It is the only metropolitan census area in the country which is bounded by four

others, one of which is mammoth New York City. It serves to a large extent as the financial, transportation, and commercial center of its own metropolitan area, which is one of the largest in the country.

Newark city limits embrace one of the smallest land areas among major American cities, 24 square miles. In effect, though, it is even smaller, since almost 25 per cent of the land is covered by Newark Airport, Port Newark, or uninhabitable meadowlands. Newark is the country's third oldest major city. Because of its early and rapid growth, the limited land area was quickly built up. Industrially, tanneries were an initial thrust, followed by a variety of industries and large insurance companies and, more recently, by very active air and port facilities. These facilities have accented the city's traditional importance as a transportation hub which today includes an extremely heavy volume of passenger car traffic as well.

Residentially, Newark's homes reflect the wooden construction of earlier times. By 1930, the city was fully developed and population outflow to suburban areas began soon afterwards. As a result, Newark today, unlike many other major cities, has few stable, attractive residential areas within its borders. While the heart of the city's central business district may be seen by some as more open and attractive than many others, the city itself and its

approaches across the Hudson and Union County meadows are almost uniformly regarded as unattractive. With respect to the media of mass communication, Newark assumes the posture of the classical hinterland. It is the largest major city in the country without a standard VHF television outlet. The only such outlet licensed in Newark and New Jersey has, for economic reasons keyed to broadcast market coverage, joined all the other television stations serving Newark by moving to New York City.

A further problem involved in providing Newark with its own specific mass communications channels is demonstrated by the fact that the New York Times and Daily News reportedly sell as many papers in and around Newark as the city's two major dailies, both of which have oriented their news more and more to a growing suburban circulation. Thus, the news of New York and the suburbs dominates Newark and serves to inhibit continuing clear emphasis on the city's individual situation and concerns. Illustratively, shortly after the 1967 rebellion of Black residents the Newark Evening News and the Newark Star Ledger, each of which had been in the city for about 100 years, dropped the word Newark from their mastheads.

Like most major American cities, Newark is limited in the services and supports it can provide with inadequate revenues. Recent changes in the city's taxing powers have

improved the situation somewhat, but primarily reliance remains on land-based taxes. The 1967 rate of \$7.76 per \$100 of assessed valuation of 100 per cent valuation resulted in the city having the highest per capita property tax burden in the nation for the year, and the rate has climbed since then. Under that situation, annual taxes on a \$20,000 house amount to \$1,536 and \$2,328 on a \$30,000 house. The 1970 rate was \$8.44 per \$100. Little relief can be anticipated for Newark unless reparation-like action is taken as a part of the current ferment to radically modify the State tax structure; and even in this event the fiscal fate of Newark could remain highly unstable.

The long and short of it is that Newark is not only a port of entry, processor, and transfer point for goods, it is also one for people. The Black people of this port faced serious survival problems--the mobilization and restructuring of the Black community--during the 1960 decade. The outcomes of this process, entwined with population changes as well as with ethnic and racial group conflict, surfaced uniquely in the adaptation process of the educational institution. Newark is and has been serving, through a variety of imaginative programs, as a processing and service center. The near permanent state of emergency planning and programming required to meet the needs of this mass of distressed humanity represents a continued heavy drain on all municipal government

and community resources.

Just as the Black assertion set the stage for the sixties in Newark, the educational institution became the arena of action. This institutional system of the Newark community was more vulnerable to pressure from the Black community than other institutional systems such as the fire and police departments; and moreover, had high priority for Blacks interested in jobs, reforming a city, and promoting an ideology designed to mobilize the Black community. Here a sketch must be drawn, then, of the gross features of the educational institution of Newark between 1958 and the present. The sketch will be filled out at other places in this report.

For the 1960-61 school year 55 per cent of the total pupil population was Black, 41.0 per cent was white, and 4.0 per cent had "Spanish surnames" (Board of Education "School Membership Report of Minority Groups in Newark Public Day Schools, 1961-1970"). For 1970-71, there was a total of 79,661 pupils enrolled in the Newark public schools of whom 72 per cent were Black, 14.0 per cent were white, and 13.0 per cent had "Spanish surnames" (Agenda, "Civil Rights Survey" Board of Education meeting of November 30, 1971).

For the 1960-61 fiscal year the school system operated on a budget of \$30,702,303. Fifty-seven per cent of this budget was allocated for teacher salaries. Less than one per

cent was secured from federal sources, 14.0 per cent from state sources, 80.2 per cent was supplied by local government, and miscellaneous or other income provided the balance of 5.0 per cent. In 1970-71 the school system operated on a budget of \$83,598,418 (\$90,140,792 for 1971-72). Fifty-five per cent of the 1970-71 budget was allocated for teacher salaries. Less than two per cent was secured from federal sources, 25.0 per cent came from state sources, 70.0 per cent was supplied by local government, and the remaining 3.0 per cent was derived from miscellaneous or other sources.

(January Minutes of Board of Education meetings of 1960 and 1970).

The information included in TABLE 1 demonstrates clearly the direction and character of fiscal change in the school district between 1958 and 1972. The economic resources upon which the educational system operated increased sharply but unevenly from the beginning to the end of this period. The abrupt increase in 1967-1968 followed the Black rebellion of the summer of 1967. The structure of economic support of the school system was modified considerably during this period, too. The alterations include a substantial increase in fiscal support from external sources--the state and federal governments--with a corresponding decrease in support from the local community itself.

There were 4,114 employees of the Board of Education

Sources of Annual Budgeted Operating Funds of the Board of Education, by Year*

Year	Total (Dollars)	City	State	Federal (Per Cent)	Other	Total
1958-59	28,611,347	78.7	14.9	0.9	5.5	100.0
1959-60	30,097,795	80.8	14.7	0.8	3.7	100.0
1960-61	30,702,303	80.2	14.0	0.9	4.9	100.0
1961-62	32,215,249	78.8	14.5	0.8	5.9	100.0
1962-63	34,032,361	77.7	14.5	0.8	6.0	100.0
1963-64	37,199,869	81.8	14.0	0.8	3.4	100.0
1964-65	40,699,850	83.6	11.6	0.8	4.0	100.0
1965-66	42,337,553	83.8	11.1	0.6	4.5	100.0
1966-67	44,771,409	82.4	13.0	0.6	4.0	100.0
1967-68	52,605,306	64.5	31.4	0.5	3.6	100.0
1968-69	58,159,578	65.1	30.6	0.5	3.8	100.0
1969-70+	65,287,330	60.0	32.6	0.5	6.9	100.0
1970-71+	83,589,418	69.8	25.5	1.6	3.1	100.0
1971-72+	88,849,308	60.0	32.4	3.3	4.3	100.0

*Excluding Capital funds.

+Estimated or Provisional.

Source: Official Minutes of the Newark Board of Education, 1958-1972.

for the 1960-61 school year, of whom 2,673 were teachers (Minutes of the Board of Education, February, 1962). No trustworthy racial or ethnic breakdown of these figures is available as at that point in time racial counts of public employees were considered in bad taste. During the 1970-71 school year, however, the schools were operated by 6,922 persons of whom 3,383 were teachers. Thirty-eight per cent of these teachers were identified by school officials as Black, 59.0 per cent are identified as white, 3.0 per cent are placed within the categories "Spanish-speaking" and "other" (March 1, 1971 release of the Department of Personnel).

From the above sketch of the educational institution's gross features it is obvious that the schools of Newark during the 1960 decade were operating in an environmental context that featured much more than merely a climate favoring change. Many things persisted but some things were radically altered. Two professional organizations--the Newark Teachers' Union (AFL/CIO) and the Newark Teachers' Association (New Jersey Educational Association, affiliate of the National Education Association)--were available during the decade to serve the needs of teachers. In April of 1967, however, a Black professional organization--the Organization of Negro Educators (ONE)--appeared in public arena. Two Superintendents of Schools served during the decade under the administration of three Mayors. There were two State Commissioners of Education

during the sixties, and one person served in the capacity of Secretary to the Boards of Education during the entire decade.

Litigation challenging the powers and the authority of the Boards of Education became commonplace between 1960 and 1970. These proceedings reveal a consistent attempt by the Black community to influence educational policy; an aggressive posture toward the Boards of Education by professional teacher organizations; and what appears to be increasing concern by all with what may be labelled imprecisely as "the welfare of pupils." The summer rebellion of Blacks during 1967 was not without effects upon the tempo, the quantity, and the quality of educational change in Newark. Illustratively, a drastically new mode of utilization of Black professionals in the educational system followed the rebellion and became patently clear during the latter third of the decade, and there was an increased importance of those representing the interests of teachers in educational policy determination. Finally, between 1964 and 1971 the educational institution of the Newark community was involved in four serious disruptions, conflict situations of teacher strikes. The fundamental structure of governance of the educational institution in Newark was under attack by a variety of community forces and from some diversity of perspective during this decade. These attacks were responded to with persistence and with change by those charged with educational authority.

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Chapter 3

NEWARK: SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

We wish merely to point out that efforts directed solely to the "strengthening" of family structure are likely to have substantially less impact on the equalization of racial socioeconomic differentials than efforts applied to the elimination of racial discrimination and the waste of able and talented black citizens.

Duncan, et al., (1972)

The educational institution of Newark can be viewed as representing one of several key systems operating inter-relatedly during one period of time within the environmental context of a singular central city. Chapter 2 identified and described how external social forces and processes from state, regional, national, and international sources impinge upon Newark as a central city, and have direct and indirect consequences for the fate of the educational institution. Additionally, a brief background of the environmental setting of Newark was provided. This chapter analyzes selected patterns of demographic change of the Black and white populations of Newark between 1940 and 1970, and takes a quick look into the immediate future for the central city.

Size and Growth of Newark's Black and White Populations,
1940-1970

Newark exemplifies the demographic pattern observed in central cities in the northeastern and northcentral portions of the United States. TABLE 2 indicates Newark's declining share of the populations of its metropolitan area and the larger 22-county New York Metropolitan Region (NYMR). The relative decline was especially precipitous between 1950 and 1970.

While Newark's population declined and its share of the Region's population decreased, its Black and Spanish-speaking components increased dramatically, especially between 1960 and 1970 (TABLE 3). The Black component increased to more than half. The 1970 count of the Spanish-speaking populations is not considered reliable. However, these Spanish-speaking groups account for at least twelve per cent of the population in 1970.

Changing Socioeconomic and Family Status Characteristics

The demographic shifts in population size and racial composition have been paralleled by prominent changes in socioeconomic and family status characteristics. TABLE 4 provides illustrative data from the 1940-1970 period. Newark's component of public school-age children and older population has been increasing. While the educational

TABLE 2

Population of Newark, 1940-1970

	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>% Change 1940-1970</u>	<u>% Change 1960-1970</u>
Newark City	429.8	438.8	405.2	382.4	-11.0	-6.0
Newark % of Newark SMSA*	34.4	29.9	25.4	20.7	--	--
Newark % of NYMR**	3.4	3.1	2.5	2.1	--	--

* Includes Essex, Morris, and Union Counties.

** Region in Regional Plan Association, Spread City, Bulletin 100, New York: 1962.

TABLE 3

Black and Spanish-Speaking Populations*

	(thousands)		1970	% Change 1950-1970	% Change 1960-1970
	1950	1960			
Black	75.6	138.0	207.5	174.5	50.4
Black & of Newark	17.2	34.1	54.2	---	---
Spanish Language	n.a. ^a	9.7	11.9	---	---

^a Data is not available.

* This report uses black as a surrogate for the census definition Negro and nonwhite. In Newark more than 99 per cent of nonwhites are blacks. Puerto Rican is used as a surrogate for other Spanish-speaking groups such as Cubans in 1960.

TABLE 4

Socioeconomic and Family Status CharacteristicsNewark 1940 - 1970

	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
<u>Socioeconomic Status</u>				
1. Median education completed persons ≥ 25	8.0	8.7	9.0	10.0
2. % Male population employed professional or managerial	16.3	17.2	11.9	12.3
<u>Family Status</u>				
3. % Population ≤ 14	21.1	22.2	27.6	31.9
4. % Population ≥ 65	5.6	7.1	9.0	7.9

achievement of the average citizen has increased, the city's resident employed professional and managerial male population has been decreasing.

A continuation of the 1940-1960 trend with respect to family status is indicated by the 1970 census. The younger and older age groups comprised almost 40 per cent of the city's resident population in 1970.

TABLE 4, however, masks the racial dichotomy in the data. TABLE 5 specifies the dichotomy. The Black population was responsible for 44 per cent of the school-age population in 1960 and 67 per cent in 1970. Conversely, the white population accounted for 86 per cent of the older population in 1960 and still 74 per cent in 1970. The decline of the male professional and manager group between 1940 and 1970 is due to the movements of whites because the Black population registered a sizeable increase in its male professionals and managers between 1960 and 1970. In addition, the marked difference between the Black and white populations is suggested by their differences in unemployment, mobility, and broken homes, though once more between 1960 and 1970 the differences have narrowed substantially.

Summarizing, between 1940 and 1970 Newark's population decreased, became predominantly Black and more Spanish-speaking, appeared to suffer some decline in socioeconomic status, and seemed to reveal some weakening in attributes traditionally

TABLE 5

Socioeconomic and Family Status Characteristics of
Blacks and Whites, 1960-1970

<u>Socioeconomic Status</u>	<u>1960</u>		<u>1970</u>	
	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
1. Median education completed persons \geq 25	8.8	9.1	10.4	9.6
2. % Male population in professional and managerial	3.5	15.4	8.2	16.6
3. % Unemployed	9.7	5.8	7.8	5.3
<u>Family Status</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
4. % Population \leq 14	35.3	23.6	38.5	22.7
5. % Population \geq 65	3.7	11.8	3.9	13.2
6. % Resident in the same house 5 years prior to the census	37.7	56.2	42.5	53.5
7. % Persons under 18 living with both parents	67.6	87.0	--	--

employed to measure family status. Nevertheless, in the last decade the Black population appears to have made substantial gains both absolutely and relative to the white population of Newark. As will be indicated later, selective intra-regional migration is largely responsible for the change. While white persons of higher economic and educational levels have left the corporate boundaries of Newark, higher economic and educational levels of the Black and Spanish-speaking populations have remained in Newark where they relocated near the periphery of the city.

Newark's Changing Internal Structure

The changes in Newark's demographic structure may be outlined at the municipal scale. However, the processes leading to demographic change are manifested at the block and neighborhood levels. While the central city political entity can modify the attractiveness of intraurban migration for selective migrants, its role is generally passive or at best reactive with a lag. Accordingly, a mapping of the central city's demographic components was developed using 1940, 1960, and 1970 data.

Social area studies have usually isolated three independent factors outlined by Shevky and Bell (1955) and Murdie (1969): (1) social rank (income, education, and occupation) distributed in sectors from a single core;

(2) family status (fertility, female labor force participation rates, household type) distributed in concentric circles around a single core; and (3) segregation (ethnic and racial) with varying configurations.

In a previous study of Newark, Janson (1968:144-169) uncovered the social rank and segregation dimensions in a single component with a concentric configuration around Newark's core. The present report overlaps the previous study in 13 of the 42 variables selected for analysis. The investigations differ in focus. Janson was primarily interested in testing the Shevky-Bell hypotheses. The directional biases associated with the Shevky-Bell components represent qualitative probabilities and may be useful in determining evolving internal demographic structure. However, we do not have sufficient confidence in the hypothesized spatial configurations. Therefore, historical variables were incorporated directly into the variable matrix. Overall, the Janson study includes more variables associated with housing and non-residential land use, while the present report incorporates a larger number of family status and historical variables.

The final 42 variables (TABLE 6) were analyzed and mapped over 99 census tracts.* Eight components covarying to the extent of 78 per cent of the matrix variance were extracted from the 1940-1960 data. Four of these patterns accounting for 60 per cent of the variance are particularly relevant to Newark's changing demographic structure. They isolate the city's concentrated-but-growing Black living area, remnant, scattered, and retreating middle-income white population, growing Spanish-speaking groups, transient and institutional populations, and a few areas of population growth.

Other analyses were made with a reduced set of variables relations, and with RELATE (Veldman, 1967; and Rummel, 1970). The results demonstrate the strong interdependence of socioeconomic, age, and ethnic factors in Newark until 1970, a fact obscured by the varimax criteria.

Nevertheless, to clarify and simplify the factor pattern, the three highest factor loadings of each of the

*Fortunately, the census tract map has remained almost constant until 1970. Two tracts (48 and 75) were separated into 48A and 48B and 75A and 75B. All were treated separately. Tract 98 was excluded because of its small population, a portion of which was crew-of-vessels. In 1970, four tracts were eliminated and their populations reallocated due to urban renewal: 12, 33, 36, 61. Mr. Thomas Gentile of Columbia College, 1974, is to be thanked for his invaluable aid in data tabulation.

TABLE 6

Variables for Demographic Analysis

1. % Negro, 1960
2. % Born Puerto Rico, 1960
3. % Foreign born, 1960
4. % Households with head of household, 1960
5. % Households wife of head, 1960
6. % Households nonrelative of head, 1960
7. % Population per household, 1960
8. % Persons under 18 years old living with both parents, 1960
9. Median school years completed, 1960
10. % Population lived in same house in 1955 and 1960
11. Median family income, 1960
12. Median age male population, 1960
13. % Population male, 1960
14. Median age female population, 1960
15. Marital status, total, % separated, 1960
16. Marital status, total, % widowed, 1960
17. Marital status, total, % divorced, 1960
18. % Male unemployed, 1960
19. % Female unemployed, 1960
20. % Female labor force, 1960
21. % Married women in labor force husband present with own children under 6, 1960
22. % Male professional, technical, 1960
23. % Female clerical, 1960
24. % Employed private households, total, 1960
25. % Employed government, 1960
26. % Worked inside Newark, 1960
27. % Units owner occupied, 1960
28. % Units vacant available, 1960
29. % Units vacant other, 1960
30. % Units sound, 1960

TABLE 6 - continued

31. % 1.01 persons per room, 1960
32. Population 1960/population 1940
33. % Negro 1960 - % Negro 1940
34. Median education completed 1960/median education completed 1940
35. % Foreign born 1960 - % Foreign born 1940
36. % Population male 1960 - % population male 1940
37. % Male professional 1960 - % male professional 1940
38. % Female clerical 1960 - % female clerical 1940
39. % Female in labor force 1960 - % female in labor force, 1940
40. Median population per household 1960/median population per household 1940
41. % Units owner occupied 1960 - % units owner occupied 1940
42. % Units sound 1960 - % units sound 1940

Sources: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING, 1940. STATISTICS FOR CENSUS TRACTS, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office. 1942; and U. S. CENSUSES OF POPULATION AND HOUSING 1960, Final Report PHC (1) - 105, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, CENSUS TRACTS, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1962. Pre-publication copy of 1970 census tract data made available by the U. S. Bureau of Census.

four components were regrouped and subjected to a factor analysis. The four factor patterns were recovered and the degree of covariance increased to 75 per cent. Details are presented in the following section and are mapped in FIGURES 1 through 4. The same dozen variables were factor analyzed with the 1970 data. Covariance was reduced to 65 per cent as heterogeneity in family status measures decreased.

The first two components incorporate two of the three Shevky-Bell factors--segregation and family status. Factor 1 (TABLE 7, FIGURE 1) contrasts the Black and white populations. The Black population demonstrates the measureable manifestations of domestic colonialism, racism, and repression leading to apathy described by Clark (1965: especially 47-52). The area depicted includes the western portion of the core and the neighborhoods of West Market, Belmont, and Hayes Circle South. Portions of this area were identified as containing poor and congested housing as early as 1913 and 1915 (Newark City Plan Commission:xxiv and xxi).

The four white population clusters support the contention of Glazer and Moynihan (1963) that the "melting pot" stage has not been reached. The northeast portion is largely Italian, the northwest appendage is predominantly Irish and Italian, the southwest area Jewish, and the southeast section

TABLE 7

Black Family Status

<u>Variable</u>	1960*	1970*
	<u>Loading</u>	<u>Loading</u>
15 % Females separated	.943	.926
1 % Population Black	.930	.898
8 % Under 18 living with both parents	-.870	-.900

* 25% of variation

1960 FACTOR STRUCTURES

FIGURE 1 -- BLACK FAMILY STATUS

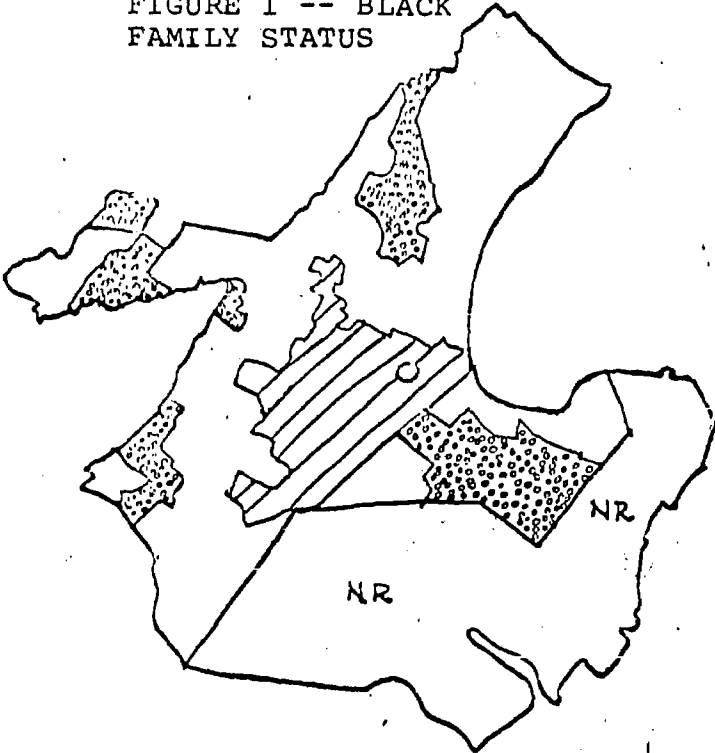


FIGURE 2 -- SPANISH-SPEAKING POPULATION

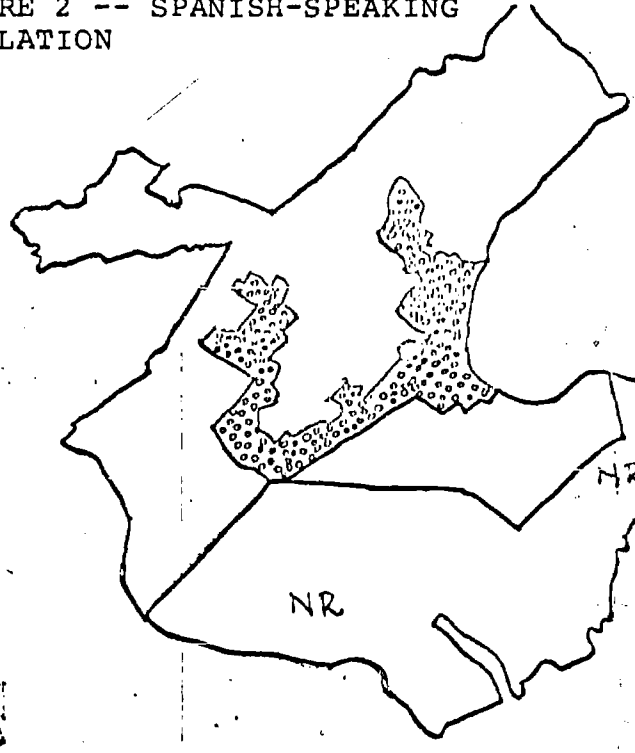


FIGURE 3 -- SOCIAL STATUS GROWTH AREAS.

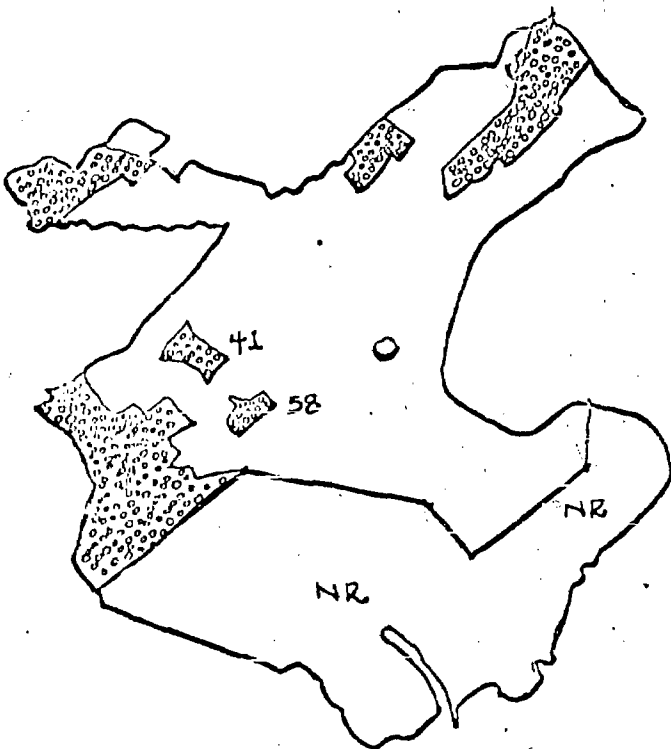
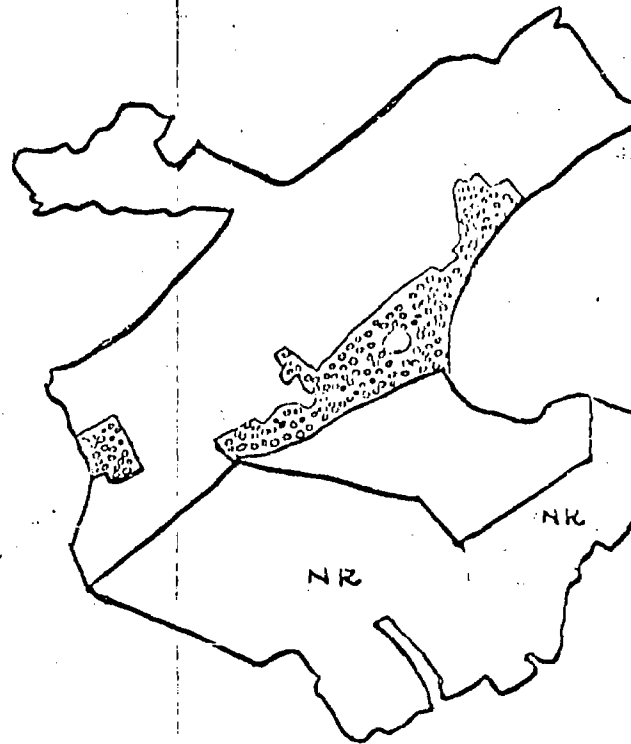


FIGURE 4 -- CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT POPULATION.



HIGH-INTENSITY TRACTS ARE DOTTED AND STRIPED.
 O CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT LANDMARK.
 NR - NON-RESIDENTIAL LAND USE.

Polish.* The Jewish and Italian areas were characterized as areas of "expensive and high-grade residents" in the early 1913 and 1915 surveys (Newark City Plan Commission:xxiv and xxi). They apparently remained so through 1970, but with growing Black and Spanish-speaking populations. In contrast, the southeastern Ironbound area has been a "pocket of stability" (New York Times, October 4, 1970:1) despite a visibly dreary, crowded, and highly polluted immediate environment. Brown (1970) has observed apparent satisfaction with a similar environment in nearby portions of New Jersey.

Factor 2 (TABLE 8, FIGURE 2) depicts the Spanish-speaking population rimming and mixing with the edges of the Black living area. The presence of a Spanish-speaking population between the Black and white areas has been observed by Kantrowitz (1969:224-225) in New York City. By 1970 the family status and stability characteristics previously identified with the Spanish-speaking population were mixed among the social status and Black population components suggesting that major elements of the Spanish-speaking population have been developing a stable living space in Newark.

*The ethnic-cultural identity of these areal sections of Newark is based largely upon the personal knowledge of the researchers.

TABLE 8

Spanish-Speaking Family Status

<u>Variable</u>	1960*	1970**
	<u>Loading</u>	<u>Loading</u>
2 % Spanish-speaking	.639	.750
10 % Living in the same house in 1955 and 1960	-.620	-.330
21 % Females married with children under 6 but in the labor force	.556	.280

* 11% of variation

** 8% of variation

In general, the first two components indicate a high degree of segregation by race, nationality, and religion. In their study of Black segregation, the Taeubers (1965) classified 207 American cities on an index of 0 to 100, with 0 representing total integration and 100 indicating total segregation. In 1960, Newark's index for Blacks was 71.6. Thus, more than 7 of every 10 Blacks would have had to be relocated to achieve integrated blocks. While the degree of segregation seems high, only 11 of the 207 cities studied were less segregated.* And, only one of these cities had a Black share greater than 20 per cent. Moreover, Newark's segregation index decreased between 1940 and 1960 (from 77.4 to 71.6) while its Black population increased from 11 to 34 per cent. The index of dissimilarity for 1970 was not computed. However, we expect that it may have stabilized or even decreased despite the increase of Blacks.

The answer to this paradox may be sought in the nature of the operational definition for segregation. First, the Taeubers' measurement of integration is a point in time and would include neighborhoods experiencing "fleeting integration" (Rose, 1969). Specifically, while native and foreign-born

*They were Stockton, San Jose, San Francisco, Salt Lake City, Sacramento, Ann Arbor, East Orange, New Haven, Cambridge, Bridgeport, and Berkeley.

whites may be leaving, younger less wealthy whites, including Spanish-speaking groups, would settle in relatively cheap rental units during the early stages of change. And second, the New York Region has been identified by Sudman, et al. (1960:55 and 60) as the least segregated region in the nation. They classified 19 per cent of the neighborhoods in the nation as integrated compared to 43.5 per cent in the New York Region. But integration is usually in areas containing less than 1 per cent Black. Accordingly, middle-income Blacks probably reduce the statistical measurement of segregation without causing immediate turnover.

Summarizing, the first two components contrast the family structures of Newark's multi-ethnic white population living at the city's peripheries with its spatially concentrated Black population and outline its growing Spanish-speaking population.

Social Rank Growth Areas (FIGURE 3)

In 1960, Factor 3 is Shevky and Bell's social rank factor with an interesting twist--it contrasts areas that attracted a high economic rank population with portions of Newark that have been losing their populations. By 1970, as shown in TABLE 9, the relationship of high social status to population growth is much weaker, resulting in a more classical social rank factor.

TABLE 9

Social Status Growth Areas

<u>Variable</u>	1960* <u>Loading</u>	1970** <u>Loading</u>
9 Median school years completed	.823	.887
22 % Males employed as professionals and managers	.737	.792
32 Relative population growth 1940-1960	.538	.369

* 15% of variation

** 14% of variation

In a 1957 survey, Rapkin (1957:70) found limited middle-income housing construction in Newark. In 1961, Newark's Central Planning Board (1960:8) concluded that 23 per cent of all dwelling units were in blocks which should be demolished. Sternlieb (1966:24) pointed to some new middle-income housing but supported Rapkin's contention. And, in a 1969 national study reported by the New York Times (March 18, 1970:6) Newark ranked last in per capita housing permits: .2 per 1,000 residents. The two major elements combining to limit new housing in Newark (Newark Office of Economic Development, July, 1968) are its property tax which has been one of the highest in the country and the reluctance of financial institutions and private individuals to invest in what appears to be a deteriorating area, especially during a period of economic squeeze (Sternlieb, 1966:232).

As a result of the lack of new housing construction and probable census undercounting in Black and Spanish-speaking areas, it is not surprising that only one-third of Newark's census tracts gained population between 1940 and 1970. In 1960 most of these growth areas were on the periphery of the city and were occupied predominately by white persons of moderately high economic rank.

However, a middle-income Black population may be inferred from the factor pattern even in 1960. Indeed, our

work with oblique rotations clearly indicates that in 1970 Newark is beginning to form the Shevky-Bell indicators. Specifically in 1970, in contrast to earlier periods, a stage in life cycle factor relatively independent of race emerges. With respect to socioeconomic status two census tracts are more than 50 per cent Black, but model the high-status population indicated by the factor loading (TRACTS 41 and 58, FIGURE 3). By 1970, more than half of the census tracts modeling high economic status lie in the living space containing at least 50 per cent Blacks. These tracts mirror the southwest high income area outlined in FIGURE 3. By 1970, high income whites have been replaced by high income Blacks in these areas. This population is clearly a major spur to the Black efforts in liberating the educational system.

The role of Newark's public housing projects is especially intriguing. Carey (1966:563) found that the public housing projects in Manhattan were serving as the nucleus of a stable, middle-income population. The same pattern appears to be occurring in Newark, especially in projects at Newark's periphery (TRACTS 48A, 75B, and 96). This development is more difficult to establish in the Black living area because the public and private housing components are difficult to separate. However, relative to the entire Black population of Newark, nearly all of the Black living

area renewal tracts demonstrate higher rates of government employment, lower unemployment rates, and higher median education than immediately adjacent tracts.

Recapitulating, areas of population growth in Newark are few and are generally limited to peripheral areas occupied by Blacks and whites who work as professionals and managers often for the government and public housing projects occupied perhaps by a middle-income partially Black population.

Central Business District Institutional and Transient
Population Factor (FIGURE 4)

The controversial poet playwright Imamu Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) described Newark's central ward in the New York Times (May 27, 1970:49) as a "ghost town after seven." The central business district is not far removed from this category. The lack of entertainment and other cultural facilities, the fear of crime, and the limited income of the Black and Spanish-speaking populations residing in the area are major factors in addition to the variables presented in TABLE 10. The university student and transient populations isolated by the fourth component constitute an additional element.*

*The outlier in southwest Newark is due to Beth Israel Hospital.

TABLE 10

Central Business District

<u>Variable</u>	1960* <u>Loading</u>	1970** <u>Loading</u>
7 Population per household	-.978	-.913
4 % Head of households	.974	.921
40 Relative change in population per household 1940-1960	-.752	-.812

* 24% of variation

** 18% of variation

Newark's central business district and environs contain hospitals, hotels, and rooming houses inhabited by an older institutional and transient population. Carey (1968:519) identified transient populations in both Manhattan's and Washington's central business districts. Newark's core also contains almost one-third of the city's institutional population. Together with the poverty of the Black and Spanish-speaking populations in the nearby central ward, the picture of a depressed local market is painted, one anathema to development of even limited private entertainment facilities.

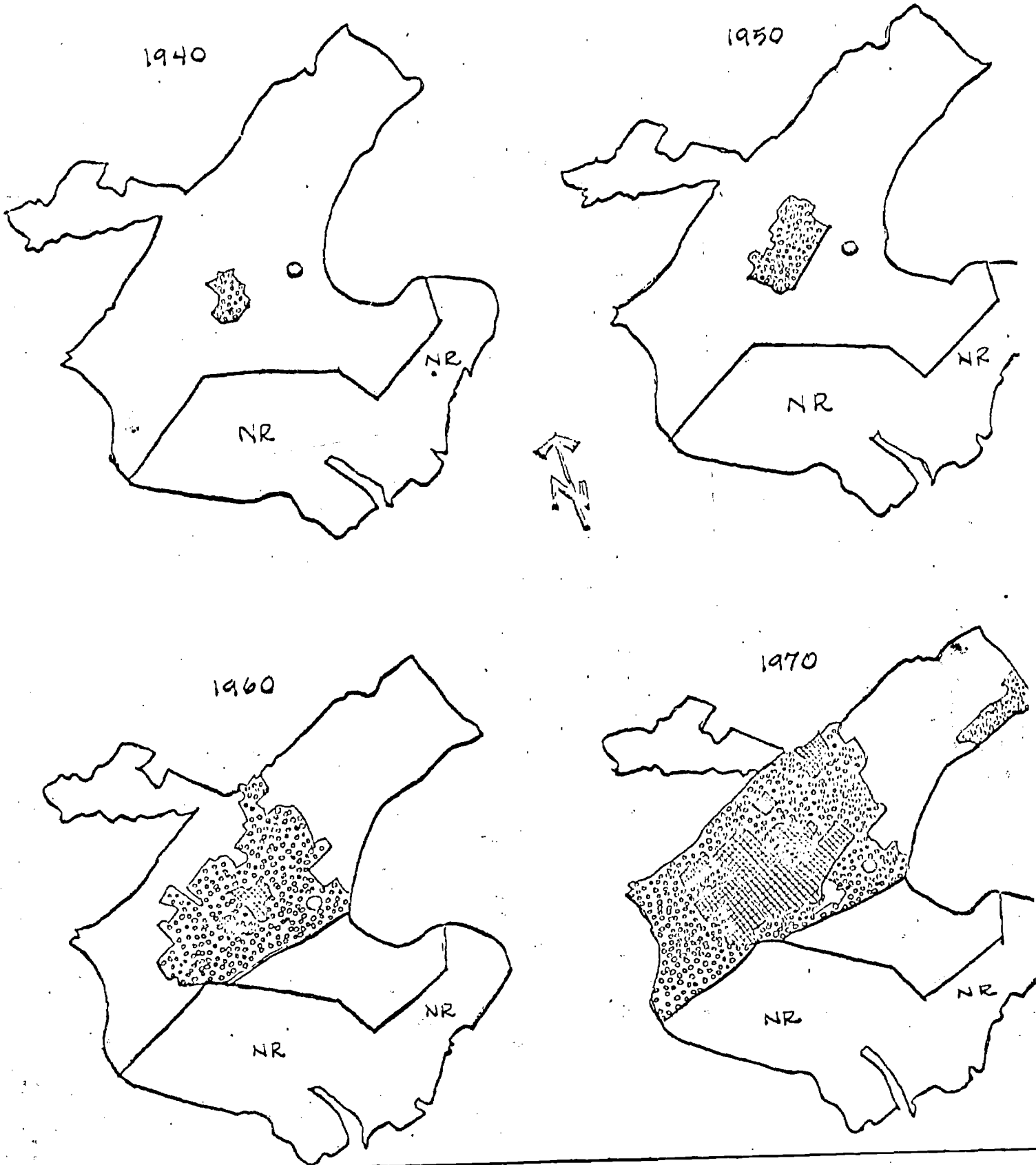
Overall, by 1960 ethnic status had clearly become the dominant social area factor in Newark. Differences by ethnic group and especially race were sufficiently pronounced to prevent the appearance of the usual economic and age status factors. In 1970, ethnic status was more clearly separated from economic status and family status measures suggesting that Newark's population is becoming more homogeneous with respect to characteristics other than racial and ethnic status.

Racial Transition at the Neighborhood Scale: 1940-1970

Age structure, ethnic identity, tenancy characteristics, income level, and physical barriers are among the variables affecting the transition of a neighborhood.

FIGURE 5 pinpoints the area of rapid transition in Newark--

FIGURE 5 -- BLACK POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
1940 - 1970



BLACKS 50% OR MORE
BLACKS 90% OR MORE

○ CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT
LANDMARK

NR - NON-RESIDENTIAL

the southwest. All of the above factors except tenancy would appear to be important determinants in southwest Newark.

The southwest area had been occupied by a Jewish population. Jews have been identified as the least resistant group to ecological invasion. Conversely, according to Clark (1964:208-209) Italian and eastern Europeans are noted for stability and resistance to entrance of other populations. Glazer and Moynihan (1963:57) have suggested that the presence of Jews is one of two major reasons for the nonviolent turnover of neighborhoods in New York. They represent, according to Greenberg (1970) an upward mobile population which has rapidly left former concentration; perhaps the presence of Spanish-speaking populations in the areas reinforced the propensity of the Jewish population to move. The predominantly Spanish-speaking population adds a language component to marked differences in fertility, family structure, age and educational achievement.

Physical factors also appear to be important factors in Newark's migration field. The southwest is the only area without major physical barriers. The southeast and northeast are separated from the Black living areas by Pennsylvania Railroad stations and tracks and a combination of institutions, industrial

concentrations, and parks. Northwest Newark is cut off by the Garden State Parkway and a large cemetery. In addition, according to Rapkin (1957:36 and 42) southwest Newark suffers from the continuous noise and pollution associated with Newark Airport.

Finally, the close proximity of the southwest to the Black living area reinforces the desire of many minority group members for short-distance migration. Rose (1970:14) noted this tendency in Milwaukee. A 1957 survey of Newark (Market Planning Corporation, 1959) disclosed that less than 1 of every 5 potential Black migrants planned to leave Newark, while almost 3 of every 5 whites hoped to move to the suburbs. Clark (1965) suggests that the Blacks wish to avoid psychological and possible damage to their families and many Blacks profit from residing in an all-Black community.

Recapitulating, the southwest transition zone was free of physical barriers and was occupied mainly by an upwardly mobile population. The combination has resulted in rapid neighborhood transition.

Prospects, Potents, and Projections

Newark is undergoing a large-scale and rapid population transition. Accordingly, standard projection procedures may produce questionable results. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to provide a prospectus by simulating population

size and racial composition to 1980.

Newark's population was projected by component and regression techniques (TABLE 11). Both estimates suggest undercounting in 1970. First, a component procedure was utilized. The Black population was projected assuming low fertility and low migration rates (D rates for Blacks). These rates were employed to take into account presently decreasing national fertility rates (U. S. Bureau of Census 1967 and 1970). The white population component was simulated by assuming a decrease at the 1950-1967 rate (Chernick, 1967), an assumption used in lieu of a better alternative.

In addition, Newark's population was simulated by placing it in the context of the larger New York Region with respect to an inverse relationship between population growth and population density (Newling, 1968). Assuming this relationship will continue to function, Newark's population will continue to decline.

The 19 per cent difference between the highest and the lowest projection for 1980 would undoubtedly be economically significant. The large city would attract more local market and perhaps labor-oriented activities. In addition, the perceived historical association of population growth with economic health might encourage supply-oriented activities to locate in the central city. Despite the potential impact of population size on the economic base, however,

TABLE 11

Population Projections for Newark: 1970, 1975, and 1980

(in thousands)

	<u>Component Method</u>	<u>Regression Method</u>	<u>Census Count</u>
1970	417	397	382
1975	435	396	-
1980	461	387	-

the degree of racial and socioeconomic change outweighs net population increments and must, therefore, be the key focus of a demographic analysis.

Black, Spanish-speaking, and White Components

Blacks have been rapidly approaching a majority in many central cities. The Black percentage in central cities rose from 12.3 in 1950, to 16.7 in 1960, and to 23.3 in 1970. The Kerner Commission (1968:390) forecasted between 31 and 36 per cent by 1985. The Center for Research in Marketing Research (1966) projected that 14 major cities (of at least 200,000 persons) would be 40 per cent or more Black by 1970. Their projection is supported by the 1970 census returns. Four cities had Black majorities in 1970.* The Kerner Commission (1968:391) forecast 13 by 1986: New Orleans, Richmond, Baltimore, Jacksonville, Gary, Cleveland, St. Louis, Detroit, Philadelphia, Oakland, Chicago, Newark, and Washington, D. C. Sharp and Schnore (1962:179) point to the experience of Washington, D. C. as "touch(ing) on the dramatic." In the thirty-year period from 1930 to 1960, Washington changed from almost three-fourths white to more than one-half Black. Washington, D. C. was more than 70 per cent Black in

*Washington, D. C.; Gary, Indiana; Atlanta, Georgia; and Newark, New Jersey.

1970, while Newark was almost two-thirds Black and Spanish-speaking.

Given the continuation of present trends, Newark's Black component will continue to rise. The Black share was estimated to increase to 58 per cent in 1970 and 72 per cent in 1980 by the component method. Alternatively, the Black share was simulated by Greenberg (1970:3-6) via a transition probability matrix. The states represent changing Black percentages of census tracts between 1950 and 1960 and thus implicitly the neighborhood transition phenomenon. This method yielded estimates of 56 per cent in 1970 and 72 per cent in 1980. The 1970 census count was 54 per cent.

The higher white component is not a sign of stability among middle-income whites. Rather, the city's white Spanish-speaking population is rapidly increasing.* Accordingly, greater "whiteness" in Newark may mean greater poverty because the Spanish-speaking population has been characterized by higher birth and greater unemployment rates than its American Black counterpart (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963:117; Chernick, 1967:xi). In addition, it has been suggested that the

*The U. S. Census classifies Orientals and Blacks as non-white, but most Puerto Ricans and Cubans are classified as white (Chernick, et al., 1967).

population was grossly undercounted by non-Spanish-speaking enumerators (New York Times, September 13, 1970:44). Therefore, the Black component, but not the poverty component may be overestimated by the 1970 census.

Beyond 1970, the Black share may fall short of the projected levels due to (1) the increasing possibility of Black migration to the suburbs aided by "fair housing" legislation (New York Times, January 6 and July 13, 1970; February 11, 1971), (2) a slowdown of white migration out of the cities due to the present economic crisis and highly restrictive zoning ordinances which have limited the movement of middle-income and/or large family units (Regional Plan News, 1969:23), and (3) the reduction of the southern Black migrant pool.

Some evidence suggests that the first portion of this process is occurring in Newark. Gustav Heningburg, director of the Greater Negro Urban Coalition, stated in the New York Times (March 18, 1969:30) that the Black middle-class is trying to leave Newark just as fast as the white. The Black share of Newark's suburbs rose from 13 per cent in 1960 to 19 per cent in 1970, while the Black in-migration was reported in the New York Times (February 11, 1971:24) as levelling off.

However, Newark is likely to continue to attract minority members, both Black and Spanish-speaking, because its environs contain a substantial share of the New York

Region's declining heavy industries and accordingly semi- and unskilled occupations (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963:34). In 1967, the city had more than doubled its population share of the Region's production workers in the following industries: food products, furniture, chemical, primary metal fabrication, and electrical equipment. Many of these industries are noxious, are not often sought by whites entering the labor force, and have been progressively concentrated in Newark and its surrounding counties since the First World War according to Hoover and Vernon (1962:69-73). Even if Newark's living space continues to be physically unattractive, the paucity of low income housing in the New York region combined with the availability of employment is likely to make Newark a place of primary settlement for the poor and unskilled.

In summary, this analysis of available data demonstrates that since 1960 the population of Newark has become predominately Black and Spanish-speaking. Our evidence suggests as well that the size of this numerical majority is most likely to decrease during the present decade. Associated with these compositional realities are corresponding changes in characteristics of the work force, the family, the stratification system, and patterns of territorial occupancy.

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Chapter 4

THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND THE SCHOOLS

POWER concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what people will submit to and you have found out the exact amount of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them; and these will continue till they have resisted either with words or blows or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they suppress....

Frederick Douglass, (1970)

Introduction

Discontent with the schools is and has been endemic and epidemic among the Black residents of Newark. Basically this discontent rests upon the belief and even the experiential knowledge that, in the public life of the community, they experience, when contrasted with non-Blacks, unusual provocation and difficulty in transforming collective preference into effective policy. Because of, at the least, the accompanying belief in the operation of a pervasive racism in the city and the reality that numerically Newark is on the verge of becoming Black-dominated, the term "the Black community" is to be understood broadly as including all those who subscribe to and act in concert with the explicit and implicit educational interests of Newark Blacks. The critical

element permitting this reification of the term is the presumption of a state of awareness or consciousness and a collective solidarity in respect to basic group values and goals, created and nurtured out of the recognition of the common fate of being Black in Newark. This focus, it bears repeating, is narrowly trained upon the formally organized educational institution; other possible dimensions of the concept "the Black community" are considered only in that they bear significantly upon or have implication for the educational institution. With respect to educational issues the Black citizens of Newark generally exhibit symbolic expressions of their solidarity; are commonly treated as a collectivity by non-Blacks; display elements of a common style of life, norms, and values; and tend to enjoy a relatively high rate of interaction among themselves. These features in combination justify the use of the concept "community" in referring in this context to the Black residents of Newark.

The central fact informing the participation of the Black community in educational affairs of Newark is that power is institutionalized, as are the rules which govern and influence the educational system. The relevant question then becomes how did the Black community, between 1958 and 1972, organize to deal with this fact, and with what success? Rather than approaching the Black community from the

customary social science orientation of psychopathology, disorganization, and deviance, our approach features an orientation toward Black group survival and successful adaptation with scarce resources within a particular situational context. The emergent organizational structure and the strategic designs for inducing social change created by the Black community, while coping with the pattern of environmental stress of particular situational conditions and forces, are the dominant orientations of this approach.

Analytical descriptions are made of critical events involving the Black community with the educational institution, and with other structural subsystems and social processes of the Newark community. Those voluntary associations concerned specifically with educational issues, presumed to make up the key organizational units of the structure of the Black community, are identified. Analysis is made of the purposive actions of those voluntary associations with respect to the policy-making elements of the educational institution. This analysis of elements of social organization, collective behavior, mass movements, and leadership phenomena is designated to illustrate the dynamics of involvement and participation of the Black community in the changing educational institution of Newark.

Critical Events

Black participation in educational affairs in Newark

ordinarily meets perfectly what Bullock (1970) calls the traditional national educational policy directed toward racial accommodation, stabilization of the status quo (Black subordination to white), segregation, or special education. However, several specific events were played out in Newark during the 1960 decade whose emphases were upon, in varying combinations, protest, dissent, declaration of grievance and demands for relief, conflict, and violence. These events mark, at the same time, stages of the movement toward mobilization or revitalization of the Black community. They pinpoint, in particular, a shift toward the acceptance of the idea of supremacy of Black group over Black individual interests, the emergence of new forms of leadership, the development of a style of public engagement uniquely featuring the tactics of obstruction and provocative confrontation, the mastery of the arts and skills requisite for successful participation in a pluralistic urban setting, and an organizational structure designed to facilitate the obtaining of prevailing control, at the least, of the educational institution of Newark.

The selection of critical events is both subjective and arbitrary. Criteria of selection are that, in addition to the reflective, collective judgement of the researchers, the event be defined by the Black community as significant for Black group objectives; that collective positions and

actions are undertaken by representatives of the Black community; and that the consequences of the event permit sociological interpretation of some penetration into what routinely may be considered everyday perspectives.

No one lawsuit or administrative decision involving the Newark Board of Education between 1958 and 1971 can be accurately called a critical event. Yet the pattern or configuration of litigation and administrative decisions during this period had tremendous implication for the involvement of the Black community with the structures and processes of public policy-making in education. Analytical review was made of all State and Federal court decisions, all Commissioner of Education and State Board of Education decisions, and all collective bargaining agreements with teacher organizations involving the Newark school system between 1958 and 1971 (Tractenberg, 4-22-71 and 7-27-71).

Several trends emerge clearly from this review. First, the illusive notions of community, as well as pupil, welfare are increasingly referred to and the principle of community participation becomes more firmly established and accepted. Second, the litigation, decisions, and agreements during this time period reveal cleanly the emergence of teacher organizations as powerful interest groups in educational affairs. Professional teacher organizations were able to deliver improved terms and conditions of employment

for all teaching personnel, guarantee organizational security, and establish the jurisdictional right to be considered in significant areas of educational decision-making. Third, the seeds of potential confrontation between the Black community and the teacher organizations are planted in the alignment of issues and positions under dispute. The eventual coalition of the Black community and the Board of Education against the increasing militancy of the teacher organizations is unmistakably revealed in reviewing the decisions and agreements of this decade. A reasonable conclusion that could have been reached by the Black community in interpreting the above pattern of litigation, decisions, and agreements was that reliance could not be placed upon the legal system to react favorably or responsibly to the critical needs of the Black community.

In 1962 Hugh J. Addonizio defeated Leo J. Carlin for the office of mayor of Newark. The significance of this campaign, election, and subsequent transfer of political power held important meanings for the Black community. Symbolically the election represented the taking over of the political system by essentially an Italian influence, in alliance with the Black community, and the turning out of the Irish influence in city government. Addonizio's strategy for election was based upon ingeniously exploiting ethnic and racial tensions in the community. Definite

promises were made to Black politicians and to the Black community, and to some extent they were fulfilled. The Black community responded to this attention in deliberate reaction to the lack of real involvement with and the insensitivity of the Carlin administration to the crushing needs and massive problems of the Black community. Traditional Black politicians, and emergent newer style Black leaders, combined to deliver the political power of the Black community to Addonizio. Two consequences followed this changeover in political power. Black individuals began to think together seriously about the task of mobilizing the political potential of the Black community, and a low-keyed discontent emerged in calculated assessment of the patronage rewards delivered to the Black community by Addonizio. Keen observers of this scenario from within the Black world would reach the plausible conclusion that alternative mechanisms were needed to express and to ensure attainment of the survival needs of the Newark Black community.

Sometimes during the summer of 1964 a grass-roots movement called the Newark Community Union Project (NCUP) was formed by representatives of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The mainly white staff of this movement was led by Tom Hayden. The organization was located in the heart of the Black residential area, and the staff lived there among the residents. Two principles informed its

program: one was that, to organize a poor community or neighborhood you must live on the level of the people and identify with them; the other was that ways must be found to help people understand or cope with their fears, and become more confident of their unified abilities. The key strategy of the movement was to attack power structures rather than to accept the notion that the wretched condition of the people was due to characteristics or failings of the people themselves.

NCUP was a critical event for the Black community for several reasons. First, it taught, and even demonstrated to the individuals from the Black community that the established or traditional groups dominating the "political" stage in Newark had little regard for the genuine problems of the Black community. Second, it provided these Black individuals with a kind of discipline and the knowledges, skills, and techniques needed for mounting the primary process of transforming potential into actual political effectiveness. Third, NCUP allowed these individuals from the Black community to identify irrevocably the enemy or, stated differently, what the target was in terms of decolonialization of the Black community. Finally, due to a combination of circumstances, the fruit of NCUP was ripe at precisely the right time--given the convergences of local, state, and national forces generated out of the

so-called War on Poverty and massive change in the structure of the civil rights movement--to gain entry into programs and projects designed to alter radically the character of local, state, and national political structures.

The aggregate programs of President Lyndon B. Johnson constituted a critical event for the Black community of Newark. Such programs as Anti-poverty, the Elementary and Secondary Act, New Careers, Concentrated Employment Program, and Model Cities appeared on the surface to be deliberately designed for Newark. Two consequences of the programs, all of which operated in Newark, deserve our attention.

First, the structure of the programs initially involved the customarily organized and established interests of the city. Illustratively, the United Community Corporation (UCC)--as the non-profit anti-poverty program organization--came into existence with 16 incorporates, none of whom were poor or represented legitimate interests of the genuine poor. Rather, the traditionally organized interest groups had captured this agency specifically designed to insure democratic participation in public policy-making by those who were unorganized and unrepresented. The stage was set for an internecine struggle for effective Black control both within the UCC bureaucracy and within the larger public arena. For the Blacks tended to define, in general, all of the anti-poverty programs as being established with their

interests and their deserved rights in mind.

The second consequence of these programs for the Black community is a corollary of the first. The contradictions and struggles for effective control and actual power set off in establishing and operating these programs provided a training ground, an educational environment, for individuals in and of the Black community. Here they were forced to acquire and to practice those arts of practical public life from which heretofore they had been largely excluded. They engaged in the games of strategy and tactics, and learned to bear responsibility for their mistakes. The structures for purposive action by the Black community were being forged, leadership tested, the enemy taunted and baited, and collective discipline acquired. These, possibly unintended, consequences of the War on Poverty programs in Newark obtained regardless of whether such programs were calculatedly designed as pacificatory and divisionary tactics against the Black community.

The homecoming of Leroi Jones, sometime in 1966, was a critical event for the Black community of Newark. Jones, who by 1969 had assumed the title of respect and the name of Imamu Amiri Baraka, returned to the Black community as a nationally known poet, author, playwright, and leader in the world of the Black cultural arts. Through the evolutionary vehicle of formally organized, locally based groups

such as the Black Brothers, the Committee for A Unified Newark, the Congress of African Peoples, and the Temple of Kawaida, Baraka worked toward the overall goal of mobilization or transformation of the social power of the Black community from potential to actual. A social movement based upon militant Black nationalism and worthy of serious analytical study was created.

Several consequences for the Black community derive from the return of Jones and the subsequent attempt to reorganize radically the Black community. First, Baraka developed an alternative power structure in the public arena of Newark controlled by distinctly announced Black interests and operated publicly and privately by Blacks. Second, Baraka advocated a type of individual and collective involvement based upon a kind of personal fanaticism, religious asceticism or self-transcendence, directed toward the goal of Black decolonization. Third, Baraka developed a type of leadership, combining charismatic as well as bureaucratic elements and organizational patterns, that utilized much of what is traditionally found within the social organization of the Black community and which was also creatively innovative in designing coping mechanisms to work with particular conditions of context within the larger Newark community. Fourth, state, national, and international connections or linkages were made in attempting to

obtain short- and long-run objectives of the local Black community. Finally, a variety of tactics--education, persuasion, fear and coercion, coalition and alliance, subversion, ridicule, etc.--were used imaginatively by the social movement to gain public attention and legitimacy, elicit cooperation and support, and to overcome resistance both within the Black community and against the non-Black communities. The norms and values of hard, dedicated individual and collective work, effective communication networks, learning, militarism or authoritarian modes of organizational structure, mysticism, and a revolutionary kind of assault upon that defined as evil were blended by Baraka in an attempt to induce personal redemption, communal transformation, and institutional or systematic change.

— In 1966 Kenneth Gibson, then employed by the city government as an engineer, stood for the office of mayor. He entered the race late and eventually lost to Addonizio, but was successful in forcing a runoff between Addonizio and Carlin. As a critical event this action had two consequences for the Black community.

Most political professionals in Newark, under the unwritten imperative of ethnic mobility and succession or ascendancy in local municipal government, believed that Gibson's bid for the mayor's office was premature. Some elements of the political subsystem, however, a very small

minority composed mainly of young Black amateurs, felt that now was the time. Essentially they wished to learn first-hand whether it was possible to rally the Newark Black vote, and how best to go about doing this. In other words, winning the 1966 mayoralty race was secondary. Gibson's campaign provided them with a testing, measuring or learning situation.

The second consequence flows out of the first. For in learning that the Black political potential could be actualized and that hard, dedicated and shrewd organizing was the fundamental way, they set about then to do it. An ad hoc, tightly knit, low profile coordinating type cadre, supported mainly by philanthropic subsidy, was quietly formed and began to work earnestly in 1966 toward winning the office of mayor for a Black at the next election in 1970. They knew that to do this an organizational structure had to be created and compelled to perform. The resultant political structure was radically unlike that which it effectively succeeded-- the ward organization of Councilman Irvine Turner which for years had represented Negro political power in Newark.

The Parker-Callahan affair was played out largely during June, 1967. As a critical event its significance can hardly be overstated. The Board of Education announced that Mayor Addonizio had recommended that Councilman James T. Callahan become its next Secretary. The deal involved the

retirement of the incumbent Secretary Arnold Hess, who had been associated with the Board of Education in Newark in some official capacity for over 30 years, and his retirement or rehiring as a \$25,000-a-year consultant to the Board of Education. The Black community was outraged. They demanded that the Black budget director for the city, Wilbur Parker, be recommended by Addonizio as Board of Education Secretary. Justifying their demand they cited the fact that Parker was a trained accountant with professional school degrees and therefore was eminently more qualified for the position than Callahan, a high school graduate. Addonizio was adamant. However, he promised the Black community as a quid pro quo that the Board of Education would name a number of Black educators to high administrative positions in the techno-structure of the educational institution. The Black community would have none of it. Dissent and criticism shifted into public confrontation, demonstration, and disruption. After serious disorder on several public occasions the issue was temporarily resolved, it was thought, by the non-retirement of Arnold Hess.

Three consequences for the Black community make this incident a critical event. First, it convinced the Black community, without any semblance of doubt, that neither individual achievement nor faithful political performance

and loyalty were sufficient to secure equity in public affairs from the Addonizio administration. Second, it irrevocably fingered the educational institution for the Black community as that public subsystem most vulnerable to purposeful change. Finally, the incident allowed the fragmented and even atomized elements of the Black community to converge upon one grievous hurt, to experience unity, and to effect concerted action toward a common goal. It contributed immensely to the heightening of collective solidarity, and allowed some of the kinks to be smoothed out in that emergent organizational structure being created.

The Black rebellion, and its malevolent repression, during July, 1967, must be considered a critical event for the Newark Black community. The direct determinants of this civil disorder are obscure and cannot be empirically verified; the resolution of the Parker-Callahan affair, for instance, often is cited as a contributory factor to the eruption of this particular form of collective behavior. It is known that at least two specific incidents of police savagery and provocative violence against Black individuals took place in early July that appear to have triggered this desperate response from the Black community. Hayden (1967) provides an excellent analytical description of this example of public order that can be considered both a symbol of deliverance from oppression and an episode of infamy.

The critical significance of this event for the Black community are many. Two, however, override all others. First, this event removed ruthlessly all doubts that may have been held by Newark Blacks about the determination of Newark whites to maintain to the bitter end, and by all means, the customary pattern of superordination of white over Black. Second, this event showed Newark Blacks that their very existence was at stake; that for the sake of actual survival something must be done. They set about earnestly and with all deliberate haste to accelerate the mobilization of the Black community, and to effect an organizational structure and process capable of representing Black needs. This rebellion was the catalyst that provoked the necessary civic determination within the Black community to destroy the superfluous, create the essential, and unite the fragmented and disparate elements of a Black social order in Newark. Almost unnoticed, but as a concomitant of the above efforts, the Black community launched itself eagerly into the larger spheres of Pan-Africanism and Black nationalism.

The 1970 contract negotiation, strike, and eventual settlement between the Newark Teacher Union (NTU), an affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers, and the Newark Board of Education is considered a critical event for the Black community of Newark. This event simultaneously

involved intra-professional organizational, racial, political, labor-management, and educational conflict (Phillips and Conforti, 1972).

Marked by violence, racial confrontation and mass arrests, the month-long, record-breaking strike was resolved in terms of a one-year contract that represented a victory for the NTU and a defeat for the Black community. NTU had won what was probably the best contract ever secured by a teachers' organization in New Jersey, if not in the nation. The settlement was arrived at only after Mayor Hugh Addonizio personally intervened in the negotiations and, being under indictment on corruption charges together with other city officials, while commencing a reelection campaign.

Two direct and related consequences for the Black community flow from this event. First, it identified again the importance of the educational system for the fate of the Black community; and second, it forced them to know that they must organize themselves if they were to obtain any measure of relief from intolerable conditions. These consequences were reinforcement for previous lessons imposed upon the Black community by the cruelty of the realities of urban life in Newark.

In the mayoral election of May, 1970, no candidate received enough votes to win, thereby requiring a runoff

election between Kenneth Gibson and Hugh Addonizio. On June 12 Kenneth Gibson won the runoff election, becoming Newark's 34th mayor, and its first Black one. For the Black community, and indeed for the entire community, this was a critical event.

The significance of Gibson's election to the Black community is complex. For that small cadre of activists who had been working diligently since at least the 1966 elections it represented conclusive proof that Black political power could be effectively mobilized in Newark. Following the holding of regional and national Black power and Pan-African conferences, and Black and Puerto Rican conventions in the city; the overcoming of structural disadvantages inherent in a system of nonpartisan election procedures; coping with the demographic disadvantages of age and mobility differentials; and negating the cumulative effects of nonparticipation and nonreward historically in Newark politics Gibson's election was a balm in Gilead to those who made up the new Black political elite of the city.

In June, 1971, Mayor Gibson announced the appointment of Lawrence Hamm (Adhimu Chunga) to the Board of Education. Hamm was 17 years old and had graduated only weeks earlier from Newark's Art High School. Several characteristics of Hamm make his appointment a critical event for the Black community.

During the prolonged 1971 teacher contract negotiations and the subsequent strike Hamm actively pursued a role designed to legitimate the formal involvement of students in the resolution of this community educational affair. He was, in addition, an adherent of a local version of Black nationalism or Pan-Africanism. Also, he advocated radical change rather than reform of the educational institution. Finally, he practiced, often to the dismay of those confronted, a unique style of advocacy blending rational with designedly provocative modes of engagement.

The essential consequence of Hamm's appointment for the Black community, however, was its indication of the seriousness of intent of those concerned with the transformation or reorganization of the Black community. Hamm was a leader in a youth organization known as the Newark Student Federation (Owens, 1972). This organization was an alliance of students from the several high schools of Newark. It had worked aggressively as a part of the coalition against the NTU during the 1971 teacher contract settlement. The Mayor was appreciative of its role and aware of the potential political value of organized Black youth. Hamm's appointment acknowledges the debt owed, prepares for future obligation, but also reveals to some extent the degree to which the Black community had been or was in the process of being mobilized.

Singly the interpretative significance of these eleven events designated as critical for the Black community between 1958 and 1971 may be reasonably questioned. Collectively, however, they only can be interpreted as demonstrating cumulatively the defensive structuring (Siegal, 1970) as well as the revitalization (Wallace, 1956) of community life for Newark Blacks during a period of extreme environmental stress.

Three threads of continuity permeate all eleven critical events. First, they reveal the existence of a purposive strategy of community reorganization. Second, they exhibit resonance with an ideology of decolonization-- a formal and informal socialization process based upon the refusal to allow the "enemy" to define the problems of and the solutions for the Black community. Finally, the events demonstrate the development of a functional form of leadership involving a precise frame of reference, a puritanical disciplinary zeal or the secular experience of self-transcendence common in revolutionaries, historical revisionism, unity of thought and action, and an overwhelming sense of urgency.

Organizational Participation

The analysis that follows is designed primarily to do two things. It must describe the character of that

organizational structure of the Black community adaptively used to engage in the determination of educational policy, and it must illustrate some aspects of the participatory patterns engaged in by this organizational structure.

The social organization of the urban Black community remains even now a subject of some controversy (Wilson, 1971). The critical events described in the previous section demonstrate the presence of a normative system as well as an organized social structure in the Black community of Newark. Voluntary associations are considered here to be the basic units of this adaptive structure; in this context, voluntary associations which engage in actions designed openly or specifically to influence and determine public educational policy. This typical associational structure of the Black community in the United States, in contrast with the ascriptive based (i.e., kinship and locale-based) patterns of other racial and ethnic groups and that found in other cultural systems, probably has direct implication for the nature of social solidarity or functional integration of the Newark Black community as well as its pattern of participation in educational policy determination. An organizational structure made up of a plurality of competing voluntary associations may serve to atomize and demoralize rather than to function integratively (Light, 1972).

The arena providing the formal setting for educational

policy determination in Newark is the public meeting of the Board of Education. It is not argued that this social setting is the only one allowing or permitting participation in public educational policy determination. Other settings, for example, are committee meetings of the Board of Education, meetings of the City Council, meetings of the Board of School Estimate as well as innumerable informal and even covert face-to-face encounters, conferences, luncheons, dinners, etc. Emphasis in this analysis, however, is mainly placed upon the formal scenario of the public meetings of the Board of Education.

Participation by voluntary associations in public life denotes acceptance of the norms of collective representativeness and of organizational management. It implies the acceptance of the value of social parity, a recognition of common humanity, in which distinctions of ethnicity and skill are not to be taken as symbols of subordination. Participation further implies willingness to share the experiences and hazards of life (Wax, 1972). In this particular context, organizational participation in educational policy determination means an instrumentality used by Blacks to confront institutional racism--the operating policies, priorities, and functions of the educational institution of Newark, conceived as an ongoing system of normative patterns which serve to subjugate, oppress and force dependence of

individuals or groups by: (1) establishing and sanctioning unequal goals; and (2) sanctioning inequality in status as well as in access to goods and services (Ladner, 1972; 265). Between 1958 and 1971, 102 voluntary associations representing the perceived interests of the Black community appeared before, or participated in, the public meetings of the Board of Education. These voluntary associations represented 11 per cent of all organizations appearing during this period of time. A few organizations appeared before the Board of Education whose membership was racially mixed. Such organizations, however, are usually predominately Black in membership, and they always express commitment to the goals or interests of the Black community and are therefore included in the following analysis. The education component of Model Cities is not included as a voluntary association, but its exception is worthy of note. This unit of an agency of city government never appeared before the Board of Education in public meeting. Nevertheless, it is constantly involved in several aspects of school programming. For example, the Community Development Administration (CDA), the parent administrative agency for Model Cities, has contracts with the Board of Education and is continually involved in the negotiations of other contracts. The significance of this exception is that it illustrates another kind of participation by the Black community in educational

policy determination. The staff of Model Cities is almost entirely Black.

The 102 voluntary associations making up the observed organizational structure of the Black community participating in educational policy determination are grouped in TABLE 12 by the characteristics of scope or areal affiliation, single or multiple-purpose, and a Black frame of reference (Gordon and Babchuk, 1959). Scope or areal affiliation refers to whether an organization has predominately a local or predominately a national territoriality. Single or multiple-purpose concerns the primary goal or objective orientation of the organization. A Black frame of reference is best understood by the assumption of a position suggested by the words accommodation, assimilation and integration or by the assumption of a contrasting position suggested by the words decolonization, liberation, separatism, or nationalism.

Most of the Black organizations attempting to participate in educational policy-making between 1958 and 1971 were of local origin, had multiple objectives, and tended to occupy an integrationist or non-militant position. A definite minority of those Black organizations attempting to become involved in educational decision-making presented a radical or militant stance, confined themselves solely to a single goal or objective, and had broad national or international connections. Two other characteristics of these

BLACK VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS BY SCOPE OF AFFILIATION, PURPOSE, AND FRAME OF REFERENCE--1958-1971

	Integration		Black Liberation	
	local	non-local	local	non-local
Single Purpose Education	<p>*Robert Treat School Council Area Board 3 Educational Task Force Parents' Group Area Board 3 Newark Pre-school Council O.N.E. Camp Title I Citizens' Committee for Equality in Education Crusade for Learning Day Care Council Springfield Avenue Community School Project W.H.O.</p>	<p>Title I M.A.R.C.</p>	<p>African Free School Black Student Council African Education Alliance Student Federation Arts High School Student Council Central High School Debating Team S.A.S.S. Newark Student Union Central High School Student Council</p>	
Multi-Purpose	<p>Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council Holy Temple First Mt. Zion Baptist Church Trinity Methodist Church Baptist Ministers' Conference Weequahic Community Council Columbus Homes Tenants St. James AME Concerned Citizens Coalition</p>	<p>*C.O.R.E. N.A.A.C.P. A.K.A. Sorority Frontiers of America U.C.C. National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co.</p>	<p>Black Man's Army of Liberation Labor Negro Vanguard Youth Organized Behind the Question of Blackness United Brothers Newark Community Coalition Black Women's Union C.-F.U.N.</p>	<p>Congress of African Peoples</p>

*These two organizations in the later sixties would be in the Black Liberation category.



Black Liberation

Integration

non-local

local

non-local

Joint Committee of
 Human Rights of Greek
 Letter Sororities
 and Fraternities
 Lambda Kappa Mu Sorority
 N.J. Branch of the
 National Association
 of College Women
 Women's League of New
 Jersey
 Phi Delta Kappa Sorority
 Alpha Phi Alpha Fratern-
 ity
 N.J. Chapter of Florida
 A & M University

local

Hayes Homes Tenants
 A. Washington Civic
 Association
 Young Citizens for Rac-
 ial Equality
 C. Attucks Society
 South Newark Ministers
 B.I.C.C.
 Miller Street Community
 Council
 Newark Organization of
 Civil Rights
 Gibson Civic Association
 Area Board 2 Newark
 Business League
 United Presbyterian
 Church
 Area Board 5
 House of Prayer
 Committee for Negro
 Progress
 Presbyterian Community
 Center
 Peoples' Action Group
 Kelley Civic Association
 Area Board 2 Operation
 We Care
 Payne Civic Association
 Area Board 4 Peoples'
 Action Group
 Elizabeth Avenue Pres-
 byterian Church
 Newark Human Rights
 Macedonia AME Church
 Wright Homes Association
 T.E.A.M.
 Newark Branch National Alliance
 of Postal Workers

ulti-
rpose

Black Liberation

Integration

non-local

local

non-local

local

Central Ward Youth Concerns Committee
 Trinidad Ministry
 Model Cities Housing Task Force
 Meeker Avenue Neighborhood Camp
 Social Concerns Committee
 Trinidad Methodist Church
 Peshine Avenue Neighborhood Council
 Friendly Neighborhood Guild
 Fuld Neighborhood House
 Springfield Avenue Association
 United Ministerial Alliance for Progress
 Bock Avenue Block Association
 Sterling Street Block Association
 Weequahic Presbyterian Church
 Arthur Jones Association
 Inter-racial Council for Business Opportunity
 Community Information and Referral Center
 Shepard Avenue Block Association
 12th Street Block Association
 South Ward Social Civic Association
 Central Ward Athletic League
 South Ward Voters League
 Independent Negro Teachers Political Association
 Central Newark Community Council

ulti-
rpose

two categories of organizations deserve mention.

The larger portion of the organizations as described above, Type I, tended to be heterogeneous in terms of membership exclusiveness or inclusiveness. That is, both inclusive or open membership is observed as well as closed, elite or exclusive membership among the organizations of this category. Thus an Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority and a Frontiers of America Club are found with a Day Care Council and a Columbus Home Tenants Association. The smaller category of organizations, Type II, on the other hand tends to be homogeneous with respect to inclusiveness. No high status, privileged or elite constituents seem to be sought after by these latter organizations.

The second observation about these two categories of organizations concerns societal organization or ideological position. Type I organizations tend to be normative oriented; that is, basically their rationale for existence rests on accepting the fundamental value system of American society but directing their efforts to change, reform, and making it work. Type II organizations, in contrast, tend to dispute the legitimacy of the basic societal values regarding the role and place of Blacks in American society. Thus, the United Brothers and the Congress of African Peoples differ drastically in many essentials relevant to educational issues from organizations such as the NAACP and

the Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council.

TABLE 13 presents the pattern of participation of the 102 Black organizations by school year. Careful examination shows that the organizations composing the Type II category tend to become active late in the time period under study. The 17 organizations in this category were particularly active during the last five years of the period from 1967 to 1971. This was also the period of the greatest participation by all of the Black organizations. In 1966-67, 37 organizations made 92 appearances before the Board of Education while in the previous year only 8 organizations appeared for a total of 22 times. The 1966-67 school year attracted intense interest from the Black community primarily because of the Parker-Callahan controversy. This issue was the most frequently raised one during 1966-67. All of the involvement with this issue on the part of the Black organizations was in support of the Black candidate, Parker, with CORE and ONE in the vanguard. This episode is one of the first examples of unity of view and action by the Black community. Issues such as the need for new school buildings, less crowded classrooms, and more and better equipment and materials always existed and there is always agreement concerning these needs. However, individual school groups or Parent Teacher Associations (PTA's) usually raise these issues in terms of their particular schools and neighborhoods.

Table 13

Number of Presentations by Black Organizations at Public Board of Education Meetings, by Fiscal Year

Name of Organization	58-9	59-60	60-1	61-2	62-3	63-4	64-5	65-6	66-7	67-8	68-9	69-70	70-1	Total
Meeker Avenue Neighborhood Camp	1													1
Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council	6	15	13	10	8	6	6	2	3			1		70
Social Concerns Committee	1													
Trinity Methodist Church	1													1
N.A.A.C.P.	1	5	7	3	8	11	6	2		3	2	7	2	57
Holy Temple Church of God in Christ		1												1
First Mt. Zion Baptist Church		1	1											2
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company		1												1
Trinity Methodist Church		1	1	2					3		1			8
Alpha Kappa Alpha		1									1			2
Central Newark Community Council		1												1
Baptist Ministers' Conference		1							1					2
Citizens' Committee for Equality in Education		1	3	1	2									7
Joint Committee of Human Rights of Greek Letter Sororities and Fraternities		2												
Peshine Avenue Neighborhood Council			1											2
Friendly Neighborhood Guild			1											1
Lambda Kappa Mu Sorority														1
Epsilon Chapter			1											1
Columbus Homes Tenants			1											1
N. J. Branch of the National Association of College Women			1											1

Organization	58-9	59-60	60-1	61-2	62-3	63-4	64-5	65-6	66-7	67-8	68-9	69-70	70-1	Total
Women's League of New Jersey			1											1
St. James AME Church			2											2
Hayes Homes Tenants			1	2	1	1								5
Weequahic Community Council			3	1	2	5	2	4	1			1	1	20
Fuld Neighborhood House		1										1		2
Robert Treat School Council			3								18			21
Frontiers of America			1	1	2									4
South Newark Ministers			1											1
Wright Homes Association			1	4										4
Trinidad Ministry of Education and Culture				2										2
Springfield Avenue Association				2										2
Phi Delta Kappa				1										1
Central Ward Youth Coordinating Committee					2									2
Payne Civic Association					3		1							4
National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs					1									1
United Ministerial Alliance for Progress					3	1								4
Macedonia AME Church					2				1					3
Newark Human Rights Commission					1				7	8	4	5	5	30
Elizabeth Avenue Presbyterian Church						1								1
C.O.R.E.						1	7	9	29	21	15	1		83
House of Prayer								1						1
Newark pre-school Council								1	2					3
Parents' Group Area Three								1						1
U.C.C.								2	4	1	3			10
Committee for Negro Progress									3					3
Presbyterian Community Center									2					2
Peoples' Action Group			1											6
Kelley Civic Association														5

Name of Organization	58-9	59-60	60-1	61-2	62-3	63-4	64-5	65-6	66-7	67-8	68-9	69-70	70-1	Total
Bock Avenue Block Association									1					1
Area Board 2--Operation We Care									1	4				5
Area Board 4--Peoples' Action									2	4				6
Area Board 5									1		1			2
United Presbyterian Church									1		2			5
Crusade for Learning									5	8				13
Sterling Street Block Association									1					1
Weequahic Presbyterian Church									1		1			3
Area Board 2 Newark Business League									1					1
Black Man's Army of Liberation									2					2
Gibson Civic Association									3	2				5
Labor Negro Vanguard									1					1
Area Board 3 Educational Task Force									1			1		2
Newark Organization of Civil Rights									1					1
B.I.C.C.									1			1		2
Miller Street Community Council									1					1
Youth Organized Behind the Question of Blackness										1				1
O.N.E.									1	19	26	17	1	64
Title I										5	5	7	7	24
Black Women's Union										1				1
Title I Camp										4	1			5
Day Care Council										3		1		4

58-9 59-60 60-1 61-2 62-3 63-4 64-5 65-6 66-7 67-8 68-9 69-70 70-1 Total

Organization	58-9	59-60	60-1	61-2	62-3	63-4	64-5	65-6	66-7	67-8	68-9	69-70	70-1	Total
C. Attucks Society										1				1
United Brothers										1		2		3
T.E.A.M.										1	1	1		3
Arthur Jones Association										1				1
Young Citizens for Racial Equality										1	1			2
Black Student Council										1				1
C.-F.U.N.											4	5	3	13
Interracial Council for Business Opportunities										1				1
M.A.R.C.										1				1
N.J. Chapter Florida A & M University										1				1
Community Information and Referral Center												2		2
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity										1				1
Shepard Avenue Block Association												1		1
12th Street Block Association												1		1
Newark Student Union												3		3
Washington Civic Association												3	3	6
Newark Community Coalition												7	10	17
Model Cities Housing Task Force												1		1
Central High School Debate Team														
African Free School												5	3	8
South Ward Social Civic Association												2		2
Central Ward Athletic Association												1		1
S.A.S.S.												1		1
South Ward Voters League											2			2
									1					3

Name of Organization	58-9	59-60	60-1	61-2	62-3	63-4	64-5	65-6	66-7	67-8	68-9	69-70	70-1	Total
Concerned Citizens' Coalition													4	4
Springfield Avenue Community School													2	2
Central High School Student Council													1	1
Congress of African Peoples													1	1
Arts High School Students													17	17
Arts High School Board of Students Federation													1	1
African Education Alliance													2	2
Project W.H.O.													1	1
*Independent Negro Teachers' Political Association														
*Newark Branch of the National Alliance of Postal Workers														
TOTAL NUMBER OF APPEARANCES (BY YEAR)	9	31	43	29	35	26	22	22	92	90	72	105	65	641
NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS THAT APPEARED WITHIN YEAR	4	11	18	11	12	7	5	8	31	20	25	29	18	199

* Data on the participation rates of these two organizations was not available to the research team.

The Parker-Callahan controversy was the first community-wide issue that brought so many Black organizations and individuals together for a common cause. Prior to this, the largest single issue was the question of Black administrators, examination procedures and, specifically, the Flagg case. Support for this issue was not sought at the grassroots level, however. Individual churches and assorted civic-minded groups supported this issue initially, and not until 1968 was there broad-based community involvement with it.

PTA's are not included in this analysis of voluntary associations although they were quite active during the time the public Board of Education meetings were under observation (1971). This decision was made for two reasons: (1) the umbrella PTA organization was not itself a Black organization; and (2) local PTA's may or may not be Black depending on the composition of the particular school's student body. School and parent ad hoc groups are not listed among the 102 organizations for the same reasons. There is one exception, the Marcus Garvey (Robert Treat) School Council which was known to be Black for the entire time period. Individuals, those whose only form of identification was a citizen or parent, represent a significant portion of Black participation in public meetings of the Board of Education during this time period.

Between 1958 and 1971 both the total number of appearances of Black organizations before the Board of Education

and the number of organizations that appeared annually steadily increased. The largest number of appearances took place in 1968-69, and the largest number of organizations participating in such meetings took place in 1966-67.

These years represent periods of unusual turbulence in the mobilization of the Black community--the Parker-Callahan affair, the rebellion and repression of 1967, the surfacing of an organized Black nationalist movement, and the campaign and election of a Black mayor.

Thirteen Black organizations account for 84.0 per cent of all organizational participation by Black voluntary associations. TABLE 14 presents this information, and shows that organizations representative of local and non-local affiliation, single and multiple-purpose orientation, and nationalistic as well as integrationist frames of reference are included in this participation core. The meaning of this diversity and variability of organizations found in the vanguard of Black organizational participation is difficult to interpret. Factionalism being overcome by an overriding common predicament may be a practical explanation. This data establishes, on the other hand, that participation by Black voluntary associations in educational affairs is found largely in a relatively small cadre of organizations, that this cadre involved organizations of diverse organizational attributes, and that Black organizational participation

Table 14

Major Organizational Participants, by Scope of Affiliation, Purpose, and Frame of Reference

	Integration		Black Liberation	
	local	non-local	local	non-local
Single Purpose	Crusade for Learning O.N.E. Robert Treat School Council	Title I	Arts High School Students	
Multi-Purpose	Clinton Hill Neighbor- hood Council Newark Human Rights Commission Weequahic Community Council	U.C.C. N.A.A.C.P. C.O.R.E.*	C.-F.U.N. Newark Community Coalition	

*Shifted orientation from integration toward Black liberation during the 1960 decade.

in public meetings of the Board of Education was, in general, uneven and irregular.

Summary

Two sets of data are used to demonstrate the process of racial conflict, change in the institutionalization of social power, and the adaptive organization of the Black community to cope with an environmental setting of hostility and institutional racism.

Starting from a pervasive sense of discontent, the Black community of Newark experiences a series of critical events during the period of time under study which informs it of possible consequences in the future, gives it purpose and unity, and forces it to create and use organizational structures to effect some control over its fate. The adaptive structure created takes an associational form of community organization. This system of voluntary association is heterogeneous in character and participates unevenly in the arena of educational policy determination. A solid core of organizations emerges in this participatory arena one salient feature of which is a coherent ideological system of Black nationalism or Pan-Africanism. The dependency of local educational policy-making upon fortuitous interventions from other local community subsystems, as well as from external sources at the state and national levels, is

revealed. The consequences of this for the status of the Black community in Newark are both complex and profound.

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Chapter 5

INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE AND RACISM: POLICY DETERMINATION AND IMPLEMENTATION

The traditional liberal or bourgeoisie solution to the problem of race is to confer status but withhold power.

Many changes were taking place in Newark during the decade or more covered by this study. And many of these changes had a pronounced effect on the way in which the educational institution could operate and on the role of Black participation in that institution. These changes occurred not only in the community at large, but within the various levels of the educational institution itself. Changes in city demographic patterns and in gross compositional, staffing and fiscal features of the total educational institution were reviewed in Chapters 3 and 1, respectively. Many of these developments provided the basis for important changes in the relationship between race and education in Newark from 1958 to 1970.

An analysis of the changes in Black participation must include consideration of Black involvement in the major aspects of the educational institution: the Board of Education, the techno-structure or administration, and

the teaching or educational personnel levels. By an examination of the changes in the recruitment practices at these various levels during the period of the study a more complete picture of the participation of the Black community of Newark in its educational institution can be gained.

Black Participation: The Board of Education

There has been significant variation in the social class, racial, and ethnic characteristics of individuals appointed to the Boards of Education during the two mayoral terms which comprise the larger part of this study period. The first mayor, Leo P. Carlin, recognized the significance of racial and ethnic identity in appointing individuals to the Board of Education as did the second mayor, Hugh J. Addonizio. The earlier period from 1958 to 1962 witnessed representation from only one Black but from seven distinct ethnic groups in Newark with the second period representing the Black community at the end with two Blacks as one of three racial-ethnic groups. There was only one Black and one Italian appointed to the Board of Education in the earlier period, and no representation from the Spanish-speaking community. During the later years of the second period Blacks increased their representation on the Board of Education. There were two seats allotted to the Blacks with a Spanish-speaking individual being appointed for the first time. Whites became a numerical minority on the

Board of Education only in 1971, one year after the election of a Black mayor, Kenneth Gibson.

These changes in racial and ethnic representation ultimately are associated with changes in the personal characteristics of the members of the Boards of Education. In the earlier period the corporate sector (industry, commerce, and unions) of the community was represented by 50 per cent of the members appointed. During the latter eight years of the study period, the mayors' appointments did not include representation from unions and only 17 per cent were employed in the private business sector. An increase occurred in the ranks of the self-employed both in the professional and proprietary categories. There were also differences in other areas such as educational background and residency representation. A uniform representation from among the five geopolitical areas of the city during the early period is noted except for the Central Ward, which was predominantly Black. In the latter period, a sizeable portion of individuals were recruited from the North Ward. Educational backgrounds were similar among members appointed during both periods. Eighty per cent of the members appointed by both mayors had completed college and 40 per cent of the membership in the earlier period had graduate training, while 60 per cent of the membership of the latter period also had graduate schooling.

TABLE 15

Percentage Distribution of Educational Attainment
of Board of Education Members by Mayoral Period

Period	Part College	College	Graduate	Total
I (1958-62)	20.0	40.0	40.0	100.0 (10)
II (1962-70)	19.0	19.0	62.0	100.0 (18)

A concomitant change with ethnic background was the occupational background of Board of Education members. The significance of an increase of members in the self-employed positions within professional and proprietary areas, as opposed to that of a salaried position, lies in the amount of time available to the individual for Board of Education activities without the member jeopardizing his financial income. To be a conscientious Board of Education member in Newark demands the possession of time as well as those character properties labelled by Goffman (1967:214-239) as courage, gameness, integrity, and composure.

There has been variation in the types of employment of Board of Education members over the time period of this study. What is important to note is the dependency of the Board of Education on salaried personnel as a main source for their recruitment. There was an increase in representation from the ranks of the self-employed during Mayoral Period I and a decline of the salaried professionals and white collar workers from private business and union sectors

in Mayoral Period II. This situation is significant, because it indicates the amount of time available to members in the performance of their duties circumscribed by economic needs of individual Board of Education members. In other words salaried personnel devote time to school matters with the approval of their employing organization, and are usually granted a latitude from their occupational responsibilities in the performance of their Board of Education duties, often because of the rewards bestowed upon the employing organization by representation on the Board of Education (Warner, 1947 and Freeman, 1963). The business or profession of the self-employed Board of Education member can suffer financial setback, if the Board of Education occupies a great amount of the member's time.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the Catholic interest is always formally represented on the Board of Education during all periods included in the study. Only in 1971, after the election of Mayor Gibson, did a representative from the Jewish community in Newark disappear from the Board of Education.

With these changes taking place in terms of Board of Education membership, it is worth noting if the decision-making behavior of the body has in fact changed during the period of this study. With the significant changes developing in terms of Board of Education membership, as well as

the demographic change noted above, one might well expect a change in the way in which the Board of Education has operated as a decision-making body during the period of this study.

Policy Determination: Process and Function

The Newark Board of Education's primary responsibility is to set up governing practices that facilitate its conducting and supervising the schools within its district, circumscribed by rules and regulations set by the State Legislature and State Board of Education. More specifically, within the guidelines set by the State, the Newark Board of Education must formulate policy in:

1. educational matters,
2. recruitment and promotional practices for students and employees,
3. financial appropriations,
4. maintenance and construction of physical plants, and
5. school community matters.

State law holds that for the policy decisions of the local Board of Education to be official, these decisions must be made at public meetings. The number and structuring of such meetings are enunciated in state statute. The New Jersey statutes stipulate the requirements for a quorum and magnitude of vote necessary for approval of varying motions. In addition, state law stipulates rudimentary eligibility requirements for Board of Education members.

Hence, even though the Newark Board of Education

utilizes committees, conferences, and executive sessions for the conducting of its business, official sanction is only given to formal action taken at public Board of Education meetings. Upper level administrators--Superintendent, Secretary, Counsel, and their immediate subordinates-- attend the informal or executive sessions of the Board of Education. Recommendations from the Committee on Instruction and Cafeterias, Committee on Buildings, Grounds and Physical Plant, and Committee on Finance, and reports from administrative officers such as the Superintendent and Secretary comprise the base for the majority of motions passed at public meetings of the Board of Education.

Although the Board of Education faced a dynamic and complex environment throughout the 1958-1971 period, the decisions by the Board of Education, its motion output, remained fairly uniform. Within this period the yearly range of motions acted on by the Board of Education was from a low of 149 to a high of 197, the levels being reached in 1964-65 and 1960-61 respectively. The year-by-year percentage distribution of these motions represents a variation of from 7 to 9 per cent.

Eighty-six percent of these motions were handled at regularly scheduled Board of Education meetings, and their distribution throughout the total period is fairly uniform. The number of motions handled at specially scheduled

meetings was 14 per cent of the total motions and fluctuated with a low point of 7 in 1959-60 and a high point of 40 in 1969-70. Throughout this period there was a variation of from 3 to 14 percentage points in the distribution of motions at special meetings. While fluctuations occurred somewhat sporadically, this information demonstrates that special meetings are being used slightly more for the introduction of motions at the end of the study period than at the beginning. This suggests that even with significant changes in size of the school system, racial composition of participants, and differing strategies of various groups, the decision-making activities of the Board of Education has remained relatively stable during this period.

TABLE 16

Motion Type, by Type of Meeting, 1958-1970

Motion Type	Per Cent of Motions Passed at Regular Meetings		Per Cent of Motions Passed at Special Meetings		Per Cent of Total Motions	
	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number
Race	1.0	(21)	1.0	(5)	1.0	(26)
Finance	25.0	(453)	51.0	(150)	29.0	(603)
Construction	1.0	(21)	7.0	(20)	2.0	(41)
Personnel	20.0	(352)	15.0	(43)	19.0	(395)
Physical Plant	9.0	(168)	3.0	(9)	8.0	(177)

TABLE 16--Continued

Motion Type	Per Cent of Motions Passed at Regular Meetings	Per Cent of Motions Passed at Special Meetings	Per Cent of Total Motions
Curriculum	9.0 (168)	1.0 (5)	8.0 (173)
Low-Level Administration	30.0 (550)	18.0 (53)	29.0 (603)
Operation of the Schools	5.0 (91)	4.0 (12)	4.0 (103)
Total	100.0 (1,824)	100.0 (297)	100.0 (2,121)

Throughout the 1958-70 period 55 per cent of the motions passed at regularly scheduled meetings were distributed between financial matters and low-level routine administrative details. Twenty per cent of the motions were devoted to personnel matters. Hence, the three categories--finance, low-level administrative matters, and personnel--were the matter of approximately 75 per cent of motions the Board of Education handled at regularly scheduled meetings. Less than 15 per cent of the motions which occupied the body dealt with curriculum or school organizational matters at regularly scheduled meetings. A somewhat similar pattern occurs in the distribution of motions considered during special meetings: financial, low-level routine administrative matters, and personnel issues, representing nearly 85 per cent of the motions. Two significant differences between

regular and special meetings are worth noting. First a larger proportion of issues were devoted to finance in special meetings than regular meetings, and second, more low-level administrative details occupied the body's attention at regular than special meetings. These differences are reflected in their reversal of the first and second rank positions between special and regularly scheduled meetings. The rank order of all other issues is similar in both types of meetings. In summation, the Board of Education in general concentrates on low-level administrative matters, financial and personnel issues. These issue areas revolve around legal and contractual matters.

Having considered the longitudinal distribution of motions by content, and type of meeting, the method of handling and acting upon these motions will be described next. Within the procedures of passing each motion, the member has the option of discussing the motion in public, calling for a part of the motion to be treated separately, and/or casting his affirmative or negative vote. These options available to the Board of Education members in handling motions are not mutually exclusive categories.

Discussions associated with the motion usually occur when a member wants to make a public statement concerning his position. Throughout the 1958-59

to 1969-70 period 16 per cent of the motions had discussions associated with their consideration at formal Board of Education meetings. The range of motions within a given year with discussion varies from 51 in 1958-59 and 1960-61 to 6 in 1969-70. The percentage distribution of discussion fluctuates downward from 30 to 3 per cent at various points (see FIGURE 6).

TABLE 17

Motion Type, by Discussion, 1958-1970

Motion Type	Per Cent of Total Motions With Discussion
Race	4.0 (14)
Finance	33.0 (118)
Construction	3.0 (12)
Personnel	33.0 (116)
Physical Plant	4.0 (15)
Curriculum	7.0 (24)
Low-Level Administration	6.0 (23)
Operation of the Schools	10.0 (34)
Total	100.0 (356)

The content of the motions which were accompanied by discussions also varied. One-third of the discussion time was devoted to financial matters while another 33 per cent

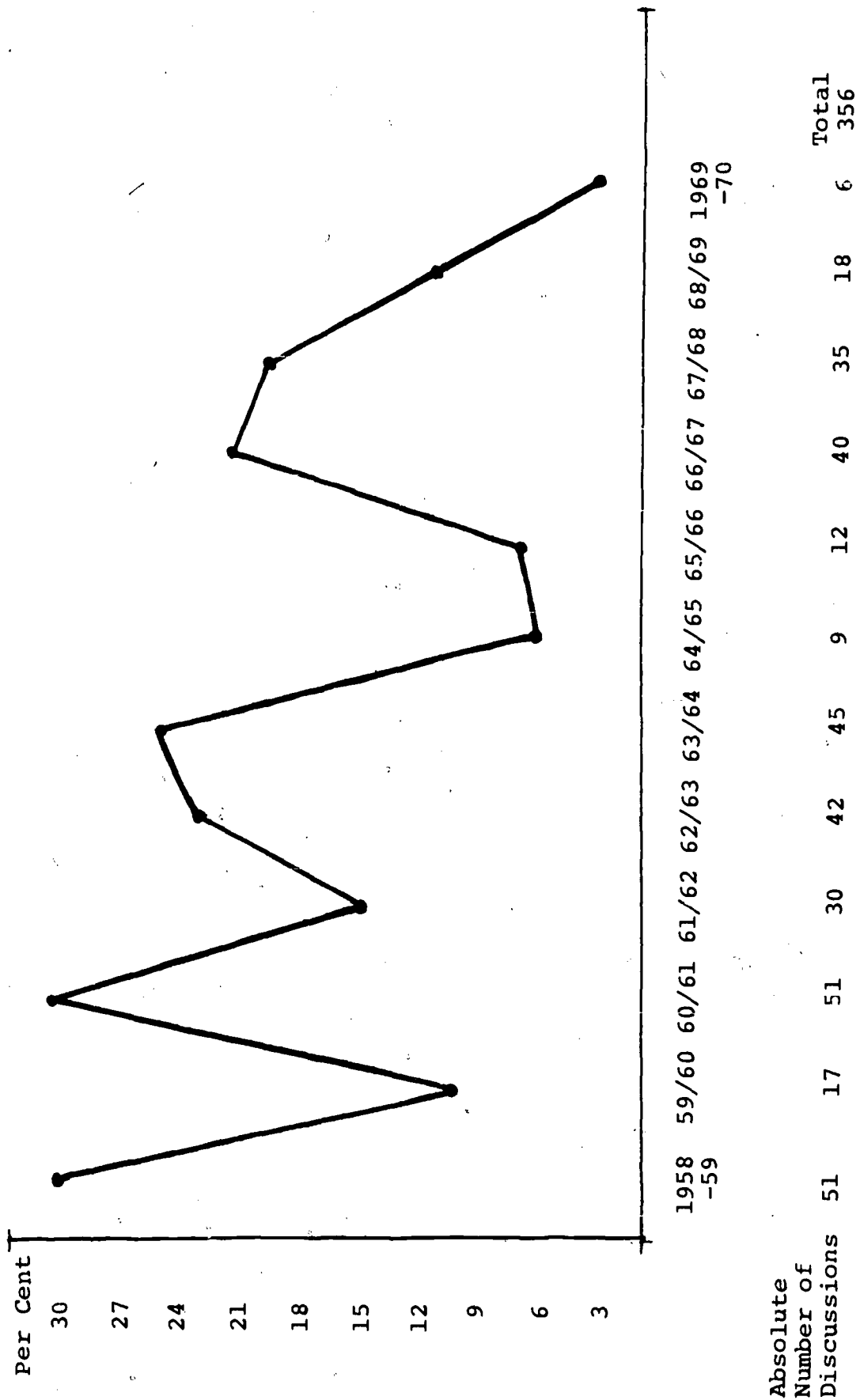


FIGURE 6: Per Cent of Total Motions by Fiscal Year that were Accompanied with Discussions

was concerned with personnel. The remaining third was divided among the issues of operation of school system, curriculum, low-level administration, physical plant, race, and construction. A more detailed analysis of the data indicates that from 1958 to 1964 most of the discussions are on financial and personnel matters. The period 1964-66 denotes a change in that "operation of the school system" issue provides the focal point of the motions with discussions. The remaining period, 1966-70, resumes a preoccupation with discussions occurring in finance and personnel issues.

Another procedure available to the members of the Board of Education in handling motions is that of calling for a separate vote. According to custom each Board of Education member, whether he is acting in the capacity of committee chairman or merely as a member, has the right to ask for a vote on a motion or part of a motion. The separate vote is a device utilized by a Board of Education member to indicate to the concerned public the formal position of the body and the individual members on the substantive issue (see FIGURE 7).

Separate votes have been attached to 14 per cent of the motions considered by the Board of Education during our study period. The use of separate vote has fluctuated from 1958 to 1970. There was a low point of five per cent (7) in 1959-60 to a high of 30 per cent (48) in 1968-69.

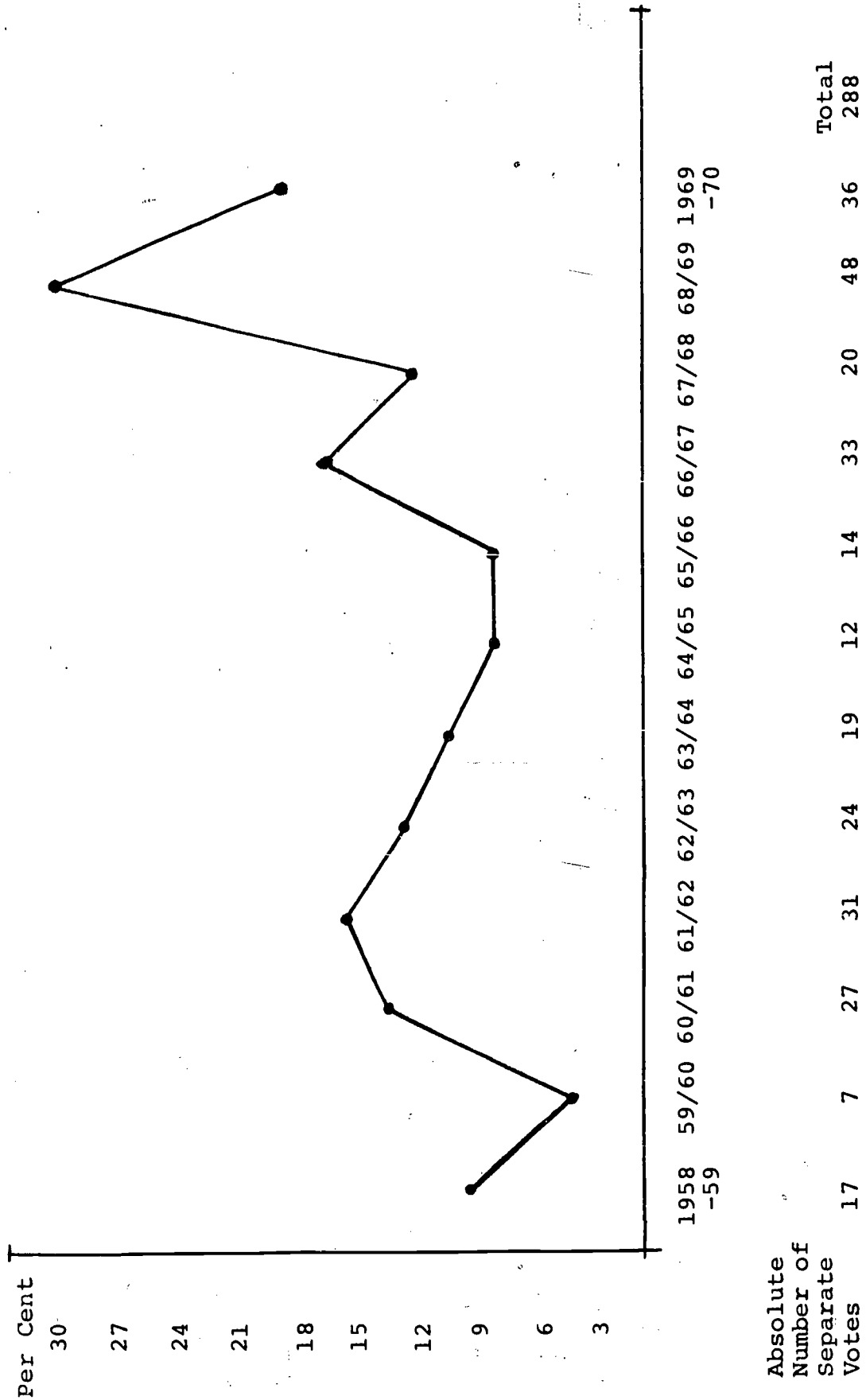


FIGURE 7: Per Cent of Total Motions by Fiscal Year that

were Accompanied with Separate Votes

TABLE 18

Motion Type by Separate Vote, 1958-1970

Motion Type	Per Cent of Total Motions
Race	3.0 (9)
Finance	40.0 (113)
Construction	3.0 (9)
Personnel	38.0 (111)
Physical Plant	4.0 (12)
Curriculum	2.0 (5)
Low-Level Administration	2.0 (6)
Operation of the Schools	8.0 (23)
Total	100.0 (288)

As with the option of discussion, matters of finance and personnel dominate the motions preceded by a separate vote; and each accounts for approximately 39 per cent of the total. Another eight per cent concerns operation of school systems, while the remaining 16 per cent is evenly divided over the five other categories.

An additional source of information on understanding the dynamics of policy determination and action by the Board of Education is voting patterns. Historically the Board of Education has been primarily a consensus-voting body during the period of this study. Fully 74 per cent of the decisions

passed have been unanimous. Consensus was not achieved in 26 per cent of the decisions passed by the Board of Education.

FIGURE 8 presents data on the occurrence of split voting within the period of this study. The data indicate that the unanimity and consensus patterns of the Board of Education were more pronounced at the beginning of our study than the end, that is, whereas only 12 per cent of the motions involved split voting in 1958-59, fully 45 per cent of the motions were split in 1969-70. This trend is continuously upward, with the 1966-67 year marking the beginning of a more accentuated upward trend.

TABLE 19

Motion Type by Split Vote, 1958-1970

Motion Type	Per Cent of Total Motions
Race	2.0 (13)
Finance	26.0 (145)
Construction	2.0 (12)
Personnel	31.0 (170)
Physical Plant	5.0 (29)
Low-Level Administration	20.0 (110)
Operation of the Schools	8.0 (43)
Total	100.0 (553)

The matrix distribution for motions with split votes differs from that for discussion and separate votes. Although personnel and finance still rank highest, 31 and 26 per cent respectively, they are followed closely by low-level administration matters, which total 20 per cent of the split motions. Operation of school system contributes eight per cent; curriculum, six; physical plant, five; and race and construction, two each of the remaining 23 per cent.

Thus, the decision-making activity of the Board of Education has exhibited some significant changes throughout the 1958-1970 period. Uniformity was carried through in most of the methods utilized by the body in the handling of motions at regular or special meetings, not only in the linearity of motion distribution during our time period, but in the major content areas also. Special meetings were held more or less under emergency conditions and yet their content, with the exception of a much larger proportion of time allotted to financial matters, is the same as regularly scheduled meetings. The other dominant issue areas were personnel and low-level administrative matters. A major base of personnel issues involved transfers. Low-level administrative matters were concerned with traditional protocol associated with Boards of Education. An example is social acknowledgments to individuals or organizations that

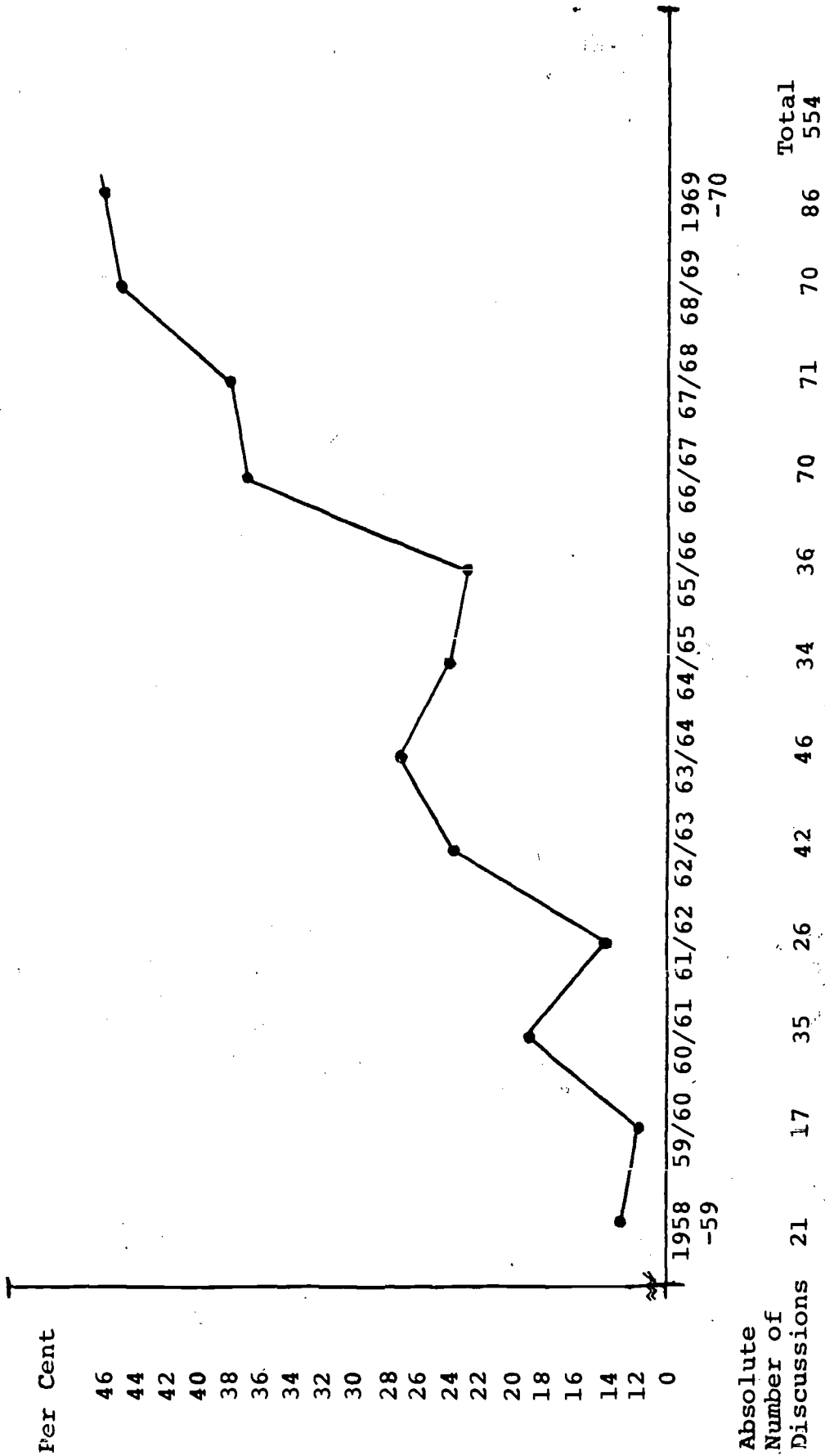


FIGURE 8: Per Cent of Total Motions by Fiscal Year that were Accompanied with Split Votes

correspond with the Board of Education, such as letters of condolences or commendations, etc. Hence, the common ingredient in these issue areas is found in the legal (contractual-transfer) or traditional (protocol) constraints associated with these motions. The fact that financial and personnel issues are handled at specially scheduled meetings can be explained in that the legal aspects associated with these issues dictate the need for certain deadlines to be met. An urgency is thus associated with these matters. The same can also be said for low-level administrative matters in that the nature of issues lend themselves to be handled at special meetings, because an urgency associated with matters of protocol can exist, but not in the same degree as contractual matters in finance and personnel.

Methods of handling motions by the Board of Education members, such as voting patterns, discussions and separate votes, exhibited major change however, and can be regarded as indices of Board of Education consensus patterns. The data indicate that the body has developed a greater cleavage over the years in that it has switched from a unanimous consensus body to one that is less cohesive. This increase in split vote also is consistent with its use of other forms available for handling motions in that split voting occurs predominantly in personnel and financial issues. The meaning of this apparent cleavage must be

circumscribed in that while split voting has increased, the proportions of decisions defeated has remained constant at a rate of less than four per cent annually. Another index as to the meaning of the change in the unanimous voting consensus patterns is given from an analysis of the use of discussions associated with the motions. The public Board of Education meetings have declined as a forum for the presentation of arguments either to persuade or justify the positions of individual Board of Education members. As noted, though, at the same time there was an increase in the recording of individual votes on the separation of issues from committee reports through the use of separate votes. The increase in separate votes and split votes could be attributed to the fact that there has been an increase in pressure groups represented by Board of Education members, and the need for Board of Education members to visibly demonstrate that they were fulfilling their obligations to the community. This interpretation is supported from an analysis of the increase and changes in racial, ethnic, religious and occupational criteria utilized in selecting Board of Education members over the twelve-year period noted above. Hence, the Board of Education through its change in internal membership has had more and more cleavages built into it.

If attention is turned from routine Board of Education

decision-making to major policy-setting, the functional role of the body becomes even clearer. Many important policy decisions have been made in response to representatives of groups that have appeared at the public meetings of the Board of Education. An interesting occurrence in these decisions is the repetition of issues such as (1) curricular policies emphasizing both universal academic standards and relevance to a racial student population; (2) employee working conditions, and racial recruiting policies; (3) the creation of techno-structural offices or positions; (4) the forming of citizen committees to expand sources of revenue; (5) the redistricting of the school zones; and (6) the expansion of physical facilities and school reorganization.

Another characteristic of major policy decision-making by the Board of Education is the body's occasional delay or non-decision-making in particular areas such as the structuring of the position in charge of business affairs, or the securing of a warehouse. This form of decision-making, while generally neglected, occurs in all parliamentary bodies (Zeigler and Peak, 1970). The Board of Education deliberated more than five years in the late fifties and early sixties to resolve the question of whether the business office would be placed in an organizational position that fostered unit or dual control. The Board of Education, through the intervention of two mayors in both internal Board of Education

and state legislative politics, finally resolved the issue in favor of unit control. With regard to non-decisions directly affecting Blacks, an outstanding example is the delay in effecting policy and compelling compliance in the matter of filling vacant techno-structural offices with qualified Blacks.

The issue of unit control was to crop up again with the newly-elected mayor's (Kenneth Gibson) assuming office during 1970. The position was restructured out of the superintendent's immediate jurisdiction, and placed directly under the Board of Education. A dual administrative setup was thereby created. The securing of a warehouse was a perpetual issue.

These issue areas for decision or policy determination have been repetitive because of a number of factors. Articulation and implementation of Board of Education motions or policy decisions is dependent upon the executive functionaries of the educational institution, as well as state and federal governmental agencies. Without any indication of implementation in some policy areas acted upon by the Board of Education, an aggressive environment continuously sought redress of the same problems. A visible and relatively easy response mechanism available to the Board of Education was policy statement in areas of concern to its constituencies, but little concern with the problem of implementation.

The linkage between the political structure and the educational institution, mayoral power over Board of Education appointments, and required city council approval of the school budget facilitated responses from the Board of Education to Black demands. Responses through the political arena were not unusual during the latter eight years of this study, and occurred at crisis periods in the first four years of the study (Crain, 1968). The political structure, because of its instinct for survival, is adept at initiating responses which maintain systemic equilibrium. The political relevancy of, and responsibility for, the educational institution was recognized. Mayor Addonizio, during the eight years of his administration, routinely held monthly meetings with the Board of Education. This political liaison with the Board of Education kept insistent pressure upon the technost-structure to respond to Black demands.

Though the Board of Education did not always respond reasonably to the demands of the Blacks, when it did respond favorably, the response was usually met with interference. As in the New York City School System (Rogers, 1968:266-324; and Gittell, 1968:166-176) the professional educators (1) often failed to implement Board of Education policy involving the transfer of personnel to assure an equitable distribution of teachers throughout the educational institution, (2) through court action overturned the Board of Education decisions that

required Newark residency for administrative personnel, (3) failed to publicize the voluntary pupil transfer system, (4) continuously neglected to implement changes in curriculum policy with alacrity, (5) contrary to Board of Education policy actively supported legislative measures that would limit the period required for tenure in administrative and supervisory positions to two years, (6) denied admittance to Blacks, in acting administrative positions, to memberships in the local principals' associations, and (7) fostered improvement in their financial and general working conditions to the virtual exclusion of the ramifications certain changes had on the welfare of their student clients. In achieving the latter the professional educators appealed to state and legislative channels to cajole the Board of Education into acquiescing to their demands (Phillips and Conforti, 1972).

The structural dependency of the Board of Education on the local political subsystem aided in the success of Black groups in having their grievances redressed. The existence of other control areas over the Board of Education's decision-making powers and implementation of decisions tempered the successes of the Black community. The accessibility of teachers' and administrators' organizations through the maintenance of a highly elaborate state legislative lobbying body and administrative control over the techno-structure played a prominent mediating and obstructing

force over the ultimate long-range success of the Black community demands. This situation coupled with the fact that the Board of Education concentrated on numerous clerical matters points out the inconsistency between public rhetoric emphasizing community control over public educational structures, and the social structures upon which the Board of Education is dependent.

Summary

The Board of Education, by the late 1960's was acting less and less as a consensus body. This reflects, perhaps, the changing racial-ethnic composition of the body. This change may be explained also as a response to the constant demands placed on the Board of Education by a more active and dynamic environment. The role of education in urban settings was becoming more problematic. The schools were being called upon, by various groups, to achieve a diversity of goals and to institute a number of different programs. Responsiveness to these demands may entail, with increased community representativeness of Board of Education members, a less viable situation for the Board of Education as a decision-making body. Politically, compromise is necessary for decisions on issues involving different interest groups. If Board of Education members can only or will only vote in line with what benefits their constituency, then compromise is made more difficult. With the increased

emphasis on representativeness, along racial, ethnic, and even social class lines, the effectiveness of Boards of Education as viable decision-making bodies may be seriously compromised. Thus, the Board of Education, a parliamentary body bound up in an array of trivia, did on occasion respond to the issues raised by Blacks because of political expediency. The efficacy of this response, however, was generally curtailed by extenuating circumstances. During the course of this study period, a change occurred with regards to the posture of state and federal agencies from an antagonistic, to a neutral and finally supportive base for the Board of Education with regards to the interests of an urban school system with a predominantly Black student body. These changes were manifest through supplementary funds for remedial educational programs, and court decisions upholding changes in recruitment and appointment practices, and the imposition of severe penalties on striking teachers. Basically the techno-structure of the educational institution remained comfortably entrenched during this period.

Black Participation: Administration

While Board of Education membership reflects perhaps the most potent institutionalized means of participation in the educational arena, there are other formal options available. Occupancy of administrative office is, of course, one of the most salient. As was noted earlier, Black

participation in this sector of the educational institution increased during the period of study from none to 45, or nearly 20 per cent of available positions. This section of the chapter will explore more fully the changes in Black participation in administrative positions and some of the consequences of these changes for the Newark educational institution.

When an institution is under attack by environmental elements, one response is a posture of cooptation. "Cooptation is the process of absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy-determining structure of an organization as a means of averting threats to its stability or existence" (Selznick, 1948). There are two types of cooptation, formal and informal. Formal cooptation refers to the sharing of "the responsibility for power rather than power itself." Informal cooptation signifies the fact that the interest of specific groups exerting pressure upon the institution is being met without any semblance of official linkages between the organization and interest groups. This informal cooptative mechanism has to do "with the sharing of power as a response to specific pressures." Both forms of cooptation were utilized by the Newark educational institution in responding to Black community involvement in administrative positions.

To understand Black professional mobility as a part

of participation in the educational arena, concentration will be placed upon organizational response as depicted in changes in recruitment and appointment patterns into offices of the techno-structure. In focusing on these systemic processes, in addition to the concept of cooptation, the construct institutional racism will be applied as well to yield a conceptual base. Institutional racism was defined in Chapter 4 (pages 95 and 96). It implies, in this context, the presence of bureaucratic practices that provide a latitude for, and even reward, the use of subjective evaluations in assessing people for positions. Such a structural situation allows for the placing of primary emphasis on any ascribed traits of the individual candidate as opposed to the utilization of more objective techniques that are supposed to evaluate mainly professional ability and expertise.

Internal controls exerted over the Board of Education are vested in the bureaucracy-like structure located at 31 Green Street. This techno-structure predominantly controlled by the professional educator staff and yet dependent upon the political subsystem in appointment of Board of Education members, top administrators, and budgetary allocations, profoundly influences the implementation of all Board of Education decisions. This political dependency, bureaucratic patterns of recruiting entirely from within the Newark school system, and long-term periods

of tenure in key techno-structure positions, indicate the existence of a highly elaborate organizational structure. The key techno-structural offices, in that they control the level of information, flow of communication, and technical expertise to Board of Education committees and individual members are (1) the Counsel (2) the Secretary and (3) the Superintendent. The role differentiation and the integration of these three offices is such that they all have direct access to the Board of Education. The occupants of the Counsel and Secretary positions during 1970 were Board of Education members immediately preceding their recruitment to administrative positions within the techno-structure. The superintendent at that period had been deputy superintendent prior to his appointment. All offices are characterized by records of lengthy tenure patterns.

The Secretary's position had been occupied by the 1970 incumbent for 28 years. He was a former Board of Education member and deputy-mayor prior to his designation as secretary. According to state laws this position is responsible for providing technical services to the Board of Education in its administrative and financial responsibilities. It is a key staff position directly accountable to the Board of Education. The financial responsibilities present in this position require the existence of a direct relationship between this position and the city council.

Formal aspects of this relationship are encompassed in the fact that the position of Secretary also extends to that office of the Board of School Estimate, the immediate body responsible for the sanctioning of school fundings. The centrality of the position, that is its full-time status and access to and control of key information, financial responsibility as well as long-term occupancy, suggests the potential for the holder of this position to control the educational institution through the exercise of formal and informal power (Mechanic, 1962). The Secretary's office during the 1958-1970 period provided a major portion of technical assistance to the Board of Education committees of finance, and buildings and grounds. Hence, this office, occupied by a non-educator, had powerful potential for influencing Board of Education members, their decisions, and the ultimate implementation of decisions.

The Counsel's office is a particularly vital office. The incumbent was recruited and appointed to the position in 1967. Prior to that the Counsel's position had been occupied for over a quarter of a century by one person. This individual aided significantly in the selection process of his successor. This closed nomination procedure was followed by the Board of Education in spite of some protests made by Blacks at the public meeting in which the appointment was announced.

The office of Counsel in the techno-structure is more rooted in the legal profession than in the professional educational context (Greenwood, 1962:207-219). The pure legal professional model holds that this position is not accountable to the Board of Education or to school professionals, but to the courts. Hence, the role execution of this office depends upon whether the incumbent's frame of reference treats the courts in a supportive or a changing manner.

Lay Board of Education members can be easily awed by the legal expertise inherent in this office of counsel to the Board of Education. By virtue of this technical expertise a considerable amount of formal and informal power resides in the holder of this office. The office of Board of Education president, other formal activities of individual members, and the total Board of Education are highly dependent upon this office in its advisory capacity. Hence, this office can exert control over Board of Education decisions and activities through the control of options available to the Board of Education. Another form of control revolves around legal terminology and interpretation; a prime example being the delineation of areas in which the Board of Education has and does not have power to commit to activities that extend beyond the fiscal life period of a Board of Education. This ambiguity is further capitalized upon by a failure to

formalize legal opinions for Board of Education consideration. This office, also occupied by a non-educator, has tremendous formal and informal potential for influencing Board of Education decisions, actions, and policy determination.

The office of Superintendent also has had prolonged periods of tenure and restricted recruitment policies. While there is a higher degree of turnover in the Superintendency than that of Secretary or Counsel, the average length of tenure has been nine years. The length of service of each superintendent since 1942 in chronological order has been 10, 14, and 4 years. Recruitment for this position had historically been internal; from the ranks of the Assistant Superintendents. This pattern is accounted for by quid pro quo relationships between the educational and political governing bodies. Patterns of recruitment and length of occupancy for this office presuppose that the top educational offices operate on an informal basis similar to that of administrative offices in non-educational areas (Gouldner, 1954; Carlson, 1962). A further structural indicator of the informal operation of the office is that recruitment to the immediate subordinate offices was on an informal and a subjective basis. The purpose behind these practices was to enable the top administrators to recruit individuals who were compatible with educational philosophy and party politics, and would elicit a certain degree of loyalty.

The Superintendent, as the chief administrative and executive officer of the educational institution, is the primary educational advisor to the Board of Education. This advisor is the only officer that the Board of Education members have direct access to in securing information concerning the educational programs throughout the schools. While Assistant Superintendents routinely attend committee and conference meetings of the Board of Education, they do not formally have the mission of providing alternative sources of information to Board of Education members. The administrators adhere to a normative code that prohibits such interaction. Structural support is given to this code in that legally the Superintendent has primary responsibility for recruiting his immediate subordinates. The exclusive control of the techno-structure's executive staff over educational matters is documented by the fact that from 1958 to 1970, the Board of Education has seldom separated educational issues for special treatment from the reports of the Committee on Instruction or the Superintendent's report, as it did in areas under the jurisdiction of other committees.

The descriptions of these key techno-structure offices has been given to indicate the formal and informal structural dependency of the lay Board of Education on the administrative and executive staff. The informality is further confirmed by the lack of formal organizational records, and neglected

status of Board of Education rules and regulations. There is no formal Organizational Chart for the Board of Education and the educational institution, and systematic methods for tabulating and filing policy decisions have not been established.

Criteria for recruiting personnel for upper technost-structure offices have usually been left to the discretion of the Superintendent so that, in part, he could be assured of the loyalty of those subordinates immediately under him. The requirements of state certification and circularization among the staff were the only standards that had to be met as imposed by external agencies. Assistant Supervisor, Supervisor, Director, Assistant Superintendents, and Deputy Superintendent were the positions that allowed the Superintendent flexibility in recruiting practices, because the filling of these positions is not predicated upon written and oral examinations that would culminate in eligibility lists (Board of Education Rules, Regulations and By Laws, 1967).

Contrary to the long tenure patterns characteristic of the Superintendent, Secretary, and Counsel positions, there has been rapid turnover in the Assistant Superintendent's ranks. From 1960 to 1967, the Deputy Superintendent's position was created and filled and then subsequently left vacant. The positions of Assistant Superintendent for Secondary, Elementary, and Special Services were vacant on two separate

occasions during this period. The personnel department had one vacancy in the Assistant Superintendent's rank at that time. While the Assistant Superintendent of Business Administration's position was a source of conflict as to the exact title and structural incorporation of the position, and vacant for a six-year period, there was only one vacancy for an educator during the time period. The Assistant Superintendent of Curriculum Services was created during this period and left vacant within a year, requiring the assignment of two individuals on separate occasions to this position.

The racial barriers to this exclusive domain of white professional educators were only broken in 1967 through the direct intervention of the political subsystem into the educational sphere in response to insistent demands of the Black community. The new Superintendent did not have the support and confidence of the Black community. His record seems to suggest that he failed to support the professional role of Blacks during his tenure as a principal, assistant superintendent, and deputy superintendent. The Black president of the Board of Education voted against his appointment. The superintendent could not have been elected without the support of the mayor. In sponsoring this appointment, over the recommendations of the highly publicized search committee, the mayor increased structural dependency of

the educational institution upon the political subsystem and his control over the techno-structure.

At the beginning of his candidacy for mayor, Addonizio pledged that, if elected, he would review the alleged racist organization and discriminatory practices of Newark's educational institution. He realized fully the political implication of the recruitment and appointment of Blacks to techno-structural offices.

The positions that were eventually opened to Blacks were not of the type that would enable them to effectuate meaningful change in the educational institution. By and large Blacks were recruited and appointed to positions that were highly visible, but without power. These positions were so structured that effective response could only be made when the institution was under attack, preventing them from contributing innovative or long-range solutions to the problems plaguing the educational institution. In essence, the primary function of placing Blacks in techno-structure offices in 1967 was to defend the educational institution from a hostile environment, and to lay the groundwork for coopting the Black community (Selznick, 1948). Three of the positions that the four Black educators were recruited to were new or recently created positions. Only the position of Director of Elementary Education had been historically entrenched in the Newark educational institution and this

position was a staff position. In complex organizations, formal authority with the power to enforce compliance through coercion rests in line positions. Hence, for staff positions to be effective, the line positions must be receptive to whatever innovations are introduced (Carzo and Yanouzas, 1967; and Dalton, 1950:342-357). Two of the other positions, Assistant Superintendent in charge of Curriculum Services and Director of Secondary Education were staff positions, while the remaining Associate to Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Education, was an apprentice position. The success and effectiveness of the offices held by the Black educators were totally dependent upon the line Assistant Superintendents, Deputy Superintendent, and/or Superintendent. All of those in command of line positions were white educational administrators who fought against rather than for the redress of grievances brought by the Black professionals concerning discriminatory promotional practices in the early sixties.

This total dependency of Blacks upon whites for the effectiveness of their offices epitomizes the results of the recruitment process of Blacks into promotional positions under the mayors' in the late 50's and the early 60's. In the early sixties, the techno-structure positions allocated to Black educators were staff positions in community relations, helping teachers, and assistant supervisors in the departments

of elementary education and of audio-visual aides. The difference between the positions open to Black educators prior to 1967 and after was: 1] the funding basis of the positions--a switch from Board of Education funding to federal subsidies, 2] a substantive increase in the number of positions. Similarities are found in that the positions were usually newly created and in areas that had a staff authority. During this period of recruitment there were vacant positions which had more power because they were line or staff positions attached directly to the Board of Education. The two vacant line positions with substantive authority attached to them were the Assistant Superintendent of Secondary Education and the Deputy Superintendent. Both of these positions went to loyal educators who were also politically astute. Black educators were not offered these meaningful and effective positions in 1967 or prior to that time.

Principals and Vice-Principals

The recruitment and appointment struggle surrounding the techno-structural offices of principal and vice-principal reveals brutally the complex patterns of institutional racism, cooptation, and Black participation between 1958 and 1971. In the mid 1960's an attempt was begun to recruit and appoint Black professionals as principals and vice-principals. Historically Black educators had been systematically excluded

from these offices. This exclusion was managed mainly through the device of the test or examination. These examinations were built of two different sections, an objective or written part and an oral part. The latter section permitted the entry of subjective evaluation, wide latitude of discretion, and thereby the probability that the factor of race could operate in decisions affecting the recruitment and appointment processes.

In 1958 several Black educators scored high in the written section of the principals' examination, but had their final scores severely reduced after enduring the ordeal of the oral examination. Armed with these results the Black educators appealed to the Division Against Discrimination of the New Jersey Department of Education. A hearing and investigation of the charges were conducted by an educator who specialized in business practices. As a result great controversy developed over the recruitment and appointment processes. At this point the Board of Education was asked to review its examination procedures. At an executive session the President of the Board of Education appointed an investigative committee (Newark Evening News, February 4, 1960). The Fact Finding Committee of the Board of Education undertook a laborious and tedious statistical analysis of all the scores received by the candidates, and the scoring predilections of the examiners, to determine if discriminatory practices were

used. Each candidate received a set of 37 scores, from each of the four or five examiners conducting the orals. Each rating sheet would then have a minimum of 148 discrete scores depending upon the number of examiners present. A breakdown of four categories was conceptualized to facilitate the evaluation procedure. These categories varied in weight. Personal qualifications constituted 46 per cent of the weight and professional preparation, professional experience, and promise of personal and professional growth comprising 18 per cent each. The Committee was resolved to:

"...safeguard the rights of the individual against wrongful discrimination...and to protect the good name of the Newark school system even from finding a 'probable cause' (which is necessary under the law before a formal hearing on discrimination complaints may be ordered) if the available facts in their proper perspective showed that such a finding would be without warrant."

The Committee also showed that:

"...a detailed study of all of the ratings of the 52 successful candidates, such as had been made by the committee,--and even of the 30 candidates who had failed--was imperative in order to determine what the true rating pattern was, and that without such an...all embracing study no findings of 'probable cause' could be justified, especially when the reputation of a community as well as professional reputations were at stake."

The Committee uncovered the following:

1. "...evidence of mathematical errors in the computation of the examiners.
2. ...the sending of the oral scores of two candidates who had failed the examination to the Educational Testing Service (E.T.S.) for determination of a total score.

3. ...violation of Board of Education rules in relation to weighting of different components of the examination. The specific section should have counted 25 per cent of the total score, and the common portion 15 per cent. The actual computations showed that the weightings were reversed with the specific counting 15 per cent and the common 25 per cent.
4. ...violation of rule stipulating that only those who passed both sections of the written would be admitted to the oral examination, and admittance of those who passed the common without regard to the scores on the specific.
5. ...failure to implement a rule requiring recording of the oral examination.
6. ...incomplete presentation of information regarding college records of candidates made to the Board of Examiners and chief examiners. A uniform rule of evaluation should have applied and was not.
7. ...violation of rules of impartiality and promotion on merit through the Superintendent's making comments and recommendations on some of the candidates sheets. Since the Superintendent appoints members of the Board of Examiners the Committee found that he influenced the ratings.
8. ...majority of the examinations were not held by total Board of Examiners. Thus, the candidates did not receive uniform treatment. Some had high scoring examiners and others low scoring examiners.
9. ...the written score was made known to the candidates prior to the oral examination" (Fact Finding Committee Report, 1960).

The conclusion of the Committee was that the charge of racial discrimination in the conducting of the oral examination was unsubstantiated. The proliferation of errors and violation of Board of Education policies were attributed to administrative ineptness. With this finding of administrative

incompetence, the existence of racial discrimination was obscured. The committee, however, made strong recommendations for revision of the format of examination procedures.

During the period of investigation the chairman of the executive committee of the N.A.A.C.P., and the leading force in the Citizen's Committee for Equality in Education, made the following recommendations to the Board of Education concerning the examination procedures:

1. "...rescinding of the five-year requirement of experience at vice-principal level to be eligible for elementary principalship.
2. ...use of Teachers College of Columbia University to prepare and conduct and grade examinations.
3. ...presence of Negro school administrator on the Board of Examiners.
4. ...institution of an objective appeal method.
5. ...adherence to requirement of tape recording oral examinations.
6. ...creation of more vice-principal positions through rescinding policy restricting vice-principals to schools of 1,000 or more students" (Newark Evening News, November 25, 1959).

At the conclusion of the Board of Education's internal investigation the State Division Against Discrimination made its findings publicly known. Its investigating officer states, "the consideration of all the evidence now before the committee suggests that the allegation of racial discrimination cannot be sustained." At its July meeting, the Board of Education unanimously adopted the report of the Committee

with its recommendations by an 8-0 vote.

The Citizens' Committee for Equality in Education maintained its demand to have the list abolished and a new examination given. They also charged the Superintendent of Schools with an "unconscious bias against non-white teachers" (Newark Star Ledger, July 20, 1960). Its chairman reaffirmed that the report of the Board of Education and the State Division Against Discrimination "has not removed the conviction of a substantial part of the community that discrimination against Negroes both did and does exist. The best proof of this discrimination is the fact that, without exception, every Negro applicant for an administrative or supervisory position through the examination procedure had been denied the opportunity to serve."

The Committee for Excellence in Education also demanded the resignation of the Superintendent of Schools:

"...because of his responsibility for and his involvement in--wrongs which would have been perpetuated against the Negro teachers, because of his failure to establish a desirable and effective rapport with a large part of his teaching staff, (and) because of what must be concluded to be an unconscious bias against non-white teachers, however well qualified and prepared...(the Superintendent's usefulness) in formulating and developing a worthwhile educational policy and program has been so seriously impaired as to make his retention in office unadvisable and undesirable" (Newark Evening News, July 19, 1960).

In response the Board of Education president promised that

the body would take a special vote on August 30 as to whether the list should be abandoned or reactivated.

Appeals to other influential agencies were subsequently undertaken on an individual group basis. The Citizens' Committee presented their grievances to the Newark City Council. They pressed for the ouster of the superintendent and the scrapping of the vice-principal's eligibility list. The mayor promised to confer with the Board of Education president and the superintendent of schools before the August 30 meeting (New Jersey Afro-American, August 13, 1960).

Members of the Board of Education were severely disturbed at the revelations of computation errors and unprofessional prejudicial comments made by the chief educational executive of the educational institution. Several Board of Education members made public statements concerning shock over the techno-structure's handling of the examination and the lobbying activities of professional educational organizations, and were in favor of rescinding the list (New Jersey Herald News, September 3, 1960). They also made reference to the fact that the Board of Education had "rehearsed" the action it would be taking that evening. One Board of Education member wanted to read into the record comments made by the superintendent concerning two candidates. The superintendent invoked the rights of professional

privilege and confidentiality. The president of the Board of Education commended the manner in which the three teachers brought their grievances to the attention of the Board of Education, and stated he considered them qualified for even higher positions. Other Board of Education members who voted in favor of the retention of the examination admitted that inequities existed in the procedure. Their attitude, however, was summed up in the statement of a Board of Education member that she must vote to accept the list because the Division Against Discrimination ruled there was no racial discrimination, and she believed the examination was taken in good faith (Newark Evening News, August 31, 1960).

Two years after the Board of Education voted to uphold the validity of the vice-principal's list, the Board of Education under a new mayoral regime, finally voted on December 18, 1962 by 7-1 to censure the superintendent for his action in 1958-59. He was to refrain from making comments and recommendations to members of the examining boards concerning the promotional candidacy of any individual. This token victory did not make their ensuing second defeat at the hands of the State Department of Education any more palatable. In January, 1963 the State Commissioner of Education upheld the validity of the vice-principal's examination (Newark Star Ledger, January 23, 1963).

Immediately after rendering that decision, the commissioner of education was asked to rule on an appeal by the superintendent of schools contesting the Board of Education rights to place a "gag" on him. He was formally supported in this lawsuit by the Newark Teachers' Association, the Newark Teachers' Union, the Principal's Association, the Vice-Principal's Association, the Directors and Supervisors' Association, the Essex County PTA Council, and individually all the top administrative officers of the educational institution (Newark Evening News, January 23, 1963). The commissioner of education again ruled in favor of the salient interests of the white professional teachers' community.

The impact of this situation in Newark was further exacerbated because of increasing racial cleavages between the major proportion of the student clientele and professional educators. The pragmatic conclusion was reached by the Black community that the educational institution was infested with a virulent form of racism, and the existence of this situation was detrimental to the destinies of the Black educators and the Black students. After having being thwarted by the educational establishment, representatives from the Black community concentrated on the political subsystem as the avenue to seek redress for their grievances.

The two levels of government approached were the local and federal. These governmental bodies were more

open and responsive, at this time, than the techno-structure to the needs of the Black community. However, the effectiveness of these two levels was minimal because the ultimate power of educational decision-making rested with the State Department of Education. The recruitment and appointment processes and the structure of the State Department of Education was such that it was insulated from the political leverage exerted by the local community groups (i.e., Blacks); at the same time being quite vulnerable to pressures from white teacher groups seeking perpetuation of their domain through guild-like activities. An illustration of an in-group support system in operation characteristic of a guild professional model (Goode, 1957) is depicted openly in a letter to the Board of Education from the chief state investigating officer of the 1958 Flagg case (Personal Correspondence: Flagg file). The letter was written in August, 1960, a period when agitation by Black community groups over the competency of the superintendent was at one of its peaks. It attempted to neutralize the superintendent's image. On previous occasions the same state officer directed criticisms at the superintendent for unprofessional behavior. The in-group liaison or collusion between local and state educators was apparent. The defeat of Black educators and community groups is attributed not only to the failure of the educators of the techno-structure to enforce their

professional code of ethics, but also to the failure of the courts to recognize inherent biases in the concept and the structure of the educational institution. In actuality, those controlling the educational techno-structure made a mockery of some elements of the primary American value system; (1) community control over education, and (2) the "openness" of achieving success through hard work and innate ability. The existence of a professional educational structure, with its active advocacy and practice of racism was made visible. It remained for the Black educator and the Black community to continue their struggle through the opened political channels, and to develop other techniques that would ultimately weaken the white educators' empires on both the local techno-structural and state educational levels.

During this period, the Black community continued to maintain its vigilance over the educational institution. They pointed out that the Board of Education's proposal of a special high school for the college-bound would most effectively serve the neediest students if Black educators could be in administrative decision-making positions to assist in the program's development.

At the same time the Black community mobilized over the impending creation of an all-white high school in the Vailsburg section of Newark. This contemplated action

resulted in a citizens' legal suit against the Board of Education over de facto segregation as a result of the districting practices of the Board of Education. The case was ultimately settled out of court. A leading Black citizen was subsequently appointed to the Board of Education when the new mayor (Addonizio) assumed office.

The educational techno-structure marshalled its defenses to this aggressive environment through the use of strategically placed or, perhaps more precisely, token appointments (Perrow, 1967). In September, 1961 three Black teachers were appointed to acting administrative positions in the secondary and central office levels. This action was immediately met with heated charges from white teachers and administrators. They accused the Board of Education of placing color ahead of merit (Newark Evening News, September 27, 1961). These appointments were token or strategic in that they were primarily concerned with the public relations aspects rather than the real effects of appointment and performance. This response by the techno-structure failed to treat seriously the recent demands of Blacks through providing meaningful and permanent positions. A detached view of the type of positions under question suggests that structural limitations were attached to these initial appointments. The two vice-principalships were, in actuality, to be for a period of six months depending on how long it would take for the Board of Education to conduct

an examination. The other appointment was to a techno-structure office, that of an Assistant Supervisor in Charge of Audio-visual education.

Within the year, the Board of Education elected the first Black to the position of president. Hence, we have a Board of Education and educational institution under attack by a viable ethnic community, in essence, placing a member of that minority group in the most viable position--the presidency. A structural corollary attached to the position of president is usually one of an active defense role (Barnard, 1966:215). With limited resources, particularly since he was a lame-duck Board of Education member serving out his last year under the administration of a new political regime, the Black president of the Board of Education continued his struggle to make the institution meet the needs of Blacks. He set admirable goals involving administration, curriculum revision, "open" job opportunities, community involvement, the establishment of a central warehouse, etc.

By August, 1962, the first Black's name on the original controversial vice-principal's list was reached. At the same meeting at which the Board of Education made the appointment, Blacks were also assigned to teach at some white schools for the first time (Newark Evening News, August 1, 1962). It appeared that the path for acceptance

of Black educators to administrative positions out in the field had been laid. The Board of Education revised its eligibility requirements for principal in 1963. Some Blacks were thus eligible for the principal's examination. For the first time Blacks scored equally well in the written and oral section of the examination. As a result of the examination a Black was appointed principal. A hundred years had elapsed between this appointment and that of the first Black appointed to this rank. In the 1860's the school system had recruited a Black as principal of the "colored" school. There is a subtle similarity between these appointments in that the new Black principal was assigned to a de facto segregated school.

This breakthrough, however, did not result in substantive changes with regards to the number of Blacks appointed to the offices of principal and vice-principal. A considerable movement of competent and qualified Black educators from the Newark educational institution occurred throughout the early sixties. The school system's heavy reliance upon subjective evaluative procedures for promotional opportunities compelled Blacks seeking professional mobility to look for positions in other educational settings. Hence, by 1967 as a result of migration and promotion to administrative positions within the techno-structure, the educational institution was left without a Black principal, and only one

Black vice-principal.

The educational institution was in a bind with regards to this situation. At the time the student body was nearly 75 per cent Black and Spanish-speaking. It was restrained from placing Blacks in temporary acting positions by its operative contract with the Newark Teachers' Association. The agreement maintained the guidelines for promotions through the compiling of eligibility lists on the basis of scores attained in written and oral examinations. Even temporary positions, created to meet emergency conditions, could only be filled "in order of numerical ranking from the appropriate vice-principal's list if such a list exists" (Agreement between the N.T.A. and Board of Education, July 19, 1967). In effect, this contract prevented the use of temporary positions as training grounds for Black educators.

According to standard operating procedures, it would be a while before the ranks of principal would be filled by a sizeable portion of Blacks. At that time the eligibility requirement for the vice-principal's examination was four years of teaching experience under regular appointment in the Newark educational institution. The position of vice-principal or an equivalent position such as Head Teacher, Director, or Supervisor, were necessary prerequisites for admittance to the principal's examination. The number of

Blacks occupying such positions necessary for admittance into the principal's examination were miniscule. The situation was further exacerbated because examinations were not given every year, and the life period of the subsequent eligibility lists could last for three or four years, sometimes longer.

The situation led the Organization of Negro Educators (ONE) in 1967 and 1968 to exert demands for the Board of Education and the techno-structure to open up principalships to Black educators. Steady change in the racial composition of the student body gave further credence to the legitimacy of their demands. The Focus on Newark Committee asked the Board of Education to abandon the eligibility lists and make appointments to supervisory positions based on qualifications and credentials following an approach established earlier in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This latter city had initiated a policy of proportioning 5 per cent of its administrative positions to be filled at the discretion of the superintendent.

While the educational institution was under attack by these Black groups, the State Department of Education was being considered by the state legislature and governor as the agency to take over the school system to eliminate the administration that operated the educational institution. The Governor's Commission in its Report for Action (1968) stated that the inept administration of the educational institution was an underlying cause of the 1967 rebellion. On

August 22, 1968, the Board of Education formally announced the suspension of all eligibility lists. The following new procedures were adopted:

1. Candidates shall submit a formal application.
2. Candidates in order to be eligible for inclusion in the pool shall meet training, experience, and State certification requirements as established for each promotional position. These requirements must be met prior to interview by the screening committee.

The following are minimum experience requirements:

- a. For principals:
Five years of successful contractual teaching experience in the Newark public schools or ten years of successful contractual experience outside of Newark, three years of which shall have been on a recognized administrative level.
- b. For Vice-Principals, Department Chairmen, and Junior High School Supervisory Assistants: Three years of successful contractual teaching experience in the Newark Public Schools (with the attainment of tenure).
3. Candidates for the pool shall not be restricted to members of the Newark Public School staff.
4. Candidates shall be screened by a committee composed of:
 - a. Assistant Superintendent in charge of Personnel or a member of his staff.
 - b. Assistant Superintendent from the appropriate school level.
 - c. A Newark school administrator from the appropriate level.
 - d. An educator from outside the Newark School system.
 - e. A Newark school teacher from the appropriate school area. No teacher shall serve on a screening committee who is a candidate for promotional position.
5. The screening committee shall recommend to the Superintendent those candidates judged to be

worthy candidates for promotion. These successful candidates shall constitute the pool from which promotions shall be made.

6. The criteria for use by the screening committee shall be cooperatively developed by representatives of the N.T.A. and the Superintendent's staff.
7. New candidates shall be selected for the pool once each year in March.
8. The pools shall be in existence for a period of five years from the date of their establishment. At that time this entire procedure will be subject to re-evaluation.
9. As a result of negotiations with the N.T.A., it is recommended that all individuals who were on unexpired promotional lists, upon their request, be automatically placed in the pool for the appropriate area without prejudice. It is further agreed that all such individuals will be sent notices to this effect by the Department of Personnel.
10. As a result of negotiations with the N.T.A., all individuals who applied and paid the required fees for participation in the examinations which have been suspended by the Board of Education shall automatically be considered as having applied for inclusion in the pool. It is further agreed that all such individuals will be sent notices to this effect by the Department of Personnel. It is also recommended that all such fees for the suspended promotional examinations be returned" (Board of Education Minutes, August 22, 1968, pp. 402-403).

These new procedures comprised a change in the experience requirements for the offices of principal and vice-principal, with the vice-principalship and equivalent position no longer required as a stepping stone to the principalship. In addition, the professional educators totally abandoned the use of supposedly standard objective

instruments (the written examination) to measure the competency of candidates, and at the same time gave greater weight to the oral examination section. Hence, the oral examination so vehemently objected to by Black professional educators and Black community groups throughout the late fifties and early sixties was thrust upon the educational institution in a total package. The written examination to which the Blacks had not objected was abandoned.

Immediately after the Board of Education officially enacted the new procedures, temporary appointments were made that elevated four Blacks, and one white to the rank of elementary school principal, no Blacks and three whites on the secondary school principal level, two Blacks and no whites to the position of vice-principal on the elementary level, and four Blacks and eight whites on the secondary vice-principal level. Appointments also were made to the positions of teachers-to-assist and department chairmen. At the elementary level, the teachers-to-assist were one Black and two whites, while on the secondary level there were seven Blacks and three whites. As for department chairmen, thirteen whites and one Black were appointed at that time (Board of Education Minutes, August 22, 1968).

At first, on face value, it appears that the Board of Education finally solved its problem of responding to the needs of the Black community through providing a cogent, positive thrust for the mobility of Black professionals into

viable and meaningful line positions. However, upon closer examination, it is seen that the patterns emerge with the persistent tinge of discriminatory practices of prior and current periods. As in the early forties, the first level of the school system to be penetrated by Blacks was the elementary. Again, but at a higher rank, that of a principal, the first level to be penetrated by Blacks with the change in promotional procedures was at the elementary level with no Blacks appointed to the secondary level. A change had occurred in that all training-apprenticeship positions, except teachers-to-assist at the secondary and vice-principal on the elementary school level, had a sizeable proportion of whites in these positions.

An analysis of current statistics on the number of vacancies in the principal ranks and the number of Blacks appointed to the positions from August, 1968 to March, 1972, yields valuable information in regards to actual gains made by the Black community with the changes in the examination process. The tenure of the newly appointed principals is an indicator of the effectiveness of such an approach. From the initial change in the examination process until March, 1972 there have been approximately fifty-seven vacancies in the principalships. Of these positions fifty-three per cent were filled by Blacks and forty-seven per cent were replaced by whites. Sixty-five per cent of the elementary school

principalships vacant were filled by Blacks with the other thirty-five per cent going to whites. Seventy per cent of the vacant secondary school principalships had whites appointed to the positions. Thirty per cent of the vacant secondary school principalships received Black administrators. In the special schools eighty-three per cent of the vacant principalships went to whites with Blacks being appointed to only thirteen per cent of the positions. With these changes less than thirty per cent of the principalships are occupied today (1972) by Blacks either in a regular or temporary capacity even though there has been a sixty-seven per cent turnover in the principal ranks. These data suggest that though there was a marked change in recruitment and appointment practices in regard to the promotion of Blacks, earlier exclusionary discriminatory practices within the educational institution account in part for the non-uniform distribution of Black talent throughout the various levels.

With these new recruitment and appointment practices, not only has there been a curtailment of whites into elementary school principalships, but there has been differential treatment in the promotion of Black educators on the basis of sex. Black women were the first admitted to teaching in substantial numbers in Newark, hence, the presence of Black females in the rank of principal could be expected to be

considerable. There is a marked bias in the sex distribution of principalships occupied by Blacks in elementary school level. Black males occupied seventy-two per cent of the elementary school principalships allotted to Blacks with the Black females only inheriting twenty-eight per cent of the positions. In the secondary school level the distribution of Black principalships was evenly divided between males and females.

The adoption of a totally subjective examination procedure perpetuated the same discriminatory practices to which the Black community in the earlier sixties had so vehemently been opposed. The major differences were the ascribed racial traits emphasized, and the lack of a uniform standardized evaluation measurement as an objective levelling device for the pool of candidates to which the subjective process was applied. This system was ineffective because the pool of Black talent had been curtailed by past discriminatory procedures. Hence, the effects of this change in policy was to expand the pool of Black and white candidates from which individuals could be recruited.

The support of the Black community in regards to these changes represents a major turn around within a decade regarding the techniques and programs subscribed to for securing professional representation from their ranks. The fact that twenty-two per cent of the Black educators

recently promoted left the educational institution, and only seven per cent of the white similarly promoted permits the inference that Blacks may not be totally satisfied with this changing situation.

The initial crusade undertaken in the late fifties and early sixties by the Blacks against the promotional practices of the techno-structure did not criticize the standardized written portion of the examination. At that time Blacks did compete effectively with whites on objective academic standards. It was the oral examination that drew the criticism of the Black community because it enabled the operation of subjective measures that were not necessarily related to academic qualifications or professional performance. The administrators and teachers, who earlier through their successful lobbying for the maintenance of the discredited vice-principal's examination failed to support the use of fair and impartial testing standards, succeeded in foistering a totally subjective examination process upon the educational institution. This change expanded the exclusive control of the techno-structure and the political subsystem upon the recruitment and appointment processes.

Black Participation: Teachers

Another type of professional involvement to be examined concerns the changes which took place in Newark in

terms of the utilization of Black teachers. With a significant shift in the proportion of the student population in the direction of an increasing number of Blacks, as well as a city population which is overwhelmingly Black, the increased participation of Blacks as teachers is a controversial issue.

All regular teaching appointments into the Newark educational institution were at one time made from eligibility lists. At that time, eligibility lists provided a rank ordering of candidates who successfully completed the written and oral examinations administered by the Board of Examiners. This board consisted of the Superintendent, his clerk, two Assistant Superintendents, an elementary education director, one high school principal, and two elementary principals. Appointment to the Board of Examiners is made by the Superintendent with the approval of the Board of Education.

Within the recruitment and appointment processes there existed differences in the amount of education and experience required of candidates for elementary and secondary teaching positions. The life span and process of updating the eligibility lists also differed. Every year there was a special examination provided for those individuals who had completed two years of long-term substitute teaching at the secondary level. The long-term

substitute teaching position was characteristic in Newark of both elementary and secondary fields. However, those in the long-term substitute status on the elementary level were not given the opportunity of taking a supplementary examination during the life span of the original examination. The differential treatment of long-term substitutes combined with that of a residency requirement, and the length of the experience requirements for the secondary level in Newark is illustrative of the second class status often attributed to elementary teachers (Clark, 1965). These discriminatory practices were predicated upon an arbitrary assessment of the difficulty and the importance of grade levels. The perpetuation of this myth accounts for the differences in sex distribution within the fields also (Mason, 1961 and Lortie, 1969).

The major breakthrough of Blacks into the Newark educational institution occurred on the elementary teaching level and must be analyzed in relationship to the presence of discriminatory recruitment, examination, and appointment processes existent in the elementary and secondary fields. This background is necessary for understanding institutional racism; e.g., the type and scope of subjective processes continuously manifested in the Newark educational institution, and the consequent exclusion of individuals primarily on the grounds of ascribed traits as opposed to more objective

criteria such as educational training and performance.

A Columbia University survey of the Newark schools (Strayner, 1942:172-173) was highly critical of teacher recruitment practices of the educational institution at that time. The study stated that "recruitment practice should be designed to promote the welfare of children or taxpayers...through the appointment of the highest qualified candidate without respect to residence, religion, or political faith." The researchers objected to the existent recruitment practices because they stripped away the sanctity attached to the examination process. The Columbia research team pointed out the facade of objectivity of the examination process in that the personnel recruited were predominantly from Newark and indicated that the recruitment policy of a closed system was in effect.

The nature of the examination process in Newark and its historical use in maintaining racism is salient in understanding current strains and tensions in the Newark educational institution. According to the Columbia University Report, the examination given by the Newark educational institution was composed of written and oral sections, each of which was given equal weight in determining the composite score. Sixty per cent of the written examination was weighted towards measuring the subject's knowledge of content areas, and the other forty per cent was to evaluate the

candidate in educational theory and practice.

The written examination lasted for three hours. In order to be eligible for the oral, an individual would have to pass the written section with a minimum score of 70 per cent. A minimum of 60 per cent was required for each part of the written examination. The oral section of the examination was "designed to judge those personal traits and characteristics that cannot be ascertained through writing... [such as] use of English, mental clarity, attitudes, and personality." Placement on the eligibility list was determined on the basis of passing the written and oral sections of the examination with a combined score of 70 per cent. The list was then composed through a rank ordering of the combined scores.

Comments on the examination process by the Columbia group are quite informative. They noted that the written examination was not standardized and the facility with which an individual could pass an examination was more reflective of the year in which the examination was taken than of the instrument itself. Hence, recommendations were made for the construction of more objective and reliable written examination instruments.

The oral examination was depicted as a question and answer period designed to judge the candidates' personal qualities. An analysis of the function of the oral examination by the Columbia University Survey team provides insight

into the type of individual selected and recruited for the educational institution, and the potential inherent in this process to discriminate and evaluate on bases other than relevant professional knowledge and performance.

"It is obviously important for Newark that individuals who are coarse, ill-mannered, or uncultured should not be chosen for teaching posts in the public schools no matter how well informed they may be. Such individuals sometimes attain high ratings on written examinations, a fact that has led some educators to lose all faith in the efficacy of employing such measures in selecting teachers. However, it is precisely for this reason that the oral interview has been adopted as an integral part of the procedure in establishing eligibility lists. The general character of the Newark personnel rests finally upon the combined judgements of those charged with the conduct of the oral examinations. For it is here that candidates with negative qualities or weak personalities must be discovered if the best interests of the school system are to be maintained" (Strayner, 1942:174).

Hence, the function of the orals is clearly depicted as a process not geared to determining academic and professional proficiency, but of evaluating ill-defined social and personal characteristics. In essence, the oral examination was utilized as a moral yardstick for securing a particular type of instructional personnel (Argyris, 1967). The important point to be stressed is the existence of mechanisms in the recruitment, examination, and appointment processes that provide a latitude for the manifestation of discrimination on the basis of characteristics whose essentiality to proficiency of teaching have not been

systematically derived. The oral examination could be utilized in a manner that enabled selection of individuals on criteria not relevant to the educational process. This implies that the groundwork for the ultimate manifestation of discrimination on other non-professional criteria such as race was present in the recruitment and appointment structure of the educational institution.

Stressing the subjective evaluative aspects inherent in the oral examination is not to be construed as suggesting that the written examination was immune from biases. As indicated by the Columbia University research team, the lack of scientific rigor in formulating the written examination did not guarantee the same standards of validity and reliability from subject level to subject level or grade level to grade level, from year to year. The Newark educational institution subsequently attempted to rectify this situation by utilizing the services of Educational Testing Service located in Princeton, New Jersey.

A new examination was constituted in 1943. Out of 179 candidates, 52 were successful. Eighty-nine failed the written and 38 did not pass the orals. Thirteen per cent of the successful candidates were Black (Newark Evening News, July, 1943). This, coupled with the failure of the Columbia University Report to make reference to the existence of racial discrimination when they criticized the existent

recruitment practices, suggests an absence of such discriminating hiring practices. The percentage of Black teachers passing the examination at that time was slightly above the proportion of Blacks in the city in the early forties.

A question to be resolved is why a proportionate representation of the Black minority was admitted into the school system in 1943, particularly at a time when the superintendent increased the weight of the oral examination from 50 to 70 per cent (Newark Evening News, July, 1943). Such a question is particularly essential because (1) prior to the examination only 13 Black teachers had ever gained entry into the school system (New Jersey Herald News, Summer, 1943), (2) the state constitution sanctioned a dual (segregated) school system (New Jersey Constitution), and (3) the potential existed in the examination process for subjective evaluations on non-academic criteria. At that time there were 11 Black elementary teachers and 2 recreation teachers in the school system. Their dates of appointment range from 1904 to 1938. Some of the appointments originated during the period of the "segregated colored schools" in Newark. The answer to the question can be sought on national and local levels. Under Roosevelt's leadership the nation had recovered from a depression and was in the midst of a war. Both of these forces had positively

affected the plight of the Black citizen (Myrdal, 1964). Locally, 1943 marked the appointment of the first Black to the Board of Education. Of course, these factors might have played a role in changing the climate for acceptance of Blacks in status positions different from that of a despised minority. However, this acceptance was predicated upon (1) paucity of eligible white candidates, (2) low status positions predominantly inhabited by females, and (3) rigorous academic qualifications for Blacks. The Columbia University Report at that time had cited and publicized statistics compiled by the Newark school system and the National Education Association. It was noted that 45 per cent of Newark's elementary school teachers had less than three years of professional preparation, while 48 per cent of the secondary teachers had five years or more of professional training. In cities of comparable size, 40 per cent of the elementary school teachers had four or more years of college, whereas only 26 per cent of Newark's elementary teachers had similar backgrounds. Hence, those Blacks admitted to the teaching ranks in 1943 were "super Blacks." Black teachers admitted during this era had advanced backgrounds in professional training and experience (New Jersey Herald News, Summer, 1943).

The difficulty in gaining access to the educational institution was much more pronounced at the secondary level.

level. Even with this background and experience the technost-structure attempted to divert his mobility aspiration for promotion on the secondary level, to the less prestigious elementary school level. (Personal correspondence with the Assistant Superintendent in charge of Personnel--June 11, 17, and 25, 1958).

Discriminatory Assignment Practices

As noted previously the major breakthrough in the admittance of Blacks occurred in the lowest status area of professional teaching. A corollary to this situation was the subsequent assignment of Black teachers to schools with a heavy concentration of Black students. The major receivers of the newly appointed Black teachers who successfully completed the examination during the forties were Miller Street, 18th Avenue, Charlton, Morton, and Newton Street schools. Subsequently the assignment of Black teachers to Black schools tended to be interpreted by Black teachers, and civil rights and religious groups, as another manifestation of racial discrimination (Newark Evening News, June 28, 1948).

The proximity in geographical school assignments of Black educators encouraged a recognition of common interests and problems. In 1948 a Black professional educational, civic and social association, Civ-Eds, was formed (Newark Evening News, June 28, 1948). One of their concerns during

the late forties and early fifties was to question the assignment practices of school administrators in placing Black teachers in predominantly Black schools. Together with the N.A.A.C.P., Essex County Joint Council for Civil Rights, Newark Civil Rights Commission, and the Newark Teachers' Union, the Newark school administration was accused of making discriminatory school assignments on the basis of race. They claimed that "if there was no discrimination in the school system of Newark, there would be no need to have 46 of the 63 Negro teachers assigned to Central Ward schools where there were largely Negro Students," (Newark Evening News, July 25, 1950). In addition they claimed that while the school system had 68 schools, Blacks were assigned to only 20. The techno-structure insisted that Black teachers did not want to be assigned to white schools. Through this myth of preferential desires, the techno-structure was successful in perpetuating discriminatory assignment practices for Black teachers.

During the fifties activities continued that were engaged in during the forties. Major reference groups for Black educators at that time were (1) Alpha Kappa Alpha--a sorority of Black college women, (2) traditional civil rights associations--the N.A.A.C.P. and Urban League, (3) civic-religious associations--the local YWCA, churches, etc., and (4) an association of Black educators, Civ-Eds. These

groups provided workshops for developing insight and strategies to counteract racial discrimination in various areas. At first glance, the presence of these associations and the scope of their activities indicate that the groundwork was present for an organized, cooperative group endeavor for getting the educational institution to respond to the demands of Blacks. However, the solidarity of the Black community was more apparent than real. Struggles with the educational institution arose initially from efforts for redress and relief by individuals or isolated small groups. Only after publicity to the cause celebre did the Black groups jointly mobilize their support. These groups were multi-purpose civil rights groups. They were also involved in other areas besides education. It is significant to point out that the earlier and middle periods of the Black movement in Newark are characterized by struggles of individuals with the educational institution. The more sophisticated approach of continuously harassing the Board of Education and school administrators through a collective movement with the single purpose of concentrating on the educational arena, primarily developed after the 1967 rebellion.

During the sixties the N.A.A.C.P. had released a document highly critical of teacher assignment in Black areas. Those schools had the highest proportion of substitute teachers. Due to the examination procedures operating in the early

sixties, a major entry for Blacks to teaching positions was the position of Long-Term Substitute. The position did not able the incumbent to receive fringe benefits even though the teacher was assigned to a particular class on a yearly basis. In December of 1960, the only Black member of the Board of Education had questioned the administrative procedures for admitting candidates into the teachers' examination. The managers of the techno-structure responded in an evasive manner failing to acknowledge that some candidates who paid their fees and had their credentials filed were excluded from the examination.

Teachers' organizations had historically been opposed to the status of long-term substitute as an unfair labor practice. In 1965 they supported a case initiated by a Black substitute teacher against the Board of Education with regard to the status of substitutes. As a result of the case, substitute teachers were granted fringe benefits. Changes with regard to the status of substitute teacher, and its ultimate relationship as a mobility path to a regular teaching position, occurred in response to the needs of the educational institution with a pupil population three-fourths Black to recruit Black teachers.

In 1968, subsequent to the changes enacted by the Board of Education with regards to the principal and vice-

principal examination practices, the Board of Education adopted changes with regard to its teacher examination. The changes were directed to the adequacy of the long-term substitute position as a recognized mobility path for a regular teaching position. The written portion of the teachers examination was waived for those who had served three years as a substitute in the Newark educational institution. Upon successful completion of the oral examination, these individuals were placed on the teacher eligibility list. With the exception of substitute teachers all others who took the teachers examination had to successfully complete both the written and oral portion of the examination. The cooperative relationship between Black teachers and the teacher associations that was apparent in the 1965 substitute suit was short-lived. The period from 1965 to 1967 saw a major breakthrough for the status of teacher negotiations with the Board of Education. The Board of Education agreed to allow the teachers to conduct an election between the Newark Teachers' Association (N.T.A.) and the Newark Teachers' Union (N.T.U.) for the right to represent all Newark teachers as a collective bargaining agent. Ninety-two per cent of the teachers voted. It was a very close election with the American Arbitration Association resolving the matter in favor of the N.T.A. (Newark Evening News, January 16, 1965).

A teacher population that was increasingly fleeing from the Newark residential environs resented to the extreme the demands that were being placed on them by a new clientele and the Black professionals who identified with them and articulated their needs. The Board of Education enacted a Newark residency requirement for personnel in 1959, and a teacher transfer resolution to insure that experienced teachers were evenly distributed throughout the city. Between 1958 and 1963, policy decisions of the Board of Education and the Black professionals' challenge to the vice-principal's examination were ultimately defeated by white professional educators through the courts, new legislation, or failure to implement policy. A major strategy was for the white professional educators to protect themselves through joint collective action.

The initial contract between the Board of Education and the teachers' association was not met openly by antagonism on the part of the Black community. Substantive issues in this agreement revolved around the concept of freeing teachers from the amount of time they spent with their students, and in increasing monetary benefits for professional teachers. In this agreement, liberally applied sick leave for teachers was increased from 10 to 15 days. The case of teacher aides to relieve teachers from clerical and non-professional activities was given recognition and

credence. A reaffirmation of the current examination procedures was made. Outside arbitration was also a part of the agreement. The only part of the concord that treated student or client welfare was a clause dealing with class size and composition. This too was mainly considered from the vantage point of teacher working conditions rather than what are the best procedures to insure quality education for all students:

"...schedule classes in secondary schools...so that teachers shall not be required to teach more than two field nor more than two teaching preparation classes" (Agreement between the Newark Board of Education and the Newark Teachers' Association, July 28, 1965 to July 27, 1966).

Hence, even though the N.T.A. had a Black educator on its negotiating committee, the major sources of strife between the teachers' association and the Black community had their seeds in the 1965-1966 agreement. None of the contracts to date involve a commitment on the part of the teachers to bring about quality education and classroom achievements through current means at their disposal. As a matter of fact, teachers succeeded in alienating themselves from any semblance of professional ethics through insisting that faculty meetings could not be held more than once a month nor be held more than an hour after school.

Hence, inroads in the decision-making process were continuously being made by the Newark Teachers' Associations. The significance of this situation is that a

predominantly white group largely without residency ties to the city had succeeded in curtailing the policy implementation power of the Board of Education, at a time when political and community power was being transferred to the Black community. The Black community in alliance with the Board of Education met this threat with direct confrontations through keeping the schools open in 1971 during the longest teachers' strike in the nation.

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Chapter 6

PUBLIC MEETINGS--1971

...the most sacred of cows--the tradition that secrecy is essential in war, diplomacy, politics, and administration.

Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on one of the major means by which the public participates in the educational arena in Newark: Board of Education monthly meetings.

In discussing participation in these meetings a number of issues must be raised and placed in perspective before the role of a public forum in the educational institution can be most fully appreciated.

As has been noted elsewhere (Gittell, 1968) the educational institution is perhaps of all major American institutions the one most capable of igniting public concern and involvement. This is due to a number of factors. First, education has been a field in which there is a long historical if uneven tradition of community involvement. The very structural mechanisms by which the institution is organized and regulated require a mechanism by which it can be made responsive to public wishes. In the community of Newark this condition is realized formally or in part

through the legal requirement of a monthly public meeting in which all business before the Board of Education is discussed and voted on, and in which the public has the option of presenting views and ideas on matters relevant to the maintenance and functioning of the educational institution. Thus, structurally at least, the educational institution is not a closed system in terms of public comment on current or proposed educational programs and policies (Gittell, 1968; Rogers, 1969). The simple provision of a structural means by which the community may make known its concerns does not, however, provide an understanding of the degree to which this choice is exercised, nor does it spell out the actual effects of such participation on the functioning of the educational institution.

By public participation is meant presentation of an issue by an individual or a group before the Board of Education at one of its regular monthly or special public meetings. Obviously, there are many forms of participation in the educational institution of Newark. Some forms of participation are private, as when a citizen phones a Board of Education member, or writes a letter concerning his satisfaction or dissatisfaction with a particular program. Public Board of Education meetings, however, are of particular interest in that they typify a means of participation well institutionalized in the fabric of the American

social structure. From the early days of this country, with its strong value emphasis on participatory democracy, up through today, with demands for increased equalized participation in political affairs, public forums have served as major vehicles for the structural realization of this dream. It is through this mechanism that the citizen is given an opportunity to be heard, to plead his cause, and to make an impact on policy determination or evaluate policy implementation. This process is as much a part of educational institution in this country as the ballot box is of the political process.

In executing its assigned task of directing the Newark educational institution, the Board of Education relies on many people, agencies, and organizations. The types of relationships it establishes with these various audiences are many, ranging from long-term legal contractual arrangements to sporadic, single contracts with individuals. The mechanisms by which these relationships are established, maintained, and dissolved are many. A basic vehicle for conducting some of the contacts the Board of Education maintains is the monthly public meeting. In particular, these meetings provide perhaps the primary means by which the Newark public can directly contact those responsible for the maintenance and quality of all public Education in Newark.

An understanding of the role of public board meetings

in the Newark educational arena requires consideration of several issues. Primary among these are the functions which these meetings serve for the Board of Education. Also, of particular concern is the role these meetings perform for the publics which the educational institution serves: students, parents, community organizations, and the Newark community in general. In the discussion which follows, the organization and the functioning of the public meetings are analyzed. Specifically, attention is given to the dynamics of the regular public meetings which occurred during the period from January to December, 1971. A factor of central concern in this discussion is the public meeting as an arena or public setting ceremonially organized in which racial issues and confrontations have been presented and dealt with. The public meetings have served as a vehicle by which community attitudes and opinions are made known. The eventual resolution of differences, when they occur among the participants in this drama, may occur in these meetings but more likely in complex, extended political processes. Occasionally they may simply dissolve due to lack of sustained interest or changing commitments, and some may never be resolved. However this may be, public meetings serve to alert the Board of Education to public concern, and in so doing, serve as one factor affecting educational policy-making in Newark.

Public meetings of the Board of Education are a forum

which can serve many purposes for the participants. In general, two broad areas can be designated. First one can look at these meetings in terms of their impact on educational policy-making. The Board of Education is formally charged with policy-making, and all votes and issues are made public through these meetings. Board of Education members can make known their individual views and positions on issues through various parliamentary procedures. Finally, the variegated public can announce positions on issues, and argue for and against specific proposals confronting the body.

In addition to influencing educational policy-making, these meetings can serve as an organizing vehicle by which segments of the community can make positions known, common interests can be discerned, and public requests for support can be made. While groups may use this rostrum to make appeals and to support causes, individuals can also make known their positions and ideas. In the analysis presented below, particular attention will be paid to the social structure of public meetings. To what extent are these meetings vehicles by which individuals operate to affect policy and plead causes, or is it that they are basically a community forum by which organizations, at various levels, representing different segments of the Newark community, come to support their purposes and to voice opposition to

programs and issues they do not favor? Organizationally, public meetings of this type operate as a basic mechanism which permits ceremonially ordered contact between those in formal office and those whom they serve. If the functioning of such meetings become mediated through community organizations, then the functioning of the educational system is one level removed from a pure, participatory democratic model. In essence, meetings come to serve a select segment of the community, and the role of the individual in making known his views and positions on issues can be curtailed unless he has access to participation through organizational representation (Gittell, 1968).

The role or meaning of participation in public Board of Education meetings probably varies significantly from interest group to interest group in the Newark greater community. First, there has been, and there continues to be, differential access throughout the larger community to means of making one's position and opinions on public issues known. Some elements of the community have more immediate and direct contact with political personnel in Newark than others. In addition, some elements of the Newark community maintain personal contact and discussion with various Board of Education members. Therefore their use of the public meetings may be more limited and circumscribed than the use made by other elements. Such conditions suggest

that the function which these public board meetings can serve may vary not only from one segment of the community to another, but that as various elements of the community shift positions in terms of political power and access to political office there may be shifting views and perspectives on public forums for the various community elements. At one point in time these meetings may serve as the major vehicle by which either the Black community, the white community-- or both-- has input into the educational arena. As political conditions change, so may the meaning and function of participation in this forum.

Finally, one must distinguish very carefully between two levels at which public board meetings can function. The first functional level looks at and analyzes the role and meaning of public meetings for the various publics that can make use of them. From this perspective we are interested in such issues as who attends meetings, what issues are raised, and how various publics confront the Board of Education. Such an analysis is contingent upon careful description and analysis of the multifaceted audiences, and attention must be given to the responses received from the Board of Education.

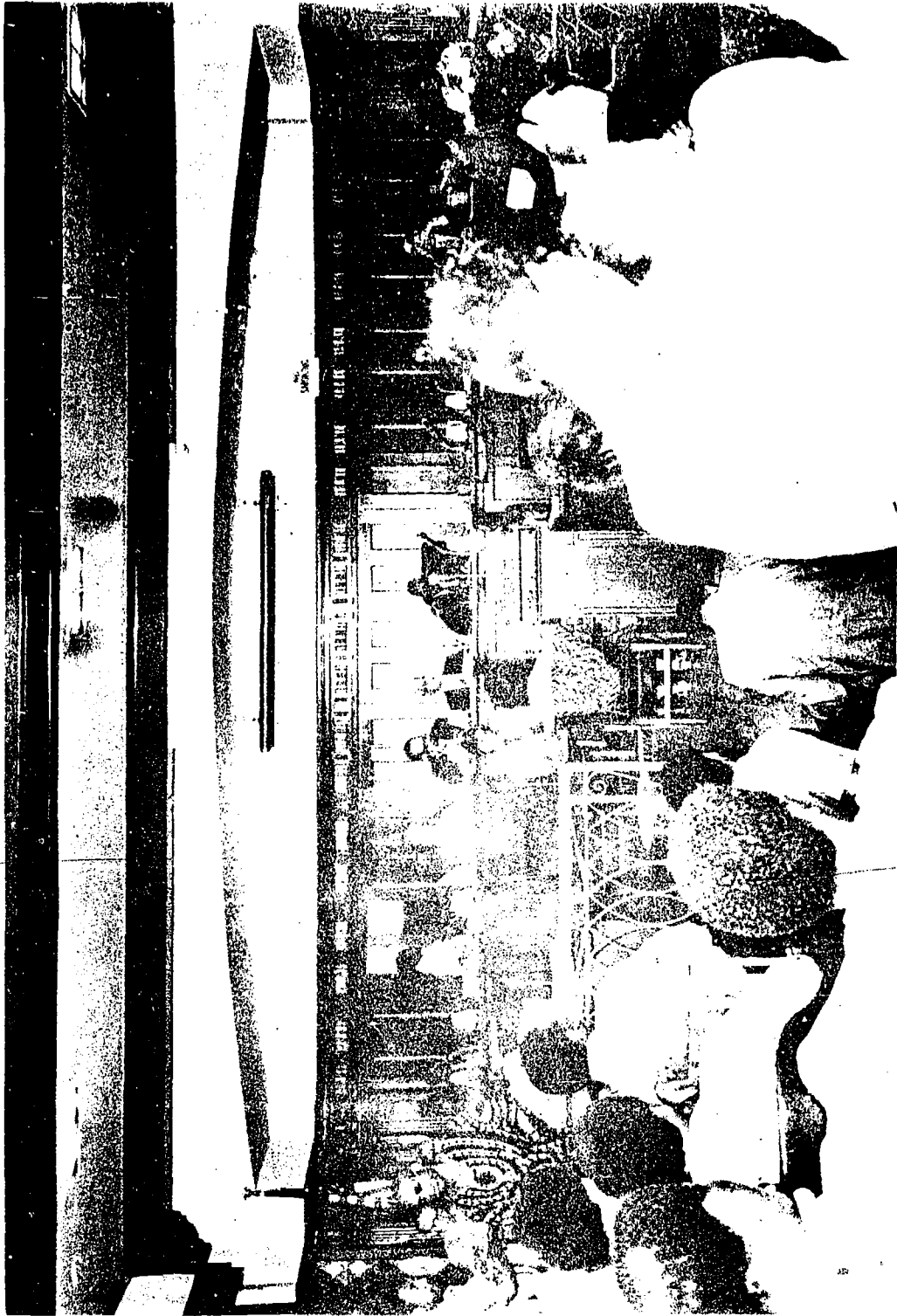
A second level of analysis must be outlined and dealt with in a study of this kind. The level focuses on the role and function of public meetings in the total picture of educational decision-making. While the audience representation

of various community segments may vary considerably across time it is entirely possible that the role and function of the meetings themselves, as one mechanism affecting educational policy-setting, may remain constant. An assessment of the impact of participation in public Board of Education meetings must be discussed in light of these two general issues. Only then can the significance of public meetings be grasped, their meaning to the participants as well as their role in educational policy-setting and decision-making in the Newark community.

Public Meetings: A System of Public Order

By legal fiat the Board of Education in Newark is required to hold a public meeting on the fourth Tuesday of every month (Rules and Procedures: Section 103:4). Procedures are provided by which the public may participate in these meetings, but constraints are placed on their participation. In general, to make an appearance before the Board of Education a speaker must contact the body, or one of its representatives, prior to the public meeting. In so doing, assuming the proposed topic of discussion is a legitimate concern of the Board of Education, his name will be placed on an agenda for the next monthly meeting. The speaker is normally limited to a 10-minute presentation. During the presentation he is given notice by the secretary or a clerk when near the end of this allotted time period.





By and large, speakers must abide by these rules. Rarely is a person permitted to make a public appearance before the Board of Education without first having obtained permission and having been put on the agenda. The second rule, that speakers address themselves to an issue of direct relevance to the Board of Education, is more difficult to define and hence enforce. In general, it appears that speakers are permitted considerable latitude in commenting on a wide spectrum of issues, as well as on the behavior of individual Board of Education members. It should be noted that members of the Board of Education also exhibit considerable latitude in their discussions and exchanges with members of the community attending public meetings.

Public meetings are scheduled to begin promptly at 8 P.M. However, in the year or more in which observations were made of public meetings only once did a public meeting begin at this appointed time. The usual starting time was from 30 minutes to an hour late, with an occasional delay of up to two hours. During this delay the audience sometimes became unsettled, clapped hands, yelled slogans, etc., and at other times they occupied themselves with issues and discussion of issues they were going to raise at the meeting.

By law, Board of Education members are required to attend all public meetings. In fact, it is required that they be formally excused when they cannot attend a particular

meeting. Failure to do so constitutes grounds for dismissal if more than three meetings are missed in a year. During the year in which systematic observations were made only once were all Board of Education members present. Normally, there were from five to seven of the nine members present, with one or two of these arriving late, leaving early, or disappearing for periods throughout the scheduled meetings.

Public meetings are held in a large lecture-like room in the educational techno-structure headquarters at 31 Green Street. Sometimes the number of public participants exceeded the capacity of this auditorium, but for most meetings the room was sufficiently large.

The number of individuals present at any single meeting varied. During the period of observation some meetings were sparsely attended, no more than ten people present. At other times, special meeting places had to be set up to accommodate the large number of individuals who wanted to either attend the meeting or to make a presentation to the Board of Education. Also, the racial composition of the meetings varied significantly, from predominantly Black to mostly white. This variability in size and racial composition suggests a considerable degree of transient community interest in public meetings. Field workers often commented that the audiences at public meetings, while usually containing a small group of 10 to 15 regular members, were

quite variable from meeting to meeting. In addition, it appears that the involvement of audience participants in these meetings is highly selective. A common situation was individuals remaining in attendance at the meeting only until they or their representative had spoken. Then they, as well as their spokesman, left. As a result, as meetings wore on, the audience usually became progressively smaller. It appears, also, that the collective involvement of the members of the Board of Education during these meetings in some respects matches that of the audience. More specifically, while the Board of Education is generally occupied as a group during the business section of the public meetings, when the speakers' section begins it is not unusual for individual members of the body to leave the room for a while, to go down and talk to individuals in the audience, or to become engaged in a conversation with another Board of Education member, ignoring the particular speeches of one or several speakers. This type of activity lends an air of informality to these meetings, and also is the cause, at times, of considerable strife between members of the Board of Education and the audience.

During the year of observation, a number of major issues occupied the attention of the Board of Education and the Newark public. There was a long and difficult teachers' strike beginning in late January, and extending through

April (Braun, 1972:266-274 and 173-212). This event served as the major subject of attention at public meetings for some time, and led to the appearance of police at public meetings, increased polarization of the community, and considerable racial tension during the body's public meetings.

Other issues which occupied the Board of Education at public meetings during this year included the creation of summer employment for students, the appointment of a new Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Education, the budget, and the passage of a resolution to introduce Black Liberation flags into every school room in Newark with more than 50 per cent Black pupils. Some of these items led to court orders, others were more readily settled, and some are still unsettled.

During the period of observation the Board of Education served under two presidents, a man and a woman, both Black. The Board of Education was composed of four Blacks, four whites, and gained one young Black male, while losing one white member during the second half. Nearly half the current members are appointees of the previous white mayor (Addonizio) and the other half are recent appointments of the new Black mayor (Gibson).

Board of Education members arrive at public meetings in small groups, sometimes as individuals and occasionally with a bodyguard. The body holds a closed conference

meeting prior to the public meeting, and it is the business conducted during this closed session that normally delays the start of the public meeting. These conference meetings serve to solidify the public position of the Board of Education. They also allow the body to develop strategies in response to specific audience participants, which the Board of Education members can see on their way to the conference meeting.

The Public Drama

Before turning to a more detailed analysis of the public meetings during 1971 it will be useful to provide a brief sketch of the organization and tone of public meetings.

The events which affected public Board of Education meetings in 1971 were unique in some respects, and comparable to recurring problems for most large urban school districts in other respects. A long, very bitter teachers' strike dominated the year, lasting for more than three months, the longest such strike in the history of American education. This event led to very heightened racial tension in the city, and this was reflected in Board of Education meetings. Police were present at some meetings, and had to act. At times public meetings turned into shouting matches, physical confrontations erupted, and scheduled meetings were cancelled until tempers cooled.

Not all meetings developed this much open conflict and hostility. Public meetings did exhibit consistent themes, however. Some representatives of the Newark community almost invariably attacked some members of the techno-structure or Board of Education member, accusing them of racist policies, suggesting that they resign or be removed from office. Certain issues appeared frequently, such as demands for more community involvement, increased sensitivity of teachers to the needs of Black students, and more Black representation in the techno-structure of the educational institution.

In general the tenor of meetings ranged from outright hostility to boredom. Audience participation, in fact community involvement, appeared to be organized largely around specific issues, very sporadic, and of short duration.

The structure of public meetings revolves very much about the issues raised by speakers. Audience participation is of many kinds, from little concern to polite applauding, to demonstrations with placards, singing, and marching. The audience also participates by voicing support of the positions adopted by speakers, or by vocally denouncing a Board of Education member or his position. While the delegated speaker dominates the public forum, there is much added to the tone and structure of the meetings by the

audience and its behavior.

During the year in which observations were made the seating arrangements of the audiences tended to be racially grouped. There was little interchange between Blacks and whites, and since many issues were couched in terms of racial overtones, even if not fundamentally racial, this added to the appearance of audience segregation, not only spatially, but psychologically.

Finally, it should be noted that these public meetings did not serve as avenues for developing discussion. By and large, the speakers and their audience supporters came to these meetings with suggestions, criticisms, and comments. The Board of Education seldom engaged in a dialogue with speakers, nor did, or could, speakers carry on a dialogue among themselves. The meetings may have served to alert Board of Education members to the feelings and opinions of segments of the community. Often ideas were supported less on the basis of persuasive arguments than on the racial identification of who was supporting or suggesting a policy or program. A speaker or a Board of Education member could be shouted down because his position was not well represented at a meeting. Thus, the established rules and procedures served as guidelines around which these meetings developed. But racial identification and tension set a tone which permitted substantial variation in the actual development of

these meetings. Both the audience and the Board of Education exhibited considerable contempt for each other at times.

The meetings were typified by shifting, milling audiences. Board of Education members would often come and go during the meetings; so many leaving that at one time the audience requested the Board of Education president to reconvene the body. As a public forum these meetings permitted the various elements of the Newark educational institution to come together, physically, not educationally. And these audiences appeared to come together more often in a context of hostility, anger, and contempt, than in a spirit of argument, persuasion, and reconciliation. Thus, this public forum served during 1971 and continues to do so, as an arena highlighting and concentrating some of the strongest and most intense divisive currents in American society, race and racial animosity (Porambo, 1971: especially pp. 370-381).

Public Meetings: A Portrait

In the following discussion observations are summarized on thirteen public Board of Education meetings that took place between January 26 and December 21, 1971. While there were twelve regularly scheduled meetings during this period, one additional meeting was held because a riot broke out during the scheduled meeting. A total of some 199

appearances by 105 separate speakers were made in the meetings during this year, of which 147 are presented for analysis below.*

By and large, most speakers at Board of Education meetings appeared only once during the year (see TABLE 20).

TABLE 20

Per Cent of Speakers Making Multiple Appearances, 1971

Number of Appearances	Per cent (N)
1	62.0 (48)
2	19.0 (15)
3	9.0 (7)
4	4.0 (3)
5	4.0 (3)
6 or more	2.0 (2)
Total	100.0 (78)

Fully 62 per cent of all appearances were by individuals speaking only once. A much smaller proportion of speakers appeared twice, some 19 per cent, while the

*The rationale for the selection of these 147 appearances is presented in the methodology section. In short, these cases were selected to assure the reliability and validity of the recorded observations. Complete data were available on 147 of 199 appearances.

remaining speakers appeared several times. These data suggest that, for most people making appearances at public meetings, involvement and participation is on a very limited basis. A single appearance is the norm. A small, but sizeable minority maintain enduring contact. It should be noted, however, that only two people made appearances at more than half the public meetings.

Just as most speakers made only a single appearance, the majority addressed themselves to a single general issue (see TABLE 21).

TABLE 21

Per Cent of Appearances with Multiple Issues

Number of Issues Presented	Per cent (N)
2	29.0 (43)
3	14.0 (20)
4	5.0 (7)
5 or more	3.0 (4)

As indicated, in 29 per cent of the appearances two issues were raised, in 14 per cent, three issues, and in eight per cent four or more were brought to the attention of the Board of Education. Given the fact that speakers are limited to a presentation of approximately ten minutes the presentation of four or more issues does not leave

much time for the elaboration or exploration of an issue. Fully 57 per cent of the speakers came to speak at one issue, and having done so, terminated their appearance at the meeting. Racially, appearances at public meetings were predominantly Black (see TABLE 22).

TABLE 22
Race and Sex of Speakers (Per Cent)

Sex	Race		Total
	Black	White	
Male	88.0 (71)	12.0 (10)	55.0 (81)
Female	83.0 (54)	15.0 (10)	44.0 (65)
Total	86.0 (125)	14.0 (20)	100.0 (146*)

*Data missing on one appearance

Eighty-six per cent of appearances at Board of Education meetings were by Blacks, 14 per cent by whites. Interestingly, within the white segment there was an equal number of males and females (10 each) whereas there were significantly more Black males than females. Blacks predominate in this public forum, and, as in the community-at-large, males typically are the spokesmen.

Appearances at public meetings are made by a wide age range of the Newark population (see TABLE 23).

For both Blacks and whites most appearances were made by older community members. It is worth noting, however,

TABLE 23

Appearances by Race and Age of Speaker (Per Cent)

Race	Age			No Data
	Student (Up to 20)	Young Adult (20 - 50)	Older Adult (50 & Over)	
Black	18.0 (23)	33.0 (42)	43.0 (54)	6.0 (7)
White	11.0 (2)	20.0 (4)	60.0 (12)	10.0 (3)
Total	17.0 (25)	32.0 (46)	44.0 (66)	6.0 (10)

that whereas for whites fully 60 per cent of the participants were older adult citizens, fully 51 per cent of Black appearances were made by younger community members. Black participation is more diffuse across the population in terms of age, and generally reflects involvement by younger community members than is true of white participation.

Participation in public board meetings can take place for several reasons. Participants make appearances to achieve many goals, and under several forms of identification, e.g., parents, politicians, organizational spokesmen, etc. The mode of identification reveals, to some degree, a basic form of legitimation for speakers in this forum. It serves to give notice to the Board of Education of the degree of involvement of speakers, their locus of involvement in both the community and the educational institution, and finally reflects the potential support a given speaker can muster for his or her cause. In light of these considerations any form of self-identification mentioned by a speaker as well as his or her known organizational membership was recorded. The latter was obtained through interviews, published documents, and general knowledge of the Newark community. TABLES 24 through 27 report these data.

TABLE 24

Speaker's Self-Identification (Per Cent)

Identification	Per cent	(N)
None	8.0	11
Politician	1.0	1
Organizational Officer	26.0	38
Church Affiliate	5.0	7
Community Affiliate	21.0	31
Parent-Taxpayer	17.0	25
(Non-Instructional Employee	1.0	1
(Instructional Employee	1.0	2
(Student	20.0	30
Total	100.0	146*

*Data missing on one case

As revealed in TABLE 24 approximately eight per cent of the individuals making presentations at the Board of Education meetings did not provide any form of self-identification. Of those providing some form of self-identification the largest group made reference to their holding a position in an organization, some of which were locally based and some nationally based. Individuals also often spoke of their being from a particular community in Newark, and thus expressed their involvement as a community citizen. The next largest category of speakers identified

themselves as students, followed by parents-taxpayers. It is interesting to note that during this particular year very few individuals who spoke at public meetings identified themselves as linked with the educational institution except students. Only two self-identified instructional employees and a single non-instructional employee made presentations. It appears that when individuals make appearances before the Board of Education they do so largely as members of either particular organizations or as representatives of specific neighborhoods in the greater Newark community. Few persons make appearances solely as individuals.

It is possible that public Board of Education meetings serve different functions for various segments of the Newark community. Because of differential access to various political offices, or differential representation in the population, Blacks and whites may use public meetings for entirely different purposes. One way in which this idea may be explored is to examine the forms of self-identification that individuals of the two groups use at these public meetings. TABLE 25 presents a breakdown of the various forms of self-identification used by Blacks and whites at public meetings during 1971.

TABLE 25

Speaker's Self-Identification by Race (Per Cent)

Identification	Race			
	Black		White	
	Per cent	(N)	Per cent	(N)
None	8.0	(10)	5.0	(1)
Politician	1.0	(1)	0	(0)
Organizational Officer	25.0	(32)	30.0	(6)
Church Affiliate	6.0	(7)	0	(0)
Community Affiliate	21.0	(26)	20.0	(4)
Parent-Taxpayer	17.0	(21)	20.0	(4)
Non-Instructional Employee	0	(0)	5.0	(1)
Instructional Employee	2.0	(2)	0	(0)
Student	21.0	(26)	20.0	(4)
No Data	1.0	(1)	0	(0)
Total	100.0	(126*)	100.0	(20)

*Data missing on one speaker

Because the number of individuals appearing at public meetings in a single year is not large, the information presented in TABLE 25 must be interpreted carefully. For the 147 appearances observed during 1971 for both Blacks and whites, the largest number of individuals identified themselves as organizational officers. Twenty-five per cent of the Blacks, and 30 per cent of the

whites made reference in their opening remarks to being representatives of specific organizations. Nearly equal proportions of whites and Blacks made reference to their status as community members, students in the school system, and as parents-taxpayers. Thus, across both the Black and white population elements in Newark the form of participation in public board meetings appears to be similar--organizational and community based affiliations, with significant numbers of students and parents-taxpayers.

While the bases of self-identification for Black and white speakers may be very similar at these public meetings, it does not follow, and one would not expect, that the same organizations would be represented at these meetings by both Blacks and whites. In fact, there is considerable divergence between the organizational representation of the Black and white participants in this educational forum. This information is summarized in TABLE 26 below.

TABLE 26

Race of Speaker by Known Organizational Affiliation*
(Per Cent)

		Race	
Black		White	
Organization	Per cent	Organization	Per cent
Arts Hgh. Sch.	15.0 (12)	Eastside Hgh. PTA	15.0 (3)
Newark Comm. Coalition	9.0 (7)	Lafayette Hgh. Sch. PTA	10.0 (2)
S. 8th Street, PTA	6.0 (8)	ASPIRA Puerto Rican	10.0 (2)
Title I Advisory Board	5.0 (6)	Young Lords (Puerto Rican)	10.0 (2)
Wequahic Hgh. Sch. P/T Council	5.0 (5)	Bilingual Advisory Council	5.0 (1)
Concerned Citizens Coalition	2.0 (3)	Title I Advisory Board	5.0 (1)
Committee for Unified Newark	2.0 (3)	Vailsburg Hgh. Sch. PTA	5.0 (1)
Washington Civic Association	2.0 (3)	Westside Hgh. Sch. PTA	5.0 (1)
Central Hgh. Sch. Debate Team	2.0 (2)	Oliver St. Sch. PTA	5.0 (1)
African Educa. Alliance	2.0 (2)		
	45.0 (51)		75.0 (15)

*For ten organizations with largest representation only.

The data indicate, first, that for whites (including Puerto Ricans), much of the organizational affiliation of speakers

involved an auxiliary educational organization, such as a parent-teacher association group. Six of the ten organizations listed were PTA associations. For organizations having Black speakers, only one was a PTA group. It is important to note that most of the Black groups listed in TABLE 26 are organizations which advocate Black Liberation. That is, they are locally and nationally based organizations which have publicly declared their intention of assisting in the liberation of Black society. Apparently, these organizations see the educational arena as one area in which they can begin the process of such liberation, and their spokesmen make appearances at public meetings to advocate their policies and intentions. It is also worth noting that many of the organizations with Black speakers are essentially political organizations, with strong political and ideological overtones, whereas organizations with white or Puerto Rican speakers are usually educational adjunct organizations, more specifically aimed at involvement in and more direct focus on the functioning of the educational institution. Generally, these data reflect significant differences in Black-white participation, and they suggest that the dynamics of community involvement may be very different for Blacks and whites in Newark.

While the above information tells us something about the form of representation of the speakers at these public

meetings it does not tell us much about the concerns of these individuals. The concerns and interests of people making presentations at public meetings can be ascertained by examination of the general issue areas that they concern themselves with during their talks. This information is presented and summarized in TABLE 27 below.*

The table reveals a number of interesting facts about the issue involvement of Blacks and whites in this public forum. First, it appears that during 1971 Blacks were generally concerned with a wider scope of issues than whites. Over half of the whites who spoke at these meetings addressed themselves to general personnel issues (some 55 per cent) whereas the single largest proportion of concern for Blacks was also personnel matters, but approximately 38 per cent of the Blacks addressed themselves to such issues. Also, whereas, for whites, issues concerning formal committee inputs to the Board of Education were matters of next largest concern, physical plant issues were more important to Blacks, accounting for nearly 16 per cent of their public appearances. Remaining differences between

*Since the majority of individuals addressed themselves to a single general issue, and because multiple issue presentations were generally in a single general issue area, the remaining data report only the first general issue area raised by speakers.

TABLE 27

Issue Areas Raised by Race of Speaker

RACE	Finance	Construc- tion	Person- nel	Physical Plant	Curricu- lum	Clerical Ritual	Op Sch System	Committee Inputs	Total
Black	(6) 4.8	(0) 0.0	(48) 38.1	(20) 15.9	(4) 3.2	(19) 15.1	(8) 6.3	(17) 13.5	(126) 85.7
White	(0) 0.0	(1) 5.0	(11) 55.0	(1) 5.0	(0) 0.0	(2) 10.0	(1) 5.0	(3) 15.0	(20) 13.6
Total	(6) 4.1	(1) 0.7	(59) 40.1	(22) 15.0	(4) 2.7	(21) 14.3	(9) 6.1	(20) 13.6	(146)* 100.0

*Data missing on one case.

these two population segments are minor. It is interesting to note that of the some 146 appearances before the Board of Education for which there is complete information, only four were addressed specifically to curriculum issues. The concern of the Newark public with education in this public forum appears to be largely centered about personnel positions and appointments, physical plant conditions, and specific recommendations concerning Board of Education committee inputs.

The above information tells us a considerable amount about the general issues community spokesmen concern themselves with, as well as the type of involvement of community members with public meetings. There is still lacking, however, a clear idea of the differential orientation of various interest groups to these public meetings. One way in which some insight can be gained into the possible differential orientations and hence different uses of the public forum is to examine the general orientation that speakers adopted in their presentations at Board of Education meetings. That is, while some groups may come to these meetings to introduce ideas and to support causes, other groups may approach these meetings as vehicles by which they oppose current educational policy in Newark. In general, it appears that one can gain some perspective on the differential orientation of speakers by noting their

general position on issues--supportive, opposed, or mixed. It seems reasonable to assume that those who come speaking either for, or provide a mixed discussion, indicating points for and against an issue, perceive this public forum in some minimal way as a mechanism by which educational policy can be affected, otherwise there would be no reason to make the case for an issue, or to present a discussion of the merits and demerits of a particular public concern. However, it is possible for one to come to these meetings and present opposition to the current educational situation and still believe that as a viable mechanism affecting education policy public meetings are useless. TABLE 28 below presents information on the general orientations or positions (for-against-mixed) of Black and white speakers at the public Board of Education meeting in Newark during 1971.

TABLE 28

Position on Issue by Speaker's Race (Per Cent)

Speaker	Position				Total
	For	Against	Mixed	No Data	
Black	32.0 (40)	55.0 (69)	10.0 (13)	3.0 (4)	100.0 (126)
White	40.0 (8)	25.0 (5)	20.0 (4)	15.0 (3)	100.0 (20)
Total	33.0 (48)	50.0 (74)	12.0 (18)	5.0 (7)	100.0 (146)*

*Data missing on one case

It is immediately apparent that Blacks and whites make considerably different use of this public forum. Generally, while both groups come to these meetings with similar modes of self-legitimation and representation, somewhat similar concern with the same general issues, they are significantly divergent in their position on these issues. As a public vehicle enabling disclosure of community sentiment, public Board of Education meetings serve as vehicles by which the white community mostly comes to speak for specific issues, and often to present views of a mixed nature. On the other hand, the Black community comes predominately to speak against issues, with about 50 per cent speaking for issues, and a small proportion addressing themselves to a mixed perspective on any given issue.

It is interesting that the white community comes to speak for issues, but the Black community against issues, new and old, since the Board of Education is predominantly Black, and may be supposed to represent more clearly the interests and concerns of the Black community than that of the white. Apparently the ideas and conditions up for consideration in the educational arena in Newark are still predominantly not in the perceived interests of Blacks. Additional information on the differing orientations of Blacks and whites to issues up for discussion at public

meetings can be gained from an analysis of the position of these community elements on the specific issues that they raised during these presentations. This information is presented in TABLE 29.

Unfortunately there were so few appearances by whites at these public meetings that numbers are too small to be of any interest, outside of the gross observations reported above. However, additional information about the orientation of Black speakers can be gained from TABLE 29. First, it is apparent that the Blacks generally spoke against most issues. They most strongly were opposed to issues raised concerning the current operation of the school system as well as extant physical plant conditions. On the other hand, they were favorably disposed toward some curriculum suggestions, of the few that were brought up for discussion during this year, and in general favorable toward the special committee input of Board of Education members.

The above discussion has concerned itself almost entirely with the presentations made by speakers at public meetings. To fully appreciate the nature of these public meetings it is necessary to look briefly at the manner in which the Board of Education participated through responses to presentations made by audience members. TABLE 30 reveals that of the some 147 appearances responses were made by Board of Education members a total of only 37 times, or for

TABLE 29

Speaker's Race and Issue Position by Issue Area (Per Cent)*

Race	Finance	Construc- tion	Person- nel	Physical Plant	Curricu- lum	Clerical Ritual	Op Sch System	Committee Inputs
Black								
Position								
For	17.0 (1)	0 (0)	25.0 (12)	15.0 (3)	75.0 (3)	32.0 (6)	12.0 (1)	71.0 (12)
Against	67.0 (4)	0 (0)	63.0 (30)	70.0 (14)	25.0 (1)	63.0 (12)	88.0 (7)	6.0 (1)
Mixed	17.0 (1)	0 (0)	8.0 (4)	15.0 (3)	25.0 (1)	5.0 (1)	0 (0)	18.0 (3)
White								
For	0 (0)	0 (0)	27.0 (3)	0 (0)	100.0 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	100.0 (3)
Against	0 (0)	0 (0)	36.0 (4)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	100.0 (1)	0 (0)
Mixed	0 (0)	100.0 (1)	18.0 (2)	100.0 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)

*Missing data not reported.

about 25 per cent of all appearances.

TABLE 30

Per Cent of Appearances Receiving Verbal Response from
Board Member or Administrator

Total Responses	Per cent	(N)
No Response	72.0	106
1	21.0	31
2	3.0	5
3 or more	1.0	1
Total	97.0	143*

*Data missing on 4 cases

This information suggests that these meetings are generally not situations in which individuals come together for discussion and debate, but rather types of social occasions where the representatives of publics make an appearance, present their case, and leave. By and large, the Board of Education does not respond to specific comments by the audience, nor does it generally voluntarily offer advice, comment, or suggestions as to the presentations by the speakers.

TABLE 31 indicates that responses to the presentations of speakers during 1971 were most often made by the Board of Education president, the business administrator, and one

other Board of Education member. Most of the time speakers simply presented their position, sometimes received a response from the Board of Education or some techno-structure functionary, and then, very often, left the meeting. By and large, most speakers addressed the Board of Education in general (70 per cent) rather than some specific Board of Education member. It seems that the interaction sustained during these public meetings is very limited, with presentations made, and if responded to, responded to in a very perfunctory manner.

TABLE 31

Initial Responders to Speakers' Presentations (Per Cent)

Responders	Per cent	(N)
Board Presidents	51.0	19
Member 3	3.0	1
4	3.0	1
5	13.0	5
6	3.0	1
7	6.0	2
8	0	0
9	0	0
Secretary	3.0	1
Business Administrator	13.0	5
Functionary	6.0	2
Total	100.0	37

Conclusion

The information presented in this chapter on public Board of Education meetings suggests several conclusions. First, during 1971 these meetings served essentially as a Black forum, in which the community interests in education were represented more through organizational position than community or individual membership. While there was considerable similarity of interests between the white and Black participants in terms of issues, it is apparent that their interests were in divergent directions. For whites, public meetings serve as a rostrum for supporting issues. For most Blacks, these meetings were an arena where they voiced their collective opposition to the programs and policies of the Newark educational institution. White participation was premised largely on parent-teacher organizations, while Black participation is deeply rooted in the various political and semi-political organizations which have developed in the Black community during the past decade. In Newark, the educational arena is coming to serve as a major vehicle for the increasing political awareness of the Black, an arena where he is learning and coping with the problems of institutionalized racism and educational institutions dysfunctional for the future relative position and survival of the Black community.

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Chapter 7

HOW DOES THIS MATTER STAND?: FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

Clearly, the social scientist should be accurate and objective but not neutral; he should be passionately partisan in favor of the welfare of the people and against the interests of the few when they seem to submerge that welfare. In a word, the reason for the existence of the social scientist is that his scientific findings contribute to the betterment of the people's well-being.

Oliver C. Cox, (1948)

The Central Issue

Race and the changing structure of community relations, as reflected or diffused through the educational institution, have been the central issues of this study. Put plainly we have attempted to understand the complexity of social change. Since discovery and utility were twin purposes of this work a mixed theoretical and applied, historical and cross-sectional strategy was designed and carried out. The methodology was essentially inductive. An assortment of social science tools and techniques, including what is labelled involved participation, were used to collect, analyze, and interpret quantitative and qualitative data (see Appendix I). With this strategy and

design was blended an orientation that best can be described as a Black frame of reference. A consequence is that instead of the customary sociological approaches of psychopathology, disorganization, and deviance to the social life of Blacks in the United States there was substituted an approach guided by the notions of collective Black survival and adaptation, with a scarcity of those individual and collective resources requisite for successful participation in public life, within a particular situational context. While a definite sociological framework guided this study the common demands and values of academic or disciplinary research were made secondary to those demands considered to hold significant applied and policy importance for the Newark community and its educational institution.

Selecting the educational institution of the largest metropolitan area of New Jersey, Newark, the changing pattern of Black participation in this complex organization has been examined systemically. Avoiding explicitly the issues of inequity and injustice, the legal mandate specifying the establishment and maintenance of "a thorough and efficient educational system," and the national norm of local school control, the concepts of race, community, social power, conflict, authority, bureaucracy, voluntary association, and social control have been applied consistently

to provide insight and understanding of race and the changing structure of community relations. Stated simply, yet in all its complexity, the problem studied was that of social power: for the Black community, how to secure control of and then effectively manage community power; for the white community, how to deal with the loss of community power. Only the former was within the direct boundaries of this study.

The Findings

1. Between 1958 and 1971 the educational institution of Newark operated in an environmental context favoring rapid and drastic change. Sources of this strain toward change originated at the local, the state, and the national levels. In a word, the fundamental structure of governance of the Newark schools was under almost continuous attack during this period. Black citizens were the leading edge of this attack.
2. Between 1958 and 1971 litigation challenging the powers and the authority of the Newark Board of Education was commonplace. This mode of inducing change was a favorite weapon of the Black community during the early phase of this period, but it declined in favor during the latter part of the time period. This decline in favor in all likelihood was due to the combined effect of three factors: time required for the settlement

of legal disputes, the costly nature of litigation, and a despair of equity and relief from a legal system inherently predisposed toward the maintenance of social order and systemic equilibrium.

3. Demographically, the population of Newark became predominantly Black and Spanish-speaking after 1960. All evidence indicates that the size of the Black and Spanish-speaking majority of the Newark population will persist, and even increase, within the immediate future. Associated with this change in the racial structure of the city are changes directly and indirectly linked with participation in educational policy determination; for example, the ecological structure of the community, characteristics of the work force, the family system, and the stratification system.
4. Beginning with a profound sense of discontent and grievance, based in part upon the common experience of racial oppression, exploitation, and hostility as expressed through a crucial series of critical events, the Blacks of Newark created adaptively an action-capable community. This mobilized community unified around the educational institution or identified it as the most likely target for inducing change in their group predicament, and thereby reciprocally reinforced the creation and viability of an associational form of community

organizational structure.

5. Heterogeneity rather than homogeneity is the major characteristic of the associational structure of the Newark Black community. Participation in the educational institution by voluntary associations of the Black community is intermittent, sporadic, and heavily dependent upon forces and processes external to the local community. Consistency of participation is found largely in only one slice of the associational structure of the Black community; that featuring a coherent ideology of revolutionary Black nationalism.
6. Despite determined and sophisticated opposition or resistance, significant change took place in the pattern of Black participation in the organizational structure of Newark's educational institution between 1958 and 1971. Most conspicuous were the changes in the composition of the Board of Education, the administrative echelon of the techno-structure, and utilization of professional personnel. The opposition or resistance emanated most clearly from, and was maintained most persistently by, the cadre of professional educational administrators occupying offices of leadership, executive responsibility, and privilege within the educational institution.
7. The institutional character of policy determination and

decision-making by the Board of Education remained fairly fixed over the period of study. Measures of the substantive nature of formal actions, decisional output, the forms of taking action, and the essential quality of the deliberations of the Board of Education demonstrate this absence of substantial change. There are some indications of a possible shift from a consensus body to a body of cleavage or one that exhibited less cohesiveness in the passage of time from 1958 to 1971.

8. There is found little change in the basic features of structural dependency of the Board of Education as it confronted or attempted to respond to demands for change emerging from the Black community. At least two levels of structural dependency are identified. First, the Board of Education is vulnerable to the political subsystem by way of the mechanisms of mayoral appointment and city council fiscal control. Second, the members of the Board of Education as lay-people are dependent upon the technical knowledge, reputation, organizational skill, and availability of time possessed by the professional educational administrators. The central role of these educational leaders, aided and abetted by the traditional professional educational organizations or associations, in blocking change in

the educational institution begs for serious study. Some evidence suggests that these structural characteristics operated functionally to facilitate favorable response to the demands for change made by the Black community.

9. Formal and informal processes of cooptation were favorite responses used by the educational institution, during the period of study, to respond to the pressures for change generated by the Black community.
10. Some directional shift is observed in the strategy of the Black community toward coping with the traditional racist practices and policies of the educational institution between 1958 and 1971. This change apparently involves a modification of tactical emphasis. Instead of approaching decision-making or policy determination input by way of the Board of Education and the legal institution reliance is put upon access to and influencing the mayor's office, the city council, and the Board of Education.
11. From 1958 to 1971 the pattern of use of the public meetings of the Board of Education by the Black community as an instrument for participation in Newark's educational institution changed substantially. During the earlier phase of this study period, public meetings of the Board of Education were found to tend toward

assuming the trappings of formal social settings where with due ritual, ceremony, and institutionalized deceit those affairs of the community directly or indirectly touching education were managed quietly by the representatives of the white community. Black participation was near or at the zero point: an occasional Black individual attended silently in what was described most graphically as a semiobserver role; the stilted presentation of an arranged-beforehand request or statement alleged to represent the concerns of the Black community; or public exhibition as the Black "token" member of the Board of Education exhausts the extent of Black participatory roles. By 1970 the fabric of the entire social setting of public meetings had become transformed. Considered as a prototype of the public forum found in representative and participatory democratic theory the public meetings of the Board of Education were dominated in all essential aspects by the Black community.

12. This domination of the public meetings of the Board of Education by the Black community carried with it a distinctly different form of procedure, style or routinized structure, and process even though the outcomes may not have been altered significantly. In other words, the fundamental social order of these

occasions had been radically altered. The norms of parliamentary and essentially white personal formality, status distinction, privilege, secrecy, and bureaucratic ritual appear to have been superseded by imperatives of suspicion, challenge, expressiveness, and a deadly serious concern with schools educating children and serving functionally the other needs of the resident community as had been the customary practice in the recent past. Great reliance was placed by Black participants upon the political device of intentionally breaking the ground rules usually observed at public meetings for the double purpose of self-expression and to convey contempt.

13. Two major uses were made of the public meetings of the Board of Education by the participation of the Black community. First, these meetings were used strategically in the sense of being means by which the educational institution could be compelled to operate more responsibly to the immediate needs of the Black community. Thus, the meetings became vehicles for getting the positions of the Black community on controversial issues covered by the mass media. Having limited and problematical access to the major channel of communications, and no other means of accurate and rapid transmission of information, the Black community almost

without exception was at a disadvantage in any communal dispute. Atrocious and outrageous conduct in a public setting insured, at the least, that their positions had a chance of entering the public domain. The second way in which participation by the Black community was used at the public meetings was for the enhancement of solidarity or unity. This process took, in its general character, the substance of a revitalization or social movement. In its particular expression many forms were assumed. For those aspiring to leadership roles in the affairs of the Black community participation at public meetings became a rite de passage. Voluntary associations competed for community recognition and influence by participating in these public affairs. Community coalitions and alliances were tested, and then brought into serious play as needed. The associational structure of the Black community was, in part, a device to cope with the immediate opportunities offered by these public meetings and, at the same time became a way, by a trial and error process, of acquiring a higher perfection of their organizational effectiveness. Subtle and not-so-subtle resocialization to their duty as Board of Education members, Black and white, was a constant tactical objective pursued through participation in public meetings. The

evidence at hand, at the least, strongly suggests that the Black and white communities of Newark defined and behaved differently toward public meetings of the Board of Education.

14. Finally, field studies of sociological problems under at least two sets of situations today will find especially appropriate the use of types of investigative approaches such as conflict methodology, involved participation, grounded theory, ethnomethodology, and social interactionism. The two sets of situational contexts are (1) when problems of race relations are selected for study, and (2) when the development and implementation of social policy is of paramount importance.

Implications

Research in education has found nothing that consistently and unambiguously makes a difference in learner outcomes. In part this may be due to the fact that scholarly inquiry in virtually every area of research in education suffers from severe problems of methodology. The findings and interpretations of this study should be received in light of these considerations. The limitations of essentially a sociological case study, featuring an inductive, applied, and discovery-oriented approach demands prudence and caution in the treatment of findings.

Replication of this macroresearch study, with the application of a comparative design, merits serious consideration. The questions more cogently raised at the completion of a research undertaking, and those emerging for the first time, will be answered more fully through replicative and comparative study.

Throughout, social change has been found taking place, simultaneously, in the educational institution, in the social organization of the Black community, and in the general or total Newark community. The precise articulation of adaptive change among these interdependent social entities has not been shown. It has been demonstrated clearly, however, that the change taking place in each is essential and indispensable for understanding the change taking place in the other. The structure of community relations, in other words, provides the environmental context that limits and facilitates certain kinds of actions in Boards of Education, their committees, and in the professional roles of educational administrators. Thus, the analysis and resolution of social problems in Newark requires an analytical grasp of the intrinsic complexity of the interdependency of these structural systems. Educational policy development and program implementation based upon simplism rather than upon reflective wonder and the imaginative confrontation of social complexity would be almost predictably tragic in their consequences.

The prominence of race as a central factor throughout the chronicle of community change in Newark between 1958 and 1971 is established firmly. The exact role of this factor in the major streams of change is unknown. Yet to interpret any social phenomena in Newark during the period of this study without attempting to isolate the play of race is unthinkable. Thus, any social problem approached in the Newark of today, or in the immediate future, inevitably must consider openly a racial perspective in terms of goals, means, and payoffs.

The issue of race as played out in the cauldron of social change in Newark may be viewed abstractly as a problem of social power. Massive reorganization of the Black community through new values or ideologies of radical nationalism, through the adaptive design of an associational structure of social organization, and by way of mass movements is interpreted as attempts to develop countervailing power permitting the attainment of the goal of control and management of community power. The responses of the white community, on the other hand, are interpreted similarly as attempts to develop countervailing power permitting the control of a process of losing power.

One consequence to the greater Newark community of this period of massive social change has been the democratization of the entire structure and process of participation

in public policy-making. In short, such an outcome benefits the white as well as the Black communities of Newark. While undergoing an intense socialization process of decolonization the Black community acquired and built up a reserve of theory, skills, and techniques requisite for more effective participation in the public affairs of a metropolitan community. They have passed through a process of demystification of participation in public affairs. Its members must now learn how to practice the arts of defense against and those of coping with the external and largely fortuitous events that impinge upon their lives. The problems associated with control of the local educational institution cannot be coped with merely by minding only the complexity of the local scene.

Clear understanding of the primary function of the Board of Education, functioning as a public policy-making body responsible for the educational fates of children, must be obtained. To a large extent the single most overriding mission of the Board of Education, as a component of the educational institution, is to sanction or legitimize decisions, policies, and actions arrived at in advance, and in camera, by those making up the educational and governmental "establishments." Recognition must also be given to the fact that there exist powerful alternative sources to the Board of Education that are capable of exercising, singly or in combination, profound influence on educational policy.

Finally, community conflict generated by participation in public educational policy-making is, on the whole, beneficial to the goal of progress toward the liberation of the Black community. Even though there is evidence which suggests that educational decision-making is largely a product of political, economic, and other non-educative forces, the safety provided by creative participation in the public arena is essential for the structuring and mobilization of the Black community toward attainment of its unique survival needs.

It is possible to offer a lengthier set of comments upon the implications of the above findings. All such comments ultimately would have to do with the cumulation of handicaps which uniquely seem to afflict Black Americans of all racial and ethnic groups. It is imperative for urban communities, and the nation, that some solution be reached for the general finding that the Black community tends increasingly to view with disillusionment and despair the ability of the existing system of justice to prevent racial injustice and to insure a quality of virtue in urban communal life. Similar, what are the consequences for the urban community in general, and the Black community in particular, of the process involving Black replacement of whites in the governance of the educational institution? Such questions demand the serious thought and deliberate

actions of those concerned with social policy and with social problems.

In conclusion, this work as reported herein is submitted as provisional. We believe that its assumptions and procedures are sufficiently explicit to enable those with continuing interests in the interrelations of race, educational change, and community relations to reconstruct and extend it. Finally, we trust that relief will be obtained for all from the recurring problems of racial injustice.

APPENDIX I: METHODOLOGY

Background of the Study

This study was conducted by a team effort rather than by way of a solo investigation. From the fall of 1970 to the end of the summer of 1972 the research team worked primarily in Newark. The auspices under which the team operated was that of Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey. Administrative details of the study were managed generally from the New Brunswick campus, while the field activities were mainly carried out from the Newark campus. Several of the team members resided in the Newark community.

The study was initiated by the principal investigator from within a social science research unit of Rutgers University--the Urban Studies Center, called in its final two years the Center for Urban Social Science Research. This contextual setting from which the research problem emerged is not unimportant for appreciating the goals and objectives of the study. That is, our deliberately chosen study target of the educational system of the largest metropolitan community in the state, our emphasis upon Black-white relations and upon applied as well as basic social science payoff, and the inherently sociological orientation toward the conceptualized problem are all manifestations in part of the

benign influence of this particular situational context.

Before the proposal was funded the principal investigator had left Rutgers University on academic leave for a professional assignment with the New Jersey Department of Education. The funding of the study was awarded several months prior to his return from leave. A request for a three-month delay of the grant was made and granted, and during this period other members of the research team were recruited. Criteria used in their recruitment were determined by the anticipated approach to the research problem and from knowledge of and/or acquaintance with the Newark community. That is, the intended use of a mixed theoretical and applied, inductive strategy with emphasis deliberately placed upon involvement with the dynamic revitalization process of the Newark Black community were considerations of paramount importance in deciding upon the members of the research team. Individuals who were rigidly committed to some one theoretical or methodological approach, and were uninterested in the dynamics of change in the structure of Black-white relations in Newark or were paralyzed by fear with the thought of entering the City of Newark clearly would not be wise choices for membership on the research team. All non-student members of the team were social scientists, with most sociologists, at various levels of their professional careers. The team was

interracial, and included women as well as men. Their research experience was varied. Some dissonance was experienced in securing researchers for the team due to the relatively short time available; and, more importantly, to the fact that the social science research unit of Rutgers University, out of which the principal investigator initially conceptualized the study, was passing through the terminal stages of dissolution.

During the staff orientation and the physical settling-in of the research team, which was the first phase of the study, two key processes were begun. The first involved introducing the research team into the general Newark community, but more pointedly into the worlds of the Newark educational establishment and the Black community. We began immediately to take copious field notes and to discuss analytically our "involved participation" within these slices of the Newark community. The second process begun was internal; it involved arriving at a common conceptualization of the research problem, and the construction of a research design and an analysis plan for studying it. Instruments were constructed and tested. Consultants were used by the staff at this time for these research processes and, additionally, a consultant was utilized to familiarize members of the team with the general details of project management. Orientation toward the research project

was provided, during this phase of the study, to various units of Rutgers University and to the chief administrators of the State Department of Education.

The second phase of the research consisted essentially of data production or collection. Official school records, community newspapers, census materials, legal and statutory codes, and other mainly secondary sources of information were mined. Systematic observation was begun of the public meetings of the Board of Education and the Board of School Estimate. This activity was conducted during the entire year of 1971. During some part of the year several members of the research team were permitted to attend, as observers, nonpublic meetings of the Board of Education. Continuous personal interviewing was carried out with members of the Black community and the educational establishment as a part of our involvement and participation with them on immediate issues of education and the schools within the community. A mail questionnaire study was conducted of all supervising school principals in the Newark school system.

The third phase of the research was primarily a move of gradual detachment by the members of the research team from the roles of involved participation in the ferment of the educational and community worlds. Complete detachment was not intended nor did it occur. The transactional

ties between some members of the research team, school officials, and individuals in the Black community could not so easily be broken, even if desired, for particular purposes of this phase of the study. The withdrawal permitted the primary attention of the research team to be devoted to the organization, analysis, and interpretation of the collected data and it had no discernible effect upon the quality of our research presence in the community.

The fourth and final phase of the study involved the preparation of a report, and the creation of plans to disseminate project findings so as to have an impact on the Black community's intervention in the educational institution of the Newark community.

Methodological Strategy: An Inductive Approach

What difference is made in constructing a methodological strategy, and in the final outcome of the research process, if the following values are held explicitly? First, that racism is an integral element of the Newark community; that it is central to the culture and the interests of the white superordinate group; and that its breakdown will only occur through a protracted process of social struggle and at least some substantial degree of restructuring of the institutional arrangements of the community. Second, that the traditionally held postulate of ethnical neutrality in the study of social

problems is of doubtful utility to social scientists under contemporary conditions of urban community life. Third, that social problems are best understood and solved if approached by an inductive, empathic, diagnostic and applied sociology. What constraints inherently follow the above choice? These were the central issues confronted in devising the research design and analysis plan for this study.

Basically, we were not primarily oriented to making only contributions to the improvement of the quality of social data or systematizing methodological ideas or knowledge. Rather, we anticipated discovery; and we were committed fundamentally to using any relevant sources of information and any available techniques or methods to help understand and possibly contribute to the resolution of a complicated social problem of urban community life. We used what people reported about themselves and the events in which they participated, and we involved ourselves--most frequently in advisory and consultative roles--with the people in the events. We recognized and accepted the progressive reciprocal effect between heuristic theory and field research in which research data and research objectives are successively reanalyzed and refocused as new findings in the actual conduct of field research prompt the overhaul of parts of the research design and analysis plan.

Our overriding concern involved the strain between what can be termed the demands of academic sociological research and those demands arising out of the felt need to be of practical utility in an immediate or direct context. Briefly, this problem tended to be resolved, in general, with deliberate decisions to concentrate upon what we judged to be important community issues rather than upon conventional academic issues of largely disciplinary (sociological) concern.

Induction was the basic ingredient of our methodological strategy. This approach was selected instead of a deductive model because of the nature of the social phenomena to be studied, and because of the fundamental applied goals and objectives of the project. Induction, as a method, has one principal drawback which we were aware of from the start--namely that any set of conclusions or hypotheses derived inductively can be fraught with ex post facto error (Gans, 1962). That is, there exists a compelling tendency to select out those ideas, hypotheses, etc. that appear logical on the basis of the data at hand to the neglect of alternative uncollected data. One effective guard against this type of error is vigilance. If this problem can be successfully controlled then inductive studies offer more than the traditional deductive model simply because they open up the parameters of social research--deductive models

are usually limited in their scope, especially when treading in new forests. On the negative side inductive studies are costly and time-consuming and can easily lead the research in many directions at once; hence, offering a minimum of order and a maximum of interest. In short, we chose the path of a combined or mixed theoretical and applied approach, an alternative between the extreme of pure deduction and pure induction.

The period from 1958 to 1972 was chosen for study for general reasons. First, it included the tenure of three mayors of Newark (one mayor served almost the entire decade of the 1960's). In addition, a sufficient length of time was required in order that "effects" or "differences" in racial intervention in educational policy determination might manifest themselves. By going back into 1958-59 one picks up the end of the first mayor's administration and four years of relatively quiet municipal activity which can be regarded as antecedents and contrasts for the turbulent decade of the sixties.

Attempting to establish what is in essence a longitudinal study, after the fact, creates a series of problems. What data exist, where are they, and more importantly how is their quality to be assessed? We first examined the possibility of relying exclusively on informants and interviews with the participants of the fourteen-year social

drama. Such a dramaturgical approach recommends itself because of its ease of preparation--in short, this approach boils down to asking "stimulating" questions, recording interviews, and providing an exceptionally good editing job. However relying solely upon this approach was rejected because, first of all, it lacks rigor and allows only relatively weak generalizations. Secondly, stored in the memories of the participants, aside from their firsthand knowledge, are their prejudices and biases. Even if the direction of the biases were known (and hence presumably controllable) the time span of 14 years would most certainly bias even the best of memories. Finally we did not wish to become anyone's press agent nor the vehicle for the punishment of political enemies which this type of approach can lend itself.

We next examined, in the traditional way, books and articles about the Newark community and the situations obtaining in the metropolis. We found this corpus of knowledge to be exceptionally "thin." Newark, for all its notoriety and publicity of one sort or another, has seldom been systematically studied. This situation was bad enough but becomes compounded when one is interested in a subsystem of the Newark community. A search of the New York Times Index and the Guide to Periodical Literature yielded between 40 and 50 references over the time period, all of them of scant account.

The remaining substantial body of information which covered the time span and could be considered reasonably complete and systematically recorded was the official minutes of the public meetings of the Boards of Education.

Content Analysis and Public Records

We accepted these official minutes as evidence at face value, recognizing, however, that some variations in recording could occur. Customarily two techniques are used to record official public Board of Education meetings. One clerk takes down by hand a running account of the meeting. This account forms a body of rough notes. A modern tape recording system, with one technician to operate it, records the meetings en toto. From these two sources of information, and the possibility of supplementing them with newspaper accounts, the Board of Education's secretary constructs the official minutes. These are usually from several months to two years behind any one current meeting due, no doubt, to their length and to the practice of contracting for outside printing and binding services. In our attempt to determine what confidence could be placed in these official minutes as evidence, the recording tapes, but not the rough notes, were made available to the research team.

The critical importance of these official minutes as evidence is recognized. In attempting to learn precisely

what reliance could be placed on them we secured the recording tapes for comparison against the printed official records. Diligent comparison was made by year. Variations and omissions occurred. In only two instances, however, were we able to conclude that the official minutes were unreliable or were uncorrectable. The first instance occurred at three meetings immediately before and during the Black rebellion of 1967. The official minutes were incomplete and the tapes were garbled so as to be incomprehensible. This same pattern happened at the second instance during a confrontation between the Board of Education and a Black professional earlier in the 1960 decade. During those portions of the 1970-71 and 1971-72 school years when the meetings of the Board of Education were being systematically observed the opportunity was at hand to compare our perception of what went on with the version contained in the official minutes. These official minutes did not, during this period, vary significantly from our observations. We concluded that the official minutes of the Boards of Education meetings, as corrected in small detail when necessary by comparison with the recorded tapes and the newspapers, were more than adequate documentary sources of data for our purposes.

A series of data collecting instruments were constructed to measure various dimensions of Black participation

in the educational decision-making system from the approach of input into the decision-making process through public meetings of the Board of Education.*

- FORM A: A recording of all the "motions" acted upon by the Boards of Education.
- FORM B: Social and personal characteristics of all members of the Boards of Education.
- FORM C: A recording of every speaker in the public meetings of the Boards of Education. The issues raised by the speakers, and the speakers' organizational affiliation were also recorded.
- FORM D: A form for the systematic observation of selected aspects of the public meetings of the 1970-71 and the 1971-72 Boards of Education focusing on the speakers.
- FORM E: A mail questionnaire used to survey all school principals in the system.
- FORM F: A form for the systematic observation of selected aspects of the public meetings of the 1970-71 and 1971-72 Boards of Education, concentrating on participation by Board of Education members.

Forms A, B, and C

The classically used principles of content analysis research were used in the construction and application of FORMS A, B, and C. FORM A was designed to gather four key sets of data about the behavior of the Boards of Education.

*See Appendix II for copies of all data collection instruments.

These were (a) the specific topical issue under consideration for action; (b) the nature of the action taken by the Board of Education; (c) the individual behavior of the members of the Boards of Education on each specific issue; and (d) major category of issues acted upon by bureaucratic function. Instructions were prepared and definitions formulated enabling coders to enter the official minutes for each meeting of the Boards of Education and abstract the desired information upon the form. Close team organization, as well as periodic checking, was used to minimize errors of interpretation and omission. The data were reduced by coding, key punched, verified, and prepared for computer analysis.

The social and personal characteristics of all members of the Boards of Education were recorded on FORM B. These informations were derived from personal interviews, newspaper articles, and community informants or consultants. Data from FORM B were not prepared for analysis by computer. Since only a small number of persons served on the Boards of Education during the time period under study, hand tabulation and organization was possible.

FORM C was designed to gather information about the nature of the transactional behavior between members of the Newark community and the Boards of Education as played out during public meetings. The primary sets of data desired

were: the identity and organizational affiliation of persons authorized to communicate with the Board of Education; the nature of the issue addressed to the Board of Education; the position taken on the specific issue by the person; the response of the Board of Education; the presence or absence of a racial theme either in the presentation or the response; and selected personal characteristics of each speaker. The collected data were organized and summarized similarly to the procedure described for FORM A.

FORMS A and C exhibit an identical matrix featuring the classification of issues acted upon and presented to the Boards of Education by category of issue and bureaucratic function. The conceptualization and application of this matrix presented a persistent problem during the data collection phase of the study. One dimension of the problem was the fact that we were attempting to force a priori a construct upon a body of phenomena. Definition and interpretation by coders became increasingly difficult and problematic. Plans to analyze across the two FORMS on this common matrix were eventually abandoned. In coping with this situation for several areas of analysis the set of procedural functions making up one axis of the matrix were dropped. In such instances a return was then made into the official minutes of the Boards of Education for the purpose of increasing the descriptive validity of the categories of specific issues.

Forms D, E, and F

Public Board of Education meetings serve as a major link between the formal structural apparatus of the Newark educational system and the various involved publics. These meetings are a main vehicle by which these publics can openly participate in the educational arena and instigate programs and debate ideas concerning the proper management and functioning of the educational system.

As discussed above, this research project selected Board of Education meetings for intensive study both historically, in terms of analyses of official minutes, as well as cross-sectionally, in terms of the observation of all public meetings during the single year, January to December, 1971.

To accomplish this latter task structured observation formats were developed. The function of these formats was to record the behavior of three features of public meetings: the speakers, the audience, and the Board of Education members. Observations of the speakers and the audience were recorded on FORM D, while observations of the board was accomplished through FORM F. Since these formats were developed in conjunction with each other, both will be discussed in this section.

Structured observation of any ongoing social situation is a complex and difficult task (Selltiz, Jahoda,

Deutsch, and Cook, 1964). In general one can be concerned with two basic features of a situation: the structure of the situation, including such things as the number of participants, their spatial arrangement, the order in which they are involved, and the number of interactions; and/or one can concern himself with the content of the interaction: what is being discussed, whether the interaction is essentially friendly or hostile, etc. (Bales, 1950). Generally it is easier, but by no means easy, to obtain reliable and valid measurements of items falling into the former than the latter category. This is due in part to the fact that it is easier to count the occurrence of events than it is to evaluate an event and categorize it into one of several mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories. In this study we employed measures of both the structure of the interaction in these public meetings, as well as observations on the context of the interaction. Our purpose in recording these social situations was not to exhaustively record the ebb and flow of all events. Rather, we selected certain features of the interaction, and even within these areas, did not exhaustively record all behavior. Rather, we attempted to select those features of the interaction that would provide comment on and insight into the structure and function of public Board of Education meetings. In particular we were interested in examining the process of changing

racial participation in educational decision-making with regard to speakers, the audience, and the Board of Education.

The concept of participation is complex and can be defined in several ways. For our purposes we focused largely on the manner in which, and the frequency with which, speakers, the audience, and individual Board of Education members participated in public meetings. To some degree existing Board of Education procedural rules impose considerable structure on public meetings, and force participation to follow a rather well prescribed interaction ritual (Goffman, 1967). Generally, public meetings are divided into two major sections: the business section and the speakers' section. The business section constitutes the first half of the meeting. During this section there is little or no audience participation, and the board's behavior is limited largely to the presentation of old and new business, voting on issues, and perhaps presentation of some discussion. The speakers' section, on the other hand, is devoted to presentations by individuals who have received permission to address the Board of Education. Gaining permission to address the Board of Education is largely pro forma (Newark Board of Education: Rules and Procedures, Section 103:4). Speakers are relatively free to address themselves to any issue for which the Board of Education has legitimate

concern. Formally, speakers are limited to 10-minute presentations, and are subject to revocation of speaking privileges if they speak to an issue not of concern to the board, or if they abuse the board or any board member in their presentation (Rules and Procedures: Section 103:4). Because of our interest in Board of Education meetings as an arena of interaction between the body and its publics we focused singly on the speakers' section in our structured observations of the entire meeting in extensive notes taken by observers.

Speakers are permitted to appear before the Board of Education in the order in which they make requests prior to public meetings. Thus, the order of presentation, as well as the length of speakers' presentations, are largely constants and shed little light on the function of these public meetings.

Our interest in speakers at Board of Education meetings developed into six large areas: standard socioeconomic characteristics, including race, sex, approximate age, self-identification, known identification, issues presented, manner in which issues are presented, number of issues presented, and finally to whom their presentation was addressed. By those observations we attempted to map the focus and concern of the public making appearances before the Board of Education, the issues that involved them, as well as how they presented these issues

and concerns.

These interests in the public speakers developed out of a rather long process of piloting several draft observation formats, employing them, discussing problems, and revising. In the early stages of format preparation several observers would initiate a new format, note problems in recording information, suggest revisions, and assist in the development of a refined instrument. In general, this process took us from concern with specific activities of speakers to recording more of the interactional aspects of their participation.

Reliability is a problem in an instrument of this kind (Selltiz, et al., 1964). Two procedures were used to develop reliability of recording procedures. The first procedure consisted of the development of observer reliability through sustained use of pilot instruments in a training period of approximately four months. Comparisons of coding results by observers were made and discussed to check and correct problem areas. Second, in using FORM D to code ongoing speakers' activity in public meetings, two coders were employed. Each coder would observe and code the activity of four consecutive speakers. Both coders would then code the fifth speaker's activities, and while the first coder rested, the second would then code the next four, with a reliability check on the subsequent fifth speaker

again. Via this procedure, two coders were able to code the entire presentations of all speakers in any given meeting, and to systematically check on their reliability by examining their joint coded events and discussing differences. The coders were instructed to pursue these procedures throughout the entire observational period.

To prepare the data for computer processing the observational format was coded into pre-established categories. An exhaustive list was compiled of speakers, their organizational identification, and the issues they raised. In the case of the latter information, the data were categorized into an earlier discussed general issue area typology, composed of nine divisions: race, finance, construction, personnel, physical plant, curriculum, clerical ritual, operation of school system, and committee inputs.

Systematic observation was made of all regularly scheduled public board meetings during the period of January to December, 1971. A problem which occurred in the employment of this instrument was an almost continuous turnover of personnel employed as observers. While one observer remained rather continuously on the task throughout the observational period, the second observer was frequently different. This, of course, raises problems concerning the reliability of some observations. It is impossible to interpret the exact impact of this turnover on reliability.

Because of the concern of possible nonreliability in the recording of information on FORM D, a reliability check was made of these observations internal to this format prior to data processing. This consisted of comparing the observations of the various observers on their built-in reliability checks. Via this process it was established that several of the variables were too unreliable for use. These were essentially variables which called for estimates of the degree and type of audience participation. Accordingly, this information was not included in the data analysis. An additional reliability check was instituted between FORM D and FORM F, which records somewhat similar information. In addition checks have been made between FORM D results and extensive field notes. These data have been matched, errors corrected where possible, and in general clarified prior to analysis and interpretation. A careful reliability check of observations on FORM D with those on FORM F, in terms of specific appearances by specific speakers at each meeting, revealed a sizeable undercount on FORM D for two meetings. A check of field notes and records for these two meetings indicated that at one meeting, a "special" regular meeting held because of a riot during the regularly scheduled meeting, there was again a near riot, with police involvement. This obstructed full employment of FORM D and explains this

specific undercount. The second undercount resulted when a coder with little experience was employed for FORM D. The regular coders were absent due to vacations. An examination of field notes taken by other observers during these meetings indicated that since the speaker representation at these meetings was similar to representation at most public meetings, the undercount probably does not significantly affect the reliability or validity of our observations in general. To make the data on FORMS D and F totally comparable we have matched specific speakers, and excluded observations where there is no comparability between forms. By and large observations were excluded due to the above discussed undercounts on FORM D.

A separate format, FORM F, was developed to record the behavior of specific Board of Education members during public meetings. The process involved in the development of this instrument was the same as that involved in the development and design of FORM D. There was an extensive piloting stage, with continuous refinement of several versions of the instrument. In addition, two observers were employed to record this information. As before, these observers alternated their observations, with reliability checks scheduled for every fifth observation. Also, as before, systematic observations were taken only during the speakers' section of the public meetings.

Since the focus of our interest on public meetings was on the interactional features, we selected for observation not all behaviors of Board of Education members, but those specifically involved in interaction with speakers and the audience. As is the case with speakers' participation, there are constraints on the behavior that Board of Education members may exhibit in public meetings. We were particularly interested in responses made to speakers, who responded, and how they responded.

Since FORM F information was recorded by the same two observers throughout the entire observation period, with a reliability check instituted on every fifth observation, there was less concern with the reliability of observations on FORM F than on FORM D. In addition, the reliability checks between FORMS D and F discussed above served to insure the representativeness and hence the usefulness of FORM F data.

The data analyses from FORMS D and F have been concerned with the form and structure of interaction as gathered through the structured observational formats, and have combined information about the content and nature of social interaction in public meetings from a consideration of extensive field notes taken by additional observers. The joint utilization of rigorous, formally structured observations, and less structured field notes served to

increase our confidence in the validity of this particular phase of the data collection work.

In addition to the structured observation of public meetings of the Board of Education described above two other decision-making settings or situations were subject and object to our scrutiny. These were the Board of School Estimate meetings and, for a portion of the year of cross-sectional study, the agenda or conference meetings of the Board of Education.

The Board of School Estimate is composed of an equal number of representatives (3) from the Board of Education and the City Council. Each body designates its own representatives. The Board of School Estimate is chaired by the mayor, and its secretary is the secretary to the Board of Education. Its public meetings are unscheduled, and its manifest function for educational decision-making is that of a fiscal appropriation body for the Board of Education. All meetings of this board were observed unsystematically during the year of structured observation of the Board of Education. Extensive notes were taken of these meetings which were of considerable value in gaining more precise knowledge of the web of constraints impinging upon the Newark Board of Education in implementing legitimate educational policy.

Private or nonpublic meetings are a way of life of

7

the Newark Board of Education. Initial attempts to attend these meetings made at the beginning of the structured observation of the public meetings of the Board of Education, and indeed at the onset of the research project itself, were futile. Several of the "new" Board of Education members, in particular, objected to researchers from Rutgers University having such an opportunity. At the organization of the 1971-72 Board of Education, however, permission was granted to the project director to attend all agenda meetings. Subsequently other members of the research team were allowed to attend at least one such meeting. Rigorous study of such meetings was commonly denied by use of the device of the executive session. During any agenda meeting, for instance, any member of the Board of Education could demand of the president that the meeting be turned into an executive session. All but members of the Board are thereby excluded from the deliberations. Extensive notes were taken of those meetings attended, and they are of value likewise in providing a clearer perception of the reality of educational policy determination in Newark.

In our main approach to racial participation in educational decision-making the central arena of action or entry point was defined as the public meetings of the Boards of Education. Obviously other modes of participating in educational decision-making are available. To gain some

exploratory understanding of these other optional means the decision was made to contact all supervising school principals in the Newark public school district. Four bodies of information were to be collected: social and personal characteristics of these principals; patterns of influence utilized by them with the central administration to effect educational decision-making; patterns of influence utilized by them with local community organizations and leaders to influence the educational decision-making process; and their opinions concerning the responsiveness of the central administration of the educational system to diverse sources of educational input.

Permission to survey the school principals required the consent of the local administrators association and, unexpectedly to us, that of the school superintendent. Cooperation was not assured unless items relating to both sets of information concerning patterns of influence were removed from the instrument. The revised instrument, therefore, collected data primarily about the characteristics of the principals and about their opinions concerning aspects of the central administration and decision-making. Response of the principals to the questionnaire, after two mailings and one telephone inquiry, was approximately 50 per cent. These data were used solely as background and supportive materials, where needed, throughout the report.

Involved Participation

Involved participation (Clark, 1965:xvi-xviii) is the technique we used to gain systematic knowledge and insightful understanding of changes in the sources and structures of action by the Black community toward the educational institution. Supplementary as well as complementary evidence was gathered to support and give added meaning to the evidence collected from official records, newspapers, and other largely secondary sources of information. Interviews, formal and informal, were carried on continuously with present and past members of the Boards of Education, school administrators, and community, governmental and political figures. We consistently concerned ourselves with how these participants perceived and defined events in the ongoing educational situation, the determinants and conditions surrounding these issues and events, and the meanings placed upon the outcomes for the transformation or changing status of the Black community.

Deliberate involvement by some members of the research team with officials of the central administration of the educational institution and some agencies of municipal government in ad hoc committee and staff groups, and as consultative advisors permitted systematic observation of the flow of some aspects of decision-making within both the educational bureaucracy and some units of the local government. Of

chief concern in this approach was the nature of the changing relations between the educational institution and other systemic elements of local governance, and the changing nature of the decision-making process of the educational institution in light of the continuous attempts of the Black community to participate within the boundaries of the formal goals of a contemporary urban educational institution.

Evidence secured by way of involved participation within the educational institution was scrutinized carefully, when possible, against information obtained through the newspapers, internal documents and correspondences of administrators and officials, and organizational records. Such scrutiny provided safeguards to our colleagues within the educational and governmental systems as well as permitted more insightful interpretation of our data. The main systematic counter check for the weakness of involved participation was the continuous process of testing observations, insights, and tentative conclusions against all other members of the research team.

A canvass was made of state and federal court decisions, excluding tort litigation, involving the Boards of Education during the period of this study. All decisions of the Commissioner of Education and the State Board of Education rendered between 1958 and 1971 were examined as they involved the Newark school system. Chief concerns of

this analysis were (1) the existence of racial implication, (2) the presence of trends with respect to the breadth or narrowness of construction of the legal principles involved, and (3) the community groups or leaders responsible for initiating legal action to bring about or prevent social change.

Decennial census tract data from 1940 through 1970 are used to describe the major patterns of changing racial composition of the Newark population, and to place the demographic dynamics of Newark's population into situational perspective with the adaptive responses of the educational institution to the demands of the Black community.

The program used to organize efficiently the quantitative data produced was Statistical Package For The Social Sciences (Nie, 1970). In condensing, describing, and searching for meaningful patterns of relationships among the sets of elements found in our data we proceeded--as in most types of social science research--on the principles of both rationality and intuition. That is, our plan of analysis made paramount the goal of correct comprehension and perceptive interpretation of the available evidence. The statistical data were processed by the Rutgers University computer center on the IBM OS/360 system via the Newark remote facility.

Summary

In retrospect, the commonly heard "we could have used more time" and "collected different information" applies to us as well. A project that did not experience this situation would not be worth the effort. Gearing up for major operations invariably produces all manner of side alleys to pursue and generates a momentum analogous to a tidal wave. Ultimately there must be a cutoff point. The momentum thus generated and abruptly ended always appears as wasted effort. Left in our data bank is a large and voluminous amount of information which should not go untended.

In brief, a mixed theoretical and applied, historical and cross-sectional study is undertaken using induction as its major design feature. Several tools and techniques are blended judiciously to collect and analyze quantitative and qualitative data. These include content analysis; structured and unstructured observation; the personal interview; involved participation; demographic analysis; historical analyses of local and state laws, statutes, and court and administrative decisions; and the mail questionnaire survey.

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APPENDIX II: DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

Data Form Series A

Summary Form: Board of Education Minutes

Minutes for _____ Code _____
 which was a regular _____, Summarized by _____
 special _____ meeting. Date _____
 Checked by _____

1. Specific Issue: _____

2. Text: (Page # _____) _____

3a. Discussion: Yes _____ No _____ 3b. Separate Vote: Yes _____
 No _____

4. Decision: Passed _____ Voted down _____ Other _____

5. Magnitude of the Vote: N.A. _____ For _____ Against _____
 Abstaining _____

6. List the participants by name. Circle the initiators
 of the motion.

For _____

Against _____

Abstaining _____

If the answers to questions 3a and 3b are BOTH yes, then
 continue to question 7. Otherwise, stop.

7.

Page # _____	Hse Kpg.	Procedural	Subs. Merits
1. Race	01	02	03
2. Finance	04	05	06
3. Construct.	07	08	09
4. Personnel	10	11	12
5. Physical Plant	13	14	15
6. Curriculum	16	17	18
7. Clerical Ritual	19	20	21
8. Operation of School System	22	23	24

Data Form Series B
Universal Form for Recording SES

Code B # _____ Summarizer _____ Date _____ Checked by _____

1. Name _____ 2. Age _____

3. Address _____

4. Occupation _____

4a. Job or position title _____

4b. Employing unit _____

4c. Employer's address _____

5. Education GS _____ HS _____ PC _____ C _____ G _____

6. Degrees held _____

7. Discipline _____

8. Race, Ethnic Identification _____

8a. Religion _____

9. # of Children _____ 10. # of School Age Children _____

11. Associational Roles _____

12. Political Affiliations _____

13. Appointed by: Carlin _____ Addonizio _____ Gibson _____

13a. Date _____

13b. Date of Appointment from 19 _____ to 19 _____

14. On whose recommendation? _____

Source _____

15. Constituencies represented _____

16. Post Board Status _____

17. Educational, Racial Philosophies _____

18. Additional Information _____

19. Remarks _____

Data Form Series C

Summary Form: Board of Education Minutes: Community

Minutes for the _____
meeting which was a regular
_____, special _____
meeting.

Code # C _____
Summarized by _____
Date _____
Checked by _____

1. Communicator and/or speaker _____

2. Organizational Affiliation _____ N.A. _____
3. Table Form Written _____ Verbal _____

Page # _____ Hse. Kpg. _____ Proced. _____ Sub. Mer. _____

1. Race			
2. Finance			
3. Construction			
4. Personnel			
5. Phy. Plant			
6. Curriculum			
7. Cler. Ritual			
Oper. of			
8. Sch. Sys.			

Specific Issue _____

4a. Supportive _____ Non Supportive _____ of Board N.A. _____

b. Status quo _____ Change _____ Critical _____ N.A. _____

5. Racial Overtones Yes _____ No _____

Comment _____

6. Board Response

Specific Issue _____

A. Total Board

1. No recorded response _____

2. Filed _____

3. Referred to committee _____

4. Referred to individual _____

5. Granted _____ So ordered _____

6. Motion passed _____ Defeated _____ Other _____

7. Creation of a committee _____

8. Other (specify) _____

B. Functionary Verbal Response

Name _____ Position _____

Committee _____

1. Affirmative-time indefinite _____

2. Affirmative-time definite _____

3. Negative-time indefinite _____

4. Negative-time definite _____

5. Does not respond to issue _____

7. Board's Response

Racial Overtones Yes _____ No _____

Comment _____

NOTE: Questions three through seven repeat for each
issue raised by the speaker.

8. Race of speaker Black _____ White _____ N.A. _____

9. Sex of the speaker Female _____ Male _____ D.K. _____

10. Card number 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____

Data Form Series D
 Speaker/Audience Format

Coder _____ Date _____

1. Speaker's Name _____

Sex _____ Race _____ Age _____

2. Self-Identification _____

Known Identification _____

3. Speaker addresses Board in general _____

Other (specify) _____

4. Presentation is prepared _____ spontaneous _____

5. General comments _____

6. Issues

Content	Speaker Orientation			
	Pro	Con	Mixed	N.D.
(a) General				
(b) Specific				

Data Form Series E

Background Information

A. What is your profession?

Administrator _____ Educator _____ Journalist _____

Businessman _____ PTA Leader _____ Elected _____

Public Official _____ Appointed Public Official _____

B. How many years have you practiced your profession in Newark? _____

C. Altogether, how many years have you practiced your profession? _____

D. What is your race? _____

E. Do you live outside New Jersey? _____ Near the city of Newark? _____ Inside the city of Newark? _____

F. How long have you lived at your present address? _____

1. In your opinion, has there been substantive change in the quality of education in Newark in the past five years?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't Know _____ No Opinion _____

2. In general, are the lines of communication "open" in the Newark school system?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't Know _____ No Opinion _____

3. Has the Board of Education's orientation towards education changed over the past five years?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't Know _____ No Opinion _____

4. Should there be an improvement in communications between educators like yourself and elected officials?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't Know _____ No Opinion _____

5. If the answer to number four is "yes", then what improvements would you like to see made? _____

6. Should there be an improvement in communications between educators like yourself and appointed officials such as Board of Education members?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't Know _____ No Opinion _____

7. Should there be an improvement in communications between educators and the Superintendent of School's office?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't Know _____ No Opinion _____

8. In general, do community action groups make the job of an educator like yourself:

Easier _____ No Different _____ Harder _____

9. In general, do teachers' unions make the job of an educator:

Easier _____ No Different _____ Harder _____

10. In general, do parent groups such as the PTA, etc. make the job of an educator:

Easier _____ No Different _____ Harder _____

11. On the whole, do you think the quality of education in Newark has improved since 1960?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't Know _____ No Opinion _____

12. On the average, can an educator like yourself achieve results by dealing with the Board of Education in a public meeting of the Board?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't Know _____ No Opinion _____

13. In general, is the Board of Education responsive to the needs of educators in Newark?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't Know _____ No Opinion _____

14. In your opinion, have racial issues been involved in the acquisition of school property in Newark?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't Know _____ No Opinion _____

15. In your opinion, has the general issue of "Professional Qualifications" involved racial issues in the Newark school system?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't Know _____ No Opinion _____

We would appreciate your help in building a historical understanding of significant educational issues that have occurred in Newark since 1960. Thus, we would like you to list the five most significant educational issues that occurred in Newark from 1960 to 1970. Please list as many significant participants in these issues as you can remember.

IssueParticipants

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

We are interested in how educators view educational decision-making in Newark. In general, we feel that educators have a well articulated "working model" of policy-making, i.e., such things as where and by whom policy questions are initiated, how decisions are made, tactics employed, etc. Below are listed several such simplified models which are given here by way of suggestions of what we are looking for. After reading a few of them, we would appreciate it if you would duplicate our method and notational system and give us your views of the "system" in response to the enactment of two hypothetical educational related decisions. If both issues would be resolved in the same manner, then one model will suffice.

Policy initiated by:

1. Citizen---City Councilman---Mayor---Board of Education---Superintendent---Principal
2. Principal---Superintendent---Board of Education---Superintendent---Principal
3. Board of Education---Community Meeting---Board of Education makes decision---
Superintendent---Principal
4. Citizen---Public meeting of the Board---Superintendent---Principal
5. Community Leader---Private contact with Board Member---Public meeting of the
Board of Education---Superintendent---Principal
6. Mayor---Board of Education---Superintendent---Teachers' Union---Principal
7. Union---Board of Education Member---Public meeting of the Board---Superintendent---
Principal
8. H.E.W.---Board of Education---Superintendent---Principal

Your views:

I. A decision to eliminate the Principal's examination is made:

II. A decision by the school Board to acquire a stadium for use in school
athletics:

Thank you very much for your time and consideration. If you have any comments about this questionnaire, we would appreciate it if you would feel free to give us your thoughts on the back of this page.

Data Form Series F--Board Format

1. Speaker's Name _____ Coder _____

2. Issues: a. General _____ Date _____

b. Specific _____

Initiator	Reactor												
	Cervase	Fulli- love	Petti	Church- man	Jacob	Malanga	Zambrana	Krim	Bell	Ashby	Titus	Hess	Other
Cervase													
Fullilove													
Petti													
Churchman													
Jacob													
Malanga													
Zambrana													
Krim													
Bell													
Ashby													
Titus													
Hess													
Other													

Key TT-Talks to;WT-Walks to;PN-Passes Note to;CA-Calls Attention to;WO-Walks out;W-Writing;R-Reading;
X-Continuous Attention



3. Board Response:

Name	Content	Mode	
	Issue _____	_____ Assertive	_____ Antagonistic
		_____ Neutral	_____ Neutral
		_____ Acquiescent	_____ Supportive
	Issue _____	_____ Assertive	_____ Antagonistic
		_____ Neutral	_____ Neutral
		_____ Acquiescent	_____ Supportive
	Issue _____	_____ Assertive	_____ Antagonistic
		_____ Neutral	_____ Neutral
		_____ Acquiescent	_____ Supportive
	Issue _____	_____ Assertive	_____ Antagonistic
		_____ Neutral	_____ Neutral
		_____ Acquiescent	_____ Supportive

Variable List Form A

1. Type of meeting
2. A complete coded listing of all motions raised (and voted upon) by the Board.
3. The text of all motions raised (and voted upon) by the Board; however, this list is not coded (see #4).
4. A threefold description of tactics employed (and/or implied) in the motion.
5. An eightfold description of the subject of the motion raised (and voted upon) by the Board.
6. A 24-cell matrix, two dimension property space, of motion and tactic.
7. Indication of whether or not discussion preceded the motion in the public meeting.
8. Indication of whether or not a separate vote was taken (data locator).
9. The decision reached by voting for all motions.
10. The magnitude of the vote for all motions.
11. The number of absentions, positive and negative votes.
12. The complete voting record for every Board member.
13. The sum of any variable across the years.

The above data can be described statistically, chronologically, historically, or temporally by the following independent variables:

- A. fiscal year (school year)
- B. calendar year
- C. specific time-anchored meetings, e.g.,
organizational
- D. by month of the year
- E. by tenure of the Mayor (n=3)
- F. by tenure of the Board (n=11)
- G. by any standard sampling design: random
or non-random

The following variables can be considered as independent variables for limited purposes:

- H.
- I. type of meeting
- J. type of issue
- K. organization associated with motion as
linked by specific issue code

Cross tables:

1. control for type of meeting
2. frequency of issue raised in formal motions
3. frequency of issue raised in formal motions
described A, E, and F
4. issue/separate vote/A, E, and F

Variable List Form C

1. Name of all individuals who contact the Board by writing.
2. Name of all individuals who speak before the Board.
3. Name of all organizations represented before the Board: written.
4. Name of all organizations represented before the Board: verbal.
5. An eightfold typology of all issues raised in written form.
6. An eightfold typology of all issues raised in verbal form.
7. A threefold description of tactics employed in the written mode.
8. A threefold description of tactics employed in the verbal mode.
9. A 24-cell matrix description of tactics/issues: written.
10. A 24-cell matrix description of tactics/issues: verbal.
11. A twofold description of the type of meeting.
12. The disposition of all written issues by the Board.
13. The disposition of all verbal issues by the Board.
14. The names of Board functionaries who respond to written issues.
15. The committee assignments of all Board functionaries who respond to written issues.
16. The names of all Board functionaries who respond to verbal issues.
17. The committee assignments of all Board functionaries who respond to verbal issues.
18. The tactical nature of the response by the Board: written.
19. The tactical nature of the response by the Board: verbal.

20. Sex of speaker.
21. Sex of writer.
22. Frequency count of each issue raised.
23. Sum of any coded variable, for example: Section 6A Board Response. There are eight variables that can be summed across the years rather than by variables A,E,F, etc.

See below.

Another way of saying this is that parameters are available for all data excepting those of the three year sample (for which, of course, sample parameters are available).

24. A complete coded listing of all issues raised before the Board. This is registered by a four digit code number which is unique to each issue, thus allowing of historical tracing.
25. A subject assignment of the consequences of the issue raised, (three years only).
26. Race of the speaker (three years only).
27. A subjective interpretation of the speakers orientation relative to the Board's position on the matter (three years only).
28. Race of writer (possible, but not likely to be present).
29. Frequency count of issues containing "racial overtones", subjectively constructed; limited to three year sample.

The above data can be described statistically, historically, chronologically, or temporally by the following independent variables:

- A. fiscal year
- B. calendar year
- C. specific time-anchored meetings, e.g.,
organizational
- D. by month of the year
- E. by tenure of the Mayor (n=3)
- F. by tenure of the Board (n=11)
- G. by any standard sampling design: random
or non-random.

The following variables can be considered as independent variables for limited purposes:

- H. sex
- I. type of meeting
- J. race (subject to availability)

All information for variables 1-29, excluding 27, 29, 25, and 26 are available for the ten-year period 1960-1970, i.e., July 1, 1960 through June 30, 1970.

Actually data may be retrieved back to 1958 and forward through approximately September 1971 if need be.

Cross tabulations

Thousands of cross tabulations are theoretically possible given even the limited number of variables that we have, however, all possible cross tabulations would certainly not make sense. Thus, I am listing here, no where near exhaustively either, some cross tabulations that I believe to be of interest to the staff and hence important.

50. A control for type of meeting.
51. Frequency (f) of organizational "appearances" before the Board described by variables A, E, and F.
52. f of all written issues raised described by variables A, E, F.
53. f of all verbal issues raised described by variables A, E, F.
54. Description of 24-cell matrix by variable A.
55. Selection of key specific issues; broken out on variable A.
56. f of "appearances" or "mentions" of key community individuals from total compilation.
57. Sociometric matrix constructed from differences between writers and speakers.
58. f of variables 12-19 by variable A.
59. sex/year/issue/tactic/ response, or any combination thereof.
60. issue/organization
61. organization/issue/action

62. race/year/issue/tactic/response, or any combination thereof.
63. official action taken by the Board/nature of action by the Board.

Variable List

Series D (Speaker/Audience Format)

1. Date and year of meeting (Chronological ordering across data collection year).
2. Speaker sequence number (Ordering within specific meetings).
3. Names of all individuals who make an appearance before the Board of Education from January, 1971 to January, 1972.
4. Sex of Speaker
5. Race-Ethnic Identification of speaker (A fourfold classification scheme).
6. Age of speaker (A fourfold classification scheme).
7. Speaker self-identification (A classification scheme will be developed from the raw data).
8. Speaker known identification (Again, a classification scheme will be developed from the raw data).
9. Speaker's mode of address to the Board (A twofold category scheme, indicating if the speaker is addressing entire Board or select members).
10. Speaker presentation preparation (Written, spontaneous, mixed).
11. General comments (An open-ended category recording special aspects of a given meeting that might be worth noting, e.g., a riot developed, etc., classification scheme being developed).
12. Specific issue (an eightfold issue typology).
13. Speaker position on issue (Pro, Con, Mixed, N.A.)
14. Speaker mode of presentation: power orientation to board (assertive, neutral, acquiescent).

15. Speaker's orientation of presentation: supportive orientation to board (Antagonistic, neutral, supportive).
16. Audience orientation to specific issue: supportive orientation and per cent responding (supportive, neutral, antagonistic).
17. Audience preparation (spontaneous, prepared-organized).
18. General comments on audience participation (An open-ended category noting anything special about the audience participation, e.g., sets fire to building).
19. Speaker's final response: position on Board's response (approval, neutral, rejection).
20. Audience's final response: orientation to Board's response (approval, neutral, rejection).

These twenty variables constitute the primary variables on Series D (Speaker/Audience Format). Much can be done with this data, including numerous cross classifications. This data is particularly rich in studying modes of participation, e.g., organizational, and the response of the board and specific board members to various modes of audience participation. It will be possible to construct some indices with this data, but they will be of a very limited type. Without exception, the variables recorded on this format are either simple nominal, or at best interval in nature. Accordingly, construction of indices is limited and the modes of analysis are restricted.

Variable List Series E

1. Classification of respondent's occupation (A threefold category which includes educator, educator-administrator, and others).
2. Number of years that respondent has practiced profession in Newark.
3. Total number of years that respondent has practiced profession.
4. Race of respondent.
5. Residence of respondent relative to Newark (in, near, or outside of city).
6. Length of time that respondent has resided at current address.
7. A series of 15 opinion questions concerning:
 - a. changes in the quality of education in Newark
 - b. "open lines" of communication in the Newark school system
 - c. changes in the Board of Education's orientation toward education
 - d. improvements in communication between respondent and elected officials, appointed officials, and the Superintendent's office.
 - e. the difficulty of the educator's job as affected by community action groups, teachers' unions, and parent groups.
 - f. power of the educator to achieve results by dealing with the Board of Education in a public meeting.
 - g. responsiveness of the Board to the educator's needs.
 - h. presence of racial issues in the acquisition of school property and professional qualifications.

In addition to the specific variables mentioned,

Data Series E also included two open-ended exercises for

the respondent to complete. These were designed to aid the researchers in an exploratory manner by providing a who's who and what's what in educational decision-making. First, the respondent was asked to list the five most significant community-wide educational issues that occurred over the past ten years and the participants in these issues. Next, they were asked to imitate the researcher's example and give a working model of educational decision-making from their vantage point. Finally, the respondent was invited to give any additional remarks that he might have.

Variable List

Series F (Board Format)

1. Date and year of meeting
2. Speaker sequence number (ordering within specific meeting).
3. Names of all individuals who make an appearance before the Board of Education January 1971 to January 1972.
4. Specific Issue (an eightfold typology developed for use with Series C).
5. Board of Education and functionaries informal mode of participation (attention of all Board members during presentation by specific speaker: continuous, sporadic, absent).
6. Board of Education and functionaries formal verbal participation, mode of response--power orientation (assertive, neutral, acquiescent).
7. Board of Education and functionaries formal verbal participation, mode of response--supportive orientation (antagonistic, neutral, supportive).

These are the primary variables recorded on Series F Board Format. Variables three through seven can be cross classified to see if there are systematic modes of board participation on specific issues of specific topics. The data can also be used simply to estimate the amount of time devoted in public meetings to various types of issues. Other such modes of analysis are possible. I do not think there is much room in this data for index formation, with the exception of variables 6 and 7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Introduction

This bibliography was compiled for the primary purpose of serving as a research aid in carrying out the sociological study of racial participation in educational decision-making in Newark. It was our belief that the bibliography would be useful as a tool for local community activists and organizers and to the social researcher concerned with the systematic study of race relations, social change in urban communities, and educational problems.

The literature on urban community life, race relations, and the educational institution are massive in quantity. We were compelled to be selective. Items are included in the compilation only when clear relevance for our study is demonstrated.

Within sections and by categories the items are entered following the format suggested by the official journal of the American Sociological Association. The sorting of the books, articles and other entries into category and section is made on the basis of usefulness for the research process of the study. Cross-classification or duplication of entries is avoided.

Inclusiveness, it should be stressed, was not an

objective of the bibliography. Usefulness to the conduct of the research study was the overriding criteria for item inclusion.

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