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## ABSTRACT

Because of its own concern about the effectiveness of public education in New Brunswick and in response to a similar concern expressed by different community groups, the New Brunswick Board of Education engaged the Institute of Field Studies of Teachers College, Columbia University to study its educational system and directed it to examine the following educational areas: (1) The general nature and quality of education in New Brunswick's public schools. (2) The educational process and its effectiveness in meeting the educational objectives as defined by the school system and its communities. (3) The effectiveness of current innovative and experimental efforts in raising the quality of student life and achievement. (4) The appropriateness of existing educational programs as they relate to the specific needs of black and Puerto Rican students. (5) The educational development of ethnic minorities within the New Brunswick school system. (6) Human relations within the schools and the educational environment. (7) Changes in the school system that may provide a basis from which the educational needs of Black and Puerto Rican students can be more effectively met. There were several methodological aspects of the study. All of them had some relationship to either data collection, instrumentation, sample selection, or data treatment and presentation. (Author/JM)

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THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS  
AND  
OUTCOMES IN AN URBAN SETTING

A Study of the Public Schools in  
New Brunswick, New Jersey

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New York, New York

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## PREFACE

One of the major problems of current American society is its lack of consensus on the purposes of public education. Most, if not all, statements of public education aims are limited in definition and fail to reflect the broad range of educational expectations held by many and varied interests which place heavy and different responsibilities upon the public schools. The inability of American society, particularly in recent years, to develop and operationalize a set of educational goals and objectives--goals which are conflict-free and speak to the expectations and aspirations of an extreme diversity among public school participants--has often made educational goal-setting for universal acceptance in the public school arena a seemingly impossible task.

Educational aims of public schools have been formulated by educators, citizen committees, legislatures, courts, special interest groups, and a host of others who have been concerned with public schooling--in spite of these efforts, a common understanding of why public schools exist has not emerged. It may well be the variance factor among those concerned about public education that has served to impede the development of a generally accepted definition of public school purposes. This circumstance, to some extent, has caused various school systems to move in different directions.

This study does not give particular attention to the broad aims of public education nor does it attempt to construct a case for the need to develop a common and widely acceptable set of educational goals. A limited discussion of these issues was appropriate, nonetheless, if we are to understand that educational goals should be viewed alongside educational expectations, which come into focus with as much variance as do educational aims themselves. What this clearly suggests is that the findings of an evaluative study of public education processes and outcomes will probably have different meanings for those who have different expectations of public school experiences.

The commonly accepted notion that "school is everybody's business" has somehow pressed many public school systems into assuming certain postures or establishing a great variety of different programs and activities which serve the ends of different individuals and groups. The difference oftentimes represents a separation in the educational goals and expectations of the various school publics to which the school system may or may not choose to respond. Consequently, the judgements that are made about the effectiveness of public schools or the appropriateness of their programs tend to represent particular value sets and are based upon the extent to which schools have responded to idiosyncratic needs or have met the goals and expectations which are perceived as being particularly appropriate by one or more of the many school publics.

The school system, as a social and public agency, has several publics which not only include young people and their parents, but others such as professional groups, employers, labor unions, governmental agencies at all levels, civic

organizations, business enterprises, and religious institutions. Included also are different racial and ethnic groups, social and economic classes, and people or organizations of opposing or similar political persuasions. All of these may have some common expectations of the public schools, but each will tend to have a particular set of expectations which is compatible with its special interests. It is the special interests of various publics that invariably cause public school systems to be confronted with a variety of special demands which are often translated or transformed into public goals.

In our assessment of educational effectiveness in public schools, we usually associate success, or the lack of it, with student learning and the process by which it can be achieved. School systems, however, in responding to special interest demands are frequently involved in school functions and resultant outcomes which scarcely relate to learning. Whether we accept the fact or not, the public school is a political institution which exists in a political and competitive arena. As it interacts with the various elements of its community, it either deliberately or inadvertently plays a political role. As a political entity, the public school finds itself in competition with other such agencies and each of them must compete for resources, status, and the power of influence. The degree of this competition will, of course, vary from one school district to another, but as each of them competes, they generally engage themselves in activities which provide outcomes not directly related to student education but which serve as measures of school system effectiveness.

In our study of the New Brunswick Public Schools, we have been conscious of some various publics with which the school system must interact. It has been clear to us that while there are some expectations that all school participants have in common, there are also some which speak to the special needs or concerns of particular individuals and groups. As we began to understand the nature of our studied population, we realized that our evaluation of the public schools might be interpreted and given significance in terms of how it related to different sets of goals and outcomes perceived as being appropriate by different components of the school system's constituency.

In evaluating the New Brunswick school system, we have tried to maintain an unbiased posture in our research design, data collection, data analyses, and suggestions for change. We have understood very clearly that the most accurate assessments are more likely to occur when findings result from an objective approach which is related to appropriate goals. Many of the standards of effectiveness used in this study were those established by the schools themselves and were reflected in the expected outcomes of programs and activities. Other standards were developed from a normative frame which was common to similar school districts and which, to some extent, evolved out of the research team's background, experience, and research-based expectations.

Many school districts, particularly those with a racially-mixed client group, are often reluctant to allow external agencies to make a long and critical evaluation

of their educational process or to focus on differential treatment of students along racial and cultural lines. The New Brunswick Board of Education, the Superintendent of Schools, and a number of other school participants are to be commended for being unafraid to open discussion on some of their general educational problems as well as some specific ones which stem from ethnic and social-class diversity.

Oscar D. Cotton

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## CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

New Brunswick, like many other American municipalities, is faced with a number of problems which have come to be generally associated with the changing character of today's central cities. Some of these problems have been related to changes in the ethnic and racial composition of urban districts and, still others, with the emergence of new and different role perceptions of city dwellers and more particularized expectations of the several social and economic groups which comprise city populations. The stress and concerns generated by these changing circumstances are nowhere more obvious than in the public schools where pressure is continuously exerted to have these institutions better serve the variety of needs and interests of their heterogeneous constituencies.

### Rationale for the Study

Understanding the requirements of its varied student clientele and wanting to know the extent to which they were being met, The New Brunswick Board of Education, the Superintendent of New Brunswick public schools, the Black Home and School Organization, and the New Brunswick Branch of the Urban League mutually agreed that it would be beneficial to conduct an evaluative study of the educational process in New Brunswick's public schools. They indicated that such a study should consider an assessment of the schools' responsiveness to the needs of the larger school

population, but needed to concentrate on the particular needs of black and Puerto Rican students.

Because of its own concern about the effectiveness of public education in New Brunswick and in response to a similar concern expressed by different community groups, the New Brunswick Board of Education engaged the Institute of Field Studies of Teachers College, Columbia University to study its educational system and directed it to examine the following educational areas:

1. The general nature and quality of education in New Brunswick's public schools
2. The educational process and its effectiveness in meeting the educational objectives as defined by the school system and its communities
3. The effectiveness of current innovative and experimental efforts in raising the quality of student life and achievement.
4. The appropriateness of existing educational programs as they relate to the specific needs of black and Puerto Rican students
5. The educational development of ethnic minorities within the New Brunswick school system
6. Human relations within the schools and the educational environment
7. Changes in the school system that may provide a basis from which the educational needs of black and Puerto Rican students can be more effectively met

The directive of the Board of Education was interpreted as a request to examine and provide recommendations for improving the educational process and outcomes, human relations in the schools, special educational programs, and parent attitudes and perceptions related to the schools. These areas of concern, of course, overlapped but each of them had a particular focus. Collectively, they seemed broad enough to

address all of the issues raised by the Board.

### Research Methodology

There were several methodological aspects of the study; some of them are explained in different sections of the report. All of them had some relationship to either data collection, instrumentation, sample selection, or data treatment and presentation.

#### Data Collection

A large part of the data was collected through the use of questionnaires. A separate and different questionnaire was administered to each of the participant groups: secondary school students, intermediate school students, elementary school teachers, intermediate and secondary school teachers, building principals, and parents:

A list of selected students in each of the secondary and intermediate schools was sent to the respective school principals along with information regarding the purpose and time of the survey. A request was made that sampled students be required to report to a designated "testing" room for the purpose of responding to the questionnaire. Arrangements for scheduling the student survey were left entirely up to the school administrators, but the task of administering the instrument was the responsibility of research team members. Questionnaires for the schools' professional staffs were given to an assistant Superintendent of Schools who assumed responsibility for distributing the instruments and collecting them when they were completed. New

Br nswick residents, who had been trained to administer questionnaires by the research team, were employed to survey selected parents. They scheduled appointments with the sampled households and were responsible for securing completed parent survey instruments.

Another part of the data was gathered through the employment of structured interviews with students and school professionals. Interview schedules were developed in preparation for this and school principals assumed responsibility for making the selected participants available for interviews.

Statistical data from school records were collected by school officials. An assistant superintendent coordinated these efforts and made internal assignments of responsibility to insure that the requested information was made available to the study group.

### The Data-Collecting Instruments

The questionnaire was the principal instrument used to collect information. It was designed to elicit respondents' attitudes and perceptions about the schools and to record some of their experiences in the educational system. The items of the questionnaires were, for the most part, selected so as to speak directly to the issues raised by both school professional and community members in New Brunswick. Each of the questions was examined for its validity and was modified or eliminated to serve the best interests of the study. To facilitate responses by Hispanic participants, the questionnaires were translated into Spanish.

The interview schedules were designed with a similarity to the questionnaires.

They did not contain as many items but provided for more in-depth responses. They were used partly to test the credence of information collected by the questionnaires but more so to address some relevant issues which might not have been adequately covered by any of the other survey instruments.

Several instruments were designed and employed to collect school-recorded information about students, school practices, and educational outcomes. The Student Confidential Form was used to get a report on students' achievement scores, attendance, discipline, and programs of study. Two different forms were used to get data on student exclusions, suspensions, dropouts, and withdrawals. Two other forms were utilized to secure a report of student participation in school activities, and a final one produced the racial distribution of students by subjects and levels of subject difficulty.

#### Sample Selection

All twelve of the building principals in the regular schools were included in the study. Each of them responded to the "School Administrator's Questionnaire." No other administrators or supervisors were included in the study unless they were viewed as part of the instructional staff and were included in the teachers' sample.

Questionnaires were given to all 453 teachers in the school district. Of these faculty members, 397 (85.4 percent) returned the survey instrument. Four of these returned questionnaires were unusable because of their total incompleteness. Most teachers did not respond to all of the questions since some of the questionnaire items were not uniformly applicable. In some instances, questions were left unanswered

for no apparent reason. The extent of unanswered questions is reflected in the data presentation where the frequency of responses varies from one issue to another. The thirty-eight teachers (approximately ten percent) who were interviewed were randomly selected from faculty groups during their "free" periods of the school day.

The sample of students was selected from a roster of students enrolled as of September, 1973, provided by the Central Office. Each student on the roster was assigned a four-digit number and the 17.3 percent sample was secured through a process of stratified randomization. (The initial sample of 15 percent was overdrawn by 5 percent to allow for absentees, withdrawals, and other such reasons. These reasons, however, only reduced the selections by 2.7 percent of the student population.) The number of students selected from each grade level was proportionate to grade-level representation in the total school enrollment. The first sampling of the high school included very few Hispanic students and served as a reminder of the relatively low number of Spanish-speaking youths who were in attendance (6.0 percent). To provide for more Hispanic representation, the sample was expanded to include 50 percent of the high school's Spanish-speaking students.

The fifteen percent sample of parents was randomly selected from the same roster used to make sample selections of students. The four-digit numbers assigned to students on the enrollment sheets were viewed as representing parents. When two or more numbers referred to the same household, only one was placed in the parent sample. Shortly after the survey got under way, the research team was advised against interviewing parents in Milltown or North Brunswick without first clearing with school officials in these two towns. This created some problems and it was decided not to interview these parents even though they had been included in the original sample drawing. As a result of this, the sample



size was reduced and made up of only 13.7 percent of New Brunswick households which had children in public schools.

#### Treatment and Presentation of the Data

Information about the respondents and their answers to questionnaire items were scored, coded, and keypunched on input cards. These cards were then submitted to the Teachers College Computer Center for data processing.

For the most part, data were analyzed and presented by involving two-variable cross tabulations with a small number of response categories. Comparative percentages were largely used as indicators of significant or substantial differences between respondent groups. Open-ended questions were factor analyzed and presented in summary form.

The nature of the students' achievement data permitted the utilization of the Chi Square statistical technique. This test was employed to determine the significance of differences between student racial groups' reading and mathematics performances below grade-level norms as opposed to performances at or above such norms.

In all of the data analyses, comparisons were made between racial groups. In cases where the number of Spanish-speaking students was large enough, the groups were identified as "white," "black," and "Hispanic." In instances where the Hispanic responses were too small in number to be meaningfully cross tabulated, they were combined with the responses of black students and the two racial groupings became "white" and "minority-group."

Sex designation, as a differentiating variable, was used in analyzing and presenting data related to dropouts, withdrawals, suspensions, exclusions, graduates, post-high



school education and employment, racial attitudes, and interracial behavior. The socio-economic status (SES) of students, as a categorizing characteristic, was used to compare student achievement, racial attitudes, and interracial behavior.

The socio-economic status of students was determined by the use of a modified occupational status scale which had been prepared by the Institute of Administrative Research at Teachers College. The scale was a nine-item measure based upon the occupation of household heads. Each student was assigned a rank from zero to eight, depending on the reported occupation of his or her parent who was considered to be the primary income producer for the family. Marginal tabulations and statistics were then provided by an initial computer run and the distribution was recorded into low, middle, and high score groupings. After observing that the distribution was reasonably normal with very little skewedness, the categories were determined as: low SES (one standard deviation below the mean--rank of zero through two), High SES (one standard deviation above the mean--rank of six through eight), and Middle SES (scores falling within one standard deviation above and below the mean--rank of three through six).

## CHAPTER II

### A PROFILE OF NEW BRUNSWICK, ITS SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL PARTICIPANTS

The process and outcomes of education in New Brunswick can be appreciated more fully if there is an understanding of the environment in which they occur. This appreciation can even be broadened when some description is presented which characterizes the primary participants who engage themselves in that wide range of activities called "public schooling."

#### The City of New Brunswick

New Brunswick, situated thirty miles southwest of New York City, is one of New Jersey's oldest cities. Located in Middlesex County, it is a compact and fully-developed municipality which covers an area of 5.6 square miles. The population of the city is approximately 42,000 with black residents representing about one-fourth of its composition. There is a sizable number of Spanish-speaking citizens, largely Puerto Rican, which has had considerable growth over the past decade and continues in this direction.

The City of New Brunswick has been characterized as a declining commercial and retail center in the midst of mushrooming suburban towns. In spite of this, it remains as the County Seat and the region's hub for educational, financial, governmental, and

professional activities. Although New Brunswick has been identified with rapid employment growth, notably in the service occupations, it suffers a high unemployment rate. Like many other cities in transition, it is faced with numerous problems which have come to be associated with changing compositions of the citizenry in terms of racial, ethnic, social, and economic groups.

New Brunswick provides a complete range of institutions, services, and facilities which not only serve its residents but also those in the relatively sparsely populated areas around it. Within its boundaries are major hospitals, the State University, and all types of civic, shopping, and social enterprises. New Brunswick's citizens are a large part of the labor force in the industrial organizations of the surrounding area outside the city. At the same time, New Brunswick provides employment for a large number of people who reside outside of its city limits.

#### The Schools and Their Enrollments

The public school system of New Brunswick, for the school year of 1973-1974, had an enrollment of 6,345 students attending 15 learning centers. There were eight elementary schools (k-4), one intermediate school (5-6), one junior high school (7-8), one regular high school (9-12), one alternative high school (9-12), one special school for the socially and emotionally maladjusted, one school for pregnant teen-age mothers, and one demonstration day care learning center. Of the students in attendance, about one-third of them were from families that were receiving public assistance (Aid to Dependent Children).

Of the 4,459 pupils who were not attending the high school, 58.1 percent were black, 22.8 percent were white, 18.9 percent were Hispanic, and less than one-half of one percent were classified as "others." New Brunswick High School had an enrollment of 1,886 students. Of that number, 615 (32.6 percent) were black, 1,157 (61.3 percent) were white, and 113 (6.0 percent) were Hispanic. The difference between the high school's racial ratios and those of the other schools was caused by the large number of white students from North Brunswick and Milltown who entered New Brunswick schools for the first time at the high school level.

For many years, North Brunswick with its 95 percent white student population had been sending its tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grade students to New Brunswick High School in accordance with a contractual sending-receiving relationship with the New Brunswick Board of Education. Milltown, with its 100 percent white enrollment, had a similar relationship and also sent its high school youngsters (grades 9 through 12) to New Brunswick High School. The student enrollment by grades is shown in Table 2.1, where some of the impact of students coming from North Brunswick and Milltown is evidenced. When Milltown students entered the high school at grade nine and North Brunswick students enrolled at grade ten, the percentage of minority-group students, as compared to white students, was substantially reduced. Because of dropouts, transfers, and withdrawals, black students were only about 20 percent of the senior class and Spanish-speaking students were only about three percent.

At the time of the study, the high school was on double sessions due to overcrowded conditions. Students in grades nine and ten attended the afternoon classes while students in grades eleven and twelve were in attendance during the morning sessions.

Table 2.1

The Racial Distribution of Students in  
New Brunswick Schools  
(in percentages)

School	Racial Group				Total
	White	Black	Hispanic	Other	
NBHS	61.3	32.6	6.0	0.1	(n=1,886)
Gibbons	33.3	64.8	1.8	0.0	(n= 54)
Redshaw	41.5	40.4	17.2	0.9	(n= 674)
Roosevelt	17.5	67.2	14.7	0.6	(n= 862)
Family L. C.	0.0	80.0	20.0	0.0	(n= 65)
New Street	11.1	83.3	5.6	0.0	(n= 54)
Bayard	2.9	52.9	44.2	0.0	(n= 208)
Lincoln	48.1	34.9	17.1	0.0	(n= 385)
Livingston	16.5	54.6	28.2	0.8	(n= 504)
Lord Sterling	3.1	86.1	10.4	0.4	(n= 425)
McKinley	7.3	84.9	7.8	0.0	(n= 179)
Nathan Hale	6.6	76.9	16.0	0.4	(n= 455)
Washington	25.8	38.9	34.8	0.6	(n= 345)
Wilson	70.5	20.8	8.7	0.0	(n= 183)
Day Care L. C.	0.0	78.7	19.7	1.6	(n= 66)
Total	34.0	50.5	15.1	0.4	(N=6,345)

### The School Principals

There were fourteen building principals in the New Brunswick school system-- one at each of the learning centers with the exception of the Family Learning Center, which was headed by a director. Nine of them were white, five of them were black, and none were Hispanic or members of other racial groups. All of the building principals held a Masters degree with ten of them having completed graduate work beyond this degree.

Thirteen of the principals had ten or more years of experience in public education and one of them had between seven and nine years of such experience. Nine of the principals had been in the New Brunswick school system for ten or more years. Two principals had been there from seven to nine years while the other three had been in the system for a period of one or two years.

Four building principals had ten or more years experience as an administrator. One had eight years of this kind of experience. Four had been in administrative positions between four and six years while two had been in administration between three and four years. Three of the building principals were in either their first or second year of administration. All of the principals except one had five or more years of professional experience in racially-integrated schools.

The average age of the building principals was 44 years. Only one principal was older than 60, while one was younger than thirty. Of the fourteen principals, five were women and nine were men. Most of them were relatively new in their current positions since six principals were experiencing the first year in their current administrative role and three were in their second year. Only four of the building principals

had been in their present position for five years or more.

### The Teaching Staff

There were 453 teachers in the New Brunswick public schools. Of these, 72.4 percent were white, 22.5 percent were black, 3.5 percent were Spanish-speaking, and the remaining 1.6 percent were members of a racial group other than one of these three. This racial distribution is seen in Table 2.2.

At a time when the Masters Degree tends to signify adequate formal preparation for public school teaching, 69.3 percent of the teaching staff in the New Brunswick schools held only a Bachelors degree. Nearly one-half of the faculty members in the various schools (49.6 percent) had not completed fifteen credits beyond the initial college degree.

The teachers in New Brunswick schools were relatively young. About one-half of them were between the ages of 20 and 30 with the other half being evenly distributed in five-year incremental groupings which went as far as sixty years of age. Only two teachers in the district were reported to be over sixty.

The average number of years in teaching for the instructional staff was 9.4 with a 7.1 median. The average number of years that teachers had provided instruction in New Brunswick schools was 7.1 with a 4.4 median. The average number of years that teachers had taught in a racially-integrated school was 4.9 with a 5.9 median.

Most teachers (81.5 percent) did not reside in New Brunswick and commuted daily to handle an approximate student load of eighty which was divided into an average of four classes with an enrollment of about twenty students in each of them.

Table 2.2

The Racial Distribution of Teachers in  
New Brunswick Schools\*  
(in percentages)

School	Racial Group				Total
	White	Black	Hispanic	Other	
NBHS	76.0	17.0	3.0	4.0	100 (n = 153)
Gibbons	80.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	100 (n = 5)
Redshaw	72.6	24.2	3.2	0.0	100 (n = 62)
Roosevelt	78.0	16.0	6.0	0.0	100 (n = 58)
Wilson	90.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	100 (n = 11)
Washington	70.0	11.8	18.2	0.0	100 (n = 17)
Nathan Hale	69.0	31.0	0.0	0.0	100 (n = 26)
Mckinley	66.7	33.3	0.0	0.0	100 (n = 9)
Lord Sterling	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	100 (n = 22)
Livingston	85.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	100 (n = 34)
Lincoln	99.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	100 (n = 23)
Bayard	56.0	22.0	22.0	0.0	100 (n = 18)
New Street	77.7	22.3	0.0	0.0	100 (n = 9)
Family L.C.	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100 (n = 2)
Demonstration Day Care L.C.	50.0	25.0	0.0	25.0	100 (n = 4)
Total	72.4	22.5	3.5	1.6	100 (N=453)



## CHAPTER III

### THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

The educational process of public schools is infinitely complex. To define it in simplistic terms, one might say that it is the sum total of learning situations, activities, and interactions that exist in the schools' environments. Any definition of the term, however, must rest on the fundamental assumption that the educational process represents the major determinants of educational outcomes. The educational process, in a broad sense, addresses the procedural "how" of learning and education or the way in which schools conduct themselves as they move toward educational ends.

The educational process is extremely broad in scope and includes countless activities and practices which generate considerable concern. In the conduct of this study, the press of time and limited resources restricted the extent to which the total educational process of New Brunswick schools could be examined. Given this restriction and within the context of educational process, attention was focused on: the placement and assignment of students to classes and programs; participation patterns of students in extra-curricular activities; the general area of curriculum; interaction patterns of students and the professional staff; student discipline and some of its consequences; and school supports for student and teacher

performance. These areas of focus, for the purposes of the report, were collectively defined as the educational process. They, of course, overlapped and could not be explicitly differentiated--since addressing one aspect of the educational process invariably required speaking to another.

The Placement and Participation of Students  
in Classes, Programs, and Activities

Nothing speaks more convincingly about the equality of educational opportunity and the process of socialization in racially integrated schools than the manner by which students are assigned and placed, whether voluntarily or otherwise, in classes and programs and how they are involved in school activities. The extent to which students of different social and ethnic backgrounds interact with each other in a school setting is, by a large measure, a function of programmatic efforts which either systematically or accidentally bring students together or keep them apart.<sup>1</sup> How students are placed in programs and classes and the degree by which they are represented in school activities often reflect the views held by school professionals toward different client groups and, sometimes, gives support to or helps develop stereotyped attitudes that school participants have about themselves and others along racial, ethnic, and socio-economic lines.

When one is concerned with the process of education in public schools and

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1. Oscar D. Cotton, "The Status of Desegregation: A Report on Selected School Districts," A paper presented at The Conference on Urban and Minority Education, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey, June 24-26, 1974.

tries to understand what happens to different students as they proceed through the various learning experiences, he might begin by examining the practices and procedures of students' class and program assignments and the resultant distribution of students both in the several disciplines and in the offerings within those disciplines. In attempting to evaluate the New Brunswick schools, one of the methodologies employed made use of this approach.

According to the reports of school principals and most teachers in the New Brunswick public schools, there was no system-wide nor uniform policy or practice of ability grouping. When teachers and administrators were asked to indicate the extent to which students were grouped by ability, the most frequent response was, "We do not separate students by ability levels." In one elementary school, however, it was reported that pupils were ability grouped, but only in fourth-grade reading. In another lower-level school, the principal suggested that: "All pupils are heterogeneously grouped except for reading. There is, nonetheless, movement from one group to another which is based on achievement and progress." The most alarming comment was registered rather emphatically by one school official who stated that, "Ability groups are firmly set at the seventh and eighth grades and after that, one rarely moves from one group to another."

In the lower-level grades, particularly in the primary ones, there was some evidence that pupils were differentiated in terms of reading competency. For the most part, however, pupils at this level were in self-contained classrooms and reading level designations, whatever meanings they might have, did not seem to greatly influence pupils' attitudes about their peers nor impede their interactions with each other.

At the secondary school level where there seemed to be no "official" policy against ability grouping, but where it was admitted that students were assigned to or "selected" English, Mathematics, and Social Studies classes on the basis of their competence in reading, the impact of ability designations was quite different. It is at the secondary level, then, that the evaluation of program and class assignments was focused.

### The Assignment of Students to Classes and Subject Areas

Using one of the forms designed specifically for the study, school officials ranked each subject offering of the school in terms of subject level difficulty. The levels of difficulty ranged from 1 (lowest difficulty) to 4 (highest difficulty). On this same form, they recorded the number of students, by race, who were enrolled in each of the courses. The following discussion draws data reported on those forms.

Since English and Mathematics are probably the most important disciplines in the program of studies, these were examined rather closely. Table 3.1 represents part of the general findings in these two areas. An examination of this table reveals that the ratio of white students to non-white students in the high school is 2:1 (two whites to each non-white) and it shows the varying ratios of whites to minorities in classes, by level of difficulty, in both Mathematics and English. If the students in each level were selected randomly from the total school population, the ratio of whites to non-whites would be similar to the 2:1 ratio for the overall student population. The ratios in each of the levels are, however, significantly different from the overall school population. In the English levels, only black students are used to represent minorities.

If the Hispanic students were included, it would have distorted the data since many of them are enrolled in "English as a Second Language" which was not included in the regular list of reported English courses.

Table 3.1

Ratio of Whites to Minorities in Each  
of Four Levels of Difficulty  
in Math and English Classes

Level of Difficulty*	Classes		Black/White Ratio in Total School
	English	Math	
4	7:1	14:1	2:1
3	3:1	4:1	
2	1:2	1:2	
1	1:2	1:8	

\*Levels of difficulty are in descending order, 4 is most difficult and 1 is least difficult.

The data reported in Table 3.1 demonstrate that an impropportionate number of minority students are in the lower levels. A complete analysis of the data which generated Table 3.1 revealed that most of the English classes offered to students are in the upper two levels (3 and 4) of the four-level system. Twenty percent of these courses are offered in the two lower levels, but they have an enrollment representing 46 percent of the minority students. Eighty-five percent of white students taking English are in the upper level classes.

The student enrollment pattern in English is similar to that in Mathematics where a comparable set of racial ratios was found in each level of difficulty. Sixty-six percent of all Mathematics courses offered are upper-level courses and seventy-six percent of all white students enrolled in Math are taking these upper-level classes. On the other hand, only twenty-eight percent of minority students enrolled in mathematics are in the higher levels. The remaining 72 percent of the minority students registered in Math are exposed to only 33 percent of the math courses offered and all of these have low levels of difficulty.

The racial imbalance in classes does not end with English and Mathematics. The pattern exists in every subject area and reaches the point, at times, where there are all-white and all-minority group classes. As the level of difficulty in classes increases, so does the ratio of white students to minority-group students. Conversely, as the level of difficulty is lowered, the ratio of minority-group students to whites is raised. This is partly reflected in Table 3.2 which lists classes of various difficulty levels and their enrollments by students' race.

Table 3.2

Racial Distribution of Students  
in Selected Classes

Class	Level of Difficulty	Race of Students			Total
		W	B	H	
Independent Study	4	20	0	0	20
Physics	4	37	0	0	37
French III & IV	4	32	0	1	33
German III & IV	4	26	0	0	26
Secretarial Prac.	4	13	0	3	16
Spec. Geometry	4	50	1	0	51

Table 3.2 (continued)

Class	Level of Difficulty	Race of Students			Total
		W	B	H	
Newspaper	3	25	1	0	26
Journalism (3)	3	21	1	0	22
Literature (x)	3	26	0	0	26
Drama	3	25	3	0	28
Chorus (5th per.)	3	30	0	0	30
Sociology (3rd per.)	3	24	0	0	24
ME History	3	26	0	0	26
Chemistry*	3	152	12	0	164
French I & II*	3	67	8	2	77
German I & II*	3	42	2	0	44
Latin II	3	17	0	0	17
Economics (2nd per.)	3	20	1	0	21
Trigonometry*	3	92	2	0	94
Black Literature	3	1	81	2	84
Swahili I & II	3	0	25	0	25
Food: II	3	0	12	0	12
Voc. Agriculture*	2	25	2	1	28
Afro-American Hist.*	2	0	82	3	85
Band**	-	43	11	1	55
Chorus**	-	47	9	1	57
Creative Harmony**	-	11	2	0	13
Bilingual Math**	-	2	0	20	22
Bilingual Science**	-	3	0	18	21
PR History**	-	3	0	24	27

\*All classes combined, some are all-white or all minority-group.

\*\*The levels of difficulty for these classes were not reported.

In explaining student assignment practices which result in predominantly white classes, one guidance counselor made this comment:

The assignment of students represents a combination of what is available and what they want to take. Most white kids are college bound and select their own electives. We try to assign according to prerequisites, primarily through teacher recommendations. We try to keep in mind what they will do in the future (career objectives) as well as what they have done in the past.

Another explanation was offered by a supervisory faculty member which suggested that racially imbalanced classes resulted from the bias and insensitivity of some of the professional staff toward minority-group youngsters.

I don't think you can get away from certain biases. This is not so much an issue of race, but one of culture. I think there are some teachers and counselors, both black and white, who are insensitive to the kinds of problems that inner-city kids have. They also have some predetermined notions about their academic capability.

One teacher felt that parental pressure accounted for the disproportionate number of white students enrolled in college-oriented or upper-level courses. "North Brunswick students," she advised, "are college-oriented and their parents push them toward the highly academic offerings." Another teacher suggested that all students, irrespective of race, tend to be influenced in the selection of classes by their friends and racial group. "There are lots of blacks and whites," she observed, "who elect not to be in a class simply because their friends will not be there and others who are reluctant to be the only one of their racial group in a class."

In responding to the question relating to racial disparity in various classes, one teacher expressed, in emotional tones, this opinion:

The school does not really see this as a problem and if it does, no attempts are made to solve it. The ability-grouping practice is simply a device to keep black and white kids apart--it serves the purposes of the white communities. I don't have any faith in the recommendations of teachers and counselors because they make up their minds about black and Puerto Rican kids too quickly. Allowing students to make their own choices is a clever device. We all know that black kids, in particular, are not going into difficult classes, on their own, yet we don't push them. We are satisfied to just let them take what they want and then tell ourselves that it was their choice.



Addressing themselves to the scholastic demands placed upon minority-group youngsters and explaining the absence of them from the more rigorous offerings, several teachers concurred on the following:

- Many teachers have low expectations for minority-group students.
- Many black students are capable of performing at a higher level than the ones to which they have been assigned.
- Many black students reject high level courses in favor of less demanding ones simply because they have not been motivated and can opt for the "easy way out."
- The peer influence of minority-group students often operates against more racially balanced classes.
- Many minority-group students view with disdain, for whatever reasons, those classes with a high level of difficulty and regard them as "white" classes.
- The low self-esteem minority-group students have of themselves makes them reluctant to compete with white students in the more challenging classroom settings.

#### The Assignment of Students to Programs of Study

On the survey instruments, the secondary school administrators were asked to report the percent of each student racial group represented in each of six programs of study. The results of that report are presented in Table 3.3. The program categories and the students reported in them must, however, be viewed as estimates since, as one school put it, "No set program is required, students can graduate by completing sixty credits if they include the State requirements--there are no programs such as college prep, business or vocational, only suggested programs for certain objectives." The report on students by program designations did, nonetheless, seem to suggest that a

somewhat traditional program structure was in operation even if it was not clearly defined nor officially sanctioned. The operational existence of discrete programs of study was evidenced by students who, in responding to a student questionnaire, placed themselves in program categories with very little hesitation. Whether they had been officially placed in a particular program or not, they perceived that such had taken place.

Table 3.3

Percent of Each Sampled Racial Group  
in Programs of Study as Reported by  
NBHS Administration

Racial Group	Programs of Study						Total
	Adv.	Coll. Prep.	Bus.	Voc.	Gen.	Other	
White (N=246)	9.3	59.3	11.8	9.8	6.9	2.8	100
Black (N=139)	1.4	23.0	10.1	25.2	33.8	6.5	100
Hispanic (N=55)	.0	12.7	5.5	23.6	30.9	20.0	100
Total (N=431)*	5.7	42.0	10.5	16.4	18.4	7.0	100

\*All sampled students combined

An analysis of Table 3.3 provides clear distinctions between students along racial lines as they relate to either program selections or program assignments. Nearly 70 percent of the white students are in college preparatory programs while only an approximate 25 percent of the black students and 13 percent of the Hispanic students are in such programs. Most black students (59 percent) are in vocational or general programs and slightly more than 50 percent of the Hispanic students are in general or "other" programs. As one examines the distribution of students in the different programs, one

might easily conclude that the school, in a sense, serves to prepare white students for college while it prepares minority-group youngsters for the world of work or for nothing in particular.

In reviewing the class assignments and considering the lack of minority-group students in the courses with the highest levels of difficulty, the reported percent of black and Hispanic students in academic programs might be questioned. If twenty-five percent of the black students and thirteen percent of the Hispanic students are in Advanced or College Preparatory programs, it should follow that this same representation would be found in the more rigorous classes which are designed to prepare students for higher education. This, however, is not the case and seems to suggest that white and minority-group students are differentially educated as the school prepares them for entry into college.

Teacher responses to program selections. The question relating to "free choice" of program selection exercised by students was asked of all teachers in the three secondary schools. The report of New Brunswick High School teachers was used to get some sense of how they felt their school's "freedom of choice" policy had been applied. The report of teachers at Gibbons, the alternative school, was used for comparison purposes. The faculty report of the Redshaw School was used also for comparison purposes since it is at this school where many students' programs of study seem to begin taking definite form.

Presented in Table 3.4 are the responses of teachers to the question, "How much choice do students have in selecting their own programs?" These responses reflect no consideration for racial differences but, rather, speak to the total student populations.

While school policies might exist which allow students to select their own programs, many teachers feel that they have not been extensively applied. In the regular high school, they report that almost 50 percent of the students are only minimally involved in their program determination if they are involved at all. At the alternative high school, where one would expect a high degree of student self-determination, fifty percent of the students are either moderately or minimally involved. At Redshaw, the pattern is similar to that of the regular high school where nearly one-half of the students have a very limited influence on the kind of program they will follow.

Table 3.4

Students' Exercise of "Free Choice" in Program  
Selection as Reported by Teachers

Extent of Choice	Percent of Students			Total**
	Redshaw (N=52)*	Gibbons (N=8)*	NBHS (N=135)*	
Great	13.5	50.0	19.3	19.0
Moderate	38.5	25.0	31.9	33.3
Minimal	42.3	25.0	43.0	42.1
None	5.8	0.0	5.9	5.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

\*Number of reporting teachers

\*\*Total percent for all three schools

The data presented in Table 3.4 does not distinguish students by grade levels (except at Redshaw), ability groups, or similar factors. Therefore it can only be analyzed and interpreted in general terms.

Student responses to program-related questions. Students were asked to respond to five particular questions so that some sense of their feelings about their programs and their experiences with them could be reported. The questions were:

- Were you free to make your own program choice?
- Are you satisfied with your program of study?
- Are there some classes or programs you would like to be in but are not?
- Have you tried to change your program but was not allowed to do so?
- Do you find it difficult to keep interested in your studies?

Contrary to teachers' reports on the "freedom of choice" question, most students felt that they were enrolled in their courses of study as a result of having made their own choice with or without advice. This feeling was almost evenly shared along racial lines with 93.9 percent of the white students, 93.5 percent of the black students, and 94.4 percent of the Hispanic students responding affirmatively to the "freedom of choice" question.

Table 3.5

Student Responses to the Question,  
"Are you satisfied with your program of study?"  
(in percentages)

Racial Group	School								
	NBHS			Gibbons*			Redshaw*		
	Yes	No	N	Yes	No	N	Yes	No	N
White	71.8	28.2	245	76.9	23.1	13	75.0	25.0	12
Black	90.6	9.4	178	88.9	11.1	27	95.6	4.4	45
Hispanic	94.5	5.5	55	-	-	-	-	-	-

\*Hispanic responses were significantly few and were included with responses of black students.

In response to the "program satisfaction" question, students differed along racial lines, as is reflected in Table 3.5. A majority of students in all reporting schools and from all racial groups indicated that they were satisfied with their programs of study, but a substantial number of white students (nearly 25 percent in each school) registered dissatisfaction. Relatively speaking, the greatest number of those dissatisfied white students were sophomores and seniors who perceived themselves as being in college preparatory programs. Slightly more than 30 percent of the white college preparatory students, which represent about 18 percent of the total white population sampled, felt that something was lacking in their courses of studies. Only about 13 percent of the black students and zero percent of the Hispanic students in college preparatory programs reported that they were dissatisfied. Among the white student population, the other high dissatisfaction appears in the general program where 23.5 percent of whites in that area made note of its shortcomings. There was a high degree of program satisfaction expressed by minority-group students, but there was no particular program area that stood out and represented a special concern.

Those individuals who were not satisfied with their programs of study cited many varied reasons for their feelings. If the most frequent reasons for dissatisfaction were categorized, they would fall into these three general areas: courses are not challenging; courses are not interesting or diversified enough; and there are too many course restrictions.

Programmatic satisfaction can be examined from another point of view by looking at the responses of students to the question, "Are there some classes or programs at school you would like to take but are not taking?" There was a substantial number of

students at New Brunswick High School who wished they could take classes and programs in which they were not enrolled, but which the school offered. Forty-seven percent of the white students, 35 percent of the black students, and 23 percent of the Hispanic students expressed a desire to be involved in studies which were not now a part of their class assignments or program placements. At the Gibbons School, 63 percent of the black students and 35 percent of the white students felt a need to be in classes other than the ones in which they were registered. At the Redshaw School, where no significant number of white students responded to the question, 48 percent of the minority-group students wanted to be in other courses which were presently offered. Overall, there appeared to be no common thread through the open-ended responses which suggested the classes or programs desired. Time, program, or space limitations were the primary reasons students gave for not taking courses they desired to take.

Looking at program satisfaction in another way, approximately 50 percent of all black and white students at the Redshaw School and at New Brunswick High School found it difficult to keep interested in their studies. By comparison, however, a great percentage of Hispanic students found it much less difficult to maintain an interest in their classes. With the exception of the Business Program, where 34.5 percent of the white student enrollees in that area found it difficult to keep interested in most of their school subjects, more than 55 percent of the white students in each program area at New Brunswick High School reported low levels of interest in their studies. The black student population which expressed non-interest, was spread evenly across all program areas.

Since 28.3 percent of the white students at New Brunswick High School was not satisfied with its programs of study, this group was looked at in terms of how it selected its courses. Only 8.7 percent of the students were given little or no choice in their program selection. The greatest percentage of the dissatisfied white students (52.2 percent) made their program selections on their own and with no advice. Despite the fact that 28.3 percent of the white students were not satisfied with their programs, only 15.2 percent of them tried to make a change and were allowed to do so. It is an interesting juxtaposition that while 18.5 percent of the black students at New Brunswick High School have tried to change their programs with no success, only 9.4 percent of them are dissatisfied with their course of study. A similar situation exists with Hispanic students where 15.1 percent of them were not allowed to change their programs but where only 5.5 percent of them expressed dissatisfaction with the classes or programs in which they are now engaged:

The reasons students gave for not being allowed to change their programs or classes were many and varied. The three most frequent ones were: the class in which a student wished to transfer was too crowded; it was too late when the student wished to make a change; and the student was strongly advised against making a change.

The greatest percentage of white students who have tried to change courses without success are found in the Business and General program areas. Comparatively speaking, the minority-group students at the Redshaw School stand out as the population which has most often tried to change programs of study, but was not allowed. It is here that 29.7 percent of the minority-group students fall into this classification.



Student Participation in Athletics and  
Other School Activities

Just as school staffs were asked to report the racial distribution of students in classes and programs, they were requested to make similar reports about athletic teams and other school activities. In Table 3.6 the membership of students, by race, on athletic teams is presented. It is a report of only those teams which are formed at New Brunswick High School since it is at this school where sports are organized and given officially-sponsored status.

Table 3.6

Membership of Students by Race on Athletic Teams  
At New Brunswick High School

Team	Total Members	Number of Members by Race		
		White	Black	Hispanic
Golf	9	9	0	0
Var. & JV Soccer	30	30	0	0
Girls' Cross Country	9	8	1	0
Winter Track	14	14	0	0
Boys' Tennis	8	7	1	0
Girls' Tennis	9	9	0	0
Boys' Vars. Track	21	20	1	0
Boys' Fresh. Track	11	10	1	0
Varsity & JV Football	61	46	15	0
Frosh Football	40	8	30	2
Vars. Basketball	17	10	7	0
JV Basketball	16	9	6	1
JV & Varsity Wrestling	13	10	3	0
Varsity Baseball	21	16	5	0
JV Baseball	22	17	4	0

Table 3.6 (continued)

Team	Total Members	Number of Members by Race		
		White	Black	Hispanic
Soph Football	52	32	20	0
Frosh Soccer	7	5	2	0
Boys' Varsity & JV Cross Country	7	5	2	0
Girls' Varsity Basketball	14	10	4	0
Girls' Track	45	29	15	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>426</b>	<b>304</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>5</b>

Even the most casual analysis of Table 3.6 reveals the emergence of a familiar pattern of racial imbalance. Some teams--Golf, Soccer, Winter Track, Girls' Tennis--do not have a single minority-group member. Others--Girls' Cross Country, Boys' Tennis, Boys' Varsity Track, Boys' Freshman Track--have only one minority-group member. Hispanic membership on athletic teams is almost non-existent. The twenty-four teams reported in Table 3.6 have a combined membership of 426, but only five of those members are Hispanic and they are part of only three teams.

The membership pattern of the high schools' athletic teams is also found in school-sponsored clubs, organizations, and activities. Table 3.7 demonstrates again the differential participation of students in school life and its seeming relationship to race.

If one dismisses those activities which would appear to automatically mandate a racially balanced membership--Human Relations Camp, Sweetheart Pageant, Student Action Committee-- he would find a school with extra-curricular activities that are almost exclusive of minority-group members.

Table 3.7

Membership of Students by Race in Selected School Clubs,  
Organizations, and Activities at  
New Brunswick High School

Activity	Total Number of Members	Members by Race		
		W	B	H
Prom Place	38	37	63	1
Prom Invitations	28	28	0	0
Senior Carnival	34	33	1	0
Prom Favors	14	13	1	0
Fund Raising	16	15	1	0
Twirlers	18	17	1	0
Honor Society (6/73)	117	113	2	2
Honor Society (11/73)	36	36	0	0
Mathletes	23	23	0	0
Advocate Staff	10	9	1	0
Drill Team	28	20	6	2
Varsity Cheerleaders	15	11	4	0
Soph. Cheerleaders	9	8	1	0
Frosh Cheerleaders	9	7	2	0
Key Club	26	24	0	2
Acappella Choir	56	48	6	2
Color Guard	8	6	2	0
Band	68	56	11	1
Highlight Staff	9	7	1	1
Human Relations Camp*	29	13	13	3
Miss Sweetheart Pageant*	29	15	6	8
Student Action Comm.*	12	4	4	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>632</b>	<b>543</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>26</b>

\*These activities would seem to automatically mandate balanced, racial representation.

Racial representation in school activities in other schools--Gibbons, Redshaw, Roosevelt--is somewhat different from that found at New Brunswick High School. Tables 3.8, 3.9, and 3.10 demonstrate this.

Table 3.3

Membership of Students by Race in School Clubs,  
Organizations, and Activities at the  
Gibbons School

Activity	Total Membership	Members by Race		
		W	B	H*
Activities Comm.	8	0	8	1
Gibbons Squad	10	2	7	1
Personal Appeals	2	1	1	0
Senior Forum	9	5	4	0
Clean-up Comm.	5	3	2	0
Behavior Mod.	3	2	1	0
Monitoring Comm.	6	4	2	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>1</b>

\*Only one Hispanic student is enrolled at the Gibbons School.

Table 3.9

Membership of Students by Race in School Clubs,  
Organizations, and Activities at the  
Redshaw School

Activity	Total Membership	Members by Race		
		W	B	H
Band	38	29	6	3
Drama	22	8	9	5
Chorus	151	30	107	14
Orchestra	14	8	5	1
Student Government	59*	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>23</b>

\*Not included in total; membership by race was not reported.

Table 3.10

Membership of Students by Race in School Clubs,  
Organizations, and Activities at the  
Roosevelt School

Activity	Total Membership	Members by Race		
		W	B	H
Band	63	42	14	7
Drama	50	10	35	5
Chorus	167	38	110	19
Orchestra	27	15	8	4
Student Government	41	9	30	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>348</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>197</b>	<b>37</b>

Membership in activities at the Gibbons School seems to be racially balanced, but there is, however, the all-black Activities Committee. At the Redshaw and Roosevelt Schools, there appear to be reasonable ratios of student memberships along racial lines except in the Band where, for some reason, there is a disproportionate number of white pupils.

Student responses to questions related to School Activities. By looking at the membership of the different school teams and activities, as it was reported, it is almost impossible to determine the number of participating students since some of them are likely to be involved in more than one activity. It is obvious that the participation level of minority-group youngsters is abysmally low and it might be that the level of white student-participation is not as extensive as it appears. The extent to which students participate in school activities would, seemingly, depend on the extent to which they are given encouragement by the school. Table 3.11 summarizes students'

responses to the question, "How would you rate your school in encouraging you to participate in school activities?"

Table 3.11

Student Responses to the "Encouraging Participation" Question  
(in percentages)

School	Racial Group	Rating				Total
		Excell.	Good	Fair	Poor	
Roosevelt	W (N=10)	30.0	60.0	10.0	0.0	100
	M (N=49)*	36.7	26.7	16.3	20.4	100
Redshaw	W (N=11)	9.1	54.5	36.4	0.0	100
	M (N=41)*	14.6	22.0	41.5	22.0	100
Gibbons	W (N=14)	42.9	28.6	21.4	7.1	100
	M (N=27)*	33.3	40.7	14.8	11.1	100
NBHS	W (N=240)	7.1	22.1	41.7	29.2	100
	B (N=126)	4.8	27.8	37.3	30.2	100
	H (N= 52)	7.7	38.5	32.7	21.2	100

\*Black and Hispanic students.

An analysis of Table 3.11 reveals that a majority of students, irrespective of race, at Roosevelt and Gibbons perceive their schools as being either good or excellent in terms of encouraging participation in school activities. At Redshaw, a majority of white students (63.6 percent) feel that the school is excellent or good while only 36.6 percent of the minority-group students share the same feeling. At New Brunswick High School, approximately 70 percent of all students feel that school encouragement for participation in activities is either fair or poor.

Three questions related to student participation were posed to the sampled students at Redshaw, Gibbons, and New Brunswick High School. These questions were intended to elicit responses which would help to explain student involvement, or the lack of it, in school activities. The questions asked were:

- Are there some activities the school now has that you would like to participate in, but are not?
- Are there some activities in which you would like to participate, but they are not offered by the school?
- Do you come to school activities which are conducted in the evenings or after school?

About 20 percent of the students at the Redshaw School and almost 13 percent of those at Gibbons indicated that they had a desire to participate in existing activities but were not doing so. The number of students at New Brunswick High School who expressed this same circumstance was significantly higher. Here, nearly one-third of all students wanted to be involved in some on-going school activity but, for some reason, were not. The reasons most frequently given were: the need to work, lack of transportation, and schedule or time problems.

With the exception of the white students at the Redshaw School, at least 20 percent of each racial group at Redshaw, Gibbons, and New Brunswick High School would like to have some new activities at their school. The minority-group students at Redshaw and at Gibbons stand out as being particularly interested in new activities. There was a wide variety of activities suggested by students to be added to the extra-curricular options. Some of these were: swimming, archery, more music and art organizations, bowls, field trips, volleyball, chess, fencing, and self-defense (martial arts).

A large number of students at Redshaw (71.1 percent) and at Gibbons (70.8 percent) attend school activities which are held in the evenings or after school. At New Brunswick High School, the number of students who attend after-school or evening activities is relatively less. Almost 50 percent of the students sampled here do not attend school affairs which are not held during the school day. The reasons given for this were essentially a lack of interest, time limitations, and transportation problems.

Teachers' ratings of extra-curricular activities. The faculties of all schools in the system were asked to rate extra-curricular activities on a scale from 1 (very poor) to 10 (excellent). These ratings were later put into three categories: High, Medium, and Low. The responses of the teachers are reported in Table 3.12.

Table 3.12

Faculty Ratings of Extra-curricular Activities  
in New Brunswick High Schools  
(in percentages)

School	Faculty Rating			Total
	High	Medium	Low	
Elem. Schools	25.4	42.8	31.8	100 (n=110)
New Street	14.3	0.0	85.7	100 (n= 7)
Roosevelt	42.1	36.8	21.1	100 (n= 38)
Redshaw	16.7	29.2	54.2	100 (n= 48)
Gibbons	12.5	50.0	37.5	100 (n= 8)
NBHS	35.7	19.3	45.0	100 (n=129)
Family L.C.	66.7	33.3	0.0	100 (n= 3)
<b>Total*</b>	<b>29.7</b>	<b>30.6</b>	<b>39.7</b>	<b>100 (N=343)</b>

\*percent of all faculty members in the school system



A substantial percentage of the faculty at New Brunswick High School (45.0%) and at Redshaw (54.2%) rated the extra-curricular activities as low. At the New Street School, 85.7 percent of the faculty registered a low rating. A fair percentage of teachers at New Brunswick High School (35.7%) and at Roosevelt (42.1%) rated the activities as high. Looking at the total school system, and from the perspective of all teachers, the quality of extra-curricular activities in New Brunswick schools falls somewhere between medium and low.

### Summary and Discussion of the Findings

Speaking in broad terms about the practice of ability-grouping, but more specifically about the placement of students into different school programs, Em Hall made this comment:

More often than not, the social class and race of the child involved appear to have as much to do with their placement as anything else... Schools cannot continue to program in this way for relative failure and still claim to function as equalizing agencies. These grouping programs, for whatever reason, tend to harden the race and class lines drawn in the larger society.<sup>2</sup>

Hall's comments, while addressed to a general audience, speak directly to student assignment and placement practices of the New Brunswick schools. In addition to this, they may help to explain why the gap in students' understanding and acceptance of racial differences remains unbridged.

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2. Em Hall, "On the Road to Educational Failure: A Lawyer's Guide to Tracking," Inequality in Education, Number 5. Harvard Center for Law and Education, Cambridge, Massachusetts, p. 1, (ND).

At the secondary level of New Brunswick's schools, most members of the professional staff as well as students, themselves, seem convinced that a "freedom of choice" option exists which allows students, with or without consultation, to choose their courses of study. Other members of the school professionals view the "freedom of choice" option as being inoperative for most students and serving only the needs of particular student groups. In spite of the different views about how students come to be in certain classes and programs, the evidence seems to clearly suggest that the process of student assignments has a racially segregative effect within the school settings.

The assignment of students to classes appears to be based on school personnel's perception of student ability, past performance, and achievement levels as measured by standardized tests. This has resulted in homogeneous grouping, a practice which narrows the achievement range in given classes and serves, whether intentionally or not, to make distinctions between students along racial lines which can be associated with a perceived achievement continuum. Because black and Hispanic students are generally perceived by the professional staff as having relatively limited academic abilities (particularly when that perception is based on reading test scores), a high and disproportionate number of them are assigned to, or at least "select", the low-status and least demanding classes. It is not unusual to find "general" and "special" classes with predominantly black and Hispanic enrollments. It is, however, a rare experience to find minority-group students in the high-status and extremely challenging classes. The highly academic programs seem to represent the domain of white students while the general and vocational programs are overly subscribed by black and Hispanic students.

In the elementary schools, interactions between pupils of all racial and ethnic groups are significantly different from those occurring at the secondary schools. In the setting of the elementary schools, racial distinctions and separations are minimized. The design of the programs there, in spite of some ability-grouping, appears to be one which brings different kinds of youngsters together and keeps them that way.

Some findings of the study would suggest that the grouping practices of New Brunswick schools have worked to either create or maintain racial disassociation. The fact of the matter is that, to a large extent, it has prevented many students who are racially different from interacting favorably with each other. The justification given by some school people for the grouping practices invariably speaks to the area of cognitive learning. The affective domain of learning seems to have been almost forgotten. Given this, it would appear that the observations of Sandra Koslin and her associates are worth noting:

Whatever reason is offered for the grouping policy, it is likely that in a school where all classes at any given grade level are similar in racial composition, children experience a very different "integration" from that experienced by children in a school where some classes...are all white or predominantly white while others are all black or predominantly black. However "reasonable" the apparent motive for the administrative manipulation...the grouping practice nevertheless helps to create a social environment in which race is salient as a criterion for categorizing people... In turn, there is less psychological freedom to find an area of human activity where biracial learning can lead to favorable attitudes. Furthermore, grouping practices which result in an uneven distribution of minority students in the classes...sharply constrain opportunities for varied interracial contacts.<sup>3</sup>

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3. Sandra Koslin, et. al., "Classroom Racial Balance and Students' Interracial Attitudes," Sociology of Education, 45 (Fall, 1972), p. 388.

The racially segregative impression, resulting from class and program assignments at the high school in particular, is also found in other school activities. The involvement of black and Hispanic students in extra-curricular activities is, at best, minimal. Looking at the membership of some school-sponsored athletic teams, organizations, and activities, one finds it absolutely exclusive of minority-group representatives. Just as some classes and academic areas seem to represent a "white domain," the same is true with some areas of the school activities programs. A contributing factor to this situation might well be reflected by students' responses which suggested that the school had not extended itself to encourage student participation.

Jane Mercer, in characterizing a model for multi-racial and multi-ethnic schools offered this description:

Students of all ethnic groups are structurally integrated (a process that provides equivalent power and prestige for all school participants) into the social system of the school so that they hold comparable statuses and play comparable roles in the school. Specifically, this means the children of ethnic groups perceive each other as friends and that the distribution of valued statuses and roles in the school is similar for all groups.

The conditions that Mercer describes seem to be something which has been given little attention in the New Brunswick secondary schools. This is evidenced by the lack of parity between minority and majority-group students in terms of roles they play and positions they occupy. If the New Brunswick schools are troubled by racial polarization, and there are some signs of this, they might do well to think of Mercer's

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4. Jane Mercer, Evaluating Integrated Elementary Education: Technical Manual (Riverside, California: Program Research in Integrated Multiethnic Education, University of California, 1973), p. 2.

model and re-examine the process that results in an imbalanced racial representation in prestigious school-life roles.

Looking at the levels of student satisfaction with classes and programs, one finds that white students, who have generally exercised more choice in course selections, are the most dissatisfied racial group. Surprisingly, it is the minority-group students who are most accepting of their programs of study. A substantial number of students, in all racial groups, have registered their dissatisfaction and tried unsuccessfully to change programs and classes.

### Recommendations

#### 1. FIND AND IMPLEMENT AN ALTERNATIVE TO ABILITY-GROUPING.

Ability-grouping practices have, at least in part, been responsible for restricting the educational opportunities for some students and limiting the possibilities of interracial interaction between all students. The homogeneous classes, which ability-grouping produces, operate against positive socialization and do little to improve achievement. Grouping for any reason cannot, by itself, be a solution for problems of students with different learning levels and styles. An alternative to grouping might be differential instruction treatment within a heterogeneous setting which speaks to the needs of various groups.

#### 2. MOVE DELIBERATELY TO CREATE RACIAL REPRESENTATION IN ALL CLASSES.

The existence of all-white or all minority-group classes in a racially integrated school is inexcusable. It is not only educationally unsound, especially if one associates education with life expectations, but it helps to perpetuate racial stereotypes and reinforces the segregative manifestations of the larger society. Students' attitudes about themselves and others are, indeed, shaped by the way they learn.

and the factors which affect that learning. Learning must take place in a manner and environment where students view each other as equals and share jointly in all aspects of school life.

3. **REDUCE THE THREAT OF STUDENT FAILURE IN CLASSES AND PROGRAMS.**

Students have avoided certain classes and programs, particularly those with high levels of difficulty, because of the fear of failure. If students are to be encouraged to confront the more challenging disciplines, they must be given the assurance that they can be successful in their efforts. Success, then, must be defined in different terms for different students. The method of assessing student achievement needs to be reconsidered with progress being viewed in relative terms. Within a capability frame and with little reference to normative performance, students should be allowed to compete only with themselves. They should be assessed not by comparison with other students, but in terms of how far they have moved from their individual points of departure.

4. **MAKE MORE ACADEMIC DEMANDS UPON MINORITY-GROUP STUDENTS AND ENCOURAGE THEM TO BE ACCEPTING OF THOSE DEMANDS.**

Minority-group students, clearly, are not represented in the more academic disciplines and there are some reasons for this which are not associated with ability. One of these is the option, too frequently exercised, which allows students to choose the least stringent courses. Another is the lack of encouragement provided by the schools which would persuade students, particularly minority-group students, to be accepting of a more demanding schedule. The options allowing for difficulty evasion need to be reduced and, even then, used sparingly. Along with this should be a set of motivational strategies which would be used to influence students to look for greater challenges.

5. EXAMINE THE PROCESS OF PROGRAM SELECTIONS AND MINIMIZE THE DIFFERENTIAL OFFERINGS MADE WITHIN PROGRAMS.

Nearly twenty-five percent of the minority-group students in the high schools are viewed as being in college preparatory programs. This percentage, however, is not represented in the enrollment of college preparatory courses. If a large number of minority-group students are, in fact, in college-bound programs they are being prepared differently than the majority of white students who are similarly programmed. In looking at all programs, one finds that most minority-group students are in non-college "tracks" with a relatively few white students. How minority-group students make their program decisions and the amount and kind of counselling provided to assist them needs to be examined and reasonably justified.

6. PROVIDE A GREATER ACCESS TO THE FULL RANGE OF INSTRUCTIONAL OFFERINGS.

Significant numbers of students, representing all racial groups, are not enrolled in classes in which they wish to be registered. There are high levels of program dissatisfaction, particularly among white college-preparatory and business students, and low levels of interest maintenance among a significant number of students from all racial groups. Efforts by most of these students to enter classes for which they have not been programmed have met with little success and may account for some of the dissatisfaction and lack of interest.

7. MAKE EFFORTS TO INSURE RACIAL REPRESENTATION IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF SCHOOL TEAMS, ORGANIZATIONS, AND ACTIVITIES.

There is absolutely no justification for having all-white athletic teams in an integrated public high school. Nor is it defensible to have a school-sponsored activity whose membership does not include students from all of the racial groups which comprise the school population. The school must be aware of the image its teams and organizations project both

inside the school and beyond the school grounds. There has to be a deliberate effort to insure that the membership of any school activity reflects the racial diversity of the school's student body.

8. ENCOURAGE ALL STUDENTS AT NEW BRUNSWICK HIGH SCHOOL TO PARTICIPATE IN SCHOOL ACTIVITIES BUT MAKE ADDED EFFORTS TO INVOLVE MINORITY-GROUP STUDENTS.

The extent to which all students, at Roosevelt and New Brunswick High School, perceive themselves as having been encouraged by the schools to participate in school activities is dismally low. Students must be persuaded to engage themselves in school activities for this is the one area where many young people, irrespective of differences in academic ability, can positively interact with each other. White students, to a fair degree, are involved in school activities but black and Hispanic students, for the most part, are non-participants. Special efforts have to be made to involve minority-group students who, seemingly, have been excluded from an important part of secondary school life.

### Some Curriculum-Related Issues

When school systems are evaluated, attempts are invariably made to assess the quality and effectiveness of the schools' curricular offerings. For this purpose, the curriculum is usually narrowly defined and reference is made only to that variety of planned, instructional activities which schools have provided for their students. This definition, though limited in scope, might be appropriate and operational for those who wish to examine, within a curriculum context, those instruction-related experiences which schools deliberately offer.

No effort was made in this study of the New Brunswick schools to assess curriculum (by any definition) in any systematic or comprehensive manner. Although it



would have been desirable, no attempt was made to examine and evaluate the full range of educational programs, the many subject offerings, the various modes of instruction, nor the different evaluation designs. Attention was given, however, to some curriculum-related issues which seemed to be of particular importance for those who are concerned about the quality of racially-integrated education. Those issues were raised by the following set of questions:

- How well do the schools perform in providing basic skills (reading and math) education for students?
- How well do the schools prepare students for higher education?
- How well do the schools prepare students for employment in the world of work?
- How effective are the instructional methods and materials used by the teachers in the schools?
- To what extent do the instructional materials refer to the experiences of minority groups?
- How responsive are the schools to the particular needs of low-achieving students?
- Are students of different racial groups equally graded for the same quality of performance?

Answers to the above questions did not result from analyses of the processes and outcomes of educational programs. The responses to the issues raised were, for the purposes of this report, reflected by the perceptions, attitudes, and opinions of students and the professional staff.

### Basic Skills Education

Basic to any public school's educational program should be activities which address

themselves to the development or improvement of students' reading and computational skills. One of the public's major educational concerns continues to be the inability of many young people to read with comprehension and calculate effectively enough for day-to-day living. In view of this, it seemed important to get some sense of New Brunswick's efforts in training students in basic mathematics and reading and to make some judgement about the effectiveness of those efforts.

How faculty members of the various New Brunswick schools felt about the school system's efforts in basic education is reported in Table 3.13.

Table 3.13

Faculty Ratings of Basic Education  
in the New Brunswick Schools

School	Percent of Teachers in Each Rating Category			Total
	High	Medium	Low	
Elem. Schools	57.0	36.4	6.6	100 (121)
New Street	75.0	12.5	12.5	100 ( 8)
Roosevelt	52.6	42.1	5.3	100 ( 38)
Redshaw	20.8	42.9	31.3	100 ( 48)
Gibbons	62.5	12.5	25.0	100 ( 8)
NBHS	13.6	36.8	49.6	100 (125)
Family L.C.	0.0	0.0	100.0	100 ( 5)
Total	37.4	37.1	25.5	100 (353)

When looking at the total school system, one finds that the teachers' average ratings of basic education fall between high and medium with about one-quarter of the ratings falling in the low category. Teachers in the elementary schools

and at Roosevelt seem to have the highest regard for their basic skills programs. It is significant to note that almost one-half (49.6 percent) of the teachers at New Brunswick High School rate their basic education programs as being poor. All of the secondary schools (Redshaw, Gibbons, and NBHS), when compared with the lower-level schools, have a higher percentage of teachers who gave a low rating to basic math and reading efforts. Oddly enough, and with probable cause for concern, all teachers at the Family Learning Center registered a low regard for the efforts made by their school in the area of basic education.

### Preparation for College

The large number of students enrolled in college preparatory programs and the general orientation of many school participants toward higher education would suggest and perhaps mandate that the schools maintain a variety of qualitative learning experiences which prepare students for entry into college.

Teachers in the three secondary schools (Redshaw, Gibbons, and NBHS) were asked to rate their schools in terms of how well they were performing as they prepared students for college. Their ratings are presented in Table 3.14. It is interesting to note that while most teachers at New Brunswick High School gave a low rating to their basic skills education, a high percentage of them gave a high rating to their school's college preparation efforts. The Gibbons School makes a striking comparison with the other schools--seventy-one and four tenths percent of its faculty viewed the college preparation efforts as being exceptional. The Redshaw School's faculty, when compared with that of the other schools, did not have a large percent of teachers who felt their

college preparation efforts were deserving of a high rating.

Table 3.14  
Faculty Ratings of Schools' College  
Preparation Efforts

School	Percent of Teachers in Each Rating Category			Total
	High	Medium	Low	
Redshaw	27.7	44.7	27.6	100 ( 47)
Gibbons	71.4	14.3	14.3	100 ( 7)
NBHS	43.7	37.3	19.0	100 (126)
Total				100 (180)

It should be mentioned, however, that the racial makeup and perhaps general orientation of the Redshaw School is different from that of New Brunswick High School. At Redshaw, there is a higher percentage of minority-group students and this might be a significant factor.

#### Preparation for Employment

There are, of course, many students who do not plan to go to college and who will seek employment soon after they leave school. In anticipation of this, the school has the responsibility of providing young people with the kinds of learning experiences which will enable them to find productive and self-satisfying roles in the various occupations. How the schools are assuming that responsibility, from the viewpoint of New Brunswick teachers, is reported in Table 3.15.

Table 3.15

Faculty Ratings of the Schools' Efforts to  
Prepare Students for Employment

School	Percent of Teachers in Each Rating Category			Total
	High	Medium	Low	
Redshaw	38.3	42.6	19.1	100 ( 47)
Gibbons	14.3	85.7	0.0	100 ( 7)
NBHS	24.2	48.4	27.3	100 (128)
Total				100 (182)

As compared to college preparation, employment preparation is not rated as highly by the teachers at New Brunswick High School. A higher percentage of the faculty at the Redshaw School felt that employment preparation received a higher degree of effort than did college preparation. The differences of effort between these schools, as suggested before, might be a reflection of differences in the racial makeup and orientation of the school participants.

Teacher ratings of the schools' efforts at preparing students for employment are somewhat confirmed by their answers to the question, "How do you feel the school's vocational courses relate to the job opportunities in the area?" The responses of teachers at New Brunswick High School are of special interest because it is at their school where the vocational program is more defined and students are most likely to be seeking employment. One of the disturbing things that Table 3.16 reveals is the high percentage of teachers (37.1 percent) who perceived the vocational courses as having minimal or no relevance at all to job opportunities in the New Brunswick area.

Table 3.16

Relevance of Vocational Courses to Area  
Job Opportunities  
(as perceived by teachers)

School	Percent of Teachers in Each Rating Category				Total
	High	Moderate	Minimal	None	
Redshaw	30.0	42.0	26.0	2.0	100 ( 50)
Gibbons	62.5	37.5	0.0	0.0	100 ( 8)
NBHS	15.2	47.7	32.6	4.5	100 (132)
Total	21.1	45.8	29.5	3.7	100 (190)

### Instructional Methods and Materials

The success of any instructional program hinges largely on the effectiveness of teaching strategies and the quality of resources drawn upon for instructional purposes. The methods that teachers employ and the materials they use may be determined by school policies and procedures, individual teacher choices, or a combination of these and other factors. Much, however, depends upon teacher initiative and the willingness of the school to provide support and direction for instructional efforts.

Instructional methods. To get some feel for the effectiveness of instructional methods employed in the New Brunswick school system, teachers were asked to rate the quality of teaching strategies in their individual schools. Their ratings are presented in Table 3.17.

Table 3.17

## Faculty Ratings of Instructional Methods

School	Percent of Teachers in Each Rating Category			Total
	High	Medium	Low	
Elem. Schools	55.3	34.0	10.7	100 (121)
New Street	0.0	12.5	87.5	100 ( 8)
Roosevelt	41.7	52.8	5.6	100 ( 36)
Redshaw	29.8	48.9	21.3	100 ( 47)
Gibbons	62.5	25.0	12.5	100 ( 8)
NBHS	46.9	38.3	14.8	100 (128)
Family L.C.	0.0	0.0	100.0	100 ( 4)
Total	48.9	38.4	12.7	100 (352)

Most teachers (87.3 percent) in the school district gave a medium or high rating to instructional methods. Teachers at Redshaw and the New Street School were not inclined to offer a high rating. All of the teachers at the Family Learning Center, though few in number, gave a low rating to the instructional methods they employ.

Instructional materials. The faculty of all schools tended to rate the quality of instructional material between high and medium. The lowest percentage of teachers giving them a high rating were at the New Street and Roosevelt schools.

While most teachers rated the overall instructional materials as having a high or medium quality, they were less disposed to give similar ratings to the textbooks and supplementary materials which relate to the experiences of minority groups--as is reflected in Tables 3.18 and 3.19.

Table 3.18

Faculty Ratings of Instructional  
Materials

School	Percent of Teachers in Each Rating Category			Total
	High	Medium	Low	
Elem. Schools	44.3	42.0	13.7	100 (124)
New Street	25.0	50.0	25.0	100 ( 8)
Roosevelt	32.4	45.9	21.6	100 ( 37)
Redshaw	27.1	45.8	27.1	100 ( 48)
Gibbons	37.5	25.0	37.5	100 ( 8)
NBHS	44.6	37.2	19.2	100 (130)
Family L.C.	37.5	25.0	37.5	100 ( 8)
<b>Total</b>	<b>40.3</b>	<b>40.0</b>	<b>19.7</b>	<b>100 (360)</b>

Table 3.19

Amounts of Textbooks and Supplementary Materials  
Used by Teachers which Refer to  
Multi-Ethnic Groups

School	Percent of Teachers in Each Rating Category				Total
	Most	Some	Very Few	None	
Elem. Schools	33.3	40.7	22.2	3.7	100 (135)
New Street	28.6	42.9	14.3	14.3	100 ( 7)
Roosevelt	12.8	53.8	23.1	10.3	100 ( 39)
Redshaw	33.7	28.6	28.6	10.2	100 ( 49)
Gibbons	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	100 ( 8)
NBHS	17.5	42.1	36.0	4.4	100 (114)
Family L.C.	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	100 ( 4)
<b>Total</b>	<b>25.8</b>	<b>40.2</b>	<b>28.4</b>	<b>5.6</b>	<b>100 (356)</b>



An inspection of table 3.19 shows that 34 percent of the teachers in the school system use very few or no materials which are multi-ethnic and which relate to cultural and racial diversity. Looking at schools individually, teachers at the lower-grade schools appear to make the widest use of multi-ethnic materials.

Student responses to the question, "Do textbooks and instructional materials you use deal with the experiences of black and Puerto Rican or other Spanish-speaking people?" are reported in Table 3.20. The reported use of multi-ethnic materials by teachers is significantly different from that reported by students.

Table 3.20

Frequency of the Use of Textbooks and Materials  
Relating to Blacks and Hispanics  
(as reported by students)

School	Racial Group	Percent of Students in Each Frequency Category					Total
		very often	often	seldom	very seldom	never	
Roosevelt	W ( 10)	0.0	40.0	-	60.0	0.0	100
	M ( 50)**	14.0	48.0	-	32.0	6.0	100
Redshaw	W ( 12)	16.7	25.0	25.0	8.3	25.0	100
	M ( 44)**	20.5	31.8	20.5	6.8	20.5	100
Gibbons	W ( 13)	15.4	38.5	23.1	7.7	15.4	100
	M ( 27)**	18.5	22.2	18.5	25.9	14.8	100
NBHS	W (238)	2.9	13.9	31.5	31.1	20.6	100
	B ( 133)	3.0	11.3	30.1	34.6	21.1	100
	H ( 54)	16.7	16.7	24.1	16.7	25.9	100

\* Not an option on middle school question

\*\* Includes blacks and Hispanics

Looking at the responses of students from the four upper-grade schools, one sees that a large number of students are seldom or never exposed to multi-ethnic materials. The least exposure is at New Brunswick High School where 83.2 percent of the white students, 85.8 percent of the black students, and 66.7 percent of the Hispanic students reported that textbooks and supplementary materials either seldom, very seldom, or never refer to black and Hispanic people.

#### Provisions for Low-Achieving Students

In most public schools there are a number of students who, for a variety of reasons, become low achievers and are unable to measure up to normal academic standards. In some schools it has become common practice to identify low achievers and make deliberate efforts which are intended to assist them in moving closer to normative achievement levels.

To determine how low achievers were provided for in New Brunswick schools, teachers and school principals were asked to respond to the question, "To what extent are official and school-wide tutorial provisions made for students who, for various reasons, are not meeting class or school standards?" Fifty percent of the school principals reported that there were no officially-determined school-wide tutorial programs in their schools. This suggested that, in at least one-half of the schools, there were no uniform practices for remediation and whatever happened to low achievers in instructional settings was determined by individual teachers. Of the teachers responding to the question, only 17.5 percent of them felt that there was a broad and officially-determined tutorial program in their school. A sizable number of teachers (41.4 percent)

reported that their school did have officially-determined programs but they were narrow in scope. Many teachers (40.3 percent) felt that their school provided no school-wide or officially-determined programs at all. These findings were relatively consistent with teachers in all schools with the exception of those in the Gibbons School who reported that they had a school-wide plan for helping the lower achievers.

Teachers were also asked the question, "Generally, what provisions are made for students who cannot deal with the standard (regular) curriculum?" Most of them indicated that such students were either put into special classes or were kept in regular classes and given special attention. What was most disturbing about the teacher responses was that 20.1 percent of the elementary faculty (N=134), 24.4 percent of the Roosevelt faculty (N=41), 30.8 percent of the Redshaw faculty (N=52), and 20.9 percent of the New Brunswick High School faculty (N=129) reported that students who could not cope with the standard curriculum were kept in regular classes but given no special attention.

#### Equality of Grading for Student Performance

How students perceive the fairness with which they are treated is extremely important for any school. It is perhaps even more important in racially integrated schools where students and faculty members often make assessments of school practices in racial terms. One school practice which invariably raises the fairness question is that of grading. How students of different racial groups felt about their grades, as they relate to fairness, was determined by asking them this question: "Do you think that some teachers give higher grades to white students than they do to black and Puerto Rican students for the

same quality of work?" They were also asked to respond to this question when it was reversed. Their responses are shown in Tables 3.21 and 3.22.

Table 3.21

Student Responses to the "Teacher Favoring  
White Students in Grading" Question

School	Racial Group	Percent of Students		Total
		Yes	No	
Redshaw	White ( 12)	0.0	100.0	100
	Minority ( 43)	34.9	65.1	100
Gibbons	White ( 14)	0.0	100.0	100
	Minority ( 27)	14.8	85.2	100
NBHS	White (239)	11.7	88.3	100
	Black (129)	46.5	53.5	100
	Hispanic ( 52)	34.6	65.4	100

Table 3.22

Student Responses to the "Teacher Favoring Black and  
Puerto Rican Students in Grading" Question

School	Racial Group	Percent of Students		Total
		Yes	No	
Redshaw	White ( 12)	16.7	83.3	100
	Minority ( 47)	10.6	89.4	100
Gibbons	White ( 10)	0.0	100.0	100
	Minority ( 26)	3.8	96.2	100
NBHS	White (236)	35.6	64.4	100
	Black (132)	12.1	87.9	100
	Hispanic ( 53)	13.2	86.8	100

A majority of students in the three secondary schools did not feel that teachers favored students of any racial group with their grades. A significant percentage (34.9 percent) of minority-group students at Redshaw, however, felt that teachers favored white students when they graded. This was also true at New Brunswick High School where 46.5 percent of the black students and 34.6 percent of the Hispanic students suggested that teachers showed racial favoritism toward whites with their grades. On the other side of the coin, a high percentage of white students at New Brunswick High School (35.6 percent) felt that minority-group students were favored.

#### Teachers' Suggestions for Improving the Curriculum and Instructional Program

One of the best sources from which recommendations for curriculum change can be elicited is the instructional staff. The teachers, along with students, are closest to the instructional program and are in one of the better positions to serve as judge of its strengths and weaknesses. In view of this, faculty members were asked to offer a single recommendation, of highest priority, for improving the programs of study. Suggestions for improvement were made by 100 teachers (76.9 percent) at New Brunswick High School and 110 teachers (88.8 percent) in the elementary schools. These instructional staff members provided the widest range of recommendations which are listed in the following two tables: New Brunswick Elementary Schools Teacher Recommendations of Highest Priority for Program Improvement and New Brunswick High School Teacher Recommendations of Highest Priority for Program Improvement.

Table 3.23

New Brunswick Elementary Schools  
 Teacher Recommendations of Highest Priority  
 for Program Improvement  
 (N=110)

Recommendation	Percent of Teachers Recommending
More and better materials	21.8
Improved individualized instruction	17.2
A more diversified curriculum	17.2
Support for Professional Development	10.9
In-service Training	9.2
Improved reading Program	8.2
Remedial instruction	7.4
Reduce the amount of change	6.5
More teacher participation in decision-making	5.5
More special services	2.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.24

New Brunswick High School  
 Teacher Recommendations of Highest Priority  
 for Program Improvement  
 (N=100)

Recommendation	Percent of Teachers Recommending
More varied materials	27
Broader remediation program in reading	23
More work-study type programs	18
Drop behavioral objectives	12
More paraprofessional help	11
More space for instruction	3
In-service Training	3
Parent support	1
Administrative leadership	1
Continuous evaluation	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

At the Redshaw School, 59 percent of the faculty (N=39) felt that improving instructional materials and individualized programs were of first priority. At the Roosevelt School two recommendations stood out. Here, thirty-three percent (N=24) of the teachers saw the highest priorities as in-service training, more interaction among teachers, and a consistent and supportive approach to curriculum change and development. Twenty-nine percent of them (N=21) saw the top priority in the curriculum area as being that of improving instructional materials and making them more varied.

#### Summary and Discussion of the Findings

Faculty members and students are the major participants in the instructional process. As they assume their respective roles as teachers and learners, they position themselves to become evaluators of curricular programs. How they perceive the attributes of curricular offerings and the quality of presentation is, indeed, important. Their attitudes, opinions, and recommendations, when seriously considered, can provide direction for meaningful program change.

Teachers in the elementary schools, for the most part, appear to be satisfied with their basic education programs, especially since they rate these rather highly. However, teachers in the secondary schools do not tend to give much praise to their basic education activities. As a matter of fact, nearly fifty percent of them rate their basic skills programs as being poor. At the Family Learning Center, every responding faculty member suggested that its basic skills efforts were only deserving of a low rating. What seems to have happened in New Brunswick schools is similar to what has occurred in many other school systems where secondary students with learning deficits have, in a

sense, been written off. In these systems, the concentration of basic education efforts has usually been placed in elementary schools, often at the sacrifice of many young people who are in the upper grades.

Teachers in New Brunswick High School and the Gibbons School generally felt that students were being adequately prepared for college. This is somewhat paradoxical, however, since they gave a low rating to their basic education efforts. From this, it could be assumed that the college preparation programs were effective for special groups within the school population, but inappropriate for others. This assumption would be particularly valid if students in need of basic skills were seriously planning for entrance into higher education. It is significant to again note that all of the faculty at the Family Learning Center rated their basic education program as being poor. This seems to suggest that students here are assumed not to have college entrance as an option.

Secondary school faculties tended not to give a high rating to the schools' efforts at preparing young people for employment. Their low rating of employment preparation was confirmed by their assessment of the appropriateness of the schools' vocational course offerings. Most teachers perceived these as being moderately or minimally relevant to job opportunities in the New Brunswick area.

Most teachers in all schools, except those at Redshaw, rated their instructional methods rather highly. They had less regard for the quality of the instructional materials they used. Speaking specifically about the extent to which they made use of multi-ethnic materials and textbooks, a high percentage of them indicated that the usage was minimal, if at all. This indication was strongest at New Brunswick High School.



Students in the secondary schools suggested that multi-ethnic materials and textbooks were employed with even less frequency than that reported by teachers. More than one-half of them responded that they are seldom, very seldom, or never exposed to multi-racial instructional materials. At New Brunswick High School, where one might expect to find a wide use of materials speaking to racial and ethnic diversity, approximately 80 percent of the students (representing all racial groups) responded this way.

Teachers had mixed, but somewhat balanced, opinions about the existence of uniform and school-wide programs for low achievers. It appeared that no matter who decided on the extent and nature of remedial and tutorial programs in the schools, they were, nonetheless, inadequate and narrow in scope. Students who cannot cope with the regular curriculum, most teachers reported, were either placed in special classes or kept in regular classes and given special attention. A significant number of teachers made the disturbing suggestion that non-coping students were kept in regular classes and afforded no special provisions.

Young people from all racial groups and in all secondary schools tended to feel that racial bias was not reflected by the grading system. In each racial group, however, there was a significant number of students who felt that members of other racial groups were favored and graded higher than themselves for the same quality of performance. This feeling, of course, should have been expected, and especially so if race consciousness permeated the school setting or if competition between racial groups was allowed to prevail. Students, nevertheless, have always had an occasion to charge teachers with favoritism even when their school enrollments represented a single racial or ethnic population. Sometimes those charges have been legitimate, but when they are

made in an environment of acute racial awareness, they go beyond mere legitimacy and take on different meanings.

A sizable number of teachers in all schools felt inclined to offer recommendations for improving the curricular and instructional programs. In both the elementary and secondary schools, they gave a high priority to the need for better and more varied materials. Faculty members in the lower-grade schools emphasized the need for a more diversified curriculum, support for professional growth, and in-service training. Teachers at New Brunswick High School saw a need for broader remediation and reading programs, more work-study programs, and dropping behavioral objectives.

#### Recommendations

##### 1. BROADEN THE BASIC SKILLS PROGRAM AT THE HIGH SCHOOL.

All of the research and literature, speaking to the subject, clearly reveal that relative deficits in basic skills increase as grade levels rise. New Brunswick schools provide no exception and this is demonstrated by their mathematics and reading achievement data. The need to concentrate on basic skills is just as great, and perhaps greater, in the high school as it is in the lower-grade schools. Attention, therefore, should be focused, at least equally, in all of the schools where students have limited competencies in reading and math.

##### 2. UPDATE VOCATIONAL AND OTHER EMPLOYMENT-PREPARATION PROGRAMS AND GIVE PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THEIR APPROPRIATENESS FOR LOCAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES.

Many high schools, often out of habit or tradition, offer vocational courses year after year with little regard for the changing demands of the job market. Students who are not going to college, and many who are, need to be prepared to fill meaningful occupational roles shortly after they leave high school. It goes without saying, that the preparation of students for employment should be compatible

with employment opportunities. For those students who will remain in the New Brunswick area after graduation, there needs to be an improved vocational and occupational program which prepares them to fill those jobs in the local employment arena.

3. IMPROVE INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS AND METHODS. MAKE THEM MORE REFLECTIVE OF MINORITY-GROUP EXPERIENCES.

The quality of learning outcomes is largely a function of qualitative instructional methods and materials. If teachers are expected to do the best job with their students, it follows that they should employ the most effective instructional strategies and have access to appropriate instructional materials. The general attitudes of New Brunswick teachers toward existing teaching methods and materials suggested a need to examine instruction techniques and materials they are now using with a focus on methods for improving them.

The importance of using multi-ethnic materials and textbooks in schools has long been validated. It is no longer necessary to debate over the relevance of study materials which are related to the interests, backgrounds, and experiences of all young people represented in the student body. The minimal exposure of students, particularly in the high school, to multi-racial and multi-ethnic learning materials does little to support the ideal orientation of integrated schools. Black studies and Puerto Rican History do not, alone, meet the requirements of an appropriate multi-ethnic curriculum.

4. EACH SCHOOL, WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE CENTRAL OFFICE, SHOULD DESIGN AND IMPLEMENT A WELL-DEFINED PROGRAM TO MEET THE NEEDS OF LOW ACHIEVERS.

If the New Brunswick schools are seriously concerned about the special needs of low achievers, they should make deliberate efforts to deal with the problems of the marginal or less-than-marginal student. How low achievers are provided for should not be left solely to the discretion of individual teachers nor should provisions be made in a haphazard manner. A carefully designed school-wide (or system-wide) remedial and tutorial plan should be developed and supported. This would give direction to teachers in meeting the requirements of youngsters who perform below par. It would also help to prevent non-coping students from having to sit, as many of them apparently do, in classrooms without receiving some kind of special attention.

5. UNIFORM GRADING PROCEDURES SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED, ARTICULATED, AND MONITORED.

Students often feel they are treated unfairly when it comes to grading. Oftentimes, this feeling of unfairness results from a lack of understanding in terms of performance standards and grading procedures. This is not to suggest that grades do not sometimes reflect teacher bias, but it is to say that bias is more difficult to contain when there are no controlling guidelines. Unfair grading, whether it is real or imagined, can create an extremely sensitive area in racially integrated schools. The fact that members of one racial group will feel favored or disfavored should be anticipated. To minimize conflict growing out of this, the schools would be wise to develop and articulate a uniform grading procedure which is reasonable and monitored. Students, from all racial groups, need to know the basis for their grades and have the assurance that it represents a measure by which they and their peers are fairly evaluated.

6. CONSIDER TEACHER RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUPPORT THEIR SUGGESTIONS FOR CURRICULUM IMPROVEMENT.

New Brunswick teachers seem to have a clear understanding of their curricular and instructional problems. They have made suggestions for dealing with them which are strongly supported by the research findings. It is understandably frustrating for them, however, to continue offering recommendations if they go unheeded and are never translated into improved programs. Teachers' suggestions made in this study for improving curriculum and instruction should be given considerable attention; at the same time, the input from faculty members should be continued in a systematic and useful way.

### Student Discipline

Discipline, in schools, is often described in punitive terms and interpreted as a way of controlling student behavior. The negative tone of such descriptions and interpretations has a heavy ring in the many schools where the disciplinary process is punishment-based and operationalized with "after-the-fact" procedures. In this

kind of setting an inordinate amount of attention is given to modifying deviant behavior, which is often differently perceived, and developing structures for student compliance and adaptation.

An effective disciplinary process speaks to far more than rules and regulations and the penalties for their infraction. While it does have a punitive aspect, the need for punishment is reduced in proportion to the amount of preventive measures the schools take. Student discipline can be characterized by the degrees or kinds of orderliness within schools and the means by which that orderliness is obtained. That characterization should, however, be extended to include a process which moves young people from dependence on adults to reliance upon themselves. It should represent a set of activities which serves to wean students away from adult direction and discipline and leads them toward self-direction and self-discipline. Ideally, discipline should include preventive, remedial, and directional measures which guide students toward positive participation in the school's social system and the broader social order which exists outside of the school setting.

In examining the disciplinary process of New Brunswick schools, attention was focused on the upper grades and questions were asked which spoke to governing rules and the equality of their enforcement, student exclusions and suspensions, self-discipline of students, and the general disciplinary tone of the various school environments. To understand how students and the professional staff felt about these questions, the following issues were raised:

- To what extent are students given responsibility for self-discipline and the control of their own behavior?

- Is there an equal application of punitive measures when students commit similar offenses?
- Is there a tendency to blame some students for rule infractions even when they are not at fault?
- Are the rules governing student behavior fair and appropriate?
- Is there a relationship between the degree of punitive actions taken and students' racial or ethnic identification?

### Student Suspensions and Exclusions

One of the most severe ways to discipline and punish students is that of forcing them to withdraw from school. That withdrawal might be in the form of suspensions which are usually temporary or it might come as an expulsion which is either permanent or lasts over a long period of time. Both suspensions and exclusions are usually last-resort measures which suggest that schools have exhausted their options (as they have defined them) which allow students to remain in the regular educational setting. The number of forced student withdrawals and the reasons for which they are made, in a real sense, reflect the schools' disciplinary tones and certainly are indicative of the extent to which schools have assumed positive and preventive roles.

Student suspensions and exclusions obviously differ in terms of their seriousness and, in most cases, speak to different groups of students. Since the two measures are different in character and represent variant degrees of severity, they need to be examined separately. In tables 3.25 through 3.28, suspensions data is reported for analysis. Data on exclusions are presented in a following table.

Table 3.25

New Brunswick High School  
Incidents of Student Suspensions  
by Reason, Race, and Sex  
(1972-1973)

Reasons for Suspensions	Race and Sex						Total
	White		Black		Hispanic		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Disruptive Behavior	18	6	68	75	4	0	171
Tardiness	84	57	82	67	3	1	294
Cutting Classes	38	24	54	23	1	1	141
Truancy	17	36	10	8	0	1	72
Use of Profanity	5	1	23	9	1	1	40
Insubordination	47	34	62	38	1	0	182
Smoking	37	5	21	4	1	0	68
Fighting	15	8	32	15	1	0	71
Leaving Building without permission	42	13	17	16	0	1	89
Drugs	3	0	1	0	0	0	4
Drinking	0	0	1	4	0	0	5
Abuse & Assault	0	1	7	8	0	0	16
Stealing	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Arrested	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
Bus vandalism	2	0	4	0	0	0	6
Card playing	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
Other reasons	11	1	5	0	0	0	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>320</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>387</b>	<b>273</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1,183</b>

In analyzing the suspension data, it is difficult to determine the number of students actually represented in the total of suspension incidents since some of them were probably suspended more than once. It is equally difficult to determine if some students who committed similar offenses to those recorded in Table 3.25 were disciplined in some way other than by suspension. In spite of the possibility of suspension repeaters, the reported 1,183 suspensions is alarmingly high for a school with an enrollment of approximately 2,000 students.

Looking at New Brunswick High School suspensions along racial lines, one finds that while black students represent 32.6 percent of the student population, they represent slightly more than 55 percent of the suspension incidents. Disruptive behavior, insubordination, and fighting stand out as the most frequent reasons given for suspending black students. The first two of these are always ambiguously defined, but all three of them might be symptomatic of larger problems existing in the high school. When viewed along sex lines, the black male student is seen as the one having the most difficulty with discipline which leads to suspension.

At the Roosevelt School, the suspension pattern is similar to that of the high school. Here black and Hispanic students make up 81.9 percent of the enrollment, but represent 92.1 percent of the suspensions. Again, the outstanding reasons given for their suspensions were disruptive behavior and fighting--those involved were mostly minority-group males.

Table 3.26

Roosevelt Intermediate School  
Incidents of Student Suspensions  
by Reason, Race, and Sex  
(1972-1973)

Reasons for Suspensions	Race and Sex						Total
	White		Black		Hispanic		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Fighting	4	0	28	9	8	1	50
Profanity	0	0	5	1	0	0	6
Cafe Disruption	0	0	15	1	5	0	21
Roaming Halls	0	0	4	7	1	0	12
Smoke Bombs	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Extorting Money	0	0	2	0	1	0	3
Vandalism	0	0	4	0	2	0	6
Disruptive Behavior	3	0	35	18	11	3	70



Table 3.26 (continued)

Reasons for Suspensions	Race and Sex						Total
	White		Black		Hispanic		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Hanging out of Window	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Cutting Classes	2	2	2	4	0	0	10
Leaving building without permission	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Obscene Photo	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>190</b>

The Redshaw School's ratio of suspensions to student enrollment (406:674) was higher than that of New Brunswick High School or the Roosevelt School. An analysis of Redshaw's suspensions along race or sex lines could not be made since race and sex data were not made available by the school.

Suspensions at the New Street School were more alarming than at other schools. Here fifty-four students were enrolled, and the number of suspension incidents totalled fifty-three.

At the elementary school level, six incidents of suspensions were reported. The Bayard School suspended one black male pupil for being disrespectful. The Nathan Hale School suspended three black males and two black females for disruptive behavior.

Exclusions from New Brunswick schools, for the most part, occurred at the high school. Nineteen of the twenty-two excluded students were black, and a majority of these students were males.

Table 3.27

The Redshaw School  
Incidents of Student Suspensions by Reason  
(1972-1973)

Reasons for Suspensions	Number of Suspensions
Profanity	29
Fighting	130
Disruptive Behavior	90
Vandalism	5
Extortion	13
Disrespectful	30
Threatening Teacher	11
Smoking	8
Molesting	4
Assault	21
Cutting Classes	35
Truancy	4
Drug-related Offenses	5
Gambling	3
Other Reasons	18
<b>Total</b>	<b>406</b>

Table 3.28

The New Street School  
Incidents of Student Suspensions  
by Reason, Race, and Sex  
(1972-1973)

Reasons for Suspensions	Race and Sex						Total
	White		Black		Hispanic		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Fighting	1	0	12	2	0	0	15
Profanity	0	0	10	0	2	0	12
Cutting Classes	4	0	4	0	0	0	8
Assault	0	0	5	1	0	0	6
Disruptive Behav.	2	0	3	0	1	0	6
Smoking	1	0	4	1	0	0	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>53</b>

Table 3.29

New Brunswick High School  
Student Exclusions by Reason, Race, and Sex  
(1972-1973)

Reasons for Exclusions	Race and Sex						Total
	White		Black		Hispanic		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Selling Narcotics	3	0	2	0	0	0	5
Chronic Disruptive Behav.	0	0	2	5	0	0	7
Assault	0	0	5	2	0	0	7
Fire Alarm	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Arson	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>22</b>

No exclusions were reported by the New Street School nor the elementary schools. The Roosevelt School expelled two black male students, one black female, one Puerto Rican male, and one Puerto Rican female for being incorrigible. The Redshaw School expelled one black male and one Hispanic male for being continually disruptive.

#### The Fairness and Equal Application of Discipline

Considering the number of punitive disciplinary incidents which have occurred, the range of offenses which students have been charged with committing, and the apparent and disproportionate number of minority-group students who have been punished, questions are certain to be raised which speak to the fairness of school rules

and the extent to which they are applied. To determine student perceptions relating to these issues, the following questions were posed:

- Do you think most rules in the school are fair?
- At school, are you often blamed for things that just aren't your fault?
- When you are disciplined at school, do you think you are treated the same as other students would be if they committed the same offense?

In responding to the "fairness" question, minority-group students demonstrated a higher tendency to view school rules as being unfair than did white students. This is illustrated in Table 3.30.

Table 3.30

Percent of Students by Race, Responding  
to the "Fairness of Rules" Question

School	Racial Group	Student Responses		Total
		Yes	No	
Roosevelt	White	90.0	10.2	100 (N= 10)
	Minority	70.6	29.4	100 (N= 51)
Redshaw	White	100.0	0.0	100 (N= 12)
	Minority	75.0	25.0	100 (N= 48)
Gibbons	White	69.2	30.8	100 (N= 13)
	Minority	96.2	3.8	100 (N= 26)
NBHS	White	69.2	30.8	100 (N=240)
	Black	56.0	44.0	100 (N=134)
	Hispanic	75.0	25.0	100 (N= 52)

When the responses of all students are examined collectively, it can be said that most students felt that school rules were fair. This, however, should not be interpreted to mean that a sizable majority of all students are satisfied with the conditions that govern them. In the Roosevelt and Redshaw schools, there is a significant percentage (25.0% and 29.4%, respectively) of minority-group students who perceived the rules as being unfair. At the high school, 44 percent of the black students did not view the rules as being fair. This same view was shared by 30.8 percent of the white students and 25 percent of the Hispanic students there.

In responding to the "unfair blame" question, students of all racial groups at the Redshaw and Roosevelt schools tended to feel that they were blamed for things which were not their fault. At the high school, where a greater percentage of students felt the rules were unfair, there was a strong tendency among all students to feel they had not been unjustly blamed when they were charged with infraction of rules.

Table 3.31  
Percent of Students by Race, Responding  
to the "Unfair Blame" Question

School	Racial Group	Student Responses		Total
		Yes	No	
Roosevelt	White	60.0	40.0	100 (N= 10)
	Minority	69.2	30.8	100 (N= 52)
Redshaw	White	50.0	50.0	100 (N= 12)
	Minority	53.3	46.7	100 (N= 45)

Table 3.31 (continued)

School	Racial Group	Student Responses		Total
		Yes	No	
Gibbons	White	28.6	71.4	100 (N= 14)
	Minority	23.1	76.9	100 (N= 26)
NBHS	White	19.7	80.3	100 (N=244)
	Black	23.5	76.5	100 (N=136)
	Hispanic	23.1	76.9	100 (N= 52)

When speaking to the "rule fairness" and "unfair blame" questions, black students, as compared to white students, were more inclined to respond in negative terms. This remained constant at the Redshaw School when the "treatment for the same offense" question was asked. It was somewhat reversed, however, at the Gibbons and New Brunswick High Schools. A higher percentage of white students, as compared to black and Hispanic students, felt that they would not be treated the same as other students if they committed the same offense.

One would normally expect that students who had been designated as "discipline problems" would be overly represented in those groups who thought the rules were unfair and unequally applied or that students were differentially disciplined for the same offenses. A secondary analysis of the data, however, did not validate this. Fifty-eight percent of white students (N=12), who were considered to be moderate or serious discipline problems, did not feel the rules were unfair. Among the black students who had been designated as discipline problems, 55 percent (N=33) of them felt the rules were fair. The percentages relating to "wrongful blame" were about the

same. Eighty-two percent of black students, who were viewed as being discipline problems, indicated that discipline was equally applied. One-half of the white students, with discipline labels, shared the same view.

Table 3.32

Percent of Students by Race, Responding to the "Equal Treatment for the Same Offense" Question.

School*	Racial Group	Student Responses		Total
		Yes	No	
Redshaw	White	91.7	8.3	100 (N= 12)
	Minority	76.6	23.4	100 (N= 47)
Gibbons	White	71.4	28.6	100 (N= 14)
	Minority	88.5	11.5	100 (N= 26)
NBHS	White	65.6	34.4	100 (N=241)
	Black	75.4	24.6	100 (N=130)
	Hispanic	77.8	22.2	100 (N= 54)

\*This question was not asked of students at the Roosevelt School.

The highest percentage (52.9%) of white students in a grade, who felt the school rules were unfair, were found to be in their twelfth year. For black students, the highest percentage was at the eleventh grade. The percentage of black students, in a single grade, who felt themselves wrongfully blamed, decreased as grade levels rose. It was, therefore, in grade twelve where the lowest percentage of black students viewed themselves as being blamed for offenses they did not commit. White students presented a similar pattern in regards to the "equality of application" issue.

It was in the twelfth grade where they were most likely to view discipline as being equally administered. The responses of Hispanic students, by grade level, were too few to examine for the purpose of making comparisons.

There was no general pattern in the students' open-ended responses to a question which asked for suggestions to improve disciplinary rules and procedures at their schools. Many students did not respond to the open-ended questions at all. Some responding students felt that there should be more security guards; others felt that there should be none. There was, however, substantial agreement that the rules regarding lateness were most unfair.

#### The Discipline-Problem Students

School officials were asked to indicate how much of a discipline problem each student was in the sample. The choices for making discipline-problem designations were: a serious problem, a moderate problem, and no problem at all. In Table 3.33, a summary of those designations by schools and racial groups is presented. An analysis of the presentation shows that in all schools, a relatively high number of minority-group students are viewed as being discipline problems.

At the Redshaw School, more than one-third of the minority-group enrollment has been so labelled. At New Brunswick High School, very few white students (4.9 percent) and very few Hispanic students (7.3 percent) have been placed in a discipline-problem category. On the other hand, more than one-third (36.3 percent) of all black students have been given a discipline-problem designation.



Table 3.33

Percent of Students by Race, in Each Upper-Grade School who Have Been Categorized as a Moderate or Serious Discipline Problem

School	Racial Category			Total
	White	Black*	Hispanic	
Roosevelt	12.5 (N= 8)	18.0 (N= 60)	-	17.2 (N= 68)
Redshaw	0.0 (N= 12)	37.5 (N= 48)	-	30.0 (N= 60)
Gibbons	0.0 (N= 14)	18.5 (N= 27)	-	12.2 (N= 41)
NBHS	4.9 (N=246)	36.3 (N=138)	7.3 (N= 55)	12.0 (N=440)

\*Because of the small number of Hispanic students in the sample of Roosevelt, Redshaw, and Gibbons schools, black and Hispanic students were grouped under one category.

Table 3.34

Teacher Estimates of the Percent of Students in Each Racial Group Who are Discipline Problems

School	Racial Group*	Percent of Teachers Estimating			Total
		Over 10%	1% to 10%	Less than 1%	
Elem. Schools	White	14.2	36.2	49.6	100 (N=113)
	Minority	31.8	36.4	31.8	100 (N=12)
New Street	White	66.7	0.0	33.3	100 (N= 3)
	Minority	100.0	0.0	0.0	100 (N= 3)
Roosevelt	White	23.5	44.1	32.4	100 (N= 34)
	Minority	52.8	33.3	13.9	100 (N= 36)

Table 3.34 (continued)

School	Racial Group*	Percent of Teachers Estimating			Total
		Over 10%	1% to 10%	Less than 1%	
Redshaw	White	16.0	60.0	24.0	100 (N= 50)
	Minority	32.3	44.3	13.5	100 (N= 52)
Gibbons	White	25.0	25.0	50.0	100 (N= 8)
	Minority	12.5	37.5	50.0	100 (N= 8)
NBHS	White	29.9	41.1	29.0	100 (N=124)
	Minority	37.2	37.6	15.2	100 (N=125)

\*Because of the small number of Hispanic students in the sample, both black and Hispanic students were included in the "minority" category.

Faculty members were asked to estimate the percent of discipline problems in each student racial group. Their estimates are in the above table. Teacher estimates of student discipline problems, along racial lines, followed the pattern of that presented by school officials. Generally, the teachers perceived minority-group students as being more of a discipline problem than white students. In all schools, except Gibbons, a higher percentage of teachers reported that more than ten percent of the minority-group students were discipline problems. In schools other than New Brunswick High School, about one-half of this percentage was similarly reported about white students.

### The Quality and Tone of Discipline

Teachers were asked to rate the quality of discipline in their schools on a scale of from 1 (poor) to 10 (excellent). Their ratings were transposed into three categories--high, medium, and low--and are reported in the following table.

Table 3.35

#### Teacher Ratings of the Quality of Discipline in New Brunswick Schools

School	Percent of Rating Teachers			Total
	High	Medium	Low	
Elem. Schools	40.3	41.2	18.5	100 (n=124)
New Street	62.5	25.0	12.5	100 (n= 8)
Roosevelt	12.5	57.5	30.0	100 (n= 40)
Redshaw	26.5	36.7	36.7	100 (n= 49)
Gibbons	62.5	25.0	12.5	100 (n= 8)
NBHS	4.7	30.2	65.1	100 (n=129)
Total	38.4	37.3	24.3	100 (N=358)

It was only at the New Street and Gibbons schools where a majority of teachers rated the quality of their discipline as excellent. At the Redshaw and Roosevelt schools, an alarming number of teachers gave a low rating to the quality of discipline. A rather strikingly low rating was made by teachers at New Brunswick High School, where almost two-thirds of the faculty reported that the discipline was poor.

To evaluate the disciplinary tone of New Brunswick schools, teachers were asked to compare their schools with others outside the area. Few New Brunswick teachers

viewed their schools as being more strict than schools elsewhere. The majority of teachers (66.2 percent) in the elementary schools and in the Redshaw School (61.2 percent) felt that the tone of their schools was about average. The majority of the faculty at Roosevelt, Gibbons, New Street, and New Brunswick High School saw their schools as being more easy-going than other schools.

Table 3.36  
Teacher Evaluations of the Disciplinary  
Tone of New Brunswick Schools  
(in comparison with schools outside the area)

School	Percent of Evaluating Teachers			Total
	more strict	more easy-going	about average	
Elem. Schls.	17.6	14.7	66.2	100 (n=135)
New Street	0.0	100.0	0.0	100 (n= 6)
Roosevelt	7.3	58.0	34.7	100 (n= 41)
Redshaw	4.1	34.7	61.2	100 (n= 49)
Gibbons	0.0	100.0	0.0	100 (n= 8)
NBHS	3.1	70.2	25.2	100 (n=131)
Family L. C.	0.0	100.0	0.0	100 (n= 5)
<b>Total</b>	<b>9.0</b>	<b>40.4</b>	<b>49.5</b>	<b>100 (N=376)</b>

Building principals tended to support the comparisons made by their teachers.

In all elementary schools, except one, principals reported that their schools were strict but not very strict. In the upper grades, principals tended to think of their

schools as not being very strict.

### Students' Self-Responsibility and Self-Discipline

Teachers in the different schools reported varying degrees to which students were given responsibility for self-discipline and controlling their own behavior.

Table 3.37

Teacher Perceptions of the Extent to Which  
Students were Given Responsibility for  
Self-Control and Self-Discipline

School	Percent of Responding Teachers				Total
	great extent	moderate extent	minimal extent	not at all	
Elem. Schls.	12.8	51.8	31.9	3.5	100 (n=131)
New Street	50.0	25.0	25.0	0.0	100 (n= 8)
Roosevelt	7.5	47.5	40.0	5.0	100 (n= 40)
Redshaw	13.5	32.7	42.3	11.5	100 (n= 52)
Gibbons	75.0	12.5	12.5	0.0	100 (n= 8)
NBHS	60.0	40.0	0.0	0.0	100 (n= 5)
Total	13.4	34.4	2.1	1.3	100 (N=387)

Students appeared to have been given more responsibility for themselves in those schools with special populations--New Street, Gibbons, and the Family Learning Center. Paradoxically, pupils in the elementary schools were generally reported to be more responsible for themselves than were students in the secondary schools. At New Brunswick High School, where most students are beginning to enter adulthood, there is little opportunity for young people to behave as adults. Here a significant percent (52.6%) of the faculty indicated that students were allowed to be self-responsible

and self-disciplined, only minimally or not at all. A similar percent (53.8%) of teachers at Redshaw made the same indication.

#### Suggestions made by the Professional Staff for Improving Discipline

Teachers and building principals were asked to provide one recommendation, of highest priority, for improving student discipline and disciplinary procedures. The suggestions they provided, seemingly spoke to policy and procedural problems which they had identified, problems for which they offered some real solutions.

The most pervasive suggestion for improving student discipline and the disciplinary procedures at New Brunswick High School was registered by one teacher who made the comment, "Be firm, be specific, be consistent." Over 50 percent of the teachers (N=100) at the high school who offered recommendations made one or more of the following suggestions:

- Develop disciplinary guidelines that are explicitly defined.
- Insure that parents, students, and teachers are informed of disciplinary policies and procedures.
- Insure that disciplinary practices are consistently and uniformly enforced.

Other responding teachers at the high school suggested that more professionals, trained to deal with discipline problems, should be in the school. Some others felt the need for improving parent-school relations.

At the Redshaw School, the suggestion from teachers appearing most frequently was that of making rules clear and enforcing them consistently. There were small

clusters of faculty members here who made these suggestions:

- Provide more student involvement in the process of school government and discipline.
- Involve parents more in disciplinary matters.
- Use guidance more effectively in discipline.
- Put disruptive students in smaller classes.

The suggestions offered most frequently by teachers at the Roosevelt and the elementary schools were: work with parents more closely and be more consistent in the enforcement of rules. One interesting observation made by one of Roosevelt's teachers was: "The children need playground area. They are at an age when they are most active and yet, are confined to a building all day."

In responding to the recommendation request, building principals of secondary schools offered these suggestions for improvement:

- Provide for and encourage student participation in formulating rules and regulations. Allow for cooperative determination among students and administrators of appropriate punishments and penalties.
- Develop leadership skills and greater feelings of student self-worth.
- Insist upon and provide for more consistency among all teachers in the handling of routine discipline problems.
- Clarify the school's disciplinary policy and improve methods in classrooms.

Elementary school principals, who have some problems which are common to those in secondary schools and, of course, some which are different, offered these suggestions for change:

- Make the procedures for discipline and disciplinary policies consistent throughout the district.
- Hold assemblies and meetings with students to confront and resolve discipline issues.
- Insist that those meting out discipline have a better understanding of students' backgrounds and home conditions to realize why students behave as they do.
- Find a way to get better parent cooperation in matters relating to student discipline.

### Summary and Discussion of the Findings

There has been a relatively high number of disciplinary incidents which have resulted in forced withdrawals of students from school. Those withdrawals, usually of short duration, were caused by a variety of rule infractions which ranged from being late to school to assault and criminal arrest. Even though many students, in all racial groups, have been suspended from school, there was a significantly higher percentage of minority-group youngsters who, because of their behavior, were temporarily sent home. Nearly all of the students who were put out of school permanently (excluded) were black. Because of the disproportionate number of black students who were either suspended or expelled from school, one could, by surface judgement, make the charge that white and minority-group students were treated differently when it came to forced withdrawals.

Most students in the different schools felt that school rules were fair and believed that discipline was equally applied. There was, however, a significant number of both majority and minority-group students who did not perceive the school rules



as being fair nor did they think that discipline was impartially administered. As expected in a racially-integrated setting, there were white students who felt that minority-group students were favored when discipline was applied. There were, of course, a number of black and Hispanic students who thought that the reverse of this was true.

An examination of "discipline problem" designations in secondary schools, revealed that very few white students were considered to be either moderate or serious discipline problems. More than one-third of minority-group students (mostly black youngsters), however, were given a discipline-problem label. This suggested that one out of every three black students had, at one time or another, been charged with infracting some school rule or violating some school value. Surprisingly, a majority of students, in all racial groups and who were viewed as discipline problems, did not feel that the school rules were unfair, that they had been wrongly blamed for offenses they did not commit, nor that discipline was unfairly or unequally applied.

Teachers in the New Brunswick schools did not tend to have a high regard for the quality of discipline that was imposed on students. The discipline, based on teacher reports, seemed to be of a higher caliber at the elementary schools than at the secondary schools. The faculty in New Brunswick High School suggested that its discipline had the lowest quality of any school in the district. When comparing the disciplinary tone of New Brunswick schools with schools outside of the district, teachers and administrators were generally inclined to view theirs as being more easy-going.

Except for schools with special populations, students in New Brunswick schools are not given much opportunity to be self-responsible and self-disciplined. Independence is exercised by pupils in the elementary schools to a somewhat higher degree than it is by students in the upper grades. At the high school, where self-direction of students is usually expected to be relatively high, students are provided only limited opportunity to be self-controlled and responsible for their own behavior.

Teachers and school principals, in making recommendations for improving discipline and the disciplinary process, demonstrated an understanding of the discipline problems in their schools and provided some realistic possibilities for their solution. In providing suggestions for the improvement of discipline, most responding school professionals identified the lack of clarity and direction in disciplinary policies and procedures as causes of disciplinary confusion and inconsistency.

### Recommendations

1. CAREFULLY EXAMINE THE RULES, PROCEDURES, AND CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH HAVE CAUSED SUCH A DISPROPORTIONATE NUMBER OF MINORITY-GROUP STUDENTS TO BE EITHER SUSPENDED OR EXCLUDED FROM SCHOOL.

Whether black and Hispanic students have been unequally treated in suspensions and exclusions or not, it is difficult to explain, for general acceptance, how and why so many of them, as compared to whites, have been forced to withdraw from school either temporarily or permanently. Offenses which have such definitions as "disruptive behavior" and "insubordination" should be looked at carefully since they are catch-all devices, usually couched in ambiguity, which allow schools to rid themselves of certain students when staff members are either unwilling or ill-prepared to deal with students' idiosyncracies.

2. ESTABLISH AND ARTICULATE, IN COLLABORATION WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL SCHOOL PARTICIPANTS, A UNIFORM AND DISTRICT-WIDE DISCIPLINE POLICY.

The professional staff in all of the schools suggested that if a district-wide discipline policy existed at all, it was neither clear nor mutually understood. The impression was given that schools, with few exceptions, had independent sets of rules and regulations with much of the disciplining left to the discretion of individual teachers in classroom settings. A common complaint of teachers was addressed to the lack of direction and consistency in disciplinary matters. School principals, themselves, suggested a need for direction from the district office in the form of district-wide discipline policies and procedures. Some teachers inferred that perhaps many parents and students were not fully aware of some rules nor the resultant consequences when those rules were transgressed. Even if rules and procedures have been established by the District Office, they might need to be reviewed, modified, and circulated. To ensure that they will be reasonably understood and accepted, it is essential that representatives of all school participants, including parents from all racial and socio-economic groups, actively participate in the review of old policies and procedures as well as in the development of new ones.

3. ESTABLISH A DISTRICT-WIDE DISCIPLINE CODE AND ENSURE THAT IT IS CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THROUGHOUT THE SCHOOL DISTRICT.

The discipline code, if one exists, should be re-examined in terms of its clarity and general understanding. If no such code exists, then one should be established. This suggestion might be viewed as an extension of those made in the previous recommendation. The discipline code should be defined in such a way to acknowledge and explain the existence of students' rights. It should contain a listing of offenses and the penalties that can be expected when they are committed. A fair disciplinary procedure should be included which reflects the thinking of school participants who, somehow, will be affected by the disciplinary process.

4. IN-SERVICE WORKSHOPS AND PROFESSIONAL MEETINGS SHOULD BE HELD PERIODICALLY TO KEEP STAFF MEMBERS AWARE OF DISCIPLINE PROBLEMS AND APPROPRIATE PROCEDURES FOR DEALING WITH THEM.

Teacher responses to discipline-related concerns clearly suggested a lack of consistency in dealing with students who have become behavior problems. It appeared that appropriate punishments and penalties had not been adequately described and, consequently, there was no evenness by which discipline problems were determined and treated. This situation has simply led to confusion and frustration. It should not be assumed that all professional staff members can deal effectively with discipline, especially the kind that today's multi-racial schooling sometimes produces. The truth of the matter is that many teachers need help as they struggle with the different behaviors of students with diverse backgrounds and experiences. Teachers, particularly those who are relatively new to the system, need to be supported--and even guided, at times-- as they enter the arena of student discipline. Periodic workshops and meetings should be conducted to provide information, discuss common problems, develop strategies, review procedures, and receive direction for improving discipline methods and approaches.

5. DEVELOP AN ALTERNATIVE TO STUDENT SUSPENSIONS OF THE TRADITIONAL SCHOOL.

Student suspensions have often been welcomed by teachers and students. This has been particularly true when faculty members did not want to be bothered and students wanted a "vacation." Some schools have experimented successfully with in-school suspensions--a way of keeping students in school, but temporarily removing them from the regular school program. In-school suspension rooms were usually set up where suspended students were required to be, and study all day under close supervision. For some students, this has been a rewarding punishment in terms of continued learning which required more discipline than the day-to-day school routines. This might not be a solution for all students but it could be "the other step" before students are removed from the school.

There are other alternatives to traditional suspensions which are more educationally beneficial. These need to be explored and given serious consideration. It will continue to be difficult in explaining the large number of students who have been forced to withdraw from the New Brunswick schools, especially if other options have not been tried and tested.

6. **MAKE PROVISIONS FOR STUDENTS TO EXERCISE MORE SELF-DISCIPLINE AND SELF-RESPONSIBILITY.**

Many schools, particularly high schools, have long recognized the need for leading students toward self-discipline and self-responsibility. Implicit in this recognition has been the notion that schools must trust students and have confidence in their ability to make sound judgements. New Brunswick appears not to have made this recognition. The "freedoms" that exist do not appear to be directed at the preparation of young people for making independent decisions in terms of what they will do in school or how they will do it. Students, themselves, do not generally determine the mode of their behavior. Behavior, in this context, means more than adherence to the disciplinary rules and regulations and extends to the formalized learning arrangements. The only students who seemed to have been given some real responsibility for themselves were a handful of academically-selected white students who were involved in independent study. The high school, in particular needs to develop sets of learning experiences, both in and out of classroom settings, which will allow students to become independent and comfortable in assuming responsibility for their behavior.

7. **STRENGTHEN THE COUNSELLING COMPONENTS TO DEAL MORE EFFECTIVELY WITH DISCIPLINE-PROBLEM STUDENTS. GIVE PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO MINORITY-GROUP STUDENTS.**

The fact that more than one-third of the minority-group students has been designated as serious or moderate discipline problems in two of the secondary schools is more than alarming. It suggests that there is a deficiency in

the way that minority-group behavior is perceived and in the manner by which it is addressed. It is difficult to accept the fact that one out of every three minority-group youngsters in certain schools has had a brush with disciplinary trouble, while less than five percent of the white students has had a similar encounter. There may be many explanations for the relatively large number of minority-group students, most of whom are black, who are perceived by school staffs as being disciplinary problems. This, however, does not alter what appears to be a failure of the schools to deal effectively with the behavior of a particular group of students.

A stronger and broader counselling component which provides a more humanistic approach to discipline might serve in helping to reduce the number of students who seem to be getting into difficulty. Counselling is not a cure-all, but when it is used appropriately and sufficiently, it tends to, at least, get closer to problems and create a better understanding of student behavior.

#### School Supports for Student and Teacher Performance

Neither the best prepared teachers nor the most gifted students can be expected to perform at maximum levels unless the school setting in which their performance takes place is a stimulating and supportive one. For teachers with lesser capabilities and students who are less gifted, the need for stimulation and support in the educational environment is even greater. The best equipped schools with the most credentialed staffs and able students are likely to fall short of their potential if those who direct them fail to provide supports which encourage students and faculty members to raise their performance levels.

School supports which help teachers and students perform at higher levels are many in number and certainly include more than the facilities, materials, and programs which are usually viewed as the essentials for educational achievement. Included in the variety of school supports which students and faculty members require is something in addition to those provisions which are intended to improve teaching and learning skills. Some of the requirements may not even be directly related to what happens in a classroom. School supports, under the best of circumstances, should make school participants feel that the school cares about and is committed to them and their objectives. This care and concern is characterized by the attitudes and interactions of students and school professionals, the general tone of the school, and the way they must live, learn, and work in that climate.

#### School Supports for Students

School supports for student needs, as previously suggested, take several forms. The existence and effectiveness of them are often meaningful only to the extent which students give them meaning. It therefore, seemed important to understand how students perceived school supports if an assessment of them was to produce any real direction which resulted from evaluative efforts. The supports that were examined, for the purposes of this study, did not speak so much to those normally structured in programmatic form, but rather to those which were not usually formalized, yet served to encourage students and give them the feeling that the school was concerned about them as they performed in their day-to-day school activities. School supports, in the context of

this study, were defined in the following issues:

- Does the school exert enough effort to help students improve their studies?
- Do teachers show enough interest in students and encourage them to perform at higher levels?
- Does the school have an adequate understanding of students' individual problems? If it does, is that understanding translated into more positive teacher-student interactions?
- Does the school encourage students to use their talents or participate in school activities?
- Does the school provide adults to whom students can feel free to approach and discuss personal problems?
- Are guidance and counselling activities effective as supports for student needs?

The kinds of student supports that are suggested in the above questions are not usually mentioned in school reports nor staff records. As a matter of fact, there is seldom any requirement that an accounting for them be made. This made it even more imperative that students be asked to respond to questions, in evaluative terms, that addressed the school-support issues.

Teacher interest in students. When students were asked if teachers were showing enough interest in them, approximately 20 to 30 percent of the respondents in all racial groups at the high school answered negatively. The degree of their negativism appeared to be associated with their grade levels. Almost without exception, the percent of students who indicated a lack of teacher interest in them was lowest at grade nine and highest in grade twelve.



Table 3.38  
 Percent of New Brunswick High School Students  
 by Racial Group and Grade Level  
 Who Did Not Perceive Teachers  
 as Being Interested in Them

Racial Group	Grade Level				Total
	9th	10th	11th	12th	
White	20.8 (n=24)	24.4 (n=86)	31.1 (n=61)	35.6 (n=73)	29.1 (N=244)
Black	20.4 (n=49)	18.9 (n=37)	24.1 (n=29)	28.6 (n=21)	22.1 (N=136)
Hispanic	12.0 (n=25)	28.6 (n=14)	36.4 (n=11)	0.0 (n=4)	21.8 (N=55)

At the Redshaw School, more than one-third (37.6 percent) of minority-group students and 16.7 percent of the white students did not perceive teachers as being interested in them. This was racially reversed at the Gibbons School where 21.4 percent of the white students and 7.4 percent of the black students had the same perception.

When the question, "Are you encouraged by most of your teachers to improve in your studies?" was asked, a high percentage of all students in all secondary schools responded with "no" replies.

The percent of white students, as compared to minority group students, who did not feel encouraged by most teachers, was relatively high as evidenced by the data presented in Table 3.39.

Table 3.39

Student Responses to the "Teacher Encouragement"  
Question by School and Racial Group

School	Racial Group	Percent of Students Responding		Total
		Yes	No	
Redshaw	White	58.3	41.7	100 (N= 12)
	Minority	75.0	25.0	100 (N= 44)
Gibbons	White	77.0	23.0	100 (N= 13)
	Minority	92.6	7.4	100 (N= 27)
NBHS	White	49.2	50.8	100 (N=244)
	Black	70.3	29.7	100 (N=138)
	Hispanic	74.1	25.9	100 (N= 54)

At both the Redshaw School and the New Brunswick High School, nearly one-half of the white students fell into the unencouraged group. Looking at the encouragement factor in the high school and at grade levels, no pattern could be found for black and Hispanic students. White students, however, showed a very definite grade-association pattern. One-third of them in the ninth grade did not feel encouraged by most teachers to improve their studies. In the tenth grade it was 45.9 percent, in the eleventh grade it was 50 percent, and in the twelfth grade it was 63 percent. It was very clear that the more advanced the white students were, the more inclined they were to believe that teachers did not encourage them.

A secondary analysis of the teacher encouragement responses revealed some other findings which were of significance and merit some thought:

- Over 50 percent of the white students, who indicated that they were in College Preparatory and Business programs, did not feel encouraged by most of their teachers to improve their studies.
- Almost 70 percent of the students who indicated they were in Advanced Placement programs did not feel encouraged by teachers.
- It was in the General program where the highest percentage (32.6%) of black students felt unencouraged.
- At New Brunswick High School, 62.7 percent of those white students who were not satisfied with their programs of study indicated a lack of teacher encouragement.
- Surprisingly, 67 percent of the moderate and serious discipline problem students (both black and white) felt that most teachers had encouraged them to improve academically.

School efforts to help students improve their studies. Moving away from the teacher encouragement question and speaking more broadly to the school support issue, students were asked to rate their school in terms of its efforts to help them improve their studies.

The majority of students tended to rate their schools as either good or excellent with the exception of black and white students in New Brunswick High School. More than 65 percent of them rated the high school in fair or poor terms. Hispanic students at the high school (65.4 percent) generally perceived themselves as being adequately supported by the school in improving their studies.

Table 3.40  
 Student Ratings of the Schools' Efforts  
 to Help Students Improve their Studies

School	Racial Group	Percent of Rating Students				Total
		Excell.	Good	Fair	Poor	
Roosevelt	White	70.0	20.0	10.0	0.0	100 (N= 10)
	Minority	41.7	35.4	14.6	8.3	100 (N= 48)
Redshaw	White	9.9	63.6	27.3	0.0	100 (N= 11)
	Minority	16.7	42.9	35.7	4.8	100 (N= 42)
Gibbons	White	21.4	57.1	14.3	7.1	100 (N= 14)
	Minority	48.1	37.0	14.8	0.0	100 (N= 27)
NBHS	White	4.6	30.1	41.1	23.8	100 (N=239)
	Black	5.6	27.8	45.2	21.4	100 (N=126)
	Hispanic	30.8	34.6	17.3	17.3	100 (N= 52)

The schools' understanding of students' individual problems. When students were asked to rate their schools in terms of how well they understood their individual problems, only those at Roosevelt and Gibbons showed a strong tendency to view their school as being good or excellent in this respect. At the Redshaw School, a very high percentage of both majority and minority-group students (81.8 and 73.8, respectively) gave the understanding view of their schools a fair or poor rating. At the high school, 85.7 percent of the white students and 83.6 percent of the black students also gave low ratings. Slightly more than 50 percent of the Hispanic students felt that New Brunswick

High School was deserving of a good or excellent rating.

Table 3.4:

Student Ratings of the Schools in Terms of  
Understanding of Individual  
Student Problems

School	Racial Group	Percent of Rating Students				Total
		Excell.	Good	Fair	Poor	
Roosevelt	White	60.0	40.0	0.0	0.0	100 (N= 10)
	Minority	36.0	28.0	28.0	8.0	100 (N= 50)
Redshaw	White	0.0	18.2	63.6	18.2	100 (N= 11)
	Minority	11.9	14.3	47.6	26.2	100 (N= 42)
Gibbons	White	28.6	35.7	21.4	14.3	100 (N= 14)
	Minority	51.9	22.2	18.5	7.4	100 (N= 27)
NBHS	White	3.4	11.0	38.4	47.3	100 (N=237)
	Black	3.3	13.1	32.8	50.8	100 (N=122)
	Hispanic	18.9	34.0	15.1	32.1	100 (N= 53)

The attitudes students had about their schools' understanding of individual problems might be associated with student perceptions of the accessibility they had to adults when they needed to talk about their personally upsetting experiences. Students were asked to respond to the question, "When you are in trouble or just feel upset at school, is there an adult whom you can see and talk with freely?" Most students at Roosevelt and Gibbons answered in the affirmative, but more than 50 percent of black and white

students at Redshaw and the New Brunswick High School provided negative responses. Only 25.9 percent of the Hispanic students at the high school felt the absence of an adult with whom they could discuss individual problems in times of trouble or distress.

Schools' encouragement of student talent use and participation in school activities. An important function of schools would seem to be that of identifying student talents and encouraging the development and use of them. Student responses to the question, "Do you get enough opportunities in school to make use of your talents?," suggest that New Brunswick schools have not given enough attention to this function. This seems particularly evident at the high school where close to 50 percent of the students, in all racial groups and distributed equally across all program areas, did not feel that the school had provided opportunities for the development and use of their talents. At the Gibbons and Roosevelt schools, slightly more than 25 percent of the students shared this feeling. It was interesting to note that 67.9 percent of the white students and 69.2 percent of the black students at New Brunswick High School, who rated the "helping to improve my studies" efforts poorly, also reported a lack of school-provided opportunities to make use of their talents.

The "use of talent" question can be related to another question which sought student evaluations of the schools' efforts at encouraging students to participate in school activities. These responses are reported in Table 3.42.

Table 3.42

Student Ratings of the Schools in Terms of  
Encouragement of Students to Participate  
in School Activities

School	Racial Group	Percent of Rating Students				Total
		Excell.	Good	Fair	Poor	
Roosevelt	White	30.0	60.0	10.0	0.0	100 (N= 10)
	Minority	36.7	26.5	16.3	24.0	100 (N= 49)
Redshaw	White	9.1	54.5	36.4	0.0	100 (N= 11)
	Minority	14.1	22.0	41.5	22.0	100 (N= 41)
Gibbons	White	42.9	28.6	21.4	7.1	100 (N= 14)
	Minority	33.3	40.7	14.8	11.1	100 (N= 27)
NBHS	White	7.1	22.1	41.7	29.2	100 (N=240)
	Black	4.8	27.8	37.3	30.2	100 (N=126)
	Hispanic	7.7	38.5	32.7	21.2	100 (N= 52)

There was a similar pattern of responses as described with respect to "helping me improve my studies" and "use of talent." New Brunswick High School and Redshaw came out relatively low, while Gibbons and Roosevelt came out relatively high in the ratings. One interesting change was in the ratings provided by Hispanic students. Their responses somewhat reversed themselves when more than one-half (53.8 percent) of the Hispanic students gave a poor or fair rating to the school's efforts at encouraging them to participate in school activities.

Guidance and counselling. In most schools, guidance and counselling activities are viewed as the most important school support of student needs--needs which are related to both scholastic and non-academic matters. Guidance and counselling are usually more structured and formalized at the secondary school level, but often take some form in the primary and intermediate grades.

The frequency of student visits with a counselor is, of course, not an appropriate measure to assess the quality of guidance and counselling services. Students were, nonetheless, asked to indicate how often they had met with a school counselor. Their responses are reported in Table 3.43 and were solicited to determine the kinds of students who had been most involved in guidance and counselling as well as those who had availed themselves least to these services.

Most students in the secondary schools met with a counselor at least once during the year. There were, however, a high percent (50.0%) of white students at Redshaw who had not visited with a school counselor a single time during the last twelve-month period. At the Gibbons School, a high percent of both white and black students were in this category. Whether by personal choice or something else, white students did not appear to have conferred with school counselors as often as did minority-group students. The percent of black and Hispanic students who have met with a counselor three or more times during the past year was much higher than that of white students who had the same frequency of meetings.



Table 3.43  
Percent of Students in Frequency Categories of  
Visits with a School Counselor During  
the Last Twelve Months

School	Racial Group	Frequency of Visits					Total
		None	Once	Twice	Three Times	Four or More	
Redshaw	White	50.0	16.7	0.0	25.0	8.3	100 (N= 12)
	Minority	14.6	16.7	22.9	22.9	22.9	100 (N= 48)
Gibbons	White	78.6	7.1	7.1	0.0	7.1	100 (N= 14)
	Minority	42.3	0.0	3.8	11.5	42.3	100 (N= 26)
NBHS	White	14.2	30.1	27.2	16.3	11.8	100 (N=246)
	Black	9.4	24.5	19.4	26.6	20.1	100 (N=139)
	Hispanic	13.2	17.0	17.0	35.8	17.0	100 (N= 53)

It was interesting to note that 75 percent of the white students who were labelled as serious or moderate discipline problems saw a counselor three or more times during the year. On the other hand, only 37 percent of the minority-group students, who had been similarly labelled, met this frequently with a counselor. When the frequency question was examined within the context of program areas, the white students in business programs came out as the group having least contact with counselors. Nearly 40 percent of them reported that they had not seen a counselor even once during the last twelve months.

An open-ended question asking students, "What recommendation would you make for improving the guidance and counselling service at your school?," brought out a substantial amount of dissatisfaction with the guidance and counselling service at New

Brunswick High School. This dissatisfaction was expressed, for the most part, in two different ways. First, there were many students who felt that counselors did not look at them as individuals nor deal with the full set of their individual school and personal needs. Secondly, a large number of students felt the need for more counselors so that students would be able to see them more often.

A substantial majority of the teachers in the elementary schools (83.0 percent), the Gibbons School (62.5 percent), and New Brunswick High School (87.2 percent) rated the guidance and counselling service in medium or low terms. Whether this service was interpreted narrowly as those activities performed by guidance counselors or broadly as the responsibility of the entire school staff was not determined. In spite of this, however, the guidance and counselling process was not highly regarded by the different school faculties.

Teacher-student attitudes and interactions. How teachers feel about students and how students perceive those feelings speak sharply to the school-support question. It is, indeed important, in terms of encouragement and performance, for students to have positive attitudes toward those who provide their instruction. At the Roosevelt School, students were asked, "Do you think your teacher likes you?" and "Do you think your teachers want you to learn and be successful in school?" Every white student and 81.3 percent of the minority-group students felt that their teachers liked them. All of the white students and 90.2 percent of the black and Hispanic students perceived that their teachers wanted them to learn and be successful.

Teacher-student interactions at Roosevelt were assessed by examining responses of students to the question, "Do you ever talk to your teacher about something interesting you are doing that is not school work?" Answers to the query suggested that informal relations between students and teachers were not significantly related to students' perceptions of teachers liking them and wanting them to be successful. One-half of the white students and two-thirds of the minority-group students at Roosevelt reported that they had not experienced informal talks with their teachers about things which were not associated with school work.

Students at New Brunswick High School, Redshaw, and Gibbons were asked this open-ended question, "What recommendation would you make for improving teacher-student relations?" Their responses not only identified problems in the area of teacher-student interactions but were also an assessment of it. Overwhelmingly, the students spoke to the lack of teacher interest in them and suggested the need for additional time which would allow teachers and students to talk more with each other.

Nearly 50 percent of the teachers at New Brunswick High School, Redshaw, and Gibbons who responded to the question, "What single recommendation, of highest priority, would you make for improving teacher-student relations?," felt that more time should be provided for either formal or informal teacher-student personal interaction as distinguished from academic interaction. It was suggested that this be done by structuring more conference time, more teacher-student human relations programs, more joint decision-making activities, or by somehow allowing for more informal interaction situations.

Other frequently-offered suggestions by teachers were that the discipline system be improved, that there be more human relations workshops, and that there be more faculty involvement with parents.

Student feelings about belonging in their schools. Perhaps the best indicator of school support for student needs is the degree to which students feel they belong in their schools--the extent to which they identify positively with them. How students responded to the question, "Do you really feel you belong in this school?" is reported in the following Table 3.44

Table 3.44

Student Responses to the Question,  
"Do you think you really belong in this school?"

School	Racial Group	Percent of Responding Students		Total
		Yes	No	
Redshaw	White	75.0	25.0	100 (N= 12)
	Minority	82.6	17.4	100 (N= 46)
Gibbons	White	50.0	50.0	100 (N= 14)
	Minority	88.9	11.1	100 (N=27)
NBHS	White	68.2	31.8	100 (N=239)
	Black	75.7	24.3	100 (N=136)
	Hispanic	87.3	12.7	100 (N= 55)

At New-Brunswick High School, Redshaw, and Gibbons, there were higher percentages of white students, as compared to minority-group students, who indicated that

they did not feel a sense of belonging to their schools. There were, undoubtedly, several reasons why some students did not have a positive identification with their schools, but most of these reasons were probably not uncovered in the study. The association, however, between "not belonging" and three of the school-support variables was quite strong. This is illustrated in Table 3.45. A very high percentage of students, both black and white, who felt they did not belong in New Brunswick High School, also did not feel encouraged to participate in school activities; neither did they feel that they were helped in improving their studies, nor that the school understood their individual problems.

Table 3.45  
Percent of "Non-Belonging" Students who Gave  
Poor Ratings of Other School-Support Variables

Racial Group	School-Support Variables		
	Encourage- ment to participate	Help to improve studies	Understanding of Problems
White (N=76)	85.3%	83.7%	89.0%
Minority (N=33)	71.1%	77.4%	90.3%

The percent of students who felt they did not belong in New Brunswick High School was clearly related to grade levels. Table 3.46 shows a dramatic and consistent increase in the percentages from the ninth to twelfth grades.

Table 3.46

Percent of Students in each New Brunswick High School Grade Who did not feel they Belonged in their School

Racial Group	Grade				Total
	9th	10th	11th	12th	
White	8.7% (n=23)	24.7% (n=85)	28.3% (n=60)	50.7% (n=71)	31.8% (N=239)
Minority	18.8% (n=48)	23.7% (n=38)	24.1% (n=29)	38.1% (n=21)	24.3% (N=136)

There was very little in the data to explain the percentage increase, by grade levels, of students who did not identify positively with the high school. It could, of course, be speculated that the longer students remained in school, the more they became disenfranchised. This speculation is not, however, supported by any of the findings.

Most students who indicated a lack of belonging simply stated that they did not like school. One student was inclined to write, "The school is apathetic, cruel, and cold." One observation worth making was that 82 percent of the white students and 65 percent of the black students who were considered to be moderate or serious discipline problems felt that they really belonged in the school.

#### School Supports for Teachers

Schools and school communities generally have high expectations of their teachers. When those expectations are not met, they often question the teachers' competence

and blame performance shortcomings on a variety of personal attributes. Too seldom do schools find fault with themselves when teachers fail to perform at expected levels even though the blame might be partly theirs. How teachers perform is largely a function of how schools support them in that performance. Low levels of teacher performance might be reflective of minimal school support of teacher efforts. Conversely, the high quality of a teacher's performance might be related to a school's efforts which are maximally supportive.

School supports for teacher performance take many forms and, of course, can be expressed in several ways. For the purposes of this study, they were limited in number and described in the following questions:

- What in-service workshop training relating to intergroup relations and minority-group students has the school provided to improve teacher performance?
- What is the quality of teacher supervision and evaluation provided by the school?
- To what extent are teachers or their representatives involved in school policy-making?
- What is the status of teacher morale in the various schools?

The school supports that these questions identified did not include such things as materials, facilities, or special programs. This was not to suggest that they were unimportant and had not been considered.

In-service training and workshops for teachers. In a racially integrated school system, such as that existing in New Brunswick, it would seem important to have continued attention on intergroup relations and designs for effective teaching in a racially diverse setting. In a school system where a significant majority of the faculty is white

and approximately two-thirds of the students are black and Hispanic, one would certainly expect to find a need for teachers to be trained and retrained so they can provide meaningful education for youngsters who are culturally different. Experiences in integrated schools over the last several years have made the consequences clear when teachers, in a multi-racial school do not understand or misunderstand the implications of racial and cultural diversity.

In an attempt to determine the schools' roles in providing the faculties with support, in the form of school-sponsored training, teachers were asked this question, "During the last year or this year, have you been in any in-service training, workshops, or other teacher education dealing with intergroup relations or instruction dealing with black and Puerto Rican students?" The choice of responses were:

- I haven't had any training.
- Yes, intergroup relations.
- Yes, instruction relating to blacks and Puerto Ricans.
- Yes, both intergroup relations and instruction relating to blacks and Puerto Ricans.

How teachers responded to the question is presented in Table 3.47. Teachers were not asked if their attendance in training sessions was voluntary or required, nor were they asked to report the number of school-sponsored activities which were actually conducted. These did not seem important, within the context of the question, since the intent was not to determine the amount of activities provided but, rather, the extent to which teachers were involved in those activities.



Table 3.47

Percent of Teachers who have had In-service and  
Workshop Training in Intergroup Relations and  
Minority-Group Education  
(1972-73 and 1973-74)

School	Type of Training				Total
	No Training at all	Inter- group relations	Minority- group in- struction	Both	
Elementary	32.9	40.0	10.0	17.1	100 (n=140)
New Street	0.0	75.0	0.0	25.0	100 (n= 8)
Roosevelt	43.9	26.8	7.3	22.0	100 (n= 41)
Redshaw	30.8	44.2	7.7	17.3	100 (n= 52)
NBHS	47.8	36.8	2.9	12.5	100 (n=136)
Gibbons	25.0	37.5	0.0	37.5	100 (n= 8)
Family L. C.	40.0	40.0	20.0	0.0	100 (n= 5)
Total	38.2	38.7	6.7	16.4	100 (N=390)

More than one-third (38.2 percent) of the teachers in the school system had no training at all during the past two years in intergroup relations or minority-group education. A sizable number of them (38.7 percent) had training in intergroup relations, but only a very few (6.7 percent) of them had been in sessions which provided instruction relating to black and Hispanic peoples.

Looking at the effectiveness of the workshops and training sessions, from the perspective of teachers, less than one-half (41.8 percent) of attending faculty members found them to be a valuable experience and only 33.3 percent of them could think of a specific change in their thinking about minority-group students as a result of in-service

training. Teachers did not suggest why the training sessions were so ineffective. It could not be determined if the ineffectiveness resulted from the low quality of the training efforts or if teachers, themselves, were somehow responsible. The important thing to note, however, is that for whatever reasons, teachers have not attended these in-service and workshop activities in large numbers and most of those who were in attendance did not find them to be of great benefit.

Teacher supervision and evaluation. The professional growth of the instructional staff and the quality of its continued performance are enhanced by appropriate teacher supervision and evaluation. Both supervision and evaluation, when properly exercised, should be viewed as school supports which stimulate teachers' concerns and provide direction for their improvement.

The faculty in all New Brunswick schools had a rather positive view of teacher supervision. In rating this activity, slightly more than 80 percent of the teachers gave it a high or medium score. Even though teacher supervision was regarded rather highly by most teachers throughout the system, it appeared to gain the highest respect in elementary schools. The highest percent of teachers who gave it a low rating was found to be in the New Street School and New Brunswick High School.

Faculty ratings of teacher evaluation were similar to those given to teacher supervision except they were slightly lower. The percent of teachers in the "high" category dropped a little while that in the "low" category increased minimally.

Table 3.48

Percent of Faculty in Each Rating Category  
of Teacher Supervision

School	Faculty Ratings			Total
	High	Medium	Low	
Elem. Schls.	53.8	34.2	19.7	100 (n=117)
New Street	50.0	12.5	37.5	100 (n= 8)
Roosevelt	45.0	42.5	12.5	100 (n= 40)
Redshaw	37.5	47.9	14.6	100 (n= 48)
Gibbons	75.0	12.5	12.5	100 (n= 8)
NBHS	36.2	43.3	20.5	100 (n=127)
Family L. C.	60.0	40.0	0.0	100 (n= 5)
<b>Total</b>	<b>42.2</b>	<b>39.4</b>	<b>18.4</b>	<b>100 (N=353)</b>

Table 3.49

Percent of Faculty in Each Rating Category  
of Teacher Evaluation

School	Faculty Ratings			Total
	High	Medium	Low	
Elem. Schls.	40.2	36.6	23.2	100 (n=112)
New Street	37.5	37.5	25.0	100 (n= 8)
Roosevelt	48.6	29.7	21.6	100 (n= 37)
Redshaw	37.8	51.1	11.1	100 (n= 45)
Gibbons	62.5	25.0	12.5	100 (n= 8)
NBHS	33.3	44.4	22.2	100 (n=126)
Family L. C.	0.0	40.0	60.0	100 (n= 5)
<b>Total</b>	<b>38.7</b>	<b>40.8</b>	<b>20.5</b>	<b>100 (N=341)</b>

Teacher involvement in school policy-making. Another activity which might be associated with or viewed as a school support of teacher performance is that of faculty involvement in school policy-making. The rationale for involving teachers in this activity has long been established and the support that such involvement provides for the faculty is now commonly recognized.

Both teachers and school principals were asked the question, "To what extent would you say teachers or teacher representatives are involved in the school's policy-making?" Teacher responses are reported in the following Table 3.50.

Table 3.50

Percent of Responding Teachers in Each of  
the Teacher Involvement Categories  
of School Policy-Making

School	Degree of Teacher Participation				Total
	Greatly	Moderately	Minimally	Not at all	
Elem. Schl.	11.9	32.1	50.7	5.2	100 (n=134)
New Street	37.5	12.5	37.5	12.5	100 (n= 8)
Roosevelt	7.1	31.0	35.7	26.2	100 (n= 42)
Redshaw	11.8	29.4	52.9	5.9	100 (n= 51)
Gibbons	37.5	50.0	12.5	0.0	100 (n= 8)
NBHS	1.5	24.6	43.3	30.6	100 (n=134)
Family L. C.	40.0	40.0	20.0	0.0	100 (n= 5)
Total	9.2	29.1	45.3	16.5	100 (N=383)

Except for those in the Gibbons School and Family Learning Center, a majority of teachers felt that the faculties were either minimally involved in school policy-making or not involved at all. Ninety percent of the teachers in the school district did not feel

that the faculty nor their representatives had a great involvement in policy-making activities. The teacher-involvement reports of the teachers were confirmed by at least one-half of the school principals who indicated that teachers participated in school policy-making either minimally or not at all.

Faculty morale. Teacher morale is perhaps one of the best gauges of how teachers feel about their school and the support it gives them. The different school faculties in New Brunswick were asked to rate teacher morale and their ratings are presented in the following table.

Table 3.51  
Percent of Teachers in Each Rating Category  
of Teacher Morale

School	Faculty Ratings			Total
	High	Medium	Low	
Elem. Schools	28.7	28.5	42.8	100 (n=126)
New Street	62.5	25.0	12.5	100 (n= 8)
Roosevelt	23.1	38.5	38.5	100 (n= 39)
Redshaw	20.8	31.3	47.9	100 (n= 48)
Gibbons	62.5	25.0	12.5	100 (n= 8)
Family L. C.	60.0	20.0	20.0	100 (n= 5)
NBHS	1.5	22.1	76.3	100 (n=131)
Total	19.2	27.4	53.4	100 (N=365)

With the exception of those in special schools (New Street, Gibbons, and the Family Learning Center), teachers did not tend to think highly of teacher morale.

Slightly more than 80 percent of all teachers rated teacher morale in either low or medium terms. Morale seemed to be lowest at New Brunswick High School where 76.3 percent of the faculty rated it poorly and only 1.5 percent of the teachers gave it a high rating.

### Summary and Discussion of the Findings

There was a high percent of students, in all racial groups, who felt that teachers were not interested in them. For some reason, the percent of students who felt that way increased as the grade levels became higher. It reached the point where more than one-third of the twelfth-graders perceived teachers as being disinterested. The percent of students who felt that teachers did not encourage them to improve in their studies was even higher. A large number of students, in all secondary schools, did not feel encouraged by teachers, but more white students tended to feel unencouraged than did minority-group students. White students who did not feel encouraged increased in number as grade levels rose. In the twelfth grade, almost two-thirds of them fell into this unencouraged category. When students indicated their perception of the schools' efforts at helping them to improve their studies, schools other than the high school tended to get a good rating or an excellent rating. At New Brunswick High School, nearly two-thirds of the black and white students provided ratings of either fair or poor.

Students at the Gibbons and Roosevelt schools, for the most part, felt that their schools understood their individual problems. At Redshaw and New Brunswick High School,

however, an overwhelming majority of the students viewed their school as being lacking in understanding of individual student problems. It was also at these two schools where more than one-half of the black and white students did not feel they had access to an adult in school when they were in distress and wanted to talk about it. The number of Hispanic students who felt the lack of accessibility to an adult in times of difficulty was significantly less.

When students rated their schools' efforts at encouraging them to use their talents and participate in school activities, the Gibbons and Roosevelt schools came out relatively high. At Redshaw and New Brunswick High School, the pattern of low student ratings continued. A slight break in this pattern, however, was caused when a majority of the Hispanic students gave the high school a fair or poor rating.

Most students in the secondary schools had seen a school counselor at least one time during the year. There was a large number of them in the Redshaw and Gibbons schools who had not. White students, in all secondary schools, did not appear to have visited school counselors as frequently as black students. A majority of white students who had been labelled as discipline problems, had, nonetheless, seen a counselor three or four times. This was not true of minority-group students who had been similarly labelled. Students, in expressing their dissatisfaction with the guidance and counselling service generally agreed that counselors did not view them as individuals nor did they deal with all of their personal and school needs. They also suggested that there were not enough counselors to allow for frequent visits with them.

Only students at the Roosevelt School were asked if they thought their teachers

liked them and wanted them to be successful. All of the white students, and a high percent of the black students responded in the affirmative. However, most of them indicated that informal interactions with teachers were somewhat minimal and that they never talked to their teachers about matters of personal interest which were not related to school work. Students in the secondary schools implied that interactions between teachers and students left much to be desired. They suggested that there was just not enough time provided whereby they could meet and talk with each other. Many teachers also felt that time constraints were responsible for the limited interaction between them and their students.

There was a high percentage of students who felt they did not belong in their schools. Most of the students who expressed the unbelonging feeling also indicated that teachers did not show interest in them nor encourage them to improve in their studies; the school did not encourage them to participate in school activities, or understand their individual problems. More white students than minority-group students felt they did not belong in their school. The percent of students, in all racial groups, rose dramatically from grade nine through twelve. It was interesting to note, however, that most students who were viewed as discipline problems identified with their schools and felt they belonged.

Teacher workshops and in-service training, related to intergroup relations and minority-group education, have either not been appreciably provided by the schools or not well attended by faculty members. More than one-third of the teachers in the school system were reported to have had no training during the past two years in these areas.



Most of those teachers who indicated that they have been involved in training sessions found them to be of little value.

Most teachers, in all schools, had a positive view of teacher supervision and evaluation. Only a few of them were inclined to give a low rating to these two activities. The attitude of teachers took a reverse turn when they indicated the extent to which they were involved in school policy-making. In all schools, except the special ones, a significant majority of the faculty members reported that teacher participation in school policy-making was either minimal or not at all. This was confirmed by at least one-half of the school principals who made similar reports.

Faculty morale in most New Brunswick schools was not exceptionally high. As a matter of fact, it was rather low, particularly in the secondary schools. At New Brunswick High School, slightly more than three-fourths of the faculty gave teacher morale a low rating, while almost one-half of the faculty at Redshaw did the same.

### Recommendations

1. MORE TIME SHOULD BE ALLOTTED FOR STUDENT-TEACHER CONFERENCES AND ACTIVITIES SHOULD BE DELIBERATELY PROGRAMMED FOR STUDENT-TEACHER INTERACTION.

A large number of students suggested that teachers were not interested in them and did not encourage them to improve academically. The seeming disinterest of teachers as well as the student-perceived lack of teacher encouragement might have resulted, at least in part, because enough time was not provided for teacher-student interaction. Both teachers and students indicated that the constraints of time prevented them from frequently meeting outside of class. It might serve the

best interests of schools and their participants if well-defined teacher conference times were regularly scheduled.

Teachers recognizing the problem of limited opportunities for student-teacher "get togethers," felt that the schools needed to provide activities which would allow for non-classroom meetings. It has become an established fact that students and teachers often come to know and understand each other better when they meet in informal settings. The comfort of such informality could probably do much to improve the student-teacher relations in New Brunswick schools.

2. THE COUNSELLING AND GUIDANCE STAFF AND PROCESS SHOULD BE REVIEWED. PARTICULAR ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH ALLOWED SO MANY STUDENTS TO GO UNCOUNSELLED AND WITHOUT GUIDANCE. IT MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO INCREASE THE GUIDANCE AND COUNSELLING STAFF.

All of the data suggested that the guidance and counselling services were far less than adequate. The large number of students and teachers who were critical of those services was evidence of this. The fact that many students did not avail themselves for guidance and counselling or were not given access to them, needs to be questioned. Students suggested that school counselors did not view them as individuals, but also indicated that they were too few in number to see students frequently. All of this might mean that the guidance and counselling staff is too small to serve the needs of its sizable student population.

The fact that so many students felt that the school did not understand their individual problems did not speak well for the relationship between students and counselors. Speaking even less favorably, was the alarmingly high percentage of students who did not feel comfortable talking to any one adult at school when they were distressed or in trouble.

3. SCHOOL PROFESSIONALS SHOULD DELIBERATELY ENCOURAGE ALL STUDENTS TO PARTICIPATE IN SCHOOL ACTIVITIES.

This recommendation was made before in a different context and in another section of the report. It is, however, important enough to be repeated. The extremely high percentage of students, especially in the high school, who felt they had not been encouraged to use their talents nor participate in school activities might help to explain some of the negative feelings students have about New Brunswick High School.

4. WELL DESIGNED AND PLANNED WORKSHOPS SPEAKING TO INTERGROUP RELATIONS AND MINORITY-GROUP EDUCATION SHOULD BE CONDUCTED PERIODICALLY AND AT A TIME WHEN FACULTY MEMBERS CAN BE REQUIRED TO ATTEND.

Schools involved in integrated education often forget or ignore the fact that positive intergroup relations require considerable work and training, or that teacher-training institutions do not usually equip teachers to perform effectively in racially-diverse settings. This seemed to be the case in New Brunswick. It seems almost incumbent upon integrated schools to provide additional training for new teachers and continued training for older teachers who must serve the special needs of multi-racial education.

Repeating the same "old and tired" sensitivity sessions will not be of much benefit to teachers and is almost certain to dissuade them from attending. Well designed and timely workshops and in-service programs do, however, remain an effective way to train teachers and maintain their interest in that training.

New teachers in the profession and to the school system should be required, on a scheduled basis, to attend school-planned, in-service education sessions which speak directly to the requirements of integrated education. The more experienced teachers should be required to attend, with less frequency, the same kinds of sessions on school-provided time.

5. SCHOOL OFFICIALS SHOULD MAKE PROVISIONS FOR TEACHERS TO BECOME MORE INVOLVED IN SCHOOL POLICY-MAKING.

Teacher participation in school policy-making is, at best minimal. This, of course, has surely had an effect on teacher commitment to school activities and programs. The abundance of literature and research which speaks to the question, is very clear about the need to involve teachers in those decisions which have an impact upon their professional lives. It is suggested that a school-policy committee with decision-making responsibilities, be established which includes both faculty members and administrators. Whatever form the committee takes, it should begin with the kinds of decisions that will be rendered and some well-defined parameters within which those decisions will be made.

6. TEACHERS SHOULD BE CONSULTED TO DETERMINE THE CAUSES OF THE EXTREMELY LOW TEACHER-MORALE IN NEW BRUNSWICK SCHOOLS AND TO PROVIDE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REMOVING THEM. SCHOOL OFFICIALS, IN COOPERATION WITH THE FACULTY, SHOULD DEVELOP PRIORITIES FOR DEALING WITH THEM AND ACT IMMEDIATELY.

This study was designed to get some sense of teacher morale in the schools. It was not, however, intended to get at the causes of low or high morale even though it was expected that some of them would be revealed by other findings. Teacher morale was found to be very low in New Brunswick schools. Faculty members did not provide any reason for this probably because they were not asked to do so. One thing was certain, though, that was the existence of a large number of teachers who were dissatisfied with their schools. It seems important then, that school officials find the causes for that dissatisfaction and, with reason, attempt to eliminate it.

## CHAPTER IV

### EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES

Any attempt to address the issue of educational outcomes must inevitably confront the problem of defining or circumscribing the elements which are to be considered in that process. In examining the outcomes resulting from a particular process or set of activities, it is common practice to turn first to objectives or specified goals towards which that process or those activities have addressed themselves. Following this, or perhaps along with it, efforts are often made by some logical or empirical approach to determine if any other outcomes have resulted--from a particular treatment--which were not originally articulated as goals or anticipated consequences.

Educational systems and processes tend to make this approach difficult since they seldom articulate, with specificity, the purposes of schooling and the limitless number of activities which comprise it. The often-found vagueness of educational goals seems to suggest a tacit assumption that most individuals, having been exposed to some degree of formal education, are aware of its objectives. Even when educational objectives are specified, they are usually couched in language which makes evaluation difficult. The difficulty arises simply because the terms of the language cannot be translated into an operational form.

It might be argued that it is the elusive and difficult-to-measure elements of education that are of most importance and that the problem inheres not so much in their specification, but in the inability of present evaluations to adequately measure them. If such an argument holds, evaluators might then be finding recourse in the measurable to the detriment of the important.

Educational outcomes, by any definition, are somehow viewed as functions of educational processes--what happens or does not happen to students as a result of school programs and activities, and the many approaches and circumstances which are made attendant to them. When consideration is given to educational outcomes, they are generally divided into the two categories--cognitive and noncognitive. "Noncognitive factors include motivation, attitudes, learning styles, social skills, self-awareness, and even such vague but important concepts as happiness and quality of life."<sup>1</sup> Cognitive factors, on the other hand, speak more to the content area and focus on learning which is thought to be measurable by various achievement and performance tests.

There are some other outcomes which might be viewed as educational ones, but which may or may not be directly related to the cognitive nor affective domains of learning. What happens to many students after they complete school can be viewed as a result of the school's educational process, but might also be attributable to variables which are external to the school setting. The withdrawal of some students

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1. Henry A. Averich, et. al., How Effective is Schooling? A Critical Review and Synthesis of Research Findings (Santa Monica, California: Rand Corporation, 1972), p. 16.

from school before completion and the transfer of others to another school system might also be viewed as educational outcomes, particularly if they are perceived to result from something the school, within its parameters of operation, did or did not do.

School participants, and even school officials themselves, often define the roles of the school differently; consequently, their expectations, in terms of educational outcomes, are also different. In the final analysis, therefore, one must operationalize his own reasonable definition of terms as he examines the results of the educational process.

For the purposes of this study, attention was given to two well-defined goals of most public school systems over which little disagreement is likely to be generated: achievement in the particular curriculum areas of reading and mathematics and entry of graduating students into employment or post-high school education. In addition to this, however, student withdrawals from formal education and pupil transfers to other school districts were examined. Student attitudes relating to interracial concerns were, in a sense, viewed as educational outcomes but were studied in a somewhat different context. This is reported in another chapter of the report.

### Student Achievement in Reading and Mathematics

The use of reading and mathematics scores on standardized tests to measure the levels of student achievement has become a common practice in public schools.

This practice, for a variety of reasons, has often been challenged, and its appropriateness as a general assessment device for all students has been sometimes questioned. In spite of this, standardized tests continue to be employed on a large scale to determine student mastery in curriculum areas such as reading and mathematics. A major reason for the continued use of these measuring instruments probably lies in the fact that sound alternatives to them have not been found or generally accepted.

In early May of 1973, New Brunswick students in grades one and two and seven through twelve were tested in reading and mathematics with the California Achievement Test (CAT). At the same time, students in grades three through six were tested in reading and mathematics with the California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS). The outcomes on these tests were reported in the form of student grade-equivalent scores. These scores served as the basis for discussing and analyzing student achievement in this study. Grade-equivalent scores, in spite of some opinions to the contrary, can be useful, but they should be interpreted with caution and applied with understanding. For those who are least familiar with grade-equivalent scores, it might be of some value if a review of their meaning is made.

### Grade-Equivalent Scores

Grade-equivalent scores are norm-referenced scores; that is, they are determined by comparing the test scores of individual students with the test scores of all other students in a sample (in this case, a national sample). The average score of students in a specified grade and month is designated as the grade-level score for that particular level. Thus, a student achieving a score equal to this mean score is assigned that



"grade-equivalent" score. In individual cases, the grade-equivalent score might require some interpretation. If a student in the seventh grade, for example, received a grade-equivalent score of 9.0 on a mathematics test, his score would be equivalent to the mean score of ninth grade students in the sample who were taking the test. This does not necessarily suggest that the seventh grade student can master materials presented in a ninth grade mathematics class. Mastery, in this case, might even be unlikely since the student would probably not have had exposure to materials appropriate for the ninth year level.

Such scores do not tell very much about the standing of students relative to their peers at their particular grade level. Knowing, therefore, that a given student in the tenth grade has a grade-equivalent score in reading of 8.0 does not also allow one to know, with any accuracy, how much the performance of the tenth grader differs from that of his tenth grade classmates, even though it is obvious that he is performing below the national norm for that group.

With these cautions in mind, it should be pointed out that the analysis of achievement outcomes in this study was based on data which were made available by a representative sample of students from each grade level (with the exception of those in grades 4 and 7). This permitted some statement of the relative standings of specific subgroups of students within each grade. Other analyses indicated average grade-equivalent scores for these same subgroups at each grade level. These relative standings, however, did not permit the determination of any absolute degrees of differences among subgroups since differences between grade-equivalent scores did not represent equal intervals.

### Reading Achievement

Table 4.1 presents reading achievement data so that it can be examined for each racial group, both by grades and within grades. Such an examination revealed the following trends, all of which might have been hypothesized:

- Smaller percentages of white students were reading below grade level than were black and Hispanic students. Black students, in turn, represented a higher percentage of readers at or above grade level when compared to Hispanic students.
- There was a tendency for reading performance to decline for all groups from the first grade to the eighth grade, where 75 percent of the white students, 91 percent of the black students, and 100 percent of the Hispanic students were reading below grade level.
- The percentage of white students reading at or above grade level increased significantly in grades 9 through 12. This was not true of students in other racial groups. The percentage of black students reading below grade level in these grades varied from 77 to 93 percent, while that of Hispanic students never went below 83 percent. Indeed, for this latter group of students, no more than 35 percent was ever found to perform at or above grade level and this occurred only in the first grade sample.

Preliminary analysis of the effect of socio-economic status on reading achievement of each racial group showed that as socio-economic status increased, so did the proportion of white and black students who read at grade level and above. (see Table 4.2) This pattern was reversed in the Hispanic sample where lower performance seemed to be associated with increasing socio-economic standing. Even in socio-economic groupings, white students reading below grade level tended to be much fewer than their counter parts in other racial groups.

Table 4.1

Distribution of Students at Different Grade-Norm Levels of Achievement in Reading by Grade and Racial Group

Grade	Racial Group						Grand Totals		
	White		Black		Hispanic		At or Above	Com-bined	
	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above			
1*	1	7	15	23	13	7	29	37	66
2	1	4	10	11	9	4	20	19	39
3	2	2	8	6	4	2	14	10	24
5**	3	9	23	7	10	1	36	17	53
6*	11	7	52	6	10	2	73	15	88
8*	12	4	38	4	8	0	58	8	66
9**	13	14	60	17	22	1	95	32	127
10**	20	39	48	11	10	1	78	51	129
11**	48	48	41	3	5	1	94	52	146
12**	44	63	20	4	4	0	68	67	135
Total	155	197	315	92	95	19	565	308	873

\*p &lt; .05

\*\*p &lt; .01

Note: In testing for significance in grades 8, 11, and 12, black and Hispanic samples were combined because of the small number of Hispanic students.

Table 4.2  
 Distribution of Students at Different Grade-Norm Levels of  
 Achievement in Reading by Socio-Economic Status and Racial Group

SES	Racial Group						Grand Totals*		
	White*		Black		Hispanic				
	Below	At or Above	Below	At or Above	Below	At or Above			
Low	46	47	196	49	68	20	310	116	426
Middle	95	120	92	36	15	1	202	157	359
High	10	35	4	3	2	0	16	38	54
Total	151	202	292	88	85	21	528	311	839

\*p < .01

Table 4.3  
Distribution of Students at Different Grade-Norm Levels of  
Achievement in Mathematics by Grade Level and Racial Group

Grade	Racial Group						Grand Totals		
	White		Black		Hispanic		At or Above	Com- bined	
	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above			
1	1	7	13	25	7	13	21	45	66
2	1	4	9	12	8	5	18	21	39
3	4	0	8	6	2	4	14	10	24
5	6	6	24	6	9	2	29	14	53
6*	11	7	52	6	12	0	75	13	88
8*	13	3	41	1	8	0	62	4	66
9*	4	14	38	16	14	4	56	34	90
10*	24	35	50	7	12	0	86	42	128
11*	52	43	37	5	3	1	92	49	141
12*	54	56	23	1	4	0	81	57	138
Total	170	175	295	85	79	29	544	289	833

\*p > .01

Note: In testing for significance in grades 8, 11, and 12, black and Hispanic samples were combined because of the small number of Hispanic students.

Table 4.4

Distribution of Students at Different Grade-Norm Levels of  
Achievement in Mathematics by Socio-Economic Status and Racial Group

SES	Racial Group						Grand Totals*		
	White		Black		Hispanic		Below Above	At or Above	
	Below	At or Above	Below	At or Above	Below	At or Above			
Low	51	39	179	51	55	27	285	117	402
Middle	100	113	88	30	12	3	200	146	346
High	13	23	4	3	2	0	19	26	45
Total	164	175	271	84	69	30	504	289	793

\*p .01

Note: Combined totals of reading and mathematics achievement reports were different due to incomplete data for some students.

### Mathematics Achievement

Achievement in mathematics by different racial groups showed some similarities to that of achievement in reading. These similarities existed for all groups at each grade level. At all grade levels except the third, where there was a sample of only four white students, the proportion of students scoring below grade level was greater for black and Hispanic students than it was for white students. This disparity was most noticeable for grades nine through twelve, where the proportions below grade level ranged from 22 percent to 55 percent for white students and 70 to 96 percent for black students. The range for Spanish-speaking students was between 75 to 100 percent. This is shown in Table 4.3.

When mathematics achievement is examined according to socio-economic status, findings similar to those for reading were again obtained. This is shown in Table 4.4. With the exception of the Hispanic group, increasing socio-economic status was associated with decreasing proportions of students performing below their grade norm. However, this tendency was more marked among white students.

### A Comparison of Reading and Mathematics Achievement

A more detailed analysis of the performance of students at each grade level was made through an examination of the mean grade-equivalent scores which were obtained. Table 4.5 compares the performance of white, black, and Hispanic students in mathematics and reading achievement at each grade level, and indicates the overall level

of achievement for each grade. This table was arranged so that one could view students' achievements in terms of the average number of months separating each group's performance from that of the national norm.

Table 4.5

Mean Deviation from Grade Norm by Months  
in Reading and Mathematics by Grade  
and Racial Group

Grade	Racial Group						Grade Mean	
	White		Black		Hispanic			
	Reading	Math	Reading	Math	Reading	Math	Reading	Math
1	+ 4	+ 3	+ 1	+ 1	0	+ 1	+ 1	+ 1
2	+ 1	+ 2	- 3	+ 2	- 6	- 6	- 3	- 1
3	- 3	- 6	- 3	- 3	- 6	-16	- 4	- 4
5	-10	- 1	-12	-11	-14	- 9	-12	- 8
6	- 7	- 3	-17	-15	-22	-20	-16	-13
8	-17	-20	-38	-34	-47	-33	-34	-31
9	0	- 1	-17	-13	-26	-17	-15	-11
10	+ 1	+ 1	-23	-28	-29	-45	-13	-16
11	- 1	- 1	-34	-29	-26	-29	-12	-10
12	+ 3	- 2	-32	-46	-56	-53	- 5	-11

By this criteria it can be seen that overall performance in mathematics at each grade level more closely approximates the national norm than does performance in reading. This is true except at grade levels one and two, where they are equal and at grade levels ten and twelve, where the reading level of reading is higher than that of mathematics. This discrepancy at the tenth grade is probably due to the poor performance of the Spanish-speaking sample in mathematics, relative to reading; at the twelfth grade, the black student sample might have contributed most to the reversal of the



pattern.

As noted before, in both reading and mathematics, there was an increasing disparity between performance levels of all groups of students in the New Brunswick sample and the national norm from grades one through eight. This was more outstanding in reading than in mathematics. But from grade nine through twelve there was virtually no difference between the mean achievement scores of white students and that of the national norms. This is seen rather clearly in Tables 4.6 and 4.7. On the other hand, the mean achievement scores of black and Hispanic students in these grades did not come close to being normative.

#### Socio-economic Status and Achievement

The method of assigning socio-economic status to the sampled students in this study was discussed in the introductory section of this report. In spite of some weaknesses in this labelling approach, it did provide workable designations which were of some use and made it possible to begin looking at students in terms of social class and economic standing.

As expected, a strong relationship was found between the race of New Brunswick students and their socio-economic status. The majority (62 percent) of white students sampled fell into the middle SES category while the percentage of black and Spanish-speaking students in this group was 34 and 15 percent, respectively. A high concentration of black students (65 percent) and Hispanic students (83 percent) was found in the lowest end of the social class spectrum. In the high socio-economic status

Table 4.6  
 Mean Grade-Equivalent Reading Scores  
 by Grade and Racial Group

Grade	Racial Group													
	White				Black				Hispanic				Total	
	n	% of Grade	Mean	n	% of Grade	Mean	n	% of Grade	Mean	n	% of Grade	Mean	N	Mean
1	8	11.3	1.4	38	53.5	1.1	20	28.2	1.0	66	1.1			
2	5	12.8	2.1	21	53.8	1.7	13	33.3	1.4	39	1			
3	4	16.7	2.7	14	58.3	2.7	6	25.0	2.4	24	2.6			
5	12	22.2	4.0	31	57.2	3.8	11	20.1	3.6	54	3.8			
6	18	20.5	5.3	58	65.9	4.3	12	13.6	3.8	88	4.4			
8	16	23.5	6.3	44	64.7	4.2	8	11.8	3.3	68	4.6			
9	28	21.7	9.0	78	60.5	7.3	23	17.8	6.4	129	7.5			
10	59	45.4	10.1	59	45.4	7.7	12	9.2	7.1	130	8.7			
11	97	66.0	10.9	44	29.9	7.6	6	4.1	8.4	147	9.8			
12	109	79.6	12.3	24	17.5	8.8	4	2.9	6.4	137	11.5			

Table 4.7

Mean Grade-Equivalent Mathematics Scores  
by Grade and Racial Group

Grade	Racial Group										Total	
	White		Black		Hispanic		Total		Total		N	Mean
	n	% of Grade	n	% of Grade	n	% of Grade	n	% of Grade	n	Mean		
1	8	11.3	38	53.5	20	28.2	66	1.1	66	1.1	66	1.1
2	5	12.8	21	53.9	13	33.3	39	2.2	39	1.4	39	1.9
3	4	16.7	14	58.3	6	25.0	24	2.7	24	2.4	24	2.6
5	12	22.2	31	57.4	11	20.4	54	3.9	54	4.1	54	4.2
6	18	20.2	59	66.3	12	13.5	89	4.5	89	4.0	89	4.7
8	16	23.5	44	64.7	8	11.8	68	4.6	68	4.7	68	4.9
9	19	20.9	54	59.3	18	19.8	91	7.7	91	7.3	91	7.9
10	58	46.0	57	45.2	11	8.8	126	7.2	126	5.5	126	8.4
11	96	67.1	43	30.1	4	2.8	143	8.1	143	8.1	143	10.0
12	111	79.8	24	17.3	4	2.9	139	7.4	139	6.7	139	10.9



category, the white students constituted 80 percent.

When the overall relationship between social status and achievement was examined and based on the proportion of low, middle, and high socio-economic class members who were performing below, at, or above grade level, the differences were found to be significant at the .01 level for both reading and mathematics. When each racial group was examined separately, along socio-economic lines, it was only in the sample of white students that a significant relationship ( $p < .01$ ) was found between social class standing and level of achievement. This was true only for reading--although for mathematics, the relationship approached significance at the .01 level.

While these findings indicated that the performance of non-white students in reading and mathematics were unrelated to the socio-economic conditions from which they came, they were difficult to reconcile with the clear relationship found in the white sample with respect to reading and mathematics. Although causal inferences are unwarranted in a study such as this, it might be speculated that the in-home behaviors relevant to school performance were more definitely associated with social class in the white population, while this was less true for the non-white groups. On the other hand, one could possibly assume that forces within the schools acted uniformly to affect minority-group students of all social classes, yet differentially affecting the performance of minority-group students in accordance with their socio-economic status.

The possibility of sample bias should not be overlooked, however; this could have occurred in at least two ways. In the first place, there were more than two hundred

cases of the 1,066 included in this study for which no information was available on which to make a clarification into socio-economic status. If these two hundred or more individuals were not representative of the sample as a whole, then the overall effect would be a distortion of the sample with respect to the variables of classification which were studied. Also, the possibility did exist that clearer judgements were made in classifying white parent occupations into the three levels of socio-economic status than were made in the case of black and Hispanic parents. There was a relatively high percentage of black and Hispanic students who were reluctant to give the occupation of their parents or indicated that they simply did not know what it was. This could, of course, be explained in speculative terms, but such an explanation would do little to alter the possibility of faulty social-class classifications.

#### Summary and Discussion of the Findings

Within the somewhat limited view of educational outcomes to which this report addressed itself, it can be reasonably generalized that white students perform better than minority-group students, throughout the educational system, on standardized tests of achievement in reading and mathematics. Throughout the elementary school grades, there appeared to be a continuing decline of performance levels in both of these areas for both minority-group and majority-group youngsters alike.

It was interesting to note that at the first grade level, all students, irrespective of social class or racial group, were slightly above or at grade level norms in reading and mathematics. For white students, this relationship continued into the second grade for both reading and mathematics, while it was not true for Spanish-speaking students

in either area. Black students began to show below-average performance in reading at the second grade level. By the third grade, all student groups appeared on the minus side of the achievement comparison and this was observed through the eighth grade.

The fact that children from all ethnic groups sampled showed a similar pattern of increasing achievement discrepancy, with respect to a national sample, seemed to point to a similarity of underlying causative factors. The caution should be entered here, that this study was cross-sectional rather than longitudinal. Therefore, the student outcomes, obtained at different grade levels, were from different students and not from the same students over a period of time. It was possible, then, that what appeared to be a "circumstantive deficit" in measured achievement was reflective of a real difference between the students sampled at each grade level. This, of course, would suggest that there are more competent students entering the school system now than was the case previously. The achievement findings even in the presence of speculation did, however, allow it to be said that the school system, as it was constituted during the course of the study, had not succeeded in keeping students at, nor bringing them to a normative level of performance--which was determined by a nationally-sampled population.

The ninth grade data indicated a reversal of the achievement trend observed in grades one through eight. Had this been a longitudinal study, such a finding would have presented considerable interpretative difficulty. Since it was not, it seemed more reasonable to hypothesize that this sudden reversal stemmed from two major causes: The first was the differential rates at which more able and less able students progress in high school; and the second was the influx of students with higher levels of achievement into

the New Brunswick High School. The latter appeared to be a very plausible explanation, since New Brunswick High School draws a high percentage of its students from the largely white and middle-class towns of North Brunswick and Milltown. These students, bringing with them and maintaining high achievement levels; "average out" the achievement level deficits observed in the white student population in classes up to the eighth year. This "averaging out" was not possible for the black and Hispanic student populations and although differences in performance levels, relative to the national sample, might have been marginally reduced, they nevertheless remained substantial. In fact, beginning from the lowered deficit level in the ninth grade, these minority-group students again indicated an increasing trend in achievement deficits as grade levels increased. Thus overall, the performance difference between white and non-white students was much greater in the high school than in the elementary schools. A reminder should again be made about the cross-sectional nature of this study, and the danger of making inferences about progression from grade to grade. With all caution aside, however, it could have been concluded that the New Brunswick school system had not been effective in keeping minority-group students competitive with their white peers in terms of achievement, which had been defined by national norms. That lack of competitiveness certainly extends far beyond achievement scores and, as other findings have indicated, permeates the full run of school programs. Under no circumstances should one assume that the performance disparity between majority and minority-group students rested only within the bounds of reading and mathematics achievement scores.

The available information indicated that socio-economic status was somewhat related to achievement, with lower socio-economic status being associated with lower achievement levels when race was held constant. Since white students were represented more in the upper socio-economic levels, it might have been that the extra-curricular behaviors, attitudes, and material supports associated with school success put them in a more favorable position relative to their non-white counterparts. For whatever reasons, white students in high social class groups tended to be high achievers. For black and Hispanic students, their social class seemed to make little difference in terms of their school performance ratings.

#### Recommendations

1. A REAL COMMITMENT SHOULD BE MADE TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF READING AND MATHEMATICS SKILLS. THE COMMITMENT SHOULD BE EVIDENCED BY THE PROVISION OF ADEQUATE RESOURCES AND PROGRAMS.

It would seem impossible to be unaware of or ignore the magnitude of student deficits in reading and mathematics in New Brunswick schools. Those youngsters who are residents of the town, in all racial groups and socio-economic classes, begin losing ground shortly after they leave the first grade and those who graduate from the system tend to do so with extreme basic skills handicaps. If the performance of students from North Brunswick and Milltown were not considered, the average New Brunswick graduate would probably leave school at least four years below the national norm in reading and mathematics achievement. It is likely, however, that the deficit in reading would be greater than that in mathematics.

Since the personal variables of students (race and social class) did not appear to be significantly related to student achievement in the non-high school grades, the progressive decline



in reading and mathematics competence must be attributable to other factors. One of those might be identified as a lack of real commitment which adequately addresses the problems incident to the development of desired reading and computational skills.

The town of New Brunswick needs to make a commitment to the improvement of student achievement. This does not mean that reliance should be put on an edict of the Board of Education or a mandate of the superintendent. Neither of these represent commitment unless they are accompanied by adequate resources, provided by the town, and the will to make them work for accountable results.

Dependence upon external funding for educational programs does not represent high commitment. Funding by outside sources should not be discouraged, but it should not be viewed as an "only way" to underwrite needed school activities. Those successful funded programs should be continued even when they are no longer funded, and even expanded if they have been particularly effective.

2. EXPAND READING IMPROVEMENT EFFORTS TO GIVE BALANCED ATTENTION TO STUDENTS THROUGHOUT THE SCHOOL DISTRICT.

For most school systems, learning to read is the major occupation of pupils in the first three or four grades. For New Brunswick schools, however, the concentration given to reading in the lower grades needs to be applied in the upper grades as well. The findings of the study clearly show that reading disabilities begin to become acute in the middle grades and are at their worse in the high school. It is in these grades, where only limited attention is focused on reading programs.

The special reading programs, for the most part, are in the primary grades and, in a sense, at the expense of upper-grade students. This is not to suggest that such programs should be removed from the lower grades, but it is to say that the reading problems of students should be attacked at all school levels, and with equal force.

3. EVALUATE THE APPROPRIATENESS OF EXISTING READING-IMPROVEMENT EFFORTS IN EACH OF THE SCHOOLS. GIVE PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE READING REQUIREMENTS OF ALL STUDENTS ARE BEING SERVED.

There are a number of programs which have been designed to either teach or improve the reading skills of students. Some of them are more effective than others. Given the reading-achievement status of New Brunswick students, it seems important to systematically and thoroughly examine reading programs and practices which are now in operation to determine if they represent the best possible efforts.

Some school administrators and staff members are more committed and aggressive than others. These school people tend to have a better sense of student needs and more effective programs to serve them. All school principals should be evaluated in terms of how well they have recognized the reading needs of students and the strategies they have developed and implemented to deal with them.

4. THE IMPROVEMENT OF READING SHOULD BECOME THE RESPONSIBILITY OF MORE TEACHERS IN VARIOUS DISCIPLINES.

The improvement of reading should not be left solely to a reading specialist or a few English teachers. The responsibility for this should be assumed by more teachers in several of the academic disciplines. Teacher workshops and training sessions which are concerned with reading problems and techniques for dealing with them would be quite appropriate. To assume that only "reading teachers" understand the problems and that "other teachers" can provide no remedies is indeed a mistake.

5. ESTABLISH READING ROOMS IN EACH SCHOOL WHICH ARE ADEQUATELY STAFFED AND INTO WHICH STUDENTS CAN BE SCHEDULED.

A reading room should be set up in each school, particularly at the secondary level, with staffs of especially competent

and interested teachers. These rooms should exist for the development and improvement of reading, spelling, oral, and writing skills. To allow all students to benefit from this facility and disallow the stigma of remediation, the room should be set up to meaningfully accommodate youngsters who are with or without reading deficits.

The rooms should not be set up for casual reading nor viewed as a student lounge or appendage of the library. They should be organized to provide a program of supervised and supported learning, and students should be guided and programmed into them with a definite set of expected outcomes.

#### Dropouts, Withdrawals, and Graduates

Students leave public schools by different routes and each path taken is sometimes viewed as a school success or an educational failure. When youngsters depart from school with a certificate of completion, the departure usually represents a positive outcome of the educational process. On the other hand, students who get diverted along the way and those who withdraw permanently from the formal educational structure are perceived in terms of school inadequacies. Other students are those who withdraw and move to another district, to either continue or complete their education--they are often used to suggest a school system's shortcomings.

Of course, school systems do not control all of the many variables which determine if students will remain in school and graduate. Whether schools are rightly or wrongly praised and criticized over student departures, becomes highly circumstantial. In spite of the many and varied circumstances under which young people leave school, student departures, in whatever form they take, continue to be per-

ceived by many as measures of school effectiveness and educational outcomes.

### School Dropouts

New Brunswick schools, like those in many other districts, had their share of students who aborted their public school attendance and withdrew permanently from the educational system. Student dropouts were reported by special and secondary schools and these reports are summarized in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8  
Reported Dropouts in Various New Brunswick  
Schools  
(1971-1972 and 1972-1973)

School	Racial Group			Total
	White	Black	Hispanic	
NBHS	60 (37.3%)	82 (50.9%)	19 (11.8%)	161 (100%)
Redshaw	3 (100%)	0	0	3 (100%)
Roosevelt	34 (35.8%)	28 (30.5%)	33 (33.7%)	95 (100%)
New Street	0	7 (100%)	0	7 (100%)
Family L. C.	0	4 (80.0%)	1 (20.0%)	5 (100%)
Total	97 (36.4%)	121 (44.6%)	53 (19.0%)	271 (100%)

An examination of the data presented in Table 4.8 revealed that, over a two-year period, nearly 300 students left school with no intention of returning and without graduating. The dropouts were fairly represented by all racial groups with some imbalance in particular schools. White students, who made up 34.4 percent of the total school enrollment, constituted 36.4 percent of the dropouts. Black students, who represented 50.3 percent of the school district enrollment, constituted 44.6 percent of the dropouts. Of the schools' fifteen percent Spanish-speaking enrollment, 19 percent were dropouts.

When dropouts were looked at by individual schools, the disparity, along racial lines, was found to be most pronounced at New Brunswick High School where minority-group students were 38.6 percent of the student body, but represented 62.7 percent of the dropouts. At the Roosevelt School, a similar but reverse disparity was noticed. Here white students were only 17.5 percent of the enrollment, but were 35.8 percent of the dropouts.

There are perhaps as many reasons why students drop out of school as there are dropouts themselves and, oftentimes, the real reasons are not revealed. School officials in New Brunswick were asked to provide the reasons given when students left school; this information is presented in Table 4.9. Most students were reported to have dropped out because they lacked interest in school. This "lack of interest" category probably represented a host of reasons which were never really specified by the exiting students. This is not to suggest that the school reports were inaccurate, because youngsters do lose interest in school and withdraw for that reason. The point to be made,

however, is that students become disinterested in school for a wide variety of reasons, many of which are never identified.

Table 4.9

Reported Reasons for Student Dropouts From  
New Brunswick Schools  
by Racial Group and Sex  
(1971-1972 and 1972-1973)

Reported Reasons	Racial Group						Total
	White		Black		Hispanic		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Lack of Interest	36	34	52	46	27	22	217
Personal Reasons	5	2	4	4	0	0	15
Military Service	9	1	7	0	3	0	20
Employment	1	1	4	0	0	0	6
Marriage	0	1	0	0	0	0	6
No reason given	2	5	3	1	0	0	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>271</b>	<b>275</b>

A look at the dropout data along sex lines revealed that young men and women were close to being equally represented. Male dropouts did tend to be a little higher in number than females, but the difference did not appear to be significant. Leaving school for military service or to enter into employment were, understandably, reasons which few females gave. There was, nonetheless, a somewhat balanced number of both sexes in the other "reasons" categories which grouped the dropouts.

Dropout prevention has long been a concern of those who are interested in public education even when facing the reality that retention of all students in school is a near

impossibility. There are many students who, under the most ideal circumstances, would simply have no desire to stay in school. On the other hand, there are countless young people who want to be in school and struggle to remain there but, in the end, leave prematurely. The perplexing problems that potential dropouts generate continue to defy the most imaginative educators and leave them in a constant search for solutions.

Speaking directly to the dropout situation in New Brunswick schools, faculty members were asked to make recommendations of their first priority for keeping potential dropouts in school. Teachers in New Brunswick High School tended to offer one of three suggestions. Thirty-eight percent (N=84) of the responding faculty members felt that the school needed a high-powered work-study vocational program, while 30 percent of them thought that more special programs and a relevant curriculum might provide a solution. Fourteen percent of the recommending teachers were of the opinion that students should be allowed to drop out if they so desired; this thought was tempered with the proviso that dropouts be permitted to return to school if they felt inclined to do so at a later time. One insightful teacher at the high school spoke to the need for program flexibility, and offered this comment:

We need meaningful programs which serve the needs of individuals in spite of their grade level. When I taught a bi-lingual class, a bright Spanish tenth grade student, who was the sole support of a family of nine following his father's death, was denied the schedule he needed. Under no circumstances would the school permit him to come to school two hours a day and then be put in a co-op program so he could hold a job and also receive an education.

The majority of responding teachers at the Redshaw and Roosevelt schools (N=57) felt that a dropout remedy might take the form of more relevant individualized programs.

One respondent summarized this by saying: "Make school more meaningful for them (potential dropouts). Find out why they want to drop out and provide alternatives for them. So many students can't see what good school is doing for them." The recommendation offered most frequently by elementary school faculty members (N=94) called for the establishment of a Career Education Center.

### Student Withdrawals

The enrollment records of most public education systems usually show that during the course of a year, some students have withdrawn from their schools. These withdrawing students were not dropouts, but rather, were young people who continued their education in other public school districts or in private educational institutions. The transfer of students out of a school district is normally an expected occurrence and, in most instances, it has created little cause for concern. For a variety of reasons, students move out of one school district and continue their education in another. Usually when this happens, incoming new students will tend to stabilize and maintain school enrollments. Nevertheless, in an urban and racially-integrated system such as that existing in New Brunswick, student withdrawals should not be just casually observed or dismissed as events of minimal significance. The transfer of students out of the school district or into the private education sector might well be indicators which suggest school participant appraisals of New Brunswick schools in general and their programs and practices in particular.



During recent years, one of the most pronounced changes in American society has been the population shift by certain social classes and other groups away from the cities. A number of factors have been offered to explain this phenomenon, but one of special prominence is that which speaks to the "lacking quality" of urban schools. The quality of public schools issue has, undoubtedly, been often presented to actually talk about a number of other urban problems which are only tangentially related to public education. This, however, does not alter the fact that a community's perception of school effectiveness might, to some extent, be indicated by the degree to which its students are removed from the local system of public education in favor of another. Such an indicator should be accepted with caution; there are many dissatisfied parents who wish to transfer their student children, but are without the means to do so.

Even though there has been an unparalleled exodus from the inner cities to surrounding areas and suburbs, it should not be assumed that all of the families who leave the cities do so in "flight." Because of the transitory nature of certain city dwellers, it is not uncommon for them to migrate from one urban setting to another, or return to their home of origin. This migration, with its accompanying student withdrawals, might have nothing to do with the schools themselves, and may result from a number of different circumstances.

Student withdrawals, in spite of circumstances--whether they represent dissatisfaction with the schools' or parents' unwillingness to keep their children in a particular school district--are somewhat reflective of the esteem in which local public schools

are held. Just as this is true elsewhere, it is also true in New Brunswick where 1,493 students transferred out of the school system during the past two years. Each school had a number of withdrawals and these are reported in the following table.

Table 4.10

Student Withdrawals from  
New-Brunswick Schools  
(1971-1972 and 1972-1973)

School	Racial Group			Total
	White	Black	Hispanic	
NBHS	122 (58.6%)	81 (29.3%)	25 (12.1%)	208 (100%)
Gibbons*	-	-	-	-
Redshaw	88 (45.8%)	71 (36.9%)	33 (17.3%)	192 (100%)
Roosevelt	80 (52.3%)	43 (27.1%)	30 (19.6%)	153 (100%)
New Street	2 (14.3%)	12 (85.7%)	0 -	14 (100%)
Bayard	2 (3.6%)	30 (53.6%)	24 (42.8%)	56 (100%)
McKinley	0 -	22 (100%)	0 -	22 (100%)
Nathan Hale	10 (15.4%)	41 (66.2%)	14 (19.4%)	65 (100%)
Wilson	109 (74.1%)	21 (14.5%)	15 (10.4%)	145 (100%)

Table 4.10 (continued)

School	Racial Group			Total
	White	Black	Hispanic	
Washington	111 (82.1%)	16 (10.4%)	27 (17.5%)	154 (100%)
Livingston	122 (53.0%)	65 (28.3%)	43 (19.7%)	230 (100%)
Lincoln	123 (66.8%)	39 (21.3%)	22 (11.9%)	184 (100%)
Lord Sterling	2 (2.8%)	41 (58.6%)	27 (38.6%)	70 (100%)
Total	771 (51.6%)	462 (30.8%)	260 (17.6%)	1,493 (100%)

\* no data available

Contrary to what one might have expected, the withdrawals, by the different racial groups from most of the schools, were generally proportionate to their racial representation in the schools' environments. Noticeable exceptions were at the Roosevelt School where white students were 17.5 percent of the enrollment, but represented 53.3 percent of the withdrawals; and at the Washington Elementary School where minority-group students constituted 73.7 percent of the enrollment, but made up only 27.9 percent of the withdrawals. At the Livingston School where white enrollment was 16.5 percent, 53 percent of the withdrawals were also white. Withdrawals at the Lincoln Elementary School were disproportionately white and Hispanic, but at the Lord Sterling School, the pattern somewhat reversed itself when Hispanic students constituted 38.6 percent of the withdrawals, but only 10.5 percent of the enrollment. The reported reasons given for student withdrawals are in Table 4.11.

A high percentage (73.3%) of the withdrawals resulted when students moved out of the New Brunswick school district. The number of students who moved was proportionally distributed along racial and sex lines, and in this regard, did not seem to reflect any group peculiarity. Transfers to private schools, though representing only 11.2 percent of the total withdrawals, were seemingly actions taken primarily by white families. This is supported by the fact that only 14.6 percent of the students who left the public schools to enter private ones were black or Hispanic.

Generalizations from the withdrawal data were difficult to make for several reasons. The information supplied by the Roosevelt School did not specify whether or not their student transfers were to other towns or to private schools. The percentage of withdrawing students, for which no withdrawal reason was given, was three white youngsters and 66 minority-group members. When looking at the general withdrawal rate (10.3 percent of enrollments), there was no way to determine its real significance, particularly since no data was made available for comparative purposes. In addition to this, there was no information which suggested the extent to which new students had transferred into New Brunswick schools nor any information about the off-setting impact of these transfers.

The question of student transfers to private schools was not conclusively answered by the New Brunswick school data. While it was determined that only 1.2 percent of the public school students transferred to private schools in or around the city, there was no indication made to suggest the number of students who returned to the public schools after an experience in the areas' private or parochial ones. The number and

Table 4.11

Reported Reasons for Student Withdrawals  
for New Brunswick Schools  
(1971-1972 and 1972-1973)

Reported Reasons	Racial Group								Total
	White		Black		Hispanic				
	M	F	M	F	M	F			
Moved Out of District	283 (25.8%)	264 (24.1%)	184 (16.8%)	170 (5.5%)	119 (10.0%)	75 (6.8%)			1095 (100.0%)
Transferred to Private School	72 (43.1%)	69 (41.3%)	11 (6.6%)	6 (3.6%)	1 (0.6%)	8 (4.8%)			167 (100.0%)
Immaturity (elem. level)	0	0	3 (42.9%)	3 (42.9%)	0	1 (14.2%)			7 (100.0%)
No Reason Reported	2 (2.7%)	1 (1.4%)	22 (30.9%)	20 (28.6%)	20 (28.2%)	6 (8.2%)			71 (100.0%)
Sub Total	357 (26.6%)	334 (24.9%)	220 (16.4%)	199 (14.9%)	140 (10.4%)	90 (6.8%)			1340 (100.0%)
Transferred*	42 (27.5%)	38 (24.8%)	18 (11.8%)	25 (16.3%)	17 (11.1%)	13 (8.5%)			153 (100.0%)
Total	399 (26.7%)	372 (24.9%)	238 (15.9%)	224 (15.0%)	157 (10.5%)	103 (7.0%)			1493 (100.0%)

\* The Roosevelt School only reported that students had "transferred," with no explanation. It could not be determined if these transfers represented students who moved out of the district, transferred to private school, or were on the elementary level.

percent of children in New Brunswick whose education had been only in non-public schools would have been significant in speaking to the community's perceptions of the public schools' appropriateness for serving their children. This statistic was not available and therefore, private-school attendance as a measure of perceived public school inadequacies could not be fully addressed.

### High School Graduates

One of the most commonly used assessment measures of school system effectiveness is that which simply speaks to the number or percentage of students who successfully complete their high school studies and ultimately graduate. When graduates, such as those leaving the high schools in New Brunswick, represent various racial groups it oftentimes becomes equally significant to consider the number of those completing school in terms of their identification with each of the ethnic groups in particular; it is really the school systems' holding power that is being measured--with the number of graduates serving as the gauge.

The 1973 high school graduate data was not examined by a longitudinal method and, consequently no conclusions were drawn which spoke to student attrition leading up to that year's graduating class. The number of students enrolled at New Brunswick High School and the racial composition of that enrollment were essentially no different in the spring of 1972 than in the fall of 1973. Given this, the class enrollments of the early 1973-1974 school year were used to make some assumption about the school system's ability to hold students in its educational programs. Data, on the basis of which

those assumptions were made, is presented in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12  
Enrollment of the Three Upper Grades  
at New Brunswick High School  
(September, 1973)

Grade	Racial Group			Total
	White	Black	Hispanic	
10	360 (62.8%)	182 (31.8%)	30 ( 5.2%)	572 (100%)
11	327 (65.8%)	155 (31.2%)	15 ( 3.0%)	497 (100%)
12	357 (76.3%)	97 (20.7%)	14 ( 3.0%)	468 (100%)

The overall enrollment of the high school moved downward from the tenth to the twelfth grade; the difference between the number of tenth year students and twelfth graders was about 18 percent. The number of white students in each class was relatively close to being the same. The percentage of white students, however, was 62.8 percent in the tenth grade, but 76.3 percent in the twelfth grade-- a difference upward of almost 14 percent. From this one could assume that, to a very high degree, the school succeeded in holding white students in school and they ultimately graduated.

However, one could not assume from the data in Table 4.12 that the school was highly successful in holding minority-group students to the point where they re-

ceived a diploma. The enrollment of both black and Hispanic students in the twelfth grade was significantly lower than it was in the tenth and eleventh grades. The number of black students who were seniors was about 46 percent less than those who were sophomores. Hispanic tenth graders were twice the number of those who were in the senior class. The enrollment pattern of minority-group youngsters appeared to be just the opposite of the one established by their white peers. White student enrollment seemed to remain very stable while that of black and Hispanic students was reduced by nearly 50 percent between the tenth and twelfth grades.

There were 552 students in the graduating class of 1973. Their racial and sex distribution is presented in the following Table, 4.13.

Table 4.13

Distribution of Students by Racial Group and Sex  
in the 1973 Graduating Class

Racial Group	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
White	190 (34.4%)	233 (42.3%)	423 (76.7%)
Black	48 (8.6%)	68 (12.3%)	116 (20.9%)
Hispanic	4 (0.7%)	9 (1.7%)	13 (2.4%)
Total	242 (43.7%)	310 (56.5%)	552 (100%)



The significance of the number and racial composition of students who graduated cannot be minimized. Of great importance also was the course that students pursued after they completed high school. To get some understanding of how New Brunswick's 1973 graduates were faring after leaving school, data from the Follow-up of High School Graduates<sup>2</sup> was summarized and subjected to analysis. Of the 552 students who finished school last year, 348 (63 percent) of them sought some form of post-high school education or training, while most of the remaining 204 (37 percent) entered the labor force.

High school graduates in four-year colleges. Thirty-five percent of the 1973 graduates (192 students) entered four-year colleges. Most of these students (103) registered at institutions of higher education which were located in the State of New Jersey. Of the students who enrolled in these colleges, 73 percent were white, 21 percent were black, and 6 percent were Hispanic. These racial percentages were reasonably parallel to those of the graduating class. Although the number was small, the percentage was relatively high for Hispanic students who were only 2.4 percent of the graduating class, but 6 percent of those attending four-year colleges. Enrollment by numbers, in terms of sex, was also very close to that of the high school senior class. Fifty-seven percent of four-year college enrollees were young women, which was about the same as the 56.5 percent female representation among the 1973 graduates.

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2. New Jersey State Department of Education, Follow-up of High School Graduates, (Fall Report, 1973), Division of Research Planning and Evaluation, Office of Management Information Branch of Statistics, Trenton, New Jersey.

High school graduates in two-year colleges. Eighty-four of the high school graduates were enrolled in two-year colleges, all of which were located in the State of New Jersey. Of these enrollees, 92 percent were white and 8 percent were black. For whatever reasons, minority-group students in appreciable and comparable numbers did not take the two-year college as an educational option. The majority of students, both black and white, who did attend the two-year colleges were females (71 and 52 percent, respectively). There was a considerable number of males who attended these schools (39), but only two of these were black. There were no Spanish-speaking students in the 1973 graduating class who were enrolled in two-year colleges.

Graduates enrolled in business, vocational, or technical training programs. Approximately 15 percent (72) of the 1973 graduating students enrolled in business, vocational, or technical training programs. Eight of them were taking their training outside of the State of New Jersey. The 64 other students and their training programs are identified in Table 4.14.

Noticeably absent from training programs were Hispanic students. This might have been attributable to the small number of them in the graduating class and the relatively high percentage of them who went to four-year colleges. Black males were poorly represented in programs, but a rather high percentage of black females, mostly in business or secretarial areas, had registered for training. White females were distributed in three or four different kinds of programs, but white males were concentrated in technical, trade, and vocational training.

Table 4.14

Enrollment of 1973 Graduates in Business,  
Vocational, and Technical Training Programs

Training Program	Racial Group and Sex				Total
	White		Black		
	male	female	male	female	
Business or Secretarial	1	8	1	14	24
Cosmetology or Barbering	1	4	0	1	6
Art	0	1	0	0	1
Nursing	0	0	0	1	1
Tech., trade, vocat.	13	6	3	1	23
Apprenticeship	4	0	0	0	4
On-the-Job training	2	3	0	0	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>64</b>

Graduates who did not enter post-high school education or training. Nearly 37 percent (204) of the 1973 graduating students did not enter college or enter into any other kind of post-high school education or training. These young people, for the most part, joined the labor force and how they involved themselves in occupational activities is outlined in Table 4.15.

Only 32 members of the 1973 graduating class (slightly more than one-half of one percent) were not employed or in educational training programs. A majority of the employed students (51.9 percent) were in clerical and service occupations; the dominant group in these areas were white females (34.3 percent). A number of young men in the employed category (7.4 percent) went into military service, while a similar number of them (10.8 percent) were engaged in factory work and trades.

Table 4.15

Occupations of 1973 Graduates who were  
not involved in Post-High School Education  
or Training

Occupation	Racial Group and Sex						Total
	White		Black		Hispanic		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Clerical & Services	12 ( 5.9%)	70 (34.3%)	6 ( 2.9%)	13 ( 6.4%)	1 ( 0.5%)	4 ( 1.9%)	106 ( 51.9%)
Factory & Trades	15 ( 7.4%)	1 ( 0.5%)	6 ( 2.9%)	0	0	0	22 ( 10.8%)
Military Service	11 ( 5.4%)	0	4 ( 2.0%)	0	0	0	15 ( 7.4%)
Homemaking & unemployed	9 ( 4.4%)	13 ( 6.4%)	3 ( 1.5%)	6 ( 2.9%)	0	1 ( 0.5%)	32 ( 15.7%)
Miscellaneous	18 ( 8.8%)	3 ( 1.5%)	6 ( 2.9%)	1 ( 0.5%)	0	1 ( 0.5%)	29 ( 14.2%)
Total	65 (31.9%)	87 (42.6%)	25 (12.3%)	20 (19.8%)	1 ( 0.5%)	6 ( 2.9%)	204 (100.0%)

### Summary and Discussion of the Findings

Dropouts in New Brunswick schools occurred, for the most part, at Roosevelt and New Brunswick High School. At the Roosevelt School, the percentage of students who permanently withdrew from school were disproportionately white, but the dropouts at the high school, where they were significantly more in number, were over-represented by black and Hispanic youngsters. There seemed to be a variety of reasons why students dropped out of school, but most of them were reported to have done so because they lacked interest in the educational programs. Within racial groups there was a tendency for dropouts, in terms of numbers, to be somewhat balanced between males and females. When numbers were converted to percentages, however, the black and Spanish speaking male stood out as the most likely students to leave school prematurely and without completion. In providing recommendations for dealing with the dropout problem, most teachers suggested that a different, but relevant, curriculum which was flexible and contained special programs might be helpful. But a number of teachers indicated that disinterested students should just be allowed to drop out of school.

Students who withdrew from the New Brunswick public schools and transferred to other school districts represented about ten percent of the school system's enrollment. The data, however, did not reveal the net result of this, since it provided no information about the off-setting effects of new students coming into the district. The racial distribution of student withdrawals was generally proportionate to that of

school enrollments. Even though there was somewhat of an overall racial balance between the withdrawing students, there was considerable disparity at the Roosevelt and some elementary schools. Nearly three-fourths of the students who withdrew were reported to have done so because their families moved out of the school district. This reason held constant and did not separate one racial group from any others. Withdrawals which represented a transfer out of New Brunswick public schools into local private schools were mostly actions taken by white students and their families. The extent to which private schools enrolled students who were entering school for the first time and the impact of that enrollment on the public school registers was not determined. Also left unanswered was the degree to which students withdrew from local private schools to re-enter, or enter for the first time, the public schools.

The high school graduating class was disproportionately white. The data suggested that while the school tended to be successful in holding majority-group youngsters from the tenth grade through the completion of their twelfth year, it was not extremely effective in doing this for black and Hispanic students. Between the tenth and twelfth grades the number of white student enrollment was maintained, and the percentage increased to the point where nearly three-fourths of the senior class were majority-group members. Minority-group enrollment between the tenth and twelfth grades, however, decreased significantly and reached a point in the senior year where it had reduced itself by nearly 50 percent.

Based on the number of New Brunswick graduating students who attended four-year colleges (35 percent), as compared to that of graduating students in other school districts, New Brunswick High School could be viewed as being highly academic or college-oriented. The racial representation of New Brunswick graduates who did attend college was similar to that which existed in the high school senior class. A sizable number of graduates went to two-year colleges, but in that number, there were only two black males and no Hispanic males or females. The absence of Spanish-speaking students enrolling in two-year colleges might have been attributable to the fact that a small, but relatively significant, number of them went to four-year schools.

About fifteen percent of New Brunswick's graduates enrolled in business, vocational, or technical training programs. There were no Hispanic youngsters in the group, and only a few black males. All of the black females, with the exception of three, who enrolled in these schools were taking business or secretarial courses. This somehow reflected back on the total absence of young black women in the high schools' advanced secretarial program. The number of male white graduates who were in technical and vocational programs suggested that the school had not provided them with appropriate options in program selections.

More than one-third of New Brunswick graduates did not enter into a post-high school educational or training program. For the most part, they entered the labor force and became involved in various work situations. Slightly more than one-half of them were in clerical or service occupations, even though females were dominant in these areas. Work in factories and the trades appeared to be the domain of male graduates;

only one female was occupied by either of these areas. The occupation data, when considered alongside that relating to post-high school education, seemed to suggest that, with very few exceptions, the graduating class of 1973 was gainfully involved in either work or additional schooling.

### Recommendations

1. DEVELOP DROPOUT PREVENTION STRATEGIES WHICH ADDRESS BOTH THE EDUCATIONAL AND PERSONAL NEEDS OF STUDENTS.

Some student dropouts will probably occur in spite of any efforts schools might make to prevent them. Nevertheless, there are students who will halt their education prematurely simply because sufficient efforts were not made by the schools to keep these young people in an educational program. The dropout problem has long been a concern of school people, and a subject discussed in volumes of literature and reported research. Solutions have been offered over and over again which usually call for such things as vocational training, work-study programs, modified graduation requirements, and career education activities-- which all speak to some aspect of the curriculum. These offerings, depending upon the circumstances, might be appropriate, but by themselves, they only provide partial solutions. The problem with them is that they speak to students' instructional needs, and give only limited attention to their personal needs.

There are a number of strategies which have been developed to deal with potential dropouts and New Brunswick's school people are certainly familiar with all or most of them. As a reminder, however, the following comments are offered:

- The most successful dropout prevention programs have focused on communications skills--reading, writing, and speaking.



- Most effective dropout prevention programs have provided a low student-teacher ratio, and have included some degree of individualized instruction after a careful diagnosis of needs and specific prescriptions for remedial and enrichment experiences. Accompanying this has been a special emphasis on the requirement of teachers generating an atmosphere of positive and genuine acceptance of students.
- The small, integrated, and concentrated programs are usually more successful than those added as adjunct services in larger school settings.
- Almost without exception, the most successful programs for dropout prevention provide a strong guidance component with a reasonable work load for advisors. Where programs have demonstrated holding power, the counselors have reached out to students and worked with their parents. Together, they have tried to develop a realistic and meaningful outlook about the youths' future which helps them to revise the self-defeating attitudes generated by experiences with the traditional pattern of school failure.

It is recommended that a sound and well-considered prevention program be instituted to serve particular curriculum needs of students who have been identified as potential dropouts. But this is not enough. The schools should also make provisions for dealing with the equally important personal needs of students which oftentimes exist outside of the educational setting. It should not be assumed, in spite of the previous notes, that all potential dropouts are doing poorly in school, have grown too weary from the educational process, or have become disinterested in learning. Many of them want to remain in school, but find it necessary to permanently withdraw, because of personal or family circumstances. Effective dropout prevention programs must, somehow, simultaneously address both personal and school requirements. The school might not do as much as it would like in changing the personal circumstances of potential dropouts, but it might begin to think more in terms of accommodation and give more attention to the individualization

of time schedules as well as programs.

2. STUDENT ENROLLMENTS IN, AND TRANSFERS TO, PRIVATE PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS SHOULD BE STUDIED. SUCH A STUDY WOULD PROVIDE AN ASSESSMENT OF PERCEPTIONS HELD BY STUDENTS AND PARENTS WHO AVOID THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND MIGHT HAVE SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL PROGRAMMATIC CHANGES.

The number of students transferring out of the public schools and entering private or parochial ones did not appear to be significant. There probably is a significant number of New Brunswick children whose only educational experience has been in the local non-public schools, or who entered those schools after some limited exposure to public education. How many children the public schools have "lost" to the private ones can easily be determined and several assumptions can be made to explain why this happened. What lacks understanding, though, is the extent to which private and parochial school attendees' (and their parents') perceptions of the public schools can be positively modified. Whether or not private and public schools are in competition with each other is not the issue. The issue is really that of determining the shortcomings of the public schools which are suggested by private school attendance. An analysis of these suggestions might reveal educational needs which, when served, will make the public school offerings more attractive to all students who are in or out of the public educational system.

3. BUSINESS, VOCATIONAL, AND TECHNICAL TRAINING PROGRAMS OF THE HIGH SCHOOL SHOULD BE COMPARED WITH THOSE PROVIDED BY POST-HIGH SCHOOL INSTITUTIONS IN THE NEW BRUNSWICK AREA. THE EXTENT TO WHICH STUDENTS SEEK TRAINING AFTER GRADUATION, WHICH WAS NOT AVAILABLE TO THEM BEFORE GRADUATION NEEDS TO BE EXAMINED.

Some of New Brunswick's graduates are involved in post-high school training programs which seem to be the kinds that are offered in many secondary schools. The question, then, becomes one which asks, "Are some graduates paying

for learning experiences which the public schools provide or should have provided?" The proportionate number of black female graduates who are enrolled in post-high school business and secretarial training helped to generate this query, particularly since no black students were enrolled in the high school's secretarial practice class this year. A number of male and female white graduates are now being trained in the technical, trades, and vocational areas. If the same kind of training is provided by the high school, then one should ask why weren't the graduates trained before they graduated. If the same kind of training is not provided by the public education system, it might be suggestive of needed programmatic changes in the secondary school.

## CHAPTER V

### HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE SCHOOLS

In a society such as that existing in this country where racial prejudice and discrimination are tightly woven into the fabric of most social patterns, the public schools have been called upon to provide remedies for the problems which germinate and grow out of this circumstance. Some school systems have accepted this call and moved aggressively to treat the societal malady which results from racial misunderstanding and a lacking acceptance of ethnic and cultural diversity. Other school systems, motivated by political expedience or other pressures, have reluctantly received the summons and have done little to improve the relations between people who are racially and culturally different.

Human relations, a term often used interchangeably with intergroup relations and race relations, usually speaks to attitudes that people hold about other people who represent group or individual differences. These attitudes are reflected by the interaction patterns of the various groups and individuals and the kind of social climate in which they relate to each other. When human relations prevails in racially integrated schools, it unquestionably does so because the schools themselves have deliberately worked to create interracial understanding and intercultural acceptance among both students and professional staffs.

Since human relations touches nearly every aspect of school life, it cannot be effectively addressed in isolation and should be viewed alongside the total educational program. Throughout the study, although it was not explicitly stated, human relations was given some general attention. A particular focus on it was made through student and faculty responses to queries which were directed at these topics: (1) school supports for human relations, (2) teacher-student relations, (3) intergroup behavior of teachers, (4) the degree of problem seriousness between racial groups, and (5) the increase or decrease of racial prejudice among students.

#### School Supports For Human Relations

Gordon Allport<sup>1</sup>, in delineating the conditions for deriving positive results from intergroup contact, spoke of the crucial need for institutional supports. Pettigrew<sup>2</sup> followed the Allport lead in his discussion of quality integrated schools and gave considerable importance to the institutional support factor. Neither of these social scientists clearly defined institutional supports, but Pettigrew, in relating to schools, did suggest that they at least included the deliberate efforts of educational systems--through their programs and professional staffs--to promote feelings of equal status and esteem among all of those who were participants in the

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1. Gordon Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1954).

2. Thomas Pettigrew, et al., "Busing: A Review of the Evidence," The Public Interest, 30 (1973), 88-118.

educational process.

The amount of support provided by New Brunswick schools (as an institution) was fragmentally determined by a variety of general questions which were raised in different areas of the study. The specific questions which were asked and spoke to the school-support issue were these:

- Do the students at your school have an interracial or intergroup committee?
- If you have such a committee, how effective has it been in dealing with racial and social problems?
- How often do classroom discussions center around intergroup and race relations?
- How would you rate your school in encouraging race relations?
- How often do you have class discussions about racial groups?

Except for the question presented to teachers which addressed the entire school system, the inquiries were directed toward students in the intermediate or secondary schools.

#### The Human Relations Committee

Reports from school officials established the fact that a Human Relations Committee had been formed at New Brunswick High School. There was no indication from these reports that a comparable organization existed in other schools. A number of students at the high school (13.7 percent) did not seem to be aware of the Human Relation Committee's existence, but most of those who were did not regard it too highly. Table 5.1 is a summary of their perceptions of its effectiveness in

dealing with racial and social problems.

Table 5.1

Student Perceptions of the Effectiveness of  
The Human Relations Committee  
(percent in each response category)

Racial Group	Responses				Total
	We have no such committee	It has helped	It has helped a little	It has not helped at all	
White	11.3	6.5	52.4	29.9	100 (n=234)
Black	14.4	10.4	49.6	25.6	100 (n=125)
Hispanic	23.5	25.5	37.3	13.7	100 (n= 51)
Total	13.7	10.0	50.0	26.3	100 (N=410)

Of the students who had an awareness of the Human Relations Committee, 88.4 percent of them reported that it had been of little or no help at all. When student perceptions were assumed to be an adequate and valid assessment measure, it was further assumed that the one school support, in the form of a school-sponsored organization which had been established to foster human relations, was almost ineffectual.

#### School Encouragement of Race Relations

While student feelings about the effectiveness of the Human Relations Committee were used to gauge the efforts at improving intergroup relations in one school, responses to the "race relations encouragement" question served as a measure of school efforts in all secondary and intermediate schools. Table 5.2 shows the extent to which

students felt they had been stimulated by their particular schools to improve relationships between different racial groups.

Table 5.2

Student Perceptions of School Efforts  
at Encouraging Race Relations  
(percent in each response category)

School	Racial Group	Encouragement Ratings				Total
		Excel- lent	Good	Fair	Poor	
Roosevelt	White	0.0	90.0	10.0	0.0	100(N= 10)
	Minority	14.0	42.0	30.0	14.0	100(N= 50)
Redshaw	White	18.2	45.5	18.2	18.2	100(N= 11)
	Minority	8.9	28.9	44.4	17.8	100(N= 45)
Gibbons	White	42.9	42.9	14.3	0.0	100(N= 14)
	Minority	29.6	37.0	25.9	7.4	100(N= 27)
NBHS	White	2.9	24.0	47.5	25.6	100(N=242)
	Black	2.3	17.8	50.4	29.5	100(N=129)
	Hispanic	14.8	33.3	40.7	11.1	100(N= 54)

Students of all racial groups in the Roosevelt and Gibbons schools tended to suggest that their schools were either good or excellent at encouraging race relations. At the Redshaw School a majority of white students (63.7 percent) rated the efforts highly, while most minority-group students (62.2 percent) assigned them a fair or poor score. The student responses at New Brunswick High School made it stand out as being the school where racial groups were least encouraged to improve intergroup relations. Here 73.1 percent of the white students, 79.9 percent of the



black students, and 51.8 percent of the Hispanic students perceived the school's efforts in this area to be either fair or poor.

### Classroom Discussions about Race

The frequency of classroom discussions centering around race, as reported by teachers, is presented in Table 5.3. The question which generated this report was somewhat circumscribed and did not permit teachers to speak about the context in which discussions about race were made.

Table 5.3

Frequency of Classroom Discussions about Race  
(percent of teachers in each response category)

School	Frequency of Discussions				Total
	Frequently	Sometimes	Very Rarely	Never	
Elem. School	10.6	46.5	28.9	14.1	100 (142)
New Street	37.5	37.5	25.0	0.0	100 ( 8)
Roosevelt	11.9	52.4	23.8	11.9	100 ( 42)
Redshaw	17.3	40.4	30.8	11.5	100 ( 52)
NBHS	14.0	44.1	33.1	8.8	100 (136)
Gibbans	50.0	37.5	12.5	0.0	100 ( 8)
Family L. C.	40.0	0.0	40.0	20.0	100 ( 5)
<b>Total</b>	<b>14.5</b>	<b>44.5</b>	<b>29.8</b>	<b>11.2</b>	<b>100 (393)</b>

A majority of teachers in all schools (74.3 percent) indicated that race, as a subject of classroom discussion, was presented sometimes or very rarely. The frequency of such discussions appeared to be moderate since teacher responses clustered between the two extremes of never and frequently. In any case, the indication seemed

to be that race was discussed by most teachers in classroom settings even though the direction of those discussions was not determined.

Classroom Discussions About Intergroup and Race Relations

Classroom discussions about racial groups did have a focus when students were asked the question, "How often do class discussions center around intergroup and race relations?" In Table 5.4, their responses are reported.

Table 5.4

Frequency of Classroom Discussions about Intergroup and Race Relations  
(percent of students in each response category)

School	Racial Group	Frequency		Total
		Often or very often	Seldom or never	
Redshaw	White	50.0	50.0	100 ( 12)
	Minority	30.8	69.2	100 ( 47)
Gibbons	White	66.1	33.9	100 ( 14)
	Minority	44.4	55.6	100 ( 27)
NBHS	White	8.3	91.7	100 (243)
	Black	23.7	76.3	100 (139)
	Hispanic	34.0	66.0	100 ( 53)

Students seemed more inclined to indicate that classroom discussions about race which were specifically targeted on intergroup and race relations, occurred either seldom or never. Student respondents at the high school were particularly noticeable; nearly 80 percent of them, in all racial groups, fell in the seldom or

never category.

### Summary and Discussion of the Findings

Institutional support for human relations represents those deliberate efforts which the schools make to create understanding and acceptance of individual and group differences by students and staff members in the educational environment. Since human relations can touch every aspect of school life, it is most effective when considered in all school programs and activities.

The extent to which New Brunswick schools supported race and intergroup relations was generally noted throughout the study, but was looked at more closely through an examination of various aspects of human relations: the school-sponsored human relations organization, school encouragement of race relations, and classroom discussions of race, racial relations, and intergroup relations.

In schools, other than the high school, students tended to feel that they were appreciably encouraged in race relations. At New Brunswick High School, nearly three-fourths of the students in all racial groups felt that the school had done only a fair or poor job in stimulating intergroup and interracial relations.

General discussions about race had a moderate occurrence in all schools but with a greater frequency in the Roosevelt, Redshaw, and Gibbons schools. Discussions centering on intergroup and race relations occurred in the Redshaw and Gibbons schools with a fair amount of frequency. In the high school, however, classroom discussions focusing on these subjects were seldom or never experienced by a large majority of students

in all racial groups.

### Recommendations

1. RE-EXAMINE THE PURPOSES OF THE HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEE AND RESTRUCTURE ITS MEMBERSHIP AND ACTIVITIES TO SERVE AS A VIABLE INSTRUMENT FOR IMPROVING INTERGROUP AND RACE RELATIONS.

The lack of awareness by some students of the existence of the Human Relations Committee and its perceived ineffectiveness by a large number of others clearly suggests the need for a careful assessment of its value. This Committee seemed to be comparable to the traditional student governments which seldom represent true student leadership or pursue the general interests of the larger student body. The reasons for the existence of the Committee should make practical sense and be articulated to all school members. Its activities should be purposeful and on-going and include the contributions of a wide range of students who represent not only major racial and ethnic groups, but also subgroups within the predominant ones.

2. THE SCHOOLS SHOULD DEVELOP AND SUPPORT DELIBERATE ACTIVITIES AND PROGRAMS WHICH STIMULATE RACIAL AND INTERGROUP UNDERSTANDING AND ACCEPTANCE BY ALL OF THEIR STUDENTS.

Certainly the schools are aware of the attitudinal cleavage between students of different racial groups. To ignore this or do nothing to remove it can only serve to worsen how students of different backgrounds feel about each other. Programs and activities need to be developed which will bring a large number of different kinds of students together so they can interact in a positive climate and begin to improve their understanding of each other. At the moment, there does not seem to be a single effective activity or program which was deliberately designed to improve relationships between young people. In a racially integrated school, the positive exchanges between students should not be left to chance.

3. TEACHERS SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED AND TRAINED TO ADDRESS HUMAN RELATIONS, WITH SOME REGULARITY, IN THEIR CLASSROOM DISCUSSIONS.

If human relations are to prevail in the various school environments, then human relations must be addressed periodically in learning situations. There is no better place than the classroom for students to learn about and become accepting of racial and ethnic diversity. The infrequency of classroom discussions in New Brunswick schools might have been an indirect contributor to the intergroup disharmony which has shown itself especially in the high school.

Some teachers will, of course, not be willing nor equipped to deal with the issues associated with human relations in their classes. This may require in-service training or direction from the school administration or senior members of the faculty.

#### Intergroup Behavior of Teachers

How teachers of different racial groups interact with each other should, to some extent, provide direction for the interaction of students in a racially-mixed setting. When viewed positively, it could represent a school support which serves to foster human relations. The intergroup behavior of teachers, therefore, might become a model which, in a sense, exemplifies the kind of student-group interactional behavior the school expects.

Although New Brunswick teachers responded to the many and varied questions which were presented to them in the survey questionnaire, many of them, for whatever reasons, did not identify themselves by racial group. This made it almost impossible to analyze and interpret some of the teacher data which was related to

interracial behaviors of faculty members.

To partly understand the extent to which teachers of different racial groups had personal and professional contacts, the following two questions were presented to them:

- In reference to the three teachers you talk to most at school, are they of the same race as you or of a different racial group?
- Do you consult with other teachers who are not of your race about teaching and other school problems relating to minority-group students?

Responses of teachers to these questions certainly could not be used to fully assess the faculties' interracial behaviors--particularly since they could have taken many forms under a variety of circumstances which the two queries did not consider. Nevertheless, the way teachers associated themselves with each other through informal talks or consultations was considered to be strongly suggestive of their general interracial or intergroup stance.

In Table 5.5, the degree to which teachers in one racial group talked with teachers in other racial groups is somewhat indicated. It should be taken into account that the disparity between the number of teachers in each racial group might have been an influencing factor.

When looking at the teachers' interracial "talk" patterns for the total school district, it appears as though most teachers (73.4 percent) talk frequently with one or more faculty members of a racial group different from their own. With the exception of the special schools and Redshaw, the probability of teachers from different racial groups talking with each other with frequency appeared to be associated with school levels.

Table 5.5

Race of Teachers Talked with Most by Faculty Members  
(percent in each "talk" category)

School	Three teachers talked with most		Total
	Of same race	One or more of a different race	
Elem. School	21.6	78.4	100 (139)
New Street	0.0	100.0	100 ( 4)
Roosevelt	31.1	69.1	100 ( 42)
Redshaw	7.8	92.2	100 ( 51)
NBHS	41.5	58.5	100 (130)
Gibbons	0.0	100.0	100 ( 8)
Family L. C.	0.0	100.0	100 ( 5)
Total	26.6	73.4	100 (379)

The highest percentage of teachers who talked most with members of another racial group (78.4%) was in the elementary schools; followed by Redshaw with 69.1 percent and New Brunswick High School with 58.5 percent. This might have been explained by the fact that the secondary school teaching staffs were much larger than those of the elementary schools, and the racial ratios of the faculties were more balanced.

The system-wide frequency of faculty members from different racial groups coming together to consult about teaching and other problems relating to minority-group students was similar to that of the previously discussed interracial talks. Slightly more than 80 percent of all teachers in the school district indicated that they had these kinds of consultations either often or occasionally with a fellow staff member who was not of their racial group. When schools were looked at individually, the pattern re-

versed itself. Interracial consultations, as Table 5.6 shows, had the greatest frequency at the high school and a relative decline as school levels lowered.

The difference in the "talking" and "consultation" frequencies (78.4 and 61.1 percent, respectively) had several speculative implications. One was that problems which are perceived to relate to minority-group students was a stronger motivating factor than others in bringing teachers of different racial groups together. This was suggested more at the high school where 41.5 percent of the faculty "talk" most with teachers of their own racial group, while 83.2 percent of them "consult" with teachers who are not in their racial group.

Table 5.6

Percent of Teachers in each Response Category of the  
"Consultation with Teachers of another Race"  
Question

School	Frequency of Consultation				Total
	Often	Occasionally	Rarely	Never	
Elem. School	43.9	36.0	15.1	5.0	100 (139)
New Street	33.3	16.7	33.3	16.7	100 ( 6)
Roosevelt	47.6	33.3	14.3	4.8	100 ( 42)
Redshaw	36.5	46.2	15.4	1.9	100 ( 52)
NBHS	29.6	52.6	16.3	1.5	100 (135)
Gibbons	75.0	25.6	0.0	0.0	100 ( 8)
Family L. C.	60.0	20.0	20.0	0.0	100 ( 5)
Total	39.0	42.1	15.5	3.4	100 (387)

To compare the difference between the frequency of teachers' personal and professional contacts with faculty members of different racial groups other than their own, the four columns of Table 5.6 were collapsed into two columns to coincide with the



arrangement of Table 5.5.

### Summary and Discussion of the Findings

The way teachers of different racial groups interact with each other can serve to exemplify the kind of interracial behavior the schools expect of their students. In New Brunswick schools, there was a strong tendency for faculty members to have both personal and professional contacts with members of a racial group which was different from their own. By comparison, personal contacts were more frequent in the lower grades than they were in the secondary schools. Interracial professional contacts, in the form of consultations relating to teaching and minority-group problems, tended to have the greatest frequency in the high school with a relative decline as school levels lowered.

Apart from informal talks and professional consultations, no other behaviors were examined to determine how teachers of different racial groups interacted. This made generalizations about the full scope of faculty interracial activities impossible.

### Recommendations

1. THE EXTENT AND QUALITY OF TEACHER INTERRACIAL BEHAVIORS SHOULD SERVE AS EXEMPLARS OF HUMAN RELATIONS WHICH CAN PROVIDE DIRECTION FOR STUDENTS WHO LIVE AND LEARN IN THE SCHOOLS' RACIALLY INTEGRATED SETTINGS.

Teachers, of course, should not be subjected to dictates which prescribe how they should informally involve themselves with their professional colleagues. They should, however, understand that their behavior might influence the manner by which

their young students will behave. If positive interracial interactions are indeed a goal of the schools, teachers must realize that they must play a major role in that process by establishing the example. The schools should encourage interracial behavior of faculty members which have both substance and visibility.

2. SCHOOL ACTIVITIES SHOULD BE PLANNED IN SUCH A WAY TO DELIBERATELY BRING TEACHERS TOGETHER WHO REPRESENT DIFFERENT RACIAL GROUPS.

In any school setting, teachers can learn from each other. In a racially integrated school, the mutuality of learning still exists, but it can have an added dimension--faculty members are able to learn more from each other about racial and cultural diversity. It should not be left entirely up to the professional staff to decide on the degree to which it will be involved in peer-group teaching and learning exchanges. The schools would plan activities which bring teachers together who have different racial designations but who will serve to improve interracial understanding.

### The Status of Race Relations

To adequately address the issue of race relations in the schools, it must be viewed alongside most things which happen in the complete operation of those racially-integrated schools. Throughout the study, different pieces of data suggested what the status of race relations in New Brunswick schools might be. The "pieces" were put together by the following questions which drew responses from either teachers or students:

- What is the quality of relations between teachers and minority-group students? Between teachers and white students?
- Is the racial prejudice of both white and minority-group

students increasing or decreasing?

- How would you describe the contact between white students and minority-group students in your school?
- How are things working out in school between students of different racial and ethnic groups?
- How would you evaluate the way race relations are in your school?

### Teacher-Student Relations

A number of factors, including the traditionally prescribed roles for school participants, often militate against positive teacher-student relations even in schools with racial homogeneity. When racial diversity becomes a consideration, it tends to increase the difficulty of engendering favorable interactions between faculty members and all of their young clients. None of this is to say that teachers and students in any school environment and with any kind of racial composition do not get along well together, but it is to present a common issue which is so frequently raised in racially-integrated schools.

From a human relations point of view, it was appropriate to ask, "How do teachers and students get along together?" Viewing teacher-student relations from a race-relations perspective, it was equally appropriate to split the question and ask, "How do teachers and white students get along?" and "How do teachers and minority-group students relate to each other?" The answers to those questions, as provided by teacher perceptions, can be found in Tables 5.7 and 5.8 where faculty ratings of teacher-student relations are reported.

Table 5.7

Faculty Perceptions of Teacher/Minority-Group Student  
Relations  
(percent in each rating category)

School	Rating			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Elem. School	4.2	24.3	71.5	100 (119)
New Street	0.0	16.7	83.3	100 ( 6)
Roosevelt	5.1	30.8	64.1	100 ( 39)
Redshaw	14.2	39.5	46.3	100 ( 47)
NBHS	13.6	48.4	28.0	100 (125)
Gibbons	0.0	37.5	62.5	100 ( 8)
Family L. C.	0.0	0.0	100.0	100 ( 5)
Total	8.9	39.3	51.9	100 (349)

Table 5.8

Faculty Perceptions of Teacher/White Student  
Relations  
(percent in each rating category)

School	Rating			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Elem. School	1.8	23.9	74.3	100 (113)
New Street	0.0	0.0	100.0	100 ( 5)
Roosevelt	2.6	31.5	65.8	100 ( 38)
Redshaw	6.3	34.0	59.6	100 ( 47)
NBHS	8.8	44.3	46.9	100 (124)
Gibbons	0.0	37.5	62.5	100 ( 8)
Family L. C.	0.0	0.0	100.0	100 ( 3)
Total	5.0	33.4	61.5	100 (338)

A majority of teachers in the school system (51.9 percent) felt that teacher minority-group relations could be highly rated, but a greater plurality of them (61.5 percent) thought that relations between white students and faculty members was deserving of a high rating. Teachers in all of the schools except Redshaw and New Brunswick High School did not indicate any significant difference between the quality of relations between teachers and white students and that between teachers and minority-group students. In the two mentioned schools, a noticeably higher percentage of teachers suggested faculty members got along better with white students than they did with minority-group youngsters.

#### Changes in the Prejudice of Students

The level at which human relations existed in the schools or had influenced students' racial attitudes was determined, to some degree, by analyzing teacher responses to the question, "Are students becoming more or less prejudiced?" In Tables 5.9 and 5.10 answers to the query are presented.

Judging from the perceptions of teachers, it appeared that a significant number of students throughout the school district and in all racial groups were changing their racial attitudes and, to some extent, were becoming more prejudiced. On the whole, there seemed to be a difference in the degree of change among different kinds of students since the percent (52.2%) of teachers who felt that minority-group students were becoming more prejudiced was considerably higher than that (40.8%) of those who felt the same way about white students.

Table 5.9

Teacher Responses to the "White Students are  
Becoming More or Less Prejudiced" Question  
(percent in each rating category)

School	White Students are Becoming:			Total
	More Prejudiced	Less Prejudiced	Neither more nor less prejudiced	
Elem. School	23.8	19.8	56.3	100 (126)
New Street	0.0	33.3	66.6	100 ( 6)
Roosevelt	12.5	17.5	70.0	100 ( 40)
Redshaw	36.2	27.7	36.2	100 ( 47)
NBHS	72.0	3.2	24.8	100 (125)
Gibbons	37.5	0.0	62.5	100 ( 8)
Family L.C.	0.0	66.7	33.3	100 ( 3)
Total	40.8	14.9	44.3	100 (355)

Table 5.10

Teacher Responses to the "Minority-Group Students are  
Becoming More or Less Prejudiced" Question  
(percent in each rating category)

School	Minority Students are Becoming:			Total
	More Prejudiced	Less Prejudiced	Neither more nor less prejudiced	
Elem. School	43.2	12.8	44.0	100 (125)
New Street	16.7	33.3	50.0	100 ( 6)
Roosevelt	26.3	10.5	60.5	100 ( 38)
Redshaw	36.7	25.6	36.7	100 ( 49)
NBHS	78.3	2.3	19.4	100 (129)
Gibbons	37.5	0.0	62.5	100 ( 8)
Family L. C.	0.0	66.7	33.3	100 ( 3)
Total	52.2	11.2	36.3	100 (352)

In spite of this, a majority of teachers in each of the schools, with the exception of New Brunswick High School, were of the opinion that students' racial attitudes were either becoming less prejudiced or were stabilized. The high school stood out because it was here that three-fourths of the faculty suggested that students in all racial groups were becoming more prejudiced.

### Relationships Between White and Minority-Group

#### Students

The nature of relationships between white and minority-group students was characterized by teacher responses to the question, "How would you describe the contact between white students and minority-group students in your school?" The characterization is presented in Table 5.11 where teacher descriptions of intergroup contacts are reported.

Table 5.11

#### Teacher Descriptions of Relationships Between White and Minority-Group Students (percent in each description category)

School	Intergroup Relationships				Total
	Very Tense	Only Formal	Few	Many	
Elem. School	2.3	7.6	24.2	65.9	100 (132)
New Street	0.0	28.6	14.3	57.1	100 ( 7)
Roosevelt	0.0	20.5	56.4	23.1	100 ( 39)
Redshaw	7.7	23.1	57.7	11.5	100 ( 52)
NBHS	49.3	21.6	23.9	5.2	100 (134)
Gibbons	14.3	0.0	85.7	0.0	100 ( 7)
Family L. C.	0.0	0.0	20.0	80.0	100 ( 5)
<b>Total</b>	<b>19.7</b>	<b>16.2</b>	<b>33.3</b>	<b>31.9</b>	<b>100 (376)</b>

Looking at the total school system and excluding New Brunswick High School, a very few teachers felt that relationships between students of different groups were tense. The positiveness of intergroup relations was strongly associated with school levels. In the Elementary schools 69.9 percent of the faculty believed that many student intergroup relationships existed. The percentage of teachers reporting this kind of belief lessened as school levels increased. This was evidenced by a report of 57.1 percent at New Street, 23.1 percent at Roosevelt, 11.5 percent at Redshaw, and a low 5.2 percent at the high school.

Surprisingly, no teachers at the Gibbons School reported the existence of many intergroup relationships. This was, nevertheless, consistent with the reports from all intermediate and secondary schools which indicated that interracial relationships, for the most part, were few or formal. Intergroup relations at the high school appeared to be most negative--it was here that nearly 50 percent of the faculty viewed them as being tense.

#### The Seriousness of Race Relations Problems

All teachers in the district were asked to rate the schools' race relations in terms of racial problems which existed in their particular schools. These ratings are contained in Table 5.12.

Most teachers, except those in the high school, felt that there were no problems with race relations or that the problems were minor. There was a very strong tendency for the percent of teachers who felt there were serious race relations problems in the schools to increase as grade levels became higher. At New Brunswick



High School, 94 percent of the teachers suggested that there were some or many serious problems between the different racial groups.

Table 5.12

Teacher Reports on the Seriousness of  
Race Relations Problems  
(percent in each problem category)

School	Seriousness of Problems				Total
	No Problems	Minor Problems	Some serious problems	Many serious problems	
Elem. School	40.3	43.2	12.9	3.6	100 (139)
New Street	42.9	28.6	28.6	0.0	100 ( 7)
Roosevelt	15.0	57.5	25.0	2.5	100 ( 40)
Redshaw	11.8	56.9	27.5	3.9	100 ( 51)
NBHS	1.5	4.5	32.6	61.4	100 (132)
Gibbons	25.0	75.0	0.0	0.0	100 ( 8)
Family L. C.	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100 ( 5)
Total	20.9	33.0	22.8	23.3	100 (382)

Student Perceptions of Race Relations Problems

Students in the upper-grade schools were asked the question, "On the whole, how would you say things are working out between different racial and ethnic groups at your school?" Their choices of answers were the same as those which teachers gave in answering the "problems in race relations" question. Table 5.13 summarizes the student responses and provides an indication of the quality. (from student perceptions) of human relations which existed in the schools.

Student perceptions of problems in race relations at the intermediate and secondary school levels were much different from those of teachers. In none of the schools was the percentage of students who felt that race relations problems were serious as high as that of teachers who shared this feeling. Students in all of the upper-grade schools had a greater tendency to view race relations in the schools as causing no problems at all, or only minor ones.

Table 5.13

Student Reports on the Seriousness of  
Race Relations Problems  
(percent in each problem category)

School	Racial Group	Seriousness of Problems				Total
		No prob- lems	Minor prob- lems	Some serious problems	Many serious problems	
Roosevelt	White	60.0	40.0	0.0	0.0	100 ( 10)
	Minority	69.2	30.8	0.0	0.0	100 ( 52)
Redshaw	White	21.7	60.0	8.3	10.0	100 ( 12)
	Minority	25.6	53.5	6.2	4.7	100 ( 43)
Gibbons	White	7.1	85.7	7.1	0.0	100 ( 14)
	Minority	8.8	81.5	9.6	0.0	100 ( 26)
NBHS	White	4.2	54.6	29.4	11.8	100 (238)
	Black	5.5	51.6	31.3	11.7	100 (128)
	Hispanic	11.1	40.7	29.6	18.5	100 ( 54)

Students of different racial groups had similar perceptions of the extent to which race relations existed in the schools. In the Roosevelt, Redshaw, and Gibbons schools

roughly 90 percent of the students in each racial group indicated that things were working out between the different races and ethnic groups with no more than some minor problems. At the high school, slightly more than 50 percent of the students made the same indication. Not to be overlooked, however, was the significant number of high school students who suggested that race relations problems were serious. Forty-three percent of the black students, 41.2 percent of the white students, and 48.1 percent of the Hispanic students fell into this category.

### Summary and Discussion of the Findings

In integrated schools, the quality of race relations, or the lack of it, somehow impacts upon nearly every facet of the school experience. It therefore becomes important to think of relationships existing between different racial groups in terms of their contributing or inhibiting influence on the educational program and its environment.

Teacher-student relations in New Brunswick schools, from the faculties' points of view, were moderately good. While most teachers felt that faculty members got along reasonably well with all students, they showed a slight tendency of believing that their relationship with white students was better than it was with students in the minority groups. This was particularly noticeable at the high school where the difference in teacher beliefs was most significant.

A high percentage of teachers generally believed that racial prejudice was increasing in all of the schools and within all racial groups. These teachers gave the

impression that, even though the increase was high, it was more prevalent among minority-group youngsters. When schools were viewed collectively, the high percent of negative reports from the high school distorted the general picture representing the school district. The majority of teachers in lower-grade schools felt that racial prejudice was either lessening or remaining constant. It was at New Brunswick High School where the attitudes of teachers tended to be less than positive since three-fourths of the faculty reported that both minority and majority-group students were becoming increasingly prejudiced.

Teacher characterizations of relationships of students of different racial groups followed the pattern which faculty members had previously set. The positive perceptions of teachers about intergroup relationships of students was strongly associated with school levels. Students in the elementary schools were reported to have many intergroup relationships. These kinds of relationships diminished, however, as school levels rose. At New Brunswick High School, relations between students of different racial groups were, for the most part, viewed as being tense and formal.

In all of the schools except New Brunswick High School, a large majority of faculty members perceived that race relations problems were either non-existent or minor. Again, it was at the high school where most of the negativism rested. Here almost two-thirds of the faculty reported that there were many serious problems with respect to race relations.

Student perceptions of race relations were much different from those of teachers. In no schools did they report race relations as negatively as did the faculty members.

In all schools, except New Brunswick High School, approximately 90 percent of the students felt that there were either no race relations problems or that they were of little consequence. Even at the high school, this feeling was shared by more than one-half of young people in all racial groups. Yet, there was a large percentage of students in the high school who thought that serious racial problems existed. Nevertheless, this percentage was not comparable to that of high school teachers who shared this thought.

### Recommendations

Any recommendations for improving race relations in the schools would probably be similar to suggestions which have been previously made in other sections of this study. This is understandable, since race relations is such an instrumental force in racially-integrated schools and touches upon so many aspects of their programs and activities. There are two recommendations related to race relations that need to be made, even if they were previously offered.

1. **DESIGN STRATEGIES TO IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN STUDENTS AND TEACHERS. GIVE PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS.**

Student-teacher relations in all of the schools leaves much to be desired, but in the secondary schools the situation is relatively poor. A large number of teachers have indicated that their relationship with students, of all racial groups, cannot be rated very highly. This seemed to suggest a need for examining the teacher-student interaction patterns as a means of locating the causes of poor relationships. When these causes are identified, they might be used to provide direction for improving the interactional behavior

between faculty members and students.

School programs and activities which are now in existence do not seem organized to bring students and teachers together, except by formal arrangements. Considering the limited number of activities in the schools and the low rate of student participation, particularly of minority-group students, it is no wonder that an appearance of estrangement between faculty members and students prevails. It is more than likely that the minimal opportunities provided for students and teachers to meet in positive and non-classroom settings has done much to create and widen the gulf of understanding which seems to separate the school adults from their young charges.

2. **DEVELOP PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES WHICH ARE TARGETED TO DEAL SPECIFICALLY WITH THE REDUCTION OF RACIAL PREJUDICE. PARTICULAR ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS.**

The increasing racial prejudice perceived by teachers should serve as a signal of what is now present or on its way and stimulate plans and activities which may be used to stem and turn back the attitudinal tide of growing student racism. There is no universal strategy nor easy approach for reducing racial prejudice--even though the literature, research, and "experts" provide many suggestions. In the final analysis, New Brunswick will have to make its own hard decisions and find its own peculiar approach to deal with the problem.

The division of students along racial lines in programs and activities has certainly not helped to improve race relations. Surely, the way student leadership and status roles have been distributed has not made matters better. The disproportionate number of minority-group students who have been seriously disciplined in schools with racially-imbalanced faculties has undoubtedly had its negative effects.

If New Brunswick schools are closely examined, a long list of reasons for growing racial prejudice among students can be found. If those causes are to be reduced or minimized, it may require a major restructuring of school programs and activities and the development of a learning environment where students participate and are treated equally in the educational process.

## CHAPTER VI

### RACIAL ATTITUDES AND INTERRACIAL BEHAVIORS OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

In the preceding Chapter, where the focus was on human relations, some attention was given to racial attitudes of students and intergroup interactions. Including these two subjects in the discussions of human relations was indeed appropriate, however, since they are essentially what human relations is all about. The treatment of them, though, was somewhat limited and spoke for the most part to the total educational system or several schools in the district. This Chapter, which is actually a continuation of the preceding one, broadens the discussion of human relations but speaks specifically to the question of how students of different racial groups feel about and interact with each other in New Brunswick High School.

It was important to study, with more depth, the racial attitudes and interracial behaviors of young people in all schools of the system, but the conditions allowing for this were not very conducive. Resources allowed only for the selection of one school. The high school, with its broader range of activities and its more racially-representative student population, seemed to be the best choice for concentrating on patterns of intergroup attitudes and interactions. Intergroup, in this case, referred to black and white students since there were few students in other racial categories, and it would have been difficult for them to be comparatively studied. Hispanic students,

the largest "other" ethnic group, were not represented significantly enough in the high school's general enrollment, nor in that of its grades, to have their attitudes and behaviors subjected to comparison through grade-level or categorical analysis. In other parts of the study, this did not present any problems since all racial groups were usually examined in terms of their aggregate numbers.

### Some General Concepts and Background

Most social scientists usually agree that attitudes are acquired through experiences and are the result of many causal factors within those experiential exposures. They also tend to agree that ethnic and racial attitudes develop over a period of time and have overlapping stages. In discussing this process, Harding<sup>1</sup> noted that the first stage of ethnic awareness starts at the age of three or four and is followed by a stage of ethnic orientation which occurs between the ages of four and eight. During the grammar-school years, he reported, adult-like ethnic attitudes begin to emerge.

Clark and Clark conducted many of the pioneer studies about children's racial awareness and self-identification. Their well-known "doll-preference" study<sup>2</sup> suggested that a majority of black children are conscious of race as early as three years

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1. J. Harding, et al., "Prejudice and Ethnic Relations" in G. Lindzey and E. Aronson (eds.), The Handbook of Social Psychology (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1969), p. 5.

2. K.B. Clark and M.P. Clark, "Racial Identification and Preference in Negro Children," in T.M. Newcomb and E.L. Hartley (eds.), Readings in Social Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1947).



of age. After studying three to five year-old black and white pupils in a nursery school, Porter<sup>3</sup> offered a similar suggestion. Goodman observed racial awareness among four-year old black and white children and described the process by which they acquired racial attitudes as being more than simple transference. He pointed out that:

...it is perhaps less a matter of transmission than of regeneration. This is to say that there begins early and proceeds gradually, in each individual, a process much more complex than the sheer learning of someone else's attitudes. It is rather that each individual generates his own attitudes out of personal, social, and cultural materials which happen to be his.<sup>4</sup>

Not only do children seem to become conscious of racial identity at early ages, but soon after, appear to develop orientation of race values which Gordon Allport termed as, "in-group orientation."<sup>5</sup> If the in-group is warmly accepted by an individual, it is called his reference group. The reference-group concept was introduced by Sherif and Sherif<sup>6</sup> in the early 1950's and has now become a commonly accepted notion. There is a tendency for individuals to hold in high esteem their own in-group or reference group. It is this self-preference characteristic of individuals that provides a soil fertile for the seeds of prejudice. This does not mean, however, that self-preference is synonymous with hostility or prejudicial attitude. This was made clear

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3. J. Porter, Black Child, White Child: The Development of Racial Attitudes, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971).

4. M.E. Goodman, Race Awareness in Young Children (New York: Collier, 1964), p. 246.

5. G.W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1954), p. 28.

6. M. Sherif and C. Sherif, Groups in Harmony and Tension (New York: Harper & Row, 1953).

in the following statement by Allport:

Because of their basic importance to our own survival and self-esteem, we tend to develop a partisanship and ethnocentrism with respect to our own in-groups....The familiar is preferred. What is alien is regarded as somehow inferior, less "good," but there is not necessarily hostility against it.

Studies of interracial contact among young people continue to support the subjects' preference for their own kind, a preference that seems to increase with age and grade. It has been asserted that at grade five or the age of puberty, an "ethnocentric peak" or "totalized rejection" of others is reached by most youngsters.<sup>8</sup>

Smith<sup>9</sup> focused upon student ethnocentrism in a study of prejudice among eighth, tenth, and twelfth graders in three eastern communities. His findings clearly indicated that both black and white students tend to choose friends among their own racial and religious group. Not only was there a preponderance of one-race friendships, but also a much higher percentage of white than black students who had unfavorable beliefs about their school mates who were of another racial group. Banks'<sup>10</sup> research, although it did not consider public school students, provided some evidence to suggest that black youngsters are now expressing anti-white sentiments which are becoming

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7. Allport, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 294.

9. M.B. Smith, "The Schools and Prejudice Findings," in G. Lindzey and E. Aronson (eds.) The Handbook of Social Psychology (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1969), p. 121.

10. W.M. Banks, "The Changing Attitudes of Black Students," Personnel and Guidance Journal, 48 (1970), p. 739.

proportionate to the anti-black beliefs held by white youths. This was partly attributed to the race-consciousness movement of the past decade.

Interracial interaction between students in integrated schools has more recently been the subject of a number of studies of interethnic behavior. The theoretical framework for many of them has been derived from a theory of intergroup contact constructed by the often-quoted Gordon Allport in his extensive treatment of the nature of prejudice. He postulated that if intergroup contacts were to be positive, the participants should have an equal sharing of status, pursue common goals, and have institutional supports in a non-competitive atmosphere. Thomas Pettigrew,<sup>11</sup> one of the more renowned supporters of the social contact theory, has often suggested that social contact between members of different racial groups does indeed effect positive racial attitudes. He has insisted, however, that the interracial contacts take place under the conditions presented by Allport.

Stember<sup>12</sup> studied the effects of interracial contact on prejudice in education and made findings which supported Allport's assertion that there is a positive relationship between intergroup contact and the reduction of prejudice. He concluded that intergroup contact not only has strong positive effects on overall relationships but also reduces the prevalence of stereotypic beliefs. After completing a similar study, Lachat

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11. Thomas Pettigrew, et al., "Busing: A Review of the Evidence," The Public Interest, 30 (1973). p. 88.

12. C. H. Stember, Education and Attitude Change: The Effect of Schooling on Prejudice Against Minority Groups (New York: Institute of Human Relations, 1961).

was led to comment that, "Where no contact with status equals has occurred, education is so much less effective as to suggest that formal schooling alone may be of limited use in changing attitudes."<sup>13</sup>

Many studies of interracial contact in schools resulted with conclusions that such contact does, in fact, lead to the fostering of positive race relations. However, there have been instances reported in which there were negative racial attitudes growing out of contact experiences in racially-integrated situations. A study by Webster, of interracial contact in a newly desegregated junior high school, did not clearly substantiate the contact-positive attitude relationship. After a six-month period, he concluded that:

Contact had a negative effect upon the white subjects; they became significantly less accepting of blacks. The findings were inconclusive in the case of black subjects, but did tend to indicate that change was in the direction of more acceptance of whites.<sup>14</sup>

With no intent to denigrate Webster's work, it might be said that the time period of his research was much too short to fully record the complete process of attitude change. What his study did do, however, was suggest that intergroup contact does not automatically provide desirable racial beliefs about others of different racial groups. It further suggested that the nature of the contact (positive or negative) will influence

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13. M.A. Lachat, "A Description and Comparison of the Attitude of White High School Seniors Toward Black Americans in Three Suburban High Schools" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1972).

14. S.W. Webster, "The Influence of Interracial Contact on Social Acceptance in a Newly Integrated School," Journal of Educational Psychology, 52 (1961) p. 292.

the quality of the attitudinal outcomes.

Other studies of racial interaction in schools have directed attention to the conditions which foster positive intergroup attitudes and behaviors. One study by McDowell<sup>15</sup> focused upon the relationship between school climate and race relations. He pointed out that the school environment and the quality of interracial relationships were of greater importance than racial ratios in reducing unfavorable intergroup attitudes. Kraft<sup>16</sup> felt that more than a desirable school climate was necessary to produce positive racial attitudes among students. He was of the opinion that teachers must play a more deliberate and active role in promoting interracial interactions and changing racial attitudes. Useem's<sup>17</sup> study gave credence to the qualification that simple race-mixing is not sufficient to change unfavorable racial attitudes. In finding that contacts between students with unequal status did little to change their attitudes toward a busing program, she concluded that the negative effects of status factors are stronger than the positive effects of cross-racial association.

To summarize, it might be said that most students do acquire racial attitudes through a process which begins at an early age. Young people's beliefs about themselves

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15. S. McDowell, Prejudice and Other Interracial Attitudes of Negro Youth (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, No. ED 019 390.) August 1967.

16. R. Kraft, Affective Climate and Integration: A Report Presented to the ERIC Clearing House on the Disadvantaged (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, No. ED 035703.) October, 1969.

17. E. Useem, "Correlates of Racial Attitudes Among White High School Students" (a paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting, April, 1972, Chicago, Illinois).

and those who are racially different result from experiences of intergroup interaction or, as a matter of fact, from the absence of intergroup contacts. There is a tendency for people, of all races, to hold their reference group in high esteem and select their friends from within it. This does not necessarily mean that ethnocentricity is a racist characteristic, it is simply to suggest that in-group preference might be a normal and certainly non-negative phenomenon. Positive racial attitudes about others do, however, seem to have stronger possibilities when students of different racial groups interact with each other in an educational climate where there is encouragement and support for desirable interracial behaviors and beliefs.

### Racial Attitudes

It would be a most arduous, if not impossible, task to design an instrument which had the capability to elicit sets of responses from individuals which would account for their complete feelings about others to whom they will be reacting. Attitudes are made up of several dimensions or properties in a manner similar to that of the objects, situations, or propositions which cause them to develop. In studying the attitudes of secondary school students, the near impossibility of uncovering and determining the direction and intensity of every facet of racial beliefs that black and white youngsters held about themselves and each other was understood. There was an understanding, however, that responses to a few stereotypic items would be representative enough to help explain some of the thinking, race-related emotions, and overt behavior of the young people from different ethnic backgrounds who find themselves coming together

in the setting of New Brunswick High School.

The racial attitudes of sampled students were determined by the use of three questions taken from a racial stereotype index designed by Matthews and Prothro<sup>18</sup> which measures the degree to which respondents hold the opinion that certain characteristics are racially determined. The questions dealt with three stereotypes: intellectual functioning (who is smarter), behavior (who behaves better), and aspiration (who wants to get ahead more). Each question was slightly reworded to make it more suitable for the school environment. For instance, the word "white" was changed to "white students" and the word "negro" was changed to "minority-group students."

The subjects checked one of three responses which indicated a belief favorable or unfavorable toward black and white students or one which indicated no racial differences. The sum of a respondent's item score was his index score which could be pro-white (+1), pro-black (-1), or both races are the same (0). The zero score suggested that the respondent was neutral and possessed no particular racial leaning.

#### Stereotypical Intellectual Attitudes

To determine the extent to which young people held stereotypical attitudes about the intellectual functioning of students in different racial groups, the following question was posed:

On the whole, do you think that:

1. \_\_\_\_\_ White students are smarter than minority-group students?

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18. D.R. Matthews and J.W. Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966).

2. \_\_\_\_\_ Minority-group students are smarter than white students?
3. \_\_\_\_\_ They are all about the same?

New Brunswick High School students were decidedly neutral in their racial beliefs related to intellectual capacity, with about 76 percent of them responding that all students were about the same in this respect. Nevertheless, about 19 percent had pro-white stereotypes and five percent had pro-minorities beliefs.

Table 6.1

Intellectual Stereotypes of Black  
and White Students  
(percent of responses in each category)

Racial Group	Who is smarter?			Total
	Whites are	All the same	Blacks are	
White	33	66	1	100 (n=240)
Black	10	82	8	100 (n=134)
Total	93	269	12	100 (N=374)

Black students responded to the item in a manner which suggested that the extent of stereotyping differed along racial lines. The results are found in Table 6.1. Of the 240 white students responding to the item, 33 percent (n=79) believed that "whites are smarter" or had pro-white stereotypes; about two-thirds of the group believed that the different racial groups were "about the same" or had neutral racial attitudes; and approximately one percent expressed the view that "minority-group students are smarter." In contrast, black respondents seemed more neutral in their responses with



about 82 percent of the students indicating that "all are about the same" and only eight percent expressing pro-black sentiments. This was in sharp contrast with the 33 percent of white students who expressed pro-white sentiments. A similar relationship was seen in the percent of black students who expressed the stereotype that "whites are smarter." This proportion was about ten percent compared to one percent of whites who expressed this view about black students. The relationship appeared to be a strong one, considering the substantial percentage difference.

Grade level influences. The grade level analysis differed somewhat from the analysis by socio-economic status, in terms of deviations from the racial groupings. This grade level variation was generally not large and showed no specific pattern that permitted one to say that age increases or decreases the probability of stereotyping. More specifically, ninth and tenth graders of both racial groups expressed stereotypes similar to the entire group, but the eleventh and twelfth graders differed from this pattern to some degree. Although white eleventh graders showed small deviations, the black students tended to be more neutral in their attitudes than their white peers--showing a decrease in both pro-white and pro-black attitudes. The twelfth graders showed a more extreme pattern: whites were clearly more pro-white and less neutral in their attitudinal expressions. The black attitudinal responses paralleled this trend in that a much greater proportion of them were pro-white and sharply less neutral. These results are shown in Table 6.2.

Socio-economic status (SES) influences. The intellectual stereotyping relationship tended to persist and extended across socio-economic groups. When the

SES variable was introduced as a controlling factor, each group, regardless of race, nearly approximated the proportions reflected in the racial groups; thus, wealth appeared to have little impact on intellectual stereotyping. However, only the middle SES group was large enough to produce a substantial difference. For these results, see Table 6.3.

Influences by sex. Sex analysis of the intellectual stereotype variable revealed a difference in its manifestation in black and white racial groups. There were no differences between responses given by black males and females. White males, however, tended to be substantially more pro-white (18 percent) and less neutral (18 percent) than the group as a whole. It appeared that the strong pro-white orientations of white students were in reality due to the expression of racial stereotypes by the males, as opposed to females or to both groups. This is shown in Table 6.4.

#### Stereotypical Behavior Attitudes

The second racial stereotype which was examined concerned itself with beliefs about manners or social behavior. The question used to elicit responses was:

In general, do you think that:

1. \_\_\_\_\_ White students behave better than minority-group students?
2. \_\_\_\_\_ Minority-group students behave better than white students?
3. \_\_\_\_\_ They all behave about the same?

Table 6.2

Intellectual Stereotypes of Black and White  
Students by Grade Levels  
(percent of responses in each category)

Grade Level	Racial Group	Students Responding			Total
		Whites are smarter	All the same	Minorities are smarter	
9th	Black	13	83	4	100 (N=46)
	White	35	61	4	100 (N=22)
10th	Black	5	82	13	100 (N=39)
	White	26	73	1	100 (N=85)
11th	Black	7	89	4	100 (N=28)
	White	31	70	0	100 (N=61)
12th	Black	19	71	10	100 (N=21)
	White	42	58	0	100 (N=71)

Table 6.3  
Intellectual Stereotypes of Black and White Students  
by Socio-Economic Status (SES)  
(percent of responses in each category)

SES	Racial Group	Students Responding			Total
		Whites are smarter	All the same	Minorities are smarter	
Low	Black	10	80	10	100 (N= 30)
	White	33	67	0	100 (N= 9)
Middle	Black	10	82	8	100 (N= 91)
	White	35	64	1	100 (N=150)

Table 6.3 (continued)

SES	Racial Group	Students Responding			Total
		Whites are smarter	All the same	Minorities are smarter	
High	Black	18	85	0	100 (N= 11)
	White	28	70	1	100 (N= 81)

Table 6.4

Intellectual Stereotypes of Black and White  
Students by Sex  
(percent of responses in each category)

Sex	Racial Group	Who is smarter?			Total
		Whites are	All the same	Blacks are	
Male	White	51	48	1	100 (n=111)
	Black	10	79	11	100 (n= 62)
Female	White	17	82	1	100 (n=129)
	Black	11	85	4	100 (n= 72)
Total		93	268	12	100 (N=374)

Responses to the item were, in large part, similar to the stereotypes expressed about intellectual functioning. The distribution was a skewed one in the direction of pro-white beliefs. Although 66 percent of the responses were neutral, 30 percent were pro-white and only five percent said that minorities behave better. In general, black students were more neutral than whites in their expressions. Although white students

were neutral for the most part (58 percent), a large percentage (40 percent) expressed pro-white sentiments. This was in contrast to black students who, to a lesser degree (11 percent), were either pro-white or pro-black (10 percent) in their attitudinal responses. More specifically, nearly 60 percent of the white students shared the belief that "all students behave about the same," while 40 percent expressed the view that "whites behave better." Only four of 239 white individuals (2 percent) had pro-black beliefs. In contrast, about 80 percent of the 132 black students had neutral attitudes about behavior. The remaining 20 percent represented opposite extremes of the index with approximately 10 percent expressing pro-white beliefs and the other ten percent expressing pro-black beliefs. This relationship, shown in Table 6.5, revealed substantial percentage differences.

Table 6.5

Behavior Stereotypes of Black  
and White Students  
(percent of responses in each category)

Racial Group	Students' Perceptions			Total
	Whites behave better	All the same	Minorities behave better	
White	40	58	2	100 (n =239)
Black	11	80	10	100 (n =132)
Total	110	244	17	100 (N=371)

Grade level influences. The behavior stereotype item, when subjected to grade level analysis, retained its black-white stereotype pattern. In general, most students, regardless of race, were neutral in their expression. Again, whites were

less neutral than their black counterparts, who consistently showed about 80 percent of the group expressing neutral stereotypes. Whites appeared to reflect the 47 percent level of the group, as a whole, in the "whites behave better" category. More specifically, ninth grade white students more nearly reflected their racial counterparts. Although the differences were not large, other grades showed deviations from the group as a whole. Most noticeably, tenth and twelfth grade whites were more pro-white and less neutral in their responses. Proportionately, eleventh grade white students for the most part, reflected the views of whites of all ages. In contrast, black eleventh graders were more pro-white and less neutral than their black counterparts as a whole. Both groups, black and white, were consistent throughout in their belief about pro-black behavior. The responses tended not to vary from the group by more than five percent throughout. Table 6.6 shows the results of this analysis.

Socio-economic status (SES) influences. When socio-economic status was controlled, the behavior stereotype item yielded several interesting results: Specifically, the data suggested that black and white students may differ from each other within SES levels; it was the middle SES group, more than the low or high SES whites, who tended to project stereotypic attitudes. While the numbers were small ( $N=8$ ), it appeared that low SES students may be the least willing to project racial stereotypes. Table 6.7 shows the results.

The SES picture for black students was at variance with that produced by their white schoolmates. In this group, the middle and low SES individuals were similar to each other, and thus they dominated in numbers, accounting for the pattern of the group as a whole. Students of the high SES group appeared even more likely to have neutral

and less pro-white attitudes. These results are also shown in Table 6.7.

Table 6.6

Behavior Stereotypes of Black and White  
Students by Grade Level  
(percent of responses in each category)

Grade Level	Racial Group	Students Responding			Total
		Whites are smarter	All the same	Blacks are smarter	
9th	Black	11	81	9	100 (N=47)
	White	39	61	0	100 (N=23)
10th	Black	5	83	13	100 (N=40)
	White	33	64	2	100 (N=89)
11th	Black	19	69	12	100 (N=26)
	White	43	55	2	100 (N=60)
12th	Black	11	84	5	100 (N=19)
	White	46	52	1	100 (N=69)

Table 6.7

Behavior Stereotypes of Black and White Students  
by Socio-Economic Status (SES)  
(percent of responses in each category)

SES	Racial Group	Students Responding			Total
		Whites behave better	All the same	Minorities behave better	
Low	Black	11	75	14	100 (N= 28)
	White	25	75	0	100 (N= 8)
Middle	Black	12	79	9	100 (N= 92)
	White	46	52	2	100 (N=149)

Table 6.7 (continued)

SES	Racial Group	Students Responding			Total
		Whites be- have better	All the same	Minorities behave better	
High	Black	0	90	10	100 (n= 10)
	White	32	67	1	100 (N= 82)

Influences by sex. As was true for the intellectual stereotype data, the strong pro-white belief was due primarily to the male influences among whites. This group was substantially more pro-white (50 percent) than their female counterparts and black students as a whole. There were no observable differences between the expression of black males and females in their stereotype behavior beliefs. These influences by sex are shown in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8

Behavior Stereotypes of Black and White  
Students by Sex  
(percent of responses in each category)

Sex	Racial Group	Who behaves better?			Total
		Whites	All the same	Blacks	
Male	Black	13	77	10	100 (n = 62)
	White	50	46	4	100 (n = 112)
Total		64	100	10	100 (N=174)
Female	Black	9	82	10	100 (n = 70)
	White	32	69	0	100 (n = 127)
Total		46	144	7	100 (N=197)



### Aspiration Stereotypes

The third racial stereotype item presented to students attempted to elicit perceptions of their aspirations and to determine to what extent students viewed this characteristic as being racially determined. The item read as follows:

On the whole, do you think that:

1. \_\_\_\_\_ White students try to get ahead more than minority-group students?
2. \_\_\_\_\_ Minority group students try to get ahead more than \_\_\_\_\_ white students?
3. \_\_\_\_\_ They are all the same?

Students, as a whole, were less neutral in their attitudes toward the aspiration stereotype. Only 49 percent felt that the stereotype was not racially determined. Instead, the stereotyping had strong pro-white orientations, with 43 percent believing that whites tried to get ahead more than minorities. Conversely, only nine percent of the student population had pro-black aspirational feelings.

When comparing responses of students to the aspiration item with responses to the intellectual functioning and behavior items, a clearly distinguishable pattern was revealed (Table 6.9). In general, black students tended to project similar views about aspirations, while they tended to be different in their views of intellectual functioning and behavior. Whereas white student percentages closely paralleled those from the other two response charts; namely, being mostly neutral but also egocentric, with 50 percent of them expressing neutral values and 45 percent expressing pro-white attitudes. Black students differed sharply in their responses. While substantially more than half of the black students were neutral on the other two items, less than one-half

(46 percent, n=60) of them tended to agree that "all students are about the same" in their aspiring to get ahead. Even more striking is that nearly 40 percent of the black students in New Brunswick High School believed that "white students try to get ahead more than minority-group students," compared to only 16 percent who believed that members of their own group possess this aspiration more than whites.

Grade level influences. Analysis of the aspiration stereotype by grade level revealed differences in racial beliefs with a strong pattern of relationships at the twelfth grade level for both black and white students. White students in grades nine, ten, and eleven were similar in their belief that aspirations are non-racially determined. This was true for at least 60 percent of them at each of the grade levels. On the other hand, from about 30 to 38 percent of the same grade level group believed that white students "try to get ahead more than minority students." Black students in the ninth and tenth grades closely reflected the views expressed by the group as a whole; whereas, eleventh grade students tended to be more pro-white, less neutral, and less pro-black--a clear out-group orientation. Black and white twelfth graders tended to be more ethnocentrically oriented in regard to aspiration values. White students appeared to have a more strongly in-group orientation than black students at the same grade level. While approximately 35 percent of black students shared the feeling that "minority-group students try to get ahead more," 62 percent of the white students said that whites have higher aspirations. Aspiration stereotypes are shown in Table 6.10.

Table 6.9

Aspiration Stereotypes of Black  
and White Students to  
"who tries to get ahead more"  
(percent of responses in each category)

Racial Group	Students' Perceptions			Total
	White Students	All about the same	Minority Students	
White	45	50	5	100 (n =237)
Black	39	46	16	100 (n =132)
Total	157	179	33	100 (N=369)

Table 6.10

Aspiration Stereotypes of Black and White  
Students by Grade Levels to  
"who tries to get ahead more"  
(percent of responses in each category)

Grade Level	Racial Group	Students Responding			Total
		White Students	All the same	Minority Students	
9th	Black	35	50	15	100 (N=46)
	White	30	61	9	100 (N=23)
10th	Black	42	46	12	100 (N=46)
	White	39	57	5	100 (N=85)
11th	Black	56	36	8	100 (N=25)
	White	38	57	5	100 (N=60)
12th	Black	20	45	35	100 (N=20)
	White	62	33	4	100 (N=69)

Socio-economic status (SES) influences. When the socio-economic variable was introduced as an intervening variable, value orientations became more sharply delineated. Among the black students, the strong out-group orientation (that is, pro-white preference) appeared to be reflected in the responses of middle SES (41 percent) and to an even larger degree in the high SES group (56 percent). Black students from low SES families tended to be more neutral and less pro-white in their orientations. The number of low SES students, however, was relatively small; thus the pattern may be tenuous at best. On the other hand, among white students both the middle and high-SES groups tended to reflect the total group scores for each category. Low SES whites, however, tended to be more ethnocentric (that is, pro-white) and less neutral in their orientations. In this respect, they tended to be similar to the black students in the high SES categories. These results are shown in Table 6.11.

Table 6.11

Aspiration Stereotypes of Black and White Students by Socio-Economic Status (SES) to "who tries to get ahead more" (percent of responses in each category)

SES	Racial Group	Students Responding			Total
		White Students	All the same	Minority Students	
Low	Black	27	57	17	100 (N= 30)
	White	56	33	11	100 (N= 9)
Middle	Black	41	43	17	100 (N= 91)
	White	41	53	6	100 (N=147)

Table 6.11 (continued)

SES	Racial Group	Students Responding			Total
		White Students	All the same	Minority Students	
High	Black	56	33	11	100 (N= 9)
	White	51	47	3	100 (N= 81)

Influences by sex. The pro-white aspiration stereotype, as shown in Table 6.12, is expressed by both white males and black females. Analysis by sex revealed that both white males (7 percent) and black females (14 percent) tended to believe that "whites try to get ahead more than minority students."

Table 6.12

Aspiration Stereotypes of Black and White Students by Sex to "who tries to get ahead more" (percent of responses in each category)

Sex	Racial Group	Students Responding			Total
		White Students	All the same	Black Students	
Male	Black	23	55	22	100 (n = 64)
	White	52	41	7	100 (n = 112)
Total		73	81	22	100 (N=176)
Female	Black	53	37	10	100 (n = 68)
	White	38	58	3	100 (n = 125)
Total		84	98	11	100 (N=193)

### Summary and Discussion of the Findings

Belief in stereotypes revealed a definite and consistent pattern. In general,

both black students and white students tended to be more racially neutral in their beliefs. In each case a large percentage of white youngsters, however, expressed pro-white stereotypes and almost never expressed a belief in pro-black stereotypes. In contrast to this ethnocentric pattern, black students, except on a few occasions, were by and large neutral in their racial stereotype attitudes. On the other hand, a minority of these youngsters generally expressed pro-white beliefs. This was especially evident in the data referring to the "get ahead" stereotype. Conversely, a few of them had strong pro-black stereotypic beliefs, and white students in most cases tended not to express pro-black beliefs. Both groups of students were nearly proportionately equal in their reaction to the aspiration stereotype--about half of each group responded neutrally to the items.

The SES analysis generally revealed a pattern in which the dominant and large middle SES group usually determined the pattern for the group as a whole. There were some exceptions. Students responding to the intellectual stereotype variable showed no differences by SES. For the behavior stereotype, the large pro-white orientation among white students can be accounted for largely by the middle SES group. This pattern did not hold for the black students. Only the high SES group was more neutral and less pro-white than the group as a whole. Both the middle and high SES group accounted for the large pro-white orientation in reference to the "get ahead" variable. White students, on the other hand, showed the most ethnocentrism, only among the low SES group.

When the grade of the respondent was controlled, there was not a consistent pattern of attitudinal distribution. Instead, the pattern tended to change for each

grade level. In response to the intellectual stereotype variable, eleventh graders were the most neutral in their responses, while both black and white twelfth graders were the most pro-white. White tenth and twelfth graders were the most pro-white in response to the behavior variable. Only the eleventh grade black youngsters differed from \_\_\_\_\_ in their group; they were more strongly pro-white than the students in other grades. The "get ahead" variable produced even different deviant groups. Among black eleventh graders, there was a tendency to be more pro-white than other members of their group throughout the school. Among twelfth graders, both black and white students had strong in-group orientations.

#### Interracial Behaviors

In an environment such as that existing at New Brunswick High School, the means by which interracial associations can be made are limitless and the variety of circumstances under which interactional behaviors can occur, between different racial groups, is equally without bounds. Any attempts to assess the full scope of interracial behaviors were confronted with the same difficulties and near impossibilities which were present when consideration was given to measuring racial attitudes. In determining the extent and quality of interaction between students of different racial groups at the high school, the same approach was followed which allowed for making determinations about the young people's racial beliefs. A few targeted questions were asked regarding interracial behaviors, and the responses were used to represent the general pattern of the phenomena.

The interaction between students of different racial backgrounds was conceptualized along three dimensions, each representing a relative degree of interracial contact.

The questions were designed to survey the extent of informal communications that occurred among students of various racial groups, the extent of cross-racial study practices, and the extent of cross-racial friendships that existed within the school's social system.

Both of the informal communication and cross-racial study practices items attempted to measure, by self-reports, the relative frequency of interracial contact within the school. They required simple check marks on the line preceding the response and allowed the respondent to record his or her perceived frequency of the contact.

A third item was used to measure the degree of interracial friendships among the students at school. The definition of "friend" was left to the imagination of the respondent. The question was a modified statement taken from the Coleman Study.<sup>19</sup> As originally conceived, the item made no reference to the nature of the friendship; that is, whether it originated as a result of school affiliation or some other contact. For the purposes of this study, the item in the questionnaire specified the friendship as a "friendship at school" in order to locate the interaction as a school-related event. No judgement was made as to the quality of the degree of interracial friendships. For instance, "less than half other-race friends" was not considered to be a better interracial quality than "more than half other-race friends."

Scoring procedures for the three behavior items (communications, cross-racial study, and friendships) involved simple frequency counts of the responses. Where

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19. J. S. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1966).



responses for some categories were sparse and "clumping" of data occurred in some frequency cells, the tables were collapsed to provide a more meaningful interpretation of the results.

A fourth item specifically required the students to write the race of their three best friends. Analysis of the item provided a means for describing the patterns of close friendships, by different racial groups, within the school's social system. The friendships were coded and tabulated as: (1) all black friends, (2) all white friends, (3) black and white friends, (4) all Hispanic friends, (5) black and Hispanic friends, (6) white and Hispanic friends, and (7) black, white, and Hispanic friends.

#### Cross-Racial Communication

Of the several interracial behavior items, the measure relating to frequencies of interracial conversations probably best described the minimum interactions occurring between racial groups. It also provided a means of gauging the racial atmosphere of the school. The question was stated as follows:

How frequently do you talk informally at school with students of another race?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ very often
2. \_\_\_\_\_ often
3. \_\_\_\_\_ seldom
4. \_\_\_\_\_ not at all

Individuals from different races reported that cross-racial communication tended to occur at least "often" or "very often." More than fifty percent of the black respond-

ents claimed such behavior. Since most of the reported interaction was between black and white students, one would seemingly have expected a small variation between the responses of black and white respondents to the item. That expectation did occur and is reported in Table 6.13.

Grade level influences. The grade level analysis of "talking" patterns differed by grades and was not consistent by racial groups. Black students for instance, formed a pattern which suggested more informal contact with increases in grade levels. Only the ninth and tenth grades approximated the percentage reported for the group as a whole. As seen in Table 6.14, grades eleven and twelve reflected percentages as much as eighteen percentage points from the group as a whole.

Table 6.13

Cross-Racial Communication Patterns of  
Black and White Students  
(percent of responses in each category)

Racial Group	Frequency of Communication				Total
	Very Often	Often	Seldom	Not at All	
Black	18	31	43	7	100 (n =137)
White	16	41	36	7	100 (n =245)
Total	64	143	148	27	100 (N=382)

Socio-economic status (SES) influences. The informal communication between races, as reported by students, did tend to vary by socio-economic status of both white and black respondents. For white students, middle and high SES groups tended to reflect the percentage of the entire group; whereas, the low SES respondents, though

less reliable because of their small numbers, responded much more favorably with 67 percent reporting communication to other-race students "very often" or "often." In contrast to this pattern, only the high SES black students reported very favorable responses. Among this group about 82 percent indicated they conversed informally with students of other races "often" or "very often." These indications are reported in Table 6.15.

Table 6.14

Cross-Racial Communication Patterns of Black and White  
Students by Grade Levels  
(percent of responses in each category)

Grade Level	Racial Group	Students talk with other-race students:				Total
		Very Often	Often	Seldom	Not at All	
9th	Black	13	29	50	8	100 (n = 48)
	White	21	29	38	13	100 (n = 24)
	Total	11	21	33	7	100 (N= 72)
10th	Black	25	20	48	8	100 (n = 40)
	White	17	43	32	8	100 (n = 87)
	Total	25	45	47	10	100 (N=127)
11th	Black	12	39	36	7	100 (n = 28)
	White	11	45	37	7	100 (n = 62)
	Total	12	39	33	6	100 (N= 90)
12th	Black	19	48	29	5	100 (n = 21)
	White	17	39	41	4	100 (n = 72)
	Total	16	38	35	4	100 (N= 93)

Table 6.15

Cross-Racial Communication Patterns of Black and White  
Students by Socio-Economic Status (SES)  
(percent of responses in each category)

SES	Racial Group	Frequency of Communication				Total
		Very often	Often	Seldom	Not at all	
Low	Black	13	32	45	10	100 (N=31)
	White	0	67	22	11	100 (N=9)
Middle	Black	18	29	46	7	100 (N=93)
	White	18	36	38	9	100 (N=152)
High	Black	36	46	9	9	100 (N=11)
	White	14	46	36	4	100 (N=84)

Table 6.16

Cross-Racial Communication Patterns of Black and White  
Students by Sex  
(percent of responses in each category)

Sex	Racial Group	Informal talk with other-race students:				Total
		Very often	Often	Seldom	Not at all	
Male	Black	17	34	42	6	100 (n=64)
	White	13	43	35	9	100 (n=114)
	Total	26	71	67	14	100 (N=178)
Female	Black	19	29	44	8	100 (n=73)
	White	18	39	37	5	100 (n=131)
	Total	38	72	81	13	100 (N=204)

Influences by sex. About fifty percent of both females and males indicated that they tended to communicate often with members of the other race. This minimum contact between the races was reported by both black and white students (see table 6.16).

### Cross-Racial Study Patterns

Another pattern of interracial behavior was determined by the use of an item concerning the study practices of students from different racial groups. The question posed to elicit responses to this concern was:

How often do you study with students who are of a different racial or ethnic group than your own?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ very often
2. \_\_\_\_\_ often
3. \_\_\_\_\_ seldom
4. \_\_\_\_\_ not at all

Interracial study patterns, as expressed by student responses to the cross-racial study item, indicated a much more restricted cross-racial exchange than the informal conversation pattern. Overall, only about 22 percent ( $f=82$ ) of all respondents indicated that they studied with members of a race other than their own.

Studying together as a type of interracial contact was not a prevalent activity since few students at New Brunswick High School indicated that they studied often or very often with students of other races. More specifically, white students tended to respond negatively to the item. This was apparent when one took notice of the percentage of students who responded to either the "very often" or "often" category in the study. Approximately 20 percent of the white students responded to these categories, whereas about 80 percent responded in the "seldom" or "not at all" categories.

Black students responded in a similar manner. As reported in Table 6.17, five percent responded in the "very often" and "often" categories and about 75 percent responded in the "seldom" or "not at all" categories.

Table 6.17

Cross-Racial Study Patterns of  
Black and White Students  
(percent of responses in each category)

Racial Group	Students study with other-race students:				Total
	Very often	Often	Seldom	Not at all	
Black	10	15	45	31	100 (n=137)
White	4	16	47	33	100 (n=245)
Total	22	60	177	123	100 (N=382)

Grade level influences. The more restricted contact pattern was consistent and persisted from grade to grade. The direction for white students showed a maximum of thirty percent of ninth graders responding "often" to a minimum of 18 percent of twelfth graders giving a similar response. Black student responses showed even less variation from grade to grade, with the percentage of students in these categories forming no less than 20 percent of ninth graders and no higher than 33 percent of tenth grade black students. However, these differences were small and insignificant. Table 6.18 shows these results.

Socio-economic status (SES) influences. When socio-economic status was introduced into the analysis as a controlling factor, the pattern of limited contact persisted,

regardless of the socio-economic status of the respondents. About 75 to 80 percent of both white and black students in each social class indicated that they studied "seldom" or "not at all" with students of another race. The results are shown in Table 6.19.

Table 6.18

**Cross-Racial Study Patterns of Black and White  
Students by Grade Levels**  
(percent of responses in each category)

Grade Level	Racial Group	Students study with other-race students:				Total
		Very often	Often	Seldom	Not at all	
9th	Black	8	12	49	31	100 (n= 49)
	White	13	17	38	33	100 (n= 24)
Total		7	10	33	23	100 (N=73)
10th	Black	10	23	39	28	100 (n= 39)
	White	3	20	52	25	100 (n= 87)
Total		7	26	60	33	100 (N=126)
11th	Black	4	18	39	39	100 (n= 28)
	White	2	16	48	34	100 (n= 61)
Total		2	15	40	32	100 (N=89)
12th	Black	19	5	52	24	100 (n= 21)
	White	3	11	45	41	100 (n= 73)
Total		6	9	44	35	100 (N=94)

Influences by sex. Cross-racial study patterns tended not to differ along sexual lines, according to the reports of both black and white students. Overall, nearly 80 percent of the sampled students indicated that they seldom or never study with students of another race, as seen in Table 6.20.

Table 6.19

Cross-Racial Study Patterns of Black and White Students  
by Socio-Economic Status (SES)  
(percent of responses in each category)

SES	Racial Group	Students study with other-race students:				Total
		Very often	Often	Seldom	Not at all	
Low	Black	10	16	39	36	100 (N=31)
	White	11	11	67	11	100 (N= 9)
Middle	Black	11	14	43	32	100 (N=93)
	White	3	17	42	38	100 (N=153)
High	Black	0	18	73	9	100 (N=11)
	White	4	15	55	27	100 (N=83)

Table 6.20

Cross-Racial Study Patterns of Black and White  
Students by Sex  
(percent of responses in each category)

Sex	Racial Group	Students study with other-race students:				Total
		Very often	Often	Seldom	Not at all	
Male	Black	11	19	52	19	100 (n= 65)
	White	6	11	46	38	100 (n=114)
	Total	14	24	86	55	100 (N=179)
Female	Black	8	13	38	42	100 (n= 72)
	White	2	21	49	29	100 (n=131)
	Total	8	36	91	68	100 (N=203)



### Cross-Racial Friendship Patterns

The school racial climate was perhaps best illustrated by responses to the question which asked students to indicate the degree to which they have friendships with members of "other races." Consistently and regardless of race, grade, or social class, students indicated a tendency toward frequently forming friendships with other students outside of their own racial groups. The question generating the responses was:

Think now of your friends at school. How many of them are of a race other than your own?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ none
2. \_\_\_\_\_ less than half
3. \_\_\_\_\_ about half
4. \_\_\_\_\_ more than half
5. \_\_\_\_\_ all

In general, 62 percent of the 382 students sampled at New Brunswick High School indicated that less than half of their friends were of another race. The proportion of white students was slightly higher than the proportion of black in the same category. A lesser number of them--approximately 17 percent-- indicated that about half of their friends were of another race. Black students responded in higher proportion than white students in three of the categories of Table 6.21: "none," "about half," and "more than half."

Grade level influences. Generally, grade level analysis revealed that the cross-racial friendship pattern was rather pervasive throughout the social system of the school.

At least one-half or more of the respondents had some "other-race" friends. Their responses are in Table 6.22.

Table 6.21

Cross-Racial Friendship Patterns of  
Black and White Students  
(percent of responses in each category)

Racial Group	School friends of other race:					Total
	None	Less than half	About half	More than half	All	
Black	20	52	21	73	0	100 (n=137)
White	15	67	15	3	0	100 (n=245)
Total	64	235	66	16	1	100 (N=382)

Socio-economic status (SES) influences. If the data are analyzed by socio-economic class, one observes that among the students of low socio-economic status, the proportion of them that claimed to have "less than half" friends of the other race dropped to 38 percent, with a shift toward the "none" category. At the same time, a greater proportion of black students of low socio-economic status indicated that none of their friends were of the other race. The "all" category is rather constant across SES levels, indicating that few students have friendships consisting solely of students from other races. One noticeable direction was that as one moved from the low SES group to the high SES group, the proportion of respondents with "about half" of their friends from other races diminished until the high group was only represented by 11 percent ( $f=10$ ) of the respondents, as shown in Table 6.23.

Table 6.22

**Cross-Racial Friendship Patterns of White and Black  
Students by Grade Levels**  
(percent of responses in each category)

Grade Level	Racial Group	School Friendship Patterns					Total
		None	Less than Half	About Half	More than Half	All	
9th	White	25	42	21	8	4	100 (n = 24)
	Black	31	41	21	7	0	100 (n = 49)
Total		29	41	21	8	1	100 (N= 73)
10th	White	10	76	10	3	0	100 (n = 87)
	Black	20	51	17	12	0	100 (n = 41)
Total		13	68	13	6	0	100 (N=128)
11th	White	19	58	21	2	0	100 (n = 62)
	Black	8	69	23	0	0	100 (n = 30)
Total		16	61	22	1	0	100 (N= 88)
12th	White	13	72	14	1	0	100 (n = 72)
	Black	14	57	29	0	0	100 (n = 21)
Total		13	69	17		0	100 (N =93)

Influences by sex. Sex differences among white students were not manifested in the data. Black students, however, did differ by sexual makeup. For the most part, males tended to form more interracial friendships. While differences were not substantial, the percentages were sufficiently large to be suggestive. More specifically,

13 percent of the males (when compared to females) had all black school friends, and 17 percent more black males than females were in friendship groups in which about one-half or more were of another race. These patterns are shown in Table 6.24.

Table 6.23

Cross-Racial Friendship Patterns of Black and White  
Students by Socio-Economic Status (SES)  
(percent of responses in each category)

SES	Racial Group	School Friendship Patterns					Total
		None	Less than half	About half	More than half	All	
Low	Black	39	29	23	10	0	100 (n= 31)
	White	11	67	22	0	0	100 (n= 5)
	Total	13	15	9	3	0	100 (N=40)
Middle	Black	17	56	20	7	0	100 (n= 93)
	White	15	63	18	3	1	100 (n=153)
	Total	39	149	47	10	1	100 (N=246)
High	Black	0	73	27	0	0	100 (n= 11)
	White	15	74	8	4	0	100 (n= 93)
	Total	12	69	10	3	0	100 (N=94)

Cross-racial best friends. There were indications that "best friends" differed from "friends." The pattern seemed more restricted to members of the same race than did the unqualified term of "friends." As shown in Table 6.25, approximately 75 percent of the students at New Brunswick High School said that their best friends were of the same race as themselves.

Table 6.24

Cross-Racial Friendships of Black and White  
Students by Sex  
(percent of responses in each category)

Sex	Racial Group	Friends of other race:			Total
		None	Less than half	Half or more	
Male	Black	14	61	26	100 (n= 66)
	White	16	68	16	100 (n=114)
Total		27	118	35	100 (N=180)
Female	Black	27	44	30	100 (n= 71)
	White	14	66	21	100 (n=131)
Total		37	117	48	100 (N=202)

Table 6.25

Race of School Best Friends of Black  
and White Students  
(percent of responses in each category)

Racial Group	Race of three best friends at school:							Total
	All Black	All White	All P R*	Black & White	Black & P R*	White & P P*	White, PR*, & Black	
White	0	76	0	14	0	5	4	100 (n=240)
Black	72	0	1	12	9	1	6	100 (n=123)
Total	89	183	1	48	12	14	16	100 (N=363)

\* Puerto Rican

### Summary and Discussion of the Findings

The measures of interracial behavior at New Brunswick High School yielded different results in terms of the types of reported interactions. The "informal talking" patterns were claimed substantially more often than were study patterns involving different racial groups. Approximately fifty percent of the black students and of the white students indicated that they talked often or very often with students of another race. Social class analyses revealed that low SES white students and high SES black students claimed to converse with students from another race more than did other SES groups. Moreover, students claimed more inter-group conversations as they increased in grades, with eleventh and twelfth graders claiming to converse most often.

Cross-racial studying, as reported by students at New Brunswick High School, occurred much less frequently than informal talking. Only about twenty percent to twenty-five percent of the black and white students reported studying "often" or "very often" with students of another race. Neither grade level nor socio-economic status appeared to make a difference in the study patterns.

Cross-racial friendship patterns suggested that the number of interracial close friendship cliques were restricted. Approximately three-fourths of the black and white students indicated that their three "best" friends were of the same race as themselves. In terms of school friends, however, about 62 percent reported that "less than half" of their friends were of a race different from their own. Both patterns were consistent across grade levels and among different socio-economic status groups.

## CHAPTER VII

### SOME SPECIAL PROGRAMS

Like many other school districts, the New Brunswick public school system has initiated a number of programs and activities which were designed to meet the needs of special student populations. Some of these programs, in existence for many years, were established to meet the needs of groups which traditionally have been viewed as having special educational requirements. Examples of such programs are those dealing with children who are intellectually gifted, those with learning disabilities, and others who are physically handicapped. In recent years, however, these programs have been expanded and increased attention has been directed at another special population which has been labelled as "Minority Groups" or "Disadvantaged Learners."

In examining New Brunswick's special programs, it was difficult, in view of time constraints and limited resources, to perform an in-depth evaluation on each one. Although many programs were visited and merited study, only seven of them were ultimately selected for evaluation. However, some other special programs, which seemed to suggest the direction in which the school system might be moving, were reviewed and made a part of this report. At the time of this evaluation, these special programs were being assessed by other evaluating agencies.

In the selection process, the researcher was guided by a desire to represent a number of different types of programs. Thus, it seemed important to select some

programs which served elementary school pupils and others which served students at the secondary level. Another factor in making a representative choice was the desire to review programs funded by more than one source. Thus some programs selected were federally funded, while others were supported with local school resources. In addition, attempts were made to choose programs which served a variety of constituencies. For this reason, some projects were selected which were specifically geared to confront issues raised by minority-group isolation. Others were chosen which, in spite of their present population makeup, had originally been developed to deal with students particularized by factors other than racial or ethnic identity. Through such a selection process, it was hoped that the seven programs reviewed would represent a cross-section of New Brunswick's special programs.

The seven programs selected for review had a number of features in common. All, as was noted, were developed to serve what had been seen as particularized needs of special populations. In addition, all programs except one, had majority enrollments of Black and Hispanic students.

Beyond these similarities, however, the seven programs essentially fell under two different headings. The first group of programs evaluated were pilot projects which were newly established in 1973-1974 with funds coming from the Emergency School Assistance Act. These programs were specifically designed by the New Brunswick schools to meet needs perceived as resulting from the changing racial and ethnic composition of the city. All of these programs operated within a regular school system, providing supplementary educational activities, within a discrete content area, to a selected student population.



The second group of programs was quite different. These programs, all of which began operation prior to 1973-74 and which were funded with local resources, operated entirely outside the regular school setting. Rather than providing supplementary education, they were an inclusive part of a regular educational program.

### The Evaluation Procedures

In order to study special programs, the researcher gathered data from a variety of sources. Basic information about the school population, goals and activities was primarily sought from school visitations, during which school personnel and students were interviewed and classrooms observed. In addition to this type of information, the researcher also sought "hard data" which could be analyzed to evaluate the progress each program had made toward achieving its own stated objectives. Where possible, efforts were made to obtain copies of internal evaluation studies performed by program personnel.

Some difficulties were found to hamper the data-gathering process in its various phases. In several instances, program personnel who were interviewed gave contradictory information on a variety of matters ranging from the numbers and types of students in their programs, to the actual content of program activities. These contradictions sometimes made it difficult to validate claims about what activities had actually taken place and what population was served. Without wishing to cast doubt on the motives of persons interviewed, it sometimes appeared that the evaluator was being given information which may have been thought to provide a good public relations picture of the program, rather than an accurate description of its

operation. In some cases, too, it seemed that school personnel who were interviewed were less than entirely familiar with program operations. This may have accounted for some of the contradictory information that was received.

An additional difficulty hampered the evaluation when "hard data" was sought. In some instances, no internal evaluation had been done; in others, though the evaluation existed, it was, for various reasons, not available to the researcher for reporting purposes. In these cases, the visitation data alone had to be used for the evaluation. This, it was felt, gave less than fully satisfying results.

The reports which follow are organized according to the same format. Following an introduction, each program is described in terms of its student population, goals, and objectives. The findings of the program's staff as to the program's effectiveness are then presented under the heading "Internal Evaluation". This is followed by the comments of the researcher, labelled "External Evaluation". Each report closes with recommendations for the program's future.

#### An Evaluation Of Some ESAA - Funded Pilot Projects

In 1973-74, the New Brunswick Public Schools received ESAA funds for nine programs which had been established to deal with specific needs and problems perceived by school officials as resulting from increased minority group isolation in the New Brunswick Schools. In seeking ESAA funds, needs were listed in the following order of priority:

- (1) "To raise the pupil's competency in basic subject areas (reading and language arts) by providing quality integrated education."
- (2) "To increase the holding power of the schools through behavior modification and quality integrated education, and to stop the rapid withdrawal of white students from New Brunswick schools which results in minority group isolation."
- (3) "To expand the social and environmental horizons of minority students which will lessen relation tension and conflict, creating an atmosphere conducive to quality integrated education."

The development of pilot projects to respond to these needs resulted in the funding of five projects under Priority Need One--essentially remedial reading and enrichment programs; two under Priority Need Two--essentially programs stressing the improvement of communications across racial lines between students, teachers, and parents; and two projects under Priority Need Three--essentially programs to acquaint secondary school students with career opportunities and with their communities. Four of these ESAA-funded programs are reviewed below. The first two--the Livingston and Washington Language Arts Reading Laboratory and the Lincoln School Multi-Media Center--are elementary-age enrichment programs which are quite similar in their operation. The third, the New Brunswick High School "Reading in the Content Area" program, is also a reading program, but differs radically from the first two in its methodologies as well as its target population. The fourth program, Project 18, is a program which aimed to acquaint high school seniors with their rights, responsibilities, and opportunities in their communities.

In selecting programs to be studied, the researcher chose three in the area of reading, primarily because basic-skills programs have widely been emphasized as a

type of supplementary education particularly important in serving the needs of minority students. The selection of Project 18 for review and the omission of some other projects was somewhat more arbitrary, reflecting time pressure on the researcher and the availability of hard data which could be utilized in evaluating the programs.

#### The Livingston and Washington Language Arts Reading Laboratory

The Language Arts Reading Laboratory was a supplementary reading project housed in both the Livingston and Washington Elementary Schools. The project, funded for 1973-74 under the Emergency School Aid Act, provided audio-visual equipment and material for a sequential reading program of instruction that reinforced the Open Court Correlated Language Program, and used by teachers with students in grades Pre-K through four.

The rationale underlying the project was twofold: First, to give additional support to children at the elementary level who missed portions of the reading instruction, or who did not fully grasp the material presented; second, to provide a number of Spanish-speaking students with supportive bi-lingual work.

Student population. The Washington School had a student population of 345 students. Racially, the population distribution was 25.8 percent White, 34.8 percent Hispanic, and 38.9 percent Black. The Livingston School had a student population of 504 students, including 16.5 percent Whites, 54.6 percent Blacks, and 28.7 percent Hispanics.

School personnel at both schools stated that the entire student body received supplementary reading work through the Reading Laboratories. This suggested that all students, in all age and racial categories, received equal exposure. However, some question existed as to the degree of exposure each pupil received. No statistics were available, for reporting purposes, which indicated the extent of utilization by grade or by race. In addition, one staff member stated that as a generally accepted policy, Title I Remedial Program students received minimal exposure to the Reading Laboratory since they were already benefiting from one program. If this were true, then the students who were considered to be the most educationally deprived utilized the laboratory least. At the time of the report, the exact target population of the Reading Laboratories remained unclear.

As the entire student body of both schools constituted the target population, all teachers in both schools were said to have been involved with the program. The teaching staff broke down racially as follows: in Livingston, 29 (85 percent) were white and 5 (15 percent) were black; in Washington 10 (56 percent) were white, 3 (17 percent) were black, and 4 (27 percent) were Hispanic.

Goals and objectives. The primary goal of the Language Arts Reading Laboratory Program was to provide supplementary reading/language arts activities for elementary students. Along with this basic purpose, the program had five specific objectives:

- Given an opportunity to participate in the Language Arts Reading Laboratory, pupils will show a gain of at least two levels in Word Attack Skills as measured by the Open Court criterion-referenced tests.
- Given an opportunity to participate in the Language Arts Reading Laboratory, pupils will show a gain of at least two levels in Comprehension Skills as measured by the Open Court criterion-referenced diagnostic tests.
- Given an opportunity to participate in the Language Arts Reading Laboratory, pupils will show a gain of at least two levels in Language Arts as measured by the Open Court criterion-referenced tests.
- Given the opportunity to participate in the Language Arts Reading Laboratory, the pupil will respond quickly and eagerly ready at his scheduled time.
- The pupil will demonstrate physical skills and coordination in successfully operating the different kinds of laboratory equipment by using each kind of machine with care and independence as directed.

Activities. The key to the Language Arts Reading Laboratory Project was its teaching machines: twelve Borg-Warner-System-80 Units, five of which were located at Washington School and seven at the Livingston School and two Hoffman Language Arts Units, one situated at each school. These machines, which are based on Skinnerian stimulus-response principles, provided each child with a programmed lesson that required the coordination of the visual, auditory, and motor domains in the learning activity. Each child worked with the machine by himself, followed his own lesson plan, and progressed at his own rate.

System-80 presents developmentally sequenced materials in Reading Attack Skills, Language Arts, and Comprehension. The program stresses elements common

to most basal learning programs. The Hoffman Program is similar but stresses Reading Comprehension.

Children were selected and scheduled for the Language Arts Reading Laboratory by each classroom teacher and placed at an appropriate Word Attack, Language Arts, or Comprehension level based upon the result obtained from the Open Court criterion-referenced tests and System-90 pre-tests.

It was stated that on the average, each teacher sent four to eight children twice a week for one-half hour periods to the Language Laboratory. Each child carried a transmittal form indicating the skill level at which he should work during his work period. A teacher-aide was also said to have the duty of post-testing the student on a one-to-one basis at the end of the reading period and reporting the results on an evaluation form to the classroom teacher.

### Internal Evaluation

There was no data available from the Washington School at the time of this study. However, data presented in Table 7.1 was supplied by the school personnel at the Livingston School. This data showed the reading gains of all students in grades 1 and 3 for the school year 1973-74 and represented information gained from a staff survey. No results were available for grade 4 at the Livingston School.

Table 7.

Livingston School Students' Gains of Two or More  
Open Court Grade Levels  
In Various Reading Skills

SKILL	GRADE			TOTAL
	1	2	3	
Word Attack	53% (n=99)	65% (n=91)	82% (n=155)	69% (N=345)
Language Arts	52% (n=85)	63% (n=100)	89% (n=243)	74% (N=434)
Comprehension	59% (n=117)	71% (n=100)	85% (n=184)	72% (N=412)

These reported gains in Table 7.1 related to the cognitive objectives--Objectives One, Two, and Three--of the Reading Laboratory and were presented as evidence that the Laboratory had achieved these objectives. In addition, Objective #4, dealing with the affective domain was said to have been accomplished. The Livingston School's evaluation comments that "the forms filled out by the classroom teachers indicate that the majority of pupils received, responded, and enjoyed the Language Arts Reading Laboratory." Objective #5, which dealt with the psycho-motor domain was also said to be accomplished. The Principal's evaluation report stated that students were able



to operate the machines "with care and independence, as directed."

### External Evaluation

Although the pre- and post-test data suggested that students at Livingston School made substantial gains in language arts and reading, it was not clear if these gains were caused solely by the Language Arts Reading Laboratory. It seemed that reading gains made by the students would have resulted not only from the efforts of the Laboratory program, but from other activities in school as well. With this qualification, the project appeared to have had success, especially with older pupils. Achievement increased with age, suggesting that gains might have been associated with increased motor ability.

The attainment of Objectives #4 and #5 were, to some extent, evident during the researcher's visit to the Livingston School Program. The children seemed enthusiastic about coming to the program and showed no problems in working with the machine. The room and machinery were well-kept.

Staff at both the Washington and Livingston Schools had generally positive feelings about the program. Teachers felt the children enjoyed the program, that it was well coordinated with classroom activities, and that children showed substantial improvement in reading.

Two weaknesses were observed in the program. Although the schools served had many Spanish-speaking youngsters, the program did not offer a strong bi-lingual component. The System-80 program only offered bi-lingual work as related to pre-school beginning math concepts. During observation periods, it was noted that some children

were left with as much as ten to fifteen minutes of free time without any activities provided for them upon completion of their lesson.

### Summary and Recommendations

The Language Arts Reading Laboratory at the Washington and Livingston Schools appeared to be a well-conceptualized and effectively operationalized supplementary program. In general, students and teachers seemed to have a very positive feeling about the program. From the rather limited data available, it seemed that the Language Arts Reading Laboratory during 1973-74 achieved success in reaching its objectives.

It is recommended that:

1. THE PROGRAM BE SUPPORTED WITH LOCAL FUNDS AT BOTH THE WASHINGTON AND LIVINGSTON SCHOOLS FOR THE 1974-75 SCHOOL YEAR.

In that the program will not be funded during the 1974-75 school year by ESAA funds and because the program seems to be supporting the supplementary reading skill development needs of many children, it is felt that the school system should integrate the Reading Laboratory into its regular school program.

2. THE BI-LINGUAL ASPECT OF THE PROGRAM BE IMPROVED.

Beyond pre-school beginning math concepts there was no bi-lingual reading material in the project. Teacher discussion also pointed to the lack of a bi-lingual thrust in the project. In that approximately one-third of the student populations at the Washington and Livingston Schools are Hispanic, there is a definite need for more of a bi-lingual thrust in the project.

3. AN ALTERNATIVE SUCH AS FREE READING BE ENCOURAGED UPON A STUDENT'S COMPLETION OF HIS ASSIGNED WORK.

Some students who complete their work early seemed to become fidgety and sometimes interfered with the concentration of other students who were completing work. Other students who had

finished their work just set idly. If the Laboratory is to be an optimal learning environment, a productive activity should be given to those students who complete assignments early.

### The Lincoln School Individualized Multi-Media Center

The Lincoln School Multi-Media Center was, in many respects, a program similar to the Livingston and Washington Language Arts Reading Laboratories. Essentially, it was geared to upgrade basic skills among K-4 students--though a greater variety of skills appear to be taught than in the program previously reviewed. Like the Language Arts Reading Laboratory, the Multi-Media Center utilized teaching machines and software which offered individualized learning programs for the students.

Initiated by the building principal and staff in 1972-73, the Multi-Media Center was able to expand in 1973-74 through the injection of ESAA funds. The Center was housed in two rooms: one which holds the teaching machinery and software and the other which was a library. The capacity of the Center was approximately thirty students.

Student population. The Multi-Media Center was said to be available for use by the entire K-4 population in the school, and in 1973-74, staff estimates suggested that almost all students utilized the Center. The Center log showed that during the 156 days of its operation in 1973-74, 6,015 visits were made, an average of 38 per day. The log also showed that over half the teaching staff sent at least one-fourth of their classes to the Center fifteen or more times during the year.

While the Center served all students from K-4, there were two areas of special

emphasis. In the fall of 1973, students with pronounced difficulties in basic skills and in certain types of motor skills were identified by pre-testing. Tests utilized for this purpose included the Individual Learning Disabilities Classroom Screening Instrument, the Perceptual Identification Test, the Wepman Auditory Discrimination Test, the Prescriptive Reading Inventory, and the California Achievement Test (mathematics).

By the use of these tests, 223 students of the 383 in grades K-4 were established as deficient in some area. These students received particular attention and were post-tested at the end of the year to determine their rates of progress.

In 1973-74 there were 383 students in grades K-4. Of these students, 174 (45.5 percent) were White, 143 (37.3 percent) were Black, and 66 (17.28 percent) were Hispanic. Though there was no breakdown to indicate the racial composition of the group which received special attention, the principal stated that the Center could fairly be said to have been used by all ethnic groups in the schools in proportion to their enrollments in the school.

Goals and objectives. The Center had several goals and objectives, both of a cognitive and affective nature. As promulgated by the program's professional staff, the major objectives included:

- The development of an adequate self-concept.
- The improvement of sensory and motor skills, especially auditory and visual perception.
- The development of language skills.
- Improvement of the child's capacity to use logic and reason in problem-solving situations.

- To increase the child's ability to "get along" with his peers.

Activities. To utilize the Multi-Media Center, students were said to be released from classroom activities on an individual basis. They brought with them a "transmittal slip," showing the classroom teacher's recommendations for specific activities. This slip was given to the aide or volunteer, who started the child on an activity. The transmittal slip was kept and filed to maintain a record of classroom-Center communication and was a means of measuring student progress.

The full-time aide had the responsibility for assigning an activity to the student. These activities usually involved the use of the teaching machines housed in the Center, including the use of the System-80 and Hoffman programs tape recordings, and the typewriter. Skills development was encouraged through activities which included classifying objects and reproduction of sounds. The child essentially worked alone at the appropriate machine, carrying out the demands made upon him by the specific program or activity with which he was working. The aide and the volunteers moved about the center, providing assistance where needed. When the child was finished with his activity, he returned to his regular classroom.

### Internal Evaluation

At the end of the academic year 1973-74, the staff of the Lincoln School conducted an evaluation of the activities of the Multi-Media Center. This evaluation essentially took the form of post-testing. All students who were found to have a deficiency through the pre-testing were post-tested. The results of the post-testing,

as stated by the school staff, were as follows:

- a) The Individual Learning Disabilities Classroom Screening Instrument was given to students in Grade 1 and to students in Special Education Classes. Using this instrument, eight students in Grade 1 and five students in Special Education Classes were found to be deficient in the area of learning disabilities. The eight students in Grade 1 showed an average deficiency of 35% on the pre-test. At the end of the year, post-testing showed an average deficiency of only 8%. Five of the eight students showed improvement from pre-test to post-test.

The average deficiency for the five neurologically impaired students, identified as deficient, was 28% during the pre-testing. At the end of the year, the post-testing revealed an average deficiency of 19%. All five students involved showed improvement from pre-test to post-test.

- b) The pre-testing also included the administration of the Perceptual Identification Test to students in Kindergarten, Grade 1, and Special Education Classes. Using this instrument, fifteen students were judged deficient. At the end of the year, the post-testing showed improvement at all three grade levels. The average increase, in stanines, for the Kindergarten students was 1.19 stanines; students in Grade 1 showed an average improvement of 2.06 stanines, and the average increase for the neurologically impaired students was 1.62 stanines.
- c) Students in Grades 1 through 4 and the students in Special Education Classes were given the Wepman Auditory Discrimination Test as part of the pre-test procedure. Using the Wepman Test, 122 of the students in Grades 1 through 4 and fifteen students in the Special Education Classes were found to be deficient. After the end-of-year testing, seventy of the 122 students in Grades 1 through 4 were found to be no longer deficient, as were eight of the fifteen special education students.
- d) Another pre-test instrument was the Prescriptive Reading Inventory. At the conclusion of pre-testing, forty-four students in Grades 2 through 4 were found to be deficient. Post-testing showed, at the end of the year, thirty of the forty-four students to be no longer deficient.
- e) Fifteen students from the Special Education Classes and from Grades 2, 3, and 4 were found to be deficient after the administration of the California Achievement Test (mathematics). The end-of-year testing showed that the one Grade 2 student involved, improved 1.9 years. Of the five Grade 3 students who were found to be deficient, the average ability at pre-test was 1.28 years and at post-test was 3.64 years (+ 2.36);

of the ten Grade four students found to be deficient, the average pre-test ability level was 2.12 years and during post-testing, was 3.49 years (+ 1.37). The thirteen special education students showed an average improvement of 1.0 years, moving from a 1.45 years average during the pre-testing period to a 2.45 years average ability level during the post-testing period.

The evaluation procedure also included a survey of student attitudes about the Center. The survey was conducted in June, 1974. Of the students at the memory level who went to the Center, 97 percent reported a sense of having "learned more" through Center activities.

#### External Evaluation

The Center appeared to have been successful in the cognitive area. It had identified and assisted students with deficiencies, especially in the language arts, and had provided needed remediation. The increases in post-test scores were not solely reflective of the Center's impact, but also of classroom activities. The statistical data presented suggested that the Center had proven itself to be a valuable complement to classroom activity.

In the affective domain, the Center program was said by staff to have had a number of positive effects. The Center staff stated that the program had led to increased morale on the part of teachers and students; by utilizing parents as volunteers, communications between home and school had been improved; the Center had given the student the experience of "being on his own," and had developed his sense of independence; and the students had developed respect for the Center program, using the machines with care. The Center appeared to have encouraged student independence and self-directed learning.

There were, however, some problems which seemed to detract from the Center's effectiveness. The Center was in need of more machinery; for example, the Center did not own its own tape recorder, and was currently using the school staff's personal property. Software was also needed, especially of a multi-racial nature. Despite the fact that the Lincoln School's student population is over 50 percent minority-group students, the Center's personnel (aide and volunteers) were overwhelmingly white.

### Summary and Recommendations

In its short existence, the Multi-Media Center at the Lincoln School has had a demonstrated effect on its population. It has helped a substantial number of Lincoln students overcome their learning difficulties, while providing enrichment opportunities to other students. A majority of students, staff, and parents have voiced support of the Center's activities and consider it an important part of the school's overall program. It is recommended that:

1. THERE BE A SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS OF FUTURE FUNDING POSSIBILITIES FOR THE CENTER.

The prime deterrent to continuing and expanding the Center's service capacity is the lack of adequate funds. Consequently, a systematic review of resource allocation within Lincoln School is needed to identify those monies which could be made available to the Center. A program budgeting approach could be useful in this regard. Furthermore, it is imperative that the District's central office be made fully aware of the Center's financial needs.

2. THE MULTI-RACIAL ASPECT OF THE PROGRAM BE IMPROVED.

While more than 50 percent of the Lincoln School's student population is non-white, the software materials used in the Center



do not reflect a multi-racial orientation. It is important that the minority student's sense of identity and self-worth be reinforced throughout the curriculum, including those programs to which the student is expected in the Center.

3. AN ACTIVE CAMPAIGN TO INCLUDE MORE PARENTS IN CENTER ACTIVITIES BE ENCOURAGED.

Center staff discussed the benefits of parent volunteers in the program, citing improved communications between the home and the school. However, it has been observed that in the last year there has been a decrease in the number of parent volunteers working with the program. This is unfortunate for two reasons: it limits the amount of assistance available to the children and it represents a decrease in home-school contact. It is suggested that the school approach this problem creatively and recognize the difficulties parents have in volunteering time during the day: where care of pre-school age children is a problem, a babysitting network could be organized; in cases where distance is a problem, car pools may be helpful.

4. ACQUIRE THE SERVICES OF ADDITIONAL FULL-TIME AIDES.

The Center log suggests that there was an average of 38 visits per day (in the 1973-74 academic year). Currently, there is only one full-time aide in the Center. In addition to assigning specific activities to each visiting student, the teacher-aide has full responsibility for administrative work and for the upkeep of Center materials. If the Center is to maintain, and especially to expand its capacities, additional staff aides seem to be needed.

The New Brunswick High School "Reading in the Content Area" Program

The other ESAA -funded reading program reviewed had a rather different orientation and, apparently, a different degree of success. This was the "Reading in the Content Area" program of the New Brunswick High School. Here the essential modality was not teaching machines and individualized programming, but rather a brief

training program designed to orient volunteer subject-area teachers to the manner in which reading skills could be upgraded by applying certain emphases and techniques in the course of their regular classroom activities. Like the other ESAA programs it was initiated on a pilot basis in 1973-74.

Student population. The need for a remedial program had been established by testing which was conducted the previous year and which showed a tremendous range of reading skills among eighth and ninth grade students entering the High School. California Achievement Tests for eight classes of eighth and ninth grade students yielded the following range of grade equivalents:

English	2.7 - 6.8
Afro-American History	3.0 - 10.5
Foods	3.5 - 7.9
Mechanical Drawing	3.6 - 6.8
Health	2.7 - 9.6
General Math	4.2 - 7.9
General Business	2.7 - 8.0
Planetary Science	2.0 - 8.7

For the purposes of placement in the ninth and tenth grade classes which participated in the program in 1973-74, students were initially selected according to their achievement tests of the previous year and grouped with others of like ability. For program purposes and as a pre-test, students' reading levels were determined at the outset of the 1973-74 year by administering one or more of the following tests: Botel Phonics Tests, Oral Reading Test, San Diego Quick Test. The Frey Scale was

used to evaluate the level of difficulty of course materials.

Though the program had originally been planned to include eight classes of ninth and tenth grade students, it only included five classes with a population of 130 students. Of these, staff stated that approximately 65 percent were non-white. This compared to a 40 percent non-white enrollment in the total school population. No separate statistics were available to determine the number of Hispanic students involved. These students were serviced by five teachers; three were white, one was black, and one was Oriental.

Goals and objectives. The direction of the program is indicated by its two objectives, one of an implemental nature, the other in terms of outcomes in student performance.

- A program of reading in the content areas will be established for grades nine and ten with teachers from at least six different departments, implementing a year-long program according to established guidelines.
- After completing this program, the ninth and tenth grades selected will increase their general reading and study skills by one-half grade level (six months) as measured by the Iowa Silent Reading Test.

Activities. Staff members who had participated in the program were interviewed and gave some information about program activities; the rest was drawn from the program's prospectus and internal evaluation.

Among the activities described, a number took place prior to the beginning of the program. One activity was a survey of all secondary teachers, which was

conducted to identify problem areas in reading. There was also an attempt to recruit teachers to work on the project. Initially, eight teachers (of reading, English, History, Foods, Mechanical Drawing, Health, Business Math, and Science) volunteered; three teachers were eliminated from the project due to funding problems.

Another activity prior to the beginning of the program was training. Volunteer teachers were given eight hours of in-service training prior to the beginning of the program, to sensitize them to the importance of reading and study skills and to inform them as to how these skills could be emphasized through regular classroom activities. Skills stressed in the training session were said to have included: Contextual Classes; Structural Analysis; Dictionary Skills; Vocabulary Development; Outlining Evaluation; Following Time Sequences; Use of Reference Books; Taking Notes; Summarizing; Interpretation of Charts, Graphs, and Stories; and Map Reading.

It is evident that these skills were to be practiced in classrooms in the context of subject-area teaching. How this was actually done is unclear. The program's literature states that "the activities that will take place in each of the participating classes will be very much the same as far as subject matter is concerned, but teachers and students will experience an increased emphasis on the importance of reading in each of the areas." School personnel were unable to amplify this description.

### Internal Evaluation

An internal evaluation was made by the staff to determine what progress the program had made toward achieving its objectives. Among other things, this evaluation revealed that fewer classes were provided than had been planned. There were

mixed results under the second objective, which dealt with student outcomes.

Findings under this heading were as follows:

- a) The Iowa Silent Reading Test was given on a pre- and post-test basis. The results indicated that 27 percent of the students had increased their reading comprehension score by 6 months or more.
- b) The teachers constructed tests to measure study skills and subject matter achievement. The results were:
  - English: 90% of the students received a passing grade.
  - Health: 80% of the students received a passing grade.
  - Math: 75% of the students received a passing grade.
  - Afro-American History: 44% of the students received a passing grade.

Teachers stated that as a result of the program, the students: (1) "are able to read and interpret Graphs, Tables, Charts, Maps, Cartoons, Pictures, and Diagrams."; (2) "are able to use the parts of a book and reference materials to find specific information."; (3) "are able to take notes and outline material"

In addition to this overall evaluation, program staff surveyed made a number of comments about the program. Positive comments were that:

- a. The program itself, and the workshop did alert the staff to the need for teaching reading in the content areas.
- b. The employment of the teacher aides allowed the teachers to do more individual work with many students.
- c. The workshop provided the teacher with tools to diagnose student reading difficulties and assess the reading level of materials.
- d. The materials that were bought for the program provided the teachers an opportunity for individualized instruction.

Negative comments were that:

- a. The untimely departure of a reading teacher deprived the program of a valuable source of leadership and the program's focal point.
- b. The workshop sessions did not get deeply enough into methodology and specific techniques for teaching reading.
- c. The two aides were not hired until well after the school year began, and then not all of the teachers had use of the aides' assistance.
- d. The two aides had no prior training and were hired too late to take advantage of the workshop sessions.
- e. The units in the proposal should have been written to cover a longer period of time. The teachers felt that, given the demand on their time and energy, they could not implement the program as well as they would have liked or could have done. They felt that more pre-planning should have gone into the units they were to teach.
- f. A greater number of commercially prepared, individualized learning packets should have been purchased.

In general, appropriate materials were said to be fewer than desired, though there were an adequate number of multi-ethnic materials. It was stated that the English and Reading classes had the most materials.

#### External Evaluation

From the program's internal evaluation, it was clear that there were a number of factors which had a negative impact on this program. Some of these factors could be called external--that is, they were not under the control of the individuals who implemented the program.

It appeared that, for various reasons, the "nuts and bolts" of the Reading in the Content Area program were not attached prior to implementation. Funding was delayed, thus creating a situation where those who conceived and eventually

implemented the program were rendered unable to properly prepare for all anticipated problems. Aides were apparently hired too late and then not adequately depicted. Such an atmosphere of uncertainty preceding the implementation phase may have had an adverse effect on the staff's motivation and commitment. Also, as was noted, the departure of the reading specialist, who had developed the program's conceptual base, eliminated a source of leadership and coordination.

Overall, the program design lacked the conceptual clarity necessary for implementation. For example, the program listed two very general program objectives and a series of activities to attain these objectives, but did not define a procedure or approach, accompanied by a rationale, through which the teachers would continuously evaluate the following: (1) the effectiveness of the material, (2) the appropriateness of teaching strategies employed, (3) methods of communication with each other to share ideas, (4) uniformity in evaluation procedures, or (5) planning for the future. Innovation programs need such a procedure so that the collective talents of participating teachers may be pooled, and also to produce uniformity in goals and activities.

The use of diagnostic instruments was inconsistent. One of three diagnostic tests was used without apparent uniformity. The alternative would have been to use either one or a combination of several as a group or at the individual teacher level in order to evaluate whether the diagnostic data was indeed useful and had served its intended purpose. Apparently a phonics test would not yield adequate data for an assessment of other reading skills. The idea of diagnosing student reading skill is highly commendable, but in this case, it was poorly organized and not directed

toward a well defined purpose. Nor was a relationship drawn between the utility of having this information and its subsequent contribution to individuals with resultant outcomes in skill development or increased levels in course grades.

Use of the Frey Scale to define levels of difficulty in course material was a marginal attempt at classification. A descriptive report outlining materials used and an assessment of those most relevant to the program would have been a considerable improvement. In addition, there were too few teacher workshops. This program feature exemplified two problems: one, inadequate pre-service training and two, inadequate contact with a consultant on an ongoing basis.

The instrument used in program evaluation was poorly chosen. The results of the pre- and post-testing of students with the Iowa Silent Reading Test indicate that either the test itself was inappropriate, due to its level of difficulty in reading, or that surveyed behaviors were not addressed by the program. A criterion-referenced test that directly assessed the progress of skills being taught would have specifically identified those skills and yielded an indication of student performance. By this method, one could have predicted an 85 percent increase in such areas as reading comprehension--rather than the 27 percent increases from the pre- and post-test measurements. Essentially, the results as measured only indicate a global reflection of student progress compared to an incomparable reference group that does not specify which vocabulary or comprehension skills were increased or unaddressed.

#### Summary and Recommendations

The Reading in the Content Area program was developed with good intentions to address a reading problem found to be widespread among the classes entering New



Brunswick High School. Training aimed at sensitizing teachers of content areas to activities and approaches which could increase a student's basic reading and study skills was an obviously meaningful endeavor. However, the program was found to have been handicapped by a number of external and internal factors. Most damaging was the failure to adequately conceptualize the program so that it could be fully and uniformly implemented. If a program of this nature were to begin again, it is suggested that:

1. PROGRAM OBJECTIVES BE MORE CLEARLY DEFINED AND CLOSELY CONNECTED TO PROGRAM ACTIVITIES.

This program aimed to "increase general reading and study skills." This is a vague phrase; for reading and study skills are actually the results of many other skills. In planning such a program, anticipated student outcomes should be clearly specified as behavioral objectives, and activities should be elaborated under each objective. This would ensure that in spite of subject area differences, there is a common effort to achieve goals.

2. APPROPRIATE DIAGNOSTIC AND EVALUATION PROCEDURES BE SPECIFIED AND UNIFORMLY APPLIED.

There was little apparent connection between the program's goals and the use of diagnostic and evaluative instruments. As noted, diagnostic tests were not uniformly given and the results did not appear to have been used in relation to classroom activities. The Iowa Silent Reading Test was seen to be an inappropriate choice to measure achievement objectives, as were the various teacher-constructed area tests. In redesigning such a program, it would be important to institute pre-testing and post-testing in each skill area, using uniform procedures.

3. STAFF MEETINGS BE REGULARLY HELD FOR JOINT PLANNING AND ASSESSMENT.

In a program where teachers are working independently, there is a great need for coordination to ensure that problems are assessed, and that there is an effort to redirect activities based on constant, informal feedback of student progress.

### The Project 18 Program

Unlike the other ESAA-funded programs which were evaluated, the objectives of the Project 18 program were in areas other than reading or language arts improvement. Project 18 was developed partly in response to the stated need to provide enrichment and community awareness to minority students and partly in response to legal changes which, in January, 1973, gave the privileges and responsibilities of full legal adulthood to 18 year-olds.

In content, the Project 18 program was to provide a ten week course in which students could investigate the meaning of these new "rights and responsibilities." The program was initiated by social studies teachers who volunteered to participate in a six week summer orientation course.

Student population. As the student population for this project was eighteen year olds, the program was confined to seniors at New Brunswick High School. The senior class in 1973-74 included 476 students. Of this number, approximately 56 percent were white, 39 percent black, and 5 percent Hispanic. Six of the school's teachers volunteered to be trained for the program. All six were white.

Goals and objectives. The goals sought in this program were broadly enumerated as follows:

- An appreciation of the Age of Majority Law.
- A knowledge of the civic rights and responsibilities of 18 year olds.
- A knowledge of the social rights and opportunities open to 18 year olds.
- To create positive involvement by the student in society.

The program was designed to give information on a number of specific topics. Under

"civic rights and responsibilities," students were to be informed regarding the draft laws, jury duty, voting rights, and procedures for running for office; under "social rights and opportunities," topics included contracts, insurance, property ownership, and laws pertaining to marriage and divorce, adoption, making wills, inheritance, supporting a relative, gambling, drinking, medical-surgical consent, and welfare.

Activities. Information about activities was primarily developed from interviews with program staff and from printed materials made available to the researcher. According to available information, students in the program were involved in three types of activities, described by the staff as "classroom, speakers, and field trips."

Classroom activities included the development of information on program topics through methods which included the outlining of terms, requirements of laws, and procedures. Complementing this academic approach, students were to be taught how to utilize various tools on their own to gain information. For example, students were to be shown how to use microfilm and how to use an "occupational outlook handbook." In addition, some experimental methods were used--students role-played job interviews and practiced filling out applications.

Speakers were scheduled to visit the school and talk about the program's topics. Among scheduled speakers were politicians, lawyers, and representatives from the New Jersey State Employment Service and various career fields. Field trips were to include: a career information center, a large corporation, and local government

agencies and offices. During the year, a trip to Washington, D.C. was also arranged.

### Internal Evaluation

An internal evaluation of the Project 18 program was conducted by the program staff. The basis for the evaluation was teacher-constructed pre-tests and post-tests which measured student familiarity with relevant information. Test results, by teachers' reports, showed an average increase of 50 percent in post-test scores in the area of knowledge about civic rights and responsibilities and an increase of 85 percent in knowledge about career opportunities.

Teachers stated that students demonstrated enthusiasm about the course, as shown by their desire to have the material implemented in future Problems of Democracy courses. Class participation was said to be high, and field trips were said to be the high points of the program.

Program staff remarked that it was difficult to get enough speakers scheduled for the program. Students also apparently found a lack of cooperation from community persons in attempting to get interviews and do field work. Staff described materials used in the program as poor, largely traditional in nature, and inadequate in number. The most effective materials were said to be documents, state laws, and materials supplied by the League of Women Voters.

### External Evaluation

Increases in the test scores should be put into perspective by recognizing that the audience for this program was a relatively highly motivated group with the maturing prospect of graduation before it. It might be asked whether test score increases and student enthusiasm actually reflected a good program design, or were influenced by the fact that students were pleased to be singled out as a group apart from others in the school. If this is the case, Project 18 was bound for success; the program was designed to give a sense of citizenship to eager, eighteen year old seniors.

The lack of black or other minority teachers raises a question in a program which was funded as an effort to "broaden the social and environmental horizons of minority students." Apparently an effort was made to interest black teachers in the Project 18 program, but was unsuccessful. Nonetheless, this would seem a weakness in a program whose target population consisted of a 44 percent minority enrollment.

Lack of community involvement seems to have affected the program in a number of ways, principally by limiting the number of speakers, materials, and access to community resources. It would seem that there would be a need to mobilize the community so that real support, rather than lip service, could be given to a program which aims to make students part of the adult community.

### Summary and Recommendations

The staff of the New Brunswick High School's Project 18 was aware of the need for more relevant educational programming geared to a student body of eighteen year old seniors. The school population, at the time of the project, was being increased

by minority enrollments; and specifically, the eighteen year olds were rather skeptical of their ability to function in the community outside of the school. The Project 18 program appeared to have served to generally improve programs of secondary education through realization of more immediate and tangible objectives in classroom instruction.

To improve the Project 18 program, it is recommended that:

1. A GREATER EFFORT BE MADE TO RECRUIT MINORITY STAFF MEMBERS FOR THE PROGRAM.

The example set by the presence of minority teachers is invaluable. Minority students can make positive role identification with the teacher, and the scope of all students in the program is broadened by the presence of minority teachers. In as much as the target population consisted of a 44 percent minority enrollment, minority staff members for this project should be earnestly recruited. Skilled professionals can be found with the assistance of organizations such as the Urban League, the NAACP, and CORE.

2. MORE SUITABLE PLANNING BE DESIGNED TO INVOLVE THE LOCAL COMMUNITY IN THE PROGRAM.

School officials should make an effort to gain the understanding and cooperation of the community. In as much as part of the success of Project 18 depends on interaction between the students and the community, it is incumbent upon the school staff to orient the community to the project's goals in this respect. A brief written explanation of the program and a follow-up meeting, to which various community businesses and organization members are invited, would be helpful. In addition, this meeting should serve as a "signing up" session--to obtain a calendar of participating community speakers and organizations for the project.

3. STUDENT INVOLVEMENT IN THE COMMUNITY BE COORDINATED WITH FIELD TRIPS INTO THE COMMUNITY.

The need for schools to extend learning outside the four walls of the classroom, and to open doors to the community has long been lamented. An inter-visitiation program with vocational

and professional residents would give students an example of the work they are preparing for. More specifically, the use of consultants should be coordinated with follow-up student visits to the consultants' work sites so that the speakers' visits can be more broadly tied into the student's future involvement in the community and orientation to the world of work. The business community will, hopefully, begin to commit themselves to a responsibility for the education and employment of the community's young adults.

4. THERE BE FULLY DEVELOPED PROGRAM ACTIVITIES WHICH ARE COORDINATED WITH PROGRAM OBJECTIVES.

The program objectives, as listed, were shallow and upon evaluation, not sequentially planned. A lack of speakers for the program, lack of current educational materials, and inadequate resource materials has been a drawback to the total effectiveness of the program. With specific objectives, the program could avoid lapses in activities by enlisting student involvement in developing a complementary curriculum, which could be used as part of the student's independent study project.

### Some Special Schools

New Brunswick, as previously noted, offers a wide range of programs addressing the needs of special populations. Some, like the ESAA-funded pilot projects, have been structured to operate within a regular school program, addressing themselves to promoting measurable improvement within a limited content area. Others, however, function independently of the regular schools. Because they attempt to provide a different but complete educational setting for their students, these programs have far broader objectives and a wider range of activities.

Three special schools which were examined--the Family Learning Center, the New Street School, and the Gibbons School--have several common features. All were funded through the New Brunswick Board of Education, rather than by outside sources (In the case of the Family Learning Center and the New Street School, the Board is reimbursed for 50 percent of expenses by the State under the Beadleston Act.). All have a majority of black students in their population and all attempt to provide a full educational program for their small student bodies.

There is a distinction between the Family Learning Center and the New Street School programs on the one hand, and the Gibbons School on the other. The former programs are, in essence, settings for populations deemed by the Central Board to have very special needs: In the case of the Family Learning Center, the population consists of pregnant high school students; at New Street, the population consists of students who have been labelled "emotionally maladjusted" or judged unable to cope in a regular school setting. By comparison, Gibbons was founded to provide an alternative setting in which a population of grade B average students and grade C average students could develop their full potential. This population, deliberately chosen to represent a racial mix, is not in this sense, a group which was defined by the Central Board as having special educational requirements. The only "special" need observed is that expressed by students when they apply to Gibbons--the need to have a different type of educational experience than that provided by the regular high school. It should be said that though test results were not available, the Family Learning Center did have a relatively well-developed self-evaluation procedure.



### The Family Learning Center

The New Brunswick Services for School-age Parents (Family Learning Center) provides educational, medical, and social services for pregnant teenagers and their infants. The program in its first three years (1969-1972) was a pilot project under Title III (ESAA), and is now locally funded. The project is located in its own facility, which houses, in addition to classrooms, a nursery and a medical examination room.

Student population. In 1973-74, the Family Learning Center serviced 29 students ranging in age from twelve to eighteen years of age. Of this population, the vast majority (25 students, or 72 percent) were black. Eight students in the total population were under sixteen years of age; the others were sixteen to eighteen years old.

Residency in the district and a doctor's certificate stating pregnancy are the only criteria used for entering the program. Once a doctor's certificate is obtained, a conference is held at the secondary school in which the student is presently enrolled. The student, school nurse, and guidance counselor confer and an explanation of services of the Family Learning Center is given. The guidance counselor sees that the student's cumulative records, curriculum, and doctor's certificate are turned over to the staff nurse at the Family Learning Center. A schedule is designed to continue the student's regular classes as closely as possible.

The student is expected to attend classes at the Center until the birth of her child. Two to three weeks after maternity leave, the student resumes classes at the center for a six-week period and then returns to regular school. Criteria used for returning

to regular school are: physical and psychological well-being, beginning of a new marking period, completion of a student and medical post-test questionnaire, and a terminal interview.

Staff members consisted of four academic teachers, a project nurse, a community counselor, a consulting pediatrician, and the program director. The racial make-up of staff in 1973-74 was four blacks and five whites. The staff was said to have been selected on the basis of state certification and empathetic attitudes towards pregnant teenagers.

Goals and objectives. The Family Learning Center's goals were listed in program literature as follows:

- Student participants will show a dropout rate which is significantly lower than that for pregnant students in the district prior to the beginning of the program.
- Instruction in family life education and the counselling program will increase the student's knowledge of information taught in the program.
- Student's babies, delivered in the program, will be significantly healthier than the state norm for babies born to teenage mothers.

Activities. Staff of the Family Learning Center described the program as containing instruction in regular academic subjects (English, Math, Social Studies, and Science) with an added heavy emphasis on a special curriculum in Family Life Education. This course included two components; one essentially in homemaking (nutrition, food preparation, and consumer education) and the other essentially in the area of pregnancy and childbirth. The first component was taught by a home economist and the second by the school nurse. Included in the Family Life Education program were breakfast and lunch at school, visits to hospital labor and delivery rooms, training in breathing

and relaxation techniques for childbirth, and detailed information about pre- and post-natal care.

In addition to classes, the school provided many other services for its students. The project nurses's role was to maintain contact with the student's physician--a means of providing some supervision to assure that the students received adequate pre-natal care; after delivery, post-natal services offered by the school through individual and group formats included care of babies and continuing education for the mother. The community counselor worked with the students' families as well as with the students themselves. The counselor is also a liason between the regular school system, welfare agencies, and community health care facilities.

Observation showed classes to be conducted in an informal atmosphere, primarily on a group-discussion basis. Teachers seemed to know each student personally and stated that they attempted to individualize instruction as much as possible.

### Internal Evaluation

The Family Learning Center had been evaluated a number of times because of its origin as a federally-funded Title III pilot project. For the purposes of this report, past evaluations, an internal evaluation for the school year 1973-74, student population data, and other relevant information were made available for review.

The Center's staff reported that during the seven-year period (1962-1969) prior to the project's existence, all of the 126 known pregnant teenagers in New Brunswick schools dropped out. When this statistic was compared with the holding-power statistic of the Center for 1973-1974, the project could be viewed as having been

successful in reaching its first objective.

A staff-constructed test was administered last year to determine the extent to which the Center's second objective had been met. The results of this test, as staff members reported, demonstrated that all students were able to respond correctly and more fully to questions which dealt with reproduction, childbirth, and child care. The actual test results, however, were not made available and therefore could not be confirmed by the evaluator.

In regard to the third objective, the staff offered data showing that during 1970-1972 in the State of New Jersey, 19.4 percent of the infants born to young women between the ages of fifteen and nineteen were of low birth weight. The school nurse, reporting comparatively, pointed out that only one of the 29 babies born to students enrolled at the Center during 1973-1974 suffered a weight deficiency.

#### External Evaluation

The data presented by the Family Learning Center, which related to dropouts, strongly suggested that the first objective had been met. That outcome was particularly impressive if, as the 1970-1972 report implied, 100 percent of pregnant students could have been expected to drop out of school. The Center made a significant accomplishment during the past year by retaining its 29 students through a complete program and sending 22 of them (76 percent) back to school after they had given birth to their children.

One comment seems relevant, however, in examining these figures. Though the New Jersey State Department figure presented a picture of a 100 percent dropout rate

for pregnant students in New Brunswick prior to the opening of the Center, it seems questionable whether all 126 students, having dropped out during their pregnancies, also continued to stay out of the schools after delivery, especially as some must have been under sixteen years of age. This suggests that if there were follow-up statistics on the 1962-1969 population, the comparison (dropout rate of 100 percent for New Brunswick students in 1962-69 versus 24 percent dropout rate for Center students in 1973-74) would be less dramatic. In addition, it is unclear whether the twenty-nine students in the Center in 1973-74 represented all pregnant students in New Brunswick. For comparison purposes, it would be worthwhile to know how many other girls had become pregnant during 1973-74, dropped out, and later returned to school.

It could not be conclusively stated that the school achieved its second objective, regarding an increase of knowledge in Family Life Education, because of a lack of data available. However, the school was observed to have a very strong program in this area, staffed by well-trained persons who seemed highly committed to the students.

Birth weight is a standard measure of child health, since low birth weight tends to be highly correlated with health problems in infants. Low birth weight is also highly correlated with poor pre-natal care. Thus the fact that only one out of twenty-nine students gave birth to an underweight infant would seem to validate the school's achievement of its third objective. It also appears to be a positive reflection on the school's broader program which stressed educational programs, supervision by the school nurse, the provision of two meals a day, and an adequate pre-natal care program for students.

## Summary and Recommendations

Based on available data, it was determined that the Family Learning Center had been quite successful in achieving its objectives. It reduced the expected dropout rate among its students, developed and implemented a program informing students about pregnancy, birth, child care, and home management, and through its educational and health services, reduced the anticipated rate of low birth weight babies among its population. Consequently, it is recommended that:

1. THE FAMILY LEARNING CENTER BE CONTINUED AS A SERVICE TO PREGNANT TEENAGERS.

It is felt that the local board should continue to fund this program, which seems to be meeting the needs of its special population in a unique way.

2. A SURVEY OF NEW BRUNSWICK'S SCHOOL POPULATION BE UNDERTAKEN TO DETERMINE WHETHER ALL PREGNANT GIRLS ARE BEING REACHED BY THIS PROGRAM.

The Family Learning Center, according to its literature, makes a considerable outreach effort, to draw into the program all pregnant girls. However, there are no statistics available to show what percentage of pregnant students in the school district actually attend the program. It would seem that to justify funding, it is necessary to show not only the functioning of an excellent program, but also to demonstrate that an attempt is being made to reach and involve all students who could benefit by the program.

3. THE FAMILY LEARNING CENTER'S HEALTH EDUCATION PROGRAM BE USED AS A CURRICULUM MODEL FOR NON-PREGNANT STUDENTS.

The Family Learning Center had developed an effective model of small-group instruction in health and sex education. This method could well serve as an instructional model for non-pregnant students, both female and male, who would profit by an opportunity to be instructed in these areas in an atmosphere encouraging group discussion and the full sharing of questions and problems.

## The New Street School

The New Street School was founded in 1970 as a school for students classified by a Child Study Team as "emotionally or socially maladjusted," and unable to function in a regular school setting. The team consisted of a psychologist, a social worker, and a learning disabilities specialist. The school served a small population and offered a high school diploma.

Student population. Staff members stated that most youngsters who came to New Street School originally were referred by the sending school because of behavior problems, especially disruptiveness in the classroom. Before entry to New Street, the students were evaluated by the Child Study Team. The psychological, achievement, and intelligence tests performed by the Team, and the youngster's records accompanied him to the school and were used to develop an individualized program for the student.

Staff members at New Street stated that though the students were labelled "emotionally disturbed," they themselves saw most students as youngsters whose primary problem was a poor self-image and a tendency to "overreact" to the demands and tensions of a regular school setting.

Because students were added to the school rolls during the year, and because students sometimes left during the year, the population fluctuated. In 1973-1974, the school enrolled a total of sixty-nine students; however, in April, 1974, when the researcher surveyed the school, there were only fifty-nine students attending. These students ranged in age from ten to nineteen and were mostly males (49 out of 59 students were males).

At the time of the survey, forty-six students (79 percent of the school population) were black; ten students (17 percent) were white; and three students (4 percent) were Hispanic. The racial composition of the school was thus at variance with New Brunswick schools as a whole, in which the 1973-74 corresponding percentages were 50 percent black, 35 percent white, and 15 percent Hispanic. When asked about the high proportion of black students in a school for youngsters labelled "emotionally disturbed" or "unable to cope," some staff stated that they felt black students and other minorities were subject to different disciplinary standards in the regular schools. Others pointed to what they considered economic and social factors among blacks which they felt might produce a higher proportion of "acting out" of youngsters in the schools.

The student population was served by a professional staff consisting of a principal, nine full-time teachers, and two part-time teachers. The teaching staff was said to have special education backgrounds and the principal was a former intermediate school administrator. The racial composition of the teaching staff in 1973-74 was six whites and five blacks; the principal was white. The New Street staff's racial composition was substantially at variance with those of other schools in New Brunswick: at New Brunswick High School only 16 percent of the staff was black in 1973-74, as compared to 42 percent at the New Street School. The Principal stated, however, that race was not a criterion in hiring, but that he looked primarily for "warm, concerned teachers."

Goals and objectives. The objectives of the New Street School were formulated by the school principal as follows:

- To develop self-worth and identity.
- To develop attitudes and skills essential for building improved social relationships.



- To develop an atmosphere conducive to trust and self-expression.
- To develop maximum academic abilities for each individual.
- To develop basic skills and behaviors necessary to qualify for and hold a job.

Activities. At the New Street School, students were grouped by age and placed in small classes of five to eight pupils. Here they remained with one teacher for the entire school day, which began at nine in the morning and ended at one in the afternoon. Most classes remained with the same teacher for two years. There was no departmentalization, and all subjects were taught by the same teacher. Observation showed students working in an "open classroom setting," individually or in pairs--reading, doing math problems, or working on an art project--as teachers moved around the room assisting them. Teachers stated that group instruction is also given when working math problems on the board and during a "rap" session on topics of interest.

Teachers stated that they attempted to involve students in schoolwork by helping them develop and pursue their own interests, as well as helping students find materials appropriate to their interests. Out-of-school trips were also arranged for students to pursue their interests in the community.

In addition to instruction in academic subjects such as reading and English, Math, Social Studies, and Science, the school offered "experiences" in Art, Home Economics, and Physical Education with the assistance of part-time teachers. The school had a therapy group run by a psychologist from the Rutgers Mental Health Service, which students could attend voluntarily. Teachers had a counselling role with the youngsters, giving continuous feedback on their behavior: they made home

visits, found after-school jobs for the students, made themselves available for individual help with work after the school day, and brought youngsters to school who were chronic late-comers.

### Internal Evaluation

There appeared to have been no formal internal evaluation done on the New Street program during its four years of existence. There was no regular testing procedure for all students, and neither the school itself nor the Central Board seemed to have attempted to assess how well the school was achieving its stated goals. Nor did it seem that there was a careful follow-up of students who returned to regular schools; there was no procedure to measure the impact the New Street School had made on them.

The Principal stated that the Child Study Team had met the legal obligation to re-test all students three years after their enrollment at New Street School. However, approximately only sixteen students had been tested, due to the turnover of student enrollment. The test results for these sixteen students were not made available to the researcher.

### External Evaluation

From available data and from observations, the New Street School program appeared to have a number of weaknesses, some of which were conceptual; others were related to gaps in materials and resources.

The New Street School served a population which had been designated as unable to function in regular schools, due to a variety of emotional problems--suggesting that the

program had a strong orientation toward helping students confront adjustment problems. This was not apparent at the New Street School. Though it was stated that a psychologist from the Rutgers Mental Health Service ran a therapy group, this was the only professional service which the school provided the students in the area of counselling, and it was stated that attendance in the group was voluntary. Further, there were contradictory reports as to whether, and how frequently this group met and how often the psychologist was in the school. Other than this part-time consultant, the school staff included no specialists in the area of guidance or counselling. From interview data, however, it was clear that teachers were expected to do a considerable amount of informal counselling in addition to their teaching duties. Their job, stated by the Principal, was to develop a "close one-to-one relationship with the students," and it was hoped that students would begin to confide in the teachers and learn that they could discuss their problems with someone, rather than merely "act out."

The school atmosphere reflected an attempt to deal with the youngster's problems by limiting the pressures experienced. There were few rules, and discipline, while not lacking, seemed relaxed. According to teachers, homework was rarely given and students who refused to work were not pressured to do so. In practice, these informal approaches may well have had a positive effect. Both teachers and students asserted that over a period of time, close relationships did usually develop. Students interviewed stated they felt could talk to their teacher about personal problems and also about gripes regarding the school. Halls and classrooms in the school were quiet, even when students were working together, and pleasant, warm relationships seemed

to exist between staff and students, who usually called each other by first names. Although there may have been no pressure to work, many students were observed working independently of supervision.

The question still existed, however, whether this approach to helping the students was all that the New Street School should offer. It would seem to place too heavy a burden on teachers who already had to work with a population which, though seemingly of average intelligence, was said to enter the school many grades behind in academic work. In addition, the lack of a structured approach toward achieving such school goals as "improved self-image" and the development of "skills needed in social relationships" appeared to leave achievement of these goals somewhat to chance. It would also seem that the school could profit by having a specialist on staff to plan fully and offer a regular counselling program directed to each student's needs.

For the student and the system, placement at New Street is an administrative step falling between expulsion from regular school and placement on Home Instruction or in a more specialized setting. It is possible for students at New Street to return to the regular schools. Criteria for this step, according to the school principal, are (1) the student wishes to return to a regular school, (2) his teacher and principal consider him ready, and (3) the transfer is approved by the Child Study Team. A number of students did return to regular schools, as is indicated in the following table, which shows the direction of student movement after leaving New Street.

Table 7.2

Destinations of Students Leaving the New Street School  
From 1970 to 1974

Destination	School Year			
	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74
Regular District School	7	11	6	2
Moved	-	4	2	1
Court Placements	-	2	2	4
Withdrew to work	2	-	1	4
State Training School	2	-	-	-
Drug Centers	1	-	-	-
Army	-	2	-	-
Home Instruction	-	3	2	-
Job Corps	-	-	3	-
Graduated	3	1	1	-
Diagnostic Center	3	-	1	1
Family Learning Center	-	2	1	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>(Total Enrollment)</b>	<b>(78)</b>	<b>(73)</b>	<b>(70)</b>	<b>(69)</b>

A rather small number of students moved back into the "mainstream" from New Street every year. In the 1973-74 class, the Principal reported that fifty-one of sixty-nine students enrolled (74 percent) had been at New Street for one to three years. The composition of the class by length of stay at the school is reported in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3

## Length of Stay at New Street School

In New Street for 3 years or more:	16	(23%)
In New Street for 2 years or more:	17	(25%)
In New Street for 1 year or more:	18	(26%)
In New Street for less than 1 year:	18	(26%)
TOTAL STUDENTS	69	(100%)

Given this information, and given also the fact that the student himself was allowed veto power over any transfer back to the regular school, it would seem that the school may have no real policy for sending its students back into a regular school setting. The length of stay in the school might not matter if it did not seem that by remaining at New Street for several years, students were deprived of many services available to their peers in regular schools. New Street had some very severe gaps in programming and resources.

The New Street School Principal stated that the school's fifth objective was "to develop skills and behaviors necessary to qualify for and hold a job." There was, however, no vocational program operating in the school. Observation confirmed

statements by the teachers that there were neither materials nor specialists in trades, crafts, distributive or business education in the school. The school had no vocational guidance counselor and no "career experience" program. New Street staff stated that New Brunswick High School has a well-developed vocational program but that New Street students currently did not participate in it.

The absence of any program for vocational skill development or career orientation would seem to be a very serious weakness in a program enrolling a largely adolescent population, including a number of students aged eighteen and nineteen. Teachers stated that they found that the lack of a vocational tie-in to schoolwork made it difficult to motivate students to work on subjects that seemed abstract and remote from such tangible rewards as getting a job and making money.

Classroom observation at the New Street School showed a minimum of materials in the rooms. The rooms were quite bare, though cheerfully painted (by the students, according to the Principal) and had few books in them. Wall posters were the same in most rooms. Essentially, the only materials observed in use were remedial in nature--reading and math workbooks. Though social studies and science materials did exist in limited supply in the school library, few of these materials were observed in the classrooms. These texts, however, seemed to be geared to a readership much younger than the population at New Street.

Teachers confirmed that materials in the school were in short supply due to a limited budget. There were said to be other shortages: of books, pencils and paper, of art supplies, gym equipment, and social studies and science related materials. Teachers who had been in the school for a number of years said they had spent a good

deal of time "scrounging" and "hoarding" materials for the school. They stated that the shortages limited what could be taught, and also posed a situation where students who had been in the school for several years had to re-use materials they had already read.

The apparent severe shortage of materials made it questionable whether the school, as presently equipped, was capable of meeting its commitment--Objective # 4: to develop maximum academic abilities for each individual. In addition, the lack of materials places an obvious strain on staff morale and energies.

#### Summary and Recommendations

The New Street School staff impressed the researcher as a group that was highly motivated and committed to the students, and to individualized instructional methods. Students who were interviewed were mostly enthusiastic about the school. However, examination of the school's operation made it clear that as presently operating, the school was not giving adequate service to its population in most areas. The most obvious inadequacies were in the lack of appropriate programs and staff, the lack of instructional materials, and, especially, the lack of a clear concept of what the school is supposed to be doing for its students. It is recommended that:

1. THE PROGRAM BE STRUCTURED FOR ACTUAL IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS STATED GOALS.

At present, there is no clear policy regarding the student's status at New Street School; no assessments are made to determine whether a student's stay is temporary or permanent. Students are apparently allowed to remain in the school as long as they choose, irrespective of the fact that inadequate programming is damaging their



chances for future social and economic viability. The local school board has an obligation to provide an adequate educational and counselling program in the New Street School. Whether the school is seen as a temporary placement or as a permanent placement (through graduation), the program needs to be entirely revamped for successful realization of its stated goals.

2. THE SCHOOL BE PROVIDED WITH APPROPRIATE MATERIALS FOR A FULL INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM IN ACADEMIC AREAS.

As noted, the school was ill-equipped to provide a full academic program for its students. Though "budgetary shortages" was given as the reason for the lack of appropriate academic materials, it is unlikely that the goals of the school would be achieved without such necessary equipment.

3. AN EXPERIENCED, FULL-TIME COUNSELOR BE INCLUDED IN THE SCHOOL PROGRAM.

Though emotional problems are said to be at the heart of the student's behavioral and academic problems, there is, as noted, no full-time professional counselor working with the students in the area of emotional growth. A counselor experienced in working with youngsters who exhibit behavioral problems should be hired immediately to develop a program of individual and group counselling. The counselor would plan ways of promoting behavioral and attitudinal change among the students, make referrals to outside agencies, and give support to the teaching staff by alleviating the extra burden of counselling students.

4. THERE BE DEVELOPMENT OF A VOCATIONAL/CAREER PROGRAM IN THE SCHOOL.

The omission of vocational or career-oriented programming is a very serious weakness in this school, which serves a largely adolescent population. The school should hire a vocational specialist who could: a) establish a liason with New Brunswick High School, enabling New Street students to attend classes there in business and vocational careers education; b) assist students in career exploration through counselling and "career experience" part-time jobs in the com-

munity; and c)conduct, with appropriate equipment, one or more business-related classes at the New Street School.

### The Gibbons School

The last program to be reviewed is that of the Gibbons School. Though Gibbons, like the Family Learning Center and the New Street School, serves a small population in a setting separate from the rest of the New Brunswick system, it differs substantially from the two other school programs previously described. Founded in 1972 as an annex to New Brunswick High School, it is now an independent "alternative" high school in the system, supported by local educational monies. The school's program stresses institutional flexibility, a diverse student body, the use of community resources in education, and curriculum innovation.

Student population. Students are accepted for admission to Gibbons twice each year, in September and February, after a lengthy admission process. Several groups participate in the entrance procedure. First, the applicant and his parents must fill out an application for enrollment, describing why the student wants to attend the school. The school also requests information from the student's guidance counselor. All applicants are then interviewed twice--by a teacher or by the Gibbons principal, and by a Gibbons student. Finally, each applicant is rated by the interviewers, with priority given to students who exhibit internal motivation and a sense of maturity. In 1973-74, the school enrolled sixty students in grades nine through twelve. Most students had average grades of "B" to "C" prior to entry. In 1973-74, thirty-five of the students

were black.

The staff serving these students in 1973-74 consisted of a principal, five full-time and three part-time teachers. Five of the teachers were white, three were black, and the principal was black. Staff was said to be hired after a process involving separate interviews with the Gibbons principal, teachers, and students. Teachers were volunteers who had previously taught in the New Brunswick system. Their licenses were reported to be in the major high school subjects--English, Math, Science, Social Studies, and Foreign Languages.

Goals and objectives. The Gibbons School was specifically created to offer its students a different kind of high school experience. Its goals, derived from discussions with the Principal, were stated as follows:

- To develop a wholesome self-concept amongst students from various backgrounds.
- To provide for individualized instruction.
- To involve the student and community in the learning process.
- To utilize methods which ensure accountability in the educational process.

Activities. The School borrows many of its techniques and approaches from the humanistic concept of education, which asserts that cognitive learning is facilitated by a positively toned educational environment. Relationships, therefore, are informal and vary; everyone, from the Principal to the students, is called by the first name though there is acknowledgement of the different roles needed in the school. To further break down communication walls, Gibbons assigns students to "rap groups"--small student-teacher groups which focus on group attempts to solve personal, aca-

ademic and school-wide problems. All students and staff have, in addition, the right to call an All School Meeting to bring up an issue of special concern. Such a structure's aim is to increase the student's feeling of self-worth and emotional control of his environment.

Classes are small (teacher to student ratio equals one to twelve) and individualization is a goal of the teaching staff. The Gibbons curriculum is partially subject-matter oriented and partially theme-centered: a World Literature course is part of the former, and the Urban Communities History course, which uses the New Brunswick community as its classroom, is an example of the latter. The School cannot offer a full range of courses because of its small staff size. Therefore, some students shuttle to New Brunswick High School to attend selected classes there.

Gibbons students are required to take a large responsibility in both the substance and the direction of their education. Some courses are purely independent study; credit for these is granted on the successful completion of a student-teacher contract. Further, each student critiques his courses at the end of an eight week sequence so that staff can make curriculum improvements.

Parents are also said to have a role in the life of the school: Gibbons has a permanent task force of parents who assist in decision-making; parents have been instrumental in the school's various fund and donation drives; and the school encourages parental-school contact--parents are free to attend classes without an invitation or appointment.

### Internal Evaluation

As previously mentioned, Gibbons has a number of mechanisms which were instituted to provide a means for continuous program re-direction and self-analysis. These include the following procedures:

- a) Students participate, with instructors, each semester in a formal written evaluation of each course and instructional activity undertaken. This includes a descriptive evaluation of student progress by teachers which serves as a report card, a commentary on the course's strengths and weaknesses made by both teacher and students, and a critique of the teacher's work by students.
- b) A standing committee, the On-Going Monitoring Committee, which consists of parents, students, staff, administrators, and community representatives, meets regularly with the central administration to review and evaluate Gibbon's existing program.

The school also uses the "rap groups" and All School Meetings as forums for program adjustments and suggestions. None of these procedures, however, have been utilized to develop a thorough, formalized analysis of the school program in terms of its objectives.

### External Evaluation

The Gibbons School has been effective in some areas, however, as the Principal stated, the school was weak in the area of individualized instruction due to a lack of teacher training. Essentially, the school attempted to provide a "different" (unstructured) type of educational experience for high school students. Though the staff was highly motivated, there was no guide for qualitative measurement of student outcomes under this approach.

Although the school aims for accountability, accountability is apparently limited to providing an "alternative" atmosphere rather than to promoting some sort of measurable change or growth in student behavior, attitudes, and skills. This is not to imply that the Gibbons staff fails to promote educational or personal growth, but rather to suggest that, in a school which has accountability as an important goal, some means of holding the school responsible for specified student outcomes should be utilized.

One means for measuring a high school's accountability is to ensure that students are prepared to move on to higher education or productive work after graduation. Apparently Gibbons has in fact been preparing students for such steps. According to the school, all of its first ten graduates went on to some form of higher education: one to business school, one to nursing school, and the rest to college. Half of these students were said, by the staff, to have entered Gibbons with no realistic plan or desire to continue their education after high school. This apparently is an achievement and undoubtedly reflects efforts made by the school.

The Gibbons School is located two and one-half miles from the New Brunswick High School and seems to operate not only independently, but somewhat in isolation from the larger school. This would seem to be a disadvantage for the Gibbons students who are using the facilities and programs of the larger school. In addition, the New Brunswick faculty is not benefiting from any innovations in curriculum and teaching methods which may be part of the Gibbons program. It would seem that an alternative school should have a function of serving as a model and testing ground for new instructional methods, but this will not occur unless there is contact and intervisitation between the two faculties.

### Summary and Recommendations

The Gibbons School staff impressed the researcher as a group which, with a limited budget and resources, has demonstrated an effort to provide an alternative form of education for its population. All of the school's first graduates entered higher education programs and the school is apparently capable of motivating its "average" students to develop their full academic potential. It is recommended that:

1. **SCHOOL OBJECTIVES BE RESTATED IN TERMS OF DESIRED STUDENT OUTCOMES.**

Though the school has made an attempt to be "accountable", the school's goals for the most part defy an attempt at assessment and measurement. To ensure accountability, the Gibbons staff should re-state their objectives in terms of desired student outcomes, at least some of which would be measurable. Outcomes might be phrased in terms of academic progress, preparation for life after graduation, and personal growth as seen in the assumption of responsibility and participation in the school. Restatement of goals in this way, would ensure continuity in staff direction towards implementation of the program; it would create a means of self-evaluation, which is lacking in the school; it would suggest a method of measuring goal achievement, and it would, in part, help create a "better" type of educational program, rather than a merely "different" educational experience.

2. **THE CENTRAL BOARD AND THE GIBBONS STAFF WORK TO REDUCE THE ISOLATION OF THE SCHOOL.**

In view of the fact that only 25 percent of Gibbons students were said to be utilizing programs of the high school, though more could undoubtedly benefit from this, it is felt that the administrators of both schools should meet to determine how institutional cooperation could be increased. Increased utilization of New Brunswick High School programs and facilities is an area for discussion; another would be increased cooperation and sharing of ideas and techniques between Gibbons and New Brunswick high school staff, through

seminars and inter-visitation.

### 3. INADEQUACIES IN SPACE AND MATERIALS BE CORRECTED.

In view of the shortages of materials which were observed, the school's budget should be increased to provide for greater numbers and varieties of materials and resources in the school. In addition, movable room dividers should be installed to eliminate distractions in the Gibbons annex and provide some privacy for students and teachers.

#### Other Special Programs

As indicated earlier, some of the special educational programs were not evaluated by the Teachers College research team. When the reasons were given for not evaluating them, however, it was clearly stated that their importance should not be minimized. There were four such programs that appeared to have the capability of being extremely impactful and which seemed to address themselves to many of the issues this study raised. One of these programs, The Educational Reform Program, was in its infancy at the beginning of this study and had not been subjected to any systematic appraisal. The other three (Bilingual Program, ESEA-Title I Program, and the Career Education Project) were operational in the Fall of 1973 and, during the course of that school year, were being assessed by three other external evaluating agencies.

Even though these programs were not critically examined by the Teachers College research group, they were viewed as being important enough to make the study incomplete if no report were made of their existence and description as well as the direction in which they seemed to be moving. In the following review of the four special programs,



the discussions are based primarily on the reading and examination of relevant materials, internal reports, and external evaluations.

### The Educational Reform Program

The educational reform activities did not represent a special program as such but, instead, reflected efforts which were made to effect an educational restructuring which would be impactful for the total school population.

The 1973-74 school year brought with it the introduction of Superintendent Charles Durant's Educational Reform Program. Based upon the experiences gained from designing individual building projects according to teacher-defined needs--where outcomes were stated in behavioral terms--a new mode of instructional planning was launched in September, 1973. The vehicle of educational reform was to be referred to as the Behavioral Outcomes Learning Unit Plan. The application of this new approach to instructional planning was to involve every teacher at every grade level in every school of the district--pre-school through grade 12. It was to have a direct impact on every student in the New Brunswick Public Schools.

The Learning Unit itself was composed of seven sections: Preface; Content Outline; Cognitive, Affective, Psychomotor Processes; Statements of Specified Objectives; Instructional Strategies and Procedures; and Pre and Post Tests. The ultimate goal of the reform effort was to achieve, through the application of the learning unit, a more highly individualized instructional program. By specifying outcomes in terms of observable and measurable behavior, a system of accountability would be introduced which would hopefully provide an instant reversal to the

steadying decline in pupil achievement as reflected in standardized test results over the past few years. The new planning methodology would introduce a diagnostic-prescriptive process which would acknowledge the individual differences among learners and make accommodations for such variables in the teaching-learning activity. Pre-tests would serve to assess and diagnose students' learning statuses and entry levels, and instruction would be provided in a customized fashion--tailored to meet the needs and styles of each learner.

The 1973-74 school year was one of developmental experiences to introduce the above concepts and procedures to the district's teaching staff. Each teacher was scheduled to receive seven hours of specialized in-service training per month; each month focused on a specific topic related to the construction of the learning unit. Special consultants and speakers were engaged to introduce sophisticated topics to the faculty. These persons, of national stature and reputation, covered such topics as Cognitive Processes, Criterion-Referenced Testing, Behavioral Outcomes, Individualizing Instruction, and Pupil Evaluation. As teachers received such training they were expected to apply the principles and elements of the process into operation. This, of course, referred to the learning unit.

All teachers were required to initially prepare one learning unit for a six-week period. As the year progressed, the number increased to four classroom preparations. All units were reviewed with a written response by the teacher's immediate supervisor. Those with apparent weaknesses were resubmitted for a subsequent review. It was clearly stated that, as part of a commitment to a year of development, no teacher's employment status in the district would be dependent upon his or her performance

with the learning units in the 1973-74 school year. Teachers were observed in the classroom with the use of a new Instructional Process Form, and data was collected on pupil performance according to achievement on instructional objectives.

The completion of the year of reform planning was culminated by the following accomplishments: the specification of behavioral objectives for every course and subject in the district from Pre-K through twelfth grade; the development of an instrument for assessing the application of the learning unit in the classroom; the award of a State Validation grant to the district to evaluate the effectiveness of the program in achieving its objectives; and the receipt of funds to conduct two summer workshops where model learning units would be developed for district-wide teacher utilization.

In addition, the authorized objectives became the basis for the planning of a uniform system of grading and reporting for all students in the district. Progress reports were developed to reflect the specific objectives to which students were exposed during a given marking period of ten weeks duration. Achievement of satisfactory progress on each objective was predicated on successful performance on a post-test with additional variables providing the basis for quality grades. This system enabled the school to incorporate a process which accounted for district-wide standards and criteria with respect to student achievement. Although this was primarily a criterion-referenced system, a conversion table to compute a summary performance grade was developed for the secondary level (grades 7 through 12) to permit the reporting of letter grades, in a mode which was familiar, to institutions of higher learning, employers, or others who might request them.

For all district staff, the 1973-74 school year appeared to be one of great turbulence and dramatic overhauling. Every teacher and administrator seemed directly involved in the process of reform, and the impact was probably felt throughout the entire school system. This change of direction was designed to be a total comprehensive effort, and for the 453 teachers in the district, the year provided an opportunity for participation in a systematic and meaningful instructional change effort.

### The Bilingual Program

During the school year of 1973-1974, New Brunswick's Bilingual Program was aimed at providing better learning opportunities for 658 youngsters who came mostly from a Spanish-dominant language background. Components of the program were at different grade levels and supported by both local and external funds. Definitive data on the program is contained in Table 7.4

The largest program component, the K-2 organization, was referred to as the New Brunswick Bilingual-Bicultural Program--Integrated Model. This program was funded primarily out of the basic Board of Education budget with supplemental assistance drawn from the federal government's Title VII program.

The New Brunswick model of bilingual education attempted to insure that non-English speaking students would have ample opportunity to be integrated with the English-speaking, native-born students in both instructional and non-instructional activities. The strategy of integration provided bilingual instruction for English-dominant and non-English-dominant pupils and for both groups to be taught the

dominant language of the other group.

Table 7.4

Bilingual Program Data

Component	Number of Students Involved	Building(s) Involved	Number of Staff	Funding Source
Grades K-2	340	Bayard Livingston Hale Washington	15	Title VII LEA
ESL (Grades 3-4)	110	Bayard Livingston Sterling Washington	2	Title I
<b>Bilingual Instruction</b>				
Grades 5-6	45	Roosevelt	2	Title I
Grades 7-8	48	Redshaw	2	LEA
Grades 9-12	135	NBHS	3	LEA
<b>Total</b>	<b>678</b>		<b>24</b>	

Bilingual classes were formed in keeping with the criteria used for other classes (size, age, sex, ethnic composition) and the added stipulation of fifty percent English-dominant pupils and fifty percent of pupils who spoke languages other than English.

Participation in the program was voluntary for both groups.

Each section was housed in a standard classroom equipped with learning materials equivalent to other classrooms in the district. In addition, materials had been provided to adequately support bilingual-bicultural learning experiences. A bilingual

teacher and a bilingual paraprofessional aide worked together in each classroom.

The objectives of instruction were:

- to foster bilingual skills by teaching academic subjects in the native language and gradually introduce them in the foreign language; begin instruction in the subject areas of mathematics, social studies, and science, in mixed language, so that Spanish-speaking and English-speaking pupils will be able to comprehend basic concepts; give small group and/or individual help, in the vernacular, to pupils experiencing difficulty (to be done by the teacher or the bilingual aide).
- to develop bilingualism by teaching foreign language skills systematically: An ESL teacher provides basic instruction in English for the Spanish-speaking students thirty minutes daily, using an aural-oral approach; during the same thirty minutes, the bilingual classroom teacher provides Spanish for the English-speaking pupils in the class.
- to develop a phonetic reading curriculum, correlative to the regular curriculum--teaching pupils to read and write in Spanish and English, simultaneously; pupils who manifest difficulty receive reading instruction in their dominant language only.
- to develop bicultural understanding and a strong self-concept: all bilingual teachers stress Puerto Rican and Afro American culture in daily social studies lessons; special holidays--Puerto Rican and Afro American--are celebrated with parent involvement.

The 1973-1974 program in grades one and two was evaluated by Bernard Cohen Research and Development, Incorporated, under contract to the Board of Education. One of the concluding remarks in the evaluation report was that, "...the external evaluators feel that the New Brunswick Bilingual Program is well on its way to becoming a 'model' effort."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Bernard Cohen Research and Development, "Final Evaluation Report of the New Brunswick Bilingual Education Program, Title VII, 1973-74," New York, N.Y. 1974, p. 52.

The Title I component at grades three and four involved providing small group instruction in English to students whose dominant language was one other than English. Two itinerant teachers worked in four schools with 110 students to develop their skills in this area. The evaluation of this activity (including grades five and six) was included in the report prepared by Charles L. Wilson and summarized with the statement that, "The wealth of missing data on critical aspects of the project render impossible any assessment of overall project effectiveness."<sup>2</sup>

The secondary level programs (grades seven through twelve) were totally supported by the Board of Education. They were self-contained classes in which students were taught the basic subjects of English, Mathematics, Science, and Social Studies in a bilingual format. The effectiveness and appropriateness of this format had not been evaluated by an external agency nor had it been formally assessed by staff members.

#### ESEA Title I Program

The 1973-1974 New Brunswick ESEA Title I Program provided services to 1,026 students, all of whom were enrolled at the primary and intermediate grade levels. The program, which focused on a compensatory effort, concentrated its activities in five areas: Remedial Reading, Remedial Mathematics, English as a Second Language, Pre-School, and Day Care Center-Learning Assistance.

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2. Charles L. Wilson, END, Inc., "An Evaluation of the Title I ESEA Program, New Brunswick, New Jersey for the 1973-74 School Year," Rockville, Maryland, August 5, 1974, p. 24.

In Table 7.5, specific programs and some of their pertinent statistical data are given.

Table 7.5

## ESEA Title I Program Data

Component	Number of Students	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers
Remedial Reading	423	9	12
Remedial Math	259	7	8
ESL	220	4	2
Pre-School	107	4	4
Day Care Center-Learning Assistance	17	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,026</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>27</b>

Each of the components had its particular objectives, and the extent to which they were met was determined by the evaluation of Charles L. Wilson.<sup>3</sup>

Remedial reading. As a result of inclusion in Title I remedial reading programs for nine and one-half months, the participants were to display growth in word attack skills as measured by the vocabulary development portion of the California Achievement Test to the following levels by grade:

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3. Ibid.



1st Grade	12 months
2nd Grade	11 months
3rd and 4th Grades	10 months
5th and 6th Grades	13 months

The identified remedial readers were to demonstrate growth in comprehension skills, measured by the California Achievement Test as follows:

1st Grade	87.3 percent effective
2nd Grade	100.0 percent effective
3rd Grade	61.2 percent effective
4th Grade	60.5 percent effective
5th Grade	36.5 percent effective
6th Grade	84.4 percent effective

Remedial mathematics. As a result of remedial mathematics instruction, the participating children were to display a mean growth of one year in problem-solving and nine months in concept development, as measured by the California Achievement Test. Wilson's report indicated that the objectives were met by 100 percent, except in the sixth grade where the effectiveness was stated to have been 84.4 percent.

English as a second language. The 220 non-standard English students, as a result of ESL instruction, were expected to master acceptable approximations of Standard American English as measured by the Condon-Wadsworth Diagnostic Test and a teacher-wide test and/or checklist.

At the end of nine months of instruction, eight-five percent of ESL students were to have shown cognitive development equal to or greater than that of a controlled group,<sup>4</sup> as measured by the Inter-American Achievement Test.

4. Control group was defined as those eligible Title I students of the same age and class designation who could not participate in the program because of size, scope and quality, and incidence of the severity of need.

At the end of nine months of instruction, eighty-five percent of the ESL students were to have improved their computational skills to an extent equal to or greater than that of a controlled group as measured by the computational skills section of the California Achievement Test, given in the dominant language of the student.

After attempting to evaluate the English as a Second Language efforts, Wilson concluded that "missing data" did not allow for an appropriate assessment.

Pre-school. Title I pre-school children between the ages of four and five, as a result of nine months of instruction, were to achieve on kindergarten readiness tests (in September of 1975) a score equal to or above those of children who were not eligible for Pre-school services. The Wilson report indicated that this objective was effectively met.

Day Care center-learning assistance. The forty-two Title I students enrolled in the special reading project of the Demonstration Day Care program were to demonstrate reading growth equivalent to the national norm for the age and grade of children involved. The measurement devices to be utilized in determining growth were to be the California Achievement Test for first grade students and the Metropolitan Readiness Test for kindergarten students. Testing was to take place in May, 1974. First grade children were expected to achieve an average test score of 1.8 on the test battery and kindergarten children were expected to score in the 65th percentile. The children participating in the project were to show reading growth at the level of the control group at the non-Title I school, Lincoln, and exceed the reading scores of children of the Title I control group, Lord Sterling. The external evaluation of Wilson

suggested that the program was 100 percent effective.

A variety of support services were provided as part of the program. These included psychological services, community services, and outdoor educational activities. A team of coordinators assisted the Title I director in supervision of the program and in monitoring compliance with very strict State and Federal guidelines. As an extension of the regular school year's schedule, an extensive summer program was in operation.

Students who participated in the program were identified by an elaborate State-prescribed procedure to determine the school's eligibility. Once this had been verified, decisions were made to assign students to the various component programs based upon clearly defined needs-assessment data which included cognitive, affective, psychomotor, and health factors. Only pupils who lived in eligible attendance areas were allowed to participate. Added to this was the requirement related to students' levels of need as measured by standardized instruments or teacher recommendations.

### Career Education Project

The Career Development program was initiated in the New Brunswick public schools in January, 1970. It was started as a cooperative effort of the New Brunswick Board of Education and the State Department of Education; it was funded through the New Jersey State Legislature. It was one of three such programs initiated in the State. As a result of the success of this pilot effort in New Brunswick, Rahway, and Camden, a State model was developed--that state model is the program presently in operation in New Brunswick. From the beginning in the three cities, the program has now grown

to include 28 school systems in the State.

The New Brunswick program attempted to provide for career needs in three basic areas: Career Awareness at the elementary level, Career Exploration at the middle level, and Skill Preparation at the secondary level. A basic premise underlying the program was that the more aware of or educated to potential careers a student becomes, the more able he or she will be in making good career selections.

The thrust of the program had three components: programmatic, curriculum integration, and career guidance. Programs included were Technology for Children, Introduction to Vocations, and Career Information and Job Counselling Placement.

Technology for Children (T4C). The three basic objectives for this component were: (1) to aid students in laying the groundwork for awareness, assessment, and the use of their many-faceted talents; (2) to supplement the learning of students in the areas of mathematics, language arts, science, and social studies; and (3) to expand the learning of students in the areas of technology. In attempting to assess the components' effectiveness in reaching these objectives, Education Systems Resources drew the conclusion that: "...evaluation...presents two major difficulties. The first is that the objectives are framed in language more suited to the statement of hypotheses or goals and the second is the lack of data on student performance."<sup>5</sup> Favorable comments were offered, however, on the management aspects of the component.

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5. Education Systems Resources, "An Evaluation of the New Brunswick Career Education Project," January, 1974.

Introduction to Vocations. The Introduction to Vocations program had five

stated goals:

- to give students the opportunity to discover and explore their interests and aptitudes through self-analysis and exploratory experiences in areas such as foods, clothing, health, business, manufacturing, and power industries.
- to teach students to make sound educational and vocational choices based on knowledge of self and of available resources and opportunities supplied by the Career Resource Center.
- to aid students in their development of ability to think critically and use many varied methods in problem solving.
- to implement students' moral and ethical development of acceptable standards of conduct and a philosophy of life congruent with their level of maturity.
- to help students develop insights, understanding and skills necessary for realistic appraisal, and the ability to cope with the normal problems of adolescence.

The terminal objectives students were to achieve upon completion of the Introduction to Vocations component were:

- to demonstrate a positive work attitude by reporting to class on time, completing all projects in the time allocated, working well with others, helping other students, and producing quality workmanship.
- to have had hands on experiences in working with various materials such as cloth, wood, metal, glass, paints, and chemicals.
- to have had hands on experiences in working with various machines such as drill presses, sanders, glass cutters, sewing machines, and business machines.
- to be able to list a minimum of ten occupational opportunities and their basic educational requirements within their community.

- to have prepared a folder from the occupational handouts given by the teachers to be used for reference; the folder will contain a minimum of fifteen job titles and their basic educational requirements.
- to know how to use the occupational handbook to find the title of the job and the basic educational requirements of his choice.
- to list a minimum of five occupations or job titles from each of the five seventeen-day cycles that consist of Business, Health, Home Economics, Manufacturing, and Industrial Occupations.

Career Information and Job Counselling Placement. The Career Information Center served as the hub for the entire program's operation and, as such, provided coordination and resources for the total effort. A major activity at this center was devoted to job placement where a special coordinator had been engaged with the specific responsibility for assisting students in finding appropriate part-time employment, assisting students in formulating future plans and decisions through guidance, counselling, and work experiences, and assisting high school graduates, former students, and interested adults gain full-time employment.

In making a summary evaluative statement about the overall effectiveness of the Career Education Program, Education Systems Resources reported that, "The New Brunswick Career Development Project, in the completion of its third year, is a smooth running, viable operation."<sup>6</sup>

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6. Ibid., p. 22.

## CHAPTER VIII

### PARENT RESPONSES TO SCHOOL-RELATED QUESTIONS

Whether school professionals are willing to admit it or not, parent in-put into educational policies and procedures remains more a matter of rhetorical delivery than actual practice in most public school systems. This circumstance, caused by a number of factors, is probably most attributable to two persistent attitudinal stances: school officials have not been thoroughly convinced that parents can provide direction for educational programming and have entertained the possibility only when pressed to do so, and parents have not generally had the frame of mind to believe, with any assurance, that their opinions about the schools would be seriously considered and translated into educational practice.

In spite of the community-involvement thrust of the past several years and the confrontations it sometimes generated, the relationship between most schools and their parent constituents, in terms of planning and providing educational programs, has not been substantially changed. In many respects, schools and parents are largely dis-associated and tend to know less about each other than is generally assumed. Communications between the schools and parents has had a tendency to represent a one-way channel which leaves communities minimally informed about school matters and does little to improve the schools' understanding of how parents feel about the educational process.

School people often make assumptions about parent attitudes toward the educational system even when they have little data to validate their approximations. Rarely do they systematically and consistently canvass their school communities to assess parent feelings and opinions related to school operations. Attempts at this, of course, require considerable effort, but the importance of an accurate perception of parent attitudes toward the schools and their practices should not be minimized or overlooked.

In the conduct of this study, parents were viewed as essential participants. Their responses to school-related questions were elicited to provide a better understanding of parent involvement and feelings which were associated with a number of educational concerns. The statements parents made, at least in part, had some evaluative implications which provided an added dimension to the research. A series of questions were asked of parents which drew attention to the following areas:

- Contact between the home and the school system
- Parent involvement in planning children's educational programs
- Parent awareness and ratings of educational efforts
- Parents' racial attitudes and perceptions of the schools' race relations

The questions presented to parents were by no means all-inclusive and certainly failed to speak to many of the interests which were shared by various school participants. The issues raised were, nevertheless, thought to be important and were selected to provide some similarity in the kinds of queries which were asked throughout the study.



### Contacts Between Parents and the School System

Contacts between parents and the school system take a variety of forms, but for the purposes of this study, they were defined in terms of school visitations, communications by the schools, and attendance of parents at school board meetings. The adequacy of these assessment measures might have been questionable, but they did seem appropriate enough to suggest the extent to which the school district and its adult clients had been in touch with each other.

#### Parent Visitations

Parents were asked rather directly about their visits to the schools with this question: "How many times have you visited any of the public schools during the last twelve months?" Their responses are reported in Table 8.1.

A significant majority (82.6 percent) of all responding parents indicated that they had visited one of the schools at least once during the past year. Nearly one-half of the sampled parents (47.7 percent) reported that they had been to the schools four times or more during the twelve-month period. Hispanic parents visited the schools most while white parents had the least visitations. The relatively small number of parents (17.4 percent) who had not visited the schools suggested that they had no reasons to do so. Some visiting parents went to the schools to share positive experiences, but most of them were summoned there to deal with "deviant" behavior of their children. The 72.7 percent of visiting parents who found themselves in schools to seek resolutions for student problems suggested that the large number of school visits should

be viewed in negative rather than positive terms. In spite of the circumstances under which parents made their visits, an overwhelming majority of them (93.4 percent) felt welcomed by the schools and entered them with no trepidation created by the professional staffs.

Table 8.1  
Parents' School Visits During  
Last Twelve-Month Period  
(percent in each number category)

Racial Group	Number of Visits				Total
	One	two or three	four or more	None	
White	18.5	13.0	44.4	24.1	100 (n= 54)
Black	12.7	25.5	45.1	16.7	100 (n=102)
Hispanic	0.0	29.7	59.5	10.8	100 (n= 37)
Total	11.8	23.0	47.7	17.4	100 (N=193)

### School Communications

The question, "How many times have the schools communicated with you during the last twelve months?," was presented to parents. The term "communicated" was not defined in the question and was left for parent interpretation. Responses are recorded in Table 8.2, where a pattern similar to that in the preceding one can be observed.

A significant majority of parents (82.4 percent) indicated that the schools had communicated with them, but like school visitations, most communications were

associated with negative student behavior. Of the parents reporting communications, 81.5 percent noted that at least one communique related to such things as student fights, suspensions, or lateness. About 36 percent of the parents (this included some overlap) identified the communication they received as a school announcement. Hispanic parents received the most communications and white parents were the least recipients. Again, because of the nature of most communications, the largeness in number had negative rather than positive implications.

Table 8.2

Number of School Communications with Parents  
During Last Twelve Months  
(percent of parents in each response category)

Racial Group	Number of Communications				Total
	One	two or three	four or more	None	
White	5.7	20.8	45.3	28.3	100 (n= 53)
Black	9.9	31.7	42.6	15.8	100 (n=101)
Hispanic	0.0	43.2	48.7	8.1	100 (n= 37)
Total	6.7	31.1	44.6	17.6	100 (N=192)

### Parent Attendance at School Board Meetings

The frequency with which parents attended Board of Education meetings was determined by asking the question, "How many Board of Education meetings have you attended during the last twelve months?" The reported attendance is recorded in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3

The Number of Board of Education Meetings Attended  
by Parents During the Last Twelve Months  
(percent of parents in each response category)

Racial Group	Number of Meetings				Total
	One	two or three	four or more	None	
White	8.9	10.7	3.6	76.8	100 (n= 56)
Black	7.7	11.5	9.6	71.4	100 (n=104)
Hispanic	10.8	29.7	8.1	51.4	100 (n= 37)
Total	8.5	14.6	7.5	69.3	100 (N=197)

A relatively small percentage of black (28.6 percent) and white (23.2 percent) parents indicated that they had attended Board meetings during the past year. This was not true with Hispanic parents, however, since nearly one-half (48.6 percent) of them responded affirmatively to the attendance question.

In response to a following question, 53.4 percent of all answering parents reported that they did not know when nor where Board meetings were held. They did not suggest, though, that an awareness of the times and places would have made a difference. About three percent of the parents indicated that they knew about the meetings but did not feel invited to attend, while 9.1 percent of them did not have time and 4.6 percent were working.

In another question, parents who had attended a Board meeting (n=60) were asked how they found out about it. Nearly one-third of the parents in this group reported

that they were notified by school officials and the others suggested that someone, other than a school person, had told them. When the respondents were looked at collectively (N=197) and it was discovered that only about twenty of them (10.5 percent) had been officially notified of Board meetings, the schools' communication system seemed to be questionable. Implicit in the questioning, however, was the assumption that parent attendance at Board meetings was viewed by the school system as being desirable.

### Parent Involvement in Planning Their Childrens' Educational Programs

The involvement of parents in planning their childrens' educational activities was assessed by examining their awareness of the program and class assignments of their youngsters, the opportunities they were provided to examine and approve these assignments, and the extent to which program decisions were made through joint planning by parents and school personnel. Responses to questions focusing on these concerns were not associated with any particular school grade level, even though it was realized that the degree of parent participation might normally vary in accordance with the differences in grade-level structures.

In responding to the question, "Do you know what program your child/children is/are taking?," most parents answered in the affirmative. Along racial lines, 85.7 percent of the white parents, 82.8 percent of the black parents, and 75.7 percent of the Hispanic parents indicated an awareness. When parents were asked, "Did the school give you an opportunity to examine and approve your child's/childrens' program of studies or class schedule?," the responses were much less affirmative. This might have

been caused by the question's implied reference change since it seemed to speak more to parents of secondary school students. A little more than one-half (54.3 percent) of the parents indicated that they were given a chance to approve their child's program. It might have been reasonably assumed that most of the negative responses (45.7 percent) came from parents who had children in the lower grades.

Answers to the question, "Have you been involved in planning, with school officials or teachers, your child's/children's program or class schedule?," suggested that consultation between parents and school personnel about students' program choices and selections were somewhat limited. This is shown in Table 8.4 where a summary of parent responses is presented.

Table 8.4

Parents' Involvement with School Officials in  
Planning their Children's School Programs  
(percent in each response category)

Racial Group	Were you involved?		Total
	Yes	No	
White	21.3	78.7	100 (n= 65)
Black	33.6	66.7	100 (n=110)
Hispanic	27.0	73.0	100 (n= 37)
Total	27.7	72.3	100 (N=212)

It appeared that nearly three-fourths (72.3 percent) of the responding parents had not conferred with school representatives about educational planning for their children. When looking at school-parent planning by racial groups, black parents

(33.6 percent) were most involved while white parents (21.3 percent) were included least in this kind of activity.

Judging from parent answers to the question, "Do you feel free to talk to your child's teacher, counselor, or principal about his/her progress or for any other reason?", the schools did not seem to inhibit school-parent planning. A significant majority of parents (89.9 percent) registered affirmative responses to the query. This was particularly meaningful when it was coupled with the large number of parents (93.4 percent) who felt welcome in the schools.

#### Parents' Awareness and Evaluation of the Schools' Educational Efforts

Parents were asked to make some general evaluations of the total educational system and were also requested to indicate their perceptions of the schools' understanding of student needs. Drawing attention to minority-group students, questions were presented to parents to determine their awareness and assessment of special programs which had been designed to meet the particular requirements of black and Hispanic youngsters.

#### General Assessment of School Efforts

The question used to get a general rating of the school system was, "When you consider the total operation of the schools, would you say they are doing (1) an excellent job, (2) a good job, (3) a fair job, or (4) a poor job?" Parent responses to this query are reported in Table 8.5.

Table 8.5

Parents' General Ratings of the Schools'  
Performance  
(percent in each rating category)

Racial Group	Schools are doing:				Total
	excel- lent job	good job	fair job	poor job	
White	11.5	34.4	39.3	14.8	100 (n= 51)
Black	14.9	31.8	38.3	15.0	100 (n=107)
Hispanic	34.2	40.0	14.3	11.5	100 (n= 35)
Total	17.3	33.9	34.4	14.4	100 (N=203)

When Table 8.5 was collapsed into two columns, it was almost evenly balanced with negative and positive responses. The majority of parents (68.3 percent), in all racial groups, fell between the two extremes of excellent and poor. This suggested that most of the respondents viewed the total school system as being about average.

Parent perceptions of the schools' efficacy in preparing young people for future careers were decided by responses to the query, "How well do you think the school is preparing your children for a future career?" Table 8.6 presents the question's results.

Most parents (56.8 percent) perceived the schools as doing rather well in preparing young people for future careers. Falling between the extremes of "very well" and "not at all" was 78.9 percent of all respondents, which was suggestive of at least a moderate rating of career-preparation efforts.



Table 8.6

Parent Perceptions of the Schools' Efficacy in  
Preparing Students for Future Careers  
(percent in each response category)

Racial Group	School are preparing:				Total
	very well	rec ab. well	not very well	not at all	
White	5.8	42.3	48.1	3.8	100 (n= 52)
Black	13.5	50.0	28.1	8.3	100 (n= 96)
Hispanic	35.1	16.2	48.6	0.0	100 (n= 37)
Total	15.7	41.1	37.8	5.4	100 (N=185)

Moving away from the overall performance of the school district and focusing directly on the instructional staff, this question was asked of parents: "Generally speaking, do you think your child's/childrens' teachers are doing a good job?"

The question was not presented to Hispanic parents because it was inadvertently omitted from the questionnaire when it was translated into Spanish. Of the 142 responding black and white parents, nearly 30 percent reported that they did not know or were not sure if teachers were doing a good job. About 50 percent of them felt positive about teacher performance while 20 percent had the opposite view.

### Schools' Understanding of Minority-Group

#### Student Needs

Most parents (53 percent), including a high percentage of Hispanics (41.7 percent), were not sure about the schools' understanding of the special educational needs of

Spanish-speaking students. This was indicated by responses to the question, "Do you think school officials and teachers, in general, understand the special educational needs of Puerto Rican students?," which are reported in Table 8.7. The percentage of parents who reported a sureness were about evenly split between "yes" and "no."

Table 8.7

Parent Perceptions of Schools' Understanding  
of Special Educational Needs of  
Hispanic Students  
(percent in each response category)

Racial Group	Schools understand			Total
	yes	no	not sure	
White	28.6	14.3	57.1	100 (n= 49)
Black	14.5	35.5	50.0	100 (n= 90)
Hispanic	25.0	33.3	41.7	100 (n= 36)
Total	23.5	23.5	53.0	100 (N=175)

When the same "understanding of educational needs" question was asked about black students, the responses were quite different. The "not sure" answers were much less for black and white parents while there was a significant increase of Hispanic responses in this category. A slight majority of white parents, who committed themselves, felt the needs of black students were understood by the schools' personnel. The number of black parents who expressed an opinion, as seen in Table 8.8, was almost twice as many in the "no" category as in the "yes" category.

Table 8.8

Parent Perceptions of Schools' Understanding of  
Special Educational Needs of Black Students  
(percent in each response category)

Racial Group	Schools understand			Total
	yes	no	not sure	
White	38.8	30.6	30.6	100 (n= 49)
Black	23.8	45.2	31.0	100 (n= 84)
Hispanic	3.0	12.1	84.9	100 (n= 33)
Total	24.9	34.3	40.8	100 (N=166)

#### Awareness and Evaluation of Special Programs

Most black and white parents (73.6 and 67.3 percent, respectively) were not aware of any special programs for Hispanic students. As one would probably have expected, a high percentage of Spanish-speaking parents (83.8 percent) reported an awareness. Almost without exception, "bilingual education" was identified with the schools' special programs for Puerto Rican youngsters. Parent evaluations are presented in Table 8.9.

A relatively low number of non-Hispanic parents rated special educational programs for Spanish-speaking students. This seemed to suggest that the most reliable evaluation would come from Puerto Rican parents, as opposed to others. The majority of them (60.3 percent) gave an appraisal of "effective" or "very effective."

Table 8.9

Parent Ratings of Special Educational Programs  
for Hispanic Students  
(percent in each response category)

Racial Group	Ratings				Total
	very effective	effective	not very effective	not effective at all	
White	33.3	44.4	5.5	16.6	100 (n= 18)
Black	8.3	45.8	41.7	4.2	100 (n= 24)
Hispanic	24.7	35.6	34.2	5.5	100 (n= 31)
Total	21.9	41.1	28.8	8.2	100 (N=73)

When parents were asked the question, "Are you aware of any special programs which have been set up to meet the educational needs of black students?," the response pattern was somewhat different than it was when the same question was asked about Puerto Rican youngsters. Only one Hispanic parent (3.1 percent) made note of an awareness. Two-thirds of all responding parents, including black respondents, indicated that they were unaware of any special educational programs for black students. The parents who reported an awareness of such programs identified them rather evenly as, Black Studies, remedial mathematics and reading, and Title-funded programs. Evaluations by the "aware" parents are reported in Table 8.10.

The large number of respondents who were not aware of any special programs minimized the number of parents who could offer evaluations. Even though the

evaluating group was small (N=58), it might have had some assessment value. Most black and white parents in the evaluating group (74.2 percent) rated the special programs for black students between the two extremes of "very effective" and "not effective at all." The one evaluating Hispanic parent assigned a value of "very effective."

Table 8.10  
Parent Ratings of Special Educational Programs  
for Black Students  
(percent in each response category)

Racial Group	Ratings				Total
	very effective	effective	not very effective	not effective at all	
White	14.8	25.9	40.7	18.6	100 (n= 26)
Black	9.7	54.8	25.8	9.7	100 (n= 31)
Hispanic	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100 (n= 1)
Total	12.0	41.4	32.8	13.8	100 (N=58)

Rating of School Efforts to Meet Needs  
of All Students

No questions were asked of parents which spoke to the special needs of white students. The reasons for this omission were made obvious by the focus of the study. Some attention was given to the concerns of white students, however, when parents were presented with the question, "How would you rate the school as it seeks to meet the

needs of all students?" This query was designed to get parent assessments of the general quality of education which had been afforded students, irrespective of their racial groupings. The results of the question are reported in Table 8.11.

Table 8.11

Parent Ratings of the Schools' Effectiveness  
in Meeting the Needs of all Students  
(percent in each response category)

Racial Group	Ratings				Total
	very good	good	average	below average or poor	
White	8.8	17.5	31.6	42.1	100 (n= 57)
Black	1.1	22.6	44.1	32.2	100 (n= 93)
Hispanic	5.6	13.9	47.2	33.3	100 (n= 36)
Total	4.3	19.1	41.5	35.1	100 (N=186)

Few parents (23.4 percent) perceived the school as being "good" or "very good" in terms of effectiveness. An overwhelming majority of them (76.6 percent) provided a rating of "average" or "below average or poor." The perceptions of parents differed very little along racial lines and seemed to suggest an existence of common beliefs, among racial groups, about the quality of the schools. The inconsistency between parent responses in this instance, where ratings had a low leaning, and the more balanced ones in Table 8.5, might have been caused by the interpretation parents gave to "needs of all students" in the latter case. The two questions which produced different kinds of answers appeared to be very similar but were actually quite different. Consequently, they drew variant responses.

Parents' Racial Attitudes and Perceptions of  
Race Relations in the Schools

A determination of parents' racial attitudes, by itself, would require a more involved and complex study. In the conduct of this research, no attempt was seriously made to get a real understanding of how adults in the different racial groups felt about each other. Efforts at securing a sense of parents' racial attitudes did not extend beyond the asking of one rather simple question, "Would it matter if your child brought a classmate home for a visit who was of a different racial or ethnic group than his/her own?" Hispanic parents did not respond to the question since it was advertently omitted from the Spanish-translated questionnaire. How black and white parents responded is presented in Table 8.12.

Table 8.12

Black and White Parent Responses to  
the "bringing home a classmate  
of another race" Question  
(percent in each response category)

Racial Group	Would it matter?			Total
	yes	no	not sure	
White	16.4	69.1	14.5	100 (n= 55)
Black	9.4	83.3	7.3	100 (n= 96)
Total	11.9	78.1	9.9	100 (N=151)

A large majority of black (83.3 percent) and white (69.1 percent) parents responded affirmatively to the question even though the difference in percentages was

significant. As compared to black parents, more white parents (+7.0 percent) objected to their child bringing a classmate of a different racial group home, and more of them (+7.2 percent) were unsure of their feelings. Even though black parents seemed to be more accepting of visits by their children's "other-race" classmates, there was a strong indication that most white parents would be supportive of such occurrences.

A high percentage of parents, in all racial groups, believed there were problems in the schools between students with different ethnic and racial backgrounds. The percentage of white and Hispanic parents who felt this way were almost equally high (83.0,  $n=53$  and 82.9,  $n=35$ , respectively) while the percentage (75.8 percent) of black parents was also high but somewhat lower. The seriousness of those problems, as perceived by these parents, is reported in Table 8.13.

Table 8.13

Parent Perceptions of the Seriousness of Problems  
Between the Schools' Racial and  
Ethnic Student Groups  
(percent in each response category)

Racial Group	Problem Seriousness				Total
	extreme-ly serious	very serious	not too serious	not serious at all	
White	29.8	40.8	23.4	6.4	100 ( $n= 44$ )
Black	7.7	29.5	43.6	19.2	100 ( $n= 72$ )
Hispanic	19.4	32.3	32.3	6.5	100 ( $n= 29$ )
Total	16.5	35.3	35.3	12.8	100 ( $N=145$ )

The perceptions of seriousness, from one view, appeared to be divided along racial lines. A majority of white (70.6 percent) and Hispanic (51.7 percent) parents



believed the problems were either extremely serious or very serious, while the majority of black parents (62.8 percent) felt they were not too serious or not serious at all. When Table 8.13 was collapsed into two categories, there was more evenness in the distribution of the responses. Looking at the table another way, most perceptions of parents, in all racial groups, were between the two extremes of "extremely serious" and "not serious at all." Viewing them this way seemed to provide a more accurate reading of the responses. The responding parents, for the most part, suggested that the problems between student racial and ethnic groups were not "out-of-hand" but, at the same time, should not be casually dismissed.

#### Summary and Discussion of the Findings

Parents were asked a series of questions in an effort to better understand the extent of their involvement in the educational process and the way they felt about a variety of school-related issues. In soliciting responses from them, attention was focused primarily on (1) the contact between the homes and the schools, (2) parents' involvement in the planning of their children's educational programs, (3) parents' awareness and evaluation of the schools' educational efforts, and (4) the racial attitudes of parents and their perceptions of the schools' race relations.

Parents did, indeed, visit the New Brunswick schools and tended to come more than once during the course of the year. In relative terms, Hispanic parents were the most frequent visitors while black parents were second in this respect. The visits of white parents were rather high in number but somewhat less than those of parents in

other racial groups. The numerous school visitations made by parents did not usually have a positive tone since most of them resulted from what was perceived as negative student behavior. There seemed to be a slight correlation between the number and frequency of parent visits and the racial group with which they were associated.

School communications followed the same pattern as parent visits to the schools. They tended to speak, for the most part, to students' "deviant" behavior and appeared to have a relationship to racial groupings. Again, and in relative terms, Hispanic parents received the most communications and were followed in order by black and white parents.

Parents in all racial groups had not, in appreciable numbers, attended any Board of Education meetings during the past year. The percentage of Hispanic parents who had been in attendance were, however, higher than that of parents in other ethnic circles. More than one-half of the responding parents indicated that they never knew when nor where Board meetings were held. Only about ten percent of them reported that they were notified by school officials. This seemed to suggest that either the school system's communication network was extremely poor or that the Board had little desire to have parents attend its meetings.

A very high percentage of parents suggested an awareness of their children's program of studies and class schedules, but only a slight majority of them reported that they had an opportunity to examine and approve them before they were finalized. This difference in response, however, might have been misleading since the question which produced it spoke more directly to parents of secondary school students than to

parents of children in the lower grades.

Almost without exception, parents felt welcome in the schools and free to talk with all school personnel about their children's progress as well as other topics. In spite of this, they tended not to get too involved with school representatives in the planning of their children's educational activities.

The schools' overall operation was viewed by the majority of parents as being about average. They were not, however, willing to give more than a less-than-moderate rating to the schools' effectiveness in meeting the needs of all students. Parents probably reacted to the question, which stimulated their responses, with a concern for their own reference group. If this was the case, the ratings would suggest that parents in each racial group did not believe the schools were effectively meeting the particular needs of their children.

Only about one-quarter of the parents felt that the schools understood the special needs of black and Hispanic students. Most black and white parents were not sure, in relation to Spanish-speaking youngsters, nor was a large number of Hispanic parents. Black parents tended to feel that the schools did not understand the needs of their children while Spanish-speaking parents, in this regard, were overwhelmingly unsure. White parents were evenly split and could not be identified by any particular leaning.

Black and white parents were not generally aware of any special educational programs for Spanish-speaking students and Hispanic parents knew almost nothing about such programs for black youngsters. Slightly more than eighty percent of the Hispanic parents were aware of special programs for their children. On the other hand, only

about one-third of the black parents were aware of such programs for their children.

Puerto Rican parents, probably the most legitimate parent group for rating Spanish-speaking programs, tended to view the schools' special efforts in this area as being reasonably effective. Since the number of black parents who had an awareness of special programs for their children was limited, few of them were in a position to make evaluations. Of the black parents who did offer a rating, most made an assignment of "effective." White parents, for the most part, believed that special programs for Hispanic youngsters were rather effective but did not feel this way about similar programs which had been set up for black students.

Attempts at measuring racial attitudes of parents were, at best, minimal and involved the asking of a single question which related to parent feelings about their children's "other-race" classmates' visits with them at home. This question was not asked of Hispanic parents because it had advertently been omitted from the Spanish-translated questionnaire. Most black and white parents, even though the black parent percentage was much higher, indicated that it would not matter if their children brought a classmate home for a visit who was of a different racial group than his or her own.

A very high percentage of parents, in all racial groups, believed that problems existed in the schools between students of different racial and ethnic backgrounds. A much higher percentage of white and Spanish-speaking parents perceived the problems to be extremely serious or more serious than black parents seemed to feel. The general response of all parents, however, seemed to suggest that the perceptions of problem seriousness fell between the two extremes of "extremely serious" and "not serious at all."

### Recommendations

1. METHODS OF COLLECTING AND PRESENTING SCHOOL INFORMATION NEED TO BE IMPROVED. A MORE SYSTEMATIC WAY OF INFORMING ALL PARENTS ABOUT THE SCHOOLS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES SHOULD BE DEVELOPED.

Responses to some of the items on the survey instrument strongly suggested that most parents were not very well informed about the schools in general and their programs and activities in particular. This was somewhat evidenced by the extent of parent unawareness about special activities for minority-group students, parent uncertainty about the schools' understanding of student needs, and the significant number of parents who were unsure about the quality of the instructional staffs.

Considering the large number and variety of activities which exist in the schools to serve different student needs, it was surprising that parent unfamiliarity with them was so pervasive. One might assume from this that very little had been done by the schools to keep parents informed. It would seem helpful to the homes and the schools if parents knew about all of the educational programs, their objectives, and the direction in which they were moving.

The difference in parent perceptions of many educational activities indicated that many parents had to either guess about the operations of the schools or were drawing upon different information sources.

It is imperative for the schools to re-evaluate the process by which they gather information about themselves and the method by which it is disseminated. The existing methods are obviously ineffective since they provide no assurances that most parents will, at least, have a modest understanding of the many things that occur within the schools.

2. COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE HOME AND THE SCHOOLS SHOULD BE RE-EVALUATED WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION GIVEN TO DEVELOPING MORE POSITIVE CONTACTS BETWEEN PARENTS AND SCHOOL PERSONNEL.

This recommendation is, of course, closely related to the preceding one. It does, however, have a different focus. There was a significant number of parents who reported that they had not received one communique from the schools during a twelve-month period. Most parents who had been in communication with the schools reported that the contact had developed

out of undesirable student behavior. It seemed from this that the majority of parents had either not been in communication with the schools at all or were contacted only when their children were in difficulty.

Contacts between the home and the schools have generally had a negative tone. This, undoubtedly, has made parents become leery when they received communications from the schools. It would seem important to minimize the negativism which has come to be associated with school visits or correspondence. This might be partly accomplished by insuring that all parents are contacted during the year and that the contacts will speak to more than the problems which young people sometimes create.

3. MEETINGS WHICH ADDRESS EDUCATIONAL CONCERNS AND ARE INTENDED TO INVOLVE PARENTS SHOULD BE ADEQUATELY PUBLICIZED AND SCHEDULED AT A TIME AND PLACE THAT IS MOST CONVENIENT FOR ALL OF THE POSSIBLE PARTICIPANTS AND ATTENDEES.

Meetings which are held for the purpose of informing or including parents should be adequately announced and held at a time and place which allows for maximum attendance. The fact that more than one-half of the sampled parents did not know when nor where Board of Education meetings were held should raise some probing questions. If the Board is seriously concerned about parents attending its meetings, it should make more than minimal efforts to secure this result. It could begin by canvassing parents to determine the time which is best suited for them to be in attendance.

Parents who visit the schools, in spite of the purposes, should be given more time options which are not within the normal school day. Visits to the school should not always disturb the normal routine of parents. The time and convenience sacrifices should be equally shared by the home and the school.

4. PROVISIONS SHOULD BE MADE TO GIVE ALL PARENTS A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR CHILDREN'S PROGRAM PLACEMENTS AND CLASS ASSIGNMENTS. PARENTS SHOULD KNOW BOTH THE SHORT AND LONG-TERM IMPLICATIONS OF THEIR YOUNGSTERS' SCHOOL ACTIVITIES.

When parents are given the opportunity, many of them will routinely endorse the program or class assignments which the schools make for

their children. They often do this without a clear understanding of the assignments but with a belief in the schools' ability to make the most judicious educational decisions. All parents are not able to interpret their children's placement in programs and classes with the same degree of clarity, and some of them may inadvertently give permission for their youngsters, in terms of their expectations, to be improperly placed.

Before student programs and assignments are finalized, the schools should assist parents in understanding what they represent and where they will lead over a period of time. This may be accomplished through the traditional conference or by detailed correspondence. Either of these would require considerable effort, but whatever the requirements, parents should clearly understand what their children are assigned to do in school and where the assignment will take them.

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